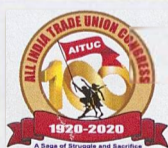


File No. \_\_\_\_\_

**ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS**  
24, Canning Lane, NEW DELHI-110001

SUBJECT GENERAL SECRETARY  
PERSONAL FILE.

YEAR 1994 To



**AITUC DIGITAL ARCHIVE - 2021**

Folder Code: 4 File No. AI-40 S. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Digital File Code: \_\_\_\_\_

File Title: General ~~Secretary~~ Secretary  
Personal File

Year: 1994-96 1

Metadata:  Scanned:

Note: \_\_\_\_\_

दिनांक 22-7-1994.

प्रिय साथी देवचंद महाराम,

आपका निवेदन पढ़ा मुझे छेद है कि आप जैसे पुराने साथी से नागपुर मुकाम के समय बात-चीत करने का मौका नहीं मिला। अगर दोनों जिन्दा रहे तो अवश्यक मिलेंगे, श्री जोतीराम कोवे कहाँ हैं ?

म.रा.वि. मण्डल में बदली बहुत कठिन है। आपसी बदली ही संभवी है—फिर भी आपके कामनात में कामरेड मोहन शर्मा जो कि संगठन के कार्यध्यक्ष हैं उन्हें भेज रहा हूँ, और उनसे अनुरोध कर रहा हूँ कि यथासम्भव प्रयास करें।

शुभकामनाएँ,

dc

आपका,

ए.वी. वर्मन

१९० बी० वर्मन

जनरल सेक्रेटरी

श्री देवचंद महाराम  
न्यू कॉलोनी, वार्ड नं० 70  
छायनी १ नागपुर १

=====

R.  
File Personal  
A.I.T.U.

G.S

RECEIVED  
For ..... on  
30 JUN 1994  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi.

Calcutta, June 25 1994

Dear Com Bardhan,

Thank you indeed for your letter of June 16, it was a very pleasant surprise to receive that - out of the blue, almost. Despite what you say about how many hours there are in a day (and however much I admire that approach to life), I still appreciate your making the time to write to me.

This is just a note in direct reply :

Firstly, the PCAEP and the Alternative Budget etc : Thank you for the quick run-down on where you last saw things. I am not sure the initiative need necessarily yet be condemned to being lost in the sands of time. Following the common memo I sent you from Bombay, I was in Delhi in mid and then again end May, and had wanted to speak with you quite badly. (Also in late February, but you, Jaya, and Karat sat together after that.) When I left, I had had a further round of discussions with Arun and Jaya, and also as it happens Com Joshi, about getting the document completed and printed. You may be glad to hear that Arun is not averse to printing the budget even with the changes suggested (or at least, so I understood).

The steps remaining are as follows :

1. Raise funds to cover the deficit we have at the PCAEP, of roughly Rs 7,000. (See below in regard to details.)
2. Raise further funds, or get a commitment, for printing the AB (...I know that there may be competition for these initials; Alternative Budget); around 12-15,000 ?  
In theory, there is no reason why it could not be brought out by one organisation "in support of" the PCAEP. This might be easier than trying to get shares raised within the PCAEP, at this point. Ashok Rao suggested this. I suggested this in my letter to Jaya (see below).
3. Get word to Arun, and he is ready to hand over the finally-corrected version.
4. Get copies circulated to ... ?? the three of you ? The whole PCAEP ? The active members only ?, for final approval, before printing. My strong suggestion is that a meeting be called/attempted for this; it may well be necessary to come to some compromises on certain points, which can only be done in a joint sitting. But it also bears saying that the range of modifications must be kept within those points raised at the CA-AEP in February or to Arun in March; not new points.
5. If there are (minor) changes to be made, ask Arun to do them, or else get an editorial person to do them if of that nature.
6. Print. Permit others to do reprints, as they want and need.

Following my return to Calcutta, I wrote to Jaya, laying out where things stood, especially in terms of money. I suggested to her that the statement of accounts (which had in fact been reached to her back in March, for circulation; its non-circulation at that time, is another of Arun's sore points) as well as an update Note I had sent her could, after verification from Arun of some questions remaining on my Note, be circulated among the three of you. (This included the precise state of the

5,000 that AIBEA gave us.) Com Joshi, Ranjana Kumari, and Prakash had to be contacted further for confirmation of further contributions they told me they might be able to arrange.

I have not heard from Jaya in reply. (I normally do not, from most people.) So I do not know where things stand after my letter. But it seems to me quite feasible, and well worth the while, to complete this round. Indeed, if we don't get the document printed, I doubt if the PCAEP will meet again, can work again. It is a chicken-and-egg situation; almost existential in its glory. But I cannot do much from Calcutta; nor am I in the position to move to Delhi. In February, I had asked her to contact you, to play the lead role in hammering Arun to an agreement. I do not know if she did so / was able to do so. But this time around, it was more a question of coordination. I asked her to do what was required.

If things haven't moved in this direction as yet, would you be willing to contact her, to help things move ?

Secondly, the PCAEP initiative itself. I have been thinking about this quite a lot. I am increasingly feeling that there is a need to rediscover the woods, which we have lost for the tree. It was and remains an important tree, and I can even now see the validity of the tactical argument of taking on only what you think you can chew, but the problem with that can be, that you keep on chewing, and lose sight of why you took the bite in the first case.

I have two suggestions in this regard : (i) That you prepare and circulate the draft note that we once discussed, on a perspective on alternative economic policies; and (ii) That we in particular take on the question of taxation.

My own opinion is that having at least a draft for (i) is essential, even for re-grouping. This time around, we need to have a manifesto around which we do so. Can you still please try to find the time for preparing this ?

In terms of (ii), there may be many other areas of nuance and agreement / disagreement in and around the AB, but I think taxation is undoubtedly one of the key areas; and I think we should try and open a frontal debate on this question.

Why ? Not just because there was disagreement around details in February. But because (following classical thinking) I think the question of taxation directly influences the even more central questions of how and why ordinary people<sup>\*</sup> are or become politically active in terms of government, and on the other hand, of accountability by the government. It bonds government and civil society; it gives a bond to relate through. Whereas today, there is increasing apathy and disinterest - and government behaves as if it were an independent corporate enterprise, and worse, people seem almost content to let that be the case. It seems to me one of the major tasks today, is to change this situation. This may be a way. And it may also be a contribution towards revitalising the broader coalition.

Does any of this make any sense ? I do not know if I have expressed myself clearly on this. But I found to my pleasant surprise, some of what I was thinking about, echoed in an article in a journal someone sent me, In These Times, titled 'In Defence of Taxes'. I enclose a copy of that for you, not as elaboration but because it says some of the same things perhaps better than I am being able to.

*Praise*

\* of certain sections ...

If you have had the time to read this far, I would ask you to spare a few minutes to also kindly reply and give me your reactions to the above. To all of the above.

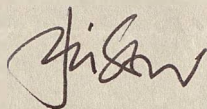
I was due to have come to Delhi this present weekend, and then again in early July on my way back to Calcutta; but my trip has been cancelled/postponed because Munni (my wife; I think you have met her) is very unwell. I may now be coming during July 11-15. Is there any chance you will be there? (And is there any chance we could decisively take forward our common initiative by, or at, that time?)

I look forward to your reply. But let me end by saying that I was happy to see, even if it was possibly a coincidence, the AITUC premises being given a fresh coat of paint so soon after the new incumbent came in!

*bride?!*

Greetings,

Yours fraternally,



Jai Sen

encl

PS : Please kindly note, and have noted, a new primary phone no for me; and also the spelling of the name of the street on which we live ('Palm', not 'Palur') :

51-B Palm Avenue Ballygunge Calcutta 700 019  
Ph 033/40 5698 (new) or 0457 Fax 033/74 8172 or 7389

A B Bardhan  
General Secretary  
AITUC  
24 Canning Lane  
NEW DELHI 110 001

GS

22nd July, 1994,

Dear Com. Jai Sen,

Read through your letter of June 25, and also the Xerox article 'in praise of taxes' that you sent. Both were extremely readable.

You may not be surprised to know that I agree with much that has been said in the article, though written from a bourgeoisie liberal angle, or even a Keynesian angle. But also implied is that there is not "just 'economics' in taxes, but also a 'politics'. And it is 'politics' that dictates the nature, extend, and character of the taxes.

Sm. Jaya, or Arun have not contacted me so far. But I will do so after I am done with the AITUC Working Committee which meets here on July 23, 24 and 25 (if anything is left over).

For me - AITUC or AIFEE, to raise further money would be difficult this year. So we will have to look for resources elsewhere.

I would like to go through the final draft before we sit down, and desire whether to print the whole AB or that part relating to Alternate Economic Policies.

I am sorry to hear your wife is unwell. Hope she has recovered. Prabhatda has not been keeping well.

Never go by a "superficial point". It might hide old scars and wounds!

But any way, what I would try is to heal the wounds and make the organisation healthy, active and effective body.

More when we meet.

Greetings,

Yours comradely,

*ABSB*  
(A. B. BARDHAN)

*ofc (Personal file)*

Shri Jai Sen,  
51-B, Palm Avenue,  
Bally Gunge,  
Calcutta - 700019.

G.S.

21st July, 1994,

Dear Com. Deo,

Thank you for your letter of invitation. Com. Patre was to meet me at Nagpur. But unfortunately he could not. Therefore I thought that perhaps the date is yet to be finalised.

Now, I have accepted a programme of weavers' Convention on 31st July at Nagpur. It will be impossible for me to change it now. So please excuse me.

The financial sector is under severe attack. Naturally because, the MNCs, the 'Structural Adjustment' instigators would first like to have their strangle-hold on Indian finance capital, on the sources of capital formation.

I congratulate the employees on their struggle so far. But I am frankly of the view that all unions in the financial sector have to come together. Old bias and prejudice rivalries and <sup>wranglings</sup> ~~wrong lines~~ won't serve the purpose any longer.

I know that you will all adopt a statesman-like attitude and do what is necessary. I wish success to your Conference.

Greetings,

Yours comradely,

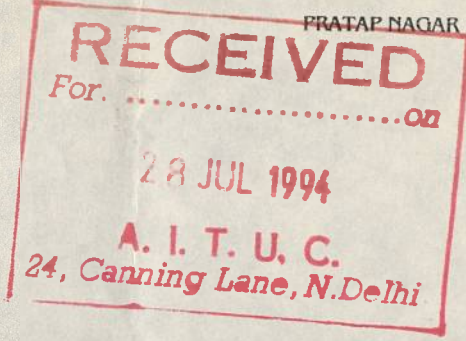
*A.B.B.*

(A. B. BARDHAN)  
GENERAL SECRETARY.

*o/c*

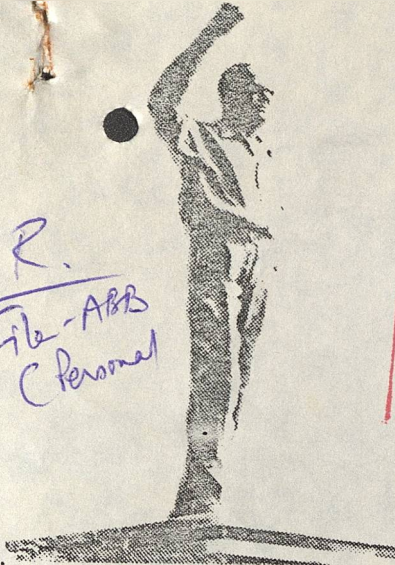
# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 221932



29-6-00

R.  
File-ABB  
C Personal



PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

विषय : कामगार केसरी कै. रा. स. रूईकर जन्मशताब्दी  
८ जानेवारी ९४ ते ८ जानेवारी ९५

पत्नी कै. श्रीमती इंदिराबाई रूईकरांच्या  
जन्मदिनानिमित्त श्रमीक महिला मेळावा

प्रिय,

नागपुरातील सर्वय कामगार संघटनांच्या नेत्यांनी नागपुरचे  
ख्यातनाम कामगार नेते कामगार केसरी कै. रा. स. उपाख्य रामभाऊ  
रूईकर जन्मशताब्दी वर्ष ८ जानेवारी ९४ ते ८ जानेवारी ९५  
या काळात साजरे करण्याचा निर्णय घेतला आहे. ८ जानेवारी ९५ ला  
रूईकरांच्या वयाला १०० वर्षे पूर्ण होतात. त्यानुसार ८ जानेवारी  
१९९४ ला नागपुरात जन्मशताब्दी सोहोब्याचे उद्घाटन झाले. श्री  
वसंत साठे या कार्यक्रमाच्या अध्यक्षस्थानी होते आणि अखिल भारतीय  
स्वातंत्र सैनिक संघटनेचे अध्यक्ष श्री. शीलभद्र घाजी उद्घाटक म्हणून उपस्थित  
होते शिवाय खासदार श्री. चित्त बसू, महाराष्ट्राचे कामगार मंत्री  
डॉ. श्रावण पराते, श्री नरेंद्र तिडके, श्री. श्री. वा. धाबे आदि मान्यवरहि  
कार्यक्रमाला उपस्थित होते. भाई ए. बी. बर्धन, जन्मशताब्दी समितीचे  
अध्यक्ष आहेत तेंव्हा त्यांची उपस्थिति होतीच. श्री. चित्त बसू  
यांच्या हस्ते रूईकरांवरील स्मरणिकेचेहि प्रकाशन झाले.

ज्यांची जन्मशताब्दी साजरी होत आहे त्या रूईकरांच्या  
पत्नी कै. श्रीमती इंदिराबाई रूईकर यांचा १७ सप्टेंबर १९९४ हा  
जन्मदिवस आहे. रूईकरांच्या खडतर कामगार सेवेत इंदिराबाईया

.....२/



मोलाचा वाटा आहे. आणि म्हणून त्यांच्या जन्मदिवसाची मित्त नागपुरात श्रमीक महिलांच्या मेळावा आयोजित करण्याचा निर्णय रईकर जन्मशताब्दी समारोह समितीने घेतला आहे. नागपुरच्या प्रख्यात समाजसेविका आणि रईकर कुटुंबाशी जवळचे संबंध असलेल्या श्रीमती लीलाबाई चितळे या मेळाव्याच्या संयोजिका आहेत. १७ सप्टेंबर हा दिवस गणपती उत्सवाच्या दरम्यान येत असल्यामुळे १७ ऐवजी रविवार दिनांक २५ सप्टेंबर, १९९४ ला दुपारी २ ते ५ या वेळात मेळावा आयोजित केला आहे. श्रमिक महिलांच्या या मेळाव्याला आपण प्रामुख्याने उपस्थित राहून मार्गदर्शन करावे अशी जन्मशताब्दी समारोह समितीची इच्छा आहे.

तेव्हा आपल्याला आग्रहाची विनंती आहे की आपण या मेळाव्याला अगत्याने उपस्थित राहून महिलांचे ज्वलंत प्रश्न, त्यांच्यावर होणारे अत्याचार आणि अन्याय तसेच श्रमिक महिलांच्या समस्या आदिंबाबत मार्गदर्शन करावे. श्री. ए.बी. बर्धन या मेळाव्याला उपस्थित राहतील.

आपण आमच्या आमंत्रणाचा स्वीकार कराल अशी खात्री आहे. आपला होकार प्राप्त झाल्यावर कार्यक्रमाची निश्चित स्मरेखा आपल्याला कळवू.

मृगालाई वरे -  
आदिबालाई शिरोळकर } मुंबई  
दिनाई चितळे -  
प्रामोनाई दंडारे } मनीदहो

आपली स्नेहांशुता -  
दीनाई रईकर  
[मालती रईकर]  
सरचिटणीस

Copy with compliments to  
Com. A. B. Basheer  
New Delhi

श्री. इतली पटेकराई मठा परा आरु  
मुंबई ३५३५ - पत्तू मठा - पत्तू  
१०६१० आदि  
दीनाई रईकर

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE 22 1932



21-7-94

Subject : Ruikar Birth Centenary Celebrations  
from 8 January 94 to 8 January 95.

Women Workers' meeting in memory of  
wife late Smt. Indirabai Ruikar.

Dear Kamaleji

You are probably aware that the Birth Centenary of my late father Kamgar Kesari Shri R.S. Ruikar is being observed from 8 January 94 to 8 January 95. Shri Ruikarji completes hundred years on 8 January 95. The inaugural function of the celebrations was organised on 8 January 94 at Nagpur. Shri Vasant Sathe presided over the function whereas Shri. Sheelbhadra Yajee, President, All India Freedom Fighters Organisation inaugurated the same. Shri Chitta Basu, M.P., Dr. Shraavan Parate, Minister for Labour, Maharashtra, Shri Narendra Tidke, Shri S.W. Dhabe, Shri A.B. Bardhan and other dignitaries were prominently present. A Souvenir on Ruikarji was also released at the hands of Shri Chitta Basu.

While celebrating the Birth Centenary of Ruikarji, his wife late Smt. Indirabai Ruikar can not be forgotten. She had a lion's share in the sacrifices of Ruikarji in Labour Movement and therefore, the Birth Centenary Celebration Committee has decided to organise women workers' meeting on her birth-day i.e. 17 September, 1994. However 17th September is in the midst of Ganesh Festival, and as such it is proposed to have the said

Con'd....2

PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

R.  
File (personal)  
A.B.B.



meeting on Sunday the 25th September, 94 from 2 P.M. to 5 P.M. at Nagpur. The Committee desires that you should grace the function and guide the female workers on their problems and also highlight the general burning problems of women, atrocities and injustice being meted out to them etc.

We, therefore, request you to kindly accept our invitation and remain present in the function on Sunday, the 25th September 94. I may for your information state that Smt. Leelatai Chitale, a noted Social Worker of Nagpur and having close relations with Ruikar family is the Convener of the meeting. Shri A.B. Bardhan will also be present.

Details of the programme will be communicated after receiving your consent.

*With kind Regards*

*Yours Sincerely*

*Malati Ruikar*

( MALATI RUIKAR )  
General Secretary

*Smt. Kamla Singh  
M.P.  
New Delhi*

*Copy with compliments to  
Com. A. B. Bardhan  
New Delhi*

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

675

**RECEIVED**  
 OFFICE 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
 For..... PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932  
 2  
 26 JUL 1994  
 A. I. T. U. C.  
 24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi



R  
 File - Dent  
 A. B. Bardhan

22-7-94

Dear Bhai Baraman,

yesterday only, I posted copies of my letter dt 21-7-94 regarding women's meeting on 25th sept, 94 for your information. Not only for information, but also to get in touch with Pramileela Desai & Kamal Sinha. I am also requesting Com. Geeta Mukherjee, M.P. from Calcutta to grace the function on 25th. I happened to meet her on 14th July at Nagpur. When I called on Com. Sudrajat Gupta, M.P. to pry my reports. I don't have Com. Mukherjee's address at Calcutta and hence I am sending her letter to you with a request to kindly arrange to post her letter or deliver it to her if she happens to be in Delhi. Hope you will do the needful and also make a personal request to her to attend the meeting on 25th sept.

I have received a copy of letter dt 7th July, 94 which Shri P. A. Sangma has addressed to you. I am sure if dignitaries like you and urgent solve the matter, Model Mile success would get justice.

I have written to you that Shri Shanti Patil has agreed to arrange some programme during the Birth Centenary of Ruikarji. He has also requested me to make any specific suggestion, I have in mind. I

PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

think you would be the best person to talk  
to him in the matter. Shri Shanti Patel might  
have perhaps written to you also.

Now, we have to discuss  
Calcutta and Delhi programme, which I  
am sure you are doing. I would also  
write to Shri Chittu Basu, M.P., Shri Sheelbhadra  
Yajee & Shri Vasant Sathe. We have also to  
discuss the issue of postage stamp also.

What more can I write!  
With good wishes & kind regards

Yours sincerely  
Madan Mohan

JIBON ROY  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



G.S.

Date: 5-5-1994

Dear Shri Bardhanji,

Number of right thinking people are making an unique experiment in Durgapur to find a common ground where all social forces could meet and work together on a social cause. They founded an academy, to organise children in grassroot level and trained them in aesthetic culture.

It is an happy experience that all political force and trade unions, irrespective of opinions and affiliations have come forward to support the cause. This has released new forces into social activities and within a short time the venture found a root in the society.

The organisers wish to build a children's complex with auditorium, residential training centre etc. depending mainly on people's initiative. For the present they are organising competitions among children on various fields of performing arts.

The organisation aspires to have you as one of the patrons to their noble initiative and your consent for the same would be a source of moral strength to them.

I would also request you to please give your consent to remain as patron to the organisation 'Academy for Children Culture Durgapur' and also send a message of your good wishes to them to be published in a Souvenir being brought out by the organisation to commemorate the Children Festival which is being organised there on 9th May.

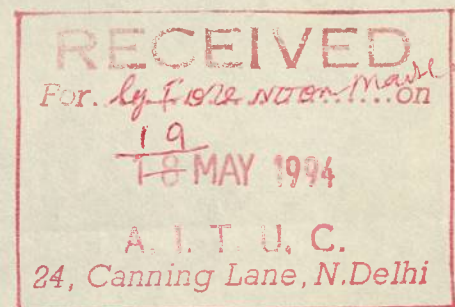
With regards,

Yours Sincerely

*Jibon Roy*

(JIBON ROY)

Shri A.B. Bardhan,  
General Secretary,  
All India Trade Union Congress,  
24 Canning Lane,  
New Delhi - 110 001



## CHILDREN'S' ACADEMY FOR CULTURE - DURGAPUR

Academy of Culture for Children is born at Durgapur Steel Twonship.

The objective is to promote and strengthen humane culture in the society. Children being the makers of the future society, the Academy aims at catching them young albeit its limited capacity, to help unleash and sharpen their creativity in various fields of culture and performing arts, so that they become effective promoters of humane values and culture in the society.

This basic and humble objective will guide the Academy in framing various schemes of its activities. It proposes to involve thousands of children in activities of culture and performing art-through festivals, competition and various other programmes, and at the same time draw a section of those children for training in respective fields in the training centre being developed by the Academy.

The Academy proposes to develop a organisational network to ensure developing talents at unit level in a decentralised form and then draw them gradually for central level training in the Academy which would involve greater number of children covering a wider area and at the same time facilitate screening the best and offer them training facilities in the Academy.

For this purpose the Academy proposes to have a residential training centre, in different branches of art and culture, with a children complex, auditorium and audio-visual unit and other modern equipments.

The Academy will provide composite cultural troupes on different aspects of art and aesthetics in both Bengali and Hindi.

Academy also proposes to establish organic links with similar cultural organisations, training centres and academies in the country and develop a network of cultural exchange throughout the country.

The Academy is being set up to start its activities in the industrial township of Durgapur and proposes to expand its centre in various other parts of the country.

The Academy, even in its present stage of formation has already been able to garner involvement and all kind of support of the widest cross section of the society including all cultural and educational institutions and organisations at Durgapur, the Industries, all national trade unions, including INTUC, CITU, AITUC etc and social organisations.

In view of the response and support being received from different organisations and common people for the Academy, it is expected that the Academy will be able to mobilise necessary resources for materialising the venture.

The Academy sincerely aspires to receive patronage, good wish and advice from the stalwarts in the fields of culture and performing arts and persons of eminence for this noble venture.





Let Hundred  
Flowers Bloom

# **DURGAPUR CHILDREN'S ACADEMY OF CULTURE**

*A Centre of Performing Arts*

**COMMEMORATES**

*Its Activities of Last one Year*

Central Office:  
Shantipath, 'C' Zone  
Durgapur-713205

Zonal Office:  
3/5 Dayananda Road,  
Durgapur-713204

## With Us

### Chief Patrons

Shri M.R.R. Nair, Shri Gopeswar, Dr.  
M.K. Pandhe, Sri A.B. Bardhan, Sri  
Raj Kishor Samantrai.

### Advisors

Padmabhusan Amjad Ali Khan, Pad-  
mabhusan Smt. Sonal Man Singh, Sri  
Aravind Pandey, Vice-Chairman SAIL,  
Sri J. Mehera, Chairman, Rashtriya  
Ispat Nigam, Padmashri Umayalpuram  
K. Sivaraman, Padmashri Palakkad K.V.  
Narayanaswamy, Smt. Suchitra Mitra,  
Dr. Govindan Kutty, Sri V. Balsara,  
Smt. Sumitra Sen, Smt. Mrinal Pandey,  
Sri Goutam Ghosh, Sri Bibhas  
Chakraborty, Sri Satya Bandopadhyay,  
Sri Sailen Manna

### PATRONS

Sri Y.P. Sharma, Managing Director  
Durgapur Steel Plant  
Sri Dilip Mazumdar, MLA  
Sri Purna Malik, MP  
Sri N. Lal, Principal  
R.E. College, Durgapur

Sri A.K. Dube  
General Manager (work), ASP  
Sri Tarun Chatterjee, MLA  
Sri Rathin Roy, Board Member, DNAA  
Sri Ardhendu Dakshi, Jt. Secretary  
HSEU/ Durgapur (CITU)

### OFFICE BEARERS

Smt. Namita Mustafi  
Sri S.S. Panja  
General Manager (P&A), DSP  
Sri Jibon Roy, MP  
Sri Achyut Mukherjee  
General Secretary, HSWU (INTUC)  
Sri Nemai Routh  
Jt. Secretary, SSU (AITUC)  
Sri Ajit Mukherjee  
Vice Chairman, DNAA  
Sri B.D. Moitra  
Sri Harish Chandra Patra  
Principal, Girls' College, Durgapur  
Sri Ahindra Deb  
Principal, Bidhan Ch. Institute, Durgapur  
Sri Manoj Chakraborty

*President*  
*Working President*

*Vice President*

“

“

“

“

“

“

*General Secretary*

## **An Appeal**

A Children's Academy for performing arts, literature & culture was ventured in Durgapur Steel Township an year ago with the objective to promote and encourage creativity amongst children so that they can become effective promoters of human values and culture in the society. It proposes to involve thousands of children in the activities of culture, performing art through Festivals, Competition and various other programmes. At the same time, Academy proposes to organise children at the grass root level and train them in different streams of performing arts and also in physical fitness. For this purpose the Academy proposes to build up a Children's Complex with residential training centre, auditorium, audio-visual unit and other modern equipment and also with a swimming pool. Academy believes it will get all help and co-operation from Governments, Public Enterprises and also Corporate managements. But, it wishes to enshrine people's initiative both in the process of execution of the project and resource mobilisation.

The Academy proposes to develop a organisational network in decentralised form to ensure developing talents at unit level and then draw them gradually for Central level training in the Academy which would involve greater number of Children covering an wider area and at the same time facilitate screening the best, and offer them training facilities in the academy.

Though the Academy has begun its activities in the broader Durgapur industrial townships, it proposes to expand itself in other parts of the country as well in phases.

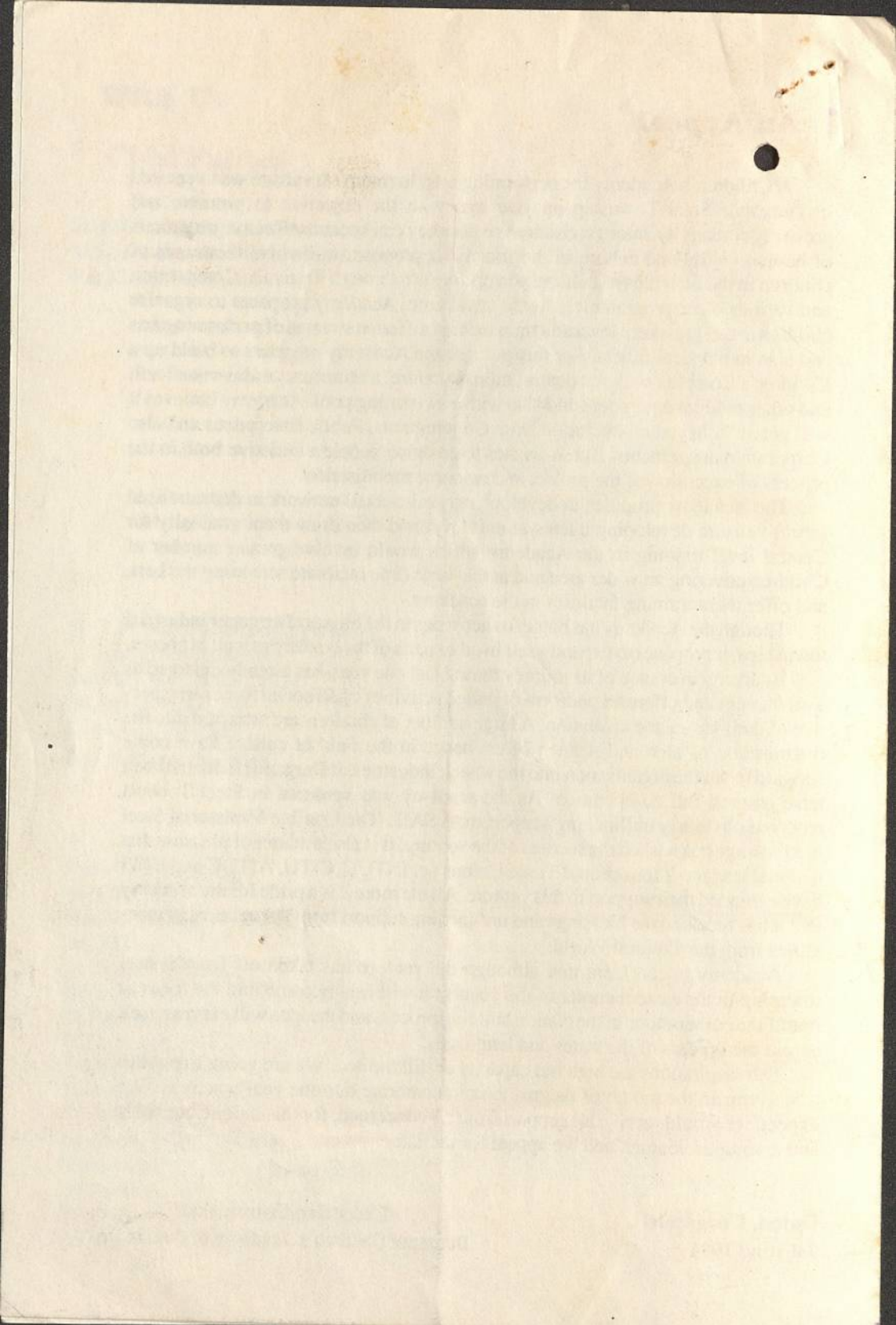
Academy in course of its journey during last one year, has already emerged as a movement and offered a platform of united activities of all social forces irrespective of their views and affiliation. A large number of children are attracted into the organisation of men and women of eminence in the field of culture have come forward to put the organisation into the wheel. Industries of Durgapur Industrial belt have assured full co-operation. As the academy was ventured in Steel Town it received obviously unflinching support from SAIL. The Hon'ble Minister of Steel in a message has wished the success of the venture. It is also a matter of pleasure that national leaders of four central Trade Unions i.e. INTUC, CITU, AITUC and HMS have extended their support to this venture. All the more it is a pride for the academy that it has received the blessings and unflinching support from the eminent personalities from the Cultural World.

Academy is confident that although the venture has taken off from a steel township in the eastern corner of the country it will finally come into the focus as one of the corner-stone in the Nation building process and the idea will express itself across the borders of the states and languages.

Our aspirations are high but capacity is still limited. We are going to publish a Souvenir in the month of August to commemorate our one year's activity. We expect, we would receive all support from all concerned, for this unique but noble and ambitious venture, and we appeal for the same.

Dated, Durgapur  
1st June 1994

Executive Committee  
Durgapur Children's Academy of Culture



Regd. No. 61979 of 1989-90

R  
File - Personal  
ASB

# Joshi-Adhikari Institute of Social Studies West Bengal

Phone : 247-8766

( Registered Under Societies Registration Act, 1961 )

4/3A, Orient Row, Calcutta-700 017

President :

Dr. Nihar Sarkar

General Secretary :

Dr. Satyabrata Dutta

Ref.....

Comrade A. B. Bardhan.

Dear Comrade,

Date...June...6...1994.

Our Institute is organising a Memorial Lecture in  
Bhupesh Gupta, who was your comrade. Shri K.R. Narayana  
Presidnet of India has kindly consented to deliver the  
scheduled to be held in Calcutta in September this year.

We shall bring out a Publication on this ocassion which, apart from  
life and ideals of Bhupesh Gupta will have its focus on the problems and  
prospect of 'Parliamentary Democracy in India'. The publication would  
contain specialised contributions from eminent academicians,  
parlamentarians, social scientists and political leaders. We are quite  
keen to make it a quality production of high order. It will be a bilingual  
publication in English and Bengali.

We shall appreciate if you could contribute on a theme which may  
seem appropriate for the occassion. We have no doubt that your  
contribution will rouse interest to a wide circle of readers.

As the time at our disposal is very short, we shall be grateful if  
you could send your article by the middle of July.

With regards,

Com, A. B. Bardhan  
Ajoy Bhawan  
15, Kotla Marg Road  
New Delhi - 110002

Yours sincerely,  
Nihar Sarkar  
( NIHAR SARKAR )

*Personal file  
ggs*

May 18, 1996,

Com. Ram Prasad,

I am enclosing a complaint from  
Kota. Please look into it and inform me  
what you have done.

With greetings,

YOURS COMRADELY,

(A.B.BARDHAN)

**Joshi-Adhikari Institute of Social Studies  
West Bengal**

( Registered Under Societies Registration Act, 1961 )  
4/3A, Orient Row, Calcutta-700 017

President :

Dr. Nihar Sarkar

General Secretary :

Dr. Satyabrata Dutta

Ref.....

Date...June..6..1994.

*Comrade A. B. Bardhan.*

*Dear Comrade,*

Our Institute is organising a Memorial Lecture in honour of Late Bhupesh Gupta, who was your comrade. Shri K.R. Narayanan, The Vice President of India has kindly consented to deliver the Lecture. It is scheduled to be held in Calcutta in September this year.

We shall bring out a Publication on this occasion which, apart from life and ideals of Bhupesh Gupta will have its focus on the problems and prospect of 'Parliamentary Democracy in India'. The Publication would contain specialised contributions from eminent academicians, parliamentarians, social scientists and political leaders. We are quite keen to make it a quality production of high order. It will be a bilingual publication in English and Bengali.

We shall appreciate if you could contribute on a theme which may seem appropriate for the occasion. We have no doubt that your contribution will rouse interest to a wide circle of readers.

As the time at our disposal is very short, we shall be grateful if you could send your article by the middle of July.

With regards,

*Com, A. B. Bardhan  
Ajoy Bhawan  
15, Kotla Marg Road  
New Delhi - 110002*

Yours sincerely,

*Nihar Sarkar*

( NIHAR SARKAR )



B.V.L.N. Rao  
Dy. Adviser(LEM)

योजना आयोग

भारत

नई दिल्ली-110001

**PLANNING COMMISSION  
INDIA**

**NEW DELHI-110001**

Dated the 25th July 1994

Dear Shri Bardhan,

Please recall that when you attended the First Meeting of the Standing Advisory Committee on Labour in Planning Commission on 15 July 1994, you had presented your claim for travelling expenses etc. While filling in the details in these claims, you appeared to have inadvertently not signed the claim forms giving details of the journey performed by you in connection with the meeting. I am, therefore, enclosing the claim forms and request you to please send it back to me by name after signing the same so that the claim can be processed expeditiously.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

( B.V.L.N. Rao )

Shri A.B. Bardhan,  
General Secretary,  
All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC),  
Sadar,  
Nagpur - 440 001.

*File  
(Personal)  
A.B.R.*

*GS*



Or. S.

10-8-1994

Dear Dr. Satyabrata Dutta,

I am sorry I missed your letter dated June 6, 1994, and came across it only to-day.

I think now it is too late to invite an article on the subject.

Please excuse me for the lapse.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

ABB

Dr. Satyabrata Dutta,  
Joshi Adhikari Institute of  
Social Studies,  
4/3A, Orient Row,  
CALCUTTA- 700017

Personal File  
→  
ABB

GS

10-8-1994

Dear Shri Rama,

Thank you for your letter of August 5, 1994 and the cheque for Rs. 2000/-.

The money will be utilised for similar purposes.

Personal File  
A.B.B.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

A.B.B.

( A. B. Bardhan )

Shri N.N.Rama,  
128C, Plot C,  
Siddhartha Extension,  
New Delhi- 110003

—

# Joshi-Adhikari Institute Of Social Studies West Bengal

( Registered Under Societies Registration Act, 1961 )

4/3A, Orient Row, Calcutta-700 017

Ref. 4/2/90/130

Date 16/8/94

Com. A.B. Bardhan.  
All India Trade Union Congress,  
24, Canning Lane,  
New Delhi - 110 001.

RECEIVED

1994

Dear Com. Bardhan,

A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane N. Delhi

Thank you for your letter dated 10.8.94.  
There has been a change in our scheduled.  
The Vice-President Shri K.R. Narayanan will  
now deliver the Bhupesh Gupta Memorial  
Lecture in December, 1994, when we shall  
release the memorial volume. You may  
now send your article by the middle of  
October, 1994.

Please do write.

With greetings,

( Satyabrata Dutta )  
General Secretary

Copy to-

Com. A.B. Bardhan  
Sadar, Nagpur - 440 001.

Personal file  
2/85

दिनांक 25-6-1996

प्रिय कामरेड रामदास पराते,

आपका पत्र मिला । पार्टी और जन संगठनों को मजबूत करना आवश्यक है । इसमें सब नये और पुराने साथियों को हाथ बटाना होगा । इसमें धर्म और आपसी भेद-जोत की जरूरत है । परन्तु मैं सुनता हूँ कि आप पार्टी से बाहर हो । यह ठीक नहीं, "चापलूस" होना ठीक नहीं परन्तु अपने मन का हो करना और दूरी होना भी ठीक नहीं ।

सुभकामनाएँ,

आपका,

ए.बी.बर्धन

॥ ए.बी.बर्धन ॥

महासचिव ॥रटक॥

o/c  
(personal)

काठ रामदास पराते  
कामबार नगर, " बंगलादेश"  
नागपुर-2

-----

Celentia, August 14

File  
(personal)  
A 1305 GS

Dear Com. Sandham,

I leave on the 16th for a long trip to Bangalore + Kerala, so I am just taking the opportunity to thank you for your letter of July 22 and to say that I do hope you will find the time to try to do something about / with the experiment we had tried, the PCAEF. And that I look forward to hearing from you in this regard.

Please however do not expect a reply from me till late September.

My next visit to Birnie is likely to be only in October - late. If you are in Celentia in late

September / early October,  
do let me know.

With greetings,

● *Gison*  
Jan Sen

RECEIVED

For .....

18 AUG 1994

A. I. T. U. C.

24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi.

पोस्ट कार्ड POST CARD

G.S.



Com. A B Bardham

General Secretary

AITUC

24 Canning Lane  
NEW DELHI

पिन PIN

1	1	0	0	0	1
---	---	---	---	---	---

31-5-

File Personal  
A.B.B.

13-8-1994

प्रिय कामरेड नीचकेत मोरे,

आपका पत्र मिला । तारीख 19 अगस्त को मैं 4-30 बजे  
के प्लानेट से कलकत्ता जा रहा हूँ ।

इसलिए मेरा सुझाव यह है कि आप कार्यक्रम 2-30 बजे  
रहें, मैं ठोक 3 बजे पहुँचूंगा । और 3-30 बजे वहाँ से रवाना होकर 3-45 को  
हवाई-अड्डे पहुँच जाऊंगा ।

शुभकामनाएँ,

आपका,

ए.बी. बर्धन

॥ स. बी. बर्धन ॥

श्री नीचकेत मोरे  
एस्ट्रेला बॅटरीज विस्तारत  
धारावी माटुंगा रोड  
माटुंगा लेबर कॉम्प के सामने माटुंगा  
मुंबई - 400009

=====

Personal file  
A 873

95

दिनांक 23-8-1994

आदरणीय कामरेड उद्दल जी,

आपके अवलोनार्थ, कामरेड ओमदत का यह पत्र भेज रहा हूँ। मेरा इससे कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। परन्तु एक प्रोत मुझे भेजी गई, जो मैं आपके पास भेजे दे रहा हूँ।

कामरेड वेद प्रकाश वेद की सफाई पर मैं शामली के निकट एक गोष्ठी में गया था। जिला मंत्री ने बाद में यह आपोत उठाई कि उन्हें पूछे बगैर मैंने यह कार्यक्रम क्यों मजूर किया मैंने सिर्फ इतना ही उतर दिया कि वेद, जो कि राज्य-स्तर के सदस्य हैं उन्हीं के कहने पर मैं गया हूँ। अतः उन्हें यह कार्यक्रम मालूम होगा ही।

दिल्ली से भी मैं वेद जी के साथ ही गया, और शाम को लौट आया इस पर आगे की कारवाई क्या हो, सो आप ही तय कीजिए।

शुभकामनाएँ,

आपका  
ए.बी. बर्धन  
॥ ए. बी. बर्धन ॥

कामरेड उद्दल ॥ सेक्रेटरी ॥  
भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी  
केसर बाग, लखनऊ  
॥ उत्तर प्रदेश ॥



V. P. Singh

G.S.  
1, Teemurli Marg,  
New Delhi 110011

R.  
Filed (Personal)  
A.S.B.  
Dear Shri Bardhan J.,

Our society is passing through a critical phase; significantly the debate generated is no longer confined to the educated. The common man is articulating and expressing his opinion through available means on questions which concern his future : what is the meaning of national development ? what is the nature of the relationship between social justice and economic progress ? what kind of relations should prevail between the centre and the states?

Despite the inner turmoil, there are some who observe only the surface, and remain insensitive to the subterranean restlessness. The greatest challenge, at the moment, is to place this restlessness arising out of a deep desire for change in a holistic perspective. And to orient it towards meaningful act. This is the challenge for politics. Such politics is geared towards transforming society, not towards the capture of power alone.

We can not overlook, in this context, the crucial role of the youth. Nor can we ignore the betrayal of youth and its idealism. Lately, there has been no attempt to open a national level dialogue with the youth. This has resulted in cynicism amongst the young people of our country.

I strongly feel that the energy of youth must be channelised for social change and cultural renaissance - a task much wider in scope than the politics of sheer power. A dialogue between likeminded persons is a must, if this task is to be performed properly. The intention is to focus attention on the youth, identify their problems and evolve an agenda and strategy whereby youth, as an issue, can be placed on the national agenda.

