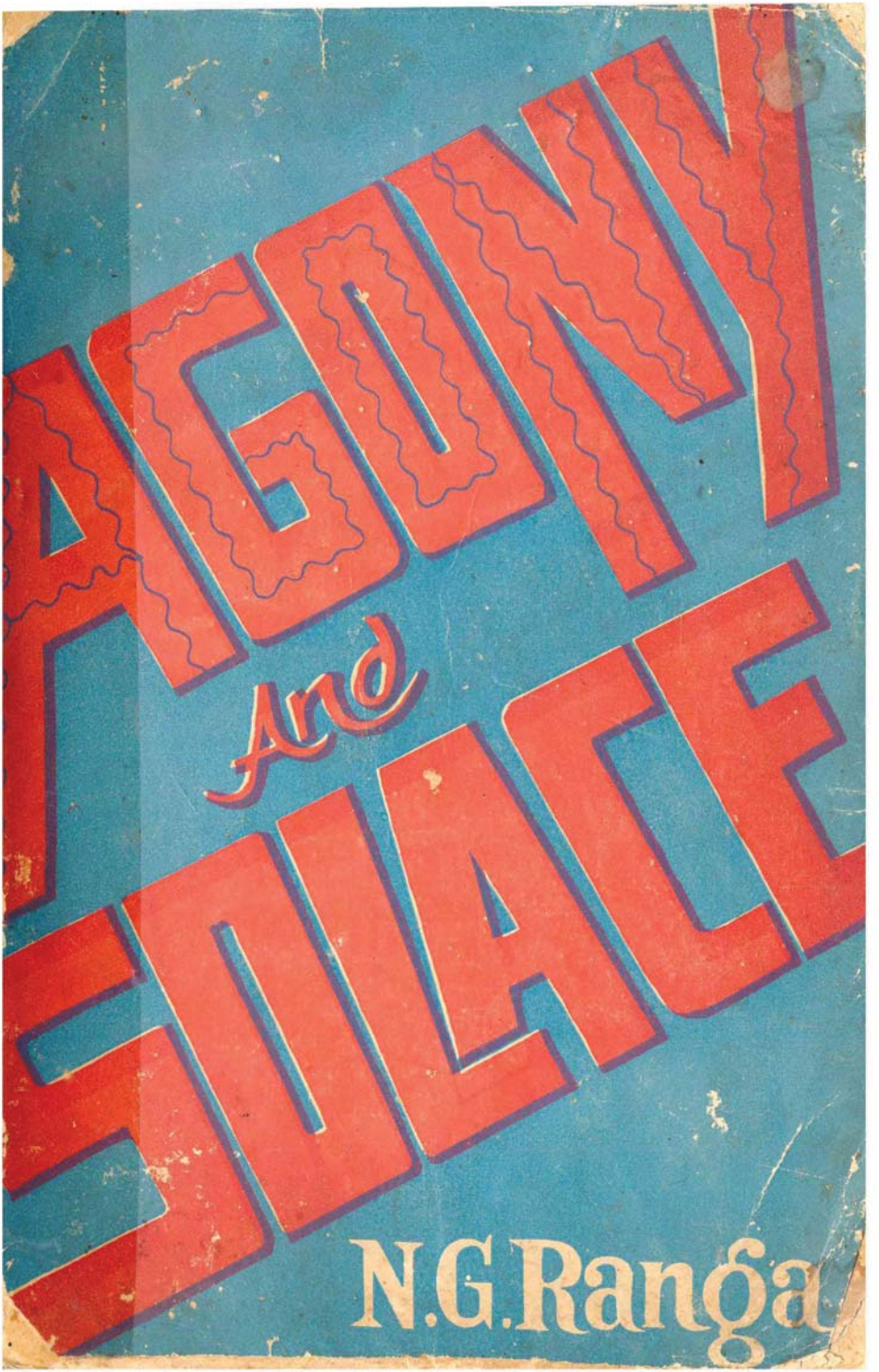
AGONY
And
ECSTACY
N.G.Ranga

AGONY AND SOLACE

(Correspondence, Statements, Speeches etc.
1936 - 1974)

N. G. RANGA
MAN OF THE MASSES

KISAN PUBLICATIONS
NIDUBROLU (A.P.)

Printed at :
SRI PRINTERS
Vijayawada–2

First Edition :
27 September 1974

Price : **Bound Rs. 30-00**
Paper Back Rs. 25-00
(Exclusive of Postage)

Distributors :
NAVODAYA PUBLISHERS
VIJAYAWADA-2

We Dedicate
To

BHARATI DEVI

I adopt Bharati as my daughter !
MAHATMA GANDHI

Rajaji's Tribute to Bharati Deviji

"Swarajya (7-10-1972)"

One of the most worthy of the women of India passed away on September 27. I had always great affection for Sri N. G. Ranga. My affection for Bharati Devi, his wife, was even greater and inlaid with the deepest respect. Acharya Ranga claimed to be a peasant. But the real peasant was Bharati Devi.[3] She went to prison in the movement for freedom. She never claimed a price or a reward for it as so many do. Her death has plunged me in the deepest grief.

Rashtrapati Bhavan
NEW DELHI-4
October 9, 1972

My dear Ranga garu,

I was grieved to learn of the demise of Bharati Devi. I know how you will feel this calamity and what a void is created in your life and the public life of our nation. She was indeed, a pillar of strength to you in all your constructive work and was one of our respected leaders in Andhra.

Yours sincerely,
V. V. GIRI.

PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi,
September 29, 1972

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I am grieved by the news. which came soon after I wrote to you. Besides being your companion in all the causes that you took up Shrimati Bharati Devi was a fine national worker in her own right. My sympathy and condolences to your loss.

Yours sincerely,
Indira Gandhi

RANGAJI'S TRIBUTE

To have to live practically alone in 'Go Bhumi,' even when I am outside jails, manage my small farm and finance many of my activities, public and private, to be able to discharge all that responsibility while I was in jails for years and to ward off the ever-vigilant police, give shelter to so many underground workers and provide funds, food and clothing to such of them as were in need of them and to be ever ready to be taken into jail, while on such active duty was the heroic role that she had to play and she played that role ably and nobly. No wonder Gandhiji came to be proud of her.

Extract From his autobiography "Fight for Freedom' (p. 293) published in 1968.)

INTRODUCTION

We are grateful to Shrimati Bharati Devi for having preserved despite police searches and seizures etc., so many documents of Rangaji, including some of his correspondence with foreign and Indian friends regarding public affairs and problems thanks to her boundless and continuing faith in their life-long mission of humanism.

We are publishing in this book most of what Bharati Deviji has been able to preserve in Gobhumi at NIDUBROLU to indicate how Rangaji, a self-less Gandhian has succeeded in serving public causes in a constructive manner, even though he has persistently abstained from accepting places in Central and State Cabinets.

Much of his correspondence and documents that pertained to the period of his Presidentship of the Andhra Congress and his role as member of Congress Working Committee (1946–51) was lost. Most of his correspondence with Pujya Rajaji over 12 years (1959–71) is being utilised for a later publication.

These letters etc. indicate the stature and value of his multi-farious public activities during the past 40 years in national and international spheres especially on the Kisan, Mazdoor, Kalakar and Buddhijeevi fronts. We are sorry to learn that many more such documents were lost, because of

police searches and seizures, changes of abodes in Delhi, the political upsets in the Provincial Congress Offices white ants and rats.

Both Ranga and Bharati Devi initiated the peasants' struggle against feudalism and its votaries, the Zamindars, and devoted to it all their resources between 1930-47. They and Sahajan and Saraswati the satisfaction of seeing that their call for the abolition of Zamindari System came to be adopted by the National Congress and blessed by Mahatma Gandhi. The correspondence of that period was lost, because of police seizures during their periods of incarceration etc., As evidence of their life-long crusade against feudalism and anti-peasant laws, Rangaji's books "Economic conditions of Zamindari Ryots" Revolutionary Peasants, History of Kisan movement are available in libraries.

His has been the self - chosen role of a catalyst, of ideas and public causes, dynamic compaigner for many faceted constructive programmes of social uplift and messenger of mercy and healer of social wrongs. In this sphere - so characteristically Gandhian, sphere - he has carried on his mission - irrespective of the nature of his political activity or platform, whether it be the Congress, Krishikar Lok Swatantra or Kisan. It was his good fortune that he found sincere Comrade in Bharati Devi and willing helpers among the successive Chief Ministers and Prime Ministers of Swaraj India and guidance and inspiration from elder statesmen like Rajaji, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Radha Krishna, V. V Giri, M. S. Aney, Kripalani, Prakasam, Munshi and many life long Kisan, Mazdoor colleagues. Even these few records would enable the public to visualise how he was promoting the cause of African freedom and Coloured Peoples all over the world for equality, freedom national independence and social justice, and offering good will to Vietnamese and

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Swaraj Bhavan – Allahabad

Jesscot, Landhour
MUSSOORIE, June 13, 1936.

My dear Ranga,

I have read the long note of your experiences in organising the peasantry with interest.

Regarding your proposal for separate Kisan representatives, other than the Congress nominees, for the new elections, I think there are many risks and dangers involved in it. Accepting many of the criticisms that you offer of the past and of the present position, it seems to me clear that if any opposition is offered by any candidate put forward by a special Kisan or Workers' Organisation to the Congress Candidate, both are bound to suffer and the reactionary third party will profit. It is certainly desirable that both the Kisans and workers should have the chance of selecting their own candidates, but it is not desirable that any such candidate should run in opposition to Congress candidates. Efforts should be made, of course, to get good Kisan representatives adopted officially by the Congress as their candidates. I think this may be possible in many constituencies. The way to proceed about the business is not to treat the Congress as a foreign entity in the hands of a few leaders but to increase Kisan membership in it so that they can influence it much more in their direction. The whole object of the Lucknow Congress resolution on mass contacts was to increase the influence of the masses in the Congress Organisation.

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2

PEASANT INSTITUTE

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A., NIDUBROLU, 22nd June 1936.

My dear Panditji,

Many thanks for your letter dated the June 13 regarding my proposal to form a Kisan cum Congress Parliamentary group in the Provincial Assembly.

I am glad you say that it is certainly desirable that both the Kisans and Workers should have the chance of selecting their own candidates. But somehow you have wrongly thought that I have intended such candidates to be set up as against the Official Congress Candidates. All that I have suggested is that the Candidates selected by the Kisan Sabhas or Workers' Organisations from among our Congressmen themselves should be favoured by our Congress Committee as their Official Candidates. Therefore, I have not contemplated the suicidal development of there being a three-cornered fight in which the Kisan-Congress Candidates have to fight against the Official Congress Candidate.

I have, however, suggested that the Kisan Candidates accepted by the Congress ought to be allowed to supplement their usual Congress Pledges to the electorate by their Kisan Programme and then to sit in the Assembly as a separate group within the Congress Party and enjoy the freedom of voting on all questions concerning the special interests of the Peasants or Workers or both. Ofcourse the Kisan cum Congress members have to accept the congress whip on all questions or occasions of confidence.

It is on these lines that the recent Andhra Provincial Peasants' Conference has decided to develop its Parliamentary activities and thus to safeguard the special kisan interests while generally supporting the Congress in the National and anti-imperial interests. I have sent to you only a few days

back the resolution of the Andhra Provincial Ryots' conference. I request you to kindly convey to me your thoughts on their resolution at the earliest possible opportunity so that I can try to help the Peasants to come to the right decision which will be fair to both the Congress and the Kisans.

Yours fraternally,

N. G. RANGA

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, PRESIDENT,
All India Congress Committee, ALLAHABAD.

3

Bharatideviji's Resignation–Jawaharlal's Moral Sanction

(EXTRACTS)

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Swaraj Bhavan – Allahabad

President : JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
General Secretary : J. B. KRIPALANI

July 15, 1936.

Mrs. BHARATI DEVI, NIDUBROLU.

Dear Madam,

I am in receipt of your letter, without date, in which you inform me that the Working Committe of the Andhra P. C. C. has refused to permit you to resign your membership of the Ongole District Educational Council. I have read the particulars given in your letter with regard.

It seems to me clear, however, that a member of any local Board or Committee can always resign from his or her seat. Of course, it is right and proper that before doing so the Congress Committee should be informed and their permission taken as individuals should not act without a reference to their colleagues. The Congress Committee can

ask a member so inclined to re-consider his or her decision. But in the last resort the Congress Committee cannot compel a member to hold on to a seat when he has made up his mind to resign. Therefore, ultimately you certainly have the right to resign.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the President of the Andhra P. C. C.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

---

* Shrimathi Bharatidevi protested, in vain, against the decision of the Congress Group in Ongole District Board to make bulk purchase of books on the commemoration of Silver Jubilee of George VI, the British Emperor of India. Some other such anti-nationalist activities of the Congress Group were opposed by her. When she found that the then majority leaders of the Local Congress and District Board were bent upon pursuing such objectionable activities, she resigned from her membership in the Board and Educational Council with the ultimate moral sanction of Jawaharlalji, the national President. Bharatidevi became a member of Upper Council of A. P. in 1958-64 and also of the Planning Board. She passed away in 27-9-72. - (Ed.)

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
Swaraj Bhavan - Allahabad

President : JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
General Secretary : J. B. KRIPALANI

Camp : MUSSORIE,
July 15, 1936

Dear Ranga,

I have received your letter of the 4th June enclosing Mrs. Ranga's letter to Prakasam. I have read this letter

with some surprise. The Congress members of the Ongole Board must have rather peculiar notions of their duties and of the policy that should guide them. I shall be glad if you will let me know of the view the Provincial Congress Committee takes of the matter.

I am afraid it is quite impossible for me to go South in July.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, NIDUBROLU

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

5

Chandini Chowk, CUTTACK.
D/ 3-5-1937

Dear Mr. Ranga,

Received your letter dated the 29th instant. We shall be much pleased to have you amongst us. Kindly let us know the exact date of your arrival so that I may write to all District Kisan Committees and fix dates for you to meet the Kisan Workers ; that means the members of the District Kisan Committees.

Here in Utkal great confusion has been created by some Kisan Workers and Congress Leaders about the Peasants' movement and its position in relation to Congress or form a part of it. They do not see the necessity of an independent Class Organisation. They meant to make the Kisan Sangha a Congress Kisan Sangha. They are misleading the Kisans by such propaganda. They argue that Congress Organisation will be weakened by having a Separate Kisan Organisation. We are trying our best to fight against this policy. Your tour in our province is sure to help us in this matter a great deal.

Hope this will find you in good health. Best regards from both of us.

Yours sincerely,
MALATI CHAUDHURI *

---

* Shrimathi Malati is one of the revered leaders of the masses in Orissa. She has been concentrating on Constructive work through her Ashram in Angul. She is the wife of Shri Nabkrishna Chaudhuri who rose to be the Chief Minister of Orissa. Later on, both of them joined the Sarvodaya. For long they were the leaders of Socialist Party of Orissa. (Ed)

6

ELLORE
19-3-1938

Dear Comrade Ranga,

I arrived here only today. I saw your letter dated the 14th March. I do not know whether it will cause any inconvenience to us, if you too are holding the school during May. Our Comrades have already decided to hold the Conference at Kothapatam from 1st May upto the end of May at least. They are meeting shortly to decide finally. When some Comrades wanted to prolong it to 10th of June., I pointed out to them the inconvenience it might cause to you. On whomsoever the fault may be, as long as these two schools continue, there cannot but be some irritation on both sides. But I hope this will not in

any way impair our relations and we will be able to present an united front in all other matters.

With greetings,
Yours
P. SUNDARAYYA *

SUNDARAYYA'S LETTER

---

* The Communists obstructed the development of Kisan Movement in Andhra till 1936 and when they found that it was growing in popularity and power, they tried to infiltrate into it. They co-operated with the Peasant Schools upto 1936 (which were started in 1933 by Rangaji with Gandhiji's blessings) and having thus found a base for themselves among a section of peasantry, they organised their own Summer Camps in rivalry with the Peasant Schools of Rangaji. Mr. Sundarayy's letter indicates the nature of that growing struggle. Sundaraiah has risen by now to be the Secretary of the C. P. I. (Marxist) - Ed.

7

15 Cranleigh Houses,
LONDON, 9-3-1939

My Dear Ranga,

The news to-day is that Gandhiji has taken some orange juice.

What a statesmen the Mahatma is! I feel such respect for his judgement and mastery of situations, that when he dies, I shall be certain that death was his best action, taking an all-round view of the situation. With all the strange turns of his policy, and disagree with him as one may, he has given India such a start as no nation ever had before, on the road to emancipation. When I think that he cannot live much longer, I realise that his presence in the World is a force.

I am still doing a certain amount of work for Kenyatta in his effort to fight the battle of the Kenya Africans. On March 1st this year a Bill was passed declaring the Highlands – the best land of Kenya in every way – a European "reserve". The very same settlers who have been pressing for this Bill are even now urging all inhabitants of East Africa, "regardless of race, colour or creed" to be united in defence of the Europe aganist Fascism! Bah!

I cannot tell you how glad I am of the way you keep me informed of what is going on in India. I know it costs you time and trouble that you can ill afford. I only hope you will find you have helped me to do good service at last.

Yours,

DINAH*

---

* Dinah was an able colleague of Fenner Brockway, George Padmore, Jomo Kenyatta and Rangaji in the Colonial and coloured Peoples Freedom Movement. She visited India in 1936-37 and met Gandhiji in Sevagram and leaders of Indian Kisan and Trade Union Movements. After India became free, she came to India as Professor of English in a number of Universities. Later She was Professor in Kampala University. She was invited, along with Fenner Brockway and others to the inaugural function of Kenya Republic and their friend Jomo Kenyatta was then installed as the President. –(Ed.)

8

The Training College,
BINGLEY, YORKS
26–4–1940

My dear Ranga,

You were inquiring about Africa. As you know there is no continent-wide African movement. Plenty of unrest in West Africa, and Wallace Johnson who was working

in London with Padmore and his friends a year ago is now in prison there. In Kenya it is now nearly two years since the Wakamba protest over the forced sale of cattle and the March to Nairobi, of which I told you something. That movement was suppressed by Government. It was followed by a great dock strike at Mombasa, which spread into Tanganyika. Then there was a rigorous protest, in which Indians and Africans took part against alienation of the Highlands (to the Europeans). And the GIKUYU CENTRAL ASSOCIATION – the Movement of East African Youth – has kept up a continuous and increasing agitation about the succession of hardships inflicted on individuals and tribes.

Though they are supposed to be "a backward race" they are not without political sense and the capacity for organisation and discipline. If ever I had acted more promptly and rigorously on your advice, we might have laid the foundation of an organisation.

Salutations to Mrs. Ranga and all Comrades.

Yours,

DINAH

9

M. K. GANDHI

SEVAGRAM

(via) WARDHA (C. P.) 6–10–1941

My dear Ranga,

I was delighted to hear from you and to learn that you were keeping well and that your faith in non-violence was daily growing.

Love,

CENSORED PASSED BABP.

By (M. K. GANDHI)

SUPERINTENDENT. (10/10/41)

ADDRESSED

Prof. Ranga,

Detenu, Central Jail

VELLORE, S. INDIA.

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* Some Congress leaders, who were opposed to Subhash Babu, Rangaji and other advocates of relentless struggle against British Imperialism to be started during that first year of war tried to poison Gandhiji's mind against Rangaji. They seized upon his decision to go to jail, independently of the Congress Programme, defying the internment order passed by Government that he should remain in NIDUBROLU for a year, to mislead Bapuji to fear that Rangaji and his supporters were bent upon starting an independent struggle. So Bapuji asked Ranga to come out of jail and accept internment. But he defended his action and persuaded Bapuji not to insist upon his advice being implemented. (Cont-)

10

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE : INDIAN BRANCH

PERSONAL

NEW DELHI, 19th December, 1941
for Superintendent (Censored)
Sd/- (23-12-1941)

My dear Ranga,

Many thanks for your kind letter received early this month. I have been hoping to be able to get in touch with Mr. Joshi and to send you a full reply at an early date, but I have been having some domestic trouble which has prevented me from applying my mind to the serious problems you have raised. The purpose of this letter is only to assure you that I have not just laid by your letter.

Even while disapproving Rangaji's defiance of that Internment Order as being unwise, Gandhiji observed " a co-worker whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for a long time. He is brave and good natured". In answer to his complaint that " if he had left me the time, I should have asked him to obey the order". Pothen Joseph, the doyen of Indian Journalists observed in his famous Column " OVER A CUP OF TEA " in INDIAN EXPRESS (17-4-1940) - that the fault lies with the Madras Government who in a twentyfour hours notice, omitted to give Mr. Ranga any time. The Police heard " Acharya Ranga is having his Khana" He was immediately arrested. To say he has harmed the cause in the restricted circumstances, would seem to be an exaggeration.

This letter is an unmistakeable evidence of the resumption of their mutual affection and confidence. It is noteworthy how Bapuji was insistent upon writing not only the letter proper but also the address in his own hand to reassure Rangaji of his abiding love.

See also Rangaji's Autobiography " FIGHT FOR FREEDOM" Chapter 28 " WAR TIME INTERNMENT". - (Ed)

Now that the political atmosphere seems to be clearing a bit, I hope you will soon be able to come out and organise a really pro-democratic and anti-Fascist front.

Your friends here think of you very very often and long to see you back at Delhi.

With all good wishes to Bharati Devi and yourself.

Yours affectionatelly,

P. P. PILLAI *

Professor : N. G. RANGA, M. L. A.
C/o The Central Jail, VELLORE.

11

MEMBER OF COUNCIL FOR INDIANS OVERSEAS, INDIA

NEW DELHI,
7th September, 1942

Dear Mr. Ranga,

Many thanks for your letter of 29th August. I am glad to read that Avatapalli Narayanarao is appointed as Adviser to the National Labour Tribunal. I hope that his appointment will give satisfaction to a large number of people and the problem of providing employment for cer-

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* Dr. Pillai was the Director of Indian Branch of the I. L. O. from the beginning. He was a distinguished economist and Champion of labour and I. L. O. Rangaji was working for labour in Central Legislative Assembly in close Co-operation with Messrs. N. M. Joshi and V. V. Giri in Assembly and Dr. Pillai from I. L. O. - (Ed)

tain educated evacuees may be more satisfactorily tackled in Madras. I am bringing to the notice of the Labour Commissioner of Madras your observations regarding the progress of relief work in Vizagapatam and other districts of the Coromandal Coast where vast numbers of uneducated rural evacuees are suffering for want of employment. It was pity that I had to ultimately abandon my trip to Bezwada., as it was not possible to reach there owing to troubles on the railway line. I hope you will not do anything to risk your liberty. A free "Ranga" will be of greater assistance to kisans and other poverty stricken people than a "Ranga" suffering in jail. This is how I feel.

With my best regards for you and your wife.

Yours sincerely,
M. S. ANEY *

N. G. RANGA,
B. Litt (Oxon), M. L. A. (Central), NIDUBROLU.

12

7 Peas Acre, Micklethwaise,
YORKS, D/12-9-1942.

My dear Ranga,

Your letter with the summary of Kisan Movements memoranda, and later news that you were out of prison

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* These evacuees tracked over 1500 miles from Penang, Rangoon, Mandalay, over the Burmese uplands, Arakan forests, Manipur and Tripura, after British evacuated Burma in the wake of Japanese aggression. Rangaji met the late M. S. Aney who was then in the Governor-General's Executive Council, even though he was then working in underground during the Quit India Campaign to press for adequate relief for these lakhs of Indian evacuees from Burma. - (Ed.)

was the most inspiring thing that has come to me for many months now. It was dated July and I got it about a week ago. *

I have read and re-read it and have sent long extracts from it to Padmore, Kenyatta and Reg. Reynolds. Padmore is active in London, writing magazine articles

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* It was in this letter smuggled out of Jail that Rangaji outlined the plan for organising Colonial Peoples Freedom Front to assert the right of Coloured People for national independence and popularise their demand for the declaration of independence for their countries as soon after the war as possible. It suggested that Post War International authority like the United Nations should assume the responsibility of preparing the coloured peoples and their countries for democratic self-Government.

He was anxious that the inter-war Trusteeship Council with big powers playing the role of Trustees for their earstwhile colonial possessions should be abolished and United Nations should undertake direct responsibility of preparing the colonial peoples for full-pledged democracy, after declaring them as independent peoples. His scheme provided for international know-how services, known as Social Services to help the newly liberated peoples during the first one or two decades of independence.

This Plan was blessed, in principle by Gandhiji and Rangaji's book on "Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front" was dedicated to him. Dinah, Fenner Brockway, George Padmore, Jomo Kenyatta and various organisations like Pan African Congress, British Centre against Imperialism, French Colonial Peoples Associations with Paris as Centre etc. made that plan as their own and struggle for freedom. One of the great achievements of Second World War and Post-War rivalry between the great powers and U. N. is the rapid liquidation of imperialist domination and emergence of dozens of Free African and Asian Peoples. This is indeed one of the historic fulfilments of the ideals, embraced and espoused by Ranga, Padmore, Dinah, Brockway and others. (Ed.)

and making contact with African, American troops. He is an independent individual, with no organisation behind him except the International African Bureau-itself a group of individuals rather than the office of a movement. Kenyatta is working as a labourer for a big horticultural firm in Sussex, with a labourer's wages and hours-actually from dawn to dusk and often on Sundays too. But in the winter season he manages to take one or two WEA courses and lecture to the army occasionally or speak at a meeting. He is cut off from his people, as the Kikuyu Central Association is banned and every one of its leaders except himself, imprisoned or interned and it is nearly two years since he had news of them. Reg. as usual, is playing his lone hand in London, but he is very vigilant in watching events and getting into the Press at the critical moment and is beginning to have something of a name as a writer. He passed his tribunal as a conscientious objector and is doing some kind of AFP work in London.

Your account of the Communist Party line in India exactly tallies with my criticisms of it over here. The whole thing is ofcourse a logical and inevitable result of the Party's major principle of service to the U. S. S. R.

The average factory worker admires the U. S. S. R. for its good fight and suspects the British Government of deliberately holding aloof to the last possible moment in order to wear out Russian strength.

It comes to this! What really is the Workers' revolution? The C. P. answers " It is the U. S. S. R., save that and let everything else go hang". The non-Communist left-wingers, like myself say, "The revolution is the will to freedom of the Workers and Peasants of the World; lose that and even the U. S. S. R. will become a reactionary power ".

I think that few people really believe-as most of them did last time-that Britain is fighting for freedom. Yet they fight, however, apathetically because they see no hope in any alternative.

Yours sincerely,

DINAH

13

Highover, ENGLAND
January 1st, 1943.

My dear Ranga,

This is 1943 and I hope that the year will end better for you than it has begun wherever you are, I know you will have given me a thought among your many pre-occupations.

On Sunday I shall be speaking in London, at Conway Hall, at a Conference on India. It is organised by the British Centre against Imperialism and the speakers include Frank Horrabin, Edward Thompson, and Reg. Reynolds. The India League is not in it. It is run by Krishna Menon and he is too thick with the C. P. to be willing to work with us. I keep reminding myself that over here it is not the C. P. but Churchill, Amery and the empire-mongers who are the important enemy.

I hate to see Kenyatta wasting years of his life as a farm labourer and yet he cannot see, and nor can I, what else is there to do. I have some faith that he will return to his real work, if the opportunity comes. I look forward to the end, but am well aware that the end will only be a place in a harder and more complex struggle.

So long as you have a cause to live for , well Ranga, Zindabad, the colonial peoples freedom Front. May it flow and flourish and find wisdom and courage. with love to you both.

Yours,
DINAH

13 A

7 Peas Acre
Near Bingley, YORKS.
8–1–1943

My dear Ranga,

I would like you and Bharati Devi to know that I have not forgotten you. My visit to you in Nidubrolu is already five years old , yet how vivid it still is in my mind and how it has influenced my thoughts ever since.

Last Sunday we had the Convey Hall Meeting! FENNER BROCKWAY presided. speakers included Lionel Fielden , Horrabin , Reg. Reynolds. A. Nath Bose and wilfred wellock.

Yours,
DINAH

14

Highover, STORRINGTON,
20–7–1943

My dear Ranga ,

Here I am once again at Highover, keeping house for Jomo (Kenyatta) while his wife (an English girl) is in hospital preparing to have a baby. He is working as an

agricultural labour. Everyday life makes just the same demands, whatever the political situation may be and I find that war time house-keeping for a hungry man takes up quite enough of time and energy. However, it is very lovely here. To-day is one of those days, rare this year so far, of blazing sun and blue sky and I am sitting in the birchwood, writing to you in the flicker of shadow, the hum of bees and leaves and birds and the deeper and more distant sounds of the everlasting aeroplanes and practice gun-fire. One almost forgot to hear it. It is so incapable of disturbing the peace of the earth more than superficially.

Very little is known in England of the discontents in the colonies. Jomo has met soldiers interested enough to attend his lectures, who believed that there was nothing in South Africa to compare with the colour prejudice of the Americans.

Yours

DINAH.

15

THE ALL INDIA KISAN SABHA

President :
SWAMI SAHAJANANDA SARASWATI

SHRI SITARAMASHRAM, PATNA.
21-3-1944

Dear Bharati Devi

It is after a pretty long intervalt hat I am writing these lines to you. Indeed I missed you and com. Laxminarayana very much to meet you both there, (Bezwada) but failed.