V. P. Singh

1, Teenmurti Marg,  
New Delhi 110011

For this purpose a dialogue has been organised on 7<sup>th</sup> September, 1994, AT PARLIAMENT ANNEXE, TALKATORA ROAD NEW DELHI, AT 10 AM.

We hope that an agenda for action will evolve and we will succeed in identifying the issues that need to be taken up on national scale. To make the discussion meaningful and action oriented, I therefore, suggest the following points to begin with :

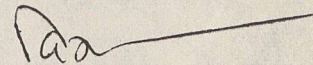
1. Evolution of a national youth policy.
2. Right to education to be implemented in phased manner by redistribution of national resources.
3. Elitism in education.
4. Statutory recognition to National Youth Council.

This will be only for beginning - other things are bound to follow in the discussion.

You are an erudite and active person, and also sensitive to social concerns. I request you to join us in initiating a dialogue with youth.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,



(VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH)

N.B.:- Written papers on the subject will be very welcome.

भारतीय लोक प्रशासन संस्थान  
क्षेत्रीय शाखा दिल्ली

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION  
DELHI REGIONAL BRANCH

Room No. 76, I.I.P.A., I.P. Estate,  
New Delhi-110002  
Phone : 3317309/291



615

*File (Personal) A/10/15*  
Executive Committee.

Chairman  
T. N. Chaturvedi

Vice-Chairman  
Prof. S. P. Verma

Secretary  
S. C. Vajpeyi

Treasurer  
D. K. Kapila

Members  
Dr. (Mrs.) Noorjahan Bava  
U. C. Agarwal  
B. C. Mathur  
B. N. Som  
Prof. O. P. Minocha  
Vijay Kumar  
Inderjeet Kaur  
G. L. Nosaria  
N. K. Shinghal  
Krishan Kumar  
H. R. Bangia  
J. S. Bali  
Dr. T. N. Rastogi  
Prof. R. N. Thakur  
Dr. M. M. Pant

Date.....

25th August, 1994

Dear Shri Bardhan,

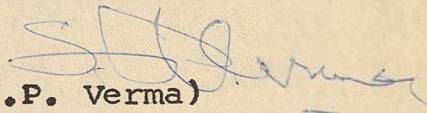
The Delhi Chapter of the Indian Institute of Public Administration is holding Seminars, Workshops, discussions etc. with a view to highlight the administrative problems and elicit possible solutions. In these discussions, we have been inviting experts and other knowledgeable persons in the relevant fields with the object of bringing out various aspects of the issue in focus.

2. In line with this, we are organising a seminar on 'Electoral Reforms' on 1st October, 1994 at 10.00 AM in the Conference Hall of I.I.P.A. In order to have a purposeful discussion, we propose to invite representatives of political parties, media government officials and other experts and academics to join the discussion.

3. We shall be highly honoured if you will agree to spare some time from your busy schedule and participate in the discussion. A line in confirmation may please be sent to the undersigned or to the Hon Secretary Shri S.C. Vajpeyi (Tele No. 221 2948)

With best regards,

Yours Sincerely,

  
(S.P. Verma)  
Vice Chairman

Shri A.B. Bardhan,  
Communist Party of India,  
Ajoy Bhavan,  
Kotla Marg,  
New Delhi-110002.

Regd. No. 61979 of 1989-90

Phone : 247-8766

# Joshi-Adhikari Institute Of Social Studies

West Bengal

( Registered Under Societies Registration Act, 1961 )

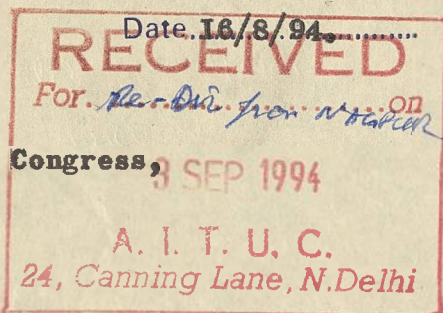
4/3A, Orient Row, Calcutta-700 017

Ref. M/2/90/130

F.C. Personal

ASAS

Com. A.B. Bardhan.  
All India Trade Union Congress,  
24, Canning Lane,  
New Delhi - 110 001.



Dear Com. Bardhan,

Thank you for your letter dated 10.8.94.  
There has been a change in our scheduled.  
The Vice-President Shri K.R. Narayanan will  
now deliver the Bhupesh Gupta Memorial  
Lecture in December, 1994, when we shall  
release the memorial volume. You may  
now send your article by the middle of  
October, 1994.

Please do write.

With greetings,

*Satya*  
( Satyabrata Dutta )  
General Secretary

Copy to-

Com. A.B. Bardhan  
Sadar, Nagpur - 440 001.

65

दिनांक 16-9-1994

आदरणीय जेरे,

आपका कृपा-पत्र मिला धन्यवाद ।  
आपने कहा हुआ कार्य मैं यथाशक्ति निभाऊँगा ।  
आपकी मदद और शुभकामनाएँ चाहिए ।

कभी उधर आने पर मुलाकात होगी ।

शुभकामनाएँ,

न।

आपका,

ए.बी.बर्धन

॥ ए.बी.बर्धन ॥

जनरल सेक्रेटरी

श्री अरूण कुमार जेरे  
पत्रकार,  
रंगनाथ नगर, पो.-वणो  
जिला- यवतमाल

॥ महाराष्ट्र ॥

=====

# NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST CORRUPTION

**CHIMAN BHAI MEHTA, M.P.**  
Former Union Minister of Human Resource

Ref. :

Date : 08.09.94

NATIONAL CONVENOR DEAR *A.B. Bardhan,*

Sub: Executive Committee meeting of NCAC.

The Executive Committee meeting of National Campaign Against Corruption is scheduled to be held on 25th September, 1994 at Chairman Hall in Vitthalbhai Patel House.

The Executive had met last on 2nd July, 1994. Since then NCAC has spread to various parts of India and the activities of NCAC is making its impact. State units are working in Delhi, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and firm contacts have been established in Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. Impressive Public Meetings have been held in Delhi, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Ludhiana, Bhopal and at various places mainly under the banner of NCAC. Two meetings were held in the colleges of Delhi. Media had gradually started responding to our activities.

It is noteworthy that due to continuous pressures from outside and inside Rajya Sabha discussed the issue of Lok Pal for 2½ hours for the first time during last three years in the Monsoon Session and Govt. side committed on the floor of the House that they are committed to the establishment of the authority of Lok Pal and the Prime Minister to be brought under the jurisdiction of Lok Pal. Now BJP has picked up the issue of the enactment of Lok Pal as the major election issue.

Friends, these are significant achievements made possible due to widespread co-operation and active participation of our executive members, intellectuals and activists.

Now we want to move to a higher stage of our movement and go for organising rallies and big maidan meetings.

We have received a proposal that on first day of the winter session of the Parliament NCAC should hold a massive rally in front of Parliament. To discuss these proposals and other relevant issues NCAC Executive Committee meeting is scheduled as under:-

Date: 25th September, 1994

Time: 3:30 PM

Venue: Chairman Hall, Vitthal Bhai Patel House, Rafi Marg, New Delhi.

You are invited to participate in the above meeting.

With greetings,

Yours sincerely,

*Chiman Mehta*

Please note: Shri Nikhil Chakarvarty, well known journalist has consented to address NCAC executive as the Chief Guest and Shri K.K. (Chimanbhai Mehta) Gautam, well known police officer, now suspend for filing FIR against higher officer at Bareilly U.P. Who demanded bribe from Shri Gautam has consented to address NCAC executive. Convenor NCAC.

) 011

We are trying to enlist other well known public figures to speak at our meeting scheduled on 25th September, 1994.

R.  
Filed (Personal)  
A.P.P.

Dr. M. G. BOKARE

Former Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University Nagpur  
Advisor to the Planning Commission, Govt. of India



G.S.  
Ph. : 534 686

Abhyankar Nagar,  
NAGPUR-440 010.  
(INDIA)

Dear Mr. Basu.

I read your anguish regarding trade unions and foreign companies. your press conference was speaking! CITU, also holds the same, it was reported in the same press report

Some time last year, I had communicated my view to Dr. Panthe of CITU. He was a bit unhappy. Now he seems to follow your views. It should be welcome.

Recently, I could get all relevant references to "right to know". Justice Sarkaria has written an essay in this regard. His subject is different, but the juridical decisions of Supreme Court can be used fruitfully for "right to know cost of production of industrial commodities". His essay also brings the bearing of human right declaration of U.N.O. This subject should be systematically studied to herald a national movement of trade unions in India. Your Supreme states in AITUC, is especially beneficial in this movement.

I have been studying free convertibility of rupee, declared by Dr Manmohan Singh. in the realm of economic reform. He is inviting a crisis. The country like India could hardly benefit in the theory of floating exchange rate, which is manifested in free convertibility of rupee. "Dirty" float is its weakest spot in theory. I am not forecasting like an astronomer, but the day of crisis is a certainty in near future.

Rest ok.

with regards  
yours sincerely  
M.G. Bokare  
14-9-94

अखिल - भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

CS

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : A. B. BARDHAN  
Dy. General Secretary : B. D. JOSHI

दिनांक 29-9-1994

प्रिय कामरेड जितेन्द्र, राव्हा, मुखतार, तनवीर,

आपके पत्रपत्रक से मालूम हुआ कि आपने " इष्टा " स्वर्ण जयंती की तारीख नवम्बर के तीसरे हफ्ते में रखी है।

विश्व मजदूर कांग्रेस की तारीखें ता. 22से 26 नवम्बर हैं। अतः आपने जिन तारीखों को निर्धारित किया है, उनमें ट्रेड यूनियन नेताओं को हिस्सा लेना सम्भव नहीं होगा।

" इष्टा " की स्थापना में "आष्टक" का हाथ रहा है। का. डगि और एन.एम. जोशी इन्में प्रमुख रहे हैं।

अतः मेरी सुचना है कि दिसम्बर के पहले हफ्ते में तारीख निर्धारित हो, तारीख 1 से लेकर 7 के बीच हो। आज्ञा है आप इस पर गौर करेंगे।

शुभकामनाएँ,

आपका,  
ए.बी.बार्धन  
जनरल सेक्रेटरी [स्टक]

प/क



95

दिनांक 29-9-1994.

आदरणीय नाना श्यामकुले,  
नारायणराव मेश्राम,

आमदार उपेन्द्र शोडेजी का नागरिक सत्कार होने जा रहा है, यह जानकर बहुत प्रशन्नता हुई। खेद है कि मुझे 25 सितम्बर को आपका पत्र मिला। वरना मैं अपना कार्यक्रम ऐसा तय करता कि जिससे तारीख को उपस्थित रह सकता। अस्तु।

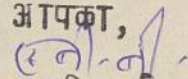
उपेन्द्र जी अनेक वर्षों से शोषित गरीब और दलित लोगों के बीच काम कीते रहे है उनकी लोप्रीयता से हम भली-भाँति परिचित है। हर आन्दोलन में उन्होंने उत्साह के साथ भाग लिया है, महात्मा जोतिबा फेले डा. बाबा-साहेब अम्बेडकर के विचारों को उन्होंने आत्मसात किया है, और अपने काम में उन विचारों को चोरतार्थ किया है।

नई पीढ़ी के कार्यकर्ताओं में मैं उन्हें अग्रगण्य समझता हूँ। नागपुर का एक भूषण समझता हूँ।

उनके दीर्घायु और खा की कामना करता हूँ।

शुभकामनाएँ,

श्री श्यामकुले  
उपेन्द्र शोडे सत्कार समिती  
आमदार निवास, स्म नं. 215  
नागपुर .

आपका,  
  
॥ स.बी. बघिन ॥

TELEGRAM

KISHORE PAWAR  
SANTRAM PATIL AMRUTMAHOTSAV COMMITTEE  
KOLHAPUR

WARM FELICITATION TO SANTRAM 75TH  
BIRTH ANNIVERSARY DEEPLY REGRET  
INABILITY ATTEND ASK FORGIVENESS

A. B. BARDHAN

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932

RECEIVED

For ..... 025-10-94

Respected yajeeji - OCT 1994

A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi

You are already in the know of the date of concluding function of Rambhau Ruikar Birth Centenary Celebrations. The date is 8th January, 1995.

Under your guidance and advice, uptil now, all the functions had good response and were accepted by the people. We had decided, as you know, that all efforts would be made by us for issue of a Commomera-tive Postal Stamp by the Central Government. We learn that the matter of issuance of the said Stamp is under active consideration of the concerned Committee which takes decision relating to such matters.

As the date is fast approaching near, we have to follow-up the matter vigourously. This Commomera-tive Stamp would be a crown of the Centenary Celebrations.

We not only hope but are confident that through your good offices the purpose could be achieved and as such I humbly request you to take up the matter with the concerned Authorities and the concerned Committee for expeditious finalisation.

Taking initiative Shri S.W. Dhabe called me for discussing the matter relating to issuance of the Stamp. As per his suggestion, I would be reaching Delhi on 21st October, 94 and Shri Dhabeji would be reaching there on 25th October, 94. At Delhi, I would be first contacting you personally and later on would meet you along with Shri Dhabeji.

Con'd...2

PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932

2

5-10-94

.. 2 ..

Kindly excuse me for the inconveniences and the troubles that may be caused to you.

With kind Regards

Yours Truly  
Malati Rukar

( MALATI RUIKAR )

PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

Shri Sheelbhadra Yajee  
President,  
All India Freedom  
Fighters' Organisation,  
NEW DELHI.

copy with compliments to

Com. A. B. Bardhan, New Delhi

I would contact you in Delhi

Malati

# ROURKELA STEEL MAZDOOR UNION

( REGISTRATION No. 60 / RKL )

( AFFILIATED TO A.I.T.U.C. )

OFFICE : QRS. NO. A/145, SECTOR - 19  
ROURKELA - 769005

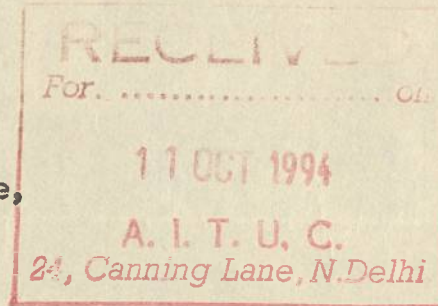
R.  
File - A.B.B.

GS

Ref, No. RSMU/AC/94

To: Com. A.B. Bardhan,  
General Secretary,  
AITUC, 24, Canning Lane,  
New- Delhi-1.

Dear Comrade,



Date 3.10.94

Kindly refer to your letter dated 17th September, '94. In this connection this is to inform you that we are holding the Annual Conference of our Union on 17th & 18th of Oct. 1994. The delegates' Session on 17th October, '94 will start from 5.30 p.m. and will continue upto 8.30 p.m. on that evening, again on 18th October, '94 it will start by 8.30 A.M. and will conclude by 2.p.m.

We would request you to be kind to grace this occasion by your esteemed presence. We would also request you to let us know your detailed programme in this regard so that arrangement be made accordingly.

With greetings.

Yours comradely,

*B. Indwar.*

(B. Indwar.)

General Secretary.  
Rourkela Steel Mazdoor Union.  
ROURKELA.

For : information of:

Com. A.B. Bardhan

General Secy. AITUC

Com. Gaya Singh

Com. D. K. Krishna Panda

File  
A.B.S. (Personal File)

To

Dr M K PANDAY ;  
General Secretary/CITU .  
New Delhi-110 001 .

RECEIVED  
For .....on  
11 OCT 1994  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi.

GS

Dear Comrade

On 29/9/94 All India strike call given by Mass organisation of left parties & other progress; patrioters are partial success. But nationwide it is no effect. The workers and employees are loose one day payment. But Government side, no little bit reaction. Once GATT agreement was signed by Central Govt. what will do the strike? Because the working class is so less than the Indian Population. Every year Deepavali and other religious festival are coming like so every year our trade unions are called a nationwide strike. What is the reaction of the Govt. after the strike?. Still on date Indian Railway did not participate in any call India strike. Due to frequent strike, Left unions strengths are reduced, on the other hand INTUC or BMS strength is increased. GATT agreement is a anti national anti people anti working class. It is a anti patriotic agreement. But it should be changed by political movement only. Instead of strike, we should collect large amount from the workers and make a huge fund with joint account for educating rural mass through continous campaign. Again all the political parties i.e. is Left and demacratic force should form a common political plat form and fight against GATT agreement. Don't try again and again for strike to loose the money. It it so, the workers will reject the strike call and joint the hands with strike breakers. Strike should be a final weapon to a chive the aim of the working class. We should not give call without Railway.

Our Bengal Govt. Industrial policy is declare in sep 23 assembly session ie. It had identified thrust areas for private sector, For Foreign technology and investiment with mutuly advangaceous basis. Hindu dt.4-10-94 Editorium.

Com Ramani Suroget CPI(M) General Secretary statement on 4/10/94 Hindu that His party believed that the private sector had a vital role to play in the over all development of the country and it was not opposed to even inviting multinational into the country.

Our great China is adopted the same line in their country. Those who have faith maxiam calling multinational directly from one country to other country, then what about capatilist party like Cong(I). What rights we have to criticise the Cong(I) party? as antinational.

So comrade, wait for some years without strike, but we should make a strong campaign like rallies. Street drama; notice, wall post, Dharna, hunger strike, and finite strike by leaders and sick industry workers & political parties mass movement. The final is strike with all the workers especially Railways (WITH)

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

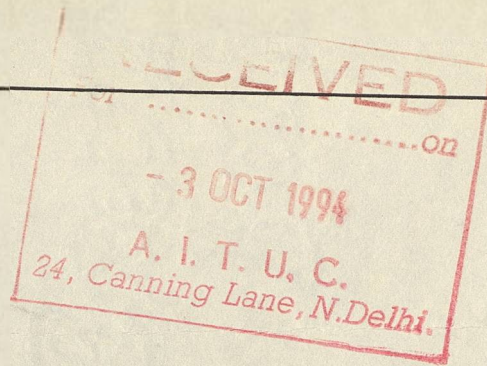
(S.RAMASAMY)

Cc: Com A.B.Bhardan  
General Secretary/AITUC  
New Delhi-110 001

R  
File - A.B.M.  
(Personal)

G.S.

NANDITA HAKSAR  
ADVOCATE SUPREME COURT



Bangalore  
Sept 28, 94.

Dear Com. Bardhan,

I am sure you got my earlier letter. Subsequently, I phoned Mr Pandhe and he said he would be willing to come for a meeting on October 5 or 6. Then I phoned you but you were away. Subsequently I got a letter from Mr Pandhe complaining that I had not bothered to contact CITU or their Union in Bangalore. I am enclosing my reply to him. It is self-explanatory.

Who am I to ask senior trade union leaders to sit together and discuss common strategies so that the process of disinvestment can be at least slowed down in our country's first electronics factory?

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely  
Nandita

NANDITA HAKSAR  
ADVOCATE SUPREME COURT

Bangalore  
Sept 28, 1994

Dear Comrade Pandhe,

I have received your letter of September 20, 1994 a few days ago. I must confess that the contents make me very sad and also very angry. You have accused me of playing narrow, petty politics in a way that I can never imagine doing. I wonder why you should have done this to someone you do not know and who is not a part of any of the parties.

Even before we organised the seminar we had gone to see you to discuss the structure. I also contacted Com Prakash Karat whom I have known and respected from my student days. He suggested I contact several persons including of course yourself. I personally contacted each of the persons he suggested and I was really glad that everyone responded with warmth and in fact Mr Deben Roy of CITU came and spoke apart from other members of CITU.

As for "excluding a major union in BEL Bangalore" I presume you mean the first negotiating union, the BE Workers Union. An invitation was extended to Mr Suryanarayan Das but he was unable to attend. However, Shri Ramesh the Secretary and Shri Vibhootimath U.C., <sup>the Vice President</sup> were not only present but Shri Vibhutiprath spoke at length. Although neither of them were speakers I personally made <sup>a</sup> special effort to get their papers circulated by going outside Teen Muti and getting their papers xeroxed. This facility was not extended to any other non-speaker. I am enclosing their papers for your reference.

I am sending copies of this letter to Com Prakash Karat, Com Balanandan and Com Bardhan because I do not want to be misrepresented. I also do not see much point in my taking initiative in getting a meeting

58, MUNIRKA ENCLAVE, NEW DELHI - 110067 Phone No. 669253  
6TH BLOCK, 5TH FLOOR, BEL LAYOUT, VIDYARANYA PURA  
D. JALAHALLI BANGALORE 560013



-2-

in Delhi when ~~Y~~ we have not a basis for a trust.

In future if there is any time you would like to discuss anything in which I can be of help, mainly legal strategies I would do so gladly. I am not seeking clients or cases but I would like to be able to contribute something in the struggle against the recolonisation of my country, my people and the destruction of my country's national assets.

I am also writing to request you to contribute an article on any aspect of the problem of globalisation and options before the trade union politics. Seminar has offered to bring out a special issue on the subject as a follow up of the seminar which many found to be useful. I would personally like an article on your experience with IISCO but you can decide what ever aspect you would like to write on. Please let me know if we can expect the article or send it directly to Tejbit Singh, the editor of Seminar at Delhi.

If you wish I can meet you in Bangalore or even in Delhi after October 4th when I will be at: 6886149.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Nandita Haksar

Nandita Haksar

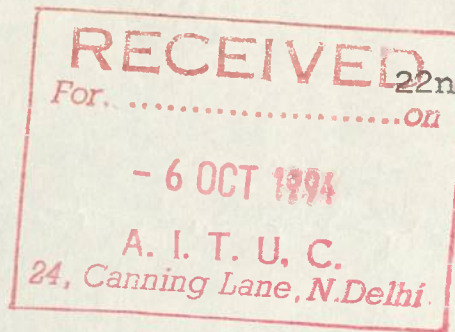
# MANIBEN KARA INSTITUTE

Sealord Building, 167, P. D'Mello Road, Bombay-400 001/76. India ● TEL. : 261 21 85, 262 23 88  
( SPONSORED BY HIND MAZDOOR SABHA )  
Society Regn No. Bom./ 381 / 83 / GBBSO

Director : VASANT GUPTA

Ref. No. 126/94

Shri A.B. Bardhan,  
General Secretary,  
A.I.T.U.C.,  
24, Canning Lane,  
NEW DELHI-110 001.



22nd September, 1994

Dear Bro. Bardhanji,

When I met you in Delhi sometime back, you enquired whether the recording memoirs of trade union leaders is still on. You also said that you have written down your memoirs in part. That time only I had requested you to finish your write up and send to us at your earliest. We are running against time, but we can always wait for special persons like you. So please write down the full memoirs and send it to us at your earliest preferably by 15th October 1994.

Thanking you and

With regards,

Yours sincerely,



Vasant Gupta  
Director

R.  
File - A.B.B.

65

7th October, 1994,

Dear Guptaji,

Thanks for your kind letter.

I will try to complete and send it, though it may be by the end of October, rather than 15th October,

With regards,

o/c

Yours sincerely,

ABA

(A. B. BARDHAN)

Shri Vasant Gupte,  
Director,  
Maniben Kara Institute,  
Sealord Building,  
167, P.D'Mello Road,  
BOMBAY-400001.

RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

6.5

RECEIVED  
For. ....on  
- 6 OCT 1994  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane N. Delhi.

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932

2

2-10-94

File-1975



PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

Dear Bhai Bardhan,

It was nice of you  
to come to Nagpur  
that you specifically  
on 25th September for Women's  
Women's Convention. I was sure that  
you would keep up your promise.  
The function got very wide publicity  
I am sending herewith newspaper  
cutting of Indian Express of 26-9-94  
wherein your photo along with Mrs. Sunita  
& Shreemant Lalaji Patil has appeared.  
It is a very nice photo.

The 7th October Textile  
Convention is likely to be postponed.  
Shri Vasant Sathe was in Nagpur from  
28th to 30th Sept-94. He unveiled the  
photograph of Ruiceji on 29th Sept  
in the High Court Bce Association.  
I could not talk to about  
Delhi function or the communication  
steps as he was too busy, you

are the only person who can take  
initiative is regards Delhi programme -  
I am thinking of coming to Delhi  
and I will plan it in consultation  
with Dheeraj. I may also visit Bombay.

Rest o.k.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,  
Indrajit.

R/O (Personal)  
A.B.

MS

श्रीमक विद्यापीठ, नागपूर.

नियामक मंडळाच्या कार्यकारीच्या  
अशासकीय सदस्यांच्या मुदतवाढीबाबत.

महाराष्ट्र शासन

शालेय शिक्षण विभाग,

शासन निर्णय, क्र. श्रविपी २७९४/१११०/[३६७२]/सांश-६,  
मंत्रालय विस्तार भवन, मुंबई-४०० ०३२.

दिनांक:- ७ ऑक्टोबर, १९९४.

- वावावे- १] शासन निर्णय, उद्योग व कामगार विभाग क्र. डब्ल्यूईएस १०६५/  
१३५११५/लॅब-३, दिनांक ६.२.१९६७.
- २] शासन निर्णय, शिक्षण व सेवायोजन विभाग क्र. एसईएस २७८२/  
१६०६१४/[६७०]सांश-६, दिनांक २१.८.१९९०.
- ३] शासन निर्णय, शिक्षण व सेवायोजन विभाग, क्र. एसईएस २७८२/  
१६०६१४/[६७०]सांश-६, दि. २७.११.१९९०.
- ४] संचालक, श्रीमक विद्यापीठ, नागपूर यांचे पत्र क्र. संचा/अ/नि.मं/  
श्रविना ६७८/१९९४, दिनांक ५.९.१९९४.

शासन निर्णय- श्रीमक विद्यापीठाच्या नियामक मंडळाच्या कार्यकारीच्या सदस्यांची  
नेमणूक शासन निर्णय, शिक्षण व सेवायोजन विभाग क्र. एसईएस २७८२/१६०६१४[६७०]  
सांश-६, दिनांक २१.८.१९९० अन्वये तीन वर्षांच्या कालावधीकरिता करण्यात  
आली होती. हा कालावधी दिनांक २०.८.१९९४ रोजी संपलेला आहे.  
श्रीमक विद्यापीठ, नागपूर या कार्यालयाचे प्रशासकीय महत्वाचे निर्णय घ्यावयाचे  
असल्यामुळे सदर कार्यकारीच्या अशासकीय सदस्यांच्या नेमणुकीच्या मुदतवाढीचा  
प्रश्न शासनाच्या विवाराधीन होता.

२. श्रीमक विद्यापीठ, नागपूरच्या नियामक मंडळाच्या अशासकीय सदस्यांना  
नियामक मंडळाची पुढील पुनर्रचना होईपर्यन्तच्या कालावधीसाठी [मात्र हा  
कालावधी ३ वर्षांपेक्षा अधिक होऊ नये] मुदत वाढ देण्यास या शासन निर्णयान्वये  
शासनाने मंजूरी दिली आहे. श्री. नरेंद्र देवघरे, अशासकीय सदस्य हे सन १९९३-९४  
मध्ये निधन झाल्यामुळे सदर कार्यकारीमधून त्यांचे नांव वगळण्यात यावे. इतर  
अशासकीय सदस्यांची यादी खालीलप्रमाणे आहे.

- १] डॉ. सौ. रजनी राय,  
सामाजिक कार्यकर्त्या,  
हामदासपेठ, नागपूर

- २] श्री. नरेंद्र सोनकुसळे,,  
सामाजिक कार्यकर्ते, मु.पो. खापा,  
ता. सावनेर, जि. नागपूर.
- ३] मा. खासदार श्री. विलास मुत्तेमवार,  
दैनिक जनवाद, विजयानंद हौसिंग सोसायटी,  
घाट रोड, नागपूर.
- ४] श्री. सुरेश शर्मा,  
फार्मास्ट्युटिकल्स, वैद्यनाथ कंपनी, नागपूर.
- ५] श्री. ए. बी. बर्धन,  
कामगारांचे प्रतिनिधी, अध्यक्ष,  
ऑल इंडिया ट्रेड युनियन काँग्रेस,  
गांधी चौक, सदर, नागपूर.
- ६] श्रीमती वित्रलेखादेवी भोंसले,  
समाज आणि कामगारांचे शिक्षण या क्षेत्रात  
स्वारस्य असलेल्या, ज्युनियर भोसला पॅलेस, महाल, नागपूर.

३. उपरोक्त नियामक मंडळाच्या अग्रसकीय सदस्याचा प्रवास भत्ता व दैनिक भत्ता यावरील खर्च २२०२ सर्वसाधारण शिक्षण-०४-प्रौढ शिक्षण-१०३[एक][ए] ग्रामीण कार्यक्रमात्मक साक्षरता कार्यक्रम [केंद्र पुरस्कृत योजना] [२२०२०२१७] मागणी क्र.ई-२ या लेखा शिक्षाखाली खर्ची दाखवून सदर शिक्षाखालील मंजूर अर्धसंकल्पीय तरतूदीतून भागविण्यात यावा.

४. हा शासन निर्णय, वित्त विभागाच्या प. क्र. ६८०/१४/व्यय-५-अ, दिनांक २७.१२.१९९४ च्या अनौपचारिक संदर्भान्वये मिळोलेल्या सहमतीनुसार निर्णयित करण्यात येत आहे.

महाराष्ट्राचे राज्यपाल यांच्या आदेशानुसार व नावाने,

*वृं. पं. पवार*

[ वृं. पं. पवार ]

कार्यासन अधिकारी, महाराष्ट्र शासन

प्रति,  
शिक्षण संचालक, महाराष्ट्र राज्य, पुणे  
शिक्षण संचालक[प्रौढ शिक्षण], महाराष्ट्र राज्य, पुणे  
विभागीय शिक्षण उपसंचालक, नागपूर  
जिल्हा प्रौढशिक्षणाधिकारी, नागपूर.

संचालक, महाराष्ट्र राज्य प्रौढ शिक्षण संस्था, पदमपुरा, रेल्वे स्टेशन रोड,  
औरंगाबाद.

संचालक, श्रीमक विद्यापीठ, श्री. वाटणी भवन, प्लॉट नं. ३७  
न्यू कॉटन मार्केट - ले- आउट, नागपूर-१८

उद्योग, उद्योग व कामगार विभाग, मंत्रालय, मुंबई

वित्त विभाग, कार्यासन क्र. व्यय-५-अ/सेवा-५

महालेखापाल, महाराष्ट्र-२ [ लेखा परीक्षा ], नागपूर

महालेखापाल, महाराष्ट्र-२ [ लेखा व अनुज्ञेयता ], नागपूर

मुख्य लेखा परिरक्षक, स्थानिक निधी लेखा, नागपूर

उपमुख्य लेखा परिरक्षक स्थानिक निधी लेखा, नागपूर

जिल्हा कोषागार अधिकारी, नागपूर

सचिव, मनुष्यबळ विकास मंत्रालय, शिक्षण विभाग केंद्र शासन नवी दिल्ली

सर्व संबंधित अशासकीय सदस्य [ संचालक, श्रीमक विद्यापीठ यांचे मार्फत ]

निवड नस्ती तारीख-६.



File (Personal)  
A.B.S.

ફોન : ૩૨૦૫૦૭

G.S.

Phone : 320507

ભારતનો સામ્યવાદી પક્ષ  
(માર્ક્સવાદી)

Communist Party Of  
India (Marxist)

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય સમિતિ  
પ્રાર્થના સમાજ, રાયખડ,  
અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૧  
રાજ્ય મંત્રી : સુબોધ મહેતા



Gujarat State Committee  
Prathana Samaj, Raykhad,  
Ahmeabad-380001

State Sect : Subodh Mehta  
Dt.

/Dt. 30/8/94  
Bhambhani

Dear Respected Com. Bardhan,

- You will be probably surprised to receive this unexpected letter. Yes, it is completely personal, confidential and urgent -
- Since we belong to different parties, technically I have no right to write this letter to you, neither have I any right to expect anything from you.
- Nevertheless, I suppose, we know sufficiently each other and I presume when I write this, in totally sincere spirit, you would not take it otherwise.
- Yes, it is all about CPI in Gujarat. When I became CPM state sct., a hope had arisen within me that the past links with CPI comrades will receive some

ફોન : ૩૨૦૫૦૭

Phone : 320507

ભારતનો સામ્યવાદી પક્ષ

(માર્કસવાદી)

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય સમિતિ

પ્રાર્થના સમાજ, રાયખડ,

અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૧

રાજ્ય મંત્રી : સુબોધ મહેતા



Communist Party Of  
India (Marxist)

Gujarat State Committee

Prathana Samaj, Raykhad,

Ahmedabad-380001

State Sect : Subodh Mehta

Dt.

(2)

their side, as healthy response  
to my efforts at united action.  
Initially it seemed that I was  
right in exactly like that - But  
very soon a different approach has  
emerged, which actually translated  
in practice, amounts to silent ~~jealousy~~  
envy, unnecessary rivalry and  
a care to keep a distance while  
continuously, in every step trying to  
break CPM, not because it is CPM,  
but precisely because it is headed  
by me in Gujarat.

Your comrades in Gujarat have  
stooped so low as to pick up  
almost every ~~person~~ <sup>person</sup> whom we

ફોન : ૩૨૦૫૦૭

Phone : 320507

ભારતનો સામ્યવાદી પક્ષ

(માર્કસવાદી)

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય સમિતિ

પ્રાથના સમાજ, રાયખડ,

અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૧

રાજ્ય મંત્રી : સુબોધ મહેતા



Communist Party Of  
India (Marxist)

Gujarat State Committee

Prathana Samaj, Raykhad,

Ahmedabad-380001

State Sect : Subodh Mehta

Dt.

(3)  
have dismissed or thrown off -  
It was one thing, if they would  
have stopped there and kept them  
in CPI. But on the contrary, those  
the very next day, they pose ~~those~~  
very dismissed persons, as  
equals to us in the united activity  
so much so that they seem to  
allow these elements to command,

The net result is, united activity  
turns into, petty rivalry over  
trivials and attitude by these  
elements, telling our cadres that  
after all because they were  
equals, they were thrown out by us.

ફોન : ૩૨૦૫૦૭

Phone : 320507

ભારતનો સામ્યવાદી પક્ષ  
(માર્કસવાદી)

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય સમિતિ

પ્રાર્થના સમાજ, રાયખડ,

અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૧

રાજ્ય મંત્રી : સુબોધ મહેતા



Communist Party Of  
India (Marxist)

Gujarat State Committee

Prathana Samaj, Raykhad,

Ahmedabad-380001

State Sect : Subodh Mehta

Dt.

(4)

One such classic example is of G.K. Parmar. His case was discussed, though within CPM, yet open enough for whomsoever who cared to know, almost a decade long discussion — having been found morally ~~soft~~ to stand beyond limits, corrupt to the core and having exhausted all the venues of within party democracy so much so that even Central Commission of CPM was compelled to O.K. his dismissal.

On the top of it all, is the fact that in his last bid to

ફોન : ૩૨૦૫૦૭

Phone : 320507

ભારતનો સામ્યવાદી પક્ષ

(માર્ક્સવાદી)

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય સમિતિ

પ્રાથના સમાજ, રાયખડ,

અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૧

રાજ્ય મંત્રી : સુબોધ મહેતા

Communist Party Of  
India (Marxist)

Gujarat State Committee

Prathana Samaj, Raykhad,

Ahmedabad-380001

State Sect : Subodh Mehta

Dt.



(5)

use every fictional trick,  
he had even levelled such an  
accusation that I had tricked  
myself with CPM, doing  
fraternally on behalf of CPI  
and precisely, I had sought to  
get him dismissed as CPI's  
design to weaken CPM -

Now it is wonderful that  
CPI in Gujarat is posing  
this gentleman GK Parmar as  
CPI's champion and sending him  
just overnight as CPI's main  
leader in every united activity  
and is all wed to become

ફોન : ૩૨૦૫૦૭

Phone : 320507

ભારતનો સામ્યવાદી પક્ષ

(માર્ક્સવાદી)

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય સમિતિ

પ્રાર્થના સમાજ, રાયખડ,

અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૧

રાજ્ય મંત્રી : સુબોધ મહેતા

Communist Party Of

India (Marxist)

Gujarat State Committee

Prathana Samaj, Raykhad,

Ahmedabad-380001

State Sect : Subodh Mehta

Dt.

(6)

Spokesman of CPI itself -

This completely ruins  
all the mutual trust.

Had it been only one case of  
GK Parmar we could have  
understood. But now his entire  
kit & kab are posed as CPI's  
mass organization's right leaders!!

One Komesh Parmar is posed  
as AJSF leader, another one  
as CITU, 3rd one as YF  
etc etc - And only <sup>work</sup> ~~state~~ that

they do is to counterpose, every  
smallest <sup>point</sup> ~~part~~ of activity

Communist Party of India (Marxist)  
Gujarat State Committee  
Rajana Samaj, Rajkot  
Ahmedabad-380001  
State Sect: Subodh Mehta  
Dr.



Would you  
could second  
is of interest  
of unity  
it self

⑧

One Dangeite Com.

did say so in so many  
words that if Subodh Mehta  
dismissed by CPI, com  
became CPM state sect  
then why not CPM dismissed  
persons, because CPI leaders!

Well, that clearly exposed  
the jealousy and designs -

I do not know whether you will be  
able to act, to amend this but

As I know you, I am hopeful  
that you will try to abolish CPI & merge  
in these petty

It possible  
Subodh Mehta  
I do not know you  
I am hopeful  
to abolish CPI & merge  
in these petty

ફોન : ૩૨૦૫૦૭

Phone : 320507

ભારતનો સામ્યવાદી પક્ષ  
(માર્કસવાદી)

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય સમિતિ  
પ્રાર્થના સમાજ, રાયખડ,  
અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૧  
રાજ્ય મંત્રી : સુબોધ મહેતા



Communist Party Of  
India (Marxist)

Gujarat State Committee  
Prathana Samaj, Raykhad,  
Ahmedabad-380001

State Sect : Subodh Mehta  
Dt.

(9)

NRB:-

Another such example was me  
Achole Bhatt. He played worst role by  
telling lies, repeated quoted by Mohit Sen,  
spinachy lies against me, in these days  
of my departure from CPI. Then was  
exposed. Then was inactive. Suddenly  
recently he was posed in state-level  
party to party committee. And was editing  
a periodical of Gujarat Congress Minister  
Nand Shakti at Anjar (Kutch)!!! - But  
when I pointed out his opportunism,  
Chitambar Pujarbar & others did not even  
flicker because they wanted to pose  
him as in-charge Bhanyar unit  
to parallel us!!! There are still  
other very ridiculous happenings but  
there it was CPI who was at the suffering end,  
(P.T.O.) I suppose.



If you write, do write to

me at my following address at Bhavnagar:—

Phone  
No.  
21988

Sudhanta  
26, Sugkamel Society  
opp. Commerce college  
BHAVNAGAR (Gujrat)

To  
Cem. A. B. Bardhan

GURUDAS DAS GUPTA

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(RAJYA SABHA)



65  
24, Canning Lane,  
New Delhi-110001.

TEL. 387 320

DATED: 09.11.94

Shri T.C.A. Rangachari,  
Joint Secretary,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
New Delhi.

This is in pursuance of my talk with you on Telephone regarding the passport of Com. Ardhendu Bhushan Bardhan, S/o Late Hemender Kumar, having passport no. B-058825 issued in Delhi on 6th October, 1986, who had applied for extension of validity to passport office Nagpur as far back as on 17th October'94. I seek your intervention for the issuance of the validity of the passport by this week. Otherwise it will be impossible for him to attend the World Congress of Trade Unions at Damascus. He has to leave the country on 16th November, 1994.

Yours sincerely,

(GURUDAS DAS GUPTA)

GURUDAS DAS GUPTA

24, Canning Lane,  
New Delhi-110001.

TEL. 387 320

DATED: 09.11.94

Shri T.C.A.Rangachari,  
Joint Secretary,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Bardhan  
This is in pursuance of my talk with you on  
Telephone regarding the passport of Com. Ardhendu Bhushan  
Bhushan, S/o Late Hemender Kumar, having passport no.  
B-058825 issued in Delhi on 6th October, 1986, who had  
applied for extension of validity to passport office  
Nagpur as far back as on 17th October'94. I seek  
your intervention for the issuance of the validity  
of the passport by this week. Otherwise it will be  
impossible for him to attend the World Congress of  
Trade Unions at Damascus. He has to leave the  
country on 16th November, 1994.

Yours sincerely,

(GURUDAS DAS GUPTA)

दिनांक 17-11-1994

प्रिय कामरेड नामदेव,

आपका 30 जून का पत्र अब मिला, लिफाफे पर के छाप से मालूम हुआ कि यह पत्र आपने नवम्बर में पोस्ट किया।

आपने कुछ पृष्ठभूमि की बातें लिखी हैं इससे अभी कोई मतलब नहीं, उस कमिशन में क्या हुआ वह मुझे मालूम नहीं।

प्रश्न यह है कि किसी संगठन के नेतृत्व का क्या काम है? किस तरह नेतृत्व निर्माण होता है, और उसकी योग्यता और अनुभव बढ़ता है। इसके साथ जोड़कर हमें यह सोचना है कि कल तक के दलित-पीड़ित पिछड़ों को कैसे आगे लाना है। यह करने में जातिवाद का भी उत पर अंतर न पड़े।

आशा है कि आप इस दृष्टिकोण से प्रश्न को बर्दा करोगे।

कामरेड पानसरे के पास आपका पत्र भेजा रहा हूँ।

शुभकामनाएँ,

etc

आपका,  
 [हस्ताक्षर]  
 ए.बी.बर्धन  
 जनरल सेक्रेटरी

का. नामदेव पट्टान  
 "रत्नगार" 53, हौसिंग बोर्ड कॉलोनी  
 नगर रोड, बीड़-431122

-----

G.S

17th November, 1994,

Dear Dr. Shantibhai,

Thanks for your Diwali greetings, and the "wake up in Time" Call ! It is very apt.

We should go ahead with the formation of HMS-AITUC Coordination Committees as decided by us.

Greetings,

Yours sincerely,

MC

A.B.B.

(A. B. BARDHAN)

Dr. Shanti Patel,  
Sneh Sadan B-11,  
Shittaderi Temple Rd;  
Mahim,  
Bombay-400016.

File / Personal  
A.B.S.