Our political differences are there and nobody can deny them. But this surely does not mean that our old relations, social ties created by them are totally forgotten. If political differences go so far, this world of ours will really become a veritable hell. And after Bezwada, and especially in view of our resolutions on the Kisan Sabha

Policy and after perusing my presidential address there ought to exist no such differences of a serious type I venture to think and say. Any way, it is by the way.

Please, therefore, do write a line or so and let me know about you, Com. Laxminarayana and others etc.

Sincerely yours,

SWAMI SAHAJANANDA SARASWATI *

---

* The late Swamy Sahajananda Saraswati, and the late Indulal Yagnik were Ranga' Colleagues on the All India Kisan Congress (Sabha) for many years. But they differed with him in 1942 when they agreed with Communists in treating the World War after 1941 as People's War. Bharati Deviji became President of the A. I. C. C. when Rangaji and Swamiji were in jails and prevented Communists from exploiting Kisan Platform for their " Peoples War " slogan. She was succeeded by Indulal Yagnik and Swamiji his General Secretary chose to sail with the Communist wing. So, those who chose to support Gandhiji's demand to the British to "QUIT INDIA" joined Rangaji and Bharati Deviji and formed the Kisan Sammelan. It was at that juncture that Swamiji came to VIJAYAWADA and wrote thereafter this letter to Bharati Deviji. - (Ed.)

16

THE KAIRA DISTRICT CO-OP.
KHARID VECHAN SANGH LTD.

Nadiad, Dt. KAIRA
11-10-1944.

Dear Ranga,

I embrace you heartily on your release. You will learn that I have already severed my connection with the communist Kisan Sabha and am now sailing on my own

oars very near the Congress. I have paid my respects to Mahatmaji and hope to see him again in the near future.

Swamiji though still keeping to the Old Sabha is very uncomfortable and is trying to fiind out a way of release. He has written letters to Bharati Devi and others but without getting any response. But you are out now and we can put our heads together to devise common methods.

Swamiji will be in Bombay by the first month of November. So shall I. Can you possibly come and do try and reply.

Yours affectionately,
INDULAL YAGNIK *

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* Swamiji and Indulalji met Rangaji in Bombay in November 1944 as desired by Indulalji, but they found it impossible to join and work together once again in a non-Communist Kisan United Front, because they could not recapture their earliar mutual faith. Kisans have since then been split between rival Sabhas of Communists, Socialist Panchayat, Governmental Farmers' Forums, Agriculturists' Federations and Kisan Sammelan and Rural Peoples Federation. - (Ed.)

17

Fort, BOMBAY
October, 25, 1944

My dear Ranga,

Since I wrote to you on the 20th instant reports have been put out that our friend Jayaprakash Narayan is to be put up for trial on grave charges. One does not know how well-founded these reports are considering over a year has passed since his arrest. I think you will agree, however, that a defiinite indication of Government's intentions in the matter needs to be obtained during the

Assembly Session. Jayaprakash has been kept, as far as one can tell, in solitary confinement and in complete isolation for over a year and has been denied any opportunity of an interview. If he is to be tried it is only fair that facilities should be given to him for preparing his legal defence.

Yours sincerely,
M. R. MASANI.

Prof : N. G. RANGA,
Member, Indian Legislative Assembly.

18

KONKAN KISAN SAMITI

Organiser :
B. R. RANE, M. L. A., (Bom.)

BOMBAY–4
D/ 28–10–1944

Dear friend,

Received your letter dated the 20th instant, on my arrival from Delhi. We have already discussed personally the formation of an association of the Indian Rural Population on all India basis.

At present my Samiti is trying to help the Konkan Peasantry to secure for it necessary exemption limit of procurement of foodgrains by the Government officials. My colleagues also are busy with the work of organising the actual cultivators in the Konkan districts for opposing any unjust and inequitable demand of the Government officials regarding foodgrains.

Awaiting your reply.

Yours sincerely,
B. R. RANE.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M.L.A.

19

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

COIMBATORE
6th November 1944.

My dear Rangaji,

I have your letter. If the Kisan Congress is an independent body, it should have nothing to do with politics while every member of the Kissan Congress may be free to join the Indian National Congress. The Kisan Congress should confine itself to solve local grievances by representation and direct action where necessary and influence the Congress in its kisan policies. If it is considered necessary, I do not, that the Kisan Congress should have some politics in its programme, then we must have a provision in the Constitution as the All-India Trade Union Congress requiring a three-fourths majority for any resolution on the political question.

I may add that when friends like you got into the jail. I had to fight the Communists everywhere singlehanded. I always choose for my kisan work ex-congress detenues. That was why I wrote to you I was pleased to hear from them that you also appealed to them to take up kisan work.

You have chosen your career rightly or wrongly as the champion of the kisans. It is my desire that your difficulties and troubles should come to you in the kisan work itself, so that, each one of your arrests or security proceedings will further the kisan cause and make the people think of you as a kisan worker. When you were arrested for disobeying the order at Madras in 1940, before the Congress started civil disobedience, Mr. Prakasam and myself talked about you that you were perfectly justified in doing so in protecting your honour and self-respect. I

appreciated that act more than your arrest as part of the political campaign. Your brother Laxmi Narayana has been fighting a losing game in your absence. I hope some results will come out of your agitations in the Central Assembly.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. G. SIVASWAMY
(Life Member.)

20

NANDIGAMA,
Krishna (Dt.)
D/ 7-11-44

My dear friend,

Your letter reached me today just now.

Sri K. Chandramouli's shutting out real Congress men who are working in the Kisan, student and youth organisations is due to his own interpretation or misinterpretation of the whole thing. On the other hand, the leaders of those organisations must be in the Congress Assemblies. Otherwise, there will be no connecting link between the parent body and the allied bodies.

Our present idea has been that there shall be Kisan, labour, student, youth, Harijan, Muslem and Christian departments in the Assembly.

As you are now doing a new thing with Bapu's consent, the whole thing must be clear at least between us both before we meet other friends.

Yours sincerely,
A. KALESWARA RAO. *

* The late Sri A. Kaleswara Rao, the veteran Freedom Fighter, Secretary of Andhra P. C. C. for many years, later became the chief Parliamentary Secretary in Madras Congress Ministry (1937-'39) and Speakar of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly from 1962 to 1967. - (Ed.)

21

Fort, BOMBAY.
November 16, 1944.

My dear Ranga,

This is to acknowledge your letter of the 3rd and 11th instant and your telegram. I got your wire on the 14th morning and sent you an express reply within a few hours conveying my opinion that as at present framed the bill for the compulsory recognition of Trade Unions is not one which can be supported. The objection is not so much to the principle of the bill as to the attempt to import political bias by laying down tests not only representative capacity which are perfectly legitimate but also of support of war effort etc. which are quite out of place in such a bill. I understand that this is also broadly the basis on which the T. U. C. is opposing the bill and I suppose N. M. Joshi will adopt some such attitude.

You raise very complicated issues in regard to the Congress and the Kisan Movement. I have discussed the matter with Meherally and we both feel that this and other political problems are difficult to deal with in correspondence. A policy on such issues can best be worked out by personal discussion and we would therefore suggest that if you can do so without too much personal inconvenience you might include Bombay in your itinerary on your way South after the legislative Assembly Session. Why not come here before you see Gandhiji again at Wardha. We can go into all details, however, if you come here.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

M. R. MASANI.

Prof : N. G. RANGA, M.L.A., NEW DELHI.

22

Superintendent
A. I. S. A. Office, (Utkal Branch)
P. O. Kundupatna, CUTTACK
13-12-1944

Rangaji,

I am a stranger to you. Still there exists a bond between us as fighters for the same cause. For that and also for the suggestion of Mr. Nabkrishna Chowdary, who is now in the Cuttack Jail, I am just writing to you my purpose in a few lines. At the time of my release from Cuttack Jail Mr. Chowdary who was my roommate, told me to write to you as he hopes you can lend your helping hand to me. The purpose of his suggesting your name is that you were at that time at Wardha and talking to Gandhijee regarding the future course of action.

In 1942 I was reading in the Fourth Year of the Local College. At that time of the August disturbances, I left College and joined the movement. I was an accused in the Orissa Conspiracy case that was staged by the Government at the time and I was charged by the Government as Assistant to the ringleader Mr. Surendra Nath Dwivedy whom you know well as I am informed by Mr. Chowdary. Accordingly I was sentenced to 4 years R. I. and later it was reduced to 2 years R. I. by the High Court on the ground of studentship. After the expiry of the whole term, I have been released. During this whole period, I had an opportunity of knowing the whole process of Spinning. Owing to domestic difficulties, I do not

intend living in the Province now. I told all these things to Naba Babu. He expressed that I should correspond with you and if you arrange, I may go there and be trained as I want to work in the Kisan field in future.

Yours sincerely,
BANKA BEHARY DAS.

23

27 Fort Road, NOTTINGHAM.
(During Second World War),
17–12–1944

My dear Ranga,

Will you drop me a line if this reaches you? It is the first chapter of that book of mine (on Indian Peasants. — Ed.). You will see that is largely out of date; the rest of it is less dated. I have only one copy of the MS left, and so am sending you a chapter at a time as I can get it typed.

All good wishes for the New Year. It opens grimly enough; may it close with some constructive hope ! I am just going down to Highover, where I will talk over your plans * and ideas with Kenyatta. †

Yours,
DINAH

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* Plan for Colonial Peoples Freedom Front.

† Kenyatta is now the President of the Rep ublic of Kenya. He was the Co-founder along with George Padmore of the Pan-African Congress in 1945-'46 and Co-founder of the League of Coloured Peoples along with Rangaji and West Indian Dr. Moore in 1930. He was a Colleague of Fenner Brockway, A. G. Stock, Padmore and Rangaji in the movement for the emancipation of Coloured Peoples. He was the author of the book "Kenya". He was imprisoned for years as the leader of the "WUHURU" Movement. — (Ed.)

24

HOW TO PROTECT PEASANTS

RAYANAGOUDA PATIL (TALLUR)

P.O. Murgod, Dt. BELGAUM.

2–1–1945.

Camp : HOSARITHI

Dear Professor,

I had sent a reply to your P. C. dated the 7-12-1944 on 25-12-1944 and I think it might have reached you.

I have read from papers you are in touch with Bapuji on every day problems dealing with Peasants. I am also interested in them and wish to know them.

Let me know–Can a Congressman (Worker interested purely in Peasant problems) co-operate and work together with other local parties working for the Peasants (other than Royist and Communist) in order to tackle day to-day grievances such as Levy Scheme and Food Procurement and bribes etc. (i. e. temporary issuses) under the present conditions? To–day I feel that Peasants are in helpless conditions and any worker interested in their problems cannot do something. Can we co–operate with other local parties and stand on deputation to Provincial and Local authorities or approach them with daily grievances of the Ryots? According to Gandhijee's advice, "Congressmen ought to be allowed if they can do so without loss of initiative and independence and can readily render effective help " (16–12–1944 Times of India). (When I referred the matter to Mr. Hosamani (M. L. A. Central) he advised me to approach you for clarification. So is it advisable to to do so ?

Secondly will you supply me with the information regarding Levy Schemes which was applied to your Province

and how you have tackled it? Now in some Districts of the Province the Levy Quota is double the produce and in some cases it is equal to the produce. What to do in such circumstances ?

I have read in the Press about the Tamil Nad Kisan Sabha which met under your Presidentship so will you please supply me with the resolutions of the Conference.

In the last letter I had requested you to send details about the "Rural People Society".

Yours sincerely,.

RAYANAGOUDA PATIL.

25

"KASHMIR HOUSE"

94, Napean Sea Road, BOMBAY,

2nd February, 1945.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I have been to Jharia. Regarding women in coal mines, I am preparing a note which I shall forward it on to you later on. In the meanwhile, there is a new problem that has arisen regarding labour recruited by Government. Their living conditions and rules under which they have to live reminds one of forced labour system. Under the conscription even I do not think the conditions which prevail just now could be allowed. It was not possible for me to get detailed documentary evidence in only a few days that I have spent. So I have drawn the attention of Sri P. C. Bose, the labour leader to do the needful and get into touch with you.

I saw a very good book of yours at Sevagram on Bapu's table *. I do not remember the title but it is on Kisan. Will you kindly send a copy by V. P. P. ?

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

MRIDULA SARABHAI †

Prof. RANGA, M. L. A (Central), NEW DELHI.

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* Rangaji also could not remember the exact title of this book which gained the favoured place on Bapu's table. During 1945-46 the following books written by Rangaji were published :-

1. Why Gandhian Plan. 2. Kisans and Communists.
3. Outlines of National Revolutionary Path.
4. World Role of National Revolution.

Gandhiji wrote to Rangaji expressing his high appreciation of the latter's book on "TRIBES OF NILGIRIS".

† She is a famous social worker. She worked as General Secretary of All India Congress Committee. She is closely related to Dr. Vikram Sarabhai of Atomic Research fame - (Ed.)

26

Kalyanpur, P. O. Mashra, (Jaipur)
CUTTACK. 11-2-1945

Dear Rangaji,

Your letter reached me in time. Owing to economic difficulties of my family and specially when I am the eldest male member, I often become restless and my state of mind is not in perfect order. Due to this, my reply

has been delayed you wanted to know about Naba Babu's family. His wife is now at Cuttack Jail, Naba Babu is also there as Govt. granted his desire in transfering him from Berhampore Jail. His eldest daughter has been released recently and gone to Wardha with the younger one. So far as my latest information goes, all were o. k.

I have come across Pyarelal's statement on your talk with Bapuji. From the report it was clear that he wants local Peasant Committees to deal with their eonomic problems. Can you throw more light ? What about his opinion about Communists' problem. In case of Orissa, though Communists have been debarred from the Provincial Organisation, still it is not systematic as some of the top Congressmen do not like the idea. Mr. Naidu's Calcutta speeches are not encouraging. Have you known anything of Gandhiji's mind ?

What about Colonial People's Front and the advisory work ? In what way shall we be able to help you in research work as I want to be in a cultural atmosphere. I do not like this atmosphere of do–nothing, specially when poverty grinds down the spirit. My Jail Friends and Topmen want to know details of Gandhiji's mind regarding above questions.

Yours,

BANKA BEHARY DAS.

27

LAHORE,

17 th, February, 1945.

Respected Prof. Ranga,

Vande. The first Meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab students Congress is going to be held on

25th instant. In this meeting we are going to decide our future line of work, I and my Colleague have great faith in your guidance, will you be kind enough to send constructive suggestion about our future programme.

Moreover send your views about your stand against the Communists, their relation to the Congress and their present policy which they are pursuing and also about the students organisations and their place in the Congress.

With best regards,

Yours,
IQBAL SINGH
President, Punjab Students Congress
Sikh National College, LAHORE.

28

Sd/
Superintendent
ALIPORE CENTRAL JAIL

Alipore Central Jail,
CALCUTTA,
25th February, 1945.

My dear Professor,

You will no doubt be surprised to receive this letter. In Jail one so much wishes to write and to hear from those friends whom he loves and admires. I was thinking of writing to you since long, but I resisted the temptation. I am glad that you are well, and apparently happy.

Far away from my home in Lucknow, I am making the best use of a worst job. So far I have treated my detention as an enforced rest cure, though I have lost more than twenty pounds. Otherwise I am quite happy and cheerful. I have requested the Home Member of Government of India to arrange for my transfer to U. P. Let me see what he does.

How is life in New Delhi? It seldom changes. The Coffee House in Connaught place, I always associate with your southerners, though nothing like the Coffee in your villages.

Please remember me to Mrs. Ranga.
With kind regards and best wishes.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
ANSAR HARVANI. *
(Detenu)

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* He later became an M. P. - (Ed.)

29

WAGONS FOR GROUNDNUTS

PAKALA,
26th February, 1945.

To

The District Collector,

CHITTOOR.

Sir,

Ground-nut and Jaggery are some of the main cash-crops produces of this District. Peasants depend upon the return from these crops to meet their household expenses on clothing, payment of kist (Land tax) and etc.

So, the market for these products should not be left to the vagaries and profiteering of the ground-nut mill-owners.

The main lever of the mill owners is to bring down the purchase price of the groundnut whenever there is no booking in the Railway. It sometimes happens that Railway Booking is stopped for a month or more even.

During such times, though the rate quoted per maund of groundnut is Rs. 2–2–0, the mill–owners do not offer more than Rs. 1–10–0 per maund. This is the Kisti Collection Season and the Peasants in order to pay the kist are forced to sell at the low prices offered by the mill-owners.

Under these circumstances, Government should interfere and open buying agencies and see that factory owners do not profiteer at the expense of peasants. Of course, facilities must be given to private agencies and mill-owners for booking etc.

The Railways also must study the seasonal needs of crops for wagons. For instance, transport facilities are given for groundnut during mangoes season, when mangoes are rotting. Just now, Beedi Leaves and Charcoal are given priority when Peasants are pressed to sell groundnut and jaggery.

I feel that the authorities concerned are ignorant of the needs of the time and seasons of the year for different produce, and tend to be influenced by the processors and merchants to the detriment of Peasants in allotting wagons for the export of agricultural produce in right time.

Yours truly,

N. V. NAIDU

Secretary, Kisan Congress

Copy to Chief Commercial Manager. M. & S. M. Rly, Madras.

Copy to N. G. Ranga Esq. M.L.A. (Central) New Delhi.

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* See also Chapter 2 on "LAW OF KEY SERVICES" in Rangaji's book the "CREDO OF WORLD PEASANTRY" which details how processing factories, Railways and Roadways work against Peasants. (Ed.)

30

SEVAGRAM
Via. WARDHA, (C. P.)
27-2-1945.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Shri Bapineedu will also be here on 9th. You simply must make up your mind to be here. It is essential that you should talk now with Andhra friends and Bapu.

Yours sincerely,
KHURSHID BEN. *

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* The late Kumari Khurshid Ben was one of the then Personal Secretaries of Mahatma Gandhi. She was the grand daughter of the Grand Old man, Dadabhai Naoroji. She was keen that Rangaji's relations with Bapu should not be weakned by any possible partisan representations that the deputationists from Andhra Congress might be making. - (Ed.)

31

TELEGRAM FROM SRI A. KALESWARA RAO, M.L.A., ANDHRA CONGRESS LEADER

BEZWADA 6-3-1945

N. G. Ranga Legislative Assembly New Delhi. Andhra Deputation Mahatma Ninth March Join

KALESWARA RAO

32

MAJLIS - I - ISTAQBALIA POLITICAL CONFERENCE

PESHAWAR 7-3-1945
N. W. F. P.

My dear Professor Sahib,

A political Conference is going to be held in Peshawar on 6th, 7th and 8th of April. Keeping in view the present

political condition of the province the reception have further decided to invite you for the forthcoming conference in order to benefit the people of the province with your fine thoughts and views. Although it will be extremely inconvenient for you to undertake such a long journey but the mission is so very important that you will not feel the discomfort in the least. We have already announced your name in the press and the people have eagerly asked me to inform them as soon as I hear from you about the acceptance of the invitation. I shall personally feel grateful if you extend us the favour of coming down to this province. Arrangements for board and lodging will be made by the Reception Committe.

Yours sincerely,
S. QAUM SHAH, B.A., LL.B.,
Advocate, General Secretary, Reception Committee Peshawar

33

THE JALPAIGURI DISTRICT STUDENTS FEDERATION
(Affiliated to Bengal Provincial Students Federation
18, Mirzapur Street, Calcutta)

JALPAIGURI,
The 14th March, 1945.

To

Professor N. G. RANGA, M.L.A., (Central)

Dear Sir,

We beg to inform you that the Annual Conference of the North Bengal Student Federation will be held at Jalpaiguri (North Bengal) by the 1st week of April, 1945.

The District Student Committees and the Reception Committees have unanimously elected you for the Chair of the said Conference in the hope that you will very kindly

accept the humble request of the students who have been your favourites.

In this critical hour of the country your guidance is indispensable for the students and we like to take this opportunity of fulfilling our long cherished hope for your personal guidance.

We know at present you are engaged in important works of the country but we are sure you will never forget the students and will not disappoint thousands of students of this part of Bengal.

Hope our appeal will meet with your kind consideration.

With best regards,
Yours affectionately,
KRANTI BANERJI
President

34

M. BAPINEEDU,
B. Sc., (Cornell M. Sc., (California), M. L. A.,

ELLORE, W. Godavary Dt.
MADRAS, 15th March 1945

My dear Ranga,

To-day is a sacred day for the Andhras. On this all-important day, I send you my loving greetings and best wishes. I wish you a happy, eventful, prosperous and useful year. I hope this new year will bring us nearer to each other, extending a helping hand in our various activities. Let us present a strong and united front to our enemies. We are one; we must be one; under one leader, under one flag, we march on unaffected by any outside hurdles and obstructions. I extend you my hearty and full co-operation in the work we have to carry on. Let me know your plan of work. If there are any minor differences we must overcome and pull on.

With my namaskars to Bharati Devi Garu.

Please Convey my Greetings
to Mr. Ayyangar, G. Rangayya Naidu, M.L.A.S.

Yours fraternally,
M. BAPINEEDU. *

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. L. A., Assembly Hall, New Delhi.

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* The late Bapineedu became a Parliamentary Secretary in Congress Ministry of Madras 1937-39. He co-operated with Rangaji in the Kisan Movement and Peasant Schools. - Ed.

35

INDIA, A MONTHLY REVIEW

123, Lower Circular Road, CALCUTTA.
26, Amir Ali Avenue,
Calcutta, 16—3—1945.

Dear Professor Ranga,

I have discussed some of your suggestions with members of our party. I also saw Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh and had a discussion with him. I think the prospects are quite hopeful.

We are having the annual Provincial Conference of the Krishak Praja Samity on the 8th, and 9th 10th April. It is our earnest desire that you should attend and I am extending a cordial invitation to you on behalf of the Samity. If you can attend even for a day, it will be a great encouragement. I am also writing to Swami Sahajanand to come and if he agrees, it would be an opportunity for discussing our future course of action on an all-India scale.

I do hope you will find it possible to come. You will see at first hand how the Moslem peasantry respond to the movement.

Hoping for an early intimation of consent.

Yours sincerely,
HUMAYUN KABIR. *

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* The late Humayun Kabir later rose to be the Central Education Minister. He organised the Centenary Celebrations of Poet Tagore. He was the trusted Secretary of Moulana Azad. As M. P.'s, he and Rangaji co-operated with each other on all progressive issues. - Ed.

36

CH. MAHAVIR SINGH, VAKIL. MUZAFFAR NAGAR, (U.P.)
20—3—1945.

Dear Sir,

I understand from the Press reports that you have formed 'THE INDIAN RURAL PEOPLE'S SOCIETY' recently. Being a resident of a village, I am very much interested in all constructive programmes prepared for the benefit of the village population.

Great hardship is experienced by the rural people in getting articles at controlled rates. Almost all the articles required by the village people are controlled but due to the desire of the Government in maintaining the 'Normal Channels of Trade' for distribution, the traders of town people alone get permits or licences or agencies to sell these articles. These persons invariably practice foul means, sell them in the black-markets at very high rates and thereby the village people suffer very much.

To avoid the above-mentioned hardship, I have formed a Village Co-operative Bank (or a multi-purpose co-operative society) and am trying hard to secure licences or agencies in its name for the articles of their daily needs. If you help me in this connection, a great need of the villagers will be fulfilled and this will also be a means of organising them for other fruitful activities.

Being a member of the Assembly, you can surely impress upon the Commerce Member & Food Member the desirability of granting permits, licences or agencies to co-operative societies for all articles needed by them and to begin with for the following articles:- (1) Khal, (2) Benola (3) Cloth, (4) Iron implements for agricultural purposes (5) Kerosene Oil, (6) Utensils, (7) Tobacco.

Yours sincerely,
MAHAVIR SINGH.

37

ALL INDIA STUDENTS CONGRESS

President: RAMSUMER SHUKLA
General Secretary: DINKAR SAKRIKAR.

BOMBAY,
24—3—1945.

Dear Acharya Ranga garu,

I have just returned to Bombay from my Northern India tour and I am writing this letter to you immediately as a sort of reminder of your promise to come for our Camp. I have made much progress in this direction. Prof. Humayun Kabir has agreed to come for a week. Nanda also is coming. I had been to Sevagram to see Gandhiji and there I have succeeded in securing promises from Sri & Srimathi Aryanayakam and Kumarappa to come for the Camp. Sri Ramachandran will also be coming. I therefore urge upon you not to disappoint us. Your presence here will be very useful to me for another important purpose also. Just as you helped me in putting things right at Cawnpore you can do the same favour to us here in Bombay. From that point of view also your coming to Bombay is absolutely essential. Please let me know as soon as possible what days would suit you in May. You will have to spare at least one week for this All India Camp. I have sent the information to Sunder Rao and others so that they would also be attending this Camp.

What about your brochure on Communists? If the manuscript is ready please send it to us. We can immediately make arrangements for its publication. ‡ I would also like to remind you that you had agreed to write something for us on Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj.

I am anxiously and eagerly awaiting for your reply.

Yours

D. SAKRIKAR.

38

ALL INDIA STUDENTS CONGRESS

President; RAMSUMER SHUKLA
General Secretary: DINKAR SAKRIKAR

BOMBAY,
5—4—1945.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Without any exaggeration and without any false flattery, I must state that half the success of our Camps depends upon your presence. It is for the new policy which we are working out. We cannot get any such other opportunity. I understand the importance of your Peasant Institute. This is also an all India matter. We have announced it as Citizenship College. *

Yours,

DINKAR SAKRIKAR. †

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‡ This was published as 'Kisans and Communists' in 1946.

* Such Colleges were later organised in Lahore, Lucknow and Bangalore under Rangaji's guidance with about the same Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj syllabus as was formulated for Peasant Institute.

† Shri Dinkar Sakrikar later became the Editor of the powerful magazine the "United Asia". – (Ed.)

39

G. K. GOVINDA BHAT, B. SC., LL. B.,
Secretary, S. K. & Coorg. Areca Growers Union.

" ROSILLA "
Kadri, Mangalore.
April, 17, 1945

Dear Professor Saheb,

I have received a copy of your speech in the Central Legislature opposing the demand for grant under the head "Central Excises". I am glad to tell you that the Government has issued orders for refund of the Excise Duty collected on betelnuts harvested before 1st March, 1944.

I am sorry that I did not acknowledge your kind letter on account of my marriage. I have decided to take up the question of the tobacco grower's difficulties under the excise rules. Peasants who grow fifty or hundred plants for their own consumption are compelled to pay the tax though under law no tax need be paid on tobacco grown for the consumption of the family of the growers. I am now getting in touch with various associations in Bengal. My proposal is to have an excise section of the All India Rural Peoples' Society which should deal with all the problems affecting agriculturists on account of the excise laws. We should also run newspapers in all the languages to awaken and organize the agriculturists. As you have rightly said in the Assembly the interests of the agriculturists who constitute 70% of the population are not cared for by the Government.

With best wishes and regards.

Yours sincerely,
GOVINDA BHAT.

40

No. 14-9 / 45-P Government of India,
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

NEW DELHI,
26th April, 1945.

From

S. M. SRIVASTAVA, I. C. S.,
Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of India,

To

C. L. PATEL,
The Secretary, Indian Rural Peoples Society,
NEW DELHI.

Sir,

I am directed to say that the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries at its meeting held from the 26th to 29th June 1944 recommended that Government should guarantee to producers an assured market at a remunerative price for agricultural produce and that a Sub-Committee should be appointed to report as to how to fix a remunerative price for such produce and secure an assured market for it. In accordance with the recommendation of the Policy Committee the Government of India decided to apppoint a Sub-Committee with the following terms of reference.

To consider :-

(a) the principles, on which producers' price of agricultural produce, whether crops grown for industrials purposes or for food, or the produce of animal husbandry of all descriptions, should be fixed.

(b) the means by which such prices can be made effective and an assured market be provided and to make recommendations.

The sub-Committee will report on its terms of reference in relation to conditions in the post-war period (1) in which, a substantial measure of Government control over the procurement, distribution and prices of Commodities exists and

(2) in which such control has been relaxed or abolished, and normal trade and market conditions have been restored.

(3) A copy of the questionnaire on the subject prepared by the Committee is enclosed. The Government of India would be grateful if you would kindly furnish the Committee with your views.

It has been suggested that a distinction may be drawn between emergency measures and machinery to deal with a probable depression in agricultural prices which may occur after the present war on the one hand and the measures and machinery needed to inaugurate and work a policy of planning on the basis of fair prices in order to maintain and improve the standard of living of the people as a whole on the other.

Your most obedient servant,
(A. N. BERY)
For DEPUTY SECRETARY

Copy to Prof. N. G. RANGA,
President : R. P. Society.

41

A REPORT FROM BENGAL

PRATAP CHUNDER CHUNDER

23, Willington Street,
CALCUTTA.....1945

CONSTRUCTIVE REPORT

A Congress Sahitya Saungha has been organised in Calcutta towards the end of last year with some prominent literatures, artists, musicians and student workers as its

members. Its principal object is to preach the ideals and aspirations of the Indian National Congress through literature, pictures, posters, songs and dramas.

Its aim is to bring the intellectuals in closer contact with the masses and to work in the cultural spheres for the achievements of India's independence along the lines suggested by the Congress. Already a fairly large number of ardent members have been enrolled and branches have been opened in the districts of Murshidabad and Howrah. Apart from regular lectures and study circles dealing with the activities of the Congress, a literary conference and a handicrafts exhibition were organized at Berhampore in the district of Murshidabad where Sri Sajan Das, Maulvi Reazul Karim, Sri Subodh Ghose and other well known writers of Bengal addressed a big audience.

On the last Kasturba day a Congress Art Exhibition was opened at the residence of Shri N.C. Chunder, M.L.A., (Central) in Calcutta. It contained fifty paintings by Acharya Nandalal Bose which he painted for decorating the Congress pandal at Haripura.

Besides, some posters were exhibited showing at a glance the important resolutions of the Congress in the different sessions, specially the workers as well as the anti-facist and the anti-imperialism stand of the Congress. In this connection lectures were delivered every day by eminent professors of the Calcutta University on various topics like Congress and art, Basic education and the economic views of the Congress.

A musical soiree was organised by the students of the University when many old national songs were sung before a big audience. The exhibitition which was the first of its kind in Calcutta evoked much enthusiasm and drew a large number of visitors including Americans, Englishmen Poles. The posters were highly educative and were much appreciated. Encouraged by this success, the Saungha is

trying to organize another poster exhibition during the National Week. Leading Bengali Clay modelers too are making interesting models portraying important events in our national struggle which will also be exhibited at that time.

Some student members are rehearsing a dance drama depicting the history of our national movement. Efforts are being made to exhibit these posters and models in the villages.

The Saungha also contemplates the publication of books and pamphlets in Bengali dealing with the ideals of the Congress. A book of National Songs is in the press. The Saungha was approached by some congress workers of Darjeeling and steps are being taken to publish nationalist literature in the dialects of the hill tribes.

I am sending the above short note for your information, as I think it indicates a very useful line of work for our Congress Workers.

Yours Sincerely,

P. C. CHUNDER. *

42

QUOTATIONS FROM SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. III

(The following extracts would indicate how hostile was the leadership of Andhra Congress towards Kisan Congressites. Smt. Bharati Devi's application for

* Shri Pratap Chunder later became a Minister and President of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. He is the son of late N. C. Chunder, M. L. A., a colleague of Rangaji in Central Legislative Assembly and also of late B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal. (Ed.)

Congress candidature, for Legislative Assembly which was included as a test case was rejected by Dr. Pattabhi's partisans. Bharati Devi had been to jail, worked in underground and distinguished herself as the leader of Congress Women, Kisan Movements. She organised Flood and Famine Relief during 1940–42. She conducted Picketing Camps of Congress Women. Sardar Patel, Asaf Ali and other leaders could not persuade Dr. Pattabhi to agree atleast to her nomination. The Andhra Congress rank and file were shocked by this unjust and factious attitude of local leaders and so, they threw them out at the very next election for the Provincial Congress and elected Rangaji as the President, even when he was in England, attending the World Agriculturists Conference in May, 1946. — Ed.)

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13C Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
8th February, 1946.

My dear Sardarji,

As I had feared, the expected has happened in Andhra. The Andhra Provincial Parliamentary Board has rejected the applications of everyone of our Kisan Congressites who have had a distinguished record of Service as Congressmen for seats in the Madras Assembly.

Although there are more than 40 seats for our Andhra districts, our Kisan Congressites have thought of applying for only 12 seats. But since two leaders of those congressmen who had been in office in Congress Committee since 1940 had been openly declaring that they would

ignore the Kisan Congressites and since they alone got representation on the Parliamentary Board, most of our friends did not even venture to apply.

I appeal against this injustice.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

13 February, 1946

My dear Ranga,

I have received your letter of the 8th inst. regarding the exclusion of Kisan Congressites from the Provincial recommendations to the Central Board for seats in the Madras Legislative Assembly. The points raised by you will be considered by the Central Board; which meets on 17th and there after for consideration of those applications and if there is anything that could be done in the matter, the Central Board will certainly do so.

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHAI PATEL.

—; o :—

21 February, 1946.

My dear Ranga,

The Andhra nominations are over. I have tried my best but failed. There is no possibility of making any bridge in the delta yet aganist your suggestion. Sjt. Asaf Ali has also telephoned to me about Mrs. Ranga and about your nominees and I tried my best to place this point also before the Committee but there was no change and I am sorry.

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHAI PATEL

BEZWADA, Jul / 1946

My dear Sardarji,

As you know, I was elected as President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, while I was in England. I find that there was keen contest between the partisans of Dr. Pattabhi who had been in Office and the others and the former were defeated by a heavy majority.

They all feel that Dr. Pattabhi has developed settled prejudices against them and their co-workers.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA

ENCLOSURE

NEW DELHI,
16 February 1946.

My dear Bapuji,

Sub:- Our Party's attitude on food famine.

As things are, this Government of India is only a smokescreen for the British Government to hide its primary responsibility for India's food disaster and as such it has no real authority or prestige with UNO or UNRRA. So what is the good of our Congress associating itself with this subordinate Government and thus helping it further to succeed in misleading the outside world as to the real responsibility of the British Government for this food muddle?

We were quite prepared to take up the whole responsibility of approaching the Combined Food Board in case we (had) the full power in Government to do all that is necessary to mobilise our internal resources and also to

speak with full authority in the name of India and her Government. Instead, when we were asked to go as a part of the deligation, while the Government continues to have its own last and principal say, we felt that as usual we would be reduced to record our views or protests as mere "dissents" whenever we would be unable to carry this Government with us.

On the other hand, we anticipated your latest statement and had in mind your 1942 advice to Orissa Congressmen. When we suggested ways and means for (i) increasing the total food production in the country through (a) assuring our peasants remunerative and equitable prices, (b) developing the Grow More Food Campaign, (ii) minimising the corruption now prevailing in the food administration, (iii) fighting the prevalent Zoolum (injustice) and arbitrariness of the food procurement administration, (iv) preventing the spread of the deficit zones for rood and conversion of self-sufficient zones into deficit zones through the present anti-rural and anti-peasant attitude of the Government authorities, (v) for insuring the people from the growing menace of food famine caused by the indiscriminate and arbitrary requisitions of foodgrains from peasants and rural areas without a second thought for their own needs and solutions.

On top of all these precautions were suggested by us to conserve and improve our existing food resources and to make them serve more of our people for a longer period than is the case under Government's dispensation. Your latest and timely statement has come to guide us in the Assembly and people in the country as to how to conserve and distribute existing foodgrains more equitably and economically so that we may be able to avoid any avoidable disastrous starvation.

But what do we find to be the truth about this Government?

(i) Hoarders, Profiteers and merchants are not beeing checked.

(ii) Uneconomical prices are beeing imposed upon peasants, robbing them of all incentive to put in their best efforts to produce more and more.

(iii) Manures, agricultural impliments, are too scarce, cost too much, are available only in blackmarkets, and even many of the local agriculral officers are too corrupt.

(iv) Arbitrary procurement procedure is beeing resorted to; deficit areas are beeing extended and more and more rural people are forced into the artificially created famine zones.

(v) No serious effort is beeing made by Government to minimise the great difference between the prices paid for the producers and obtained from consumers of foodgrains.

(vi) Their Grow more Food Campaigns are not effective.

(vii) Rationing is not introduced in most of the rural areas, with the result that grave under-feeding and much misery are beeing inflicted upon or experienced by the rural masses without beeing noticed by either Government or the Press.

(viii) No economy is beeing effected in the food consumption of the upper classes.

(ix) While in England, both production and consumption are beeing subsidized by the State, no such effort is beeing made in India. Communal feeding centres, offering meals at specially reduced prices for the poor are not yet organised.

(x) On the false plea that people of rural areas can supplement their "rations" by other garden produce, only one-half or one-fourth the ration that is usually allowed for a townsman is beeing granted, with the consequent under-feeding and suffering of these few rural areas which are fortunate enough to be provided with so-called "informal rationing."

Under these circumstances, I am glad you have made the only possible and statesmanlike suggestion; that is, that a national government ought to be formed immediately, if for no other reason, at least to solve this terrible food crisis.

Yours sincerely,
N. G .RANGA

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The above is an extract from Sardar Patel's correspondence Vol. III. Pp. 234-236. — (Ed.)

43

India House, Aldwych,
LONDON, W. C.
4-6-1946

My dear Bharati Devi,

My heart is more set on these nobler international responsibilities and activities than the smaller, narrower local ministries and politics. I have been persistent in my faith and in my mission to serve all the suffering and coloured people of all countries.

This election of mine to membership of the Executive of Seven of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers is as big as, if not bigger than, the membership of the Working Committee of our National Congress.

At long last, time has come when our ideals are being accepted universally by the biggest section of the leaders of Colonial and Coloured Peoples of the World and also by most Socialists who have been groping for an ideology which would serve as an effective and progressive alternative to that of Communists.

I am glad to say that most of the leaders of the Pan-African Congress have accepted our thesis. Two of them, George Padmore and Kenyatta have been in Russia for 2 and 4 years respectively. George was a member of the Polit -bureau of the Comintern. Messers. Fenner Brockway of the Independent Labour Party and A. G. Stock, Ridley of British Centre against Impirialism, the Fabian Society's Colonial Research Group and Co-ordination Committee of Subject Peoples Struggles have all accepted our thesis, outlined in my book "COLONIAL AND COLOURED PEOPLES FREEDOM FRONT". George has sent out 3 reports of my speeches on this thesis to all the African, West Indian, Negro (USA) newspapers.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA

44

FEDERATION OF RURAL PEOPLES ORGANISATIONS

President :
Prof. N.G.RANGA, M. L. A.

Hony. General Secretary :
Sjt. S. K. DUTT PALLIWAL, M. L. A.,

Hony. Secretary :
Sjt. C. L. PATEL (Office / C)

17, Panchkuin Road,
NEW DELHI, (India)

Camp : BEZWADA.
June 17, 1946.

My dear George Padmore,

I am glad to say that I have communicated to both Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal the gist of the talks we

have had about the general, social and economic and political stand of the Indian National Congress and how the Indian National Congress is trying to develop its socialistic programme based on the socio-economic needs of the peasantry who are by the way the bed-rock of our economy.

I wish to say that they were pleased with your friendly understanding of the progressive role that the Indian National Congress is playing in our anti-imperialistic and Colonial Peoples Freedom Front.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee has welcomed the suggestion that fraternal delegates should be exchanged between the Indian National Congress and the Pan-African Congress.

Mahatmaji has made very earnest enquiries about the work of the Pan-African Congress and expressed his willingness to help it.

Pandit Jawaharlal welcomed the move made by the Pan-African Congress President Azad has promised to take the necessary organisational steps as soon as he hears officially from the Pan-African Congress and other friends. Please let me have your official papers and messages at the earliest opportunity.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA
President

45

29-6-1946

My dear Chamanlal, *

I am glad to learn that you have been permitted by our High Cammand to go to Argentina to plead for

* Shri Dewan Chamanlal was the Indians Ambassador in Turkey. Later he was an M. P. for decades. He was one of the most eloquent Parliamentary speakers. - (Ed.)

shipments of food to our country. I am confident that your eloquent pleading of India's case for food would be effective.

I am just now touring in Rayalaseema consisting of 5 districts with a population of 7 millions. This area is doubly oppressed by the usual famine caused by the failure of rains and also food famine prevailing all over India.

The condition of the people especially of the Harijans, Peasants and weavers is pitiable. The standard ration allowed is only 12 Oz per head. This is not at all enough. Even this is not being made available in many places for the last few weeks. There are no local stocks worth mentioning. Wherever I go I am told by the people that they are dependent for their rations on their local stores. The moment the stores fail to supply food grains after the end of July deaths due to starvation will set in. Once such deaths begin only holocaust of them would be the result.

I do wish that you could fly to this place and see these ematiated and pitiable people before you actually fly to Argentina.

There is one special detail in regard to your mission, which I would like you to keep prominently in your mind. These people are in need of and are specially fond of a special grain golden in colour, very tiny in size like mustard and called "KORRA" in Telugu country and known as "ITALIAN MILLET" in Europe and also called "SETARIA ITALIOUM" in Latin.

I learn this is being grown in Argentina. If you can succeed in pursuading the Argentina Government, merchants and farmers to export an appreciable quantity of this food grain it will be very much appreciated by these people. I learn that when their attention was drawn to this possibility by Mr. H. Sitarama Reddy, M, L. A., the Government

replied to him that they were writing to the Government of India.

I request you to do all you can in the matter. I am sending a copy of this to Government of India so that the officials may remind you of this matter while you will be in Argentina.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA
President

46

NIDUBROLU,
26—7—1946

Prof. RANGA says in the course of his Press Statement:-

"To-day's news that the Congress has secured 207 seats out of the 389 seats of the Constituent Assembly including 93 allotted to the Indian States, shows to the rest of the world how the Congress has come to be the real and effective spokesmen of the masses of the whole of this country, including the Indian States. In fact it demonstrates the statesmanship of the Congress High Command in agreeing to go into the Constituent Assembly because these results are the best means by which the democratically governed people of the world can understand the real strength of the Congress. In fact we should not be surprised if easily 40 seats are won by the Congress out of the States' quota.

It will go ahead with its work of constitution making and India will agree to be governed only by the Constitution

framed by it and not by Westminster and its acts or by any sectional interest in India playing the game of the British whether consciously or unconsciously."

47

NIDUBROLU,
3—8—1946

My dear Somasundaram,

Your letter about the Adibasis.

I entirely agree with you that we must devote most of our resources, men and money for the study of needs of these unfortunate people and also for developing their organisation. As you know I had already asked Mahatma Gandhi that we should include our work for them in his Constructive Programme and he has done so.

Unfortunately we do not have sufficient number of public spirited young men who are prepared to go to the hills and study in detail the conditions of the Adibasis, and present detailed schedules of their needs.

I am extremely anxious to develop this aspect of Congress Consturctive Work. The only limitation is that of money and men. If you or any of your friends are prepared to go to the hills, stay there for a fortnight or a month with one or two tribes and make a detailed study of their economic and social needs in relation to what is being done already by Government (See the Agency Collector's annual reports on the subjet) the P. C. C. will be prepared to meet their travelling expenses and make a minimum – allowance for their expenses while they are on the hills. I may also inform you that Mr. K. Mandeswara Sarma of Kovvur, West Godavari District, has been doing some good work

for the Koyas* in Madugala Estate and other places. He has organised an Adibasis Welfare Association. We have recently made a token grant to it.

As for the Government I am afraid that I have to wait until some of you prepare some estimates of the moneys needed for undertaking the most urgent and minimum welfare activities for the Adibasis. But in the meanwhile I hope to address the Premier, the Hon'Ble T. Prakasam and Mr. Kurmaiah about this matter.

Kindly put yourself in touch with Mr. Sarma, because his organisation is recognised by our Provincial Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA
President, A. P. C. C.

Copy to Masulipatam
&
R. M. Sarma, Kovvur. W. G. Dt.

48

NIDUBROLU,
3—8—1946

Dear Mr. Satyanarayana,

Your letter dated 29-7-1946.

I am glad to learn that you are organising the fishermen community (Pallevaru,) I know these people are to be

* Rangaji's book on "TRIBE OF NILGIRIS" of 1930 was very much appreciated by Gandhiji. He sent a number of Congress Workers like Beasetti Apparao, M. Krishnamurthy to work among Koyas, Shri Kavuri Venkayya among Lambadis. He tried to persuade Government to abolish Muthadari System. Yet so little was done to regenerate them. In the end, Naxalites exploited their grievances in 1969-72 – (Ed.)

found all over the coastal areas of the Circars. They are hard working people. They deserve all encouragement. They need an organisation also to protect them from various middlemen who take away the major portion of the fruits of their labour.

They need cheap credit for the construction or improvement of boats. They also need co-operative societies* for fish-curing, preservation and marketting. Their housing has to be improved and some lands have to be provided to them.

I dare say, that Mr. Gouthu Latchanna, the joint Secretary of the P. C. C., belongs to this community. These people are very well organised in Baruva and other parts of North Vizag and I hope you would put yourself in touch with them in developing your organisation.

The P. C. C. is prepared to encourage every organisation working for the welfare of the toiling masses and will also recognise such organisations, as are prepared to accept Congress Political leadership.

I do not like you to concentrate on representation in these local Boards, because we may not be able to get much satisfaction in that direction, and if every community having a few lakhs population demands special representation in Legislatures I am afraid they will loose their main character of being the representative institutions of the community as a whole.

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* Rangaji pleaded for the proctection of fishermen through Co-operatives at the FAO World Conference at Copenhagen (1947) and his scheme for their co-operatives was implimented by Government of India. Even now the plight of these fishermen living along India's Coast is pitiable. - (Ed.)

Therefore let us concentrate on the constructive side and try to help this and such other communities.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA
President, A. P. C. C.

Copies to :- Sri Gouthu Latchanna,
&
Sri K. Satyanarayana, Kotagamipet, Narsapur W.G.

49

VIZAGPAPTAAM,
5-8-1946

Dear Prakasamji,

Sub :- Uplift of Aboriginals (Adibasis)

I dare say you have received Mr. Somasundaram's (Masulipatam) scheme for the uplift of the aboriginal tribal people of our province. I think you are yourself acquainted with the aweful conditions of living of Koyas of Polavaram agency and North Vizag and their growing landlessness and also unhealthy conditions.

They need our whole-hearted support urgently.

Till now Government has only tinkered with their given problem.

It is my fault that I have not placed this matter prominently before you formulated your new budget proposals.

Let us try to do something even at this late hour at least as a token of our good will towards these people. I wish to suggest the opening of at least three self-sufficiency

firkas for these people in Tolavaram, Mahendragiri (North Vizag) and Malabar agencies. It may not cost very much. I do trust that you can make this slight readjustment in your Budget proposals.

Secondly, it is necessary that we should appoint at least one Welfare Officer for each one of these important tribes.

This means you have to appoint twelve such officers and provide them with some funds to be spent for the most immediate local needs of these tribal people but on the approval of the District Collectors, and any welfare or tribal organisations of the concerned people.

Your next budget ought to make provision for a recurring expenditure of at least Twenty lakhs of rupees and a capital fund of a Crore of rupees to be utilised for the improvement of housing conditions and also for the repurchase of their lost lands.

PREVENT ALIENTION OF TRIBAL LANDS

In the meantime it is necessary that the Government should once again ban the alienation under any

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* Rangaji founded the All India Tribal Peoples and Excluded Areas Association. He pleaded for special protection for Adima Jati Peoples and convened the Conference of their representatives and well-wishers in Constituent Assembly under the Chairmanship of Sri Rajendra Prasad.

Eventually the Constitution came to contain special provisions for their welfare and protection. - (Ed.)

† Rangaji pleaded in Copenhagen conference (1946) of World F. A. O. for diversion of food surpluses of the West to India. Subsequently, ministers K. M. Munshi, S. K. Patil reinforced his appeal. Consequently U. S. A. adopted programme of P. L. 480 Food Aid, which helped India right upto 1970 - Ed.

circumstances of-tribal peoples' lands to non-tribal peoples, especially those hailing from the plains- Indeed a similar order was passed by you during the last Ministry but the Advisers' Regime undid the good you had done by allowing the Collectors to permit such alienation.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA
President, A.P.C.C.

P. S. Our Comrades Pusuluru Kodandaramaiah, of Polavaram, and R. Mandeswara Sarma of Kovvur may be consulted in this matter.

50

ANDHRA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE,
BEZWADA.

Camp : KHAMMAMET,
Date : 8—8—1946

My dear Bapuji,

I am sorry to say that till now I have had no reply to my letters and wires to Kamalnayan Bajaj regarding the reception arrangement for about 100 delegates to the proposed All India Kisan Congress Session. So I am obliged to postpone the Session indefinitely.

If you can send us a heartening message about the way in which the Kisan Congress can work under the Aegis of the Indian National Congress, I will try to convene it about the 20th instant, in Delhi.

The food famine situation in Mysore end Rayalaseema is daily growing more serious. Unless imports pour

in sufficient quantities, the local co-operative stores will fail to supply rations – starvation rations as they are, since only 8 oz of rice is being given to peasants who need 24 oz to keep them fit – to the peasants masses and I am afraid we may have to be prepared to face mass deaths due to starvation in November and December.

I am sending a report of these dire conditions to the forthcoming conference at Copenhagen of World Food and Agricultural Organisation in the hope of pursuading it to press the surplus food producing countries to send larger quantities of food into India.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA

President, A.P.C.C.

51

PROTECTION OF HANDLOOMS

Camp : NIDUBROLU

14—8—1946

My dear Panditji,

I am glad that you have stated that the Textile Mill industry would have to be controlled in order to protect the handloom industry. The twenty million artisans now depending upon the handloom industry are finding employment only for a week in the month, since they are being supplied with the surplus yarn only i. e. yarn left behind by the mills after meeting the requirements of the weaving mills. The hand-loom industry which was

consuming 1/3 of the total quantity of yarn produced in the country during pre-war days is now consuming only 1/5 of the total quantity of yarn being produced in the country.

The Congress which is pledged to protect and develop the cottage industries should find a way to protect this industry which provides even now a means of livelihood to two crores of people in the country. We should see that adequate quantities of yarn are made available to the hand-looms so as to provide them with full employment. But the capitalists in the name of the post-war plans are making speedy arrangements to establish weaving mills and expand the existing mills by installing new and more powerful looms. This is of course a dangerous step which would ultimately ruin the hand-loom industry. As you have once stated, it is time for us to take up the firm stand to protect the handloom industry. But new mills are being started in our province. Even in Madras Province Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Industries and Labour, laid the foundation stone of a weaving mill started by a capitalist in Madura, a city of handloom weavers.

I had the occasion to meet him at Madras and advise him not to encourage the starting of more weaving mills in the province since they will drive the lakhs of poor weavers into unemployment. He expressed that it would be better if there is direction on the matter from the All India Congress Leadership. I trust you will agree with me as already stated by you that the Provincial Congress Government should take steps to restrict the growth of textile weaving mills by refusing to issue licences either for the starting of new weaving mills or for installing new looms in the weaving mills.

I therefore request you to give the necessary direction to the Congress Committees to see that no more mills are started and no more looms are installed.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA
President, A. P. C. C.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
ALLAHABAD & BOMBAY

52

NIDUBROLU,
14—8—1946

My dear Mridula Ben,

I am glad to learn from my Joint Secretary D. Balarama Krishnaiah (D. B. Krishnaiah) that you have had full talks with him about the various aspects of Congress Organisation which we wish to develop. As you know, I am a great believer in organising Kisans, Labonr Youths and Harijans.

Our Working Committee has already appointed our Joint Secretary, Mr. G. Latchanna, to formulate a scheme for the development of Mazdoor Congress in the Andhra. We have taken up the I. N. A. Relief Work also and hope to get support from General Shah Nawaz and Col. D. S. Raju.

Our new Committees for cottage industries, Women Congress, National Cultural Parishad, Adult Education, which we have appointed during the last six months have already begun to work.

I am hoping with the whole-hearted co-operation of Comrades like you Andhra P. C. C. may come to claim

the palm of honour for Constructive and Revolutionary Work among the sister P. C. C's all over India.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA
President, A. P. C. C.

MRIDULA SARABHAI,
Secretary, A.I.C.C.

53

COPY OF THE LETTER RECEIVED FROM REPUBLICUE DEMOCRATIQUE VIETNAM

Delegation to the French Government Press Service

PARIS, September, 1946.

Dear Professor Ranga,

I have just come back from the South of France where I saw President Ho-Chi-Minh and the Viet-Nam Delegation off, and it was a great joy for me to receive your letter, as I know a good deal about you and your activity and wish to meet you in person.

During his stay here, I met often Mr. Padmore and it was he who gave all the informations available about Indian leaders and Indian Politics. It is no need to tell you that your movement and ours have exactly the same aims, the same opponents as well as the same sympathizers. Thank you a thousand times for the protest you have lodged with the French and the Dutch in the World Food Board Committee. This showed the imperialists that there is a solidarity between the people of Aisa of which your are one of the prominent leaders, whenever and Imperialism tries to recover its control over the oppressed nations.

I entirely agree with you as to the necessity of establishing personal contacts between different nationalist movements' leaders and imformation services, of pooling our experiences and mutual assistance and comradeship for it is our only chance of salvation and our most efficient defence against imperialism.

Hence forward I shall make a point of sending every literature and materials about Viet-Nam to Indian Organisations and of course to yourself. We would like to have documents regarding Indian movements. The Indian league gave us some but it is not sufficient for our ever growing interest in Indian problems.

Very faithfully yours,
DANG-CHAN-LIEU,
Viet-Nam Delegation Press Service.

54

RANGA WELCOMES NEGRO LEADERS' GESTURE

BEZWADA,
October 2, 1946.

Welcoming the East-African Negro Leaders' initiative in offering their co-operation to the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Government and seeking Indias' goodwill and cultural assistance, Prof. N. G. Ranga M. L. A. (Central) and President A. P. C. C. in the course of a statement urges "our Universities and Science Congress to extend their services to our Negro brethren in order to build cultural bonds between Asia and Africa."

"Pandit Nehru is already busy trying to develop friendly diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and the Asiatic Nations and if our intellectuals and revolutionaries were to rise to the occasion and welcome this proferred

comradeship of our Negro brethren, India will surely become the cultural centre of the East," P.T.I.

55

From

Camp : MADRAS,
Dated 10th Oct. 46.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. L. A. (Central)
President : Andhra Provincial
Congress Committee, BEZWADA.

My dear Bapuji,

Sub :- Sri Prakasam's implementation of your programme of 100% self sufficiency in cloth through 100% Cottage industrial production.

I am glad to say that Shri Prakasam has begun to implement the assurance given to you in his recent Delhi talks with you, that he would try to prevent the further growth of textile mill industry under the Capitalist aegis in our province and give every possible encouragement from State machinery to the local production of hand-spun yarn and hand woven cloth.

Though he is 76 in age, he continues to be the most dynamic minister in India. He has already consulted his ministry and obtained consent of majority of them and announced the Government policy, that it would not utilise the quota of this province allotted by the Government of India for installation of nearly 3 lakhs of spindles and many thousands of power looms in the next few years.

This news, when published has sent a thrill to the hearts of millions of our congressmen and especially of hand spinners and weavers. But most of our daily papers,

which by the way have come to be under the control of a few war-made rich people have written against it and have thrown open its columns to the capitalists and their protagonists. Such profiteers as Alagappa Chettiar who have made millions in the war and earned great reputation by business-like charities have now come in true colours and are opposing this scheme.

What is even more shocking is that the Tamilnad Provincial Congress Committee, which met significantly enough in one of the two Tamilnad Textile Magnates' Centres–Coimbatore, (the other being Madura) has also openly critised this scheme, completely forgetting the 25 years old congressmen's profession of loyalty to Khaddar and 100% Cottage Industrial Development.

All this demonstrates how strong is the Capitalist influence over our congress committees.

A large number of our congressmen have now begun to seize upon this additional opportunity to disrupt if not to destroy, Sri Prakasam's ministry.

I have to-day interviewed Messrs. Prakasam, Giri, Raghava Menon and Karant and they have assured me, that they are prepared to stake their all on this programme and go down fighting for this programme which they have been professing for the last 25 years, just like other congressmen. This is indeed heartening.

I am glad to inform you that Sardar Sitaramasastry and Sri N. S. Varadachari of Tamilnad are extremely enthusiastic about Sri Prakasam's scheme.

The Provincial Handloom Weavers' Congress of both Andhra and Tamilnadu are going to organise a Province-wide day in support of this Gandhian Plan to protect 3 millions and odd weavers and more spinners.

They are going to organise their march to prove that it is no longer a Ministrial plan, but a plan of the masses.

I am glad to say, that our Provincial Congress Committee has approved of the Plan. Please see enclosure.

The Andhra Provincial Kisan Congress has supported the Plan. But the one big point, that the opponents of this plan are making, is that the capitalists of other provinces are likely to exploit this province in case, this plan is implemented in Madras Presidency alone. I do think, a state machinery can be developed, to prevent most of such possible exploitation.

But will not our Madras initiative succeed in influencing the public opinion of other provinces also to obviate such a danger?

I feel that the Bombay Government also should adopt a similar khadi policy, so that our capitalists are disabled from exciting the jealousy of our people against Sholapur, Bombay, Ahmedabad etc.

Is it not the duty of the Working Committee of the Congress to lay down a difinite policy in this regard and give clear mandate to all M. L. As that they should support such a policy, wherever the local congress ministry is willing to devise and implement a practicable programme in this direction.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA

Copies sent to (1) A. I. C. C. Office. (2) Pandit Nehru (3) Dr. Pattabhi, (4) J. C. Kumarappa, (5) S. N. Agarwala, (6) Dr. Rajendra Prasad, (7) Sri T. Prakasam (8) Sri B. G. Kher.

56

Prof : N. G. RANGA, M. L. A. (Central)
President,
Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

Camp : MADRAS

Date 11—10—1946

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru/Sardar Baldev Singh,

Subject :- EMPLOYMENT FOR I. N. A. PERSONNEL

Our Andhra Provincial Congress Committee has organised I. N. A. Relief Committee with Col. Raju † as its President. We have been trying our best to find employment for these men but with very little success. Although there is supposed to be a separate Cabinet Committee to tackle this matter, so far Madars Government has not been able to do much in view of the obstructive reaction of the Services.