GS



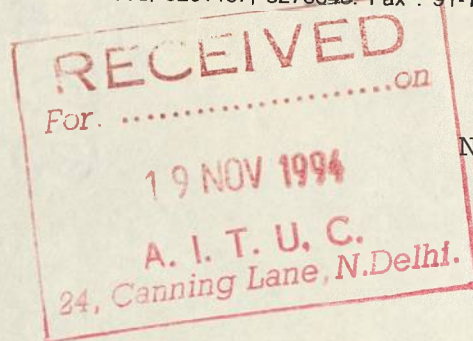
PUBLISHING FOR  
ONE  
WORLD

**International Publishing Development Programme**

**WILEY EASTERN LIMITED, PUBLISHERS  
NEW AGE INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS LTD.**

4835/24, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110002  
Cable : WILEYEAST. Tele : 3276802, 3261487, 3278348. Fax : 91-11-3267437

WE/4017/94



November 15, 1994

Mr A.B. Bardhan  
C/o A I T U C  
24 Canning Lane  
New Delhi 110 001

Dear Mr Bardhan,

Thank you very much for taking out time from your busy schedule to attend the launch of our publication, India Under Siege at India International Centre on 9 November 1994, and for participating in the panel discussion.

We hope that you will continue to extend support to this book and to our future publications.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely

Swati Mitra

File Personal  
A.P.S.

G.S.

## स्वतंत्रता सेनानी कामरेड सुधीर मुकर्जी अभिनन्दन समिति, रायपुर (म. प्र.)

प्रिय महोदय,

दि. ३० नवम्बर ९४ को अपने संघर्षशील सक्रिय राजनैतिक जीवन के ७५ वर्ष पूर्ण करने के उपलक्ष्य में कामरेड सुधीर मुकर्जी का नागरिक अभिनन्दन किया जा रहा है।

दादा सुधीर मुकर्जी के व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व से आप भलीभांति परिचित हैं। देश की आजादी की लड़ाई में उन्होंने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा की। वे श्रमिक आंदोलन के जुझारू नेता हैं। वृद्धावस्था में भी वे जनवादी चेतना की मशाल जलाए हुए दौड़ रहे हैं। ऐसे प्रखर व्यक्तित्व के स्वामी दादा सुधीर मुकर्जी के सम्पर्क में आने का आपको भी अवसर आया होगा।

आपसे अनुरोध है कि उनसे सम्बन्धित प्रसंगों की स्मृतियों और भावनाओं को जन-जन तक पहुंचाने के लिए लिपिबद्ध करके १५ नवम्बर १९९४ के पूर्व निम्नलिखित पते पर प्रेषित करने की कृपा करें।

पता :

आशीष प्रेस

कंकालीपारा, रायपुर म. प्र.

भवदीय

हरि ठाकुर

संयोजक

काम. सुधीर मुकर्जी अभिनन्दन ग्रंथ प्रकाशन समिति

रायपुर ४९२००१ (म. प्र.)

अन्तर्देशीय पत्र कार्ड  
INLAND LETTER CARD



Com. A.B. Bardhan Es.  
Ajay Bhawan 15K <sup>ASTUC</sup> Marg  
New Delhi

पिन PIN

New Delhi 2

तीसरा मोड़ THIRD FOLD

इस पत्र के भीतर कुछ न रखिए NO ENCLOSURES ALLOWED

पते में पिन कोड लिखें WRITE PIN CODE IN ADDRESS

प्रेषक का नाम और पता :— SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS :—



इंजीनियरिंग संकाय  
शेखरपुर 33 मोड़  
पिन-PIN 492007

पहला मोड़ FIRST FOLD

दूसरा मोड़ SECOND FOLD



GS

P  
Personal File  
A.S.S.

15th December, 1994.

Dear Sri Sukh Ram ji,

Several eminent personalities and public figures have been writing to you about bringing out a stamp on the birth centenary of one of the eminent Freedom Fighters, Trade Union and political leaders of central India Sri S.S. Ruikar.

We recall here that he was one of the pioneers and builders of the trade union movement, and not only in Central India.

He was twice elected as the President of the AITUC, and later as the founder-president of the H.N.S.

He was a close associate of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and was for several years the President of the A.I. Forward Bloc.

We think it would be befitting to bring out a stamp sometime during this centenary year of his birth, which commences on January 8, 1995.

We urge you to take a decision in this matter soon.

with regards,

Yours sincerely,

Pt. Sukh Ram,  
Minister of Communications,  
Government of India,  
Sanchar Bhavan,  
New Delhi - 110001.

G.S.

16th December, 199.

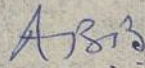
Dear Sir,

The notice of the meeting was so short, that I could not adjust my programme to attend the meeting of the Board.

May I request that in future the notice is longer.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,



(A. B. BARDHAN)

Director,  
Shramik Vidyapeeth,  
C/o Shri wanjari Bhavan,  
Plot No.37,  
New Cotton Market Layout,  
Nagpur.

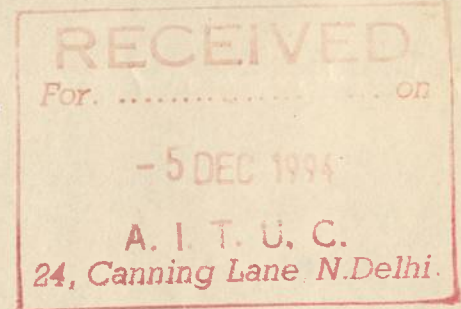
Worder Posting Certificate

R/file (Central)  
ASB

No. Dir/A/BH/BM/SVP/793/94  
Office of the Director,  
Shramik Vidyapeeth, C/o.  
Shri. Wanjari Bhavan, Plot  
No. 37, New Cotton Market Lay  
Out, Nagpur,  
Date:- 30-11-94

To,

Shri/Smt. A. B. Bardhan,  
Labour Representative  
President, All India  
Trade Union Congress



Subject :- Agenda of the 2 nd meeting of the Board of  
Shramik Vidyapeeth, Nagpur.

Sir/Madam,

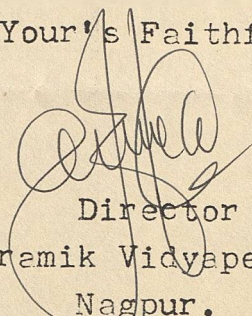
I am pleased to inform you that, the meeting of  
the Board of Shramik Vidyapeeth; Nagpur will be held on  
15 th December, 1994 at 12.00 p.m. in Committee Room, on 6 th  
Floor, Mantralaya, Bombay-32

I am enclosing herewith the agenda of the same  
meeting.

I have to request you , to kindly make it  
convenient to attend the same meeting.

Encl: Agenda.

Your's Faithfully,

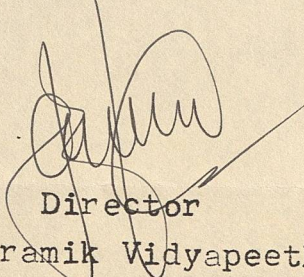
  
Director  
Shramik Vidyapeeth  
Nagpur.

SHRAMIK VIDYAPEETH, NAGPUR

Agenda of the 2 nd Meeting of the Board

A G E N D A

- 1) Confirmation of the minutes of the 1st meeting, which was held on 8 th June, 1993 at Bombay.
- 2) To approve the Annual Report for the year 1993-94.
- 3) To sanction the Budget Estimates for the year 1995-96 and Revised Estimates for the year 1994-95.
- 4) To approve the draft of Recruitment Rules for the staffing pattern of Shramik Vidyapeeth, Nagpur and creation of posts on the establishment of Shramik Vidyapeeth, Nagpur as per Guidelines of Shramik Vidyapeeth.
- 5) To accord the sanction to end continue ex-isting rules as per Government of Maharashtra, which are at present applicable to the existing staff of Shramik Vidyapeeth, Nagpur for further period.
- 6) To decide the number of members from Board of members and or outside experts and other persons in respect of constituting the following Committees.
  - i) Finance Committee
  - ii) Programme Advisory committee and
  - iii) Executive Committee
- 7) Any other items with the permission of the chairs.

  
Director  
Shramik Vidyapeeth  
Nagpur

19-12-1994.

प्रिय साथी इंदिरा भाई,

आपकी दोनों बेटियों की तनकाह  
के मौके पर आपको हार्दिक बधाई ।

दूल्हा-दुल्हन की खुशियों के लिए  
दुआ मांग रहा हूँ ।

शुभकामनाओं सहित,

आपका,

॥ ए.बी.बर्धन ॥

मुहम्मद इंदिरा  
ट्रापिक इन्स्पेक्टर  
राज्य परिवहन  
ताक्या वार्ड, पो.भंडारा

-----

19-12-1994.

प्रिय कामरेड आगरछेड,

दोनों सुपुत्रियों के शुभ विवाह  
के अवसर पर आप और आगरछेड परिवार को  
अभिनेदन ।

वर-वधुओं को ज्ञोशवाद ।

शुभकामनाएँ सहित,

आपका,

॥ ए.बी.बर्धन ॥

श्री गुणधर नागेन्द्र आदरछेड  
एम.एस.ई.बी.वर्ल्स पेडरेसन  
ओ. सावित्री फूलें टोरॉपटल-  
के सामने, कोल्हापुर

-----

ALL INDIA PEACE & SOLIDARITY ORGANISATION

(BOMBAY COMMITTEE)

2, KRUPA BHAGAT MARG, OFF. KATARIYA ROAD, MATUNGA (W), BOMBAY-400 016.

File 65  
Bombay.  
dt. 6.12.94

R-File  
(Personal) - Add

A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi

Dear com. Basu

Thank you for yours, received yesterday. I quite understand your concern about Bombay. In fact I was also concerned only about Bombay city. Only prior to your letter, I had seen your article in NA report about meeting held in ND. I was quite happy. I had also read about directives given to party units to observe 7th Nov in a fitting manner.

Point is why despite party directives, there should be nothing marked in Bombay. As a matter of fact, after AINC function just a week before, one could have gone ahead with added zeal to celebrate the Day, salute the Red Flag and Srip International. At least handbills should have gone away on factory units, as we used to do in the past.

I am not taking the issue with you, but I candidly believe Bombay is not paid attention to as it needs & deserves. You, you personally, in Maharashtra, should have done that by actually staying in Maharashtra yourself for a few months continuously to put things in order and to ensure & conduct the cadre in new context. You came only casually, and left the task to others.

Today, Bombay is in a void though everyone will claim to be too busy. Restore the old methods of work, cells, classes, distribution & checking of work, and finally coordination and generation of confidence; - These are the ways to functioning of a Revolutionary Party.

How many party members today are conscious or aware or speak boldly that they are the members of a revolutionary party, and that they are proud of it and behave accordingly?

Dear ABB

100-000-001  
100-000-001  
100-000-001  
100-000-001

Enclosed is an article,  
which could be given space  
in Souvenir (AINC) as a  
historic page of AINC's  
fighting <sup>role of</sup> class activities &  
education.

When you have  
done so in case of  
NFPW and its recently  
held brilliant conference,  
why not in case of AINC  
Justice event, ~~to~~ unless  
one ~~thinks~~ thought that  
GEEU was not worth that.

ve  
5/12

If com Ramavtar is ready with his  
picture of AINC Justice, ask him to send  
some. ve,



'इंटर' च्या

'आयटक' च्या स्थानियिक-  
इतिहासातील (किं पत्र!)  
क. -

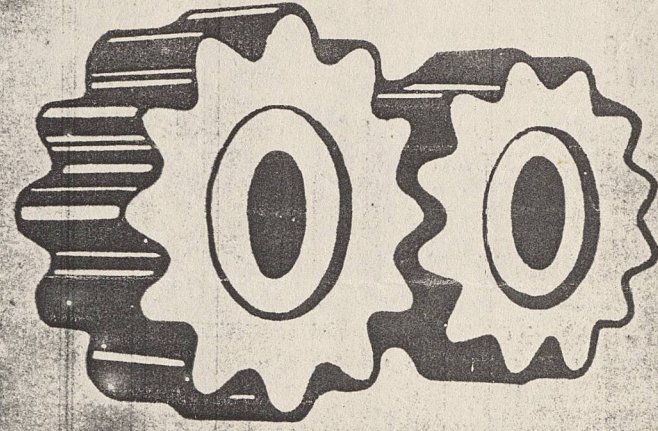
( = This could be a suitable  
title of this write-up. )

जठारल  
इंजिनियरिंग  
एम्प्लॉईज युनियन  
मुंबई

Last Copy

9e

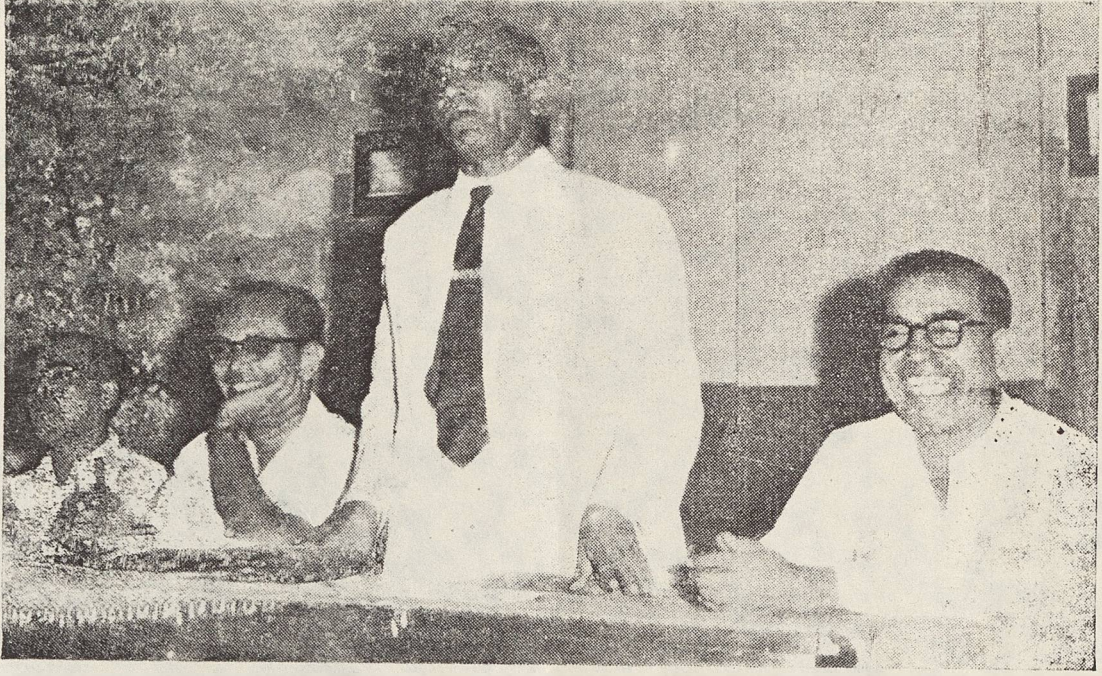
Copy go to —  
Dante  
- Bhalu



ऑफिस: वरुवी बिल्डिंग, पोयबावडी, परळ,

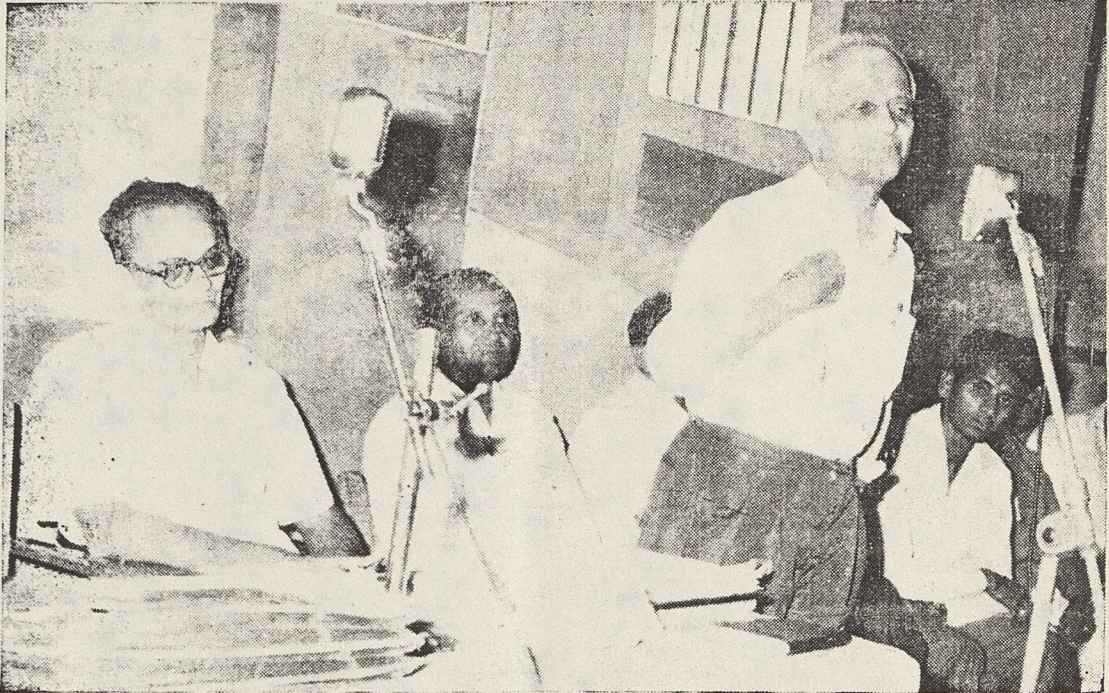
मुंबई ४०० ०९२. फ़ोन: ४४९६०८

आपका  
महोत्सव  
१९६०  
स्मारिका



अध्यक्ष काँ. के. टी. सुळे व त्यांचे साथी, डावोकाडून काँ. रामा राव, काँ. विठ्ठल चौधरी व काँ. सुंदरम

काँ. एस. ए. डांगे कामगारांना एकजूटीचे मार्गदर्शन करीत आहेत. त्यांच्या उजवोकाडे काँ. आय. डी. खान आणि डावोकाडे काँ. राजू (इंडियन टूल)



५०५५ - निवृत्त कार्य

\* प्रत्येक कामगाराने हृदयांत कोरून ठेवण्याच्या घोषणा \*

- कामगारवर्गाच्या हातात सर्वाधिकारी सत्ता मिळवून देणे, हेच कामगारांच्या सच्च्या ट्रेड युनियन्सचे द्येय !
- भांडवलशाहीच्या यमपुरीतून वाचण्याचा एकच मार्ग—क्रांती !
- समाजवाद स्थापन करण्यासाठी कामगारांनी आपल्या हातात सर्वाधिकारी सत्ता घेतविलीच पाहिजे !
- समाजवाद म्हणजे साम्राज्यवाद्यापासून संपूर्ण मुक्ती, संपूर्ण आर्थिक स्वातंत्र्य, भांडवलशाहीला मूठमाती व कामगारवर्गाच्या हातात सर्वाधिकारी सत्ता !
- युद्ध व शस्त्रस्पर्धा हा साम्राज्यवाद्यांचा जनताविरोधी खेळ, कामगारवर्ग चालू देणार नाही !
- कामगारवर्ग एकाच शत्रूला ओळखतो—भांडवलदार व त्यांचे सरकार !
- कामगारांनी, एकजुटीने लढण्यास तयार व्हा. जिंकलात तर भांडवलशाहीच्या थडग्यावर स्वर्ग उभाराल !
- कामगारांजवळ गमावण्यासारखे काही नाही. गमावलेच तर बेड्या; जिंकलात तर स्वर्ग !
- सच्चा व वर्गजागृत कामगाराचे मुख्य गुण : कामगारवर्गाबद्दल जाज्वल्य अभिमान व कडवी निष्ठा; भांडवलशाहीबद्दल मनस्वी चीड; चळवळीसाठी निःसिम आत्मसमर्पण; मारा-मरणाबद्दल संपूर्ण बेफिकिरी !
- कामगारवर्गाबद्दल अभिमान, हेच त्यांच्या राजकीय जागृतीचे सार आहे; प्रत्येक ट्रेड युनियनने कामगारांमध्ये हा अभिमान पेटवला पाहिजे.

## एक धावते परिक्षण

- विठ्ठल चौधरी

**को**णत्याही संस्थेला-त्यातून वर्गाभिमान असलेल्या कामगार संघटनेला २५ वर्षे व्यवस्थित व सातत्याने कार्य करायला मिळाले तर त्याचा कुणाला अभिमान वाटणार नाही? शिवाय, या युनियनला केवळ २५ व नव्हे, तर वस्तुतः ३७ वर्षांहून अधिक काळ लोटला आणि भांडवलदारी शासनाच्या व समाजपद्धतीच्या अनेक हल्ल्यांना तोंड देत देत १९८० साल गाठले. १९५५ साली ज. ई. ए. यु. या नावाने ही युनियन रजिस्टर झाली म्हणून रॉयल महोत्सव समारंभपूर्वक व उत्साहाने यंदा करण्यात येत आहे. तत्पूर्वी निरनिराळ्या नावाने कामगारांच्या संघटना १९४२-४३ पासून लाल बावटा हातात घेऊन कार्य करित होत्याच. पुढे एका धंद्यात एक युनियन या कामगार चळवळीच्या एका मूलभूत तत्वाला अनुसरून १९५५ साली त्या सर्व संघटनांचे एकत्रीकरण करण्यात आले आणि जनरल इंजिनियरिंग एम्प्लॉईज युनियन जन्माला आली.

खरे म्हणजे १९४०-४२ चा तुहंगवास व भूमिगत अवस्थेतून मुक्त झाल्यानंतरच इंजिनियरिंगच्या कामगारांना संघटित करण्याचे काम सुरू झाले होते. जे कार्यकर्ते आले ते संपूर्ण वेळ व विनापगार किंवा नाममात्र-मानधन घेणारे असे होते. काँ. गोपालन सारख्याने तर घरातील आपले असेल नसेल ते किडुक-मिडूक विकून (त्याच्याकडे शिवण - कामाची एक मशिन फक्त होती) ट्रेड युनियनच्या कामात संपूर्ण पणे स्वतःला झोकून दिले होते. १९४२ चा काळ होता. 'चले जाव'ची चळवळ भर वेगात होती. कामगारांच्यासाठी 'भारत संरक्षण कायदा' लावून संप बेकायदेशीर करण्यात आले होते. महागाई व काळघा बाजाराला उत आला होता. बंगालमधील ३ लाखांहून अधिक जनता अन्नासाठी आग्रोश करित मरण पावली होती. महागाईभक्ता नावाची गोष्टच नव्हती. फक्त गिरणी कामगारांना १९४० च्या ४० दिवसांच्या यशस्वी लढ्यानंतर महागाईभक्ता

नावाची वस्तू सुरू करण्यात आली होती. हे महागाईभक्त्याचे लोण इंजिनियरिंग व इतर धंद्यांतील कामगारांमध्ये न्यायचे होते व ते या युनियनच्या कार्यकर्त्यांनी केले.

१९४२ ते १९५४ पर्यंतच्या काळात अनेक युनियन्सची स्थापना झाली. पण एका धंद्यात एक युनियन हे तत्त्व पुनःपुन्हा कामगारांमध्ये भिनवण्यात आले आणि त्यावेळच्या अनेक युनियन्सचे एकीकरण करून 'इंजिनियरिंग अँड मेटल कामगार युनियन' म्हणून १९५० साली स्थापन झाले व पुढे आणखी राहिलेल्या युनियन्स म्हणजे क्राम्पटन पार्किन्सन एम्प्लॉईज युनियन व एस्ट्रेला बॅटरीज कामगार युनियन याही एकत्र करण्यात आल्या आणि १९५४ साली जनरल इंजिनियरिंग एम्प्लॉईज युनियन नावाने एकजुटीची संघटना निर्माण झाली. १९५५ मध्ये ती रीतसर रजिस्टर झाली. त्या काळात पगारवाढ, बोनस व महागाईभक्ता इतका कमी मिळत होता, अथवा जवळजवळ मिळतच नव्हता म्हणा ना, की कामगार स्वयंस्फूर्त संपच ठोकून देत, संप कमिटी बनवित आणि मग युनियनची स्थापना होई.

गोदरेज कंपनीच्या १,३०० कामगारांनी संप करून १९४३ साली युनियन बांधली. क्राम्पटनच्या युनियनची स्थापना १९४६ साली झाली ती ६५० कामगारांच्या तीन माहिन्यांच्या संपातूनच. तसेच १९४७ साली एस्ट्रेला बॅटरीजचे कामगार युनियनची कल्पना करतात न करतात तोच २०० कामगारांना काढून टाकण्यात आले व संपलढा सुरू झाला. शेवटी कंपनीने तडजोड केली व त्यातून एक मजदूर युनियनची स्थापना झाली.

संपलढ्याने सुरुवात करून भांडवलदारांना यशस्वी रीतीने तोंड देणाऱ्या या युनियन्सची नंतरची संबंध कारकीर्दही तितकीच लढाऊ व गौरवशाली आहे. त्यासाठी काही प्रमुख लढ्यांचा व कामगारांच्या गौरवशाली एकजुटीचा उल्लेख करणे अस्थायी होणार नाही.

मुकुंद आयर्न अँड स्टील कंपनीच्या ८५० कामगारांनी दोन अत्यंत महत्त्वाचे लढे १९४४ व १९४६ साली केले. पहिला संप पगारवाढ व महागाईभत्ता यासाठी ११ दिवस चालला व शेवटी ७ आणि पगारारवरून १४ आण्यांवर आणि दीड आणा महागाईभत्त्यावरून गिरणी कामगारांच्या ६० टक्क्यांवर आला. उपाशी कामगारांच्या या साध्या मागण्यांनासुद्धा विरोध करण्यासाठी कंपनीतर्फे लवादात प्रसिद्ध वकील श्री. कनैयालाल मुन्शी, काँग्रेसचे ज्येष्ठ नेते, उभे होते. दुसरा संप ४० दिवस अटीतटीने चालल्यानंतर मुरारजी सरकारने पोलिसांच्या अत्याचाराने मोडून काढला. तरी कामगारांनी नामोहरम न होता आपली संघटना पुढच्या तयारीसाठी मजबूतच ठेवली. पुढे जवळजवळ १० वर्षांनंतर त्यांनी युनियनशी एका करारावर सही केली.

हिथ सायकलच्या ७०० कामगारांनी आपला संप ४६ दिवस भक्कम एकजूटीने चालविला. त्या संपाचे खास वैशिष्ट्य हे की, दररोज संपाच्या काळात वर्गीय शिक्षणाचे शिबीर चालत असे आणि जवळजवळ १,००० पुस्तिकाही त्या काळात कामगारांनी विकत घेऊन वाचल्या. त्यानंतर काँ. डांगे व बिर्ला-शेटचा एक प्रतिनिधी यांचा संयुक्त संवाद लवादमान्य झाला आणि त्यावेळी ठरलेले पगाराचे ग्रेड, भरपगारी रजा, इन्सेटिव योजना इ. पुढे जवळजवळ २५ ते ३० वर्षेपर्यंत चालले, इतका समाधानकारक तो निर्णय होता.

मेटल बॉक्सच्या १,१०० कामगारांनी त्याच सुमारास ४८ दिवस अत्यंत नेटाने लढा लढविला. मुरारजीच्या दडपशाहीला तोड नव्हती. इंग्लिश भांडवलदाराची ती कंपनी - तिची सेवा करण्याइतके दुसरे पुण्य नव्हते. धराधरात धुसून कामगारांना पकडत होते. कित्येकांना हद्दपार केले, लाठी चार्ज व गोळीबार हा तर नित्याचा प्रकार झाला होता. तेथील कामगार सेक्रेटरी काँ. रामन नाथर यांची उच्चलबांगडी केली व शेवटी सोशलिस्ट व काँग्रेस यांचे संयुक्त युनियन तेथे स्थापण्यात आले. तरी पांच वर्षेपर्यंत त्या कामगारांना मूळ युनियनपासून कुर्णीही अलग करू शकले नाही.

फायरस्टोनच्या १,२०० कामगार व कारकुनांचा संप तर मुंबई व मुंबईबाहेरही गाजला. कारण ४६ दिवसांच्या त्या जोरदार संपाला संपफंड मिळणे

व कामगारांनी हजारो पोस्टर लावणे हे फारच मोठ्या प्रमाणावर झाले व शेवटी संपाच्या दिवसांच्या पगारासमवेत मागणीही पूर्ण झाली. या संपात अंग्लो - इंडियन जमातीचे कामगार व पेशावरी पठाण हिरीरीने भाग घेत होते व शेवटपर्यंत एकजूटीने कामगारांबरोबर राहिले होते. ही गोष्ट अत्यंत कौतुकास्पद व उल्लेखनीय आहे.

क्रॉम्पटन पाक्सनच्या ७०० कामगारांचा ९० दिवसांचा संप तर फारच गौरवशाली आहे. कचखाऊ पुढारीपणाला त्यांनी पळवून लावले. संप फोडण्याचे या ब्रिटिश कंपनीचे कारस्थान तेथील कामगारांनी व विशेषतः ख्रिश्चन स्त्रियांनी संपफोडघांना आणणाऱ्या लॉन्ग्यांच्या समोर आडवे पडून मोडून काढले आणि संपातून तावूनसुलाखून निघून तेथील संघटना लाल बावट्याच्या छत्राखाली आजतागायत अभेद्य अशी युनियन बांधली.

एस्टेला बॅटरीज कामगार युनियन झाल्याबरोबर आकसाने २०० कामगारांना एकदम काढून टाकले. पण ८०० जागृत कामगारांनी या बेकार होणाऱ्या कामगारांसाठी यशस्वी संप केला व त्या कामगारांसाठी नुकसानभरपाई मिळवून दिली व यापुढे याच कामगारांना प्रथम काम मिळाले पाहिजे, असा करारही करून घेतला. ६ महिने नोकरी झालेल्या कामगारांना सुद्धा इथे आपण फायदा करून दिला.

त्या पंधरा वर्षांत संपाची एक दुर्दम्य लाटच पसरत होती. वेस्टर्न आयर्न वर्क्सचा ६०० कामगारांचा, नोवल स्टील प्रोडक्सचा ७०० कामगारांचा, बेकारीविरुद्ध दोन लढे, एव्हरी कंपनीच्या १२५ कामगारांचा लढा, एशिअन एअर असोसिएटच्या ६०० कामगारांचा, कुलाबा येथील आय. इ. एम्. इंजिनियरिंगच्या लष्करी खात्यातील रणगाडे व विमाने दुरुस्त करणाऱ्या ७०० कामगारांचा अटीतटीचा झालेला लढा, मॅलिअबल, मर्क्युरी फॉस्टिंग, टी. माणिकलाल, नॅशनल इंजिनियरिंग इ. कित्येक कारखान्यांतील लढे आमच्या युनियनच्या पुढारीपणाने जोमाने व शौर्याने चालविले व कामगारांच्या एकंदर कर्तृत्वशक्तीला संपूर्ण साथ दिली. हे सर्व लढे पगार, महागाई, बोनस, भरपगारी रजा, बेकारी व कार्यकर्त्यांच्या बडतर्फीला विरोध इ. कामगार चळवळीतील अत्यंत जिद्दाळ्याच्या प्रश्नासाठी होत होते. महायुद्ध संपल्यामुळे संपांना विशेष धार आली होती.

## लवाद-कोर्टे व प्रत्यक्ष वाटाघाटी

मुंबई शहरातील इंजिनियरिंग कामगारांमध्ये पहिले लवाद-कोर्टे गोब्रेज अँड वॉईसच्या कामगारांना मिळाले. तेही काही सहज मिळाले नव्हते. बोनससाठी १,३०० कामगारांनी संप केला व नंतर कोर्टबाजी जराशी करावी लागली. जराशी म्हणण्याचे कारण कां. सुळे आमच्या युनियनचे अध्यक्ष होण्याआधी त्यावेळी एक उत्कृष्ट कामगार वकील म्हणून काम करीत होते. त्यांनी एका दिवसाच्या सुनावणीमध्ये बोनस थायला भाग पाडले. अर्थात कामगारांचा रेटा हाही कोर्टे व कंपनी या दोघांनाही जाणवत होताच. मुकुंद आयर्नमध्ये दोनदा लवाद, क्रॉम्प्टन पाकिन्सन, बॉम्बे इंजिनियरिंग, एस्ट्रेला, कूपर कॉरेल, एव्हरी कंपनी असे अनेक असंख्य लवादही कोर्टात आपण लढविले तर अनेकांच्या बाबतीत तडजोडही केली.

## कां. सुळे यांची प्रशंसनीय कामगिरी

या ठिकाणी हे खास नमूद केले पाहिजे. या सर्व लवाद प्रकरणी युनियनचे अध्यक्ष कां. के. टी. सुळे यांची कामगिरी फारच मोठी व उच्च दर्जाची होती. कोर्टांमध्ये आजची कोर्टबाजी त्यावेळी फार कमी होती. कामगारविषयक वर्गीय दृष्टिकोन भांडण्याचे ते दिवस होते. कोर्टाला कामगारांच्या हक्काची तात्त्विकदृष्ट्या जाणीव करून देणे ही कां. सुळे यांची खटपट असे. त्यांनी कोर्टासमोर नवे नवे सिद्धांत मांडले. कामगार हे मालकांचे नोकर नाहीत. 'नोकरा व बडतर्फी' हे त्यांचे नाते नाही, तर उत्पादन यंत्रणेतील कामगार हा इतर सर्वांपेक्षा अधिक महत्त्वाचा असा अपरिहार्य घटक आहे, आणि त्याच्याशी माणुसकीनेच नव्हे तर एक जाणता व बरोबरचा भागीदार म्हणून त्याला समजले पाहिजे. इ. महत्त्वाच्या कल्पना, कायद्याच्या चौकटीत न बसणाऱ्या, ते पुनःपुन्हा मांडत असत. कां. सुळे हे बोनस-बद्दलचे, महागाईच्या निर्देशांकाबद्दलचे, कामगारांच्या राहणीमानाच्या कल्पनेचे व या सर्वांमध्ये अभिप्रेत असलेल्या भांडवलदारी समाजरचनेच्या नियमांचे उल्लंघन करण्याच्या कामगार हक्काचे राजकीय आकलन कोर्टाला देणारे एक अत्यंत प्रभावी प्रवक्ते होते. कामगारांना त्यांनी एक राजकीय मार्गदर्शक असे समजून कोर्टातील न्यायासनासमोर ते त्याची प्रतिमा उभी करत. मी मी म्हणविणारे मालकाचे ख्यातनाम वकील उदा. कनय्यालाल मुन्शी

किंवा पालखीवाला यांसारखे वकील आमच्याविरुद्ध कोर्टात उभे असत आणि कोर्टातच कधी कधी चर्चेचा ओघ राजकीय पातळीवरही जात असे. ना कोर्टे त्यांना थांबवू शकत होते, ना आजच्यासारखी 'राजकारणविरहित कामगार चळवळ' पाहिजे असे म्हणणारे कामगारांचे पुढारी त्यांना विरोध करू शकत होते.

## सरकारच्या अमानुष दडपशाहीला यथार्थ तोंड दिले

मधल्या काळात (१९४५-५१) काँग्रेस सरकारने संबंध देशातील लढावू कामगार चळवळीच संपूर्णपणे नेस्तनाबूद करण्याचा कसोशीने प्रयत्न केला. त्याच्या थोडे वर्षे आधी त्यांनी इंटक, हि. म. स. 'इ. संघटनांना चालना दिली. शेवटी प्रतिबंधक कायदा पास करून हजारो लोकांना तुरुंगात घातले. निषेध करणाऱ्या कामगारांवर लाठीहल्ले व गोळीबार केले, तुरुंगातसुद्धा त्यांच्यावर गोळीबार करून बळी घेतले. या सर्वांचा उद्देश एकच की, कामगारवर्गाची सामूहिक व लढावू प्रवृत्ती नामोहरम करून टाकायची आणि भांडवलदारी विकास निर्विघ्नपणे होऊ देण्यासाठी काँग्रेसच्या अथवा कचखाऊ पुढारीपणाला कामगारांमध्ये आणून बसवायचे.

या सर्व दडपशाहीला आमच्या युनियनने तोंड दिले. जरी पुढारी व प्रमुख कार्यकर्ते तुरुंगात डांबले गेले होते तरी कां. गोपालनसारख्यांनी भूमिगत राहून नवे कार्यकर्ते मिळविले. कां. शिरोव पारिख, वामन बापट, सैना सुळे, धूपकर, बाळ मोहाडोकर इ. पुढाऱ्यांनी युनियन चालविली. नवीन नवीन कामगार तयार झाले. दडपशाहीने सुरुवातीला हक्का घेतलेले कामगार-कार्यकर्ते पुनः ऑफिसात येऊ लागले. याच काळात रेल्वे कामगारांच्या जाहीर झालेल्या सार्वत्रिक संपाला फायरस्टोन व मुकुंदच्या अडीच हजार कामगारांनी स्वतः संप करून पाठिंबा दिला. आणि आपल्या वर्गीय एकजुटीशी इमान राखले. १९५० च्या जुलै-ऑगस्टमध्ये तुरुंगातील पुढारी जसजसे सुटून बाहेर आले, तसतशी युनियनची विस्कटलेली घडी पुनः नीट बसू लागली व संबंध कामगार पुनः उत्साहाने व जोमाने कार्य करू लागले.

याच काळात व एवढी दडपशाहीचा वारसा असतानासुद्धा लक्ष्मी रत्न इंजीनियरिंग, गांधी इलेक्ट्रीक वर्क्स, बॅंडी इंजीनियरिंग, नॅशनल सजिकल,

नॅशनल एको रेडियो, इंडियन स्मेल्टिंग, जनरल इंडस्ट्रीज, न्यू इंडिया, डायमंड सजिकल, मयारा पारोख, बोळिजकर मेटल व पुनः हिंद सायकल्स असे अेकड्यांनी व हजारोने कामगारांची संख्या असलेले कारखाने युनियनमध्ये सामील होतच होते. याचवेळी युनियनमध्ये समाविष्ट होणारे आटोमोबाईल प्रोडक्स ऑफ इंडिया म्हणजे ए. पी. आय. व जी. के. डब्ल्यूचे सैकी इलेक्ट्रिकलचे हजारो कामगार पूर्वीच्या पुढाऱ्यांना रामराम ठोकून या लढाऊ व वर्गीय जागृतीचे शिक्षण देणाऱ्या सच्च्या भांडवलदारविरोधी युनियनकडे वळले, ही अत्यंत अभिमानाची गोष्ट आहे.

### बेकारीची लाट व कामवाढीचे हल्ले

याचवेळी बेकारीची लाट उसळली होती व त्याचा फायदा घेऊन कामगारांवर कामवाढीचे हल्ले होत होते. किंबहुना त्यासाठीच दडपशाहीचा वरबंटाही त्यांच्यावर फिरत होता. मंदीच्या नावाखाली गिरणी धंद्यात ३०,००० कामगार बेकार करण्यात आले. रेशीम धंद्यात ७,००० कामगारांना नोटिसा मिळाल्या. कमानो मेटलचे १००० कामगार काढून तो कारखानाच बंद केला. जनरल मोटरचे २००० कामगार रस्त्यावर फेकले. फोर्ड कंपनी बंद करून ७०० कामगार देशोधडीला लावले. एम्प्रेसमधून माणसे काढली. हिंद सायकलने १२० माणसे कमी केली. इंडियन स्मेल्टिंगने १०० माणसे काढली, नॅशनल एकोने ७०० माणसे कमी करून ५० कारकून तेवढे ठेवले. मुकुंद आयर्नने रोलिंग मिलच बंद (करून टाकली आणि १५० कामगारांच्या तोंडचा घास काढून घेतला. कपूर कॉनिलमध्ये ४०० च्या जागी १०० च शिल्लक राहिले. डायमंडची १०० माणसे निघाली आणि अशा तऱ्हेने असंख्य कामगारांना बेकारीच्या खाईत फेकले.

इंजिनियरिंग धंद्यातून बाहेर फेकल्या जाणाऱ्या या असंख्य कामगारांचे संरक्षण करण्याच्या लढ्यात आमची भागिदारी सर्वांत मोठी होती. कारण एक तर हे सर्व आमचे सभासद होते आणि बेकारी विरुद्धचा लढा सर्वांना म्हणजे कामावरील तसेच बेकारकेलेल्या कामगारांना एकत्र घेऊन केल्याशिवाय अशा लढ्याला धार आली नसती. योगायोगाने याचवेळी आयटकच्या महाराष्ट्र शाखेचे सेक्रेटरीपदही आपल्या युनियनलाच लाभले असल्यामुळे तो संयुक्त लढा

चांगलाच तीव्र करता आला आणि आज ज्याला बेकारभत्ता म्हणतात, तो त्या चळवळीपायी कामगारवर्गाला त्यावेळीच सुरू झाला.

### युनियन सभासद-संख्या व सामर्थ्य यांची चढती कमान

याच काळात आणखी कितीतरी महत्वाच्या घडामोडी झाल्या. एका धंद्यात एक युनियन या संघटनात्मक वर्गीय तत्वाला अनुसरून आपल्या युनियनमध्ये मेटल मजदूर सभा सामील झाली. सभेचे जनरल सेक्रेटरी कॉ. वढावकर, न्यू स्टॅण्डिंगचे कॉ. विजय थोरात, झेनिथ टिनचे आय. डी. खान इत्यादी पुढाऱ्यांनी त्यांच्या मार्गदर्शनाखाली सभेला जोडलेले आणखी काही कारखाने आपल्या युनियनला मिळाले. भारत बॅरल, भारत बिजली इ. सारखे मोठमोठे कारखाने त्यामध्ये होते. त्याच सुमारास अंधेरी येथून ट्रेड युनियनचे कार्य करणारे कॉ. बी. एस. धुमे व वासुदेवन यांनीही आपल्या इंजिनीअरिंगच्या कारखान्यांतील कामगारांची याच युनियनमध्ये सभासद-नोंदणी केली. त्यामध्ये लार्सन टोब्रोसारख्या एकमोठ्या कारखान्यातील कामगारांची भर पडली. रेल्वेचे मालडबे बनविणारी मॅकेझिज लि. मधील कामगारांची एक स्वतंत्रपणे चालणारी युनियन, ती ही आपल्या युनियनमध्ये समाविष्ट झाली. तत्पूर्वी कॉ. एस. आर. वारंग तेथीलच एक कामगार-कार्यकर्ते या युनियनचे काम बघत होते. अशा तऱ्हेने या नवीन आलेल्या सुमारे ४॥ हजार नव्या सभासदांच्या आगमनाने या युनियनची सभासद संख्या १०,००० च्यावर गेली व एक मोठे सामुदायिक पुढारीपण आपल्या युनियनला लाभले. याच वेळी आपण आग्रा-रोडवरही कमानी कंपनीच्या जवळ एक नवे ऑफिस जागा विकत घेऊन उघडले आणि कमानी, प्रिमियर, मुकुंद आणि तेथील परिसरातील कारखान्यांतील कामगारांची कामे प्रामुख्याने तेथूनच पाहू लागलो. त्या ठिकाणच्या कार्यकर्त्यांचे या कामी फार फार सहकार्य मिळाले आणि म्हणूनच हा सर्व भार आपण पेलू शकलो.

पण नियतीला हे पाहावले नाही - आणि एक वर्ष लोटते न लोटते तोच कॉ. एम. श्ही. वढावकर यांना अपघाती मृत्यू आला आणि युनियनचे फार मोठे नुकसान झाले. आपल्या युनियनचे ते एक लढावू आणि अत्यंत कार्यक्षम असे सेक्रेटरी होते.



## इंजिनियरिंग धंद्यातील कामगारांच्या फेडरेशनची स्थापना

कलकत्याला अखिल भारतीय फेडरेशनची एक जबरबस्त संघटना निर्माण झाली होती. या फेडरेशनच्या परिषदेस आपल्या युनियनमधील निरनिराळ्या १५ कारखान्यांतून जागत व कसबी असे २३ प्रतिनिधी पाठविले. त्या ठिकाणी निवडून आलेल्यांमध्ये कां. एस. ए. डांगे अध्यक्ष, कां. महंमद इलियास हे जनरल सेक्रेटरी व आपल्या युनियनचे कां. के. टी. सुळ व कां. विठ्ठल चौधरी हे अनुक्रमे उपाध्यक्ष व सेक्रेटरी म्हणून होते. आपल्या एका युनियनचे दोन प्रतिनिधी अखिल भारतीय फेडरेशनवर दोन पदाधिकारी म्हणून निवडून येतात, यातच आपल्या युनियनच्या कामगिरीची प्रशंसा अभिप्रेत आहे.

इंजिनियरिंग धंद्यातील या अखिल भारतीय फेडरेशनच्या पाठोपाठ आपण महाराष्ट्र राज्य पातळीवर इंजिनियरिंग कामगारांची फेडरेशन स्थापण्याचे ठरविले आणि यशस्वीपणे आपण आयटकच्या व काही स्वतंत्र अशा ११ युनियन्सचे राज्य फेडरेशन स्थापिले. परिषदेच्या शेवटी कामगार मैदानावर घेतलेल्या इंजिनियरिंगच्या कामगारांच्या सभेला ४००० तरो कामगार उपस्थित होते. मुंबई शहरात कामगार मैदानावर गिरणी धंद्याव्यतिरिक्त दुसऱ्या कुठल्याही धंद्यातील कामगारांची सभा यापूर्वी क्वचितच झाली असेल. पण इंजिनियरिंग व मेटलच्या फेडरेशनने हा चमत्कार प्रथमच यशस्वीपणे करून दाखविला. फेडरेशनने तीन मागण्यांवर आपले लक्ष केंद्रित केले : १) योग्य असे किमान वेतन द्या ! २) वेजबोर्डाची स्थापना करा ! ३) युनियनला मान्यता द्या ! कामगारांच्या पाठिव्याशिवाय व केवळ मालकांच्या आधारावर कामगारांत चळवळ करणाऱ्या इंटकचा त्या दिवसांत फार घुडगूस चालला होता. त्यावेळेस मजूरमंत्री श्री. शांतिलाल शहा यांचा अशा युनियनलाच मान्यता देण्यामध्ये हातखंडा होता. भांडवलशाही समाजरचनेतील सरकार यापेक्षा दुसरे कधीच काही करणार नाही. आणि हा अनुभव आजतागायत सर्व वर्गसंघटनांना रोजचा येत आहे, त्यात काही बदल नाही.

जशी कामगार मैदानावर केवळ इंजिनियरिंग कामगारांची जोरदार सभा प्रथमच या शहरात झाली, तशीच या धंद्यातील कामगारांची मिरवणूक व

निदर्शनेही वेजबोर्डाच्या मागणीसाठी त्यावेळी आपण केली. यामध्ये माझगाव डॉक, महिन्द्र अँड महिन्द्र, प्रिमिअर, गोद्रेज, ईस्ट एसियाटिक, कमानी व मुंबई बाहेरच्या सातारा (कूपर इंजिनियरिंग) कोल्हापूर व पुणे (रस्टन) या ठिकाणच्या कामगार-प्रतिनिधींनीही भाग घेतला होता. या सर्वांमध्ये आमच्या युनियनचा सिंहाचा वाटा होता. असा उल्लेख करण्याचा मोह मला टाळता येत नाही.

### १९६२-६५ : फाटाफुटीचा प्रलयकाळ

चिनी आक्रमणाच्या काळात आपल्या युनियनच्या पुढारीपणावर आक्रमणाला पाठिंबा देणारी भूमिका घेत आहोत असा आळ घेण्यात आला व आपल्या वर्चस्वाखाली असलेल्या काही कारखान्यांमध्ये तसा प्रचार करून कारखाने युनियनमधून काढून घेतले, आणि फाटाफुटीचे बिगुल वाजले, आशाच आरोपावरून सरकारनेसुद्धा युनियनच्या काही नेत्यांनाही भारत संरक्षण कायद्याखाली डांबून ठेवले होते. पण हे सर्व आरोप बिनबुडाचे होते असा कोर्टाने निकाल दिला व आम्हास लगेच सोडून देण्याचा हुकूम सोडला. कोर्टातील या कारवाईला दीड वर्ष लागले. त्यामुळे दीड-दोन वर्षांच्या तुरुंगवासामुळे आणि संशयाची राजकीय बाधा झाल्यामुळे संघटनेवर व्हायचा तोच परिणाम झालाच.

त्याच वेळी 'प्रखर' देशभक्त या नावाने मिरवणारे आणखी एक पुढारीपण फार जोरात पुढे आले होते. आपल्या युनियन्स फोडण्याचे पुण्यकर्म देशभक्तीच्या नावाखाली या महाभागांनी चालविलेले असते, तर एक राजकीय मतभेदाची बाब म्हणून त्याकडे बघायला हरकत नव्हती. कालांतराने सगळ्या गोष्टींचा उलगडा होऊ शकतो आणि गैरसमज दूर करता येतात. पण यावेळी 'प्रखर' देशभक्तांनी निरनिराळ्या युनियन्समध्ये कुणालाही हाताशी धरून, शिवीगाळी करून, युनियन्स विघटित करण्याचा एवढा सपाटा लावला की, त्या 'घोषणा' ऐकून लाजेने मानच खाली करावी. उदाहरणार्थ, एकच घोषणा येथे नमूद करतो, "कौन है ?" फोरास रोडका भडवा है." वास्तविक भारत सेवक समाजाचे ते एक निष्ठावंत नेते म्हणून त्यांना सर्व ओळखत होते. त्यांच्या नेतेपणाखाली एक मोठी सीमेन्स युनियन होती, ती कबजात घेण्यासाठी या आरोळ्या. कामगार चळवळीत शिरू लागलेल्या

शिवराळ युगाची ती सुरुवात होती.

आमच्या क्रॉस्टन व न्यू स्टॅण्डर्ड इंजिनअरिंग-मध्ये हाच झुडगूस घातला गेला पण जमले नाही. याच्याच जोडीला दुर्दैवाने साम्यवादी पक्षांमधील राजकीय फुटीनेसुद्धा त्याच काळात डोके वर काढले होते. परिणामी, आमच्या युनियनमधील एक फार मोठी कामगारांची फळी फुटली आणि आयटकला सोडून ती सीटूट समाविष्ट झाली. अंधेरी युनियनच्याही पुढारीपणांमधील त्या गटाने आपले काम अलग नावाने सुरू केले.

या सर्वांचा उपयोग काही आपल्याला होतो का म्हणून शिवसेनेकडूनही लाल वावट्याच्या युनियन्सवर जोराने हल्ले होऊ लागले, जेथे जेथे संप होतील, मागण्या कितीही योग्य असोत किंवा कार्यकर्त्यांना वडतर्फे केल्याचा अन्यायाचा प्रतिकार म्हणून झालेले ते योग्य संप असोत, मालकवर्गाकडून आवाहन करण्यात यायचे आणि संपफोडेगिरी व युनियन फोडेगिरीची वर्गविरोधी कामगिरी यांनी पुरी करावची. असा प्रकार अनेक वर्षे चालू राहिला. कामगार चळवळीला फाटाफुटीची जी कीड त्यावेळेपासून लागली ती वाढतच आहे. कमी होण्याची चिन्हे अजून तरी दिसत नाहीत. चळवळीचा वर्गीय आशयच मुळी नष्ट झाल्यासारखे झाले आहे.

### शिक्षण शिविरे, युद्धविरोध व कामगार वर्गीय भ्रातृभाव यांची सांगड

अशा तऱ्हेच्या चढ-उतारातून कामगारांचे हीत करता करता या युनियनने आपली ३७ वर्षे पुरी केली आहेत, आणि जनरल इंजिनीअरिंग एम्प्लॉ. युनियनच्या नावाने १९५५ प्साली स्थापना झाल्यावर यंदा रीप्य-महोत्सव म्हणून साजरा होत आहे. जोवर-भांडवलशाहीचा नाश होत नाही, तोवर हे असले अनुभव सर्व कामगार संघटनांचे असणारच. महत्त्वाचे म्हणजे कामगारांना वर्गीय शिक्षण देणे आणि भांडवलशाहीचा नाश कसा होऊ शकतो, इतर देशांची उदाहरणे देऊन सारखे सांगत राहणे हे युनियनमध्ये सातत्याने करावयाचे कर्तव्य आहे. या बाबतीत आमच्या या युनियनने दरवर्षी कधी ७५ ते कधी १२५ कामगारांचे असे या काळात वीस शिक्षणवर्ग घेतले आणि प्रत्येक वेळी तीन ते सहा दिवस शिविरे चालविली. कामगार शिक्षणाच्या या महत्त्वाच्या कार्यक्रमासाठी कॉ. सरदेसाई, मुळे; डांगे, बी. टी,

रणदिवे, प्रभाकर वैद्य, जी. डे. साने, चंद्रगुप्त चौधरी. वसंत तुळपुळे, मधु शेठके, ए. बी. बर्धन, तारा रेड्डी, जी. आर. खानोलकर, जयंत गडकरी, सॅम्युअल ऑगस्टिन इ. नामवंत व अनुभवी नेत्यांचे चांगले सहकार्य लाभले होते. त्यातून दीड-दोन हजार तरी वर्गजागृत कामगार कार्यकर्ते तयार केले.

तसेच संबंध जगाला युद्धखोरी, शस्त्रस्पर्धा, शीत-युद्ध अगडबंब युद्धसामुग्री व लष्करावरील खर्च; याच्या चक्रव्युहात अडकवून ठेवणाऱ्या साम्राज्यवाद्यांचे राजकारण समजावण्याचे कार्य केले. त्याला रोखण्याचे सामर्थ्य कामगारवर्गातच कसे आहे, हे समजावून शांतता परिषदाही या युनियनने घेतल्या यातून कामगारवर्गीय आंतरराष्ट्रीयवादाचे बाळकडू त्यांना सतत दिले. मे-दिन, रशियन राज्यक्रांती दिन (७ नोव्हें), पॅरिस कम्युन-दिन (१८ मार्च), साम्राज्यशाहीविरोधी दिन (१ ऑगस्ट) अशा महत्त्वाच्या दिनी जागतिक कामगार व क्रांतिकारक चळवळीची सतत आठवण ठेवण्यासाठी नियमितपणे सभा, मिरवणुका, हस्तपत्रके या माध्यमाचा सारखा उपयोग केला.

आणि त्यामुळेच त्यांचे सहकार्य शूर विद्यनामींच्या मुक्तिसंग्रामाच्या नैतिक मदतीसाठी झालेल्या सभामिरवणुकांमध्ये मिळवू शकलो. आमच्या युनियनने ही कामे कटाक्षाने व क्रांतिकारक जाणिवेने केली याबद्दलचा यथार्थ अभिमान येथे व्यक्त करणे हे गैर होणार नाही.

शेवटी सर्व नव्या-जुन्या कार्यकर्त्यांचे आभार मानून एकच प्रबळ इच्छा महोत्सवाच्या निमित्ताने व्यक्त करू इच्छितो की, एका धडात एक युनियन या तत्त्वाला जागून सर्वजण पूर्वाप्रमाणे एकत्र या आणि या नव्या परिस्थितीत कामगारांना मार्गदर्शन करणारे प्रभावी पुढारीपण निर्माण करा, आज कामगार चांगलाच संघटित व जागृत झाला आहे. पण योग्य एकजूटीच्या पुढारीपणाअभावी व निरनिराळ्या संघटनांमध्ये विखुरला गेल्यामुळे तो भांडवलशाहीला मरणांतिक टोला द्यायला असमर्थ ठरला आहे. तो आज कुठल्याही कावेबाज पुढारीपणाचे नेतृत्व सहन करतो याचे कारण हेच; व संधिसाधू व भांडवली माणसांना दिल्लीच्या तख्तावर बसवितो, त्याचेही कारण हेच !

File  
Personal (A.P.S.)

GS

17, बिल्डिंग फ्लोर

पत्र - 800001

3.1.95

प्रति,  
महासचिव  
रेटक, राष्ट्रीय परिषद  
नयी दिल्ली।

RECEIVED  
For ..... on  
12 JAN 1995  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi

प्रिय साथी,

कर्नाटक चुनाव-परिणाम पर रेटक की प्रतिक्रिया की ओर आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। प्रतिक्रिया मुझे 25 दिसंबर 1994 में "मुक्ति संघर्ष" में पढ़ने को मिली।

रेटक ने मतदाताओं का हार्दिक अभिनंदन करते हुए "एक शालीन, कार्यकुशल एवं स्वच्छ प्रशासन" देने की उम्मीद करने से लेकर केन्द्र में वामपंथी ताकतों के साथ एक वैकल्पिक सरकार पेश करने का आग्रह भी जनता दल से किया है।

जहाँ तक काँग्रेस-ईई को हराने और भाजपा को गद्दी नहीं सोपने का जनता का निर्णय है, वह अवश्य स्वागत योग्य है, लेकिन उसने मजदूर वर्ग के उम्मीदवारों को भी ठुकरा दिया, एक सी. पी. एम. के प्रतिनिधि को छोड़ कर। रेटक या मजदूर वर्ग का कोई अन्य संगठन किसके जोरों पर अपनी बात विधान सभा में उठवाएगा? कर्नाटक की जनता मजदूर वर्ग की राजनीति को क्यों नहीं अपना रही है? इस प्रश्न पर क्या रेटक ने गौर किया?

जनता दल सरकार से शालीन, कार्य कुशल और स्वच्छ प्रशासन देने की उम्मीद का आधार क्या है? इस प्रश्न के प्रसंग में जनता दल सरकार के वर्ग-चरित्र पर विचार कर के मजदूर-वर्ग को उसके वारे में बताना क्या जरूरी नहीं है? इसके बिना क्या मजदूर-वर्ग का राजनीतिक संगठन मजदूर वर्ग और अन्य मेहनतकशों का समर्थन पा सकता है। जनता दल ने पहले भी कर्नाटक पर राज किया था और उससे निराश हो कर ही वहाँ की जनता ने काँग्रेस-ईई को गद्दी सोप दी थी। इस प्रकार काँग्रेस-ईई की सरकार बनने का उत्तरदायित्व जनता दल की पिछली सरकार पर था। इस बार क्या जनता दल का चरित्र बदल गया है? कर्नाटक का चुनाव परिणाम क्या यह नहीं कहता है कि एक पूँजीवादी दल को हराकर दूसरा पूँजीवादी <sup>दल</sup> गद्दी पर आया है? इसलिए मजदूरों और अन्य मेहनतकशों के हितों में राजनीतिक विकास करना बाकी है।

केन्द्र में वामपंथी दलों और जनता दल के मेल से सरकार का बनना क्या मजदूर-वर्ग और पूँजीवादी वर्ग का गठबंधन नहीं होगा? वह भी ऐसा गठबंधन जिसमें पूँजीवादी वर्ग के राजनीतिक प्रतिनिधियों का प्रभुत्व होगा। क्या ऐसे शक्ति संतुलन में मजदूर वर्ग के हितों के अनुकूल काम सरकार से कराया जा सकेगा? क्या ऐसे गठबंधन को वामपंथी जनवादी विक्ल्प का नाम दिया जा सकता है?

यदि इन प्रश्नों पर विचार कर के उत्तर दें तो मुझे सुशी होगी।

क्रांतिकारी अभिवादनो के साथ-

95:

~~किसी~~ जल के तारे में  
इस जल के साथ  
है अकितल में  
आपका प्रिय, रेहता।  
- [Signature]

आपका साथी  
[Signature]  
खगेन्द्र ठाकुर

3.1.95

File  
Personal App) Com: ABB, for information

RECEIVED

For.....on

30 DEC 1994

A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi

G.S.

\*DECISION TO STAND IN BHARATI NAGAR

The State Committee of Communist Party of India decided by around the last week of October 1994 that I also file my nomination in the elections to the Karnataka Legislative Assembly, scheduled to be held in Bangalore on the 1st December 1994.

Later the State Secretary of our party desired that I file my nomination in the Bharati Nagar Constituency instead of Varathur Constituency, though in the later constituency we might be having a better base and an acknowledgeable voters strength, being HAL and other industrial workers. This was proposed with a view to accommodate Com. Suryanarayana Rao, CPM candidate in the Varathur Constituency as our understanding between CPI and CPM had reached. However, on the last date he withdrew and stood in Gandhi-nagar Constituency. Having filed my nomination in the Bharati Nagar Constituency only, I had to stick to that, as the decision of the Bangalore District Council was to confine our contest only to one constituency in Bangalore City and one in the rural viz. Ramnagara.

It may be recalled that in the Bharati Nagar Constituency, Com. Suri stood last time with the support of the Janata Dal and secured about 12,000 voters and why he selected Gandhinagar in preference to Varathur or Bharati Nagar (where he did not file nomination this time) is not known.

\*ADJUSTMENT EFFORTS FAILED

Almost a few days before the last date of withdrawal our party and till the last date the CPM were considering the question of seat adjustment with Janata Dal leaders who according to our State Secretary and others who attended meetings with the Janata Dal were not responding properly and behaving as if they have already won. They were prepared to directly concede Davangere seat only and were not relenting in respect of others, though there were some indications of conceding in 3 places (Indian Express reported that Bharati Nagar was one of the seats JD was prepared to concede to us). We were the strong contenders for Shahbad which was the seat held by us in the past, besides Davangere and Chikamangalur where we have been contesting for the Parliament seat since three terms and we also wanted Berur, as we felt we had a fair chance of winning there.

It is also to be noted that some of our leaders/contestants desired to have seat adjustment with KCP and approached Mr. Bangarappa after the talks broke down with JD, but the later did not respond (Ironically even while JD left Davangere seat without contesting, KCP put up their candidate for that seat also) contrary to the expectation of those who desired to have seat adjustment with KCP.

### \* BANGALORE DISTRICT COUNCIL'S DECISION

In the District Council of Bangalore, it was felt by most of them that Rajajinagar, though a seat won by Com.M.S. Krishnan thrice in the past (once independently as Malleswaram Constituency and twice having adjustment with either Congress or JD), is not a better seat this time as the others have prepared much ahead of us and they did not get any inspiration. Hence, they proposed either Varathur or Bharati Nagar, in addition to, if possible, Ram Nagar. Having filed nomination only in Bharati Nagar, finally we had to confine to that Constituency only and none filed nomination in Ram Nagar (where Mr.Dave Gowda was the candidate from JD).

### \* COMPOSITION AND BACKGROUND OF BHARATI NAGAR CONSTITUENCY

Bharati Nagar Constituency is almost a mini-South India. It consists of different linguistic and ethnic groups viz. Tamils, Kannada, Telugu (lot of them confined to slums), Christians, besides considerable population of Muslims (about 14,000 voters and many more without votes). It had returned barring one occasion an undivided DMK (Hindu) candidate, on all occasions Christians. Predominately a Congress area it also has a considerable number of DMKs and after the split AIADMK persons. CPI never thought of contesting in that constituency in the past and on the last occasion CPM contested the seat. They had also put up their candidates in the last Corporation election, though none of them won. Having not thought of the area, we did not put up any candidate for Corporation, and several years ago once we put up a candidate for Ulsoor and lost miserably.

Because of its considerable number of Christian population/voters most of the Parties (barring official JD) put up Christians as their candidates, besides independent Christian candidates. There was tussel between 2 contenders of the JD and finally the seat was allotted to Mr.Rajanna, a sitting Corporator who had the blessings of Party Chief Dave Gowda and Mr. Michael Fernandes, an MLA from JD on 2 occasions and also an MLC was denied party ticket and he stood as an independent candidate defying the party, supported by 2 JD Corporators who were all removed from JD on the election eve. The sitting MLA who also became the Minister Mr.K.J. George, had defected to KCP and stood in a different symbol (Coconut Treet) from the traditional 'hand'.

### \* WE STARTED FROM 'NOTHING'

CPI is new to the Constituency, its candidate was also new to any elections (other than Trade Union elections). We had no branch in the Constituency. There were no Corporators to support us and we had no internal machinery in the Constituency. With all these limitations we entered the frey (There was not even one symbol flag with us to start the Campaign, though the Party had contested many times in the City). Many local/Constituency persons who are non-party members to work for us were accidentally found during the Campaign and they did work

sincerely. We had to rely on 'imported' cadres/machinery who gathered in considerable number only in the last few days, before the election. Having been in the Trade Union field for many years, well-wishers and TU cadres irrespective of party affiliation came to work for us though their number was small (some DMK, Congress persons from HAL, etc.)

#### \* CAMPAIGN

Our campaign was orderly and systematic. The candidate along with volunteers visited about 13,000 to 14,000 houses and personally met the voters (mostly house wives and retired persons) besides meeting workers of different industries a few days before the election in the important factory bus stops. We have issued two explanatory pamphlets, first an appeal to the working class and later an Appeal to the Voters of Bharati Nagar Constituency highlighting our tasks and assuring periodic peoples' convention to solve the civic and other problems (our party manifesto arrived at our election offices only the previous evening of the election day and none could have read it). 3 public meetings were held in the 3 out of 7 Corporation divisions and these were not so well attended by the Voters. 2 prominent speakers (Guru Das Gupta MP and Shamin Faise) did not attend the public meetings and one meeting was cancelled by our cadres in Cox Town. Public meetings of certain other parties, barring Congress, were more impressive and better attended as galaxy of outside speakers, ministers, actors, etc. addressed such meetings. Our door to door campaign was really good and responsive. Those who read our pamphlets did speak well of them.

#### \* TUs RESPONSE

There are only 2 factories within the Constituency, one Metal Lamp factory Union affiliated to AITUC and the other ITC, whose union is affiliated to CITU. The functionaries of both these unions worked (the former meeting a good amount of expenditure and the later without any expenses) during the campaign. The general workers belonging to some major industries, even those affiliated/ connected to us did not come forward to work for us, and some of them having been belonged to other major parties all along excused themselves stating the fact and others pretended as if they were otherwise busy. But all of them promised they will only vote for us, having belonged to working class. However, what they finally did is revealed in the results.

The RBI Employees' Association (Class III) Secretary and some functionaries came with us during the door to door campaign. It was told that the President of that Association in the same morning went with Mr. Michael Fernandes to a few houses in the same RBI quarters. The Class IV workers union, which is directly affiliated to AIBEA, however did not come with us during the door to door campaign in the quarters, despite advance information to them also.

### \* CERTAIN PROBLEMS

During our door to door campaign (which was not done so extensively and systematically like us by any other candidate) the impression gained was that the voters, particularly the working class including the retired factory/office workers are responding well and that was to be followed up by the others. Except in certain areas, as we did not have local cadres, the follow up was not carried on and the voters might have forgotten our one time visit/campaign.

The symbol was new to the constituency and many less educated/ uneducated persons were enquiring what the symbol was. If there were to be follow up rounds by others, this could have been explained better.

A lot of TU cadres and well wishers from a number of affiliated unions did participate in the campaign. This was the real strength we had. Many party branches/branch secretaries and even DC members did not take this election seriously and some of them showed their faces or worked very nominally. May be some of them wanted CPI to contest in the traditional constituency hence did not feel happy). This applied to the state leadership also. While there were number of statements in the press from different leaders of other political parties during the campaign, seldom there were any from our party. Not that this would have had serious impact on the electorate of Bharati Nagar but it would have given some morale boost up to the party. The candidate himself had to send statements in the evening to cover the evening press/Tamil press which are popular in the constituency.

Thanks to the Bank Comrades for the work of writing the entire identification slips. But this was not distributed in some localities (eg. Kadirannapalaya, for lack of persons and parts of Cox Town and a number of slums in the belief that they will anyway not vote to us).

Most of our meetings/forums consisted of outsiders that is union representatives and well-wishers from outside the constituency and the message did not reach the local constituency persons, except during our door to door campaign. Compared to others, we had a good cassette, professionally prepared, which was well received, but our Auto Rickshaw programme was confined to 2, that too for a few days only.

### \*THE COMPOSITION OF OTHER PARTIES/CANDIDATES

Mr. Michael Fernandes very much felt and argued that the constituency will return Christian only as was done all along and he, as a minority community person had a good chance. He later put forth his plea that as an independent candidate he would be able to work freely without party strings, hence he can do better service. However, this did not cut the ice, though he had the support of some JD Corporators.

The Congress votes were divided amongst Congress, KCP and to a considerable extent AIADMK, which was the former's ally in the last election. The BJP's official candidate was opposed by a rebel. The Christians in the fray were more than half a dozen. The non-DMK Tamil votes were swayed by AIADMK candidate for whose support a plithora of ministers, MLAs, District Secretaries and a lot of money and materials came from Tamil Nadu. The DMKs were officially in support of JD though as a person the JD candidate was not favoured by hard core Tamils. We also wrote to DMK President, Karunanidhi and requested CPI Tamil Nadu leaders to follow it up. But they failed, whereas keeping the future Bangalore Corporation election in mind, DMK came to an understanding with JD and supported it.

Entire Muslim votes went in favour of JD in the whole state (This explains the defeat of Congress Muslim leaders elsewhere). Thus, the solid communal votes (of Vokkaligas because Mr. Dave Gowda was focussed as the future Chief Minister after a long time from the community), Muslim votes and DMK votes went in favour of JD in Bharati Nagar while all others got divided.

#### \*WORKING CLASS RESPONSE?

We very much relied on the working class conscious and the working class support, as we had no other base, either party, corporators or any other party. But the working class also divided on communal, political and linguistic lines and not on class lines, as we wanted it to be (The same fate was seen by other working class leaders also, in the other constituencies, except where those candidates were also belonged to some predominant communities). Ironically while the NGEF workers did not vote, they elected me unanimously as the President of the NGEFEA on 09th December 94, withdrawing 13 other nominations filed for the post of President. The HAL employees are about 1200 apart from about 400 retired employees of HAL. BEL union affiliated to AITUC sent letters to 800 BEL employees to their house addresses. NGEF officers quarters in Indiranagar is in this constituency. There are HMT, ITI, MICO and above all ITC employees. Even if they and part of their families have voted it could have been a wonderful response. The joint appeal by AITUC, CITU, INTUC, though created sensation in the National Level and caused difficulties to Congress, it seems to have not had the impact on Bharati Nagar Voters.

#### \*OUR LACK OF ADVANCE PREPARATIONS

Many were wondering why in Karnataka the NF-LF combine could not be worked out while in the National level it is proclaimed and in Andhra it could be achieved. Some feel that we did not put our efforts adequately in the right way. This does not attribute to negotiations in the last few days. While JD did a lot of survey and preparations many months before and selected candidates, focused them in the forefront, we as a party did not do this well in advance but waited for the publication of calender of events and then awaiting for seat adjustments etc. to finalise our



candidates as well as constituencies. If advance planning was done towards many constituencies/districts as far as possible and prepared ourselves, even the efforts for adjustments would have given much better result when we went for negotiations. This may apply to even CPM, though they seem to be better organised but they also went on trying for adjustment of seats till the last minutes of the withdrawal date and even after that issued statements/notices in support of JD where they or the allies did not stand.

Some persons much later alleged that Com.Suri did not put the real effort to get me the ITC workers votes, as he felt that his position in Gandhinagar compared to ours in Bharatinagar at that stage was not better. How far this is true I do not know but the fact remain that the ITC workers did not vote to us, so also the other workers. However, Com. Venkatesha Gowda, CPM leader and Advocate from Ulsoor repeatedly told me (even after the poor results) that he appreciates my candidature and approach and this time it was too late when he joined the campaign and having been committed to Gandhinagar work but he will certainly do much more in the future and not to get demoralised etc.

#### \*ELECTORAL MALPRACTICES

During the campaign, in the slums (there are 18 of them in this constituency), many demanded money, assistance in kind etc. for the suddenly coming up temples. I categorically told them that "I shall not give money and I will not take money, but do sincere service for the improvement of their area. But this seems to have not satisfied them. Though some workers of PrajaNatya Mandali headed by Assistant Secretary, CPI Tirupathi came and sang songs in the Andhra Colonies which was well responded and enjoyed by them, that did not get us votes as they were committed to electoral malpractices. In competition, the KCP, AIADMK, Cong (I), to some extent JD, and the rebel BJP candidates spent money for purchasing votes, gave sarees and gifts (nose ring, calenders, etc.) besides some of them feeding liquors. I do not say this is the cause for the result, but these also played their role. Deccan Herald, dated 02.12.94 gave a special report about these happening in Bharati Nagar on the 01st December 1994. Enclosing this as well as the misuse of vehicles for bringing the voters (giving some specific number of Autos & Cars) I had written to CEC (the copy of which was already given to State Secretary of the CPI).

#### \*THE RESULTS

As is the trend in the whole state, JD has come back with the anti-congress wave in Bharati Nagar also. It is good BJP did not come to power but they improved their number of legislators 10 times in the Assembly. This will have a telling effect in the future, as they become the main opposition party and the communal card did work in their favour (eg. Hubli). JD is not free from the problems of congress, atleast in Karnataka they cannot be totally called secular or not corrupt. Having come to power they

would not bother about the alliance with left (to some extent they only preferred CPM which is evident from their statements and offer made on the eve of Assembly elections). As in the last assembly there is no TU representative this time also and we may have to conduct more and more struggles by the mass organisations.

In Bharati Nagar, except the winning candidate, every body else lost their deposits, including the ex-MLAs and those who spent huge amounts.

During the Thanks giving meeting held by me on the 6th December 94 many have suggested to continue with the area work which are to be known to the constituency voters and think of putting some candidates for the Corporation elections. Whether this is immediately possible in the light of the miserable result or should we wait for some time and then start something is to be thought of.

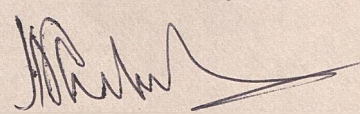
#### \*THE LESSONS

One thing is certain that we can not expect others to take note of us, unless we are ourselves strong atleast in limited areas. A systematic plan at the state and district level is required. It is not possible with the present level of demoralised and non-initiating persons at various levels. Either they must change their approach/attitude or the composition of our forums themselves to be altered drastically. While TU work may not be given up, political work at our own local initiative on local issues (not merely at the call of the National Council or State Committee on National issues) will have to be undertaken, though this is difficult in the face of inadequate cadres in places like Bangalore (In Centres like Davangare, Chickmagalore, this is already taking place, according to the reports given from time to time). We may have to give chances to the New Cadres including sympathisers and working class cadres who may not be party members now (as all party members are not that active or resourceful).

The image of the party will have to be built up in such a way that people take us seriously. When we stand for just 8 seats only, many ask "what are you going to do as any way your party will not come to power? Why don't you have alliance with the party coming up etc." were the questions from common voters/people.

We may further discuss in an objective manner, without anybody getting offended because certain facts are candidly narrated in some of the above paragraphs and take decisions accordingly.

11.12.94

  
H. MAHADEVAN

स्वामी ओमदेव

स्वतन्त्रता-संग्राम सेनानी

RECEIVED  
For. ....on

19 JAN 1995

A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi

दिनांक 16.1.95

GS

R/ file  
(Personal) - A/SB

: कम्युनिस्ट एकता के संदर्भ में :

विश्व कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन को अपने जन्म काल से ही आन्तरिक मतभेदों व संघर्षों का सामना करना पड़ा है। इसके पुरोधा कार्ल मार्क्स, लेनिन तथा स्टालिन जैसे अप्रतिम प्रतिभा सम्पन्न इतिहास पुरूष भले ही इस समय दिखाई न पड़ते हों किन्तु अपने अपने युग के अन्तर विरोधों का समाधान किया परन्तु व्यक्तियों का निर्माण तो परिस्थितियाँ और इतिहास स्वयं कर ही लेता है। भारत के कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन की वर्तमान परिस्थितियाँ अपने प्रकार की नई और विशिष्ट प्रकृति की है। अपने समय के अन्तरीवरोधों का समाधान करने की जिम्मेदारी आज के अनेक धाराओं में बटे हुए कम्युनिस्टों के ही ऊपर है। कम्युनिस्ट एकता का प्रश्न आज का प्राथमिक और ज्वलन्त प्रश्न बन गया है। पिछले दिनों अफगानिस्तान में "खल्क और परचम" की एकता का सुपरिणाम भले ही उसकी अन्तिम परिणति कुछ भी रही हो तथा अभी हाल में नेपाल के कम्युनिस्टों की एकता का परिणाम भारत के कम्युनिस्टों के लिए उत्साह बर्धक है।

एकता की चर्चा काफी दिनों से चल रही है तथा भाकपा (मार्क्सवादी) के किन्ही चिन्तकों ने काफी पहले कटना शुरू कर दिया था कि हमारे विभाजन का दौर समाप्त हो गया और अब एकता का दौर आरम्भ होना है। भाकपा और माकपा के छेम्पों में एकता के पक्षधर तथा विरोधी दोनों ही हैं परन्तु एकता के पक्षधर लोगो का पलड़ा भारी हो चला है। वैचारिक की अपेक्षा व्यवहारिक की छाईयाँ अधिक हैं।

एक समझ यह बनी है कि एकता की शुरुआत जन संगठनों से की जाये जिनमें ट्रेड यूनियन एक प्रमुख जन संगठन है। टी.ए.ओ.संघों के महासंघों का नफेडरेशन की अवधारणा व्यावहारिक प्रतीत होती है। अतः इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करके शीघ्र ही निर्णय लिया जाना चाहिए। ट्रेड यूनियन एकता में कीटाई औद्योगिक ईकाई स्तर पर है। अतः इसके लिए मेरे दो सुझाव हैं।

एक यह कि जिस ईकाई में सटक या सीट्ट में से किसी एक की शाखा कार्यरत है वहाँ दूसरा संगठन आज के बाद अपनी शाखा स्थापित न करें। इसका परिपालन कठोरता एवं निरपवाद से किया जाये। दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि जहाँ पर दोनों संगठनों की शाखा कार्यरत है वहाँ पर उनकी गतिविधियों का संचालन दोनों की समन्वय समिति के माध्यम से ही किया जाये।

कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन के सैधौन्तिक तथा राजनैतिक प्रश्नों पर एकता की समस्या एक व्यापक समस्या है जिस पर एकता के प्रयास तथा विचारों का आदान-प्रदान चालु रहना चाहिए। परन्तु जहाँ तक संसदीय चुनावी राजनैतिक का प्रश्न है किसी एक भी सीट पर दोनों पार्टियों के मध्य टकराव की स्थिति किसी भी कीमत पर नहीं आनी चाहिए और दोनों पार्टियाँ यह पूरा-2 प्रयास करें कि अन्य किसी बामपंथी दल के साथ भी टकराव न होने पाये। इस प्रसंग में यह समाचार स्वागत योग्य है कि बाम मोर्चा जनता दल या किसी अन्य से सामान्य रूप से न ही बिल्क राज्ज स्तर पर ताल मेल की नीति अपनायेगा। और बाम मोर्चे के घटक दल आपस में पूर्ण रूप से ताल मेल करके चुनाव लडेगें।

भारत के कम्युनिस्टों की एकता

- जिन्दाबाद।

मार्क्सवाद-बेनिनवाद

- जिन्दाबाद।

स्वामी ओमदेव

भारतीय मिल मजदूर यूनियन

बुगर मिल शामिली मुजफ्फरनगर 80090

R/ File  
(Personal) A33B

Kasturi Apartments-  
Sane Wadi Aundha  
Pune 411007

My dear Com. Barathan 4-1-95-

In early Nov 94 I had written to you a letter regarding our proposal to organise 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Ambedkar's (27-8-46) on 27-8-96 at the central.

In that communication I had also stated that according to information given to me by Com. L.S. Karkhanis of the Maharashtra Committee of the Party all the documents, reports etc together with the old files of your Party journals have been shifted to the Central Office Delhi.

I had also stated that in the absence of the relevant material of that period it is very difficult to write any meaningful.

I certainly would like to be

informed about the same, so that  
some of us may come to  
Delhi to go into the old papers  
refers & files & do the needful

I am sending this note  
with Com. R. Nene of Pune whom  
you know very well.

Of course I had requested  
you to communicate to me on  
the address of Com. S. W. Bhulerao.

183 Baliram Petu opp. Bochimwadi  
Talgaon. Do not know if you had  
sent any letter there. If you have  
already responded to it please  
excuse me.

With greetings

(Vasant Bhagwat)

Yours truly  
VSB

65

Personal file  
A.B.B.

21.1.95

Dear Com. Khagendra Thakur,

Your letter dated 3.1.95.

You have raised a number of questions regarding class character of Government and our tactical aims (not to be confused with our strategic objectives). All these cannot be answered in a brief letter. But since I will be in Patna in February middle, I will have a talk with you.

Article in 'Mukti' can wait, because such an article in the midst of Polls can only confuse instead of clarify.

I can only say that the J.D. IS among the centrist parties, and decidedly not left. Its leadership is petty-bourgeois, bourgeois and kulak. Its programme is an eclectic mixture of petty bourgeois recipes mixed with abstract (and sometimes mix-leading) talk of social justice. But its attraction for a section of the people is precisely due to this mixture, and to their anti-congress sentiments.

This section refuses to go behind the BJP because of its communal rightist

contd.....2

character; and is unable yet to rally behind the Left, because of the latter's weakness and division. The Left is unable to attract it yet.

To shun the J.D. would therefore mean to confuse this vast centrist mass, and to scatter its forces. That cannot be to the Left advantage.

The tactical aims of the Left should be clear.

Greetings,

Yours comradely,y

*etc*

Com. Khagendra Thakur,  
17, Vidhayak Club,  
Patna - 800001.

*ABB*

(A.B. BARDHAN)



Personal  
File JGS

G5

December 31, 1994,

Dear Com. Ramarao,

I came to hear that you are not well, and are bed-ridden. We are all anxious on hearing this.

I hope the New Year will find you in good health and cheer, and back at your post. You have many more years of fruitful life to live.

With greetings,

Yours comradely,

Com. T. Ramarao,  
Vice-President,  
AIFUC,  
BOMBAY.

(A. B. BARDHAN)

दिनांक 28-12-1994.

आदरणी कामरेड इन्दू नाहार,

पत्र मिला ।

तारीख 7 जनवरी को मैं नागपुर रहुँगा, वहाँ मुझसे  
मिलिए । आपकी नौकरी की बातचीत होगी ।

शुभकामनाएँ,

आपका,

॥ ए.बी.बर्धन ॥  
जनरल सेक्रेटरी

कामरेड इन्दू नाहार  
12/24 रामबाग कॉलोनी  
नागपुर.

=====

C/S

19-12-1994

Dear Shri Raina,

Your letter and the  
cheque.

I have not myself seen  
the "Bharatiya Samajik Chirtan" issue  
containing my paper. Coulf I get a  
Xerox copy?

I read the cutting that  
you sent on "Unrest and Calm" with  
great interest. Of course, the tilt  
is clear. But nevertheless it is  
telling.

With Regards,

Yours

*AB*

( A. B. Bardhan )

—

ફોન : ૩૨૦૫૦૭

Phone : 320507

● ભારતનો સામ્યવાદી પક્ષ  
(માર્કસવાદી)

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય સમિતિ  
પ્રાર્થના સમાજ, રાયખડ,  
અમદાવાદ-૩૮૦૦૦૧

રાજ્ય મંત્રી : સુબોધ મહેતા

Communist Party Of  
India (Marxist)

Gujarat State Committee

Prathana Samaj, Raykhad,  
Ahmedabad-380001

State Sect : Subodh Mehta

Dt.



(7)

I am extremely sorry to say  
that ~~even though~~ I have drawn  
the attention of An Chitamban Pyankhan  
he seems to be completely  
ineffective or rather ~~with~~ willful  
party to call that GK Panwar does  
& behave

I am ~~sorry~~ to say  
that we are compelled to  
cease all united activity  
in Ahmedabad at least.  
In Bhanyu also one dismissed  
by us has been made the  
CPI sect of the unit (PTO)

File

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932

**RECEIVED**  
For .....  
18 FEB 1995  
A. I. T. U. C. e  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi.

13-2-95



PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

R/ File  
A.B.S

Bhai Bardhan,

you would be happy to know that the Minister of Communication Shri Sukh Ranji has ultimately decided to bring out a commemorative stamp in memory of Ruikarji. I am, herewith, sending copies of letters of Shri Sukh Ranji to Shri Vasant Sathe. Shri Sathe has informed Shri Sukh Ranji that 1st May, 1995, may be the most suitable date and that Ruikar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee will extend its whole hearted cooperation in organizing this function. Since, you are in Delhi, I would request you to get in touch with setheji (Phone No. 3016948) or his Private Secretary Shri P. D. Patask (Phone No. 3717377). Shri Patask has informed me that he will coordinate the programme. It seems that Shri Merwin ALEXANDER, Asst. Director (General) (Phil), Ministry of Communication Dept of Posts, DSK Bhuvan, Sansad Marg, New Delhi, 110001 is the officer concerned. His phone No. is 3711731. I may also visit Delhi after the date finalized.