I am glad to learn that you have issued a statement while I was in England offering to do your best to absorb the I. N. A. HEROES INTO OUR DEFENCE FORCES and also other services of the Central Government. Such a thing was achieved in Burma through the pressure of Aung Sen's Party even while it was out of power.

I am writing this only to remind you of your promise and to request you to take earliest possible steps to absorb these people into different Departments of Government of India.

I do trust that you will try to re-employ even those who are fit for physical work and who have not been fortunate enough to be blessed with education. *

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

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† The Col. Raju late later became a Deputy Minister of Defence.

* It took 25 years after Swaraj for Central Government to give some employment and offer the political pension to them and their dependents. - (Ed.)

57

WE OPPOSE ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

From "INDIAN EXPRESS"

MADRAS

12–10–1946

Rangaji warned the country against U. S. Economic Imperialism, while speaking in the Pachayappa's college in which he had been Chief Professor of Economics, Politics in 1927–30. He said

> "India was dependent on the West for the import of machinery and basic industrial goods. But the West was not willing to export them. India needed dollar securities and nobody was going to advance them. They should therefore beware of the growing menace of economic imperialism with America at its head. American economic imperialism was the next menace awaiting thew." *

Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, Principal also a B. Litt (Oxon) like Rangaji, presided over the function.

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* Two Years thereafter Rangaji pleaded for the extension to the East of Marshall Plan to regenerate Western Europe. In 1949 he interviewed President Truman of USA and stressed the need to extend help to Asia through Point Four Programme. It was only after Khruschev of USSR challenged competion in helping the third World, that U. S. A. began to offer massive assistance to the developing countries to further their industrial development. – (Ed.)

58

CO-OPERATIVE LAND COMMITTEES FOR GOVERNMENT LANDS

From "Indian Express"

12—10—1946

MADRAS

"Ranga stressed the need for starting Co-operative Land Committees for landless agriculturists and granting Government lands, particularly in the new projects to such Co-operatives, the Minister for Labour Mr. Giri and Revenue Minister Mr. Karant were requested to direct Co-operative and Revenue Departments to help the landless agriculturists Co-operative.

Ranga also suggested the formation of Statutory Agricultural Wage Boards consisting of representatives of landholders, small peasants and landless workers to fix wages for different kinds of agricultural work, in relation to the prevailing agricultural price levels. Mr. Giri assured Ranga that the Government had already drafted a Bill on this subject."

The pity is that though Rangaji and Babu Jagjeevanram got the agricultural workers included within the ambit of the Central Act of 1948 no minimum wages, no purposeful action has been taken at state leveles even upto 1973 to provide such protection for agricultural workers.

Considerable progress has, however, come to be made in distributing a good portion of uncultivated Government lands among landless agricultural workers. In his own Guntur District, about 10,000 acres of land under Romperu has thus been distributed among a few thousands of workers, thanks to his initiative and constructive work of Shri Pragada Kotaiah, M. L. A. - (Ed.)

59

FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU

11 Dartmouth Street, LONDON, S. W. 1.
11th December 1946.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. L. A.,
NIDUBROLU P. O., South India.

Dear Professor Ranga,

I was very happy to hear from you again, but I find myself in the difficulty of not agreeing with the point of view that you put forward about trusteeship. It seems to me that the multi-power trusteeship which India sponsored at UNO is a political impossibility, whatever it might be from a utopian point of view, and for India to put forward these proposals is not helpful towards the general cause of getting the trusteeship system working at all. It seems to me that in all these matters, the important thing is to get the international conscience at work, and I am afriad; that if the trusteeship commitee is used as a battleground as it was during this last session of UNO, it will end in chaos and nothing will have been attained. From this point of view many of us are uncomfortable also about the decision which UNO has just taken regarding the treatment of Indians in Natal. You know I go 100% of the way with you in deploring this treatment, but I think the suggestion that a decision should be taken on the powers of UNO regarding such matters by the International Court of Justice, rather than that the resolution should have been adopted on emotional grounds in the Assembly, was the right one. Many very sincere people are extremely anxious at this using of UNO for the ventilation of grievances wihch strictly speaking falls within domestic jurisdiction; and I am very much afraid that whether we like it or not;

one day the tables might be turned on India herself in this very manner.

It is difficult to sort out in one's mind the claims of social justice–where I am with you entirely–and the desire, for the sake of world peace in general, to get UNO functioning as an effective organisation. Althongh from your point of view you might regard what has happened in the Trusteeship committee as an immense triumph to–day, you may not be so happy if as a result of this the whole thing goes up in air of which a distinct danger exists – or that other nations so lose confidence in the whole thing that they withdraw their support.

I do not expect you will like this viewpoint, but it is perhaps just because we will disagree on some points that it will be so useful for us to continue to exchange views. My kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
RITA HINDEN RS.

60

IMPRESSIONS OF THE FIRST PHASE OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

In his letter to BHARATI DEVI, dated 12-12-1946, he expressed the following impressions :–

Radhakrishnan raised us through his speech to sublime heights. It was indeed an invocation and a prayer. One felt as if Gods and Goddesses were brought on to shower flowers of blessings over us.

From MOHENJADARO to the INDIA of CONGRESS from MAHABHARATA to BUDDHA's saying, from SHIVA to MAHATMA, from the Trading Englishman to the

SOCIALIST MINISTERS, he surveyed the history of India and congratulated us all as being the witnesses of the dawn of freedom that is brought about by the sufferings of our martyrs.

OH! IT WAS A GREAT DAY,

Then came Sarojini with her allusion to BUDDHA's gentleness.

Rajen Babu exhorted us to do our work in a just way.

To-day the Pandit's resolution will come up. Through it we will declare our determination to make India an "Independent Soveriegn Republic". This is indeed an epoch making thing, for thereby, we place ourselves beyond any chances of any Indian prince ever hoping to become a ruler of India.

Even more important declaration will be the section dealing with the source of power and it is to be the people. This naturally puts the State's Princes in their proper powerless position. Much more epoch making thing is our assurance that Social, economic and political justice shall be secured to all the people of India. I am hoping to speak on this.

In the true GANDHIAN and U. N. O. manner, our Independent Indian State is taking its birth with a view to advance the cause of World Peace and welfare of mankind, thus giving the go-bye to the old shibboleths of State Sovereignity and isolation and irresponsibilities of States.

While we go on with this inspiring work, I am constantly thinking of that dear old saint our BAPU trying to heal our national wound caused by partition and communal killings.

61

11, Canning Lane, New Delhi,
18--12—1946.

My Dear Girijee,

Sorry, we could not meet again while you were in Delhi. I tried to get you on the phone but in vain.

I will be glad to know what you have done regarding the demand of Ongole and Bezwada Tobacco Growers and Curers to be permitted to obtain coal directly from the Singareni Colleries.

This is most urgent. Our peasants have had such bad experiences with that Chirala Agent that they do not want to be forced to go to him again under any circumstances.

And your Director and Controller of Coal seems to be equally adamant to refuse our peasant their legitimate permission.

I cannot understand how, what I got from Central Government comes to be denied by your Government even while you, yourself are declaring so publicly that you want to eliminate these middlemen.

I am sure, you will understand how strongly I feel about such matters of cussed obstruction from Departments for no legitimate reason.

Is it wise, to say the least, to drive our peasants into the same desperate mood as the worker on strike, Mind you, while the workers are being goaded by Communists, our peasants are being goaded by your Director.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA
President, A.P.C.C

62

THE LABOUR PARTY

Transport House (South Block), Smith Square,
LONDON S.W.I.
Rt. Hon. A. Greenwood, M. P.

19th December, 1946.

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
11 Canning Lane, New Delhi.

My Dear Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of December 11th. We all here in the Labour Party agree profoundly that it is necessary to establish and strengthen intimate and comradely relations with your National Congress and Socialist Movements throughout Asia, and we shall do so whenever the opportunity offers itself.

I can well understand that the British attitude on Mrs. Pandit's proposals at the United Nations was strongly disapproved in India, as indeed it was here. There were, I think, two important points which determined our attitude. First, that the internal position of the pro-British and pro-democratic elements in South Africa is most dangerous at the moment, and might easily have been irreparably weakened if either Smuts or Britain had accepted Mrs. Pandit's proposals. In the Second place, we believe it is most important when trying to establish general principles to regulate relations between sovereign states, that no precedents should be set up whose application in other cases will make further collaboration inside the international organisations impossible. For example, it would not be right to interfere on behalf of Indians in South Africa, unless we were prepared to interfere similarly on behalf of the Africans who

are even more numerous and more depressed. Moreover, as Hartley Shawcross said, if we admit in principle that UNO has the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of any State in order to ensure equal treatment for all elements w thin that State, then it would be impossible either morally or practically to avoid interfering inside India, so as to abolish the caste system and to improve the position of the depressed classes. I think you can see that from the African point of view there is as little difference between an Indian and an Englishman in South Africa, as there is in modern India between the Englishman and the American Capitalist, from the Indian point of view.

I must admit, however, that many sections of Labour opinion were seriously disturbed that Britain should have supported Smuts in the way she did, and that many of us felt that it would have been worth while to establish a precedent in South Africa, whatever the short or long term risks.

Yours sincerely,
DAVIS HEALEY *
Secretary, International Department

63

Freeland,
Holders Hill Road,
HENDON, LONDON N. W.
22—12—1946

My dear Ranga,

Your letter finds me under orders to lie still in bed for some weeks after an attack of coronary thrombosis. You

* Mr. HEALEY, has later risen to be Foreign Secretary, in succession to Messrs Bevin and Morrison of Labour Party. (Ed)

will therefore understand that I cannot answer it properly. I ean only say that I agree with much of it. I am bitterly disappointed with the British and French attitude on (Colonial People) the question of independence to native peoples. I regard the entire external policy of the Labour Government as a great worry.

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
G. D. H. COLE.

64

To Year 1946.

George Padmore,
Secretary-General of Pan African Congress *
LONDON

I am glad to inform you that on my suggestion the Executive of the Inter-Asian Conference has decided to welcome one or two representatives of your Pan-African Congress, as Distinguished Observers.

As I have told you earlier, this is a very good opportunity for Pan-African People to get into touch with the people of Asiatic Peoples. Therefore I request you to inform your President Mr. Dubwa, Dr. Millard and Jomo Kenyatta about this.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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* Padmore was one of the outstanding intellectuals of the Pan-African Congress and author of a number of books including "Pan-Afrcianism and Communism" pleading for freedom for African masses. (Ed.)

65

From

Year 1946.

Dr. R. Gopalakrishnan,
KARANTHAI, Tanjore, S. Rly.

My dear Sir,

The Tanjore District Congress Sangham has elected me as the Organiser of Kisan activities for this Dis rict. I am afraid this is a very important and responsible work, for which I feel I am not quite competent. I have never contacted Kisan Leaders so far.

There is a great awakening in this District now. The Communists have organised the Kisans in two important Taluks. This is increasing the influence of the Communitsts and there is nobody else in the field now. I am in great need of your advice in many matters concerning these activities.

There is none known to me here who can give us guidance in the matter. You are going to Tindivanam on the 29th and you must be able then to come here and be for at least two or three days. I shall arrange to collect all friends who are interested in the work, to have the benefit of your presence.

With my best regards to you & all our friends.

Yours,
R. GOPALAKRISHNAN

66

NOT PROLETARIAN

Year 19 6.

KISANS AND COMMUNISTS : by Prof. N. G. RANGA, Pratibha Publications, No. 6. Price Rs. 2/12/-

The Indian Kisan will not fit easily into proletarian Communism. He is the lowest of the low. The industrial

labourer compared to him is a much more favoured unit of society. This is not easily apparent to western socialists. Post-Lenin Communism, though it has shed many of the spots of the Bolshevist leopard, will not as yet declare as part of accepted theory that minute possessions in the shape of agricultural land or rights over such land, may be overlooked in casting up a schedule of capitalist forms. Leninism liquidated the kulaks, believing that all vestiges of possessiveness in the post-Marxian human were being eradicated. But Stalinist imperialism had definitely given a place to competitive possessiveness-regulated of course-in the credo of the new Russian State. However, the practice of Communism in Russia has very little to do with the preaching of its theory abroad. Therefore fifth column parties like the Communist Party of India find themselves in very anamalous positions.

The relationship of Indian Communists with the kisan movement in India illustrates this very pathetically. Talking constantly of an inescapable dictatorship of the proletariat, it has yet to devote a great deal of time, bluffing the Indian peasant, who would regard a proletarian dictatorship as a very abominable state of affairs. Professor Ranga in his book has dealt in detail with this anomalous and rather difficult position. The author is one of the few congressmen, who has practically all his life been exclusively connected with the problems of the Peasants of India. His leanings are definitely to the left, and his criticism of the Communist Party has no tinge of the usual self-preserving capitalist argument. Prof. Ranga's thesis is this: Bolshevist strategy which put the proletarian party at the correct moment in the correct position of vantage in the period of revolutionary success in Russia, has tried to hide from the world the great part that Peasant revolutionarism has played in all countries towards the achievement of social justice.

Lenin's liquidation of the Kulak is no proof that the Kulak had not a revolutionary programe or philosophy. In subject countries particularly, the upward social urge is invariably based on peasant resistance and agrarian sense of democracy. The communist knows this and is trying to exploit it, all the while maintaining a mental reservation that may ultimately lead to the liquidation of the Kisan.

Though it may not be accepted as a wholly convincing example, we cannot but point out in this connection to the difference in resistance potential and resistance technique exhibited by urban Industrial labour and village units during the 1942 rebellion in India. The latter showed a determination to continue the struggle and a capacity for innovation which surprised both Indian Nationalism and its enemies. The former after a short period of angry agitation reverted to the usual mood of post-strike helplessness. No Indian socialist will quarrel with Prof. Ranga when he says that the Kisan, much more than the Industrial labourer, should be the focal unit of democracy in this country. In saying that, it is not suggested that the right of the mazdoor can be overlooked. Rather it is an admission that the majority must decide. Prof. Ranga establishes with many examples that this is not only so in India, but also in all countries where economy has not been overwhelmingly influenced by capitalists or imperialist industry. His examination of Communist Kisan Congress relationship is very interesting to anyone who has a mind to explore the Indian Left. He successfully proves that one reason why revolutionary process is so slow in India is that the Kisan has not been activised by the proper type of political ideology. He blames it on the Congress that it should have left it to the non-national Communist Party of India to exploit Kisan needs during the past decade or so. His book though rather hastily printed deserves close study by Kisan workers.

67

3rd January, 1947.

My dear Bapuji,

Your affectionate letter.

I am sorry to have caused you so much trouble by long notes. I know your special worries caused by the great sufferings of the unfortunate peoples of Naokahali; but I had to send at least those notes in answer to your query.

I want to assure you that all of us, all over the country are following every incident of your noble mission and are hoping for big results from it. Even while in the Constituent Assembly, the heart of most of us was not so much in it as at your feet - the sacred feet that are making a new path towards real peace and freedom for our Country.

Indeed some of us were even thinking of abandoning that place and joining your camp. But we abstained from doing so for fear that while neglecting the duty that you had called us to discharge, we might only be adding to your worries by swelling your personal following in the March.

Whenever I think of this March of yours, it is Jesus and Buddha, St. Francis and Ramakrishna Parama hamsa who move before me with their noble search after love, peace and freedom. I feel proud of the fact that once again in my own land and in my own time, our own National Father is setting such an illustrious example of throwing himself at his great age into the very couldron of human passions in order to get out of it, mutual love and forbearance and a spirit of brotherhood and patriotism

Coming to the Andhra, let me assure you that the great mass of our people and an overwelming majority of our Congress people are co-operating with the P. C. C.

Moreover, such well-known constructive workers as Desabhakta Kondaji, Sardar Sitarama Sastri, Dandi Satyagrahi, Y. Subramaniam are enthusiastically co-operating with us. Even Sri A. Kaleswara Rao who has begun to oppose so stoutly Sri Prakasam has been working with us. Sri Bapineedu is now working in our adult education campaign.

As for our P. C. C's work, even Sri Nandakoilur and Sadik Ali, Ramachandra Rao of the A. I. C. C. Office, Srimati Mridulaben and Kamaladeviji have appreciated our new programmes of work.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.
President, A. P. C. C.

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NEW DELHI,
9th January, 1947

Prof ; N. G. RANGA, M. P.

My dear Shankerao Deoji,

I am sending the proceedings of the meeting of Agricultural Sub-Committee to be submitted to the Policy and Planning Committee of All India Congress.

I am sorry to say that Shri Jaiprakash Narayan did not attend the meeting owing to the illness of his wife and Mr. Atchyut Patwardhan has been deputised for him.

Our report is an unanimous one. The two or three points on which there could not be agreement, were dropped by common consent.

Dr. Kumarappa is coming to Delhi on 22nd to give finishing touches to his report on Cottage Industries before he can deliver it to you.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

Encls : 1. Sub-Committee's report.
2. Appendix to the Agricultural Sub-Committee's report,

Shree Shankerrao Deo, General Secretary, ACC, NEW DELHI.

69

C/o HINDI PRACHAR SABHA,
T. Nagar, Madras-17
14—1—1947,

D. RAMASWAMI *

My dear Ranga garu,

I must apologise for the delay in replying to your post card. There was nothing of importance to inform you and my reluctance to distract you unnecessarily from your work is, as always, the reason.

Padmore has written to me since. His long letter contains some very significant remarks bearing on the relations between Indians and natives of Africa. While heartily appreciating the part played recently by the Indian Delegation at the U. N. O. he declares that the crucial test will be the attitude the Indian Community will adopt towards the natives. It is unhappily a fact that the Indians there still want to be treated as a favoured section of the Community at the expense of the native interests. I heartily endorse his hope that the Indian there will make his cause one with the natives.

* SHRI RAMASWAMI was a brilliant Harijan intellectual, who obtained First Class in B. Sc. He achieved laurels in his studies in London and Chicago. He stayed for sometime in Sevagram. He got into close contact with Pan-African Leaders, George Padmore, Kenyatta, on the advice of Rangaji and agreed with him that the causes of Negroes in Africa, America and our Harijans were so similar.

I do not find anything extraordinary about the progress the movement for Harijan temple entry is making. I am inclined to be very critical about the delay in bringing about legislation in favour of temple entry and right of entry into hotels and other public places. There is no evidence of the galvanizing zeal about such reform– on the part of our administrators. I have greatly admired Shri Sriramulu's fight for the Harijans.

I could never forget the loving care Bharati Deviji bestowed on me during my stay with you twice at Delhi. Both the occasions remain some of the most cherished of my memories. Please remember me to her as also to other friends.

Yours affectionately,
D. RAMASWAMI

70

16, B. Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
21st January 1947.

My dear Ramaswami,

Thanks for your letter. I share with our friend George his misgivings regarding the attitude of Indian settlers towards the other coloured masses. But it is good that India, their mother country should be taking up the policy of building up a united front among all the coloured and colonial masses so that it would be impossible for our settlers abroad to play mischief against real masses of Africa. I know that a number of Indian settlers are themselves the junior partners in the commercial exploitations of coloured masses. They have to be controlled. That can be done best when Indian Government

itself accepts general principle enunciated in my book. Fortunately our National Government stands for those principles.

By the way, I have received by this week's post novelist PETER ABRAHAM'S review of my book on the "Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front." It runs into 4 pages. He recognises the need for a World Conference of coloured people and he says "Ranga provided the ideological basis for the movement" and he agrees with it. This is indeed a matter for great satisfaction. I am sending a copy of the review to the SWATANTRA for reproduction in it.

My heart is not so much in the Constituent Assembly. But it is with Gandhiji in his tour in Bengal. He is really making the greatest and noblest experiment in our political and social life. It is pregnant with wonderful possibilities. We are all full of passions and prejudices. He is trying to see whether it will not be possible to learn to love each other inspite of the Naokahali horrors. He is indeed the biggest dynamic force in the world.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

71

16, B. Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
30th January, 1947.

My dear Comrade Don-Chan-Lieu,

Thanks very much for your message of last September. I sent copies of it to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Kripalani, the Congress Presidedt, and the Indian Council of World affairs. They all appreciated the sentiments of friendship that you have expressed on behalf of Viet-Nam towards the Indian Movement of Freedom. I am also glad to inform you that the article sent by George Padmore on

Viet-Nam was published in a large number of Indian Dailies.

As soon as we came to know that the French Imperialists were again on their offensive against Viet-Nam, I appealed through the Press and also by private wires to the Congress President, Pandit Nehru and other leaders to express their sympathy for Viet-Nam and to observe an All-India Day to show our solidarity with your heroic people. Both the President of the Congress and Mr. Jinnah the leader of the Muslim League have protested against the French action. The All-India Kisan (Peasants) Congress of which I happened to be the President and the All-India Students Congress have both observed the Viet-Nam Day on the 21st January, and our students took considerable risks in defying the local bans and processions and several of them were even killed in the disturbances. The Day was a great success.

I have now given notice of a question for the coming session (3rd Feb.) suggesting that the National Government should inform the French Government about the strong sense of resentment prevailing in India against their action.

I am glad to learn that your President M. Ho Chi-Min has sent his message of good-wishes to our people on this Independence Day, 26th of January and also agreed to send his representatives to the Pan-Asian Conference which is to meet in March next in Delhi. I have also received a message of appreciation from your Representative in India.

Mr. Sarat Bose, one of our National leaders, is trying to form a Volunteer Corps to be sent over to Indo-China to fight on behalf of Viet-Nam. Thus you can see that Indian Nationalists are very active indeed in their efforts to stand by you. But our means are limited and the diplomatic difficulties are too many and so the effective assistance that we can render is meagre.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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NEW DELHI
17th February, 1947,

Prof. N. G. RANGA,

President of the Federation of Rural Peoples Organisations.

Dear Sir,

Last month we appreciated your sympathy for their struggle, my countrymen said.

> "Marks of sympathy expressed by the Indian leaders went straight to our hearts. In the bloody murderous struggle we are happy to receive encouragement from oppressed brothers, and this, indeed, is an added reason for us to fight on more stubbornly until final victory."

Since then their stiff resistance to the atrocious attacks of French imperialist troops has cost them countless lives and properties. Now situation has become more and more serious. In spite of the change of Cabinet in France, any hope for a peaceful settlement of the conflict has disappeared. French imperialism is continuing to send more reinforcements to Indo-China, carrying on bombardments and massive massacres of the Viet-Namese. The recent declaration made by the French Prime Minister, M. Paul Ramadier, refusing to recognise no longer the Government led by Dr. Ho Chi Minh, and to consider the propasals of peace made by the latter, means nothing but the determination of the French colonialists to exterminate the Viet-Nam people as a whole who have been fighting and more determined to fight on to the last.

As you know, Sir, in this bloody struggle, my countrymen have been always looking to India for support and aid, because they have been convinced that oppressed

peoples should and could firstly and principally rely upon their mutual help to free themselves from colonial slavery. Medical Mission and other active assistance so far proposed to be sent to Viet-Nam, if materialised, will give them a great relief, but the possibility of getting the same relief may also be obtained at an earlier date through the financial help of the Indian people. I have every reason to believe that that need is being strongly felt by the freedom fighters in Viet-Nam.

Sir, I therefore beg to request you to issue an appeal to your countrymen to make an effort to give us that urgent assistance. I hope that the Indian People who are already prepared to shed their blood for the Viet-Nam cause, will also willingly be ready to spare their money for the same cause.

Allow me to reiterate, on behalf of my countrymen, and on my behalf thanks for your sympathy with our struggle for freedom.

Yours truly,
M. T. CHAU
(MAITHE THECHAU)
C/O. Y. M. C. A. NEW DELHI

(Representative in India of the Permanent Delegation in Paris of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.)

73

82, Dartmouth Road
Crickeewood
London, N. W. 2
February 21st, 1947

Dear Comrade Ranga,

I was very pleased indeed to receive your long and interesting letter and to hear your views on recent developments in India.

Whilst it is ture that some Europeans in India support the Muslim League I do not think you are right in making this accusation against the British Government. I hope that yesterday's announcement by the Government will help to allay your suspicions.

I fully share yo ur anxiety about the numerous political divisions in India and the sectarian attitude of the official Congress Socialist Party which seems to me too romantic. We have had similar experiences in Europe and with unfortunate results.

With all good wishes also from all the comrades here.

Sincerely yours.
EDITH MOORE.

(Fabian Society Socialist Vanguard group)

74

PITFALLS OF INFANT INDIAN PARLIAMENTARISM

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
(M. L. A. Central)

16-B, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI, 4-3-1947

My dear Dinah,

Now has come Attlee's declaration. It sounds good. But it makes the division of India inevitable. That will be our own funeral prepared for and made inevitable by British machinations of the past 40 years. This view was expressed in my press message 3 days ago. And to-day's Gandhiji's statement also says the same.

But left to ourselves, the Congress could not have swallowed this bitter pill.

Now what are we going to do? The Constituent Assembly will now go ahead with the constitution making

for our areas, including Assam, the Frontier, while Mr. Jinnah may demand transference of power for his provinces of Bengal, Sind and Punjab also. I do not think the League has the requisite statesmanship to come to an agreement with the Congress. As for the States, not all of them care to continue to work under the British Paramountcy. So they too will be divided into two camps. That too is an evil legacy of British machinations. Anyhow, one group of them will prefer to go with the Indian National Congress and the Constituent Assembly and to that extent they will contribute towards progress.

Is it not, in more than one sense, a counter-revolutionary blow struck by the Labour Government at our National Revolution? It is'.

For the last 10 months we have had responsible Ministry in our Madras Province. But there is not much satisfaction with it. Peasants complain because of unremunerative prices for their produce and black-market rates for all the consumers' goods & agriculture implements which they have to purchase. Everything is in short - supply. Officials are corrupt and money - making of the American type is to-day the order of the day. Agricultural workers suffer most. Elementary school teachers are the worst paid.

Our Congress Organisation is not getting into proper shape and strength. It is true that Acharya Kripalani and Provincial heads like myself are making yeoman efforts to re-build and invigorate the organisation. But the age-long inertia and factious spirit of our folk, so much fostered by two centuries-old enslavement are in our way. The little spark of power that has come to us has gone to the head of most of us and like all middle class liberal-minded intellectuals and politicians of all climes, our Congress Parliamentarians too are busy quarrelling among themselves, oblivious of the fact that the C. P. are growing among themselves to disrupt and destroy them and rise to power. Unless the Congress is able to

surmount this suicidal mania of its Parliamentarians, I am afraid, it will soon disintegrate, despite our genuine efforts to save it.

Just now, our presidency is caught in the clutches of a ministerial crisis. Owing to its multi-lingual character my P. C. C. cannot control these M. L. As and our Andhra M. L. As are out to defeat the Andhra Premier, Sri Prakasam with the help of the Tamilian and Malayalee M. L. As, although our Andhra masses and the P. C. C. are all for him.

So, such fundamental issues as whether the M. L. As have the right to move a vote of no-confidence in the Premier without previously consulting our P. C. C. which has first selected them as candidates - such is our claim - or whether the Premier has the right to appeal to the public over the heads of the M. L. As - the M. L. As deny that right - whether the P. C. C. and the public who are jointly responsible for the selection and election of M. L. As have no more right over the M. L. As - as per Edmund Burke's dictum and as these M. L. As now claim - are being raised in our daily debate in the press. Passions are running high.

I see the whole thing in its proper historical perspective; it is after all a local affair. Yet in it are involved great principles – the danger of not investing the public with the right of recalling their representatives etc.

So for another week or two I will be engaged in this affair. My only hope is that my work may help towards minimising these internecine quarrels and import into their mutual relations a certain degree of friendship and spirit of give and take. The Congress High Command has stepped in and decided to demand the resignation of Mr. Prakasam, since a clear majority of M. L. As had passed the vote of No-confidence in a rival meeting.

Our affairs are more complicated than yours, in that, we have this aweful disease of castes and caste nepotism of our Ministers etc., dogging our steps. On top of it, in our P. C. C. and in every other Congress Organisation we are split up both vertically and horizontally into our groups and castes. I have therefore little scope to play an independent, purely political and progressive role. All this is valuable experience, but bought at too heavy a cost.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

75

NEW DELHI
17—3—1947

My dear Desabhakta (Konda Venkatappaiah),

I am very unhappy to learn that you had an accidental fall and had to be admitted into the hospital. I am anxious to hear that there is no longer any pain.

I do trust that you are recovering fast.

Srimati Bharati Devi and myself are admiring the energy, power and persistance you displayed in favour of Sri Prakasam and the masses during your recent visit to Delhi, despite your great age and the seemingly impossible political atmosphere over Madras ministerial crisis.

It was your noble presence that emboldened me that morning to put up such a stiff fight. before Sardar & Jawaharlal.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

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* Constituent Assembly negatived the proposals by Ranga, Prakasam etc for referendum and recall. – (Ed.)

76

SEVADAL CAMP

(Message for the Palasa Sevadal Camp)

NEW DELHI,
20—3—1947

My dear Latchanna,

I wish to congratulate the Andhra Branch of the Hindustan Seva Dal Board upon its enterprise in organising the Andhra Provincial Camp for training Seva Dal Officers. The present unfortunate communal and other disturbances underline the great need for the Congress to build up such a cadre of non-violent fighters for peace and freedom.