GSI File

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932

**RECEIVED**  
For .....  
18 FEB 1995  
A. I. T. U. C. &  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi.

13-2-95

Bheji Bardhan,

you would be happy

to know that the Minister of Communication  
Shri Sukh Ranji has ultimately decided  
to bring out a commemorative stamp in  
memory of Ruikarji. I am, herewith, sending  
copies of letters of Shri Sukh Ranji &  
Shri Vasant Sathe. Shri Sathe has informed  
Shri Sukh Ranji that 1st May, 1995, May Day  
will be the most suitable date and  
that Ruikar Birth Centenary Celebration  
Committee will extend its whole hearted  
cooperation in organizing this function.  
Since, you are in Delhi, I would request  
you to get in touch with Satheji (Phone  
No. 3016948) or his Private Secretary Shri  
P. D. Patnaik (Phone No. 3717377). Shri Patnaik  
has informed me that he will coordinate  
the programme. It seems that Shri  
Merwin ALEXANDER, Asst. Director  
(General) (Phil), Ministry of Communication  
Dept of Posts, DSK Bhuvan, Sansad  
Marg, New Delhi, 110001 is the officer  
concerned. His phone No. is 3711731  
I may also visit Delhi after the date  
is finalized

PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

R/ File  
A/B

INDIAN | भारतीय  
COUNCIL FOR | सांस्कृतिक  
CULTURAL | संबंध  
RELATIONS | परिषद

Vasant Sathe  
President

New Delhi,  
February 2, 1995

*My dear Mr. Sukh Ram ji :*

Thank you for your letter No.16-73/94-Phil. dated January 11, 1995, regarding the issue of a commemorative stamp in memory of Shri R.S. Ruikar, a famous and prominent leader of the working class. I am indeed thankful to you for agreeing to bring out the postage stamp during the centenary year of this great leader of the working class movement of India. I am sure this decision will be wholeheartedly welcomed by all and particularly by the working class who would remain grateful for this gesture on the part of the Government.

2. As regards the timing for the issue of the stamp, in the circumstances explained by you, it is felt that the most suitable alternative date for this purpose will be May 1, 1995, which is observed as May Day all over the country in honour of the working class. I would request you to instruct the Department of Posts to release the stamp on that day at a suitable function. The Ruikar Centenary Celebrations Committee will extend its wholehearted cooperation in organising this function.

3. I am enclosing herewith 3 copies of photographs of late Shri R.S. Ruikar for the purpose of production of the commemorative stamp.

Thanking you once again and with warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Vasant Sathe*  
(VASANT SATHE)

Pandit Sukh Ram,  
Minister of Communications,  
NEW DELHI.

Encl: photos

17 JAN 1995



SUKH RAM

Dear Shri Sathe,

This has a reference to your DO letter No.PRES/ICCR/1650/94 dated 23.11.1994 regarding the issue of a commemorative postage stamp on 8.1.95 in memory of Shri R.S. Ruikar, a famous and prominent leader of the working class.

In view of the initiative taken by you I have had the matter re-examined. You would be glad to know that it has been decided to bring out a commemorative postage stamp on Shri R.S. Ruikar in the year, 1995. However, since the issue programme of special commemorative postage stamps is extremely heavy in January, 1995 and the time available is too short to bring out this stamp by 8.1.94, you may like to propose another suitable date for issue of the stamp. Keeping in view the requirements of technical processing of the stamp, its printing and distribution for release, it would be possible to bring out the stamp only towards the end of March, 1995 at the earliest. Please, therefore, indicate a suitable date very early.

While I am asking the Department to take steps in advance to obtain suitable material for the design of the stamp we would welcome whatever material in the shape of photographs or transparencies etc. that could be arranged to be sent to the Department for the purpose.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

( SUKH RAM )

Shri Vasant Sathe,  
President,  
Indian Council for Cultural Relations,  
Azad Bhavan, Indraprastha Estate,  
New Delhi - 110 002.

Copy for information to Smt Malati Bai Rau  
NAGPUR

Shri Bafin Sahab has  
indicated that 1-5-95  
should be most appropriate  
date for release of stamp.

Pl communicate your reaction.  
I am happy that the proposal has gone through  
with regards

P. D. PATHAK  
Private Secretary  
to President ICCR  
(Ministry of External Affairs)  
2, Krishna Menon Marg, New Delhi-11



68 forwarded  
File

March 1, 1995,

Dear Bapu,

I am extremely happy to have received a letter from Mattibai, that Mr. Sukh Ram has agreed to bring out the stamp on Ruiker Maharaj. Your persistent effort has succeeded at long last!

I agree with you that it should be released on May Day. I hope you will be able to persuade Sukh Ramji about this. Otherwise, we will have to agree to any date suitable to him. Please keep me in touch.

Greetings,

*vc*

Shri V.P.Sathe,  
2, Krishna Henon Marg,  
New Delhi -110011.

yours sincerely,

*ARB*  
(A.B.BARDHAN)

Cable : "AITUCONG"  
Fax : 91-11-3755419

Co/ file

Telephone : 3 8 6 4 2 7  
3 8 7 3 2 0

अखिल - भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : A. B. BARDHAN  
Dy. General Secretary : B. D. JOSHI

March 2, 1995,

Dear Com. K.A.Rajan,

Got your letter. I can well understand your anxiety. I am putting the matter up to Com.Indrajit Gupta or Geeta Mukherjee, so that they can use their good office with the Foreign Ministry.

I will inform you later as to the result.

ok

Greetings,

Yours comradely,

Com.K.A. Rajan, Ex-MP,  
Karthika,  
Karakkamuri,  
Cochin-682011.

A.B. Bardhan.

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932

Case file

**RECEIVED**  
 For ..... on  
 13 MAR 1995  
 A. I. T. U. C.  
 24 Cannon Lane, N. Delhi.

2

10-3-95

Dear Bhausaheb



PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR

I hope you have received my earlier letter sending these with copies of letters of suggestions Sukhramji & Satheji. Generally, I get a reply or atleast an acknowledgement from you but this time I have not received any reply from you. May be you are too busy with your work.

1st May 1995 has now been finalised for release of the poster stamp on Rainaji. Shri P.D. Patil, P.S. to Satheji who was recently in Nagpur suggested that I should come over to Delhi in connection with the preparation of on 1st May, '95. I have no objection but I do feel that you should be also in Delhi during my visit and Satheji also. I am planning my visit in the last week of this month. Kindly let me know whether you would be in Delhi 1st May, 1995 may perhaps

BURMA FIFTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

be the 1st function and therefore  
I don't bother you. Pl. do cooperate  
with me for Delhi function

Rest o.k. What about  
your Nagpur visit? Are you  
likely to come in near future?  
Pl. let me know

With kind Regards &  
good wishes

Yours Sincerely  
Indarjit

Copy file

March 14, 1995,

Dear Com. Deshkar,

I am glad you are back from Vellore, and no operation was found necessary. Take proper medicures and regulate your work that will be sufficient.

I am not coming to Nagpur now. Will do so later.

Party work, TU and other work in Nagpur will have to be geared up. We can't go on like this.

Greetings,

Yours comradely,

*ABR*

(A.B. BARDHAN)  
GENERAL SECRETARY

*d/c*

Copy file

March 14, 1995.

My Dear Kerkar,

I will reach Bombay by morning flight from Delhi on 26th March and stay on for two days to meet the Board officials.

I will come straight to our Union flat.

Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

(A. E. BARDHAN)  
GENERAL SECRETARY

Copy to:

1. Com. Mohan Sharma,
2. Com. Sham Karoche,

Copy File

March 16, 1995,

Dear Shri Raina,

Thank you very much for having taken the trouble to fish out Bipan Chandra's article, and sending it to me. Your comments are correct. I agree with them.

I had occasion to see all this in action at the world Summit and the NGO's Forum in Copenhagen.

You will find some material on it in the TWR and New Age.

Greetings,

Yours sincerely,

AC

AB

Shri N.N. Raina,  
128 D, Pocket C,  
Siddhartha Extension  
New Delhi -110014.

(A. B. BARDHAN)

Personal file of  
GS

April 4, 1995,

Dear Comrade,

I have seen your letter. I have sent it to Com. Deshkar in Nagpur for necessary action.

I hope he will look into the whole situation. Do organise some union in some section of workers.

Greetings,

Yours comradely,

etc

ABD

(A.B. BARDHAN)

Rabindranath mandal,  
C/o Arvind Vasant Bokre,  
Gokul Ward,  
Chandrapur - 442402.

Copy: M.M. Deshker,  
Nagpur.



Personal file  
Gupte - GS  
A/File  
A/B/S

# MANIBEN KARA INSTITUTE

Sealord Building, 167, P. D'Mello Road, Bombay-400 001/76. India ● TEL. : 261 21 85, 262 23 88  
( SPONSORED BY HIND MAZDOOR SABHA )  
Society Regn No. Bom./ 381 / 83 / GBBSO

Director : VASANT GUPTE

Ref No. 14/95

VERY URGENT  
-----

RECEIVED  
For .....oz  
20 JAN 1995  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi.

9th January, 1995

Dear Comrade, *Bardhan*

This refers to the earlier correspondence and the discussion I had with you on the writing or tape recording your memoirs about your trade union life. You were kind enough to agree to do so and send the same to me, but it seems due to your other preoccupations, it has not materialised.

Now I am making you an urgent appeal to kindly do so at your earliest preferably within a fortnight. The memoirs of other trade union leaders numbering about 60 are edited and ready to go to press in a book form. It would be unfair to the history of trade union movement if it misses mention of your valuable contribution to it. If you do not find time to write/record the memoirs at full length, at least a 5-10 page write up may serve the purpose.

Please treat this as my personal appeal to you and give it the utmost priority.

For your ready reference, I am enclosing herewith a list of points among others you may like to cover in the memoirs.

Awaiting eagerly your early response, and wishing you a Happy New Year,

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Vasant Gupte*

Vasant Gupte  
Director

*Com. A. B. Bardhan.*

*Nagpur*

# MANIBEN KARA INSTITUTE

167, P. D'MELLO ROAD, NAGINDAS CHAMBERS,  
CARNAC BUNDER, BOMBAY-400 038.

Tel. : 26|21 85

## LABOUR ARCHIVES PROJECT

Points to be covered in the recording of memoirs  
of Trade Union Leaders

1. Social and political situation in early days.
2. Family background.
3. Entry into social/political field.
4. Motivation for trade union work.
5. Motivating leaders-individuals.
6. Major activities and events in labour field.
7. Struggles participated and conducted.
8. Organisation floated and led.
9. Association with other leaders in social, labour & political fields.
10. Activities in other fields.
11. Analysis of the movement.
12. Comparison of the movement of the past and present.
13. Views on splits and unities in labour movement.
14. Guidance for future.
15. Any other information or observations.



R/ File  
(Personal) ASB

Personal  
Ridgely 19-4-95

Prof. P. A. Varadavan

Secretary,  
Kerala State

C. Achutha Menon Foundation, Palghat Dist.

My dear Bardwanji

I was happy to learn from our friends here, that you are coming down to Palghat, in connection with an AITUC seminar, in June.

The district unit of the foundation has plans to conduct a seminar, to remember F. Engels whose death anniversary falls this year. 1995 also is the 100th year of publication of Das Kapital III by Engels.

so we have decided to conduct a seminar in this connection and we will be privileged if you would spare a day with us, to attend the seminar. Mr. Binoy will talk to you more about it.

With warm regards  
Linn

File (Personal)  
A.S.S.

INDIAN  
PEOPLE'S  
THEATRE  
ASSOCIATION



भारतीय  
जन  
नाट्य  
संघ  
राजस्थान

RAJASTHAN

DUNDLOD HOUSE : HAWA SARAK : JAIPUR  
Fax-Tel. : 91-141-373318

20 April 1995.

Dear Friends,

You must have received a communication from **INDIA FOUNDATION FOR THE ARTS (IFA)**, for grants in Research and Documentation.

Friends, as a sincere and devoted worker of IPTA, I take it as my solemn duty to inform you and warn you that **INDIA FOUNDATION FOR THE ARTS** is just another name of **FORD FOUNDATION**, whose work and the very intentions we have opposed for all these years. I would like to inform you that the source of money is the same. The modus operandi is the same. The purpose is the same. Only the **FORD FOUNDATION** has conveniently changed its feathers.

Please give it a second thought before you apply for a grant and then you later find yourself trapped.

BE AWARE.

Yours sincerely

RANBIR SINH  
Vice Chairman.

Personal

May 18, 1996,

Dear Com. Mahender Singh,

I am glad that you are holding your State Conference in September '96. Please let me know the exact date. I will surely attend your Conference. Differences are always there in one form or the other in ~~all~~ every organisation. But they have to be resolved by mutual discussion. In this case too we will try our best to resolve all differences. Therefore do not worry.

With greetings,

YOURS FRATEERNALLY,

*A.B.B.*

(A.B. BARDHAN)

*Mc -*

Cable : "AITUCONG"  
Tele Fax : 91-11-386427

Telephone : 3 8 7 3 2 0

अखिल - भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : A. B. BARDHAN  
Dy. General Secretary : B. D. JOSHI

April 12, 1995,

Dear Shri K.R.Ganesh,

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to the Seminar - For the Renewal of India on 15th and 16th April, 1995.

The papers that you have sent are very informative and useful.

I hope we will also have the benefit of presentations made at the Seminar, and the conclusions reached.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*ABB*  
(A.B.BARDHAN)

*o/c*  
Shri K.R. Ganesh,  
B-7/4, Vasant Vihar,  
New Delhi - 110057.

R/File  
A7373  
4/24

**A REPORT TO THE WORKING COMMITTEE**

**(April 24 - 25, 1995)**

We are meeting after October 31, 1994. These six months have been packed with events, in the political, economic and industrial spheres, both internationally and nationally. The AITUC has tried to be in tune with these events, and to interact with them whenever necessary.

Despite all claims and forecasts by official spokesmen, the Indian economy has not looked up after 4 years of the new economic policies. We can note the following features:

- i) Inflation is consistently double digit, and the claim that it will be brought down to between 6 and 7 per cent has not materialised. It cannot be attributed to over-investment, to a too rapidly growing economy-what is called 'over heated economy', as in China. The common man is suffering from price rise, especially in respect of essential commodities. During these 4 years, the CPI has gone up by as much as 50 per cent.
- ii) The rate of growth has fluctuated between 2 and 3%. The expected 5.5 per cent growth this year, is on a base that had earlier declined or stagnated. The overall growth rate is influenced by high rate in some sectors.
- iii) The budget deficit has not been brought down as was contemplated, mainly because Government profligacy & Plan expenditure remain unchecked. This year too, the deficit is well beyond the contemplated limit.



- iv) Trade deficit continues to grow every quarter with more and more import liberalisation, and a comparatively slower rise in exports. While part of the growth in imports can be attributed to imports of necessary machinery and better technology, there is a good deal due to imports of non essential consumer items. Pointing the finger at our large foreign exchange reserves is misleading since much of it is due to borrowings, and "footloose hot money", rather than export earnings and remittances.
- v) While custom duties are being reduced to open our markets to foreign firms, excise and levies on products of local manufacture continue, making the ground more uneven for 'competition'.
- vi) Public Sector investments are the lowest in all these ~~years~~ which is putting the lid on the development of the public sector, and reduces employment prospects. This reduction in public sector investment is not counterbalanced by any substantial growth in investments from the private sector local or foreign. Regional disparities are growing as a result of market oriented policies and investment patterns. This is a dangerous strain on our national unity.
- vii) The rate of domestic savings is low due to monetary factors and 'consumerism' preached by market philosophy. On the other hand there is a lot of money which flows into speculation on the stock exchange.
- viii) Sickness in SSI or non-SSI sectors continues, leading to closures, retrenchments, and loss of employment in many cases under cover of V.R.S.

contd.....3

- ix). Addition to the workforce is outstripping new employment and job placement. Unemployment is thus rising alarmingly. 'Jobless Growth' in a country with a huge unemployed workforce, aggravates our social problems.
- x) The so called NRF has been a non starter in the matter of retraining and redeployment, despite its much vaunted aims and guidelines. As to helping in modernisation of units which can then become viable, this is not among its objectives.
- xi) The drive for privatisation, despite disclaimers continues in several devious ways, through outright sale of public sector units (both central and state), allowing entry of private (including MNCs) into hitherto restricted sectors (like power, telecom, finance, electronic, and even defence production), denying budgetary support, denying orders to PSEs and diverting them to the private sector, forbidding PSEs to bid along with private parties, disinvestment, allowing MNCs and other private parties to move over into positions of control and management, farming out regular and departmental work to contractors, and so forth. There is a conspiracy afoot to hand over entire lucrative state sector units, or for instance mines, oil fields, etc. explored and developed by the public sector at great costs, to private parties for their profits, even if this means crippling the public sector undertakings.
- xi) Huge funds acquired from 'disinvestment' are being funneled to meet budgetary deficits, and nothing is set apart for modernisation and further development of the very same units. Public assets built through tremendous national efforts and sacrifices, are being liquidated to meet current expenditure. As a part of the deceptive propaganda on this subject, employees are being encouraged and dragged into purchasing shares of the disinvested units.

xiii) Debt servicing charges are increasingly eating away a major part of our budgetary resources. The country is hovering perilously close to the brink of a debt trap. There is a net outflow from developing countries including India, to the developed capitalist countries despite vast doses of loan

xiv) The GATT regime under the W.T.O. can have many other consequences both foreseen and unforeseen. Already our patent laws are being amended and questions are being raised about sky rocketing prices of drugs, putting a lid on our R & D, jeopardising our food security etc.

The debate whether the policies and decisions are in exercise of the sovereign powers of the State, or at the dictates of the IMF and World Bank, diverts attention from the fact that all these are integral parts of the Structural Adjustment Models being imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions on most of the developing countries.

The common people in our country may not have grasped all aspects of this policy, but have not failed to understand that it is anti-poor and oriented towards the top layers of our society. They have expressed their resentment through 4 industrial strikes within 4 years, several protest demonstrations and satyagrahas, resistance at local levels and so on.

They have used the poll opportunities to give their verdict on these policies, along with other failings of the Govt. such as its ambivalence towards communal forces, corruption criminalisation of politics and the politics of criminalisation. Well organised and aggressive communal parties like the B.J.P. and the Shiv Sena have been able to exploit the popular discontent and resentment, and gain spectacular successes where the Left is weak and secular.

forces are divided and unable to put together an united act.

Stung by the poll debacle, the ruling Congress is now talking about giving its policies a 'pro-poor' image and a 'human face'. It has, as if, 'red-is-covered the poor'. Glib talk about the 'market' solving everything is now substituted by guarded talk of a "market plus".

The latest budget indulges in a lot of talk about the 'poor', and even outlines several schemes for the poor, though without corresponding budgetary allocations. But the basic policies continue unchanged. They are supposed to be "irreversible".

The crash in Mexico, which was held up as a model, a success story of structural adjustment carried through under IMF/W.B. direction has caused some uneasiness here too, though Government spokesmen are putting up a brave face and asserting that "India is not Mexico". Undoubtedly, ~~XXXXXX~~ India is not Mexico but there is a lesson to be learnt, and danger signals to be noted, which can be ignored only to our peril.

As a developing country we must certainly learn from the experience of many countries. But India is not Singapore, Taiwan or S.Korea. It is a big country, with a huge population, vast resources, its special social and economic problems, its legacy of poverty, illiteracy and disease waiting to be eradicated, its own political complexion, and so on. It can well advance along the path of self-reliance, while developing links and integrating with the global economy.

#### What is our Stand?

\* It is necessary to repeat here, that we stand for allround development of our country industrial, agricultural, social and cultural. For this, certain

economic reforms are indeed necessary. The 'License permit raj' which after a certain point (of planning and allocation of resources) has only shackled development, led to political discrimination, bureaucratic interference and domination and resulting corruption, has to be dismantled. Bureaucratic controls have to be replaced by democratic initiative and decision making.

\* For development, foreign investment and import and induction of technology is necessary in certain spheres. This is not the same thing as an 'open door' to MNCs, wooing them with all sorts of concessions, guarantees and counter-guarantees, and allowing them a free run in all spheres. It does not mean indiscriminate induction of technology even where labour-intensive methods can do, with no greater economic disadvantage, but rather the contrary.

\* Even MNCs have a role to play when they bring in resources and technology sorely lacked by us in certain spheres of basic industries, <sup>and</sup> which can serve as jumping off ground for further development. But this should not compromise our general approach of self-reliant growth, or allow MNCs to acquire control over vital sectors of the economy. We should in no case slacken our struggle for a code of conduct which should apply to the MNCs, and for applicability of our laws on their operations, on the plea of not 'scaring them off'. In fact the present anomalous position is that we are prepared to subsidise the profits of the MNCs and big capital, while cutting subsidies for the poor.

\* We are for defending the public sector, which has served as the bedrock of our self-reliance, and plays a vital part in our economy. Even today, most of them are running well, making substantial contributions to our

economy, to our budgetary revenues, and helping in the growth of the private sector. It is a slander to say they are a drain on our resources. Budgetary allocations for them flow from the fact that the state owns them, but much of their development is financed from their own internal resources.

Anyway, the cure for many of the ills from which they suffer, lies within the framework of the public sector itself, and not in privatisation. What they call for is debureaucratisation, autonomy in their functions, professionalism in management, and democratic participation of workers and officers in their management.

\* When we say defend the public sector, we do not necessarily mean that each and every unit, nonviable, nonessential, and without any possibility of new life being breathed into the chronically sick ones, should be defend. That would be vulgarising a correct slogan, and weakening our struggle in the case of the genuine ones. In the non-viable cases, we have to see that the workers interests are fully protected. A concrete example is the tripartite committee's recommendations on the NTC mills.

\* While defending the public sector, we are for development of the private sector, the joint sector, the cooperative sector, the self employed sector, the individual peasant farming sector and so on, each contributing towards the growth of productive forces in our country and taking it forward.

\* But we assert, that the State has to play a major role in investment for infrastructure development, both social (education, health, jobs) and physical. To abdicate this role, or to withdraw from it, as is being propagated, is to leave the common man to his fate, and to rely on the market, which is no respecter of human needs and rights. While it is true that without growth there is no

development, yet growth by itself is not development unless it has social dimension, which includes the right to education, right to work, right to housing, and so on.

\* Stress has therefore to be laid on extending the PDS, and ensuring all essential commodities for the poor. Subsidies to the poor, to agricultural production (mainly of the poor peasants, in the matter of power, fertilizer etc.) must not be cut, when actually subsidies to the rich and the industrialists in the form of tax cuts are being given. Similarly, control on prices of drugs has to be enforced, so that they do not go outside the reach of the common people. Employment opportunities have to be expanded actively. Wages and Social Security for the unorganised mass of rural and urban workers have to be secured.

The AITUC has put forward the above views in the course of its written and oral presentations, in the Standing Labour Advisory Committee of the Planning Commission, during the prebudgetary discussions between Central Trade Unions and the Finance Minister, before the Parliamentary Committee attached to the Industry Ministry on two occasions, and the Parliamentary Committee on Energy. These views have guided us while participating in discussions in the Special Tripartite Committee, the Standing Labour Committee and the Indian Labour Conference, as well as in various Conventions, Seminars and manifestations organised by trade unions and other organisations.

We have at some length restated our analysis and position about the Government's new economic policy, in the light of latest developments, and the ongoing debate on these policies, at the international and national level.

The realisation is dawning that neoliberalism is an attempt by imperialism to strengthen and extend its grip over the markets of developing countries.

*Bengal*  
The West Bengal Industrial Policy

In this context, question has naturally been raised about the West Bengal industrial policy, - precisely because it is a Left Front Govt. and not just any other Government. It has undeniably caused some confusion. The question is asked: How can we oppose the Centre's new economic policy, and support the Left Government's industrial policy in the same breath? The question arises from the perception that the two are identical, or at any rate, similar. But are they?

Initially, the policy was announced without any prior consultation with other L.F. parties, and without a thorough discussion even within the major constituent party. As to the trade unions, they had not been consulted at all. This gave further ground for many misunderstandings and misgivings, - more so because, the initial announcement had a number of loopholes and shortcomings. We took this position from the beginning that without such consultations neither can misgivings be removed, nor can the shortcomings be corrected.



Subsequently, we learn that such consultations have taken place. Of course, a number of reservations remain even now. It is not necessary that there should be complete agreement on all points, or that what the L.F. does or says in West Bengal should decide our approach on national issues, though it is natural to expect that there should not be an outright conflict between the two positions. Apart from anything else, political enemies can exploit such conflict and contradiction, and further disorient the ranks.

Firstly, we must remember that industrial development is a must, both for the whole of India, and also for West Bengal. W. Bengal was among the few top industrial States in India. Due to several reasons, there has been a process of 'deindustrialisation' in the state over the last few decades. This process has to be reversed. The alternative is not merely small industries and agro-industries, in which it has made some progress, but also building large industries, for which all the objective conditions exist.

Secondly, the economic policies, - which we have noted before, are determined by the Centre, and not by the State of West Bengal. It is within the economic parameters set by the Centre, that the State has to undertake its industrial development, and find the necessary resources and technology etc.

The easing of the licensing system and freight equalisation have given an opportunity, which was denied to it by the Centre and its earlier discriminatory and obstructionist policy. It is trying to attract some investment from the private sector and foreign sources, which otherwise would go to the other states. Even now, a very small percentage comes to the eastern and north eastern regions. It is opposing privatisation of basic PSEs, striving for orders to the public sector units, and for budgetary support where necessary. It is insisting that in

the case of new investments, equipment be ordered from indigenous sources wherever available, and so on.

Traditional industries like jute, tea etc. have to be revived, - a thing which was missed in the earlier announcements.

Of course, in implementation there are many wrong things. Besides, there are several errors in approach, which have to be combated. Therefore it is not a question of accepting or agreeing with everything. At all times, trade unions have to stand up for workers' interests, and integrate it with the interests of the country, the particular state, and the people in general. There should not be any economic or moral conflict among these interests.

#### THE AITUC-ILO WORKSHOP:

In view of the complexities of the problem and the new facts and moves that come up, it is always necessary to update our understanding and clarify our thinking on the economic policies and the situation arising therefrom. That is why we organised a three-day Workshop on "Economic Policies, Development and Social Justice" (March 22 - 24, 1995). This was also a directive of the last General Council Meeting. We sought the collaboration of the ILO in this effort. We were able to secure the presence of eminent people like Sarvashri Ramakrishna (Planning Commission Member), Hanumantha Rao (Former Member, Planning Commission), S.P. Shukla (Former Finance Secretary), Somnath Chatterjee, Prabhat Patnaik, Kamal Kabra, Ashok Rao and others. Among those who acted as moderators were Coms. Indrajit Gupta, Gurudas Das Gupta, Kamal Chinoy, Yellamanda Reddy, Parduman Singh, besides the secretaries of the AITUC. Leading industrialists and economic journalists were also invited to present their views.

The Workshop has helped to enrich our understanding on certain aspects and fall-outs of the economic policies.

Conclusions are to be drawn and to be presented after thorough discussion. We intend to publish the contributions made at the Workshop in the form of an AITUC publication. Let me bring to your notice that a few comrades who had been invited to attend, did not do so. Perhaps, they did not appreciate the importance of doing so.

### STRUGGLE AGAINST PRIVATISATION

In this period, we have been engaged in the struggle jointly with other CTUOs to revive some of the sick PSUs, which were under threat of privatisation, and awaiting their fate in the BIFR. These included, the NTC and Jute Mills, the IISCO, the Scooter India, Braithwaite and other wagon-making units, etc. Apart from taking positions within the Tripartite and the BIFR, there were mass demonstrations such as of textile workers on December 15, 1994, and of jute workers on March 27, 1995.

We have to intensify our struggle against privatisation of cement units, - of the 11 CCI factories, the Dalla units (which had in an earlier fight against privatisation, sacrificed 9 workers' lives), the Tamilnadu units etc. A joint convention under the auspices of the AITUC, CITU and HMS was organised on March 21, 1995. It has called for observing a week from May 15 to 20, 1995. However, our effort to revive and reorganise our All India Cement Workers Federation has not succeeded. We have to make another effort sometime in July-August, 1995.

The struggle against privatisation in other vital sectors like power, financial, telecom, oil, transport (including ports) has to be intensified.

The banks and insurance unions are very active in the matter.

'Enron' has become a symbol of all non-transparent and questionable deals, which are harmful to the country's and consumers' interests, and associated with bringing in MNCs into vital sectors of the economy. It is today in the limelight. But this is not the only one. There are seven so-called similar fast-track projects, and several M.O.U.s

signed with private parties in the sphere of generation and distribution of power.

In Maharashtra the 'Enron Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti' is conducting a Satyagraha and campaign, for seeing that the new Government does not square up the deal with a few cosmetic changes, but actually revises it radically, and cancels if not the entire project at least the subsequent phases.

In Andhra, a huge joint demonstration took place against NTR's policy of privatising power, under the banner of the "JAC against Privatisation".

In Tamilnadu, a big Convention took place on this issue. In Karnataka and Orissa however, where such MNC projects are coming up, no movement has yet been launched.

We must take up the struggle, both state-wise and sector-wise, so as to defeat the moves of Government.

For instance the move to privatise some ports or sections within the ports should be opposed by a joint move of the port and dock unions.

#### WAGE NEGOTIATIONS:

Wage negotiations have been on the agenda in most of the industries during these months.

Successful negotiations have led to good wage agreements in Port & Dock, H.A.L., B.E.L, BEML and Oil. In Coal and Steel and in the NTPC negotiations are in progress.

In banks, a good agreement has been signed. But this is being upset by a proposed agreement with the officers, which affects the existing parity and wage parameters.

Negotiations in Insurance are being delayed by Government, in their preoccupation with the move to privatise the industry. This has resulted in an all-India strike on March 31, 1995.

Negotiations in electricity boards are going on.

Generally, the increases in emoluments range from as much as 10.5 percent to 19 percent.

Successful agreements have also been signed in Tomco, Maruti, Greaves & Cotton, Mahindra & Mahindra, and several other private sector units, which have substantially raised wages and allowances.

In Sugar industry, there have been state-level agreements in some states. But the effort is to have a national settlement. The National Coordination Committee which unites sugar workers' unions of the AITUC, INTUC, CITU, BMS, HMS, UTUC, HMKP and Independents, has been activated.

It has submitted a charter, and demanded the setting up of a Tripartite Committee on Sugar. The Labour Minister has accepted this demand.

We have launched a move to reorganise our State Sugar Workers' federations in U.P., Bihar and Tamilnadu, and to then hold an all India Sugar Workers' Conference sometime in September, 1995.

The issue of bonus and D.A., as also pension, are still hanging fire. The CPSTU is organising action on the first two issues, which has already become a sore point with all public sector employees, and caused great embarrassment to the INTUC and the Labour Minister himself.

As to the pension issue, it is being discussed jointly with other Central trade unions so that a common move can emerge.

Our movement on economic policies of Government, brought us up against the pressures being exercised against the developing countries by the IMF/W.B., and now the W.T.O.

In brief, the developed capitalist countries preach the glories of the 'Open Market' so that they can find access to the vast markets of the developing countries. On the other hand, they do not wish to open their markets to our goods or their borders to our labour. Access to their markets is sought to be denied on the grounds of our low labour and environment standards. The issue of Child Labour has gained prominence in this context. This is what is known as the 'Social Clause'. This is camouflaged by a show of humanitarian concern, which was not noticed so far.

All CTUOs have taken up the united position that while we are fighting and will intensify our fight, for the eradication of child and bonded labour, and for protection and upgradation of the environment, we oppose linking it with trade. This latter is a calculated move for 'Protectionism', for raising non-tariff barriers to trade. It is aimed against all developing countries.

We took this stand at the Standing Labour committee (November, 1994), and the Indian Labour conference (Jan. 3,4, 1995) where we gave a detailed note. A joint Memorandum by all CTUOS setting forth this stand was presented at the Conference of labour ministers from the Non-aligned and Developing Countries (1923 January, 1995). The issue however, remains as a hanging sword. It is to be noted that while the WFTU has taken a clear stand on this issue, the ICFTU has only voiced the view of the Developed capitalist countries.

This situation underlines the urgency of AITUC's work among women and child labour, unorganised and heavily exploited workers, as also on issues of environment, health and safety.

The AITUC has decided to step up our agitational and organisational work among women and child labour, which has been ignored so far. One Secretary has been assigned this task as her major responsibility.

A preparatory Committee has been set up in Delhi for holding a working women's zonal Convention here by June '95. Drawn into this effort are nurses, bank and office employees, teachers, mill workers, etc.

This initiative of drawing in women workers into more active T.U. work was taken up by the AIBEA also which held a successful All India Convention of women bank employees in Bombay in February '95. Some state conventions are also planned.

The Central 3-day school of women T.U. activists was not very successful mainly because some states showed indifference about sending women cadres to the school.

A joint Anganwadi demonstration before Parliament is scheduled for May 5. But our work among them has stagnated during the last year or two. State TUCs are not giving this job the necessary importance. There is <sup>no</sup> initiative displayed to bring forward women T.U. activists, and to organise women workers.

The AITUC has brought out a booklet entitled "Trail Blazing Women T.U. leaders" in order to hold up their examples before women workers.

The issue of child labour is very much on the agenda these days at international and national levels. NGOs have been more active on this issue than the trade unions. The lag is being made up now.

The first step is to bring about a keen awareness about the existence and exploitation of child labour and the need to eradicate it. Arguments which directly justify it or connive at its existence have to be rejected. It is simply a matter of inhuman exploitation and of taking advantage of extreme poverty, and has to be vigorously fought. Children have to be in school and their labour has to be replaced by adult workers on the job.

The AITUC Centre organised an exhibition on Child Labour in January'95. It now plans to put it up in regional languages for exhibiting in different states.

A project on child labour has been prepared and is being submitted to the ILO-IPEC for their sanction. We have identified a number of State TUCs for carrying out this project. We will welcome the help of youth and student comrades in implementing it.

INDUSTRIAL 'SICKNESS':

On the insistence of the CTUOs, the question of industrial sickness in general, and of sickness in private sector was put on the agenda of the Special Triparite convened on April 10, 1995.

The number of sick units and of the total bank credit locked up in them, is as follows:

<u>Category</u>	<u>No. of Units</u> (Sept.1992)	<u>Outstanding Bank</u> <u>Credit</u> (Sept. 1992)(in Crores)
SSI Sick Units	233,441	3346
Non SSI Sick Units	1599	6805
Non SSI weak Units	<u>828</u>	<u>2436</u>
Total -	235,868	12587

The banks' outstanding credit to the SSI Sick, non SSI sick and weak units is 17.6% of the total bank advance to industry.

Industrial sickness is most widespread in the traditional sectors like textiles, jute and engineering.

The viability position is as follows:  
Of the 233441 sick SSI units, 17450, i.e. 7.5% are viable; about 1% (i.e.2383) is not yet decided, and 13141(5.6%) are put under nursing programme.



Labour, or strikes as reasons in industrial sickness is minimal (not more than 8% in all, of which strikes accounts for only 1.5%).

Cases referred to the BIFR under the 'Sick Industrial Companies Act' (SICA), are in all 2310 as on 31.1.95. Of these, public sector accounts for 164 (Central -67 and State -97).

The number of workers who are affected, in respect of cases registered by BIFR, (excluding cases dismissed as non-maintable), are 989208 (covering 1292 cases) as on December, 1994.

Industrial sickness is thus a major problem, affecting a million workers. Unions have to take up the problem, see how many can be revived, and how workers' interests can be protected. The Special Tripartite is to discuss the matter concretely and comprehensively, sometime in July '95.

The AITUC has submitted a critical note on the functioning of the BIFR. It has also demanded that joint revival schemes submitted by workers and officers or managements must be taken as basis and generally accepted. Government departments must not remain indifferent or ambivalent. Where financial support is called for and suggested in BIFR proceedings, Government should agree to it and guarantee bank advances, etc.

#### EMPLOYMENT:

This brings us to the question of employment, those who are in jobs, for retraining and redeployment of those who are likely to become redundant and struggling for the creation of new job opportunities.

The magnitude of the problem can be seen from the following data compiled by a Working Group of the Planning commission in May 1990.

**Backlog and the Employment Need**

(In million persons)

	Beginning of 1990-91	1990-91 to 1994-95	1990-91 to 1999-2000
Estimated employment	300	-	-
Growth in labour force (per cent per annum)	2.2	2.2	2.2
Backlog of unemployment	28	-	-
Increase in labour force	7	37	78
Total number of persons Employment at the end of the period	35	65	106
Implied growth rate of employment if the goal of full employment is to be attained by 2000 AD	-	3.0 percent per annum	3.0 percent per annum
If the present employment growth rate of 1.55 percent continued, the of employment absorption during the period.	4.7	23.5	47.0
Estimated backlog of employment, if the present trend exists.	30.3	41.5	59.0

Thus, unless the growth rate of employment is substantially higher than the growth rate in labour force, the backlog of employment will continue to rise every year. As we see, the growth rate is only half of what it should be if the goal of full employment is to be reached.

We have proposed in the meeting of the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions held on April 14, that a Convention on the issue be held in which trade unions and Youth student organisations should work out a programme of employment backed

by mass action.

In this context, we have severely criticised the working of the NRF, whose funds have been almost entirely used for helping V.R.S. in PSEs. More than 75,000 have thus been sent out. What about their retraining? About 550 have been retrained, - no one knows for what trade and in what skill! As to redeployment nothing much is known. The scheme of retraining has been given to organisations like the CII, Assocham, Gandhi Labour Institute.

The point about using the fund for modernisation and revival of some viable units is not among the guidelines. It is better to try and keep as many workers as possible on the job, than talk of redeploying them after making them redundant.

We have therefore demanded a complete restructuring of the NRF Scheme.

The drive to organise the unorganised sections:

We have mentioned about the slow progress in this task. In our meetings at the state levels, we have identified some sections. But cadres and resources have to be deployed. It requires an 'organising drive and will'. It is not a casual task, or one of getting a few thousand more workers. But one of organising and consolidating the workers as a class, - a class duty. The T.U. clout in society cannot grow without it.

On an all-India scale, we are proposing to target construction workers, rural workers and fishermen.

We plan to hold the Conference of the A.I. Building & construction Workers' Federation at Palghat in June, and to revitalise it. All States have a role to play in this. The Central issue is the comprehensive legislation for regulating employment, health, safety and social security for nearly 1 crore of construction workers.

Regarding rural workers, we propose to discuss this jointly with the fraternal BKMU. Here again, in addition to land struggle and land reform, there is the question of comprehensive legislation for agricultural workers, regarding wages, social security etc. The struggle for this is actually

a class struggle in the countryside, and not just any other movement.

We have contacted the National Fish Workers' Forum, and propose trade union involvement in their struggle against the mechanised trawlers and MNCs prowling in our territorial waters & economic zone, and threatening the livelihood of lakhs of traditional fishermen. We have a few unions, which have to be activated and expanded. The states with a coastline have to pay attention to this task. A national Convention has been proposed at Cochin sometime in September.

We have already mentioned the need to take up the task of organising the Anganwadi employees. Attention be given to setting up Panchayat employees unions, and forest workers' unions also.

The AITUC Centre can act as a clearing house for information and guidance in the minimum wage sector.

#### Trade Union Unity:

The tasks in the trade union field are so vast today that no single centre in the present condition of division, can tackle them. In fact, it is this objective condition that is driving all towards more and more joint work. Traditional bitterness, occasional rivalry and one-upmanship should not deflect us from this path, unless one wishes to be content with running one's own show whatever happens.

In fact, there are rumblings within the INTUC also due to Government's anti people policies, which is pushing the INTUC too towards joint work on issues.

This broadens the prospect for joint stand on policies. On some issues and in some places, even united actions depending on our relation with their union and the INTUC leadership, are possible. Already, there have been such joint actions on NTC, IISCO. We have to take a flexible stand, so as to be able to accommodate them whenever necessary.

We are taking steps to revive the Sponsoring Committee (which met on April 14), and the National Platform of Mass organisations (scheduled on April 26).

The CPSTU has set up a skeleton structure, and is proposing to bring out a regular bulletin jointly edited by representatives of different centres.

The question is coming up of closer organisational cohesion of the Left-led CTUOs and industrial federations alongside the development of broad-based joint actions and movements. The UTUC and TUCC have told us that they can join in any organisational framework, agreed upon by the AITUC and CITU.

To discuss this urgent but complicated problem further, there is to be a joint meeting of the AITUC + CITU + HMS.

The question of industrial federations will also be discussed there.

#### Next Six months of the Jubilee Year:

We are now in the middle of the Jubilee Year. Some tasks indicated at the Bombay G.C. meeting have been carried out, but many remain to be tackled. We are drawing your attention once again to the Programme of Action adopted there.

- Some unions have popularised the Jubilee year in their functions, and also widely. Other unions should do so during the next 6 months.

- Meeting of state councils and State Conferences have been held in Kerala, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Punjab. Bihar, W.Bengal, Orissa, M.P. and Haryana are to have them in May. Other States must decide by June. These meetings have helped to infuse some vigour in the organisation. This is just a beginning. Regular functioning has to become the norm and practice.

- Steps to revive a few industrial federations are being taken. But we should see that all industrial federations that have not held their Conferences, do so within the year. Democratic functioning must be stressed.
- We are giving each State the names of affiliated unions that are on our register. Let the dead ones be removed. Those that can be revived should be identified. We are indicating the arrears of affiliation fees and Special Fund that is due in each case. They have to be paid up within the month.
- Annual returns for 1994 (and that means also returns pending for 1993), must be submitted within a month, and registers, records etc. set right.
- District Councils have to be formed and functioned, as required.
- Without all this, the aim of substantially adding to the AITUC membership and streamlining its organisation cannot be achieved.
- We have to decide and plan the Jubilee Celebration in Delhi on October 31, 1995.
- Responsibilities for the 4 Seminars in Madras, Chandigarh, Calcutta (Durgapur), and Lucknow have to be assigned.
- 
- The short History of the AITUC has to be published by August 15.
- The short education course has to be ready by October 31.

Finances:

Expenses of the AITUC have gone up substantially. This is inevitable if we are to sustain the increasing level of activities. But to sustain this level of expense, we must have corresponding income. For this, -

- a) All unions have to regularly pay their annual affiliation fees. This should become the practice.

- b) Special Fund call, and then the Jubilee Fund call must be carried out.

-c) Following agreements on wages, when a drive for contribution is launched by a union, AITUC should get a share. We have the inspring example of com Rama Rao's union.

The Treasurer will submit a Note on the AITUC's budget for 1995-96, and statement of accounts for the year 1994-95.

#### TUR

We have tried to improve the TUR, and as promised we have started publishing the Hindi TUR. But the number of subscribers is too little. We have to target for 2500 subscribers (E), and 1500 subscribers (H), by October 31, 1995.