It is not enough that we have volunteers. We must also have trained officers. They too must be covinced Congressmen. To attain that stage, they have to be taught the general political and economic principles underlying the present Congress programme and policy. They have to study the history, ideals and achievements of the national movement for freedom and imbibe the spirit of service and understand the full significance of the ideal of Democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj and of the great work of Mahatma Gandhi, and Netaji Subash Chandra Bose.

I wish the Camp every success.

N. G. RANGA.

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A. P. C. C. OFFICE, BEZWADA

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
President

NEW DELHI,
29—3—1947

My dear Ramaswamy Reddiar,

Need for cutting down the profits of Rice-Mill-owners.

In spite of our repeated complaints that the margins allowed between the prices of paddy and rice are too high and the profits made possible, over and above the usual milling charges, to the Rice-Mill Owners are too high, the Madras Government has failed so far to do justice to our Peasants.

Only yesterday I read again the exhortation of the Government that paddy prices would not be raised, subsidy which had been initiated by Prakasam's ministry would not be continued and peasants should take their paddy to the markets, as otherwise coercive processes would be resorted to again. This is indeed a very unkind and unfair offering that the new Ministry is making to our peasants.

Surely our peasants deserve a fair deal. The past Ministry failed to do justice to them. The new Ministry at least in which there are not less than five landed agriculturists and one landless agriculturist, ought to deal with our peasants more fairly:

I request you to give your personal attention to this matter, not to be too much influenced by the millers, merchants and officials and other professionals and do your best to raise the paddy prices and to reduce the margin of excessive profits that the rice millers are getting.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

To The Chief Minister, MADRAS.

78

2 Cranbourne Court,
Albert Bridge Road,
LONDON S. W. 11
May 6, 1947.

Dear Dr. Ranga,

It was a great surprise to learn you were our way again. And we are glad to hear that you will be back

again about the 26th. I would like to get a few people together to meet you over tea one of the days you are here. And will clear with the India League as to date and time. Thank you for sending me on Rajkumari's message.

Yours very sincerely,
AGATHA HARRISON. *

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THE INDIA LEAGUE, 47 STRAND, LONDON W. C. 2

(Temple Bar 3689) 16th May, 1947,

Treasurer: Bridget L. Tunnard

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
C/o World Primary Producers' Conference,
Scheveningen (Post), The Hague, HOLLAND.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for your letter, and for letting us know the date of your return to London from Holland. We are all looking forward to seeing you, and hope that it will be possible to arrange a function while you are here so that you can meet friends and perhaps talk to us.

We are so glad to learn that Krishna Menon looked well when you met him in New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
BRIDGET TUNNARD.

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* The late Miss Agatha Harrison was one of the Quaker friends of Mahatma Gandhi. She did much to spread the message of Gandhiji. Rangaji used to meet her, whenever he was in Englnd. She was interested in world peace and world government movement. – (Ed.)

80

FEDERATION OF RURAL PEOPLES ORGANISATIONS

Prof. N. G. RANGA, (President)
17 Panchkuin Road, (Headquarters)
NEW DELHI.

I. F. A. P. Conference,
Palace Hotel, Scheveningen,
HOLLAND.
21 st May 1947.

Sir,

I learn from the Report of the F. A. O Preparatory Commission on World Food Proposals of February 1947 (Page 63) that the F. A. O. has not yet established its Rural Welfare Division

I am surprised at this, for, I would have thought that a high priority would have been given to this very badly needed Divison of Rural Welfare.

I wish to suggest that the F. A. O. should lose no more time in starting this Division.

I am particularly anxious that special attention should be paid by this Division to the following among other things.

1. Rural Health and Hygiene.
2. Rural Protected Water Supply for drinking.
3. Rural Education–Elementary Schools, Agricultural Seasonal and Middle Schools, for teaching practical agriculture, coupled with education about the principles of citizenship, promoting Rural Libraries, Debating Societies, Farm Radio Forum.
4. Rural housing, landscape and architecture.

5. Social amenities, such as parks, playgrounds, theatres, dances and dance halls, Rural hotels and clubs, cinemas, songs and song - books.

6. Promotion of movements of Farm Unions, Farmers' Women Institutes, Young Farmers Unions.

7. Spreading the idea of Co-operation in farming service activities.

Since in the rural conditions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, peasant economy is the predominent feature. I suggest that this special Division to be created by the F. A. O. should invite the co-operation of India, China, Latin America, to mention only a few areas who have had experience in working in Rural Welfare.

Yours sincerely,
RANGA.

Sir John Boyd Orr,
Director General of F. A. O., Washington.

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82, Dartmouth Road,
CRICKLEWOOD,
LONDON, N. W. 2
28th May, 1947.

Dear Professor Ranga,

Returning to the Fabian Colonial Bureau Office to-day, I saw your letter to Rita Hinden. She is unfortunately down at Margate at the moment, attending the Labour Party Conference.

Edith Moore will be really sorry to miss you during this visit. She is on a holiday in Switzerland. But would you not like to come and meet some of our comrades at Dartmouth Road. Or is your programme overcrowded ? I am

enclosing an invitation to an informal meeting next saturday, and if still in London, we would be delighted to have you join us then. We are having our Burmese Comrades for tea at 6-30 before the meeting and I would like you to come then if you can manage it.

Very sincerely yours,

RENE SARAN.

82

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER TO J.P. NARAIN DATED THE 13TH JULY 1947 FROM NEW DELHI

Many thanks for your reply.

You will find from the enclosed press statement of mine what my reactions are to your Delhi speech.

We must all do something by our combined action to stop the present unsettled conditions regarding our top leadership of Congress and its policies and programmes. There seem to be no particular anxiety at the top to prepare and pursue a well-concerted plan for the development of our economic and social resources on both the Indian and Provincial planes.

The Congress can swerve either towards liberalism of the New Delhi capitalism or towards proletarian socialism or towards the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj, that is, peasant, proletariat, artisans, intellectuals and professionals.

I have read your contribution to the 'Socialist World'. I am not satisfied with your attempt to square the Communist dogma of Dictatorship of Proletariat for the interpretations of which the Communist Party has been considered by the world to be the authority with our Indian democratic conception of the attainment of power by all the toiling masses, Kisan, Mazdoor and Praja.

I have understood from the general trend of both yourself and Arunaji and from editorials of the 'Janata' that you have no objection to the adoption and popularisation by all of us in the Congrees of the slogan of Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj as being the essence of Congress Manifesto and as accepted by Mahatma Gandhi. Merely because some of our congressmen have thought it fit in rivalry to your Socialist Party to call their group Kisan Mazdoor Praja, surely it would not be right to think that their idea of Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj is the monopoly of any group. Why should others abstain from popularising and making it our common ideal and slogan?

As you know I am very much opposed to the proletarian conception and environment of European Socialism. It has had disastrous results in Europe and has alienated progressive and socialistic-minded peasants. We have to avoid the European pitfalls. We cannot countenance the liquidation or 'proletarianisation' of self-employed masses of peasants with any sense of equanimity. They can and must be helped to come into agricultural Service Co-operatives and raise their standards of efficiency, education and culture. It is our duty to help them to gain their share of effective control in their own right as peasants over the modern state & its organs. Equally am I keen about the 40 million artisans and 10 million proletariat. How can we afford to neglet the legitimate right of professionals and intellectuals also whose co-operation is most essential to make any Socialist society a democratic success?

If we are all agreed on these basic essentials would it not be a pity, if we could not work together to make the Congress the real and complete champion of these masses.

I hope to have an early opportunity of meeting you and discussing these and other points.

83

ANDHRA'S VAIN CLAIM FOR MADRAS

18 Western Court,
NEW DELHI.
July 27, 1947.

My dear Venkata Reddy, (M. L. A.)

For August 15th a special progarmme of your City District Congress Committee and organised by city branch of Provincial Congress Committee of Mr. Obul Reddy must be prepared and published immediately. The Tamil Nad Congress Committee has already done it. Madras to the north of the Cooum river was claimed to be Andhra by Rajah of Panagal when he was clain office and to-day the Mayor Sundararao Naidu also repeated the same recently. Consult Mr. Sundararao Naidu in fixing your programme we should make it a point to organise in such a manner that we would be touching almost all the City areas and City constituencies of the Legislature and all the wards of the Corporation. Sri Sambamoorthy is there to give directions for making the programme the greatest success. All the Andhras of the villages of Chingleput and North Arcot Districts also should be made to rally in Madras City for that day. As your exhibition will be running on that day you must have been already engaged in making proper preparations. Processions from all parts must be arranged, all marching to the Fort. St. George beach where the biggest of the meetings during Salt Satyagraha was held and where the people were trampled under the feet of horses of the mounted police for the purpose of dispersing the meeting while I was addressing. I then called on the people not to get up from their seats but hold on and I called on the infantry and the police to march their horses where I was addressing. I have decided to stay on in the city for 15th and leave for Delhi by air on the 16th of August. Contact the All India Radio people

of Madras Station and fix up a radio talk by me (on 15th August) in Telugu.

Arrange the Sevadal of Andhra Provincial Congress Committee organised by Prof. Ranga and his Secretaries Sardar Latchanna and Sardar Obul Reddy, to be in Madras City working in full swing for atleast a week before August 15th. Messages must be obtained from Andhras all over India and even overseas. Poets and Pandits gathering also might be arranged. Sambamoorthy and other friends of experience know more than what I can suggest. And it must be considered as a day on which Andhra Province is established and Andhra rule is declared by people themselves.

Yours sincerely,
T. PRAKASAM

Copy to : Prof. RANGA

This letter gives the outline of the programme suggested by Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam for the 1947 Andhra Conference held in Madras to mobilise and demonstrate the strength of Andhras in Madras City and the feeling of Andhras in neighbouring Districts in favour of at least half the City for Andhra State. Incidentally it typifies his dynamic planning for any of his campaigns. Rangaji presided over that Conference and it was preceded by a mammoth procession. As ill-luck of Andhras would have it, the very success of that Conference was taken as a challenge not only by Tamilian leaders but also by the Andhra ministers in the then mixed Cabinet and so, they both did their worst to queer the pitch for Andhra claims over the City. In exasperation the late Potti Sreeramulu fasted unto death in 1953. His supreme sacrifice hastened the formation of not only Andhra State but also re-distribution of India on linguistic basis. As irony of history would have it, Andhras left Madras to Tamilians, and tried in vain to build a capital in Kurnool. Then they marched to Hyderabad, with all its Nizam's Saracenic social aroma and political intrigues, only to find after 15 years of tenuous tenancy, that the Telangana People would treat them as unwelcome guests. (Ed.)

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ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

Vice-Chancellor's Lodge,
MAHAARANIPETA P. O.
(Vizag Dist.)
D/6th December, 1947.

From
Dr. C. R. REDDY,
Vice-Chancellor.

My dear Ranga,

I read your letter with interest.

What is the good of calling me a grandfather and the students my children when the grand-children want to dictate to the grand-father what he should do? If they would really treat me as grand-father and the Principals and teachers as real Gurus, these demonstrations, ultimatums and strikes would not have arisen.

You do not seem to realise that the Communists are at the bottom of these disorders. Their whole idea seems to be to create disorders, anyhow and everywhere, and these young men in their vanity imagine that by holding demonstrations and meetings and issuing ultimatums they are doing something grand and heroic! You as a teacher ought to know, unless as a politician you have forgotten.

I understand that the strike at Guntur had been called off.

But I suppose these little volcanoes will keep on erupting now and again and it will be some time before we get back to an atmosphere of law and order whether in the country or in the Colleges; and it would require a beneficent but firm hand to achieve this.

Yours sincerely,
C. R. REDDI.

Sri N. G. RANGA, President, A.P.C.C.,
4 Windsor Place, NEW DELHI.

P. S. : If Srimati Bharati Devi is there with you give her my affectionate regards.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

16 B, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI 22/12/47

My dear George,

I am glad to inform you that the Executive of Inter-Asian Conference has decided to welcome one or two representatives of your Pan-African Federation as distinguished visitors of the Conference, provided they could pay their own way. They say that they might be able to arrange accommodation in Delhi during their stay here, if advance information is sent to them.

I know that is not a very pleasing offer. The Conference people seem to be strangly punctilious. Yet as I have told you earlier, this is a very good opportunity for Pan-African People to get into touch with the people of Asiatic countries. Therefore I request you to inform your President Mr. Dubwa, and Dr. Milliard and also Jomo Kenyatta and see that the Pan-African Congress is represented through its distinguished visitors to this conference which is expected to take place in the month of March.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

P. S. I request you to let me know and the Indian Council of World Affairs if your representatives are coming to the Asian Conference, by Cable or Wire.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

6, Jantar Mantar Road,
NEW DELHI,
14th January 1948.

Dear friend,

I have nominated you as a member of the Congress Working Committee. You are requested to attend the first

meeting of the new Working Committee to be held on the 24th January 1948 at New Delhi.

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
4, Windsor Place,
NEW DELHI

Yours sincerely,
RAJENDRA PRASAD
President.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

28th January, 1948.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I am glad to inform you that the President has nominated you to the Agrarian Reforms Committee regularly appointed in pursuance of the decision of the Revenue Ministers Conference held on the 16th, 17th December with the following terms reference :–

The Committee will have to examine and make recommendations about agrarian reforms arising out of the abolition of Zamindari System in the light of conditions prevailing in different provinces. The Committee will consider and report on Co–operative farming and methods of improving sub–tenants, landless agricultural labourers and generally on improving the conditions of agricultural rural population.

I will be glad to have your approval at an early date.

Yours sincerely,
K. MEHTA.

88

ANDHRA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Andhra Ratna Bhavan
Governorpet,
BEZWADA

Windsor Place,
NEW DELHI
29th January 1948.

PERSONAL APPEAL TO CONGRESS WORKERS

Dear friend,

I am anxious that every one of us should consider the Provincial Congress and the local District Congress Committee as his own organisation and contribute his thoughts and plans as to how the Congress as a whole and organisers should serve our masses in their day to day life. As I go on touring in the country and mix with our people and especially their intellectuals like yourself, and discuss with them, I am agreeably surprised at the many useful and inspiring thoughts and plans they entertain regarding the Congressmen, their opportunities to serve our people and their families. I am therefore anxious that we should all co-operate with each other in enriching the total fund of thought and plan that our Congress Committees can have by our own contributions and also encourage and invite others to do the same. I request you therefore to be good enough to send to the P. C. C. Office.

a) Your own contributions from time to time in thoughts or in plans;

b) the names and addresses of those of your friends and camrades who may be approached by us for their similar contributions.

I will also be obliged to you if you let me know the different lines of service in which you are interested and along which you have been working or you will like to

work if an opportunity is given to you by the District Congress or Provincial Congress or Kisan Congress or Youth Congress. Please treat this as my personal request and your reply will be very much appreciated by the P.C.C.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA
President, A. P. C. C.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

6 Jantar Mantar Road,
NEW DELHI
29-1-1948

Dear friend,

The Congress President (Rajendra Prasad – Ed.) and A.I.C.C. receive a large number of complaints against Provincial Congress Committees and appeals against dis-plinary action taken by the P. C. Cs. It was resolved that in order to assist the Congress President in investigating these complaints and deciding appeals the following Committee be appointed ;-

1. Shri S. K. Patil
2. Prof. N. G. Ranga
3. R. R. Diwakar
4. Seth Govind Das
5. Satyanarayana Sinha, and
6. Acharya Jugal Kishore.

We hope it will be possible for you to serve on this Committee.

Yours sincerely,
SADIK ALI
Permanent Secretary.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

President :
RAJENDRA PRASAD
General Secretaries :
SHANKARRAO DEO
JUGAL KISHORE

7, Jantar Mantar Road,
NEW DELHI
D/7th May, 1948.

Dear friend,

Herewith I am sending you a copy of the resolution on the Report of the Congress Economic Programme Committee passed by the A.I.C.C. in its Bombay session. The A. I. C. C. by this resolution has appointed a Standing Committee to consider the implementation of the general programme, more specially in regard to priorities, and make recommendations from time to time to the Working Committee. You are one of the members of the Committee and will, I hope, accept the responsibility involved and give your full co-operation in its work. The Committee has been given powers to co-opt members for specific purposes. I propose to call a meeting of the Committee as early as possible but before doing so I shall be glad to have your suggestions by the end of this month as to the procedure and the functions of the Committee.

I am forwarding herewith a note on the subject submitted by the Secretary, Economic and Political Research Department of A. I. C. C.

Yours sincerely,
SHANKARRAO DEO
General Secretary

The A. I. C. C. has already given its general approval to the Report of the Economic programme Committee of the A. I. C. C. The A. I. C. C. had given its specific approval to the aims and objects as laid down in this Report.

In regard to more detailed suggestions made in the Report and in view of the Industrial policy announced by Government of India, the A. I. C. C. appoint the following Standing Committee to consider the implementation of the general programme more especially in regard to priorities and make recommendations from time to time to the Working Committee.

The following are the Members of the Committee.

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman)
2. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
3. " Shankarrao Deo
4. Prof. N. G. Ranga
5. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
6. Shri Jagjivan Ram
7. " Gulzarilal Nanda
8. " J. C. Kumarappa
9. " Anneda Prashed Choudhury.

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G. D. H. Cole, All Souls College, OXFORD,
(Professor of Economic Organisation) 8–5–1948.

Dear Ranga,

It will be pleasant to see you again and to get your views. I have been off, ill for few months and am only just back at work in Oxford. I am usually here from Wednesday to Saturday and at Hendon (74) Holders Hill Road, London, N. W. 4) from Saturday night to Tuesday. So you must judge when to seek me out. I have still to go very slow.

Yours sincerely,
G. D. H. COLE.

92

KISANS AT PEASANTS' INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS HELD AT PARIS IN MAY, 1948.

Mr. N. V. Naidu, the General Secretary of All India Kisan Sammelan who led the Indian Delegation to the 3rd Annual Conference of International Federation of Agricultural Producers held at Paris during May 1948, said in this speech.

"Since we last met at the Hague, I am glad to say that our country has attained her political independence and ever since the 15th of August 1947, we have had our own fully independent National Government with our beloved National Leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its head.

"The Central Government has succeeded this year to import considerable quantities of wheat from Australia, though at exorbitant price-levels and to rush them to the deficit areas. Therefore, although the ration is restricted to 10 ozs for adult per day, there is no fear of deaths due to starvation or any sudden collapse of food-ration supplies.

"Our Government have atlast recognised the need for giving every possible encouragement by way of paying remunerative and adequate prices, offering cheap and plentiful supplies of improved seed, green and farm-yard manures, fertilisers and also supplying cheap credit in order to develop "GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN". But they have not yet realised the need for invoking the whole-hearted co-operation of our Peasants Congress. There is a healthy change recently and one of the representatives of our Federation has been appointed as a member of the Food Grains Policy Committee, while our President, Sri Ranga, has been taken on the Congress

Party's National Committee for Economic Programme and Agrarian Reforms and Labour.

Our peasants have been very much interested in the distribution and administration of the E. R. A. now being organised under the Marshall Plan. So far as East is concerned, a Conference is going to be held in India, and the need for Asian Edition of the Marshall Plan is likely, to be discussed. We do hope that this Conference will prepare practicable schemes by which it may be possible for the stream of American credit, machinery and skills to flow into our areas and thus help us to raise our productive capacity and over all prosperity. But let us keep in mind one very important fact that the Eastern Peoples are wide awake to the dangers of economic imperialism and unless America realises the need to respect our determination to remain free both economically and politically and assist us, as equal and honourable comrades and partners in building a prosperous and united World, there is no chance of our nations welcoming the Marshall Plan for the East.

We in India have learnt from Mahatma Gandhi, the father of all colonial people, the value of democracy and co-operation, decentralisation of Power in political, economic and social spheres and also the need for fullest co-operative democracy of all the toiling masses, the peasants, the proletariat, the artisans and intellectuals. So, we are determined to wage a ceaseless war on all anti-democratic forces. I think it is time for our Federation too to heed the advice given by our leader N. G. Ranga at the last I.F.A.P. session and to develop a clear-cut democratic vision and policy.

"Our country and especially our peasantry have been stricken with terrible grief by the assasination of our National Father on the 30th of January 1948. Mahatma Gandhi has been the greatest champion of our rural masses and especially peasants and artisans, To each of us, he was a great tower of strength, a source of

inspiration and a fountain-head of confidence. And he is no longer available to us to guide and inspire us. Thank God, owing to his own 40 years of hard work in our midst and the training given to our people, our peasantry are rapidly recovering their balance and beginning to come to grips with their responsibility made heavier by his death.

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SANFRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA,
10th July, 1948.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, Secretary, Congress Party, in Parliament and now in U. S. A. (19 8 July) as a member of the Indian Delegation to the I.L.O. Conference.

He said in Press Conference that "India has made great progress since attainment of independence on the 15th August, 1947. It is true that her independence was soon followed by the great tragedies; the internecine fights between different sections of people of the Provinces of Punjab and Bengal, which were split in twain and thus denied their long cherished social and cultural unity and the assasination of India's noblest leader Mahatma Gandhi, just because some communally-mad people did not like his message of human brotherhood and unity of all cultures and religions. India has weathered these two terrible storms. India is to-day well on her way to tackling the immense problems of rehabilitating more than five million refugees who had lost their all, land, houses, business and who had suffered even greater injuries of mind. We are trying to create a large number of townships and cities in East Punjab and hoping to gain more from the immense potentialities of enterprise, initiative and creative ablities of these refugees who were the cream of life in both Panjab and Bengal, Fortunately the Communal troubles were mostly confined to Punjab and Bengal, thanks to the immen-

se moral influence of Mahatma Gandhi, so much so that the rest of the country has been enjoying more or less her normal communal harmonious life. Thus India is now well on her way to secular democratic political life.

But her teaming masses are still as poor as ever. They are just now being liberated from the wartime controls and cousequent black-markets and profiteering and corruption. Their poverty can be relieved only by the development of co-operatively orgamised cottage industries [in which, by the way, therer are 40 millien workers] aided by electricity, mechamised and large scale basic industries, especially iron and steel plants, locomotives, ship-building and air-craft automobile and machine-tool industries and the development of irrigation, drainage and hydro-electric projects. This means initiative, organisation, mechanical equipment, trained personnel and workers. I am glad to say that the National Government has found time, during these trying months, to formulate their progressive and political policy and programme for the democratic development of Indian economy and productive resources,

The National Government has decided to proceed on the basis of mixed economy; that is, to develop under the auspices of the State the industries of armaments, ship-building, communications and coal mining; to throw open for free competition between State and private enterprises, as many as 18 large scale industries such as textiles, mechine tools, prime movers, banking and insurance and to give ten years lease of life to private concerns in basic industries such as the iron and steel industry. Immediately the Government proposes to establish two iron and steel works with the maximum capacity of the famous TATA IRON AND STEEL WORKS at Jamshedpur. Government is already building a fertilizer plant at Sindri in Bihar and very soon, a number of paper mills will begin to work. Thus Indian Government is anxious to go ahead with State enterprise and on the basis of its proved effici-

ency and with nationalisation in regard to the absolute essentials, basic for our national economic independence and social freedom. We want to ensure industrial peace by assuring our workers minimum wages, works committees and other conciliatory machinery and arbitration tribunals, compulsory social insurances collective bargaining and compulsory recognition of trade unions, besides profit-sharing. The Indian National Trade Union Congress believes in Gandhian ideology and the above mentioned method and means for the achievement of industrial peace.

We have decided to welcome foreign capital and skill and experts, but subject to the condition, that they do come into serve Indian interest and not to reduce us to a colonial status. Premier Nehru has made it clear in the recent Ooty Economic Conference of South East Asia [1948] that India wants America and other nations of the West to aid India in her rapid industrial and agricul turaldevelopment but in a constructive and democratic manner and not in the destructive colonial imperialistic fashion. But I am sorry to say that the U. S. Ambassador Grady's speech in reply was not satisfactory. He gave the impression that Americans are keen on advancing capital and know-how only if we are prepared not to mind the export of our essential raw materials and minerals, the payment of high rates of interest which make profits and many strategic in roads into our economic freedom and sovereignty. This attitude has shocked us especially because U. S. A. is ready to sink billions of dollars into the bankrupt Western Europe to keep afloat the European ship of democracy, whereas India with her constructive and buoyant democracy and progressive economy is given the cold shoulder.

I want Americans to realise that there are only three such countries in the present world which are so keen on democracy and on resisting on all fronts all tendencies towards dictatorship and violence. They are India, U. S. A. and England. But while U. S. A. is still so keen on her private

enterprise, both India and England are boldly experimenting with socialist economy, but in a democratic and non-violent manner. These three countries must need co-operate with each other.

It is most essential that the poverty-ridden masses all over the world should be saved from the fate of war-torn China and South East European Countries, which are all threatened with the entwining coils of totalitarian pythan. India with her three hundred and fifty million masses is putting up a brave and succesful fight against totalitarianism. She needs foreign capital and enterprise and goodwill to develop her dozens of multi-purpose irrigation cum hydro-electric projects to save her millions of farmers from the ravages of periodical droughts, floods and famines and give a fillip to the industrial and commercial development. It is also anxious to develop simultaneously a number of large scale industrial plants both on its own and also through private enterprise and we need the basic plants, experts and skilled workmen to start with. Americans can co-operate with us. Is American Statesmanship far-sighted and democratic enough to answer this challenge of history?

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ANDHRA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE,

2, Ferozshah Road, NEW DELHI.
16th August 1948.

My dear Sri Reddiar,

I have to-day received the public statement of Potti Sriramulu, a sincere social worker and a follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He complains-rightly of the ill-treatment that is being meted out to Harijans whenever they

want to enter temples and use the Public Wells or Tanks and draw water there from. I have found in my tours that despite the Harijan Disabilities Removal Act making any obstruction to the exercise by Harijans of their civic rights in freely using all public wells, tanks and temples, a cognisable offence in very many places Harijans are being attacked and threatened with other troubles if they show some courage in exercising the civic rights. Everywhere I had to exhort the harijans to organise themselves and fight such undemocratic obstruction to their civic rights by offering Satyagraha. Unfortunately very few Congressmen and none of the others have so far come forward to fight for Harijan rights.

Now Mr. Potti Sriramulu has come forward with the offer of his own life in order to awaken public conscience and also to persuade your Government to take necessary and stringent steps against those who break this law.

I request you therefore to issue special instructions to all police officials to consider it their special duty to take cognisance of any offence against Harijans and to ask magistrates to deal out maximum punishment under the Act against all such enemies of social and civic rights and also make an appeal to the public to co-operate with the Government in stamping out un-social and un-progressive orthodoxy and in supporting and strengthening the legitimate rights of Harijans for civic rights. By doing this, I hope it will be possible for you to persuade Mr. Potti Sreeramulu who is an expert Satyagrahi to stop his hunger strike.

It is the special responsibility of all of us to save his precious life.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.
President

Hon'ble O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar,
Premier, Government of Madras,
Fort St. George, MADRAS.

95

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
INDIA

1 Aurangazeb Road,
NEW DELHI,
14th September 1948.

My dear Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th September 1948.

If we say that we must have the best men for the High Court, it is obvious that we cannot insist on nomination from particular groups. What one has to ensure is that the best candidate available from amongst the various groups is recommended irrespctive of the group to which he belongs. In other words, there can be no vacancy reserved for a particular group.

I notice that, to the groups I. C. S. and non-I. C. S. District Judges and Bar, you have added representation according to geographical area.

It is obvious that in determining whether the best possible candidate has been nominated, we have to rely on the judgement of the Chief Justice, the Provincial Premier and the Governor. If we get unanimous recommendations from these three authorities, unless a recommendations is manifestly improper, it is impossible for us to set it aside.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.C.A., NIDUBROLU. VALLABHAI PATEL.

96

ADWAITA DUTTA, Private Secretary to
SRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSE, Ex.President,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

CALCUTTA-29,
D/ 6-12-1948

My dear Sjt. Ranga,

We have just received a letter from the Organising Secretary, All India Convention of the Congress Youth which will be held at Jaipur.

For we know you have much friendship with Sri Surendra Mohan Ghose, we venture to write this letter to you seeking your advice and guidance in this behalf. As there are some misunderstandings already amongst some of our friends as to the relation between this new "All India Convention of the Congress Youth" and "The Congress Youth League" which was organised and formed by you, we shall be grateful if you kindly enlighten us in the matter and favour us with your valuable advice and guidance in respect of our duty and responsibility towards this ensuing Convention of Congress Youth.

With kindest regards,

Prof. N. G. RANGA.

Yours sincerely,
ADWAITA DUTTA.

97

THE GUNTUR DISTRICT CO-OPERATIVE
MARKETING FEDERATION LTD.
EXPORTERS & COMMISIION AGENTS

SRI G. V. SUBBAIAH
President

GUNTUR (S. INDIA)
Dated 7th December 1948.

To

The Under Secretary, Food Department.,
Government of India. NEW DELHI.

Sir,

Ref :- Your advertisement regarding allocation of exports of Dry Chillies, Onions to Ceylon etc.

In accordance with Advertisement communicated to us calling applications for the allocation of quotas for the

export of Chillies, Onions and Garlic from Madras, Bombay and Calcutta Ports. We have applied for a quota of 100 tons of Onions for export to Ceylon from Madras Harbour out of 1,000 tons allocation. There are numerous offers from various importers in Ceylon interested in drawing supplies through us as the primary object of this institution is to avoid middlemen profiteering between the Producer and Consumer.

This Federation is a recognised Chamber of Commerce & Trade Association comprising of individual ryots and Sale and Marketing Societies as its affiliated Members arranging for the marketing of Agricultural produce and its processed products.

We have been successfully supplying chillies, pulses, coriander and onions to various Co-operative Institutions and individuals in this Presidency and to Ceylon during this year in 1948 on the allotment of quota of 50 tons of dry Chillies for export, we have executed the same to the entire satisfaction of Colombo Consignee.

We, therefore, request you to be kind enough to allot our District Federation a Quota of 100 tons of onions for export from Madras to Colombo.

G. V. SUBBAIAH
President.

Copy submitted to Prof. N. G. Ranga, Member Constituent Assembly, with a request to help with Food Ministry.

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* This is one of the six such District Co-operative Marketing Societies on an experimental basis that were started by Rangaji between 1945–48 to help Peasants. Since then, State-level marketing Socities in Andhra, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Tamilnadu have come to function. (Ed.)

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PROF. N. G. RANGA 8th December 1948.

My dear Kodandaramayya,

Thank you for your letter. The facts you give make painful reading. All of them are our friends and comrades, though ranged on two opposition sides. It is most deplorable that high-handed and immoral methods should be resorted to by them in their internicine quarrels. It is to settle such troubles, strictly according to rules and freed from emotions and factions, partialities, the Tribunals are established-for, it is so difficult for anyone in executive post however impartial to escape influences. This matter will also be placed before the Provincial tribunal.

It is the duty of all of us to think of ways and means to prevent their occurrence. Friends like you are right in expecting me to give a lead in this direction. I plead I have already done that, in the District, provincial and All India spheres and I have to confess having failed so far. In your own District, when Sri Thimma Reddy succeeded in getting both the groups to come together, splinters from their groups broke off and combined together and have brought your District into a worse condition. Is it not your duty to see that all your friends support our P.C.C.'s peace Move? I hope you would support it. Anyhow, this D.C.C. election and the earlier P.C.C. elections show how your District refused to accept my advice.

On the P. C. C. front too, I sent word six weeks before Chirala election to the ministerialists that they should invite Sri Prakasam's co-operation and partnership into their ministry and I would welcome them into the P.C.C. Executive. They took that as a sign of my weakness and began to work for their unilateral success, turning a deaf ear to my offer of co-operation. Chirala gave me the majority but it did not make me happy.

When the A.I.CC. President election came, I seized upon that opportunity to reunite all and so hastened to support Dr. Pattabhi. I was the only member of the working Committee to have done that. Yet, 36 members from all groups rushed out to vote for Tandonjee and thus keep up the sore wound of differences. Were the ministerialists satisfied with our bonafides ? No. Would they be generous? No. On the otherhand, they have descended to impute motives even to me. So, my dear friend, please allow me to let things take their own turn for sometime and wait for another more opportune moment to try to heal their wounds and bring them together. In the meanwhile, Tribunal is our only safeguard.

Love,
RANGA.

Sri Pusuluri Kodandaramayya,
Polavaram. (West Godavari Dt.)

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* Inestead of developing harmony after his election as Congress President with the support of Rangaji, Dr. Pattabhi introduced the element of disharmony by appointing Shri Kala Venkatrao as his General Secretary. The result was the great debacle of 1951 when both Prakasam and Ranga felt it necessary to leave the Congress and work for the defeat of the Congress at the polls in 1952 in the First General Election held after freedom.

99

NIDUBROLU,
Year, 1946.

My dear Obulu Reddi, * General Secretary.
Timma Reddi, (Vice President.)

Mr. Bandlamudi Sivaramakrishna's sketches af some of our KMP Workers published in the CHITRANGI are very useful. But some literary and artistic touches should have been given to them, so that the pictures of these

workers will be attractive enough to inspire other youths and students to emulate their example.

Have you seen and studied the techniques of my picturing the lives, activities of some of our workers published in CHITRAGUPTA and recently in the CHENETA about Kavibrahma?

Sometime ago, our K. V. Subbayya has written about the writers in the Students and Youth spheres. Moreover I would like to suggest that the character skeches and appreciation of the contribution of some more workers should be attempted. The senior most and steadfast adherents of our ideology have been Srimati Bharatidevi, Lakshminarayana, Nannapaneni and G. V. Subbayya, B. A. I need not blush in saying that but for their consistent and loyal support and encouragement, I could not have gone on even to the stage of the foundation of Peasant Institute at Nidubrolu. G.L.N is an efficient whip and monitor for so many of our workers and kept up the vigil as against the C.P. and C.S.P. during all those tortuous years of war, as Joint Secretary and Vice-President of the A.I.K.C. and President of P.K.C. Nannapaneni's services in publicising our movement, in maintaining its organisational strength and contacts right up today are invaluable. Sri Butchi Naidu and my brother Venkatappayya have stood by them so loyally.

There are our Ammayya, Sundararaowho have risen to be our effective workers in the second rank. Have you ever met the most silent but effective worker of Ongole Taluk Sri Katragadda Papayya, one of our most loyal adherents. There are also our Pullela, Palnad Venkayya, Ramadas, Kisan President Veeraiah.

In Rayalaseema, the singer Apparao, Ramireddi of Nandyal, Rajagopal Naidu and Sabha of Chittoor, Adinarayana Reddi and Sambhu Reddi Sanskrit Vidwan of Cuddapah, in the Circars Mahananda Chowdari and Venkata

Naranyana Reddi, M.L.A., Pera Reddi of Zamin Ryots of Nellore, Mulukutla, [2]Venkataratnam, Peta Bapayya, Kukala Raghavayya Sarma, Sreshti of Krishna, Gadde Venkata Ramarao, Samavedam Satyanarayana of West Godavari, [3] Nirukonda Ramarao, Challa, Venkataratnam (Pedda Ryotu) of East Godavari, V. V. Ramana, Pundareekakshachari, MV. Ramamurti, B. A. B. L., Gorrela Suryanarayana of South Vizag, Raghavadas, Rahman Khan, Hari Rao, Appala Naidu, Harikrishna Chowdari, Singer Nanda Krishna of N. Vizag on the Kisan Front, Punnayya on Harijan,-youth-Kisan front, [5] Raghavalu, B.A.B.L,, Jiyyardas, Anjanappa on Harijan front, Pragada, Sree Kantham B.A.B.L., Kasena Basava Raju Ramakantarao, Akkala Kotayya on Weavers front, Krishna Murti and Dutt on the Yerukula and Adibasis front, Pusuluri Kodandaramayya on the Tribal peoples. All these are specially attched to Devijee and she ministers to their spiritual needs. Gurram Mallayya of Palnad on the Kala front, Munireddi, Sunkara, A.S.R. Veerachari, K. V. Subbayya, Nageswararao, Sanjeevareddi and others on the students front and ever so many others all deserve quiet, uplifting and sympathetic notes.

Saranu, Paturi Nagabhushanam, Nagineni, Gadicherla (eldest) on the Library-adult education and kisan front have done great service.

Balaramakrishnayya is a great host in himself, so is our Brahmayya, and the Sevadal Leaders and district chiefs all need special mention.

K.L.N. Simha, Our Office Secretary, is one of our best.

We have to lay stress on the irpeasant, proletarian origins and services their loyalty to Gandhian ideals, and KMP

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* OBULU REDDI became Minister for Agriculture. 2,3and 5 became Ministers.

ideology and their comradely and co-operative activities, their readiness to sacrifice any position for the sake of the movement and ideals. Their ideological fervour and their keeness to place the interests of the masses above everything else. Such notes should help them to rise to our expectations and not to be satisfied with present achievements.

Sri Paruchuri Veerayya, B.A., B.L., Srikantham Advocate Alaparti Rangarao, B.A., B.L., Munireddi, K. Kotireddi, Pandurangarao, Hanimireddi of Palndad, Daruvuri Veerayya, Repalle Venkata Subbayya, Srinivasulu Reddi (Student), Aswathappa Advocate (Anantapur) all deserve notice. They are the comming people.

Yours affectionately,

Weaver Leader. Sd/N. G. RANGA.

100

ALL INDIA CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

NEW DELHI,
January 5, 1949.

Dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in inviting you to be a Member of the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. Indian National Congress for the new year and request you to intimate your acceptance of the same.

The next meeting of the Working Committee will be held on 9th instant at 1, Aurangazeb Street, New Delhi. (Sardar's place), at 8—30 A. M.

You are requested to be present on the occasion.

Yours sincerely,

B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA.
President.

101

Sri B. GOPALA REDDI
Finance Minister.

Fort St. George,
MADRAS.

Camp : 4A Western Court,
New Delhi, 5th Jan. 1949.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I am glad to see in this evening's papers that you have been re-chosen as member of the Congress Working Committee. It is a well-merited honour and I am sure the Congress Organisation will benefit by your counsels.

With Kind regards.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. C. A.,
New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
B. GOPALA REDDI.

102

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

WALTAIR.
D/ 22—1—1949.

My dear Ranga,

I was not at Headquarters when your letter reached this place. When I wanted to reply you were touring. am therefore sorry that I could not reply to it promptly.

I am thankful to you for your good wishes on my taking up the acting Vice-Chancellorship in this University.

As regards Collections for the Gandhi Memorial Fund my difficulties are as follows :

The students raised a few thousands last year and started a Gandhi Memorial Library under the auspices of the Union. The teachers have not paid so far anything. Last year there was a move to collect something and present it at the time of the visit of the Prime Minister but owing to lack of time. no action was ultimately taken.

This year I had to make appeals for contributing to other funds already. The latest is for our veteran violinist Mr. Dwaram Venkataswamy Naidu. As you know some Andhra Leaders have issued an appeal and I promised Mr. Ramakrishna Raju, President of the Madras Legislative Council that I would collect not less than Rs. 1,000/- from the College and send this amount by the end of this month.

There may be good response for another appeal only after two months. Is any time limit for Collection to Gandhi Fund fixed? Please let me know.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
V. S. KRISHNA

103

RANGA'S WORK FOR RAYALASEEMA

NEW DELHI
12th February, 1949.

My dear Bhaktavatsalam,

I am sending herewith a plan for the economic development of Rayalaseema. Along with this two other Me-

moranda were presented to me by a deputation consisting of some prominent men from this particular area. Prof. Ranga, it seems, is very keen about something being done about this area. At his instance some preliminary discussions took place in my room which was attended by Dr. Shyam Prasad Mukerjee and Shree Jairamdas Daulat Ram and also by Shree Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker of the Assembly. In this preliminary discussion it was suggested that a development corporation should be formed with the object of developing Rayalaseema industrially and economically on the ground that this area has bee i constant victim of famine. It was finally decided that I should address you and try to ascertain as to what has been done so far in connection with extending irrigation and power facilities in this area. I shall, therefore, be very much obliged if you will kindly supply me up-to-date information as to what has been done in this area as also what are the potentialities and your Government's views in this connection.

The Hon. Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam,
Minister for P. W. D. Madras.

Yours sincerely,
N. V. GADGIL.
Minister for Power. C.P.W.D.
(Water, etc)

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Prof. N. G. RANGA.

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
20th Feb. 1949.

My dear B. S. Murti, * (M. L. A.: Madras)

Let me congratulate you upon your having been selected by the INTUC to the next ILO Conference. You deserve this opportunity. It is also an honour done to our

Andhra Provincial Agricultural Labour Congress. I am confident that you will be able to cover yourself with honour and also espouse the cause of our agricultural workers and thus raise their status and the prestige of our Organisation.

Yours Sincerly,
N. G. RANGA.

105

Judicial & Legislative Departments,
Writers' Buildinds,
CALCUTTA,
23rd February, 1949.

My dear Ranga,

A mammoth conference of Jute workers of about 29 jute mills within the Barrackpore subdivision is going to be held and the workers and organisers are eager to have

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* Shri B. S. Murti, M. A. Harijan Leader, was made the President of the Andhra Agricultural Labour Congress and sent as a delegate to the Indian National Trade Union Congress, with the blessings of Rangaji, who was then the President of A. P. C. C. and Member of the National Congress Working Committee. Rangaji was responsible to get him chosen as one of the Labour Delegates to the Conference of the International Labour Office (Geneva) and advised him to meet the Leaders of French, British Labour Parties and Trade Unions and also of the Pan-African Congress, in the hope that he would shape himself into a labour leader. Shri Murti later became an M. P., Minister of State in Union Cabinet and Deputy Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party in 1971. Rangaji paved the way thus for political progress of both Shri Murti and later the late Shri D. Sanjivaiah who became President of Congress and Central Cabinet Minister and Shri Jiyyar Das, M.L.C.

See also letter Nos. 7, 8 & 10.
Anjanappa M. P.; Judge Punnaiah T. Raghvaulu; (Minister, A.P.) Dr. Seshaiah, D. M. O. and A. Joseph — all Harijans. — Ed.

you as President to preside over their deliberations. I shall indeed be very happy if you do try and make it convenient to accept the invitation which I am extending to you on their behalf as member representing Barrackpore labour in the Provincial Legislature. The Conference takes place on Sunday the 6th March. If you fly to Calcutta to arrive here by the Morning Plane (by 12 noon) that will do and you will be free to leave if you so desire by the morning plane on the following day. You will, I hope, not disappoint all these people and myself. Remember, it is also essential that you should come because the venue of the Conference is Titaghur which is the largest concentration of Andhra workers whom, a wise man like you, will not disappoint in any case.

Awaiting your reply. With best wishes and love.

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
Member, A.I.C.C., New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
NIHARENDRA DUTT MAJUMDAR.

106

PREMIER OF MADRAS.

Fort St. George, MADRAS.
25th February 1949.

Dear Mr. Ranga,

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 20th regarding the alleged fabrication of Village Revenue Records by certain local Zamindars in the Nellore, Krishna etc., districts even after the abolition of Zamindari System. I have transferred your letter to the Hon'ble Mr. Sitharama Reddi for necessary action, as he holds the Revenue Portfolio now.

Yours sincerely,
O. P. RAMASWAMY REDDY.

Shri N. G. RANGA, President,
Andhra Provincial Congress Committee,
2, Ferozshah Road, NEW DELHI.

107

INCEPTION OF PLANNING COMMISSION

Proceedings of the Standing Economic Committee

(5–3–1949 – 3 P.M. – Council House, New Delhi)

Present :–

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru — Chairman
2. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
3. Shri J.C. Kumarappa
4. Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai
5. Shri Jagjivan Ram
6. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
7. Prof. N. G. Ranga,
8. Shri Shankarrao Deo ... — Convener

The Committee took up for discussion the draft resolution on 'Planning Commission'. In the course of the discussion the following points emerged :

(1) that the Committee would make recommendations to the Congress Working Committee.

(2) that while the Government had been taking steps for some time to co-ordinate the work of the various departments of the Government through the Economic Committee of the Cabinet and had been building up the essential preliminaries for integrated planning e. g. co-relation of the work of the economists attached to the various departments of the Government and establishment of a Central Statistical Institute the Committee felt that in order to integrate the various controls which were being introduced by the Government as well as to avoid any possible lag between the immediate steps taken by the Government in tackling the economic situation and the objectives of a long range overall economic plan,

there should be as early as possible a Planning Commission. The feeling was also expressed that whatever might have been the reasons for holding up the appointment of such a Planning Commission earlier the present circumstances lent extreme urgency to the question and it was necessary to take steps in this direction without any further delay. The Committee, therefore, came to the following decision :

The Standing Economic Committee of the A.I.C.C. is of the opinion that a Planning Commission should be set up by the Government at an early date for general overall economic planning. The general plan should be in keeping with the objectives laid down in the Report of the Congress Economic Programme Committee.

DEVELOPING KISAN CONGRESS

Shri N. V. NAIDU,
General Secretary,
All India Kisan Congress.

CALCUTTA,
6-3-1949.

My dear Gurujee,

I reached Calcutta yesterday. Amar Babu - or N. Dutt Muzumdar or anyone else did not receive our letters, intimating your inability to fulfil your programme for Bengal..

I met the Treasurer and some members of the working Committee of Bengal Student Congress. They met me later.

I have also met Niharendu Dutta Babu and spent 2 hours with him. He has great regard for you. He said you are the only mass leader after Nehru and Patel. In Bengal most Congress Leaders and Workers like you and they are all anxious to invite you for tour. He wanted your help in organising youths. training them for Kisan Mazdoor Work. He is the chairman of the Labour Party.

He met Mahamaya Prasad of Bihar and requested him to tour Bengal along with you. He showed me the file, containing his correspondence with various public workers in Bengal to make your tour fruitful. He is sick and bed-ridden. He enquired about the health of Matajee, Obula Reddy and Latchanna.

I went twice to B.P.C.C. Office, met President P.C. Ghosh and Secretary Atulya Ghosh. I also talked to Mr. Kalipada Mukherjee, labour leader. Atula said that they were all keenly waiting for your arrival. He was disappointed, over the postponement of your tour for the present. All of us considered the list of Kisan Leaders and workers which had been provisionally prepared by them. They are enthusiastic about Kisan Organisation. They have arranged a big Kisan Workers meeting for this evening in the Maidan in Wellington Square and there is a programme for to-morrow also. I will address these meetings. They have promised to bring many delegates to the A. I. K. C. session in Delhi next month. They want to organise 3 or 4 Districts Kisan Conferences in April if you are ready to come to be followed by All Bengal Kisan Convention.

Yours affectionately,
N. V. NIADU.

108

CALCUTTA,
8-3-1949.

My dear Guruji,*

I am leaving for Patna to-night. I will stay there for 2 days and then go to Gaya. I will meet the President

*Rangaji used to be addressed as Guruji (Teacher) by Naidu and some Colleagues. Shri Naidu used to move from State to State in a dynamic manner to mobilise support for the Bharat Kisan Congress (Sammelan) right up to 1955. (continued)

and General Secretary of Bihar P.C.C. and request them to constitute their Provincial Kisan Congress Committee with the representatives of the District Committee. I will meet the leaders of all groups interested in Kisans.

To-day I am addressing a meeting in Chittaranjan Hall. It is arranged for you. Many workers have come from Districts. Messrs. Amar Krishna Ghosh, B.P.C.C. and Niharendu Dutt Muzumdar have all given their lists of Kisan Workers who have to be included in the Provincial Committee.

108 A

PATNA
9-3-1949.

To-day I met Mahamaya Prasad. He is as friendly as ever. He is keen on Kisan Movement. But he is unable to work independently of the Socialists. I am going to Gaya to meet our old friend Mr. Mishra.

Yours affectionately,
N. V. NAIDU

109

T. PRAKASAM

121 Constitution House,
NEW DELHI,
4-4-1949.

My Dear Panditji,

This evening I sent a copy of the letter addressed by me to the Congress President and Secretary. It has taken so much time to get rid of the old ministry which has

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P.C. Ghosh became Chief Minister; West Bengal; Kalipada Mukherjee, Labour Minister: N. D. Muzumdar, Law Minister; N. P. Mahamaya Prasad Chief Minister of Bihar and Atulya Ghosh M. P., President of B.P.C.C and now Leader of Congress (Organisation). (Ed.)

been condemned by you twice. Now it is extraordinary that the Congress President and Secretary should be inclined to advise the new leader to adopt the same old ministers, for his government. It is the barest justice that the leader should make his own choice of the best men leaving out those against whom charges of corruption are still pending * I have intervened to trouble you at this stage because it will be a terrible state of things if the same ministers should be thrust upon the country that has been suffering immeasurably for two long years. Kindly examine the position and do what you consider best. It is my duty to inform you and the Congress High Command in time.

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* Shri Prakasam and Ranga have both maintained that Congress in Power should seek to provide united and universally agreeable ministerial leadership to the people by including in its cabinet outstanding leaders of all the internal groups, with of course the leader of the majority group functioning as Chief Minister. They also stressed those former ministers or other Congress leaders against whome charges of Corruption have been levelled and found worthy of enquiry, should not be included in any new ministry. Shri Prakasam actually inveighed against a number of ministers in Shri O. P. R. Reddiar two years' Ministry, through his marathon Parlimentary speech, which was not unnaturally compared to Burke's famous speeches of Impeachment of Warren Hastings, even while remaining a member of the Congress.

Unfortunately the Congress Working Committee, led by Prime Minister Jawaharlalji exonerated those ministers and allowed some of them to be included in the successive ministries. But when one of them came to step on his corns, after becoming the General Secretary of the Congress, Jawaharlalji insisted upon his resignation. Such are the vagaries of political power. When this question of corruption was discussed at Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, held in 1965 in New Zealand Rangaji had these experiences in mind and he remarked that political corruption raised its head at an early stage of independent India's 'democracy. So he supported the introduction of the Swadesh Institution of Ombudsman in all countries to investigate into charges against ministers. India has at last passed legislation, establishing institutions of Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt. — (Ed.)

Prof. Ranga, Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and Sri Kaleswararao have addressed a separate letter to you. As the matter is very urgent I have distrubed you with this communication just now.

Copy to Prof. Ranga.

Yours sincerely.
T. PRAKASAM.

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From

T. Prakasam, M. C. A.,
121, Constitution House,
NEW DELHI.

NEW DELHI.
4-4-1949

To

Dr. B. Pattabhi Seetharamaiah, M.C.A.,
President, A. I. C. C.
NEW DELHI.

Sir,

You will admit that it is not at all desirable that old ministers should be adopted by the new leader at this juncture ignoring the charges made against them and also the fact that the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru condemned the Madras Ministry in the Rajaji Hall on 26th July 1948 in unequivocal terms and also in Delhi in the Party Meeting in the first week of December 1948. The Charge-Sheet clearly shows that all the ministers were jointly and severally responsible for the maladministration. I was obliged to refer to this matter in my Budget speech in the Parliament on 3rd inst. Under these circumstances Sri Kamaraj Nadar proposed to Dr. Subbaroyan, the defeated Candidate, certain terms for bringing into existence a broad based ministry. He also issued statement to that effect both in Madras and here. Suddenly Kamaraj Nadar telephoned this morning to Dr. Subbaroyan that he and another Tamil

member would be taken in as ministers and that Andhra Ministers of the previous government should continue. Dr. Subbaroyan refused to accept this.

An approach was made to other Tamil Members like Nachiappa and Perumalaswami Reddiar who also I understand declined to accept. It is to the common interest of all of us that the existing tension in the country should be relieved. This can be effected by your not exercising your powers of recommendation in favour of the old ministry but you can request Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru and other members of your Parliamentary Board to deal with this matter.

Copy to Prof. Ranga.

Yours sincerely,

T. PRAKASAM.

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MUSEUM FOR VIJAYAWADA

Dr. A. Aiyappan, M.A., Ph.D.,
Superintendent.

Government Museum,
Egmore, Madras-8.
Dated the 2nd May 1949.

D. O. No. 1188-1/49

Dear Sir,

I have been asked by the Government of Madras, Education and Public Health Department, to report to them on a scheme for a museum at Vijayawada. On a previous occasion I prepared and submitted to the Government a scheme for a general museum more or less on the lines of the Madras Museum, but with certain additional features also. Your suggestion is for an open air museum. Since you could not obviously give all your ideas about it in your letter to Government, I am anxious to meet you, as

early as possible, to discuss the scheme, so that I might prepare a scheme, embodying your ideas.

Yours faithfully,
A. AIYAPPAN.

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NAVAJEEVANA

Editor
B. S. MURTHY, M. L. A.,

13. Wall Tax Road,
MADRAS
16–5–1949.

My dear Sri Rangaji,

Namasthe. Sri G. Latchanna, M. L. A., President, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Andhra, has sent me the telegram he received from the Government of India informing me of my nomination to the thirtysecond International Labour Conference to be held in Geneva on 8th June and asking me to be ready in Bombay on 3rd June to take the plane. I know that this nomination is due to your kind efforts and I am extremely greateful to you for this.

Kindly send me your blessings and other useful information to serve me as a guide during my delegation. I propose to leave Madras on 1st June.

With high regards.
Yours sincerely,
B. S. MURTHY.

P. S. I must congratulate you for the unique triumph you have gained during the recent session of the A. P. C. C. I consider this as a manifestation of the respect of the Andhra Public to your dynamic leadership.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.C.A.,
President, Andhra P. C. C.
2, Ferozshah Road, New Delhi.

B. S.

113

Prof. N. G. RANGA.

2, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi.
24-5-1949.

My dear B. S. Murti,

I am glad at last our doubts are set at rest and your name has been definitely accepted both by Indian Government and the INTUC. Please accept my congratulations.

Sardar Latchanna would tell you how much dispute there was at Indore as to how you came to be chosesn both for Madras Province and also on behalf of the Agricultural Labour Congress. The difficulty arose specially because the Agricultural Labour Congress's affiliation to the Andhra Branch of INTUC has not yet been properly formalised and its enrolment figures were not submitted and scrutinised. I therefore suggest that you should discuss these matters with Sardar Latchanna when he would be in Bezwada on the 29th inst. to attend the Working Committee meeting.

I will like you to meet some of my friends in London who are interested in the welfare of the coloured peoples. They are :

1. Mr. George Padmore,
   Secretary, Pan African, Congress,
   22, Cranleigh House,
   Cranleigh Street,
   London N. W. 1.

2. General Secretary,
   The League of Colored Peoples. (I was one of the
   19th, Old Queenstreet, founders of this
   Westminister. S. Wl. League in 1931.)

3. Fenner Brockway, (He is the President of
   8, Hillside Gardens. African and European Peo-
   London. N. 6. ples Congress. I am an executive member of Congress.)

You may write to them in advance so that they would be ready to meet you.

Since we are aiming at the establishment of Co-operative Commonwealth, it will be useful if you study the working of Co-operative movement in Switzerland and the Horace Plunkett Foundation, 10 Doughty Street, London W. C. 1. as well as the Co-operative section of ILO would be of great interest.

Kindly try to establish friendly relations with Labour, leaders of American Federation of Labour, British Labour Party and the French Labour Party and their veteran leader Leon Jouhaux, one of the founders of the I.L.O.

Sri B. S. Murti, M. L. A., Madras.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

20 West 40th Street, New York 18. N. Y.

June 14, 1949.

Professor N. G. RANGA,
C/o. Belmont Plaza Hotel
Lexington Avenue at 49th Street
New York, New York

Dear Professor Ranga,

I have your note of the sixth. I should be very pleased to have you visit with us whenever it is convenient for you to do so when you are in New York. Would you

please telephone me when you return from Washington so that we can arrange a date convenient for both of us.

Best Personal regards.

Sincerely yours,
Madison S. Jones, Jr.,
Administrative Assistant.

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* Rangaji used to make it a point to meet the Negro Leaders of U. S. A. through this NAACP, every time he visited America(1948, 49, 52, 54, 64) and confer with them about the Negro People's movements for achieving equal citizenship and Civic Rights — Ed.

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TELEGRAM

KUMARAPPA MAGANWADI WARDHA 25-6-1949

PRESS REPORTS COMMITTEE SUBMITTING FINAL REPORTS ON TENTH. LAND REVENVE CHAPTER NOT REACHING TILL NOW. NO RESPONSE WHETHER REDDIAR'S DASGUPTA'S AMENDMENTS INCORPORATED. SENDING MINORITY REPORT ON NINTH. RANGA.

TELEGRAM

PROF. RANGA NIDUBROLU MSM 27-6-1949

DO AS YOU SUGGEST

KUMARAPPA

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THE CONGRESS AGRARIAN REFORMS COMMITTEE

Chairman : J. C. KUMARAPPA
Secretary : K. MITRA

WARDHA. C. P.
27th June, 1949.

Ref : R. N, 6167

Prof. N. G. RANGA, Nidubrolu.

My dear Ranga,

I am glad to note from your letter of the 25th instant that you are back safe and sound. Owing to my blood pressure attack I am afraid, I too have not been able to keep to schedule time. You can do as you suggest i. e. send your report in by the 10th July. I am sending you a wire to this effect.

I am glad you have made friends with Truman.

Yours sincerely,
J. C. KUMARAPPA.

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UNITED FRONT OF ALL COLOURED PEOPLES FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The epochal contribution made by the League of Coloured Peoples, Colonial Peoples Freedom Front and Pan-African Congress, in alliance with such organisations as British Centre against Imperialism, with which Rangaji was intimately connected towards the successful consummation of the freedom struggles of African and Asian Peoples can be best visualised in view of the imperialistic moorings and loyalties of Socialists of the empire-holding European Countries. For instance, the late Earnest Bevin, the most powerful British Labour Minister for Foreign Affairs said as late

as 1947, "These oversea territories (of South Africa, France, Belgium and Portugal, Dutch, Ed.) are large primary producers. If Western Europe is to achieve its balance of payments and get a World equilibrium, it is essentia lthat these resources should be developed and made available..... We shall thus bring together resources, manpower, organization and opportunity for millions of power" (as quoted in Pan-Africanism or Communism by George Padmore Pp 320-21) Padmore commented that Bevin spoke in the tradition of Herr David of 1907 who said "Europe Needs Colonies. The rationale for that doctrine of "Socialist Imperialism" was fought valiantly by Rangaji in his book "Credo of World Peasantry" and "Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front" and by George Padmore in his famous book "Pan-Africanism versus Communism".