For this, we must aim (i) to enrol each union with a membership of more than 100; (ii) enrol each branch in the case of state-wise unions; (iii) enrol all State Committee members in addition to G.C. members; (iv) and enrol leading cadres of ours and friendly non-affiliated unions, etc. Let a subscription drive be launched in right earnest.

A separate report on TUR will be presented in this meeting.

#### International tasks.

During the last 6 months, we undertook several international tasks;

- \* The General Secretary attended the "World solidarity Conference With Cuba", at Havana from November 21st. The campaign for solidarity with Cuba's struggle against the U.S.-imposed blockade, has to be carried on.

- \* A delegation of 15, along with 5 observers attended the WFTU Congress in Damascus from 22 to 26. The attempts to weaken the WFTU were rebuffed, and the need to strengthen it as a militant organisation of the international working class, was reiterated. (You will hear a brief report on this)
- \* The AITUC played an important role in the effort to keep the WFTU going. We shall continue to stand with the WFTU. our affiliates and associates have also shown willingness to locate and manage the Public Services and Teachers' TUI from India.
- \* We attended an international T.U. Seminar at Kathmandu in December'94. Its importance lies in developing our relations with the emerging trade union centre in Nepal - the GEFONT.
- \* A SAARC Transport Seminar was held in Delhi, which was jointly organised by the CITU and AITUC. INTUC also collaborated. Its declaration that the existing public sector transport should not be undermined, and an integrated transport policy for the region should be worked out, is important. The follow-up Committee has to be functioned.
- \* Though the Government churlishly refused to include T.U. leaders in the Indian Delegation to the World Summit at Copenhagen (March 6 to 12, 1995), the General secretaries of the AITUC AND CITU attended the NGO summit and the World Summit as observers. The gist of this important Summit has been brought out as an AITUC publication. The movement has to be carried forward.
- \* A 2 member AITUC delegation visited Tashkent, and attended the Uzbekistan T.U. Conference.
- \* A one-member delegation is in China to participate in the Jubilee Celebration of the All China Federation of Trade Unions.



- \* We are pursuing the aim of strengthening our fraternal links with the trade unions of other countries, and concentrating on S.Asia, and on the Asia-Pacific Region. Contacts and exchange of correspondence with them are growing.
  
- \* We are participating actively in the Indo-Pak People to People Dialogue.

We have to remember that this year is the 50th Anniversary of the victory over Fascism, and dropping of the Atom Bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The AITUC (also CITU) have undertaken collection of mass signatures on the Hiroshima Appeal.

From this Working Committee we should go back with a concrete programme of action for the next 6 months, till our Jubilee Celebration.

Cable : "AITUCONG"

Telephone : 3 8 6 4 2 7  
3 8 7 3 2 0

अखिल भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : HOMI DAJI

May 9, 1995,

Dear Sir,

This is to acknowledge  
receipt of the Bank Draft No.047964  
for Rs.188/-.

Thank you for the same.

Yours faithfully,

A.B.B.

(A.B. BARDHAN)

Shri H.K.Mathur,  
Section Officer,  
Ministry of Labour,  
Govt. of India,  
New Delhi.

KANTI MEHTA

President ( Emeritus ) : INDIAN NATIONAL MINeworkERS' FEDERATION

Vice-President : MINERS' INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION

President : INSTITUTE FOR MINERS' AND METALWORKERS' EDUCATION

Chairman : RURAL WORKERS' TRUST

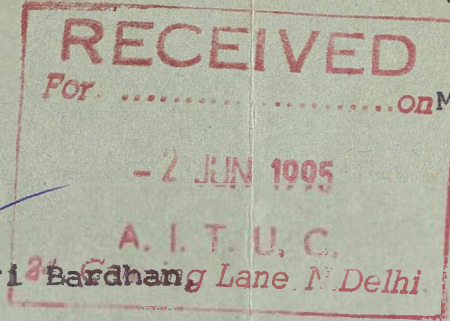
IMME-NATIONAL EDUCATION CENTRE

BALIAPANDA,

PURI-752001

Phone : (06752) 3564 (O)

2548 (R)



*R/ file  
ABTS  
Col Personal  
File*

Your letter dated May 4, 1995 was received here on May 16, 1995. I was unfortunately at that time in Bombay where I had to go to see my younger brother who was critically ill.

It is unfortunate that you will not be able to be with us on 31st May. If you cannot attend, will it be possible for you to send someone like Shri Chaturanan Mishra to attend this meeting on your behalf.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Kanti Mehta*

( Kanti Mehta )

*P.S. I am reaching Delhi on 30<sup>th</sup> May by the evening plane ~~or~~ from CALCUTTA*

अन्तर्देशीय पत्र कार्ड  
INLAND LETTER CARD

**DRUG FREE LIFE, HAPPY LIFE.**  
(Ministry of Welfare)



SHRI A. B. BARDHAN,

GENERAL SECRETARY,

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS,

24, CANNING LANE,  
NEW DELHI.

पिन PIN

1	1	0	0	0	1
---	---	---	---	---	---

पहला मोड़ FIRST FOLD



तीसरा मोड़ THIRD FOLD

इस पत्र के भीतर कुछ न रखिए NO ENCLOSURES ALLOWED  
पते में पिन कोड लिखें WRITE PIN CODE IN ADDRESS  
प्रेषक का नाम और पता : — SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS : —

NEAR KANTI MEHTA

D-II, TARA APARTMENT  
KALKAJI, NEW DELHI-110 019

☎ : [011] 6439195

पिन PIN

--	--	--	--	--	--

दूसरा मोड़ SECOND FOLD

**RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE**

**RECEIVED**  
 OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
 PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932  
 2  
 JUN 1995  
 A. I. T. U. C.  
 24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi

1-6-95

R/Site  
 A. B. Bardhan  
 Balancing Authority  
 with E. C. T. A.  
 Per

(1000000)  
 by 2/1/95  
 June

Dear Bhai Bardhan,

I tried to get in touch with you on 24th May, 95 when you were in Nagpur but could not succeed. I was told that you were to leave for Amravabad on 24th night only. I am sorry, I could not meet you. Hope you will not misunderstand me. While in Delhi, you told me that you would fix up lecture programme. Could you talk to Shri Chitta Besu, M. P. ? The book on Dnyaneshwar, written by Ruikarji is now complete and it would be given for printing soon. It may be ready for publication in August, 95. There is still time. I feel that the publication function itself should be a concluding function of the centenary celebrations. Are you likely to visit Nagpur in near future? Pl. let me know. With kind regards  
 Yours Sincerely  
 Indrajit

PATRON  
**VASANT SATHE**

PRESIDENT  
**A. B. BARDHAN**

GENERAL SECRETARY  
**MALTI RUIKAR**

Personal file

P/FILE  
A/28/5

Personal File

Prof. P. A. VASUDEVAN  
Secretary, C. Achutha Menon Foundation  
Palghat (dt)

'AKSHARAM' VIDYUT NAGAR  
PALGHAT -1 KERALA - Tel.26615

**RECEIVED**  
For.....on  
**16 MAY 1995**  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N.Delhi.

13.5.95

My dear Bardhanji,

Many thanks to you for your kind letter of 30<sup>th</sup> April.  
Thank you for Conseting to speak at the seminar organised by us.  
In the meanwhile Mr.C.Divakaran (Sec, AITUC) Mr. K.E. Ismail  
M.L.A, & Radhakrishnan (secC.P.I) and a myself sat together to think  
about it. According to our plan the Seminar is to be conducted on  
28<sup>th</sup> June at 3 p.m.

The reason is that you will be available here on 28<sup>th</sup> and  
you can spare 1 or 1½ hrs. with us around 3 p.m.

The same day morning Justive V.R.Krishna Iyer also ~~a~~ will  
be here to attend the AITUC meeting. Mr. Iyer has agreed to  
speak at the seminar on 28<sup>th</sup>.

So kindly be with us on 28<sup>th</sup> and it may not cause you  
extra journey or other inconvenience. So On 28<sup>th</sup> we can  
ensure the <sup>presence</sup> ~~produce~~ of both of youl Mr. Divakaran will speak to  
you soon about this. The other speaker are Mr.M.P.Veerendra  
Kumar (president) J Dal, Kerala & Managing Director Mathrubhumi  
National Daily) Who is an outstanding scholar and speaker and  
Mr. P.Govinda Pillai, another <sup>renowned</sup> ~~renowned~~ theoretician.

The topic is "The New World order & India" Each speaker will give  
accent to a partialar aspect of the subject. Kindly let me  
know the aspect of your choice. Mr. Veerendra kumar ~~x~~ will speak  
on the present aggressive information.Mr. Pillai will concenstrate  
on the culturel invation into LDCs . We will speak to the Justice  
about his choice.

This we will <sup>be</sup> ~~make~~ a really rewarding seminar for these who want  
to know more about the topic.

Kindly write back to me. Our people will contact ~~x~~ you soon.  
Expacting your consent

With love and regards.

*(P A Vandan)*

Personal File  
A B P

## List of Discussion in Tamilnadu on Telecom

The party circulars dated 24.9.94 and 17.4.95 on the proceedings and decisions of the Central Telecom Fraction Meetings held on 17.10.94 and 14.4.95 were read, translated and explained in the District council of special DC II of Tamilnadu held on 7.5.95. About 50 comrades attended. The D.C. consists of all unit secretaries and D.E.C. members. A lively discussion took place on privatisation of Telecom and party building in Telecom. About 12 comrades, most of them from units, spoke. Since the issues raised required more detailed discussion to bring about a unified understanding it was decided to consider them first in the D.E.C. and then if found necessary to convene the DC again.

The DEC met on 18.5.95. 14 out of 17 members attended. Two absentees belonged to the postal wing and one to line-staff. In both the meetings comrades SS. Thyagarajan, State Secretary, AITUC, Tamilnadu and a member of SEC and NC was present and helped to clarify certain issues.

There were detailed and frank discussions. All the 14 comrades spoke.

Regarding the circulars themselves, one view was that it was a departure from past practices in that the personal views of some leading comrades were spelt out in the circulars which is not desirable. On the other hand some comrades, expressed the view that such spelling out is welcome and it has helped our comrades to officially come to know the personal views of leading comrades on political and other issues of importance and to have a healthy debate at lower levels and this may also serve as a corrective to wrong trends.

The participation of three members, of the NEC including our party's General Secretary and G.S. AITUC in the C.F. is a very welcome feature and it shows the importance attached to a strategic and sensitive sector as the Telecom by the party. Such attention by the party should continue.

One C.F. member pointed out that an important decision regarding concrete steps to be taken to revitalise the party in Delhi has been omitted in the circular although many other details have been mentioned. This should be looked into and records set right.

A complaint was made that O.P. Gupta was not given the same treatment as was given to the General Secretary of AIBEA in the platinum Jubilee session of AITUC held in Bombay last year. Such discrimination gives room to unnecessary misunderstanding among our comrades and leaders of AITUC could have been careful to avoid such things.

A view was expressed that there is some prejudice amongst some party leaders against O.P. Gupta. It was explained that for a number

of years the political opinions expressed by O.P.Gupta in his writings etc. have been a constant matter of concern to all our party leaders since 1980 from Rajeshwara Rao to Indrajit Gupta and there is no reason at all for any personal animosity.

After a threadbare discussion the following conclusions were made unanimously in the D.E.C. These conclusions will be conveyed to the next meeting of the District council.

1. The writings in our union journals should take care to ensure that they do not contradict with our party's policies and positions

2. The T.U.leaders are called upon to help the building of the party and encourage and enthuse our comrades in this work.

3. The consensus note that has emerged as a result of discussions during the last fraction held at Delhi on 14.4.95. and the following line of policy and action indicated there in be popularised and taken as the basis for implimentation by our unions.

"The policy of privatisation of Govt is sought to be implemented in various forms and shapes viz, deregulation, disinvestment, off-loading etc. In the Telecom it has taken the form of private entry in basic services also".



D.GNANAIAH

Secretary

Special D.C.II

Tamilnadu



Cable : "AITUCONG"  
Tele Fax : 91-11-386427

Telephone : 3 8 7 3 2 0

खिल - भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : A. B. BARDHAN  
Dy. General Secretary : B. D. JOSHI

June 2, 1995,

Dear Comrade ~~MAHENDRA~~ MAHENDRA

I find that you have addressed a letter to me from no.72 Paying Ward, O.G. Hospital. What has happened? Why are you in hospital? Is anything wrong with you? Kindly let us know.

With regards,

Yours comradely,

Atk  
(A. B. BARDHAN)

etc

Personal file of  
A.B.

May 29, 1995,

Thank you for your letters dated 17th and 18th May along with a copy of your first Newsletter.

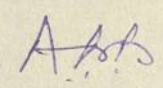
I am really sorry that we have not met for a long time. I think the "Secular Initiative" which some of you friends have launched is very important and timely. The view point expressed in the Newsletter are correct. I have to be out from 24th and 28th May and therefore could not attend the discussion on the Uniform Civil Code. Therefore I could have attend it and listen to all the views and also expresse my own views. I have also missed the "Working lunch".

I do not know how much has to be sent for the Newsletter. Therefore right now I am enclosing a check for Rs.100/- only. I am usually be contacted at the AITUC office which is at 24-Canning Lane, N.Delhi-1.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

of c (Personal)



(A.B. BARDHAN)

**Ms. Seema Mustafa,**  
201 Madan Bhikaji Cama Bhavan,  
Bhikaji Cama Place,  
New Delhi - 110066.

Seema Mustafa

Alfi  
(Personal) - A.B.B.

201, Madam Bhikaji Cama Bhawan  
Bhikaji Cama Place, Ring Road  
New Delhi - 110 066, India  
Tel. (O) : 606202, (R) : 6863760

18th May, 1995

Dear Friend,

We are sending you a copy of our First Newsletter in the hope that you will give us your ideas, suggestions and comments. As we are a voluntary group, we would be grateful if you also send us your contributions\* to enable us to sustain this effort. In case you would like more copies, please let us know.

Yours sincerely,

Seema Mustafa

Shri A.B. Bardhan

\*Cheques may be drawn in favour of either Seema Mustafa or Seema Alavi and posted at the above address.

# SECULAR INITIATIVE

## NEWSLETTER

Price Rs 5.00

Vol. I No. I  
May 1995

### AN EDUCATED WOMAN MEANS AN EDUCATED FAMILY

As a nation we have made dramatic strides in some spheres but have lagged behind in other crucial areas, such as education. As far as our dream of compulsory education for all is concerned the progress has been dismal. In fact, studies conducted in the last years in different states show that the standard of primary school level education is extremely poor.

Educationists have argued that heavy syllabi, difficult text books and outdated learning devices had reduced primary education to a farce. The number of drop outs at this basic level is extremely high, and those who do manage to complete schooling do not meet the desired level of competence.

The worst casualty of this lackadaisical approach towards education are women. Confined to the house for reasons of male defined social custom and convention, women find it difficult to build a case for their education, more so in situations where there are no neighborhood schools for girls. Co-educational schools controlled by a male dominated faculty is a deterrent for conservative households who refuse then to send their daughters to school. It is important to stress here that governmental and public apathy towards education affects all women irrespective of their community identity.

The approach has to be two pronged - all efforts to create a social awareness conducive to educating the female child should be made; alongside an infra-

structure which can accommodate the implementation of this awareness should be created in the way of schools exclusively for girls. For the Muslim girl child the problem is a little more compounded by the conservative nature of her society and the purdah system which seems to have come in the way of higher education. In villages it is seen that the young, below puberty age group frequent the madaras but as the girls grow older

responsibility towards providing basic education. The statistics for Government run schools and colleges for women is pathetic. There is an urgent need to correct this imbalance. Easily accessible neighbourhood schools, exclusively for women, are the only means through which women can free themselves from the patriarchal family hold which resists their going to co-educational schools on grounds of moral propriety.

#### SHAKILA'S STORY

*Shakila, is a young Muslim girl living in a mohalla of old Lucknow. Most of the people she knows are of her community. She has six brothers and four sisters. Her father runs a small dhaba, her mother looks after the small two room tenements and the children. Still life is fun. She does not have any cares and since her father earns a little more than others of the locality she and her brothers and sisters go to school. Three elder brothers drop out. Two elder sisters are married, even before they reach their teens. Shakeela is the only one in the family who likes to study. She dreams of joining the police force, as she is very impressed by the lathi wielding constables who seem to enjoy so much authority in the locality.*

*The younger boys are not sent to*

*school, but put to work in the 'zardoshi karkhanas' which embroider the most beautiful motifs and designs. The earlier they start, say Shakila's parents, the more they will be able to earn. Business is good as a lot of orders come from the Gulf. The young boys are apprentices but after six months they start bringing home Rs 10 a week. The day the boys join the small embroidery workshops, Shakila is told by her mother that there is no need for her to go to school "Zaida par likh kar kiya karogi, koi shaadi bhi nahi karega", her mother declares.*

*Shakila cries, screams and then a sound thrashing from her mother sends her into a corner to vent her rage on the empty wall. The decision has been taken.*

*Continued...*

they are kept at home. In the rare instances the girls who do manage to complete their schooling because of exclusive schools in the vicinity, are rarely sent to College. The madarsa system, since it flourishes in most districts of Uttar Pradesh and other states of North India can be used for imparting modern primary education to the children.

Despite their outdated teaching devices, madaras have been a major forum for imparting primary education to Muslim children and hence cannot be ignored until an alternative system has been established by the State.

The Government, however, should not be allowed to absolve its

problems of social and economic backwardness of families where the mother herself has been educated till the secondary level, the children receive higher education than in families where the mother is illiterate or has studied only till the primary level. An educated Muslim family, needless to say, means a family with positive attitudes towards the important sectors of: nutrition, health hygiene, higher education. This in turn will build welcome resistance to, or at least a questioning of, discriminatory social practices and unequal family laws - areas in which an educated family's intervention can make all the difference to progress and development.

It is important to point out here that wherever the experimentation with "only women" schools and colleges has been made it has been a success story, and the relative percentage of educated women in the area has shown substantial increase.

SECULAR INITIATIVE is of the opinion that women's education may well turn out to be a major step towards solving the

Continue...

School was tolerated but now Shakila is getting to be a "big girl, you are all of ten years old and you must stay at home."

The fun is over. Perhaps, as time will show life too is over. Shakila has to sit in the house, help her mother, look after the children and wait for 'rishtas' (proposals). Finally an understanding is reached with the family of a 21 year old boy who has his own 'kabadi' (rag) business in the slums of Bombay. The family is of the same 'caste'. The boy is doing well and a date for the marriage is fixed.

Shakila is 12 years old. She is excited as she is going to be married the next day. Preparations are afoot. She has some jewellery and new clothes of the kind she has never seen. She is the focus of attention. She knows she is to be married but has no idea what it means. The *baraat* comes. The 'mehr' is fixed for Rs 101. The boys parents start the negotiations for the 'mehr' with Rs 50 and then as a grand gesture increase it to Rs 101. After all the boy cannot be expected to pay more.

Two months later Shakila is in Bombay. For sometime it is fun. There are only the two of them and her husband, Javed, is attentive and caring. He takes her to see the sights. Four months later the child is pregnant with her first child. The neighbours are concerned. Soon after she comes back to Lucknow to have her first baby. It is a traumatic experience but one that she cannot share with anyone. She is scared of what happened but cannot admit her fears even to herself. The baby is a girl - thin and not very healthy. Bouts of illness follow and she cannot go back to Bombay. Javed does not come. His business is in a little trouble, he writes. She is with her parents-in-law and often hears taunts about having produced a girl child. Finally when the child is seven months old, Shakila returns to Bombay. She is excited and happy. Life seems fine. Except that Javed has to sell her three pieces of jewellery to keep the business going.

Four months later Shakila is pregnant again she wants to cry. But Javed wants a son. So she goes back to Lucknow to have the baby. Again the same story, except that this time she feels very tired and giddy. The child is born. Another girl. Her mother-in-law is visibly upset and expresses her disapproval to Shakila's parents. Hot words are exchanged while Shakila sheds silent tears. She is 14 years old with two children. Her recovery is slow. The doctor says she must, on no account, have another child for at least five years. The family laughs ridiculing this 'modern science'. Shakila laughs along with them. As if having or not having a child is in

ones control. It is after all the will of God.

Finally she returns to Bombay with her two children. Life has changed. Javed's rag business is floundering. He is no longer the caring, attentive husband she had known for a few weeks. He is sullen, angry and flies into a rage every time a child cries. He thrashes her if she so much as defies his command.

Finally she is so ill that the fact cannot be kept secret any longer. And Shakila is again despatched to Lucknow with her two children. The same story again. But this child is still born. She remains ill for two months, and then is sent back to Bombay.

Five months later she is pregnant again. The child, another girl, is born. She goes back to Bombay. Javed has no time for her. He stops giving her money. Often there is no food in the house. She stays on, suffering the humiliation as she does not know what to do, how to cope. An older neighbour speaks to her about family planning. But as soon as Shakila broaches the subject to Javed's aunts who live in Bombay there is violent protest. "Are you mad, do you want to tamper with Gods will? Arre this girl has gone crazy. Do you know that *maulvi sahib* has issued a fatwa that he will not read your *jannaze ki namaaz* (funeral prayers) if you indulge in birth control. Can there be a worse fate than that?", they cry. Shakila hits herself on the cheeks, 'toba toba I never knew this, I will never speak of it again.'

Shakila is pregnant again. She leaves for Lucknow. Her child has yet to be born and she receives a 'talaqnama' through the post, duly signed by the 'maulvisahab' of her locality in Bombay. Javed has divorced her. He pronounced 'talaq, talaq, talaq' in the courtyard of their building in the presence of two witnesses. And his relationship with her is over. Shakila is distraught. What will she do, where will she live? Her parents-in-law turn her out. She goes to her mother but is made aware of the fact that this is only a temporary abode. There is no place. The brothers have got married and their wives, children are spilling out of the tenement. Besides two unmarried sisters remain to add to the mothers woes.

Shakila does not know where to turn. There is nothing she can do for relief, she is told. As for the mehr: "he should have given it but there is nothing you can do if he has not" is the unanimous opinion of the learned persons of the mohalla. Besides, the 'mehr' is only Rs 101. Her jewellery is gone and she has not a penny that she can call her own. She has three small children and a fourth on the way.

The child is born. He is a boy. Shakila is ecstatic. Perhaps now Javed will come back. She does not know the meaning of irrevocable divorce. But Javed

is not interested because he has married again. It is as if Shakila and his children have ceased to exist. But life has to go on.

Shakila gets a job, cleaning dishes and sweeping houses. She puts up a small jhuggi along with other slum dwellers on land that is not their own. In the day she leaves her job has its own tensions. The community starts talking about her. A Pathan girl and working in houses! The tongues begin wagging. Women taunt her, men proposition her. But wearing a burkha Shakila sets out determinedly each day.

She then gets a job as an ayah with a family. The salary is better. They give her food and old clothes which come in useful for her children. She is able to take a small room on rent in her old mohalla, which is safer and cleaner. There are days, particularly when a child is ill, when depression seems to get the better of Shakila. Days when she can barely drag herself to work. Nights when she cries herself to sleep. But she struggles on.

The children become older. Shakila has learnt life's lesson and is determined to turn it around for her children. She puts them all in school. In the evening they make kites and sell them to the local shops. This brings in some extra money which buys them clothes. The little boy goes to school in the day and learns *zardoshi* work in the evenings. He soon starts bringing home Rs 25/a week.

Life is improving. So is Shakila's attitude to life. She realises that she has been a victim of a process given sanctity by man, and the fact that she was thrown out on the street had little to do with God and more to do with mans control over woman. Her daughter is 13 years. She wants to study further but there is pressure on Shakila to marry her off. She is torn between her own experience and social pressures and eventually succumbs to the latter. She tries to negotiate with the boys family for a substantial amount of 'mehr' but so many years later, she cannot get them to agree to more than Rs 301. But Shakila is able to include the clause of 'pandaan money' in the *nikahnama*, which in essence means monthly pocket money for the bride to spend as she so wishes. It is a paltry amount of Rs 20. But it is there.

But there are is one essential difference. Shakila explains the concept of birth control to her daughter. She takes her, quietly, to a family planning clinic and acquaints her with the process.

There is one other difference. But this Shakila has not voiced to any one except herself: "If my daughter is divorced in the same way I will not let her accept the divorce. I will fight it out." She does not know how, as yet, but she is determined to find out.

## DO MUSLIMS NEED RESERVATION?

The demand for Muslims as a religious community has generated a major debate with all the ingredients of a major conflict between the liberal, educated sections of Muslim society versus the clergy and the political representatives. Unfortunately, political parties, including those espousing secularism, have jumped on to the fundamentalists bandwagon and approved the demand for reservation for Muslims without even bothering to analyse the pros and cons of the move. There has been no effort to understand the implications of this reservation, and the demand has been accepted to appease the clergy and the Muslim members, most of whom are in search for symbols to garner votes. SECULAR INITIATIVE was amongst the groups to organise a day long Seminar on the subject in an effort to generate opinion against the demand for reservation for Muslims as a religious group as this will have extremely damaging repercussions.

This group is completely supportive of the Social Justice programme being of the view that Reservations in India of the kind outlined by the Mandal Commission Report is necessary as a policy of positive discrimination for the upliftment of socially and economically backward classes. Reservation for Muslims must not be confused with the latter, and it should not be taken as a basis or rationale for implementing the demand for religion based reservation. The proposal to provide reservations on the basis of religion rather than social and economic backwardness will not be in the larger interests of the community and society as a whole:

- \* Providing reservation on the basis of religion goes against the basic tenets of the Constitution of secular India. But more important it will generate deep hostility against the Muslims from all sections of society; it will legitimise communal electorates which will have far reaching repercussions on the body politics of the nation; it will weaken the process of social justice by isolating the Muslims as a religious group.
- \* Educationally, economically and socially, better off section of Muslim society will corner the benefits of reservations. The benefits will pass the really disadvantaged sections of the community.
- \* Such a policy may give rise to disruptive and separatist elements in society creating more fissures in social life.
- \* Reservations provided through Mandal Commission recommendations have already

included the backward groups from among Muslims. Efforts should be made to identify all the groups and if any have been left out these should be included in the lists provided by the Mandal Commission.

We feel that Muslims should be

asking for parity in all spheres of life rather than demanding special status. This would go a long way in keeping Muslims part of the mainstream and as equal partners in all development schemes for the socially and economically backward sections.

### THE NEW SLOGAN

'Reservation for Muslims' is the new slogan, behind the introduction of which are a variety of reasons that must be gone into before the merits or the demerits of the demand itself can be discussed. The slogan is not a natural corollary of the 'reservation' issue as the proponents are trying to make out, but the result of a well thought out plan which has more than one dimension.

The demolition of the Babri Masjid by Hindutva fanatics weakened, perhaps irretrievably, the secular fabric of the Indian nation, but it also put Muslims fundamentalists, who had been using the Ayodhya issue to keep themselves afloat, out of business. The Babri Masjid Action Committee and other such organisations completely lost their legitimacy and in fact, came in for serious attack at all quarters, including the villages of poor India. The Muslim community as such began to question the legitimacy of conservative leaders, and the response to liberal interventions was heartening. Encouraged by this Muslim liberals, essentially an urban phenomenon, tried to intervene in issues which had hitherto been the domain of the orthodox Muslims accepted by most political parties as 'Muslim leaders'. The question of reform, viz. a viz. marriage and divorce laws was taken up as was the secularisation of education. For the first time in independent India, the Muslim liberal responded to the situation and tried to intervene. It was a slow, confused beginning but a beginning nevertheless.

Meanwhile, the Muslim fundamentalists aware of the more than considerable setback to their political fortunes began the search for an issue. And hit upon the 'reservation for Muslims' issue which was voiced by representatives at smaller forums and then introduced into the political agenda.

The slogan given body by the propaganda of jobs in the police force constitutes a strong emotional appeal. The fundamentalist Muslims are well aware of its potential, and once again are clearly playing with the aspirations of the community to keep themselves in power. For it is an empty slogan based

on nothing more than projections which cannot stand up to scrutiny. And the consequences of the acceptance of any such demand will be extremely damaging to the interests of the Muslims, besides pushing them back into the ghettos from which they had only just begun to emerge. It will strengthen the BJP/RSS and give the latter more than sufficient ammunition for its campaign against the Muslims of this country.

There is no doubt that the condition of Muslims - economically, educationally - is extremely poor; that there is religious discrimination, and Muslims become an easy target of the trigger happy police forces and the administration; that the living conditions of Muslims in many towns and even villages are dismal; that the representation of Muslims in the government, in the police force is negligible; that there is discrimination against Muslims when it comes to recruitment in the Armed forces and promotions within.

But the questions that need to be answered are: is 'reservation' for the community a solution to the ills afflicting and even paralysing the Muslims. Can such a 'reservation' protect the interests of the community. Or will it merely target them out for further, and perhaps worse, discrimination? Besides will it benefit the process of social transformation which has begun, and which is so essential for the progress and well being of India? Or will it retard the process and break the new, and extremely important, alliances?

The contention here is that the demand for communal communal electorates is not only regressive, but blatantly dangerous. Besides backward Muslims have been included in the Mandal report and come within the purview of the reservations accepted by all states. Thirdly, reservations for Muslims even if accepted will only increase their representation very marginally in the government and police. Next, the policy of reservation is

*Continued...*

## WHAT THE ORGANISATION IS ABOUT....

The Indian Muslim Liberal, largely urban but secular, has been fairly indifferent of affairs concerning his community. While not really accepting the authority of the clergy, pandered to by political parties over the years, the secular liberal was, at the same time, unwilling to shed off his apathy regarding the welfare of the community at large. Until the demolition of the Babri masjid on December, 1992.

Just as secularists came out onto the streets in protest against this violent attack on the Constitution, so also did the Muslim liberal whose shock turned into a spontaneous realisation of his responsibility towards the community at large. Since then this has found expression in seminars, meeting, village level discussions and the formation of Forums to highlight issues concerning the Muslims in particular and the secular society in general.

**Secular Initiative** is one such effort by a group of Muslim liberals. The idea is to create an awareness amongst the Muslim community that will facilitate its development and progress, and at the same time ensure that the problems facing the community are addressed through a secular vision.

**Secular Initiative** has taken a conscious decision to network with secular groups working in the country. Muslim organizations like the Waqf Board, Haj Committee, Muslim Personal Law Board will be up for scrutiny as will

be any future 'rulings' by the clergy concerning the supposed welfare of the community.

The group has decided to investigate the performance of the Wakf Board in view of complaints that the Board has long ceased to fulfil the objectives for which it was created. It will also examine in minute detail the birth and functioning of the Muslim Personal Law Board. It has published a detailed report on the police raid on Nadwa, an institution of Islamic learning at Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh. The blatant disenfranchisement of Muslim voters in Delhi and Bombay has been taken up as part of a joint campaign with Secular organizations working in these cities. A major seminar on Reservation for Muslims has been organised by **Secular Initiative** which has also circulated a note on the subject amongst vested interests as well as secularists. This is the first news letter of what we hope, will become a quarterly effort.

We appeal to you to help by way of comments, suggestions, ideas, reactions and of course, whatever little finances possible to keep the **Initiative** going. We hope to act, with you, as an intermediary between the Muslim community and Secular groups, a pressure group within the Muslims and a sentinel with a finger on the secular pulse of India. The founder members **Secular Initiative** include, Atyab Siddiqui, Danial Latifi, Mrs Rafia Ziauddin, A.R. Khan, Iqbal Husain,

*Continue...*

running into trouble already with increasing privatisation and the shrinking of the public sector. The state is retreating very effectively, from the economic space which in itself will make a mockery of the Reservation policy.

It should be very clear that the gains will be marginal and perhaps even, negligible. But the fall out of the acceptance of any such demand will have far reaching repercussions.

The hostility, of all sections including the backwards and the Dalits, will be directed against the Muslims. The Muslim community will again become the target for communal divide and the sections which are clearly supporting it at present will unite with all others against it. It will not be wise to forget that in Uttar Pradesh where most such battles are fought, a large section of the backwards and a percentage of the Dalits are still under the BJP influence. The entire process of social transformation that has begun has weakened the BJP but ill conceived and completely opportunistic moves can bring it back into the limelight.

The answer for insecurity does not lie in reservation. Reservation can and should be a policy limited only to social - and not religious - discrimination. Those who are misguiding the community once again on the question of reservation would do better to spend their considerable energies in taking up issues fundamental to the well being of the minorities. Education is linked to progress, but on the issue of modern education the 'Muslim leaders' are silent. When it comes to ensuring justice for the victims of communal riots, the 'Muslim leaders' are absent. On the misuse of TADA, it is only the secular organisations in Bombay that have launched a real offensive. On the question of disenfranchisement of Muslim voters in Delhi and other cities, it is again the concerned citizens and not the 'Muslim leaders' who have come out with writ petitions in courts and strong campaigns against this discrimination. Efforts to open ITI's in Muslim dominated districts take second place to recognising Urdu as the second language which has become a political tool based again on emotional reactions.

Jamaluddin Ahmad, Seema Alavi, Col (Retd) M.H. Khan and Seema Mustafa.

### BAN 'BOMBAY'?

This statement was issued by Secular Initiative and carried by the newspapers in detail:

The demand to ban the film 'Bombay' is a matter of deep concern, particularly because it has diverted attention from the real fight of the Muslims living in Maharashtra to an issue that can have no bearing on their daily existence. It is unfortunate that once again self styled Muslim leaders and others professing to speak for the community have jumped into the trap carefully laid for them by the fascist forces.

The initial controversy about the film was raised by Shiv Sena leader Bal Thackeray who objected to the name as well as to certain scenes in the film. It is a matter of shame that the distributor and Ms Jaya Bachan who is also a member of the Indian Censor Board arranged a special screening for Mr Thackeray to accommodate his views. It is this condemnable concession that fuelled the demand of the Muslim leaders who are now demanding that the film be banned. It is being made to appear as another case of Muslim 'appeasement' and has given a handle to the likes of Bal Thackeray to further consolidate their constituency.

**Secular Initiative** appeals to the Muslims not to walk into traps such as this, and get hysterical about what are essentially non-issues. The fight today is against these fascist forces and demands to ban films and books only strengthens the obscurantists and does little for the progress of the community. In fact it retards the development of the Muslims whose real concerns today rest with security, survival, meaningful employment, and modern education. The screening of Bombay cannot interfere in this fight for equal status, but the banning of it will. Secular forces cannot afford any diversions in the fight against fascist and communal forces, at this stage, let alone strengthen their appeal by taking positions which are harmful to the interests of the minorities and damage the cause of secularism.

**Address :** Secular Initiative, 201 Bhikaji Cama Bhawan, Bhikaji Cama Place, Ring Road, New Delhi 110 066 Telephone : 606202.

R / File (Personal)  
A.A.S.

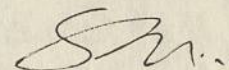
201, Madam Bhikaji Cama Bhawan  
Bhikaji Cama Place, Ring Road  
New Delhi - 110 066, India  
Tel. : 606202

17th May, 1995

Dear Friend,

Secular Initiative and National Centre for Civic Commitment are organising a day long discussion on the "Supreme Court and the Uniform Civil Code". The discussion will be held on Sunday, the 28th May, 1995, at the Council For Social Development, 53 Lodhi Estate, New Delhi, from 10-30 AM onwards. A working lunch will be arranged at the venue. We will be grateful if you make it convenient to participate in the discussion with a view to formulating public opinion on the sensitive and controversial topic.

Yours sincerely,



(Imtiaz Ahmed) (Seema Mustafa)

To

Mr A. B. Bardhan



# International Movement to Save Bangladesh

100 Rexdale Blvd., Suite # 302, Rexdale, Ontario Canada M9W 1N7 Tel.: (416) 742-9818 Fax: (416) 742-9818

## DAMS AND DECEPTIONS

*...A tragic tale of India's manipulation of public opinion; of the use of deception and treachery in negotiations; of the use of water as ransom; and of the deliberate destruction of Bangladesh as a self-sustaining nation.*

### A NATIONAL DILEMMA

The most dangerous action a nation can take is to criticize or condemn a neighbouring country, especially, if that neighbour is very powerful and influential. For Bangladeshis, criticizing India is a divisive and emotional issue. To some citizens (especially pro-Indian politicians with cross-border connections), it strikes right at the heart of their gratitude towards a generous friend and it potentially harms a relationship of peaceful co-existence.

But, to the rest, it is their democratic right to analyze any issue that affects their lives directly. According to them, India is nothing but an opportunistic and selfish neighbour who fails to negotiate in good faith; who takes advantage of the unfortunate situation in Bangladesh; who disregards international laws and treaties; and who ignores agreements previously negotiated.

### NEVER-ENDING DROUGHT, DEVASTATION, AND MISERY

Bangladesh is an agricultural country that produces three crops each year. The lack of sufficient water during any of these seasons can bring great hardship to farmers and their families, but this appears to be no concern to the political leaders of our neighbour. Through its massive network of dams and barrages, India unilaterally and unfairly controls the international rivers flowing through Bangladesh. The result is drought, devastation, and misery:

1. During the dry season, large parts of Bangladesh are so parched that more than 250' deep tube wells bring no water. As a result, many poor people have to walk more than ten miles for their drinking water. The landscape of these affected areas resemble the deserts of Sudan.
2. As most of the fruits of Bangladesh are dry-season fruits (the best known of them being mangos, lichees and jackfruits), the lack of water has cut their yields by 80% and many of those trees are dead or dying.
3. The freshwater fishing industry—which had supplied most of the protein requirements of Bangladeshis at an affordable price—is all but dead. For a typical Bangladeshi to enjoy an average-sized Hilsha fish (the nation's most popular fish), he/she must work more than two full days.
4. Three of the world's largest rivers, with their more than 250 tributaries and distributaries and 24,000 km long network of water channels, can no longer be used as a convenient, affordable and natural method of transportation. Since most of the rivers become non-navigable and many of them become completely dry after the monsoon season, all the poor people's boats become useless. Left untended, the boats fall into disrepair and as a result there are very few boats in the rivers, even during the monsoon season.

5. The declining water flow and the disappearance of lakes, swamps and ponds, has pushed the cost of irrigation well beyond the means of average farmers; only rich landowners can plant their crops in time. Consequently, the rich are getting richer and the poor are losing their land and livelihood. In this way thousands more are being added to the list of the landless every year.

6. With much less freshwater flowing through Bangladesh during the dry season, the quantity and speed of water near the bay becomes too low to prevent the advancing salt water from salinizing the coastal regions and adjacent inland areas. As a result, valuable farmlands within 210 km (130 miles) of the coast are suffering from crop failures. The Sundarbans, the beautiful mangrove forest and the home of the world famous "Royal Bengal Tiger", is virtually dead and the evergreens of Bangladesh are dying.

### UN-SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENTS

Farakka Barrage—a classic example of one country's development gained at the expense of another country's environment and future well-being

Farakka Barrage! The mere mention of the word sends shivers through every Bangladeshi and fills every sensible Bangladeshi soul with anger, helplessness, and desperation. It also brings into doubt India's real intentions for helping Bangladesh to achieve its independence.

What happened after independence is beyond our comprehension and tolerance. Our legitimate expectation was that any animosity or conflict that existed between India and Pakistan would have no bearing or influence on Indo-Bangladesh relations. We expected a speedy and fair solution to our water problems and we expected friendlier relations to bring prosperity to both of our nations. How wrong we were!

### LET THE FACTS BE KNOWN

At the beginning, the Central Water and Power Commission of India suggested the building of a barrage on the Ganges, about 20 km above Bangladesh, to divert more water towards the Hoogly River, just to ensure that the Calcutta Port could continue to handle large ocean-going tankers.

In 1957, professor Dr. Walter Hensen, a reputable West German hydraulic engineer was employed by the Indian Government as a consultant to look into the Hoogly's problems. His report, which was never published and instead was carefully suppressed (even the author was not allowed to keep a copy for himself), was described by the Indian Government as "a seal of approval" by a foreign expert. His findings were never submitted to the pre-independence

Pakistan Government; no in-depth studies were ever done of the environmental and social impacts on Bangladesh or of the water flow requirements for irrigation, fishing, and navigation purposes in Bangladeshi rivers.

## BREAKING ALL THE RULES

By building this barrage on an international river running through Bangladesh, India has broken the following international laws, conventions and treaties:

The Barcelona Convention And Statute of 1921 states:

*"Each riparian State is bound on the one hand to refrain from all measures likely to prejudice the navigability of the waterways or to reduce the facilities of navigation and on the other hand, to take as rapidly as possible all necessary steps for removing any obstacles and dangers which may occur to navigation."*

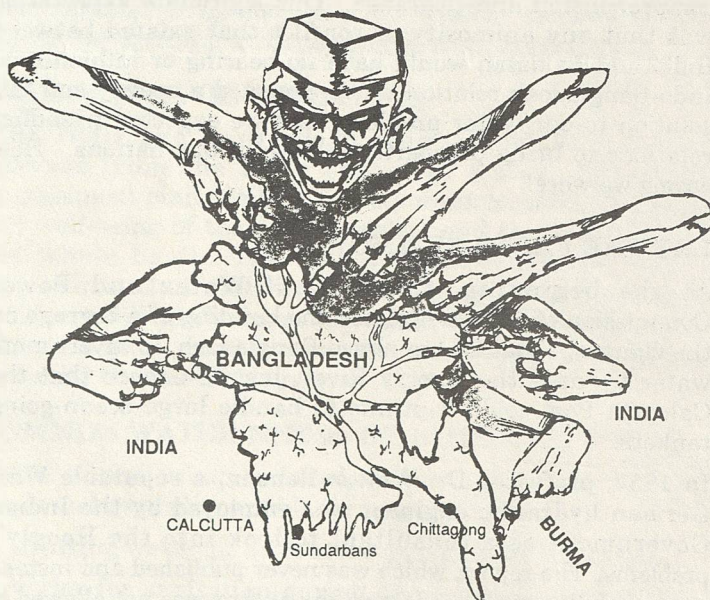
Principles 21, Declaration on the Human Environment of the United Nations Conference at Stockholm in 1972, U.N. Dec. 48/14 and Corr. 1 (1972) reads:

*"States have in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other states or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction."*

U.N. General Assembly Official Records, 27th Session Supplement No.30, p. 42, U.N. Dec. A/8730 (1973) reads:

*"In the exploitation and development of their natural resources, States must not produce significant harmful effects in zones situated outside their natural jurisdiction."*

The Economic Declaration adopted by the Fourth Conference of Heads of States of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers, 5-9 September, 1973 (U.N. Dec. A/9330, p. 72) states that:



## DRY SEASON

*"Environmental measures adopted by one state should not adversely affect the environment of other States, or zones outside their jurisdiction."*

## DEFINITION OF AN INTERNATIONAL RIVER

The universally accepted definition of an International River is:

*"A river which flows through the territory of two or more States is an International River."*

According to the above definition, all of the rivers which flow from India to Bangladesh are International Rivers. And, the largest of them (the Ganges and Brahmaputra) originate in Tibet (China) before entering India.