We give here two quotations, the first from Padmore's "Pan-Africanism or Communism" and the second from the editorial of the Calcutta daily Amrita Bazar Patrika of 27-6-1949. They indicate how imperialism tried but in vain, even when it was gasping for last breath, to divide the ranks of the Coloured Peoples into Blacks against all others and weaken its opponent, the anti-imperialist movement of all the colonial peoples. It would be seen how Rangaji from India joined forces in his characteristically valiant and vibrant manner with the leaders of Pan-African Congress to mobilise Indians in the Colonies in support of the cause of freedom for all the subject peoples. We might add that he had the support of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru in this campaign.

This movement gained momentum on world-wide scale, and led to the achievement of freedom of almost all African peoples and national independence of Asian and African colonies, thanks to Post-war weakness of European imperialist powers and the Pressures of the Cold War between the Western and Eastern Powers and the irresistible elan emanating from the emergence of India as an independent country (Ed.)

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QUOTATION FROM PAN-AFRICANISM OR COMMUNISM BY GEORGE PADMORE (1956) page 358.

The non-European Unity Movement launched under the auspices of the All-African Convention departed radically from the earlier campaigns of the Convention by making its appeal not only to Africans but also to Coloured people and Indians for common action against European domination. Such a united front had long been advocated by Professor N. G. Ranga, a prominent member of the Congress Party and disciple of Mahatma Gandhi and later expounded in his book. The COLONIAL AND COLOURED PEOPLES' FRONT. But constructive leaders of the Indian National Congress, who represented mercantile and business interests, rejected a united front with the Africans and Coloured on the grounds of class. The rich Indians were hoping that with the support of the New Delhi Government they would come to a compromise agreement with the South African Government to protect their properties and commercial interests under the Pegging Act, which circumscribed the rights of Indian traders in Natal.

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EXTRACTS FROM AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA (27-6-1949)

A FORGOTTEN LESSON

Has the lesson of India been lost upon Britain's policy-makers so soon? It seems incredible. But the statement Prof. N. G. Ranga has just issued to the London Press hardly leaves scope for any other conclusion. The Professor expressed the fear that the pattern of racial disorder recently seen in South Africa with Indians ranged against Africans might soon be repeated in West and East Africa. He believes that Uganda and Kenya are the next

two places where racial troubles of the kind witnessed in South Africa will be experienced. Similar developments, Prof. Ranga apprehends, may be expected in the Gold Coast. Why should the Indian and the African in those areas start breaking each other's heads? Exactly the same cause that operated in India, driving the Hindu and the Mussalman fly at each other's throat also lies at the bottom of the African situation. Politically awakened Africans in these trouble-spots, in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda are insistent in their demand for Independence. Trade and professional rivalry naturally exist between them and the resident Indians. Nothing offers a better opportunity to the colonial power to use its most powerful weapon "Divide and rule". Therefore, says Prof. Ranga, "the Imperialists take advantage of this situation and by trying to create a split between the Indian and the African divert attention from the main issue of foreign rule." Imperialism, as they say, dies hard; so do its weapons. They never get rusty. The Durban Tragedy has furnished an unmistakable proof.

Prof. Ranga is perfectly right in his diagnosis. John Bull has grave reasons to be anxious, nervous and even desperate. All is not well with his African World. Almost in every British colony, scattered throughout the sprawling continent, there is suspicion, hatred and opposition to the white overlord. Until recently British supremacy had been maintained through indirect rule by means of undemocratic native institutions and the perpetuation of divisions among the different native elements. That period over, the next expedient of conferring little doses of self-rule was tried. But the device failed to work long. Resistance movements organised by nationalist elements grew up apace in more advanced colonies and they, as a British columnist stated, are "eager to seize political power and indifferent to the means employed" The third phase came more swiftly. The baton and the bayonet were called into action to smother the desire for political emancipation. Gold Coast,

the most advanced British Colony in West Africa, has for instance, passed through the three successive stages. After two long decades Gold Coast was given a new Constitution in the summer of 1946. But the concession failed to satisfy those for whom it was meant. In 1948 disturbances broke out in half a dozen towns and the Capital Accra where a big, unrully crowd tried to march upon the castle was the scene of a bloody repression. But has the colonial power taken effective and fruitful action to counteract the most serious problem it is faced with ?

What is true of the Gold Coast is more or less true of the other danger-spots pointed out by Prof. Ranga. In Nigeria the Constitution of 1946 failed to satisfy the masses. They now refuse to be deceived by the conferment of so-called reforms which are to replace the present structure. The few loyalists who were prepared to co-operate with the ruling power are denounced as traitors. The situation in Kenya and Uganda is well known. Strangely enough, Indians in these two territories as well as elsewhere have to pay the penalty for the failure of British statesmanship in Africa. This, of course, is not without a reason. The most serious crime the Indians are guilty of in the eyes of their rulers is not so much as professional and trade rivalry in relation to the Africans, as their advanced political consciousness. Their association with Africans, which the Maharaj Singh Delegation described as cordial, generated among the latter a desire for liberation from the foreign yoke.

But the verdict of history, they may rest assured, will not be different. The policy of "Divide and rule" cost Britain the brightest jewel in her diadem. The present suicidal folly in respect of Africa, if persisted in, cannot but be followed by a similar nemesis.

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From: Prof : B. S. MURTHY, M.L.A.. Camp : GENEVA,
To : Professor N. G. RANGA, July 1st, 1949.
Nidubrolu.

My dear Acharya Rangaji,

Namasthe. I am in due receipt of your letter dated the 24-5-1949 from Delhi and thank you for the same. I ould not reply you earlier as you left for America and I was busy preparing to go to Geneva.

I came here on 4-6-49 and did my work honestly and conscientiously. I have gained a lot of experience which, I think, will stand me in good stead in organising our agricultural labour under your dynamic leadership. I met all your friends in the I.L.O. Office and conveyed to them your greetings. They are all pleased to know of your work for our masses. I met Mr. Leon Jouhaux of France as well.

I am leaving for Paris on 3-7-49 and from there I shall go to London. I will contact Mr. Padmore, Mr. Fenner Brockway and others with your letters of introduction. I propose to get back to India by the middle of July as I am very eager to justify my nomination to the I.L.O. by regular fieldwork amongst agricultural labour.

I was at a loss to know your whereabouts. But yesterday I learnt from the "The Times of India" that you returned back to India with laurels. Hence this letters.

With high regards.

Yours affectionately,

B. S. MURTHY.

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Camp : MADRAS
July 7, 1949.

My dear Sjt. Kumarappa,

We are enclosing our Minority Report to be incorporated in the final report to be submitted by the Agrarian Reforms Committee to the Congress President. Since we have not yet received the chapters of the report on (1)Land Revenue, (2) Note on balanced cultivation, (3) Accounts and (4) Statistics relating to Wages of Agricultural Labour, we have been at a disadvantage. In their absence, our Minority Report should be treated as our contribution in so far as it relates to the material the secretary had placed before us.

There are many sections, histroical and discriptive, in your report on which we do not feel called upon to offer any remarks, since your approach appears to be much different from ours on some very essential points. Moreover, the majority of our colleagues have thought it fit to make too many detailed recommendations in regard to the organisation and working of Agricultural Co-operative Societies, machinery of land management, agricultural finance and marketing and agricultural labour, the utility and practicability of which will have to be carefully tested by Provincial Governments and their experts in the light of their own needs and experiences; and so we do not wish to offer any comments on these, although viewed from the standpoint that we are indicating in our minority report, a large number of your detailed observations and suggestions will have to be radically altered or altogether omitted. We are also afraid that some of your suggestions especially in regard to relations between protected tenants and owners, co-operative societies, fixation of compensation etc. may give scope for a good deal of complications and litigation among different sections of cultivators and the rest of the population.

We request you to publish this letter also along with our report.

Yours sincerely,

O. P. RAMASWAMY REDDY
N. G. RANGA
T. V. RAGHAVALU.

Sri J. C. KUMARAPPA, Chairman.
Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee,
Camp; Maganwadi, WARDHA.

122

Ramgiriji Street,
VIZAGPATAM,
15-7-1949.

Dear Rangaji,

Pranamams. Dr. Natarajan sent me a copy of the minority Report of our A. R. C. together with a joint letter signed by Sri Reddiar Garu and yourself yesterday only. I am happy to be in agreement with the report in toto, and I signed on the letter as advised by you. I am sending the report with the letter to Prof. Mitra, by to-day's post (Express Delivery under Certificate of Posting.)

I have wired to Dr. Kumarappa, informing him the same.

I beg to remain, Dear Gurudev,

Yours in esteem,

T. V. RAGHAVALU.

P.S. I shall be glad if you can kindly acknowledge my previous letter and this.

Prof : N. G. RANGAJI,
2, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi.

T. V. RAGHAVALU *
Member, Congress Agrarian
Reforms Committee.

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* Inspite of the wires from Shri Raghavalu and Rangaji about the despatch of this agreement of Raghavalu with the Joint minute of dissent, sent by Shree Ramaswami Reddiar, former Chief Minister of Madras and Rangaji, the Secretariat of the Agrarian Reforms Committee refused to take note of his dissent on the ground of its late receipt and persisted in claiming that the Three-Member Note was not a minority report. Shri Raghavalu, M.A.B.L, was the Harijan representative on the Committee.

Shri Raghavalu later became Minister for Education in Andhra Pradesh, — (Ed.)

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AGRARIAN REFORMS — MINORITY

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI, 15-7-1949.

My dear Dr. Kumarappa,

Yours of the 9th instant. I must say I am shocked at the tenor of your observations for which there is no justification.

Once the Committee failed to make a unanimous report and broke into majority and minority, and the minority found it necessary to make its own report by submitting it through the Chairman of the Committee, and the minority of 3 members * also should be considered to be entitled at the least to a certain amount of discretion. Indeed the minority becomes, in miniature, another Committee within the main Committee and as such, ought to be treated

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* Besides Ranga, O P Ramaswamy Reddi, T V Raghavalu, M A. B L. signed the Minority Report.

with much greater consideration than you have thought it fit to show in your letter.

If you read our minority report, you will find that we have shown very great regard to the majority views and have abstained from betraying any ill-feeling or any unfriendly criticism. We have only contented ourselves with stating our view point without in any way questioning your interest or authority to make your own recommendations. Indeed we expressed sorrow in not being able to agree with you.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

Sjt. J. C. KUMARAPPA, †
Maganwadi, Wardha.

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POLICE EXCESSES

28th July, 1949.

Hon'ble Sri P. S. KUMARASWAMI RAJA,
Premier, Government of Madras.
Fort St. George, Madras.

My dear Sri Kumaraswami Raja,

I am herewith enclosing a copy of the Press Note and a brief report of Prof. Ranga about the Police Excesses in Yelamarru and Katuru. Rangaji, being so busy with the Andhra Convention and the Working Committee Meetings, could not find enough time to send you a detailed report. Immediately after his arrival from Delhi he rushed to these two villages accompanied by several of us on 25th July.

† Sri J C Kumarappa was the Chairman of the Agrarian Reforms Committee 1948-'49 and Rangaji was a member of this Committee,

I am glad to inform you that Rangaji's visit to these places had a salutory effect on the minds of the villagers who were the sad victime of the atrocities committed by the Dy. S. P. and his Police Party. We were shown the lathi marks on different parts of their bodies including chest.

It is also a fact that hundreds of people were stripped almost naked and were paraded through the streets. Some women were also beaten black and blue.

In Yelamarru, the village which the police raided subsequently, they went a step further. The almost naked men were made to go round the statue of Gandhiji and afterwards prostrate before this sacred statue. As we witnessed the people in those two villages, who described the barbarous indignities to which they were subjected, a feeling of shudder and consternation ran through our hearts. The whole affair is so grossly barbarous that it defies all description. It does not do credit to any Government, much less to Congress Government. People, some of them highly respectable, wept loudly and told us that they would not have minded even if they were shot dead rather than thus be insulted in the presence of their women. The worst part of the whole thing is that men having great reputation as devotees of the Congress also were subjected to these indignities inspite of their protestations. Even old men were not spared.

As a consequence of this tragic indiscretion and misguided action of this police official, the prestige of the government suffered heavily and the discontent against the Congress increased. Rangaji gave them consolation and requested the people not to attack either Government or the Congress as evidently the whole unfortunate incident was the outcome of the madness of a single police officer who was responsible for these grievous excesses and assured the people that such things would never be allowed to

recur and after due enquiry Government would not hesitate to punish the officer responsible for this. It will be in the interest of both the Congress and the Government to held immediate enquiry and punish the said official suitably.

Copy to Prof: N. G. RANGA,
2, Feroz Shah Road,
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
K. OBULA REDDI
A.P.C.C. General Secretary.

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RANGAJI'S TRIBUTE TO DESABHAKTA VENKATAPPAIAH

16-8-1949.

Though too old and too weak, he offered Satyagraha for 6th time and went to Jail in 1940. He was one of the earliest and dearest Andhra Comrades of Gandhiji and his word carried great weight with Bapu. Only 4 weeks before Bapu died, he publicly quoted from Desabhakta's letters complaining against the wrong & false standards that have come to influence the Madras Ministry and legislators. The recent resolution of the Working Committee ordering an enquiry into Madras Ministerial affairs is very largely due to the bold initiative taken by Desabhakta 1½ years ago. He was always a friend of the poor and the depressed. He could not put up with any injustice. His was always the first voice in the Andhra to be raised against any false gods or wrong practices that might be raising their heads in the public life.

For over 30 years, he has been a source of inspiration to many of us. He was held in such reverance by one and all that on his latest birthday a few months ago, the Andhras have expressed their great admiration and reverence for him and the Provincial Congress honoured itself by presenting an address of felicitation and gratitude on behalf of Andhras.

It is in the fitness of things that this BHISHMA of Andhra should have been able to stretch the flame of his life right upto the very dawn of this year's Independence Day. Such was his will-power and loyalty to the freedom's cause of our country.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI,
18th August, 1949.

My dear Dinah,

I am surprised at your long silence. I wrote a post card from Bombay nearly 3 weeks ago. I informed you long time ago about Mr. Koinange's programme in India. I am glad to say I have met him to-day in the meeting of the Standing Committee for External Affiairs and also at a special lunch given by us on behalf of Foreign Relations Society. He looks well. He is happy. He is being treated well by our Government. He is being taken to all the important towns and educational institutions. He has already addressed our Society on the 14th in my absence. I learn it was a good speech. So our people are thinking of publishing it as a pamphlet. He enquired about you.I told him that you might be able to go to Calcutta and meet him during the week-end if he would write to you about his address in Calcutta.

I am glad to say that Mrs. Ranga is much better in health. She has returned from Madras after 25 days of medical treatment.

On the occasion of our Second Independence Day, I had occasion to review in an article our achievements since 1947 and I came to the conclusion that they were truly remarkable although there is so much more to be attempted

and achieved. But the gloomiest thing is the disunity among Congressmen. Unless we minimise it, the prospects for future cannot indeed be bright. I am glad that owing to my persistence, the Working Committee has decided to ask the leaders of the Provincial Congress Legislature Parties to select their ministers from all sections of the Parties and not to deny the defeated section the privilege of contributing its quota of ministers to serve the country. We are hoping that this might prevent the growth of groups in an acute form.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

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DIRECTOR OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES,
United Provinces.

Camp Lucknow,
D.O.No. C/836 Dated Sep. 10, 1949

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I hope you have already received an invitation from the Hon'ble Minister for Development, requesting you to attend the Conference of Cottage Industries and also to see our little exhibition which we are putting up during our Cottage Industries Week. I am writing this to request you personally to come here even for only one day, and honour us and encourage us by your presence.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

B. K. GHOSHAL.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. C. A., New Delhi.

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DEMAND FOR IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF ANDHRA PROVINCE

RESOLUTION (concluding portion) passed on 2–10–1949 at the Working Committee Meeting of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, held at Vijayawada.

In view of the fact that the Constitutent Assembly is going to pass the Second Reading of the Constitution Act during this month and there is great urgency for Andhras to moderate and modify their demands as to make it easier for our national leadership, pre-occupied and pressed as it is with so many other national problems, this Committee finds it necessary in the light of the moderate stand taken by it on 25–4–1949 and its General B ody on 20–5–1949 to offer the following alternative proposals for the consideration and acceptance of our national leadership, without prejudice to its dearly held other views regarding Madras City.

This Committee wishes to suggest even at this stage, in order to make it easier for the Constituent Assembly and Congress Working Committee to form the Andhra Province at this juncture, and as a matter of compromise that the City should be immediately placed under the sole charge of the Governor, the Head-Quarters of both the Governments of Tamilnad and Andhra be located in it and the Delimitation Committee to be appointed hereafter to decide whether the City should be divided as between Tamilnad and Andhra Provinces with the River Cooum as their boundary or whether it should be constituted as a centrally administered City,

N. G. RANGA
President.

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PURUSHOTTAM R. PATEL, M. L. A. (B. Com).
High Court Vakil, Mehsana. D/ 24–10–1949.

My dear Prof. N. G. Ranga,

In Gujarat there are Khedut (Kisan) mandals working and I have the privilge to work as the President of Mehsana District Khedut Mandal.

Furthermore I edit one Weekly 'KHEDUT'. I know you take interest in Khedut Organisation and I request you to guide me in Khedut activities.

Khedut Organisations of Gujarat are purely non-political and devoting themselves only to the social and economic questions of the agriculturists.

Sincerely Yours,
P. R. PATEL.

130

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY, WALTAIR.

13-11-1949

My dear Ranga,

Thanks for your letter. I am grateful to you for your strong silent help.

I must congratulate you on achieving what appeared to many to be an impossible task viz. unanimity among Andhra leaders i. e. the formation of the Province. I hope that this will open a new chapter in history. I wish you further success in maintaining unity among the Public men and in organising them for constructive purpos es.

You refer to the medium of instruction question. I admit that the University has been conservative in this matter as this is forced by circumstances. If we advanced ahead of the other universities in the Madras Province, our students would be made to suffer. We had bitter experience in these matters. We were the first to organise the degrees. Another reason for which we had to proceed cautiously was that we have been concentrating on theoretical and applied sciences for which, as you agree, English is indispensable for some time to come.

The language question is one of the most difficult ones we have to solve. A committee of the Academic Council is going into it and I expect that before the end of this academic year, we will formulate a definite policy.

I am hoping that the formation of Andhra Province would lead to the development of our University. Next year we will be celebrating the Silver Jubilee of the University and I shall take an early opportunity to discuss with you the arrangements to be made in that connection.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
V. S. KRISHNA.

131

2, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi.
16-11-1949.

My dear Pandit Pantji,

I am hoping to go to Lucknow on the 19th inst., to preside over the Conference of U. P. Farmer's Union. I will be glad to meet you on that day to request you in person to persuade your governor to open a Relief Fund

to be placed at the disposal of H. E. the Governor of Madras for helping the millions of the East Coast agriculturists and other sufferers from the recent cyclone. It is no exaggeration to say that the total loss sustained by the people of that area exceed twelve crores and the whole area is in a devasted condition as if thousands of bombs had descended upon the country-side and thousands of elephants had uprooted all the gardens and orchards.

I am also writing to your governor to let me have an interview with him in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant,
Premier U.P., Lucknow.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
18-11-1949.

My dear Thimma Reddi,

You will see from the enclosed copies of letters how our anxiety to get positions for our own people even at this early hour is landing us in the troubles with our allies whom we need badly. You would not understand as readily as I could have wished, why I was keen not to displease Basireddi * and company of Cuddapah, B. V. Subbareddi and company of Kurnool, Nathamuni and Muniratnam and company of Chittoor. When I knew that you were rather unhappy at my attempts to please the others who are on the peripher of our family, I know my limitations and accepted R. Ramachandra Reddi for vice-presidentship in your District. But now our own Latchanna is unhappy at

* He has later became a Minister

these developments and is anxious that we should try to be more liberal-minded in the interest of our future. Neither yourself, nor Audinarayana Reddi nor Ramireddi is able to understand that it is only by denying ourselves of these positions and placing them at the disposal of others and making them serve the public with our aid and guidance, we can best promote our own ideals and the interests of public and ensure for ourselves, the achievement of better and bigger opportunities and positions of responsibility coming therefrom and thus be able to serve the people even more satisfactorily.

On the other hand, I find on all sides too much of impatience on the part of our people to rush into every new opportunity for a place or position, the moment it offers itself, without much thought of their responsibilities to others and especially towards those for whom these positions mean much more than to us. How else am I to explain the importunity of Audi' Changalraya Naidu Ramireddi, Kommareddi and others without any thought of the embrarasement they are causing you or me or Obulareddi. All these things pain me to a degree that I am afraid you are unable to understand. I find more people claiming to be our celleagues, when these positions come up than when I want them to carry on Congress work or the work of any of the associated organisations.

Let us remember that our Congress ministries can do many times better work if only there are many more of us among the masses who are ready and capable of winning the whole-hearted co-operation of masses for the projects of government.

So please tell me in the light of these thoughts, how you propose to solve this psychological and roup tangles of Rayalaseema.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

Shri THIMMAREDDI became Minister three times,

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BHARATIYA ADIMJATI SEVAK SANGH, KINGSWAY, DELHI.

23rd, November 1949.

My dear N. G. Ranga;

Re. Proposal for a new district for the agency (Adibasi) region of Visakhapatnam East & West Godavary Districts:

To me it seems that L. N. Subbarao's proposal is worth serious consideration. This reminds me of a similar proposal made to me by the then Governor of Orissa in the year 1939, to the proposal to form a district out of the Agency areas of Ganjam District. This was when I was the Chairman of a Committee to enquire into the condition of Adivasis of Orissa at the end of the first congress regime. Though I liked that idea much, I had to drop it out of Political considerations and did not recommend it. Now after 10 years we are in a happier position to help in the development and welfare of our Adivasi friends of Andhra, and who, I may say are not better off than what they were in 1923, as described by Mr. Haris. Of course you know more about the Araku Valley work, and Ramapada Sagar Proposal and other similar development plans there. So I need not say more about this region.

Yours sincerely,
A. V. THAKKAR.
Vice-President

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Prof. N. G. RANGA, M.P.

NEW DELHI,
28th November, 1949.

My dear Sri Thakkar Bapa,

With reference to your letter of 23rd instant regarding the proposal for a new district * comprising the agency region of the three districts of Vizag, East & West Godavari, I wish to say that I am generally in agreement with the proposal. I have also seen the statement of Mr. L. N. Rao in "The Hindu". I have myself suggested some time ago that there should be a Special Development Board with large powers to achieve the all-round social and economic development of this region and its tribal people as well as settlers. I hope to take up this matter with the Government after the Andhra Province becomes a fait accompli.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

Sri THAKKAR BAPA, Kingsway, Delhi.
Bharatiya Harijan Sevak Sangh,

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* In the wake of Naxalite agitation, Government woke up to this problem, Unfortunately even the Co-op. Marketing Corporation has so far not succeeded. Corruption is rampant in almost all departments dealing with the Adibasis. This proposal of constituting a special District for Adibasis is still in the clouds. — (Ed).

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GANDHI GRAM, P & T. O. CHINNALPATTI,

Via. Ambatturi, S. India.
November, 1949.

I intend to get married to Kumari K.P. Mangaleswari (niece of Shri G. Ramachandran, Secretary, All India village

Industries Association) on the 14th of November 1949 at Gandhi Gram. I hope we will have your blessings and good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
RAVINDRA VARMA. *

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* He was then a leader of Students Congress; later became an M.P. and General Secretary of All India Congress(Organisation)Ed.

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Dr. V. S. KRISHNA, M.A. (Oxon),
Vice Chancellor.

Andhra University,
WALTAIR.
D/ 3-12-1949.

My dear Ranga,

I am very thankful to you for kindly accepting the invitation to inaugurate the Indian Economic Conference on the 26th. Please send your inaugural address for being printed here.

Hoping to meet you on the 25th, with kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
V. S. KRISHNA

Prof. N. G. RANGA, B. Litt. (Oxon.),
2, Ferozshah Road, New Delhi.

137

P. V. SUBBA RAO,
Barrister, Privy Council.

5. Essex Court,
Temple E. C. 4 London
5th December, 1949.

Dear Ranga,

I shall be finishing at the Privy Council in about a week or so and will be free so to speak for anything and any where.

I should very much have liked to have remained in Europe representing our Country in some Capital but alas there are no discerning people at the head of affairs to enlist the services of honest, capable and experienced Indians.

In this connection I understand there is a vacancy in the ambassadorship for Rome. I suppose you will be saying to yourself, what a hope ?

With kind regards from Mrs. Row, the boys & myself.

Yours sincerely,
P. V. SUBBAROW.

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* The late Mr. Subbarow was an eminent Barrister, Practising for decades at the Privy Council, London. Mr. Krishna Menon was his junior for some time. He had been an M L C in Madras Legislative Council in 1920—23 and fought British repression against No-Tax Campaigners of PEDANANDIPADU and CHIRALA fame. He played a statesman — like role in LONDON botween 1926-47, on behalf of Indian struggle for freedom. He married an English lady. His son Subbarow Junior became famous as Test Cricket player in U. K. Eventually Subbarow was called upon by Indian Government to serve as the Chairmen of the Railway Rates Tribunal [Ed.]

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.
INDIA.

15, A.P. Sen Road,
LUCKNOW.
December 17, 1949.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I have addressed to the President and about which I had a talk with you when I was in Delhi. I am also enclosing a copy of the letter which I have addressed to Shri Kala Venkatarao in this connection. I hope you will raise this question at the next meeting of the Working Committee to make

the position absolutely clear. The instructions issued by Shri Venkata Rao in his circular No. 26 will lead to considerable confusion and corruption. It is very necessary that this point should be made clear. As I have pointed out in my letter to the President, it is against the provisions of the Congress constitution and as such it should be withdrawn.

Yours sincerely,
JUGAL KISHORE *

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. C. A.,
New Delhi.

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15, A. P. Sen Road,
LUCKNOW.
December 17, 1949.

Dear Rashtrapatiji,

I wish to draw your attention to the Press statement issued by Shri Kala Venkata Rao on 13th November and a circular No. 26 sent by him to all the Provincial Congress

* Shri Jugal Kishore with Cambridge degree became the General Secretary of the A. I. C. C. during President Tandonjee, who succeeded Dr. Pattabhi. Shri Kala Venkatarao, General Secretary during Dr. Pattabhi's presidentship persisted in waiving, in an un-official manner, the one year period that should elapse after any new person became a Congress member before he could qualify for effective membership. This waiver led to widespread perversion of Congress rule and simultaneous enrolment of tens of thousands of people in many states as ordinary as well as effective members. Shri Jugal Kishore protested in vain. like Rangaji then President of Andhra P. C. C. and prominent member of National Working Committee against that wrong twist given by Shri Venkata Rao and consequent weakening of moral foundations of the Congress Organisation and the end results of splits in Andhra and the defeat of Congress in 1952 General Elections. — (Ed.)

Committees in connection with the enrolment of Congress members. In para 5th of that circular it has been stated that the period of apprenticeship required by qualified member to become an effective member is not to apply for the present enrolment. The period stated here is two years and in the Hindi Circular No. 26 the period given is one year. Apart from this discrepancy in these circulars, I have to draw your attention to the provisions of the Constitution which lay down that no one can become an effective member unless he has been a qualified member for one year and has in the meantime been doing some constructive work. In the interim proposals which were passed simultaneously with the passing of the constitution at Bombay, it was provided that the period of two years required for primary member to become a qualified member is not to be enforced for the enrolment of members for 1950. There is no mention there that the period of one year required for a qualified member to be entitled to become effective member is to be waived similarly. The intention then was that as the primary members were to be enrolled according to the new constitution, the two years required for them to become qualified member need not be enforced. But there was neither any intention nor any mention of waiving the period of one year for enrolling as effective member. The circular referred to above, therefore, goes beyond the provisions of the Congress Constitution and the interim proposals. In my opinion no one except the All India Congress Committee is entitled to make any change in the Constitution and the interim provisions which form part of the constitution and that also if authorised by the INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS * to do so. I would, therefore, request you to issue instructions accordingly. If,

* As with all other democratic organisations, so with National Congress, Power in various Committees, except the apex working Committee could be reached, upto 1950, through elections. So whoever wanted to capture either Presidentship or Secretaryship etc. had to achieve majority choice. Many did not have enough patience to (Contd)

however, you do not happen to agree with my interpretation of the constitution, may I request you to place this matter

pursue honest means of enrolling members through strict adherence to rules. They tried to jump the queue, subvert the rules and by-pass honourable precedences and decencies and thus gain power through hook or crook. Such corrupt means were exploited for long in U.P. Bengal and Punjab. But in Andhra, this evil ladder to power came to be allowed by the A. I. C. C., when it was under the control of Dr. Pattabhi and Kala Venkatarao, through their Circular against which Jugal Kishore protested. Once an effective member was allowed to vote, soon after he was enrolled as an ordinary member without having to put in one year's constructive work, the door was opened for lakhs of ordinary members to become simultaneously effective members and thus gain the vote to decide the fate of Committee leaders.

It was thus lakhs of Primary Members could gain effective membership, disregarding the rules, by simply paying the higher fees and this led to much unholy competition in Andhra, U. P., Bihar etc. in enrolling bogus membership. In some villages, all the major population claimed to be effective members of the Congress. Rangaji and Jugal Kishore protested but in vain against this Circular and its evil consequences. The President and Secretary of the A I C C who were bent upon capturing control over Andhra Provincial Congress turned a deaf ear to all protests and allowed the bogus membership to swell. When they could not feel sure of their conjured up majority, they managed to get the Andhra PCC superceded and the conduct of elections being handed over to their non-Andhra nominees. When even that move could not be depended upon to assure them of the much desired majority, they condoned the resort made by their partisans to court to prevent about 30 PCC Members from voting. Through these and such other highly amoral means, their partisans claimed to have gained a majority of five in the election to Presidentship of the P C C. Only then and by these unscrupulous means, they could defeat Rangaji. It was because of this corruption that Rangaji and Shri Prakasam resigned from the Congress in 1951 May.