## THE EQUITY RIGHT OF BANGLADESH

The central principle of the Helsinki Rules is Article IV, which states:

*"Each basin State is entitled, within its territory, to a reasonable and equitable share in the beneficial uses of the waters of an international drainage basin."*

## NEGOTIATING IN BAD FAITH

The manner and tactics of negotiations, which started in 1960 with our old Pakistani Governments, didn't change with independence, a 25-year friendship agreement, or several changes of government.

At least with the Pakistani Governments, India had treated their negotiators with respect (on account of Pakistan's military strength and international support). But India's treatment of Bangladeshi Governments and Bangladeshis has been insulting and contemptible. Indian politicians and representatives have made monkeys out of our negotiators by taking advantage of India's power and position. From June 1972 to June 1994, our negotiators sat more than 100 times with their Indian counterparts from different levels, including meetings of the respective heads of state.

All those negotiations did not bring us any closer to a solution. The main reason for this failure was that India never negotiated in good faith and used every trick in the book, viz. deliberate delay in correspondence, postponements, and abrupt and deliberate changes of negotiators and ministers—in order to buy time to finish their dams and barrages without being subjected to restriction or compromise. While India was negotiating for our approval in constructing the Farakka Barrage, it was proceeding with several other barrages without mentioning a word to the victim—Bangladesh.

During those talks, Indian negotiators never divulged information or data to our representatives, regarding any Indian studies or plans. On the other hand, at every meeting or conference, Indian negotiators always asked for more data regarding our studies or research. Ultimately, when enough data was supplied to India to fill up a master bedroom, Indian representatives complained that there was too much data to make a quick decision, and besides, the data was already outdated and they needed new and updated data.

## USING NEGOTIATIONS AS A SHIELD

In this way, while the Bangladeshi negotiators were busy collecting more data to please their big brothers, Indian politicians and engineers were going full speed ahead to

complete their projects. Instead of using the meetings to honestly negotiate or compromise, the Indian representatives and politicians were using them as a method of information gathering and were ultimately using that information for India's own planning needs.

### INDIA'S UNFAIR ADVANTAGE OVER BANGLADESH

During these years of negotiations, the frustrated Bangladeshi Governments tried several times to involve international bodies either to act as objective arbitrators, or to force India to negotiate in good faith. But, being an old, established, and influential nation, India had always managed to scuttle Bangladeshi efforts to involve international organizations.

On several occasions, many well-respected countries with good intentions tried to get involved or to mediate between India and Bangladesh. Some of them even suggested the inclusion of Nepal (another direct victim of India's colonial policy) as a partner, to create a comprehensive solution to the region's problems for the benefit of the whole sub-continent. But, the Indian Government kept other parties out by claiming that the dispute over sharing the waters of the Ganges was an "internal" matter and must be solved through bilateral negotiations only. As a result, the international community was kept ignorant of important causes of the suffering in Bangladesh.

### DELIBERATE PLAN TO DEVASTATE OR SUBJUGATE BANGLADESH

India has followed a deliberate and comprehensive plan either to destroy Bangladesh as a prosperous and self-sustaining nation or to force it to become a part of India or a colony of an Indian Empire. The main objective of the plan is to cut off Bangladesh's life support system—the water flow of its international rivers. Unfortunately for Bangladesh, all its major rivers are international rivers that first pass through India. India has already built several dams and barrages and is in the process of building even more on its borders with Bangladesh (the east, west, and north sides of the country).

Near the mid-west at Farakka, India has built across the Ganges the longest barrage in the world; in the North-West, it has built several barrages and diversion walls on the Teesta river; in the mid-east, it has built a barrage on the Gumti river; to the north of the Gumti, it has built a barrage on the Khowai river; and at present, in the north-east corner, India is building a barrage on the Kushiya river. As well, it has completely blocked dozens of smaller streams.

Before India started building all those dams and barrages around the border, Bangladesh was a beautiful and prosperous country, where farmers could harvest three times a year (just one acre of land could maintain a family). As all the rivers were deep and full of water and fish were available in every river, pond and swamp, the Bangladeshis were provided with their protein requirements at a very low cost. But, due to the construction of the dams and barrages, Bangladesh becomes the Ethiopia of Asia during the dry season.

### INDIA'S "DREAM PLAN" IS A "DOOMSDAY PLAN" FOR BANGLADESH

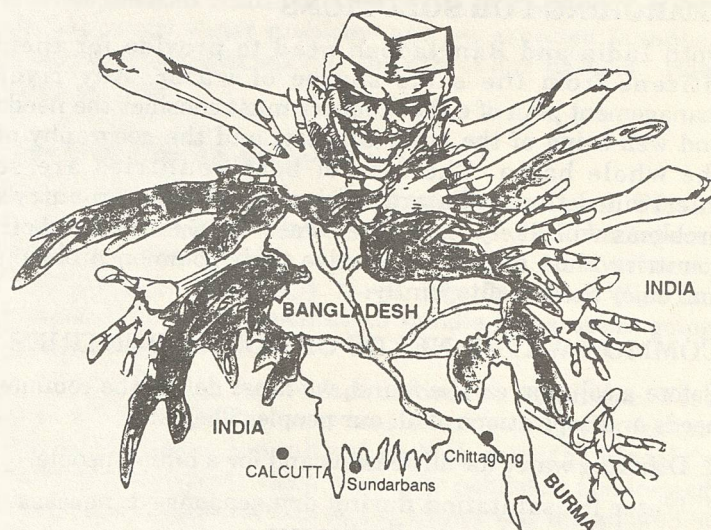
As if the above suffering was not enough, India has two competing super plans to divert water from our biggest and

last source of survival—the Brahmaputra River. The names of the super plans are: "The National Water Grid Project" and "The Garland Canal Project". The common goal of these two plans is to link the Brahmaputra to the Ganges in India.

According to these plans, India wants to divert the life blood of Bangladesh—the water of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, along a 15,000 km network of canals and rivers to irrigate the far-off central, western and southern regions of India. As the diversion may not be possible without passing through northern Bangladesh, India is blackmailing Bangladesh and using every trick and torture that can be used to coerce its helpless neighbour.

The legitimate fears and objections of Bangladesh against linking the Brahmaputra to the Ganges are that:

1. It would increase the potential for greater flood disasters, since the new river and the associated barriers would run across the natural drainage systems of Bangladeshi rivers.
2. It would further reduce the groundwater available for drinking and irrigation. Already the groundwater reserves are so depleted that 250' deep tube wells come up dry and Bangladeshis need to drill below the supporting delta crust. The diversion of Brahmaputra water would mean even greater drought and deprivation for Bangladeshi farmers.
3. The coastal areas of Bangladesh are already suffering from ever increasing salinization due to India's withdrawals and diversions. If Bangladesh allows India to divert Brahmaputra water to irrigate the rest of India, salinization would make the densely populated and highly fertile land of southern Bangladesh useless and uncultivable.
4. It would force hundreds of thousands of Bangladeshi farmers off their land and into poverty. Bangladesh is already very short of land and the space needed for this monster plan would take thousands of acres of fertile land out of production.
5. The cost of maintaining such an oversized canal or a new river, with all its embankments and water diversion works, and the cost of recurring flood disasters and engineering failures is beyond the means of Bangladesh.



**RAINY SEASON**

6. It would give India almost total control of the waters flowing through Bangladesh, and judging by the past actions of that country, there is good reason to fear that control of this water could be used to blackmail Bangladesh.

It is understandable that the Indian Government wants to improve the living conditions of its people in water-short states. But, is it wise to threaten the way of life of hundreds of millions of people in India and Bangladesh by diverting the water that is rightfully theirs, to irrigate naturally arid regions in far-off parts of India.

Under no circumstances should the Indian Government be permitted to proceed with this massive diversion plan. The people of Bangladesh, the Indian riverine districts of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, and the entire world community must be vigilant in preventing any monstrous plan that would jeopardize the future of the Ganges-Brahmaputra basin.

### SO MUCH PAIN FOR SO LITTLE GAIN

India has taken the water Bangladesh needs for its survival, and yet India has only marginally benefited from doing so. The water that India has diverted for its irrigation is concentrated mostly in a handful of states and within those states, the lion's share of the water has been appropriated by the most wealthy and established farmers, with relatively little to go around for the millions of very poor farmers.

As the land is dry, the weather is very hot and the crops can use only so much water at a time, most of the irrigated water is evaporated by the scorching sun. The net benefit to most farmers is relatively small, considering the high cost of machinery, fuel, special seeds, and fertilizer. As many farmers have to borrow large sums to finance their irrigation expenses, each year they must produce a large surplus just to cover their high interest charges, and if in any season their crops fail, they lose all their land and property.

Those farmers that do irrigate "successfully", deplete the nutrients of their soil so quickly that in a few years their land becomes infertile. Surely the benefits of inefficient and unsustainable irrigation for a few wealthy farmers do not justify the hardship and suffering of an entire nation.

### SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS

Both India and Bangladesh need to provide for their citizens from the same source of water. Any river management plan of either country must consider the needs and well-being of the other country, and the geography of the whole basin. The fate of both countries are so intertwined that unilateral action to solve one country's problems will likely harm the other; for this reason, both countries must cooperate to solve their common problems and enjoy the benefits jointly.

### COMMON WATER NEEDS OF BOTH COUNTRIES

Before a solution can be found, we must define the common needs and aspirations of all our people. They are:

1. Drinking water for all seasons and for a billion people.
2. Water for sanitation during dry seasons—a necessary prevention against deadly diseases.

3. Sufficient water flow to prevent salinization near the Bay of Bengal.
4. Sufficient water flow for the navigation of major rivers.
5. Enough water in the rivers, lakes, canals, swamps, streams, and ponds to maintain moisture in the soil and healthy stocks of fish.
6. Water for judicious and efficient irrigation during dry seasons.

### COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION THROUGH FAIR DISTRIBUTION

Any permanent and satisfactory solution must be based on openness, cooperation and equitable sharing. What we are proposing is that India, Nepal and Bangladesh form a "Continental Water Management Commission" to regulate and develop the water resources of the Ganges-Brahmaputra Basin. This commission must include representatives from every sector of the population involved in this basin, for example, members of parliament, farmers, environmentalists, engineers, hydrologists, economists, civil servants, scientists, etc.

The commission will first operate a system of total accounting of the water flow of the major rivers and their tributaries and distributaries. This "water-tight" accounting process will involve estimating the total rainfall, evaporation, and seepage in the basin, and keeping a complete record of withdrawals, diversions, and uses of the water. An annual Water Consumption and Flow Report must be published for the public and must be submitted to all levels of government in all three countries, and the data used to produce the report must be open, unbiased, and subject to unrestricted audit by every party concerned.

The commission will also have the ultimate authority in the region to allocate water based on the principle of greatest need, namely: drinking and cooking, sanitation, irrigation for survival, prevention of salinization, basic navigation, irrigation for profit, etc. To ensure that the decisions of the commission are just and unbiased, we propose that they be subject to the review of an appeal board consisting of internationally-respected jurists drawn from neither India, Nepal, or Bangladesh.

The third responsibility of the commission will be to develop and promote methods of more efficient water management. Some of its first priorities will be researching techniques of dry farming or super-efficient irrigation, cultivating crops that are much less water-dependent, and developing local reservoirs to store monsoon water for dry season use.

### AN APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Finally, we would like to invite all who really care for the survival of the people of India, Nepal and Bangladesh, to join us in working to resolve the current conflicts over water and save millions from further misery and suffering.

M. M. Habibur Rahman  
B.Sc., Ae. Engg., M.R.A.S., C.M.A.  
Management, Finance & Investment Consultant  
President - International Movement to Save Bangladesh

# The Telegraph

6, Prafulla Sarkar Street Calcutta 700001 Telephone 274880 & 278000 Telex 0215468 & 0215469 ANBZ IN Fax 2253240 & 2253241

21 July 1995

*Seasonal  
Rites*

Mr A.B. Bardhan  
New Delhi

Dear Mr Bardhan,

You will be happy to learn that our 13th Anniversary Supplement on 'Manmohan, India and Bharat' has been a tremendous success. The feedback from readers has been most positive.

I take this opportunity to thank you for your contribution, which contributed in a big way to the Supplement's success. Enclosed is a small payment in appreciation.

Hoping to see your byline most often in our pages,

Sincerely

*Sumir Lal*

(Sumir Lal)  
Deputy Editor

/rs

Ananda Bazar Patrika Limited

The Ananda Bazar Group of Publications: Anandabazar Patrika Business Standard The Telegraph  
Desh Sunday Sportsworld Anandalok Anandamela BusinessWorld Sananda Prabasi Anandabazar

Kumud Choudhury  
'Krupa'

12 Bhagat Singh Marg Mahim  
Bombay - 12

---

Grieved Hearing Com. Vithal's  
death Sincere condolences  
from ACTIVE

- Bardhan -

Sent on 18/6/68

338-7570,

Pl.

Personal File  
of CS

R/ File (Personal)  
A.P.S.

- निवेदन -

प्रति,  
वि. मे. डेप्युटी, कॉ. नो. विंदराव पानसरे,  
महाराष्ट्र राज्य कोटी,  
भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पक्षा कार्यालय,  
मुंबई.

RECEIVED  
For.....on  
16 AUG 1995  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi

अर्जदार :- कॉ. प्रकाश देउरकर, पक्षा समित्या, यवतमाळ जिल्हा, ता. वणी,  
टाणौर चौक, जि. यवतमाळ, मु. पो. वणी.

विषय :- वणी शहर, मारेगांव तालुका, डारी तालुका, वणी तालुका  
कॉ. नामदेवराव काळे, भा. क. प. माजी आमदार, वणी ह्यांना  
भाऊ अन्य जनसंघटनेतून स्वरीत हकातपद्धती करून या तिनही  
तालुक्यांतील पक्षा कार्यकर्ते सहानुभूतीदार कडकरी जनतेस स्वरीत  
पक्षास वाचवा, जनतेस दिलासा घ्या, हिट अडकळीची नमु विनंती.

महोदय,  
मां. नामदेवराव काळे हे पक्षाच्या नावाखाली जनतेस व पक्षाच्या  
प्रत्येक कार्यकर्त्यांस जीवन जगणे कठीण करीत आहे. लोकांनी ह्यांना सन  
१९८५ मध्ये विधानसभेत "आमदार" म्हणून निवडून दिले. परंतु ह्यांनी जनतेचे  
व पक्षाचे कोणतेच विकासार्थे, फायद्याचे कामे न करता स्वतःचे मोठे तसेच घरा  
शोती, सोने खरेदी, मुलीचे लग्न, सर्व वैयक्तिक स्वार्थे पूर्ण करून जनमानसांत  
ह्यांची क्रेडिट, सहानुभूती घुळीत मिळालेली आहे. आपला पक्षा तत्त्वनिष्ठ,  
देयनिष्ठ व गरिबांच्या बाजूने कृती करून त्यांना त्याच मिळवून देणारा पक्षा  
आहे. परंतु हा पुढारी हुकुमशाही मार्गाने पक्षाक डावून कोणातेही नांव देवून  
मोठ मोठे पेपरमध्ये लेखा, बातम्यांद्वारे स्वतःचे नांव प्रसिद्ध करून कार्यकर्ते  
पक्षापासून दूर जात आहे. मी सन १९८० पासून त्यांची देखी घेऊन त्यांची  
इमाने इतबारे पूर्ण वेळ सेवा (काम) केली आहे. स्वतः त्यांचा रिहा चालवला.  
त्यांचे पैसे वाचले. परंतु ह्यांस घराथे भाडे, शोतीचे उत्पन्न व जनतेस टोप्या  
घालणे सारखे सुरु आहे. त्यामुळे पक्षाच्या कार्य पूर्णरूपेने धंदावले आहे. सर्व  
बाणस बाजो या धाग्यांत सुरु आहे.

तालुका कौनसोल कधी निवड नाही. त्यांच्या मनाप्रमाणे पैसा घसूल  
करून स्वतःचे कुटुंबाचे मौज मजेत जीवन जगत आहे. इकडोज परिस्थिती स्वतः  
२ दिवस येथे हजार राहून जनमानसांत चौकशी करावी. ऐतले त्यांचे पैसे कॉ.  
नामदेवराव काळे, कधीच देत नाही. पाटीचे ऑफीस नाही, फुल टाईमवर  
वर्कर स्वतःचे घर विकून आपले वैयक्तिक जीवन जगण्याचा ह्या पुढा-घामुळे मार्ग  
पत्करीत आहेत. मी स्वतः त्यांचे सोबत काम केले आहे व मला पूर्ण माहिती  
आहे. मी त्यांचे घरी मागील १० वर्षांपासून त्यांचे घरी चहा पिऊन त्यांचे

बिगर पगार अनुदाने गुण शिक्ण्याकरितां अतिपर्यंत त्यांचे तोंबत काम करीत होती. परंतु काम करीत असतांना मादगी तब्येत खराब होऊन मी पायाच्या दुःखाने त्यांचे घरी तहफहत आश्री तयांचा रिहा चालवून त्यांच्या घराची सर्व कामे करीत होती. दवाखान्यांत औषधीकरीतां त्यांना मी शंभर रुपये मला पाहिजे म्हणून त्यांना विनंती केली. त्यांनी पैसे तर दिले नाहीच परंतु मी ज्या खोलीत रहात होती, त्या खोलीस कुलूप ठोकून दिली. मी नेहमीपुढाणी घरी गेली तेंव्हा त्यांनी मला मादगी घरी पाय बांधवा नाही, आताच्या आत्ता चालता हो, असे म्हणून रात्री मला हाकलून दिले. मी मागेल अनेक वडांपाहून ह्यांची कामे करीत होती, इच्च कापाचे कोणातेही पैसे त्यांचेवडे जमा करीत होती व "दैनिकी मतदार" अमरावतो ह्या पेपरचा मी धंदा सुरू नेता होता. त्यांनी मला धमकी देवून माझा धंदा बंद नेता. असा हा कुर, कार्यकर्त्यांचा सून उगवणारा कार्यकर्ताला जीवनातून उठवावे व पदास भातीमोल करून कोणिसवाल्याची दलाली करून पैसा कमवायचा असा पूर्ण काम तो काम करीत आहे. म्हणून ह्या भागांत पदा मोडकळीस आला आहे.

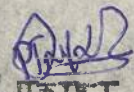
संपूर्ण कार्यकर्ते काचे घंट करून आप आपले भागी भागले आहे. ह्यांचे परिस्थिती पेशाने सर्व गोळीने म्हायत आहे. म्हणून हा कोमल रिपोर्टींग तुम्हांस सादर करून स्वतःचे पोट भरत आहे. एक जबाबदार कार्यकर्ता पदाचे नांव उंचावण्याऐवजी ते भातीमोल करीत आहे.

तरी आपणांस विनंती की, आपणां वरील सर्व प्रकाराचो जाणीव पूर्वक नोट घ्याची. अन्यथा ह्या तिन तासुत्यांतील मतदार, कार्यकर्ते ह्यांचेवर आपण योग्य जगतेंत त्यात चाल. पदा मरोबांच्या बाजूने आहे हे सिध्द करून दाखावाल हीच अपेक्षा मला आपणांकडून आहे.

वरीलबाधत घेत्या ८ दिवसांत मला लेखी मादगी पत्त्यावर कळवावे, आपणा गरीब कार्यकर्त्यांचे जे प्रामाणीकरणे काम करतात, त्यांच्यावर तरीतप्रकारे गंभीर स्वल्माचा अन्याय होत आहे, तर त्यांचे काही चुकले काय १ चुकले असल्यास आम्हांला पक्षातून त्वरीत आपणा हाकलले तरी आम्हांला ते मान्य आहे. वरील बाबत लवकरांत लवकर निर्णय घ्यावा, ही विनंती.

प्रतिलिपी :-

१. बिल्हा सचिव, देविदास जाडे, मा. क. प. वणी.
२. कां. भाई ए. बी. वर्धन, नागपूर परवाना, भवन.
३. वणी शहर सर्व पत्रकार बंधुना प्रसिध्दीकरीतां.

आपला,  
  
[कां. प्रकाश देऊकर]  
मा. क. प. वणी शहर, टागोर चौक,  
वणी.

..यांना माहितीकरीतां सविनय सादर..



दिनांक 7-8-1995

प्रिय कामरेड,

आपके भेजे हुए सब पत्रों की प्रीतिशीपथी मिल गई । पढ़ना बहुत मुश्किल है- क्योंकि कापी बिलकुल अस्पष्ट है । फिर भी आशय समझ में आया ।

इस समय मैं कामरेड कृष्णा मोदी जी को पत्र लिखकर उनसे तफ्तील मंगा रहा हूँ । और इसमें क्या किया जाय, वह भी पूछ रहा हूँ वे आपको अवश्य लिखेंगे ।

शुभकामनाएँ,

आपका,

ए.बी.की

॥स.बो.बर्थन॥  
जनरल सेक्रेटरी

०८



कों. गुलाम देशमुख

ट्रेड युनियन सेंटर, संगमनेर, ता. संगमनेर, जि. अहमदनगर

पीन - 422605 फोन - (02425) 2388

दिनांक 10.07.1995

प्रति ---

मा. \_\_\_\_\_

विषय : महाराष्ट्राच्या दुष्काळ निर्मूलनाबाबत समग्र ग्रंथाचे प्रकाशन.

महोदय,

1) लाल निशाप पक्षाचे जेष्ठ नेते कों. दत्ता देशमुख यांच्या अमृतमहोत्सवी समारंभाचे निमित्ताने महाराष्ट्र राज्य वीज मंडळ वर्कर्स फेडरेशन या राज्य संघटनेने "कों. दत्ता देशमुख पुरोगामी विचार मंच" या न्यासाच्या स्थापनेचा संकल्प दिनांक 5.9.1993 रोजी कोल्हापूर येथे जाहीर केला.

2) शेतमजुरादी ग्रामीण असंघटीतांचे संघटन, कामगार चळवळीची व संघटनांची धंदा व विभाग पातळीवर एकजूट, दलीत व स्त्रियांची सर्व प्रकारच्या गुलाम गिरीतून मुक्ती, दुष्काळ निर्मूलन, प्रकल्पग्रस्तांचे विकसनशील पुनर्वसन, पिळवणूक विरहीत समताधिष्ठीत व श्रमप्रधान समाजरचनेची निर्मिती इत्यादी प्रमुख उद्दीष्टांसाठी हा न्यास कार्यरत राहिल अशी ग्वाही वरील प्रवर्तक संघटनेने दिली. याच उद्दीष्टांसाठी कों. दत्ता आयुष्यभर अविरतपणे व अविचलपणे झगडले असल्याने त्यांनी सदर मंचच्या स्थापनेस पूर्णपणे सहमती दर्शविली.

3) कर्करोगाच्या आजाराने कों. दत्ता देशमुख दिनांक 1 नोव्हेंबर 1994 रोजी दिवंगत झाले.

4) कों. दत्ता देशमुख पुरोगामी विचार मंच या न्यासाच्या स्थापनेची प्रक्रिया पूर्ण झाली असून दिनांक 28 मे 1995 रोजी कोल्हापूर येथील भव्य समारंभात मंचच्या स्थापनेची औपचारिक घोषणा विश्वस्त मंडळाने केली. विश्वस्त मंडळावर कों. अ. बी. वर्धन, कों. यशवंत चव्हाप व डॉ. बाबा आढाव या नेत्यांव्यतिरिक्त वर्कर्स फेडरेशनचे प्रमुख पुढारी व पदाधिकारीसुद्धा आहेत.

5) दिनांक 27 मे 95 रोजीच्या बैठकीत मंचने घेतलेल्या निर्णयानुसार मी हे पत्र एक विश्वस्त या नात्याने आपणास लिहीत आहे.

6) महाराष्ट्रातील दुष्काळ निर्मूलनाबाबत कों. दत्ता सर्वात जास्त व्यग्र व व्यथित असत. यावर्षी, तर दुष्काळाच्या समस्येने खूपच तीव्र स्वरूप धारण केले आहे. त्याचबरोबर या समस्येचे वेगवेगळे अनेक पैलू स्पष्ट होत आहेत. दुष्काळाचे बदलते स्वरूप हे पाण्याचा साठा व वापर याच्या नियोजनाशी जसे आता पूर्णपणे जोडले गेले आहे, तसेच पुनर्वसनाच्या धोरणाचाही दुष्काळ निर्मूलनाच्या अंगाने फेरविचार झाला पाहिजे अशी परिस्थिती आहे. दुर्दैवाने अत्यंत प्राथमिक परंतु तितकाच महत्वाचा असलेला पिण्याच्या पाण्याचा प्रश्न हाताळण्याबद्दल जुन्या किंवा नव्या सत्ताधा-यांची दृष्टी तात्कालीक व प्रचारकीच जास्त असते हा अनुभव आहे.

7) "अपूरे पर्जन्यमान असले तर दुष्काळ" ही संकल्पना/व्याख्या बदलावी असे अनुभव गेल्या काही वर्षांपासून येत आहेत. कितीही पर्जन्य होवो पण पाणी साठा-वापर-वाटप याच्या मूलगामी धोरणाअभावी दुष्काळ हा पाचवीला पूजलेलाच रहाणार हाच निष्कर्ष काढावा लागतो, असे कों. दत्ता देशमुख अलीकडे मृत्यूपूर्वी, नेहमीच बोलत असत.

8) या पार्श्वभूमीवर दुष्काळ निर्मूलनाच्या प्रश्नाबाबत पुन्हा वातावरण खूपच ढवळले जात आहे. केवळ शास्त्रज्ञ व समाजधुरीपच नव्हे तर जनसामान्यातील सर्वसामान्य कार्यकर्ते/दुष्काळाबाबत खूपच बोलके व संवेदनाशील झाले आहेत असा हा काळ आहे. दुष्काळाने गांजलेल्या जनतेच्या तीव्र भावनांचा दबाव इतका वाढत आहे की नवीन शासनालाही त्याची दखल घेवून "श्वेतपत्रिका" प्रसिद्ध करण्याची आणि जलआयोग नेमण्याची घोषणा करावी लागली आहे.

9) कों. दत्ता देशमुख पुरोगामी विचार मंचने ताबडतोबीने पहिला उपक्रम म्हणून असा निर्णय केला आहे की, "महाराष्ट्रातील दुष्काळ निर्मूलन" या विषयावर महाराष्ट्रातील निवडक विचारवंत, तज्ञ, शास्त्रज्ञ, सामाजिक

/सुध्दा

....2/-

व राजकिय कार्यकर्ते, स्वयंसेवी संघटना/कार्यकर्ते, इत्यादींचे विचारांना लिखित स्वरुप देवून, संकलन करून ग्रंथरुपात प्रसिद्ध करावे. असा विचार आहे की शक्यतो माहे सप्टेंबर 95 मध्ये हा समग्र ग्रंथ प्रकाशित करावा. त्यासाठी सदर ग्रंथात समाविष्ट करावयाचे लिखाण शक्यतो 15 ऑगस्ट पूर्वी आणि उशीरात उशीरा 31 ऑगस्टपूर्वी आम्हांस प्राप्त व्हावे अशी अपेक्षा आहे.

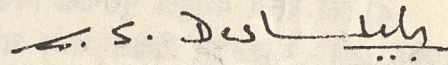
10) तरी मंच च्या वतीने मी आपणांस विनंती करतो की, या ग्रंथात समाविष्ट करण्यासाठी वरील विषयावर आपण समग्र लेख माझेकडे वरील पत्त्यावर पाठवावा. लेखाच्या विस्ताराला सध्यातरी काही मर्यादा आम्ही सुचवणार नाही. दुष्काळ निर्मूलनाबाबतचे आपले विचार महाराष्ट्रातील जनतेला पुरेसे स्पष्ट होण्यासाठी आपणच योग्य ती मर्यादा ठरवून आवश्यक तेवढ्या विस्ताराने लेख लिहावा. आवश्यकतेप्रमाणे तक्ते (तालिका) व नकाशे-सुद्धां सामील करण्यास हरकत नाही. तांत्रिक, आर्थिक किंवा संपादकीय कारणांसाठी जर आपल्या लेखामध्ये काही बदल करावा वाटला तर अर्थातच आपणाशी संपर्क साधून संमती घेण्याचे पथ्य पाळले जाईल. सर्वश्री माधवराव चितळे, विलासराव साळुंके, प्रा. देसरडा, प्रा. विजय बोराडे, बापूसो. उपाध्ये, डॉ. बाबा आढाव, नागनाथ नाईकवाडी, डॉ. लोहीया, प्रदीप पुरंदरे, के. आर. दाते इत्यादी तज्ञ किंवा विचारवंतां बरोबरच अन्य निवडक सामाजिक कार्यकर्त्यांशीही आम्ही लेखासाठी संपर्क साधत आहोत. या ग्रंथाला प्रस्तावना लिहिण्याची जबाबदारी डॉ. वि. म. दांडेकर यांनी मनःपूर्वक स्विकारली आहे.

11) त्याचबरोबर या समग्र ग्रंथाचे प्रकाशनाचे निमित्ताने त्याचवेळेस पुण्यासारख्या मध्यवर्ती ठिकाणी दोन दिवसांचे राज्यस्तरीय चर्चासत्र आयोजित करण्याचा प्राथमिक निर्णय विचार मंचने घेतला आहे.

12) तेंव्हा आमच्या या आवाहनास आपणाकडून अनुकूल प्रतिसाद अपेक्षित आहे. याबाबत ताबडतोबीची प्रतिक्रिया व लिखाणाबद्दलचा निर्णय आपण येत्या आठ दिवसांत आम्हांस कळविला तर पुढील संपर्क व पाठपुराव्यासाठी आम्हांस सोयीचे होईल.

कळावे.

आपला विश्वासू



|| कुलाब देशमुख ||

विश्वस्त

कों. दत्ता देशमुख पुरोगामी विचार मंच

प्रत —

1) श्री. ग. रा. तांबोळी,

अध्यक्ष, कों. दत्ता देशमुख पुरोगामी विचार मंच, नासिक

2) कों. श्याम बोरोचे / कों. बी. एस. तारळी, कोल्हापूर

3) कों. अ. बी. बर्धन, नवीदिल्ली

4) कों. यशवंत चव्हाण, मुंबई

ऑफ इंडिया हेड मुनियम कॉंग्रेस  
28, कॅनिंग लेन  
नवी दिल्ली - 990009

अखिल - भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : A. B. BARDHAN  
Dy. General Secretary : B. D. JOSHI

*As Personal  
File*

July 22, 1995,

Dear Netaji Rajgadkar,

Got your letter and read it carefully.

I can understand your feelings and State of mind. I welcome the fact that you have come to the conclusion that only Left politics, and a class-based ideology can rescue our country from the depths to which the Congress is pushing it, and the dangerous communal game of power politics which the BJP is playing.

Our comrades in Yestmal are prejudiced against you because they felt let down by you in the 1990 elections and thereafter. It is a law that people expect much from those who are near them, and react equally bitterly when these expectations are not fulfilled.

But I think this prejudice can be overcome by your own actions and work. Life is moving ahead fast, and we cannot always live in the past. Normal relations will take some time.

It is time that in Yestmal district, a front of the JD + CPI + other Left forces, backed up by tribals, can be a big force. We should work in that direction.

For the time being, you can work as an independent leftist, and carry on a campaign. But give up your Congress connection, and announce you are with the Left.

We can have a discussion when next time I come to Nagpur, or you happen to come to Delhi.

Do not get frustrated or pessimist. In that case you will be able to do nothing.

Greetings,

Yours sincerely,  
*A.B.B.*  
(A. B. BARDHAN)

Shri Netaji Rajgadkar, Ex-MLA,  
A/7, Mulak Complex,  
Somalwada, Wardha Road,  
Nagpur - 440025.

*etc*



राष्ट्रपति के निजी सचिव  
PRIVATE SECRETARY  
TO THE PRESIDENT

*Personal File of*

राष्ट्रपति भवन,  
नई दिल्ली - 110004.

RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,  
NEW DELHI - 110004.

No.3/Per Cell/95/52



May 11, 1995.

Dear Shri Bardhan,

I am desired to refer to your letter dated May 8, 1995 and to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the Prime Minister's Office.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

*S. W. Malwade*  
(S.W. Malwade)

Shri AB Bardhan,  
General Secretary,  
All India Trade Union Congress,  
24 Canning Lane, KG Marg,  
New Delhi - 110 001.

Personal File

May 5, 1995

Dear Com.

As fixed with Coms. Vijaya Kumar and Mahendra, I will be reaching Vizag on May 19 by IC 542 from Calcutta. This reaches Vizag at 12.35, and I think I will be on time for your meeting.

Please book my ticket on May 19 by some train which can take me to Bhubaneshwar in the morning of May 20.

Kindly confirm.

Greetings,

Yours comradely,

ABD

(A. B. BARDHAN)

File A.B.B.  
Cable : "AITUCONG"

Telephone : 3 8 6 4 2 7  
3 8 7 3 2 0

Personal File  
अखिल भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : HOMI DAJI

May 10, 1995,

Dear N.K.,

sending you some papers regarding  
Manganese Union. Let me know what is your  
advice. Can we use this occasion to do  
something?

we can talk when I am there in  
Nagpur on May 24.

Greetings,

Yours comradly,

A.B.B.

(A. B. BARDHAN)



Mrs. Chitralekha Tejsing Bhonsle

● Bhonsle wada  
Mahal  
Nagpur

Personal File  
of BS

---

Shocked To Hear Tejsingrao's  
Demise Accept Condolences

Sent

386427

375795

— Bardhan —

Personal File  
J.B.

May 8, 1995,

Dear Harsh Jatly,

I have been trying to contact you on telephone, but with no success.

I gather <sup>that</sup> ~~that~~ Priya has brought out an Economic Survey. If so, could you send a copy to the AITUC?

With greetings,

Yours sincerely,

o/c

A.B.B.

(A.B. BARDHAN)

Shri Harsh Jatly,  
Participatory Research in Asia,  
42, Tughlakabad  
Institutional Area,  
New Delhi- 110062.

RI file  
A.B.B.

Personal  
File  
Jobs

ZCZC DNDCCDD191 BBB DNDCCD

17M



O 1308 QU-51 ASANSOL 18 15

A B BARDHAN

AITUCONG

NEW DELHI

1359

RECEIVED  
For ..... on  
18 APR 1995  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi.

CONFIRM DATES FIXED OR GIVE NEW DATES

NITISHSETT KULTI

COL

===

WBDALB0071 (18/04) WALSFT0076

WSFMSS2001

DNDEDFD619

NNNN

For file A.B.B.  
19/4

DEPARTMENT OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS  
DELHI TELECOMMUNICATION  
DELHI

Cable : "AITUCONG"

Telephone : 3 8 6 4 2 7  
3 8 7 3 2 0

Personal file  
gls

अखिल भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : HOMI DAJI

May 4, 1995,

Dear Raju,

I saw your letter addressed to Com. T.A. Francis. He is now abroad, and I am afraid he cannot attend the May 12, meeting.

But let us know the results of that meeting.

Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

o/c

A.B.B.  
(A.B. BARDHAN)

Sri Raju Damle,  
C/o PILSARC,  
C-569, New Friends Colony,  
New Delhi - 110065.

Personal file  
OS

दिनांक 4-5-1975

प्रिय मित्र भैतारे,

आपका पत्र मिला ।

उसे मैं, हमारे भंडारा पार्टी के साथियों को भेज रहा हूँ वे इस पर उचित कार्रवाई करेंगे । यहाँ दिल्ली से उस पर कुछ करना सम्भव नहीं ।

शुभकामनाएँ,

आपका,

ए.बी. वर्धन

॥ ए.बी. वर्धन ॥

जनरल सेक्रेटरी

श्री भिका कवडू जी भैतारे  
बीर्ड, घोडेधाट,  
मु.पो.पौनो, तह.-पौनो  
जिला-भंडारा

प्रतिक्रिया:-

का.गणवीर  
कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी, कुड़वा रोड़  
गोंदिया

Com- A.B.Bardhan

25.4.95

(Sri K.C.Bansal,  
Treasurer,  
Communist Party of India,  
Central Office,  
Ajoy Bhavan, Kotla Marg,  
New Delhi - 110002

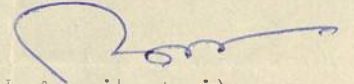
Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 19.4.95 enclosed please find a DD afresh in favour of A.B.BARDHAN bearing No.64704 dated 25.4.95 for Rs.2000/-.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

  
(B.N. Agnihotri)

Encl:- 1

Personal  
File  
by

अखिल - भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE NEW DELHI-110001

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
General Secretary : A. B. BARDHAN  
Dy. General Secretary : B. D. JOSHI

५.५.९५

बाधा में रोकती है मांगे सखिआला है लां

पिआगे माखिआला, ममी उइ  
मसे मउए कास पुगी उगं दारिह जं। माधी मउए  
उं हंग मडे माधी पउवृमल सिंध मगाउग मेटर  
पुगी मउए है है रउ ले।

मालं पउा जै रि ऐक लउरिमां  
उं उंभ उउउास उे ही वैठिमां मल।  
उइउी मउाही रामसाध उी मी  
मममडा मीमां। उइउी चउए - चउए इ  
५५  
उइ

ममी उइउी कास जं उं उं उं  
उं उं कास उइउा माध ऐहंग।

उइउा माधी  
उ.सी. क.प.प.

Personal file  
gls

Dear Shri Raina,

I read with great interest your old article on Kashmir in the Labour Monthly. I was always a regular reader of the L.M. It seems N.N. Raina wrote under the pen-name 'Edward Burton'.

The genesis of the imperialist conspiracy in Kashmir is well brought out. That conspiracy continues. But I am not sure about the positive role attributed to Bakshi. His later record was black. Except Sadiq all were dubious fellows. But Sadiq did not have any means following.

You have mentioned about the Party Congress. I wish you would send a contribution towards the large sum of money that will be required. You can send it to me, and I will hand it over.

With greetings,

Yours sincerely

ABB  
(A.B. BARDHAN)

Shri N.N. Raina  
128c, Pocket-c  
Siddhartha Extension  
New Delhi- 110014.

---



Cable : AITUCONG  
Fax : 91-11-3755419

*Personal file*

Telephone : 3 8 6 4 2 7  
3 8 7 3 2 0

अखिल - भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस  
ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, CANNING LANE, NEW DELHI-110001

*President* : M. S. KRISHNAN  
*General Secretary* : A. B. BARDHAN  
*Dy. General Secretary* : B. D. JOSHI

August 22, 1995,

Dear Dhanaji,

Got your letter and report.

How is your wife now? I hope she is better.

I don't think you should expel anybody so soon. Discuss in your circle, hear them and if necessary take some lesser action in the beginning.

But why not try and settle it first?

Greetings,

Yours sincerely,

(A.B.BARDHAN)

R/5/15  
A 8873

Life  
As Personal

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 721932

**RECEIVED**  
For ..... ON  
29 AUG 1995  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Conning Lane, N. Delhi

2

22-8-95

Dear Bhai Barden

shri Ram shewaske  
has suggested that the Book  
on Dnyaneshwar, written by Ruikerji  
may be published on 20<sup>th</sup> November  
1995 as it happens to be the  
700<sup>th</sup> <sup>अभिर्जायन्ति</sup> <sup>दिनांक</sup> of Dnyaneshwar  
Maharaj & would sincerely request  
to note this date in your Diary.  
As you have suggested, it would  
also be a concluding function of  
the Centenary celebrations & have  
written to shri Vasant Sathe also.  
Please, let me know about your Nagpur  
visit

Rest O.K.

With kind Regards

Yours sincerely  
M. D. D. D.

PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR



Personal File 95

Dated: 6-9-95

My dear Malti tai,

Received your letter.

The suggestion is quite right.

The dates suits me.

We can go ahead with the  
arrangements. Let me know Sathe's reply.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally

*A.B.B.*

( A.B.BARDHAN )

GENERAL SECRETARY

o/c

R/ File (Personal)  
A.S.S.  
Cs Personal  
File



Ekta Bhawan,  
Putlighar,  
Amritsar  
- 143001

1st September 1995.

Com . Indrajit Gupta,  
General Secretary,  
Communist Party of India,  
New Delhi.

Dear Comrade Gupta Ji,

I am sending my amendments to the Draft  
Political Resolution adopted by the National Council (July 19-22,  
1955).

(1) Page 14 -

In the section on 'New faces of Communalism' a  
separate heading on the rise of <sup>religious</sup> fundamentalism should be  
added. Amongst the Hindus these fundamentalist forces are  
Shiv Sena, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal. Amongst  
the Sikh there Simranjit Singh Mann and his group and  
amongst the Muslims, the Jamaat Islami, Islamic Sewa Singh  
(Kerala) and many organisations in Kashmir. These orga-  
nisations are not only communal but are fundamentalist. We  
have seen in Punjab the havoc played by the fundamentalist  
forces led by Bhindranwala and in Kashmir we are seeing  
what havoc they are playing. Demolition of Babri Masjid,  
burning down of Charar Sherif and now what is happening  
in Varanasi and Mathura are all due to rise in fundemental-  
ism . More over the future programmes of VHP, B.D. and S.S.  
are also in the same direction.

The rise of fundamentalism is grave danger to the  
secular polity of India.

(2) Page - 16 -

After the section "New Faces of Communalism" and  
before the section 'Role of Panchyats' a new section should  
be inserted about the "Dangers of Terrorism and Separatism".

Though Terrorism and Separatism has subsided  
but the murder of S. Beant Singh shows that they are still active  
in Punjab, but in Kashmir, in North East and in Tamilnadu

where the birth of an openly Pro-L.T.T.E. party MDMK and how LTTE people are openly doing propoganda there, even in Punjab Simranjeet Singh Mann and his group is still raising the slogan of Khalistan, *the terrorist and separatist forces are still very active*

There is grave danger to the unity and integrity of India from terrorist and separatist forces backed by Pakistan.

In the international arena terrorism is ~~being~~ being considered to be a big danger and all governments are becoming increasingly conscious about it.

Though the situation in North East and Kashmir has been separately dealt with in the draft political resolution I propose a separate section on terrorism and separatism and dangers it poses to the unity and integrity of India should be included.

3. Page 17-19.

In the section "Struggle for Social Justice" there is a para (4th on page 18) about "struggle against casteism and the caste system."

I feel this is not enough and the danger of casteism has been underestimated. Struggle for Social Justice is one thing but the rise in casteism in the recent period is playing havoc with our class struggles and the unity of the poor of all religions and castes. Even among the employees caste based unions and associations are springing up posing a danger to working class unity.

Hence the dangerous rise of casteism should be properly highlighted in a separate section and a call for struggle against it should be given.

4) Page 23

Before the section "Cancer of corruption and criminalisation of Politics" there should be a separate section on degeneration of all moral cultural and ethical ~~xxx~~ values in every field" of life

5) Somewhere in the resolution we should point out the lack of work culture especially amongst the government employees and public sector employees. If we are hoping to share power at the centre or even otherwise, this lack of work culture is going to do immense harm to our ~~the~~ economy as well as to functioning of government departments. We may do it guardedly but we must do it.

6) Somewhere in the resolution a separate section on "Lack of Social Security in general and especially in the informal sector" should be highlighted. Amongst 317 million work force, according to 1991 census 290 millions are in the unorganised and informal sector which have not even the minimum social security cover. Even in the organised sector we have no old age, invalidity and survivors' pension scheme, unemployment benefit scheme or Family Allowances Scheme. Apart from these the questions of proper housing, sanitation, environment and minimum wages which are ~~now~~ now considered a part of social security, also must be taken up.

Unfortunately in India neither the Trade Unions nor the political Parties even the left do not take up this most vital question in a big way although maximum unity can be brought up on this question and the gains of social security though fought by organised sections, benefits the vast mass of unorganised work-force.

We must ask for a comprehensive social security scheme for all the citizens but especially for the working class both in the formal and informal sectors.

Such a demand should also be included.

Page 28-30 in the section on Minimum Programme and Tasks.

7. Page (1) The third para does not seem to ~~get in best~~ <sup>fit in here</sup>.

8. Page 8, 4th Para, the strength of BJP is over estimated. The four States where BJP is in power include Delhi which is a city state. The 3 States where it is official opposition, the number of their MLA compared to the total strength of these States Assemblies is small. This number and total number of MLA in these States should be given on page 16, 1st para alongwith East and South for North i.e. Punjab, Haryana, Himachh, J.&K. etc. should ~~be~~ also be included.

9. Page 24-25 C.P.I.-C.P.M. Relation: In this section we should state some facts e.g. CPM refusal to form a left Government in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh where we could get the official leadership of opposition. Similarly during Satyagrah in the whole country, but no Satyagrah in West Bengal. Similarly foreign investment and multinationals are danger to our country but are welcome in West Bengal.

This is to request you to ~~to~~ circulate these amendments well in advance.

It is also requested that all amendments ~~known~~ received upto 15th September 1995 should be circulated to the State Committees and delegates by speed post.

With warm greetings,

Yours sincerely,

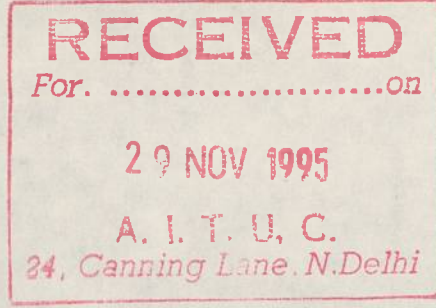


(PARDUMAN SINGH)  
Member

Punjab State Executive C.P.I.

Copy to  
Com. A. B. Bardhan  
New Delhi

R/ File (Annual)  
A. I. T. U. C.



लोकवाङ्मय गृह  
भुपेश गुप्ता भवन,  
८५, सयानी रोड प्रभादेवी,  
मुंबई ४०० ०२५.  
दूरध्वनी : ४२४ ३६ ७४  
११ नोव्हेंबर १९९५

श्री २१/११/९५ २१/११/९५

संचालक  
लोकवाङ्मय गृह, मुंबई.

महाराष्ट्राच्या प्रबोधनाच्या चळवळीत विविध व्याख्यानमालांनी अतिशय मोलाची कामगिरी केली आहे. अलिकडच्या काळातही अशा काही व्याख्यानमाला महाराष्ट्रात आहेत. हा प्रबोधनाचा हेतू मनात ठेवून 'लोकवाङ्मय'च्या वतीने एक व्याख्यानमाला सुरू करण्याचे आम्ही ठरवित आहोत.

व्याख्यानमाला आपल्या प्रकाशनसंस्थेतर्फे होणार असल्यामुळे पुरोगामी साहित्य परंपरेतील महत्वपूर्ण असलेले मराठी लेखक शरच्चंद्र मुक्तिबोध यांच्या नावे ही व्याख्यानमाला झाली तर ते औचित्यपूर्ण ठरणार आहे.

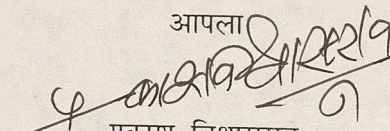
शरच्चंद्र मुक्तिबोध हे विदर्भातील मार्क्सवादी विचारवंत, कवी, समीक्षक म्हणून मराठी वाचकांना चांगलेच परिचित आहेत. 'सृष्टी, सौंदर्य आणि साहित्यमूल्य' हा त्यांचा ग्रंथ 'लोकवाङ्मय'नेच प्रकाशित केला होता व त्या ग्रंथास साहित्य अकादमीचा पुरस्कारही प्राप्त झाला होता. 'शिप्रा', 'सरहद्द', 'जन हे वोळतू जेथे' या त्यांच्या कादंबऱ्याही मराठी साहित्यक्षेत्रात महत्त्वाच्या मानल्या जातात. 'नवी मळवाट' व 'यात्रिक' हे मुक्तिबोधांचे काव्यसंग्रहही मराठी काव्यसृष्टीत मोलाचे ठरले आहेत. अशा महत्वपूर्ण लेखकाच्या नावाने 'लोकवाङ्मय'ने व्याख्यानमाला सुरू करणे हे मुक्तिबोधांविषयीची आपली भावना व्यक्त करणारे तर ठरलेच पण त्याचबरोबर आपल्या प्रकाशनगृहाच्या दृष्टीनेही साहित्य जगतात प्रतिष्ठा वाढविणारे ठरणार आहे. म्हणून ही व्याख्यानमालेची योजना आम्ही आखली आहे.

ही व्याख्यानमाला दरवर्षी डिसेंबर महिन्यात होईल व या व्याख्यानमालेत एखाद्या विषयावर त्या विषयातल्या तज्ञ व्यक्तने चार व्याख्यांनाद्वारे मूलभूत व विस्तृत मांडणी करावी अशी अपेक्षा राहिल. ती व्याख्याने टेप करून नंतर पुस्तिका किंवा पुस्तकाच्या स्वरूपात प्रसिद्ध करावीत असाही विचार आहे. व्याख्यानमालेची सुरुवात मुंबईपासून करावी व प्रत्येक वर्षी महाराष्ट्राच्या विविध ठिकाणी आयोजित करता येईल, अशी कल्पना आहे.

या वर्षीच्या पहिल्या व्याख्यानमालेत 'मार्क्सवादी साहित्य विचार' या विषयावर दिल्लीच्या जवाहरलाल नेहरू विद्यापीठातील प्राध्यापक व मराठीतील प्रसिद्ध नाटककार प्रा. गो. पु. देशपांडे यांनी चार व्याख्याने द्यावीत असे ठरवित आहोत.

आपणास माहिती असावी म्हणून हे पत्र लिहित आहे. या संबंधात आपल्या काही सूचना असल्यास जरूर कराव्यात.

कळावे.

आपला  
  
प्रकाश विश्वासराव



Personal file by

October 4, 1995,

Dear Ms. Kumud Choudhary,

Thank you very much for your message of greetings. I wish the same to you and to Shri Ashwani Chaudhary..

with regards,

Yours fraternally,

*etc*

*ABH*

Ms. Kumud Chaudhary,  
Pratibimb Communications,  
37, Sehyog Apartments,  
Mayur Vihar, Phase-I,  
Delhi - 91.

(A. B. BARDHAN)

Personal file  
of G.S.

October 28, 1995.

Dear Shri Aggarwal,

Thank you for your kind letter.  
You are right.

It is less question of congratula-  
tions and more the question of sympathising  
for the extra burden that will have to be  
carried. However, with your good wishes  
I hope to do the best I can.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

ABBS

(A. B. BARDHAN)

etc

File  
A.T.U.C. (Parental File)

प्रगत प्रतिष्ठान

भुपेश गुप्ता भवन,

८५, सयानी रोड,

प्रभादेवी, मुंबई ४०० ०२५.

दूरध्वनी : ४३६ २४ ७४ / ४२२ ८२ २२

RECEIVED

For ..... २० ऑक्टोबर १९९५

26 OCT 1995

A. I. T. U. C.

24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi

कों. ए.बी. वर्धम

संप्रेषण नमस्कार,

'प्रगत प्रतिष्ठान' च्या स्थापनेने तंत्रज्ञान  
घडामोडींचा आढावा व काही नव्या सुचनांची,  
कार्यक्रमांची चर्चा करण्यासाठी सर्व  
विश्वस्तांची पहिली महत्वाची सभा  
शुक्रवार दि. २० ऑक्टोबर १९९५ सांय काळी ६:३०  
वाजता मुंबई येथे भुपेश गुप्ता भवनात आयोजित  
केली आहे. तरी आपण अवश्य उपस्थित राहावे  
ही विनंती

कडावे.

आफला

५ काशविकार १९

विद्यमान

'प्रगत प्रतिष्ठान'

R/File  
A/B (Personal)



**EMBASSY OF CUBA**  
NEW DELHI

New Delhi, October 15, 1995



Co. M. Bardhan  
Sec. Gral. AITUC

Dear friend,

My stay in India will come to an end shortly. However I would not wish to leave without conveying to my most cherished relations -amongst which I include you- my deepest satisfaction and appreciation for the always pleasant and enriching conversation that characterized our meetings.

I hope this letter to be just a "See you soon" rather than a "Bye-Bye" one.

I wish the best of happiness for you and your family as well as the success you deserve in your professional life.

With my very best regards,

  
Víctor Ramírez Peña

67  
Personal file

Dated: 17.10.95

Dear Maltitai,

As promised, I am coming on  
20th November. So please do not worry.

Thanks for your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

*MC A.B.A.*

( A. B. BARDHAN )

Miss Malti Ruiker  
15 " Ram Samriti " Modern  
Coop. Society,  
Pratap Nagar,  
Nagpur - 440022.

---

R/File (Personal)  
A2073



# काँ. दत्ता देशमुख पुरोगामी विचार मंच-कोल्हापूर

कार्यालय-८५२ बी वॉर्ड सुभाष रोड, कोल्हापूर. ☎ २६२९१

संदर्भ/

दिनांक : 02/09/1995

काँ. दत्ता देशमुख पुरोगामी विचार मंच  
विश्वस्त,  
यांसी, स.न.वि.वि.,



श्री. जी. आर. तांबोळी,  
8बी-धरती, गंधर्वनगरी,  
नाशिकरोड - 422101.

कोल्हापूर येथे दिनांक 27/05/1995 रोजी मंचच्या विश्वस्तांची बैठक झाली, त्या बैठकी मध्ये ठरल्या प्रमाणे काँ. गुलाब देशमुख यांनी 10/7/1995 रोजी महाराष्ट्रातील पाणी प्रश्नामध्ये योगदान केलेल्या व्यक्तींना आणि राजकीय पक्षांच्या प्रतिनिधींना पत्र पाठवून पाणी प्रश्ना संबंधी त्यांची भूमिका विषद करणारा लेख पाठविण्याची विनंती केली आहे. त्या विषयी ते त्याचा पाठपुरावा करताहेत आणि ठरल्याप्रमाणे पुस्तिका काढण्याचा प्रयत्न करणार आहेत.

1 नोव्हेंबर 1995 रोजी काँ. दत्ता देशमुख यांचा पहिला वार्षिक स्मृती दिन आहे, त्यांच्या गौरवा साठी त्यांचे नांवाने त्यांच्या विविध कार्यांच्या गौरवासाठी विचार मंचाद्वारे पुरस्कार द्यावेत अशी कल्पना आहे. शेत मजूर, कोतवाल आणि असंघटीत कामगारांना संघटीत करण्यासाठी काँ. दत्ता देशमुख यांनी सतत प्रयत्न केलेले आहेत. त्या कामी त्यांचे बरोबर सहभाग केलेले त्यांचे जुने सहकारी काँ. संतराम पाटील यांना त्यांचे नावे सुरुवातीचा पुरस्कार देण्यांत यावा अशी सुचना मी या पत्राद्वारे करत आहे. अकरा हजार रुपये रोख आणि मानचिन्ह या निमित्ताने देण्यांत यावे असे माझे मत आहे.

या बाबतीत निर्णय घेण्यासाठी विचार मंचची बैठक सप्टेंबर 1995 अगर ऑक्टोबर मध्ये घेण्याचा विचार आहे.

आपले याबाबतीत मत कळवावे, ही विनंती.

जी. आर. तांबोळी

जी. आर. तांबोळी,  
अध्यक्ष,

काँ. दत्ता देशमुख पुरोगामी विचार मंच

R/File (Festival)

A. B. D. Ignamiah.

Balam Mann  
Madoas-17  
24.11.95

RECEIVED  
For.....  
29 NOV 1995  
C. P. I.  
Ajoy Bhavan, 15 Kotta Marg,  
New Delhi.

Comrade,

I have get five cassettes containing your lectures at Tanjore through Comrade Raja. I hope you have got them.

It may contain a small portion of introduction in Tamil. Otherwise only the English speech of yours has been separately re-recorded.

I have also sent a letter addressed to General Secretary of our Party to consider my name for inclusion as a member of the Proposed Commission on our Party Programme whenever it is constituted. I think this letter also would be put up for your notice.

अन्तर्देशीय पत्र कार्ड  
INLAND LETTER CARD



To,

Comrade A. B. Banadhar

Ly. General Secretary  
Communist Party of India, Ajay Bhawan.

Kotla Marg पिन PIN 

1	1	0	0	0	2
---	---	---	---	---	---

New Delhi-2.

दूसरा मोड़ SECOND FOLD

इस पत्र के भीतर कुछ न रखिए NO ENCLOSURE ALLOWED  
पते में पिन कोड लिखें WRITE PIN CODE IN ADDRESS  
प्रेषक का नाम और पता :- SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS :-

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

पिन PIN 

--	--	--	--	--	--

I hope In case of any need  
for me to stay in Delhi for a few weeks  
in connection with such Commission's  
work there is no problem for me to  
manage. Trust this finds you  
in good health and keeps  
yours Comradely  
D. G.  
(D. Gnaniah)



From, D. Gnaniah.  
Member, C.C.C.

To,

The General Secretary  
Communist Party of India

R/ File  
(Personal)  
A.B.S

Dear Comrade,

I have a deep interest  
in many aspects of our Party  
Programme, particularly regarding  
the issues of nationalities, language,  
caste system, reservations etc as well  
as on characterisation of the State.

I request that my name  
may kindly be considered for  
inclusion in the Programme Commission  
whenever it is constituted.

With profound regards & greetings  
Yours fraternally  
D. G.

As/Personal  
File

December 15, 1995.

Dear Dr. Nirmal,

Thanks for your kind invitation.

I am afraid it will not be possible for me to attend your interdisciplinary Seminar. I regret it because Nagpur University is my Alma Mater, and I would have liked to revisit in.

But please excuse me.

Regards,

Yours comradely,

*etc*

*A.B.B.*

(A. B. BARDHAN)

Dr. Nirmal K. Singh,  
Lecturer,  
Dept. of Political Science &  
Public Administration,  
Nagpur University Campus,  
Amravati Road,  
Nagpur - 440010.

*R1 Filed Personal*  
*Arb*

# भारतीय आदिवासी पक्ष

## TRIBES PARTY OF INDIA

1-1-545, Gandhinagar, Hyderabad-500 020, (A. P.)  
Opp. Mosque, Mangalwari Bazar, Nagpur - 440 001, (M. S.)

President :  
THAKUR INDRA RAJ SINGH

Vice President :  
DEOCHAND MASRAM

General Secretary  
Smt. VINODINI SINGH

Chairman, Advisory Council  
K. D. NEPAT RAO

Ref. No.

Bhai Bardhan,

My joys knew no bounds at the news of your being elevated to the rank of a Deputy of the C.P.I. and I hope to see you as the Chief of the Communist Party of India.

We enjoyed together our hallow days, when we were working in the gallis and the lanes of Nagpur where people even after serving them to the cost of our lives, did not value us.

And therefore in desperation I discontinued to stay in Nagpur and also because of the sad demise of your wife, you also left your own beloved people in Nagpur.

As we both know the sad conditions of the Tribals you will come to understand that they are the left out people. We have to have our representatives in the Parliament L.S. to see that justice is meted out to the Tribals. It is difficult to fight elections due to our poverty, but we can fight, for our people to be Nominated in Rajya Sabha. In 1977 Art.341(A) was amended and the then Home Minister Shri Bharmanand Reddy had said that a minor census will be taken to assess the Tribal population. But this was never done.

We were good friends and the friendship with you still is loyal.

भारतीय आदिवासी पक्ष  
**TRIBES PARTY OF INDIA**

1-1-545, Gandhinagar, Hyderabad-500 020, (A. P.)  
 Opp. Mosque, Mangalwari Bazar, Nagpur - 440 001, (M. S.)

President :  
 THAKUR INDRA RAJ SINGH

Vice President :  
 DEOCHAND MASRAM

General Secretary  
 Smt. VINODINI SINGH

Chairman, Advisory Council  
 K. D. NEPAT RAO

Ref. No.

- : 2 :-

Date :

I have a desire to contest an election for the Member of Parliament from Ramtek/Morshi Parliamentary Constituency from where you contested against Ram Hedau.

Please come and see me at Hyderabad if you find time or let me know your programme as we will have the renewed aspirations to serve the people before both of us die. Try to understand me as I am a man of violence.

Advise me whether I should contest the Parliamentary Elections from Ramtek/Morshi Parliamentary Constituency or not. You are most welcome to come to me at Hyderabad. I would like to see your face at this old age. You can speak to me on my number 7611756 at Hyderabad.

Mr. Indrajeet Gupta loves you dearly. I need not say that you love the downtrodden. Give me an opportunity to serve the downtrodden along with you. Mrs. Vinodini Singh is happy to find you as the Deputy Chief of the C.P.I. She prays for you and says your victory is the victory of the Tribals, and we are with you.

I am writing this letter from Deochand Masram's house in Nayi Basti. Deochand also is sending his best wishes to you. We all wish you a Happy New Year 1996.

Your Loving Friend,

(INDRA RAJ SINGH)

(F) Pension File

Cable: "AIFUCONG"  
FAX: 91- 33 86 427

TEL: 33 87 320

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS  
24, Canning Lane, N. Delhi-1.

President : M. S. KRISHNAN  
Gen. Secy. : A. B. BARDHAN  
Dy. Gen. Secy. : B. D. JOSHI

December 28, 1995,

CIRCULAR

TO

The General Secretary,

Dear Comrade,

The CIPU has invited other Central Trade Unions and industrial federation to a Seminar on January 15, in Delhi on pension scheme.

To refuse this or to ignore it would be misunderstood by workers. We have therefore accepted the invitation.

The AIFUC and industrial federations close to it should therefore attend it. On January 14, we shall meet separately so as to clear up and coordinate our views. This meeting on January 14, will be at the AIFUC office from 2 p.m.

You must positively attend on January 14, and 15 from your federation.

Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

*A. B. Bardhan*

(A. B. BARDHAN)

Encl: CIPU invitation.

Phones: 3714071  
3723825  
Fax: 3355856

Centre of Indian Trade Unions  
15, Talkatora Road, New Delhi - 110 001

December 21, 1995

General Secretary,

Dear Comrade,

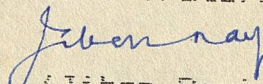
You are aware that on the Ordinance on Amendment to Employees Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provision Act, 1995 and the Pension Scheme gazetted recently, the National Trade Union Centres are holding divergent opinions. This has caused serious confusion amongst the workers. CITU believes that the difference which has cropped up on the issue could be ironed out through mutual interaction and involving the ranks in the process. We are sure, all the fraternal central organisations in the trade union movement are also having similar approach.

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions therefore propose to hold a National Seminar on the issue on 15th of January, 1996. The Speaker's Hall in the Constitution Club is fixed up as the venue. Time is 11 AM.

We would request you to please join the seminar with a delegation. It would be highly appreciated if leaders of major industrial federations attached to you also join the seminar to make the interaction more participative.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

  
(Jibon Roy)  
Secretary

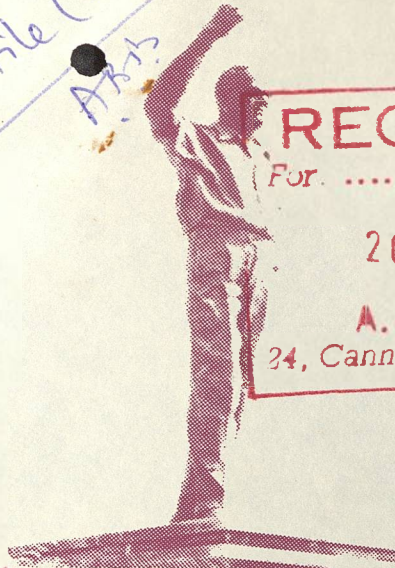
R/ File (Personal)  
A.B.B.

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY  
PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 621932

**RECEIVED**  
For ..... ON  
20 JAN 1996  
A. I. T. U. C.  
34, Canning Lane, N. Delhi.

2  
15-1-96



PATRON  
**VASANT SATHE**  
  
PRESIDENT  
**A. B. BARDHAN**  
  
GENERAL SECRETARY  
**MALTI RUIKAR**

Bhai Bardhan,

We concluded the Centenary  
celebrations on 8th January, 96 by  
getting the statue of Rukaraji  
landed on Ruikar Road. Besides our  
colleagues Saswastree, Geikwad, Dhabe,  
Keshyab, Rangnathan, Narsad Singh, Alon  
Sharme, Shri Bhandarjal Parohitji  
was also present. He was invited  
by Geikwadji. It was a good function  
We did, of course, miss you.

Though the centenary is concluded,  
I have in mind to establish a  
Labour Studies Institute in Nagpur  
in memory of Rukaraji. I will be  
starting it now. I am sure I would  
succeed in achieving my objective  
with the cooperation of Ssthejis yourself.

Hoping to meet you when  
you come to Nagpur on 29th January.

Kind Regards  
Yours Sincerely  
Indaraji

For C.  
A.B.B.  
22/1

R/S (Personal)

# RUIKAR BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

OFFICE : 15 "RAM SMRITI" MODERN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

PRATAP NAGAR NAGPUR-440 022 PHONE : 521932

4-0-96

The Chairman,  
Maharashtra State Electricity Board,  
Bandra (Gate)  
Bombay - 400 051.

Dear Sir,

Recently, a book, written on Dnyaneshwari by a Veteran trade union leader of Nagpur, Kamgar Kesari late Shri. R.S.Ruikar was published in Nagpur by Ruikar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee. I am sending herewith a copy of the book.

Since the book is written by a trade union leader, we would request you to kindly purchase copies of the book for your workers' welfare centres in Maharashtra. The centenary Committee would abide by the terms of Board for purchase of books.

Awaiting your favourable decision.

Kind Regards and best wishes for the New Year.

Yours faithfully,

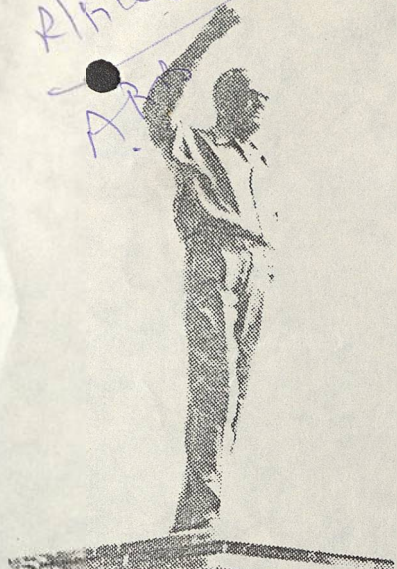
(MALATI RUIKAR)  
General Secretary

**RECEIVED**  
For. ....on  
12 JAN 1996  
A. I. T. U. C.  
24, Canning Lane, N.Delhi.

Copy with compliments to :

- ✓ 1) Com. A. B. Bardhan,  
General Secretary,  
Maharashtra State Electricity Board  
Workers Federation,  
Nagpur.
- 2) Shri. Mohan Sharma,  
Working President,  
Maharashtra State Electricity Board  
Workers Federation,  
Nagpur.

Kindly use their good offices  
with a request that they may



PATRON  
VASANT SATHE

PRESIDENT  
A. B. BARDHAN

GENERAL SECRETARY  
MALTI RUIKAR



Gs Personal File

January 2, 1996,

Dear Shri Aditya Nigam,

Sorry I am late in writing the Article as you desired for the Lokayan Bulletin. I am enclosing it. I think it is not exceeded 4000 words. Please acknowledge the receipt.

With greetings,

Yours sincerely,

o/c

Shri Aditya Nigam,  
Lokayan,  
13, Alipur Road,  
Delhi - 110054.

A. B.  
(A. B. BARDHAN)

- जय सहकार -

नियोजित 'क्रांती' सहकारी साखर कारखाना लि., कुंडल  
ता. तासगांव, जि. सांगली.

ऑफिस -

मु. पी. कुंडल ( ४१६३०९ )  
ता. तासगांव, जि. सांगली  
☎ : 22003 (कि. वाडी)

मुख्य प्रवर्तक -

श्री. जी. डी. लाड

उपमुख्य प्रवर्तक -

बॅ. एस्. बी. पाटील

जावक क्र.

दिनांक ७-१-१९९६

प्रति,

मा. ना. मनोहर लोणे,  
मुख्यमंत्री, महाराष्ट्र राज्य.

मा. ना. सोपानाथ मुंदे,  
उप मुख्यमंत्री, महाराष्ट्र राज्य.

मा. ना.  
सहकार खात्याचे मंत्री, महाराष्ट्र राज्य.

विषय :- क्रांती सहकारी साखर कारखाना ( नियोजित ) कुंडल जि. सांगली  
कारखान्याचा प्रस्ताव हरादा पत्र मिळविल्यामुळे माजी पंतप्रधान  
व्ही.पी.सिंग यांचे काळजापासून केंद्र सरकारच्या दफ्तरी पडता आहे.  
त्या प्रस्तावाला राज्याचा क्रियात्मक पाठींबा मिळणे बाबत.

महोदय,

आजचे महाराष्ट्र राज्याचे लोकनिवृत्त सत्ताधारी म्हणून आमची वैफियत आपल्या  
दरबारी मांडीत आहे.

आपल्या सरकारच्या हाती राज्याची सत्ता आहे. आपण आमच्या प्रस्तावाला  
राज्य शासन म्हणून पुरस्कार करावा. आमची बाजू - तुमच्या युतीच्या सरकारचे धोरण  
स्वदेशीचा पुरस्कार करणारे आहे. स्वदेशी आणि स्वातंत्र्य लढा रकाच नाण्याच्या  
दोन बाजू आहेत.

आमच्या प्रस्तावाचे बळ कुंडल परिसरातील ६३ सन्मान पत्र धोरक स्वातंत्र्य सैनिक  
आहेत. त्यांच्या सहयांचा पंतप्रधान ना. पी. व्ही. नरसिंहराव यांच्या नावाने केलेल्या  
खोस स्वातंत्र्य सैनिकांचा केलेला पूरक अर्थ त्यांचे प्रत जोडला आहे.

आपल्या सरकार पूर्वी महाराष्ट्र राज्याच्या अधिकारावर असलेल्या सरकारचे  
माजी मुख्यमंत्री मा. गजदराव पवार यांनी ५-७-९३ रोजीच्या सहकारी साखर -  
कारखान्याच्या " सहकारी साखर कारखाना नेतृत्वाच्या मेळाव्यात जाहीर केले आहे.  
वेद लेखे उक्त उपलब्ध आहे. त्याच नव्या उभारल्या न वक्त जात असणा-या कारखान्यांना  
राज्य सरकार भाग भांडवल देईल."

# नियोजित 'क्रांती' सहकारी साखर कारखाना लि., कुंडल

ता. तासगांव, जि. सांगली.

ऑफिस -

मु. पो. कुंडल ( ४१६३०९ )

ता. तासगांव, जि. सांगली.

☎ : 22003 (कि. वाडी)

मुख्य प्रवर्तक -

श्री. जी. डी. लाड

उपमुख्य प्रवर्तक -

बै. एस्. बी. पाटील

जावक क्र.

•• २ ••

दिनांक

मला वाटते - तुमच्या सरकारला - सहकारी साखर कारखान्याबाबत- त्या भूमिकेची सहमत असणे व्यवहाराचे ठरणीर आहे. तुमचेहि तेच धोरण राहिले.

आमच्या प्रस्तावासाठी सहकारी उपेक्षा लाल सिंचन योजनेच्या अर्ज उरपादकांचे प्रियागिल बळ आहे. पुरावा या कैफियते बरोबर आहे. आपल्या व देशाच्या केंद्र स्थानी राख्य कारखाने ठरणी-या काग्रेस पक्षाच्या उरतेचे धोरण मुक्त अर्थ व्यवस्थेचे आहे. मुक्त अर्थ व्यवस्था स्पर्धी लोधा करणे आणि स्पर्धेने उत्पादन व उत्पादकता वाढविणारी असते. आम्ही सहकार - मुक्त अर्थ व्यवस्थेच्या स्पर्धेच्या उत्पादन क्षेत्रात सहभागी होण्या योजनेचा झाला पाहिले. अगम औद्योगिक विधीने कृषि उत्पादक गेता-यांच्या कार्यक्षमता आहेत. सहकाराला मोडीत न काढता स्पर्धेच्या मैदानात उतरण्याची संडी देण्याचे धोरण ठेवले जावे. पब्लिक लि. कंपन्याही भागभांडवलदारच ज्या असतात. त्यांच्या औद्योगिक यंत्रावरच त्या कंपन्यांच्या भाग भांडवलाला नेहम बाणारात भाग असतो. सहकाराला कृषिपाल उत्पादक त्या प्रक्रिया उपयोगाचा भाग भांडवलदार असतो. कंपन्यांच्या भाग भांडवलदारावर - प्रक्रिया उपयोगाचा कच्चा माल उत्पादन करण्याची जबाबदारी नसते. इकल स्वतःच फरक असतो.

दुसरे- भारतीय गेती उत्पादन, गेती माल प्रक्रिया उत्पादन हे जगाच्या बकबकत बाणारात मि-हार्डक मिळविणारे ठरले पाहिले. या आमच्या राष्ट्रियत्वाचा जगच्या कालातील राष्ट्रियत्वाचा आग्रह आहे.

जगात कृषि उत्पादन रासायनिक छते किटक नाशके - आणि प्रक्रियेत वापरले जाणारे रासायनिक पदार्थ त्यातून आल्हे मानवी अन्न विणारी बनते ते उत्पादन तंत्र मंत्र बदलण्याचे पक्ष आहे. त्यातूनच भारत सरकारने महाराष्ट्रात करकुम येथे अमेरिकन कंपनीला रुष्ट साखर निर्भितोचा परवाना दिला आहे.

आम्ही देशभक्त कृषिपाल व कृषि कृषिपाल प्रक्रिया उपयोगात स्वतःच्या व राष्ट्राच्या आर्थिक डिलासाठी त्यास्पर्धेत उतरू इच्छितो. आम्हाला वाच व बळ या. आरतापर्यंत महाराष्ट्र व इतर भारतात सरकार - सहकारी कृषिपाल प्रक्रिया उपयोग हे उद्योग व उत्पादन व उत्पादकतेचे गुणवत्तामय उत्पादकतेचे नेहम ठेवले गेले नाही.

- जय सहकार -

नियोजित 'क्रांती' सहकारी साखर कारखाना लि., कुंडल  
ता. तासगांव, जि. सांगली.

ऑफिस -

मु. पो. कुंडल ( ४१६३०९ )

ता. तासगांव, जि. सांगली.

☎ : 22003 (कि. वाडी)

मुख्य प्रवर्तक -

श्री. जी. डी. लाड

उपमुख्य प्रवर्तक -

बॅ. एस्. बी. पाटील

जावक क्र.

.. ३ ..

दिनांक

सहकारी उद्योग क्षेत्र राजकीय सत्ता बळकावण्याची शक्ती केंद्रे म्हणून वापरली गेलीत. त्यामुळे मिळविलेली सत्ता व सहकारी पत पुरवठा व सहकारी कृषिमात प्रक्रिया उद्योग औद्योगिक दृष्ट्या सफल झाले नाहीत.

आम्हाला हा रोग नष्ट करण्यात आहे. आम्हाला सहकारी उत्पादन व पत पुरवठा क्षेत्र उत्पादन व उत्पादका लोपाव्हणसाठी ठेवण्या प्रयत्न करायचा आहे.

आमच्या सहकारी पाणी पुरवठा संस्था निपट पातळी पये व भ्रष्टाचार मुक्त पाणी पुरवठा करू शकते आहेत. आम्ही उपसलेली जे परत केली आहेत. आज आमचे सहकारी नेतृत्व सहकारी उत्पादन अधिकार उता-यांचा उत्त रासायनिक छत्रे किटक नाशक मुक्त आरोग्यदायक कृषि उत्पादन करण्याचे नेतृत्व आम्ही उत्त उत्पादक व इतर कृषिमात उत्पादकांना देत आहोत. आमची काळाची गरज लक्षात घेवून आम्ही क्रियात्मक प्रयत्न करित आहोत. आम्हाला या क्षेत्रात नवा विक्रम करण्यासाठी. क्रांती सहकारी साखर कारखान्याच्या प्रस्तावाला पाठबळ द्यावे. केंद्र सरकारला आमच्या राज्यात नवे कालानुसृत उत्पादन तंत्र उपयोगात आणले जाऊ नये आहे. म्हणून केंद्र सरकारने या प्रस्तावाला " इरादा पत्र" द्यावे आणि मिळारस राज्य सरकारने करावी.

आरोग्यदायक साखर व आरोग्यदायक कृषिमात उत्पादन ही काळाची गरज आहे. हे लक्षात घेवून आमच्या मागणीला राज्य सरकारने पुरस्कार द्यावा.

कळावे.

आपला किताबू,

श्री. जी. डी. (बापू) लाड

मुख्यप्रवर्तक,

नियो. क्रांती सह. साखर कारखाना  
कुंडल

File  
A 888  
Permanet

From: Com. S. Augustine  
Mumbai,  
12th March 1996.

Dear Com. Bardhan,  
General Secretary,  
AITUC,  
24, Canning Lane,  
New Delhi-110 001.

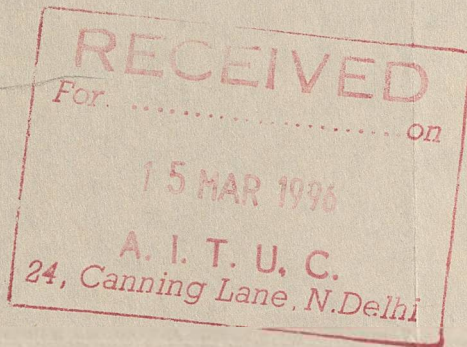
I have received your ~~xxx~~ letter dated 9th March 1996, enquiring about my health. There are Commreds who are taking notes about the health of commereads, which in olden days ~~a~~ every commereads was concerned about the well being of the other commereads including about their health.

I was moved by your said letter. ~~and~~ Doctors who had examined and investigated me ~~as~~ has informed me that there is a infection in the lungs and a treatment has already started. Slight improvement is there.

With kind greetings.

Yours commerdly,

( S. AUGUSTINE )



Gr (Personal)

February 1, 1996,

Dear Shri Amitabh Maitra,

This is to acknowledge your letter, dated 5th January '96, along with the enclosure.

I fully agree with you that there is distortion of history in text books. As you rightly pointed out, even the Left Front Govt. of West Bengal has not taken proper care of this matter. Our friend Prof. Gautam Chattopadhyay as you know is an authority on history. I am therefore, sending your letter and enclosure to him for his suggestions after which I assure you, we will see what steps can be taken.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*A.B. Bardhan*

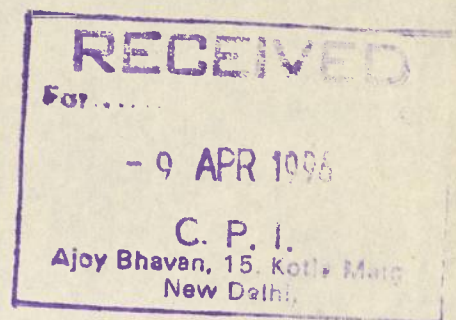
(A.B. BARDHAN)

Shri Amitabh Maitra,  
321, Malisahar,  
Station Road,  
P.O. Nabanagar,  
Dist. 24 Parganas (N)

✓ Com. Gautam Chattopadhyaya,  
c/o CPI office,  
Bhupesh Gupta Bhaban,  
162, Acharya J. C. Bose Road,  
Calcutta

A/ (Pension) file  
A.B.S.

To  
The General Secretary  
Communist Party of India  
Ajoy Ghosh Bhawan  
15, Kotla Marg  
New Delhi - 110 001



Respected Sir,

By now, the detrimental effects of the Employees' Pension Scheme which was compulsorily enforced by way of an Ordinance, are well known to all right-thinking citizens of the country.

The Government tried to seek approval of the Parliament when the Bill was first introduced in Parliament in 1993, and again in the winter session of Parliament in December, 1995, and again in the special session of Parliament which has just concluded. On account of the wide spread opposition to the Scheme when it was first introduced, it had been shelved and the Government had not tried to get it passed, for nearly two and half years. After the Ordinance was promulgated in October 1995 making the Scheme compulsorily effective from November 16, 1995, claiming urgency as one of the reasons for the promulgation of the Ordinance while the Bill was still pending before Parliament, it was incumbent on the Government to pass a Bill approving of the Ordinance, at the earliest. This the Government failed to do in the Winter session of Parliament in November/December 1995. A fresh Ordinance was promulgated in January 1996, to replace the old Ordinance. The Government failed ONCE AGAIN to pass the required Bill even in the last session of Parliament which ended on 12th March, 1996. This Ordinance too will lapse. It is in the interests of workers that a fresh Ordinance is not promulgated.

Workers all over the country have taken to the streets and have lodged their strong opposition to the Scheme by launching effective agitations protesting against the Ordinance. Workers cutting across party lines have come together and have organised MORCHAS, RALLIES, BANDHS, RASTA ROKO AND JAIL BHARO programmes, besides countrywide INDUSTRIAL STRIKES, and have forcefully expressed their deep resentment over the Government's action of snatching away their primary retirement benefit of Provident Fund.

The opposition to the Ordinance has also resulted in more than 100 Writ Petitions in the various High Courts throughout the country. To name a few, the Madras High Court, the Calcutta High Court, the Delhi High Court, the Gujarat High Court, the Mumbai High Court and the Kerala High Court have been inundated with such petitions, and some of these Courts have already granted injunctions staying the operation of this illogical, draconian Ordinance which seeks to take away the hard working employees' first and most important retirement benefit of Provident Fund. Other Hon'ble High Courts are likely to follow suit to enforce the protection accorded to the Provident Fund savings of workers by Section 10 of the Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952.

In view of the foregoing, WE THE WORKERS OF THIS GREAT COUNTRY, INDIA; REQUEST YOU TO INCLUDE THE SOLEMN PROMISE IN YOUR PARTY'S ELECTION MANIFESTO THAT THIS REPREHENSIBLE AND DRACONIAN ORDINANCE SHALL BE SCRAPPED AND A MORE MEANINGFUL PENSION SCHEME BE DEVISED AND FORMULATED IN A MANNER WHICH WILL PROVIDE PENSION BENEFITS WITHOUT ENCRUCHING UPON THE WORKERS' TIME-TESTED AND PRIMARY SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFIT OF PROVIDENT FUND.

We sincerely hope this heartfelt appeal of the working class shall be reflected in your Election Manifesto so as to assure the workers and their families that your Party truly has their interests at heart.

Yours faithfully,

1. *Ranjit - Ali*  
(R. Ali)

2. Shyamal Kanti Gupta (G. Gupta)
3. Sureban Kumar Karan S. Karan
4. Sikha Chakraborty
5. Samita Choudhury
6. Dipali Ray
7. Samir Chakraborty
8. S. C. Banerjee
9. Ranaj Kumar Biswas
10. S R Dasgupta
11. J K. Dutta
12. An. Chakraborty
13. Parimal Ghosh
14. Pradip Kumar Datta
15. Manas Kumar Mukherjee
16. Benu Bagchi
17. Anon Chandra De
18. Santosh Kumar Biswas
19. Pradip Kumar Das
20. Sit. Dasgupta
21. Gayendra Prasad Juyal
22. Prabanta K. Pal



23. Samir Kumar Sarkar
24. Manmohan Singh Khosla
25. Manata Paul
26. Pranab Chakraborty
27. Saadul Sultan
28. Pradyut Kr. Bhattacharya
29. Dulal Chakraborty
30. Subhendu Khatterji
31. P. Dutta Gupta
32. S. C. Chakraborty
33. Subrat Chakraborty
34. N. Sameddara
35. G. G. Sarkar
36. Anant Chakraborty
37. Dipan Kumar
- 38 - Bidan Singh
- 39 - S. S. Chakraborty
40. Kapur ur Nag



अध्यक्ष लोक सभा  
SPEAKER LOK SABHA

7 June 1996



Shri Vardhan  
General Secretary, AITUC,  
Opp. Hotel Meridian,  
Janpath,  
New Delhi.

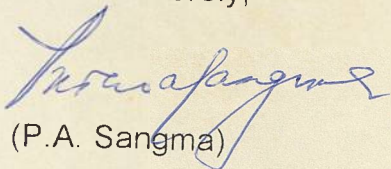
Dear Shri Vardhan ji,

I thank you for your letter congratulating me on my election as  
Speaker, Lok Sabha.

Your greetings and best wishes will go a long way in enabling  
me to discharge this onerous responsibility.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

  
(P.A. Sangma)