This malaise seems to be the inescapable concomitant of every Political Party's efforts to choose its leadership. Even the youngest Parties like Communists and Swatantra Party have had to grapple with bogus membership. Indeed the American Democratic and Republican Parties suffer from it. Unfortunately for themselves Rangaji, Prakasamji could not make their peace with it and so failed to meet the challenge of the amoral tactics of their opponents.

— (Ed.)

before the Working Committee for its consideration at its forthcoming meeting on the 20th inst. ?

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
JUGAL KISHORE.

To

Dr. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA, President,
Indian National Congress, New Delhi.

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THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
Personal

Post Box No. 49
NEW DELHI.
19-12-1949.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

History will record that in circumstances admittedly difficult, you played your cards remarkably well, and used your hand in shaping things to common advantage. It must have been a proud day in your life when you could achieve unity in the ranks and make the Andhra Province an accomplished fact. Your reference to the statesmanship of Mr. Prakasam and Dr. Pattabhi was very handsome-indeed, graceful.

That in the more spacious days ahead you will play a role which does justice to your undoubted gifts and breadth of vision, is my ardent hope. That you should rise to the height of your own opportunities is my fervent wish.

With kindest regards,
Yours very sincerely,
K. ISWAR DUTT.

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
2, Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi.

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D. O. No. A. 1. 56 (12)
Minister of Labour
NFW DELHI,
Dated the 23rd December, 1949.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Please refer to my d. o. letters bearing members Dy. A. L. 230, dated, the 14th June, 1949 and No.56 A.L.(12), dated, the 12th July, 1949, requesting for your detailed suggestions regarding amendments to the Minimum Wages Act. * 1946.

2. I shall be grateful if you will favour me with your suggestions as early as possible.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
SADASHIVA PRASAD.

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
President, All-India Kisan Sabha,
Federation of Rural People's Organisations,
17, Panchkuin Road, New Delhi.

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5, Queen Victoria Road.
NEW DELHI,
December 30, 1949.

My dear Ranga,

Your letter regarding the railway between Waltair and Bezwada.

2. The question of the re-grouping and integration of railways is still in the stage of investigation. I shall

* Rangaji insisted upon the inclusion of agricultural wages also within the sphere of protection for Minimum Wages. — (Ed.)

certainly, at the proper time, give due weight to what you have said in your letter.

Yours sincerely,

K. V. GOPALASWAMY.

Professor N. G. RANGA,
Office, Bezwada-2.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI. 1949

My dear Sri Iswar Dutt,

Many thanks for your heartening message, I must say I do need such encouragement in these anxious days.

It was Mr. Prakasam who behaved in such a big way and thus helped us to achieve such unanimity over this issue. In fact he acted in the same big and generous way over the election of Dr. Pattabhi as Congress President and accepted so readily my advice offered to him on trunk phone; but alas, with such disappointing results and lack of comradeship from the other friends. You can therefore understand why I am so much attached to this noble leader of the Andhra. I know how necessary it is for all congressmen to pull together and learn to love each other; and how disastrous it would be for the country itself if they are to continue in their present vicious moods and spitefulness towards each other. Hence my suggestion to the Congress Working Committee which came to be accepted after two years of persistent advocacy that we should have broadbased (composite) ministries in the provinces which would represent the whole of the Party and not the narrow majority only. Indeed that is my view in regard to the composition of the Provincial Congress Executives and legislatures.

But unfortunately the ministerialists would not appreciate this approach nor would they give up their sabotage efforts. In one District, in spite of our best efforts we could not win the co-operation of ministerialists and they had gone to the length of openly defying the P. C. C. and defeating its candidate for the Presidentship of the District Board.

In spite of this set-back and non-co-operation, I am bent upon pursuing this policy of bringing togother different clusters of friends within the Congress and making it a powerful unified, dynamic Party. In this task, I need all the support and sympathy that friends like you can give me.

Yours sincerely,
RANGA.

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INTERVIEW BY CANADIAN RADIO REPRESENTATIVE WITH N. G. RANGA, LEADER OF INDIAN FARMER DELEGATION, (1949).

I

Prof. Ranga : Peasants in India have long realized that farmers of the World should be united, in order to maximize their services to society, and their productive strength just as the working classes of the West have organized themselves. That is why Mahatma Gandhi blessed my efforts, first to organize Indian Peasants and next to go to the London Conference, of 1946 of World Agriculturists. There, the representatives of farmers of the World decided to organize the International Federation of Agricultural Producers. I am glad to say that, the I. F. A. P. has won a place among the powerful international organisations. Its most important achievement so far has been to make the farmers' organizations of both the

exporting and importing countries to agree upon the need for regulating world trade in agricultural products and in pressing upon their governments the need for a World Food Board and also the International Wheat Agreement. It is largely due to this agreement and I. F. A. P's pressure, that the International Wheat Agreement which could not be ratified during the last 25 years has now come to be ratified. The I. F. A. P. has brought the farmers of the World into touch with each other and is making them realize the oneness of their interests. But, in one respect, it has yet to mark progress before the Eastern nations could feel as well satisfied as the others. It has taken, as a starting point, for its discussions, the problems of Western Farmers who have taken to mechanization of farming, and who are applying to agriculture the results of science most enthusiastically. But it has also to concern itself with the problems and the needs of the farmers of the East whose holdings are too small, who depend too much upon manual labour and whose standards of living are abnormally low and whose problems therefore need an entirely different approach. The I. F. A. P. should study their problems and put forward their demands as more and more Eastern farmers' organizations join it, and make it possible for western conferers to understand their needs. As it is, only India, Burma and China are sending their representatives and the rest of Asiatic, African and Eastern European peasants have not joined. I wish to urge that they hurry to join the Federation and help to make it fully representative and most effective world peasants' and farmers's front.

Halhed : Professor Ranga, how long have you yourself been associated with the I. F. A. P. ?

Prof. Ranga : Since its foundation, and I have been a member of its Executive also.

Halhed: What do you think this Conference will achieve ?

Prof. Ranga: I think it would put forward the farmers' agreed formula for the movement of food-surpluses from the surplus nations to consumer nations and thus help surplus producing farmers' to maintain their price-levels and stability of their agriculture and also raise the nutritional levels of the thickly-populated countries. We recognize that it is as much the responsibility of the world as a whole as that of the prosperous producer countries to subsidize the food-consumption of the under-privileged people of all countries. Therefore, we are suggesting that the food-surpluses should be placed at the disposal of the under-privileged peoples at prices within their reach; the losses to be shared between the selling countries and the world. To this end, we are suggesting that the Food, Agriculture Organisation and International Trade Organisation should take the lead in arranging commodity agreements on a world scale and thus contribute for orderly equitable distribution of surpluses for the benefit of all concerned. I think this is a culmination of the last three years' work of the I. F. A. P., of which the farmers of the World can be proud.

Halhed: Thank you, Professor Ranga. This is Dick Halhed reporting to Canadian Chronicle and Radio from Guelph, Ontario.

RADIO TALK IN CANADA — 1949.

Rex: What organisation do you represent at the I F A P Conference ?

Ranga: The F R P O... and I K C. The first, the FRPO is composed of Peasant Organisations. We started the Peasant Movement 26 years ago. It believes in co-operative commonwealth. We are developing many farmers co-operatives. Our farmers are politically

conscious, but they are hopelessly poor. Their holdings are very small, ranging from 2 to 6 acres each. They work hard. In places they produce three crops per year. In other places two. But most of them depend upon the mercy of rainfall.

Rex: We in North America have heard a great deal about hunger suffered by large sections of people in India...What are the conditions there, as you know them ?

Ranga: We are to-day importing 4 million tons of food grains.

Rex: Why is it necessary to do that.

Ranga India has always been a food importing country. She used to import rice from South East Asia. Our population has been increasing by 5 million per year. The insurance of our agriculture against vicissitudes of rainfall through irrigation has not kept pace, only 5% of our cultivated area is under irrigation. And ever since partition, the Pakistan area has secured the food surplus irrigated areas. Last year there was failure of crops due to floods and drought and so our need for imports has risen from 2 ½ million to 4 million tons, worth 40 million dollars.

Rex : Unless you are able to import food to that equivalent, your Indian people will have to go hungry ?

Ranga : That is so...most of our people have always been hungry. They have been living under subnormal conditions, hence the high death rate, especially the infant mortality, and also very low rate of longevity. We are able to supply only 12 ounces per head, that is less than 1000 calories, whereas an average adult is expected to get 2000 to maintain himself in an efficient condition. We want to right this position. But at first we want to reach self-

sufficiency in full, up to minimum rations, that is 12 ounces within the next 2 years, by adopting intensive methods of production.

Rex : How do you propose to go about it ?

Ranga : In the short run, we are improving irrigation and flood control facilities, by digging more wells, improving tanks, and preparing irrigation projects. We are also trying to bring lands hitherto uncultivated into cultivation. We are sparing all the farm-yard manure for food production alone. We are speeding up the production of green manure too. We are using pumps to tap subsoil water. We are trying to divert land from many of the non-essential crops to food crops.

Rex : But in spite of all your endeavours, India's position in regard to food has deteriorated, owing to widespread failure of crops.

Ranga : Yes, that is so.

Rex : What food products does India require from other countries ?

Ranga : We need rice and wheat...We are now getting corn but our people cannot make the best use of it because they do not like it.

Rex : Where have you been getting these from ?

Ranga : We get rice from Burma and Siam, but in small quantities. If the political conditions in the east improve, then we can hope to get an increase of 1½ to 2 million tons of rice from Burma, Siam, Indonesia and Indo-China. That depends upon the European Imperialists.

Rex : Where are you getting wheat from ?

Ranga : Australia, in part from USA and Argentina.

Rex : None from Canada ?

Ranga No. The Emergency Food Council decides where we get it.

Rex: Do I take it from that Dr. Ranga that India is not in a position to pay for these imports ?

Ranga : Oh no, we are paying for our immediate imports. But our sterling balances in London are being depleted very fast. That worries us.

Rex : Well then what are your long term plans for the better feeding of your people ?

Rana : We have plans and estimates ready for 12 major irrigation projects, which when developed would bring 6 million acres of land under irrigation and thus insure ourselves against vicissitudes of seasons and assure annually at least 4 million tons more food grains within the next 15 years. And to do this job, India will need at least 1400 million dollars that is 3½ times as much as we are now spending on our imports. We want this financial help from the United States, we do not want it as a gift and we hope that the World Bank and the World monetary Fund and the USA will between themselves let us have this lend-lease assistance.

Rex : Are there other things that India needs from the Western World apart from food and capital ?

Ranga : India is very badly in need of machinery and fertilizers, we are establishing a big factory to produce 350,000 tons of fertilizers, we need easily 6 more such factories. We need a number of tractor manufacturing concerns too. At the present time all these have to be imported. The currency complications prevent it. The hard currency countries, principally USA and Canada must be prepared to take atleast our fine textile fabrics hides and skins, silks, perfumes, carpets and oil seeds and oils if we are to be able to have expanding export trade,

which will enable us to pay for the things we need. Alternatively, they should be ready to sell these things on lend lease basis through the World Bank. We therefore appeal to the statesmen of America and Canada to apply to India and other eastern countries their wartime lend-lease programme and thus come to our rescue. I can assure them that thereby they would be helping themselves, because the world is one.

Rex : What sort of a reception has been given to your appeal on behalf of India here at the IFAP conference?

Ranga : I am glad to say as Founder Member of the I. F. A. P. that all the delegations gathered here have expressed their keen desire to press their respective governments to assist the governments of the eastern countries to develop their agriculture and industries and raise the standard of living of their people. They have been showing fine Comeraderie. They have displayed a keen sense of appreciation of the fact that the World is one in posperity and poverty and that the farmers of the World should stand together. Our organisation owes its inception and development to the inspiration of Gandhi. He is our National Father. Our Peasants are very much devoted to his principles.

"Here in Canada you have got everything... good soil, scientific knowledge, and the machinery and trained men. You can produce enough for your needs and more and we need more and yet more food. When I see your fine herds of cattle and farms and when I think of our hungry children and starving men and women who have never tasted cow's milk...I cannot help feeling sad.

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Year, 1949.

My dear Sri Jawaharlal,

I am sorry to find that the Constitution Amendment Bill does not provide any scope for the Union Government to reorganise our provinces, if and when they choose to do so, in accordance with the easier procedure envisaged by the transitional provision of the Act (391 (1)), and not to have to follow the cumbrous procedure provided for by Section 2 of the Constitution Act.

You know how strong are the feelings of the people of Andhra and Maharashtra in particular for the formation of their provinces and how the enquiries and other formalities to be satisfied in connection with the formation of Andhra Province were completed and the actual formation was deferred merely on the ground that the Partition Committee could not make unanimous report, although it was open to the Union Government to arbitrate over those differences. That indefinite postponement has caused a great wound in the hearts of Andhras.

When recently some of us from Andhra and Karnataka raised this matter in the Congress Working Committee, you were good enough to agree to give fresh consideration to this matter.

I was hoping, against hope, that Government would at least make necessary provision in this Amendment Bill extending the time limit for the exercise of power by the Union Government under the transitional provisions (391 (1)) to reorganise our provinces and usher in at least the Andhra and Karnatak Provinces.

The strength of feeling for the creation of these and other provinces, south of Narboda is so strong and yet our countrymen living to the North of that river have so far failed to realise its depth or its all pervasive character.

I request you to take time by its forelock at least now, bring in a suitable official amendment to this Bill and thus give to Government the necessary power to create these provinces whenever possible between now and the general elections or soon after, without having to go through the slow and tortuous procedure of Section 2.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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NAGAS AND HORACE ALAXANDER

Quaker Centre,
NEW DELHI.
3-1-1950.

Dear friend,

Thank you for your letter of December 28th, with a copy of yours to the Prime Minister.

I saw him (Jawaharlalji) for a few minutes the day before he left Delhi but there were other matters to talk about and we did not have time to start on the Nagas. However I have spoken with one or two others here about it and I may yet get an opportunity with him when he returns from Europe. It was good to see you again.

I am living here now. So when your Parliamentary duties bring you to Delhi, I hope we may meet again.

Yours sincerely,
HORACE ALEXANDER. *

* British Quakers (Unitarians) Horace Alexander and Stanley Jones played an active role in co-operation with Shri Jai Prakash Narain in achieving cease-fire in Nagaland hostilities and forming the Peace Committee. Horace Alexandar was, therefore, actively interested in the consequent Pour-parles with Government.

Rangaji also took interest in these Naga affairs and visited Nagaland as a member of the Parliamentary delegation appointed by Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri in 1965 and again in 1969 and tried to persuade the leaders of the rebel Nagas to co-operate with the Nagaland Government. — (Ed.)

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ABOUT COMNIST VIOLENCE IN TELANGANA.

No. 5-DPM/49,
Camp; Birla House,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay, 3-1-1950.

My dear Ranga,

Thank you for your New Year Greetings, which I warmly reciprocate.

I have also got your long letter about Hyderabad. As you know, the question is already uppermost in my mind. Vellodi is going to study the situation on the spot and suggest necessary measures. You can rest assured that we shall do the best we can.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
VALLABHBHAI PATEL.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, Member,
Constituent Assembly of India, Nidubrolu.

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ANDHRA PRABHA

The largest Circulated Telugu Daily

29-1-1950

V. R. NARLA *
Editor

Club House Road,
Mount Road, MADRAS.
29-1-1950.

My dear Rangaji,

I wish I were half as good a correspondent as yourself. How prompt you are in cheering up this comrade, consoling that companion, greeting this friend, befriending that worker, commending this journalist and condemning that recalcitrant. And all this in spite of your multifarious activities and heavy responsibilities.

I am very happy indeed that some of my recent thumbnail sketches of national and inter-national leaders struck you as fairly good. I am grateful too for the suggestion that I might collect some of these into a book. As a matter of fact, I have been entertaining this idea for some time now. But I have not kept cuttings of these and I am finding the collection of the various leaders written over a number of years from the office files rather a tough job.

Your photographs which I have taken in my drawing-room have come out well. As I was not sure of your whereabouts, I posted a full-plate enlargement to Srimati Bharati Ranga.

I will be obliged if you would let me know your reading of the chances of the formation of the Andhra Province.

With kind regards.

Yours affectionately,
V. R. NARLA *

P. S. Pardon me for my bad typing.

* He has founded the daily "Andhra Jyoti" of Vijayawada and been its Editor. His two volumes on Vemana, the Telugu Poet and Philosopher and special volume on Veeresalingam (the famous Social Reformer) which was dedicated to Rangaji were published by the National Academy. — (Ed),

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RANGOON,

10-2-1950.

My dear brother,

I am glad to report that I have done my best, with the co-operation of my fellow delegate Mr. Samanth M. P. from Bengal; to press India's demand for a separate wing for Rice of the FAO for Asia with independent research and demonstration wings, and adequate funds therefor, to cater to the special regional needs of Asian Peasantry and Rural People. Our plea for special priority for agricultural needs of Asia, especially for more credit facilities and agro-industries with high employment potentials and cottage industries and crop and cattle insurances found many supporters among the delegates of Malaya, Thailand, Phillippines. I have also been able to acquaint the delegates about our ideal of democratic Kisan Mazdoor, Kalakar, Buddhijeevi Raj.

You will be pleased to learn that my talks with some Burmese ministers about the needs of our Indian settlers have created favourable atmosphere. I have advised the leaders of Andhra settlers to try to salvage as much of their savings as possible and manage to return to India, before tne Burmese attitude towards such Asian settlers becomes definitely unfavourable.

This Conference of Asian Delegates of the FAO has decided, on our suggestion, to set up a Permanent Commission.

Some of them mentioned our N.V. Naidu's earlier talks with their Peasant leaders for the formation of Asian Former's Association. They said they would like to develop it. They want you to undertake a tour of these countries for this purpose.

I met our Ambassador Shri Rauf and had useful discussions. He talked nicely about his discussions with you and Bharati Devi in 1939 in Rangoon and later in Delhi and wished to be reminded to you.

Yours affectionately,
G. L. NARAYANA.

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INDIAN EMBASSY
Rangoon, 15th February 1950.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I have just received your letter dated 23rd January, 1950. Your brother Shri G. L. Narayana was here attending the Rice Conference. He returned on Sunday, the 12th February. He was in touch with our Andhra friends and has been able to study some of the labour conditions here. I hope he has gone away from Rangoon satisfied with the arrangements made for him.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. RAUF.

Prof. N. G. RANGA,

2. Ferozshah Road, NEW DELHI.

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* Shri G. L. Narayana, M A B L of Calcutta University rose to be the Vice-President and General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha and President of the Indian Oil-Seeds Growers and Paddy (Rice) Producers Association. He was also a member of the National Liason Commission of the F A O — Ed.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

2 Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
17-2-1950.

My dear Jawaharlalji/Sardarji,

I wish to convey to you the Leader and the Deputy Leader of our Party my gratitude for having elected me as first in rank among non-officials in the Executive Committee.

I am very glad that Panditji has taken us into his confidence at our Party Meeting on the 10th instant about various matters pertaining to the personnel of our party in our Parliament and also in our Government. He was also good enough to ask us never to hesitate to convey to him and the Deputy Leader our thoughts in regard to the improvement of the work of our Party and its leaders in their relationship with our Government.

I wish to place before you for your earnest consideration in the first instance the following thoughts. At the very outset I wish to assure you that till after the next general elections I do not wish to entertain any idea of serving the Party and yourselves by joining your Cabinet. Therefore, I request you to consider the following thoughts on their own merits.

The whole nation is grateful to the Leader and Deputy Leader for having raised the status of the country in international spheres by (a) the handling of our foreign affairs by our Prime Minister, (b) the integration of the whole of India and liquidation of the autocratic princely order by the Deputy Leader and generally by the manner in which they have kept up the morale of the people and the strength

of the nation. Therefore, the suggestions I make below are only intended to get much better results for the nation as a whole by the re-alignment of their ministerial responsibilities and the reorganisation of the Cabinet as a whole.

I am glad our leader has recognised in the course of his address to us on the 10th instant that, while it is so very essential that he should spare more and more time to meet our Party Members, to establish better and more frequent communion with them, he was finding it more difficult to spare time as he was obliged to meet too many diplomats, foreign visitors, etc. I have also found that he is not able to give as much time and attention to the overall control and shaping of the Cabinet's policy and working as should be expected of him. As things are in India, our Party Leaders are not only the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister but also the top most national leaders and therefore, the success or failure not only of our Government but also of our Nation during the next six years, will be mostly dependent upon the fact whether they are willing to reorientate their conceptions of their Cabinet and administrative responsibilitives and give more time to their responsibility as Party leaders as well as national leaders. At present our Congress Party inside Parliament and in the whole country is in a chaotic condition and needs their special attention and more and more of their time.

Secondly, the handling of our relations with Pakistan on all relevant fronts has not been firm and satisfactory because of the leaders' preoccupations with scientific Research, Planning, Kashmir and Foreign Affairs and Food besides the duties of the Prime Minister.

It is felt by many of us in the party that Sri Gopalaswami Iyangar on whom he so much relies for his policies and decisions on Kashmir and Pakistan issues is not able to grapple with the situation with just that strength and spirit as can be in harmony with the national needs and sentiments.

It is well known that there is so little co-ordination between different departments and that there is much scope for the enunciation of more co-ordinated policies and programmes as between different Ministries and execution thereof. Who can eliminate these defects and inspire the whole Ministry and infuse into it the necessary degree of dynamism and hundred percent patriotic approach better than the Prime Minister ? Is not that a big enough challenge for the Prime Minister ?

What has been the experience of England ? Did not MacDonald fail because he wanted to be the foreign Minister as well as Prime Minister ? Have not Churchill and Attlee contented themselves with being Prime Ministers and thus served their country, cabinet and party much better ?

Therefore, I think the time has come when he should concentrate upon being an effective Prime Minister having a grip over the whole of the Governmental policy. programmes and administration and being ready to put his whole inspiring personality behind any policy or programme or any national campaigns of first priority, as for instance, he has been doing in the case of food.

Coming to the Deputy Leader, it is my duty to say that the whole party is worried why he should waste his valuable time and energy in his present state of health over the administrative details of his Ministries and over answering questions in the Assembly. For want of firm, decisive and inspired leadership which he alone is capable of giving, the Ministries of Refugee and Rehabilitation, Industry and Supply, Commerce, Power, Works and Mines, Finance, Agriculture and Food and department dealing with our relations with Pakistan, have not given us as much satisfaction as could have been expected even under the special circumstances of the past 2½ years. There is not the desired co-ordination in the working of these Ministries. It is doubt-

ful whether the movement for higher, better and more economical production that the Leader and Deputy Leader are trying to organise, can gain any momentum unless the Sardar undertakes the special responsibility towards them similar to that undertaken by Sir Stafford Cripps over all Ministries concerned with production. The Sardar is unable to do that now because he is saddled with the administration of two heavy Ministries which are big enough to tackle the energies and abilities of two able and much younger Cabinet Ministers.

We are all anxious that he should concentrate upon solving the piquant, partisan, group and psychological problems that are arising amongst ourselves within the party all over the country, and give his valuable guidance to the Premiers and P. C. C. Presidents and Central Ministry.

I wish to suggest for the serious consideration of Sardarji that he should decide in favour of the appointment of the separate Cabinet or State Ministers, one for the States (both the old and the new) and the other for the Home Ministry and himself being the Supreme Minister for both so that he need have to concentrate on all issues involving policies, leaving day to day administrative problems to the State ministers.

Now that the work of the merger or the reorganisation process is more or less completed and all of them are to be treated on a par with the old provinces. it is necessary to have a Ministry for all the States in order to bring about better coordination between the State's Governments and Central Government, to avoid so much friction between them and to help the States' Government and Central Government to so work out their policies and programmes for all round national development as to avoid waste and to obtain best results for the monies spent. This States' Ministry can also render valuable service in settling the inter-state problems arising out of their taxation measures, River

Val ey, Flood Control and Power Projects, crop planning and industrial development, etc. Moreover, many problems arising out of the personal relations between Provincial Congress Parties and Ministries, are cropping up for want of timely and firm guidance, ever since Sardar ceased to be the Chairman of the Parliamentary Board, and every day our Congress as well as our Governments are becoming too weak to discharge their responsibilities. Therefore, Sardarji has once again to shoulder this responsibility and it can best be discharged by reorganising the States Department and placing it in charge of this coordination work between the States and the Centre. The Central Government is given so much power over the States Governments and the points at which their respective Junctions are likely to come into contact, leading possibly to misunderstandings and conflict have been multiplied by the Constitution and only the most powerful and experienced veteran amongst us can be expected to tackle these highly delicate problems and thus help us to develop healthy conventions of mutual adjustment and co-operation between the Central and State Governments and also do his best to help the Provincial Ministries and their P.C.Cs. to work as a team.

In order to decide upon the high policies concerning industrial and Agricultural development and to watch the progress of their implementation, let there be Cabinet Sub-Committee with the Prime Minister as Chairman and the Sardar and the concerned Ministers as members. Thus nothing of fundamental importance can be decided upon without the knowledge and full acceptance by the Prime Minister. At the same time the Ministers will have full freedom to go ahead with their executive work, so long as they have the approval of the Deputy Prime Minister for their periodical programmes of work and the targets settled in relation to the policy of the Cabinet.

We are now thinking of appointing a Planning Commission. Who is to be in charge of the implementation

of its recommendations? Whoever may be the Minister concerned, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister must be prepared to offer overall guidance and supervision.

The Prime Minister shall be free to take up any problem that needs his immediate attention and develop a national campaign for its solution and put behind it his whole personality and authority in order to achieve complete success and fulfilment of targets even before the set dates.

Until and unless both our national leaders make up their minds that they should no longer belong to any one or two departments or Ministries but should become the real and effective leaders of the whole Government and therefore, agree between themselves as to which of the Ministries each of them will make himself specially responsible so far as their leadership is concerned and thus make their best contribution to our nation as Deputy and Prime Minister, I am afraid, we cannot hope for any early and much desired improvement in our Central Government.

Let me reiterate that there is great need for changing the leadership of the Ministries of Finance, Industry and Supply, Food and Agriculture, Relief and Rehabilitation, Commerce and the Department dealing with Pakistan, Kashmir and allied problems.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

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NEW DELHI,

February 20, 1950.

My dear Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th February. I appreciate your writing to me frankly and giving me your views

about various matters. I agree with some things that you have said. With others I am not wholly in agreement, partly because I have to consider various factors which may not be before you.

So far as my work is concerned, it has been the work far more of a Prime Minister than that of a Foreign Minister. All the routine work of the Foreign Office is looked after by the Deputy Minister, the Secretary-General and the Foreign Secretary. I am consulted only in important matters. It would not make very much difference, if I was not Foreign Minister, so far as most of these matters are concerned, as I would have to be consulted even then. I agree with you, however, that it would be better for both Sardar Patel and me to divest ourselves of direct charge of Ministries. There are, however, certain inherent difficulties in this at present.

I should like to tell you that most of my time has been spent in dealing with our relations with Pakistan and Kashmir, both of which are closely allied, and relief and rehabilitation.

Your reference to Gopalaswami Ayyangar must be based on some misunderstanding. No policy or decision has been made by him in regard to Kashmir or Pakistan without constant consultation with me and the Deputy Prime Minister. In fact it would be more correct to say that I have done it in consultaation with him, and the Deputy Prime Minister. Therefore, if there are any mistakes in these policies and decisions, I am chiefly responsible for them. I should like to pay my tribute to Gopalaswami Ayyangar's most valuable help in a variety of matters.

The real difficulty that crops up repeatedly is a lack of common outlook in regard to certain vital matters between me and many members of the Party. This has caused me

more anxiety and has taken more of my time than anything else. So long as I am Prime Minister and have to shoulder this heavy responsibility, I would be false to my own conviction. At the same time it is obvious that if our Party feels strongly about any matter, it should have its way. There is thus sometimes this conflict which comes in the way of our work. The proper way to resolve that conflict is for the Party to have a leader who is in tune with its own views and approaches to important questions. I would personally welcome that.

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri N. G. RANGA,
2, Ferozeshah Road,
New Delhi.

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COLLEGE OF COMMERCE: WARDHA.

SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL,
M. A. (Cal.) M. A. (Alld)Principal.

25th February, 1950.

Ref. No. WR/GS/2041.

Dear Prof. Ranga.

This letter is being written to you for a special request. I hope you will please not mind the trouble.

From July next, I desire to appoint a senior Professor on the staff of my College at Wardha. He should be in complete sympathy with the ideology and the way of life

for which we stand. If possible, he should possess a Doctor's degree in Economics or might have received training in Business Administration in any of the American Universities, Otherwise, even an experienced Professor possessing a Master's degree in Economics or Commerce will be quite useful. But, as we have introduced Hindi and Marathi as the media of instruction in the College he should be able to lecture in either of the two languages.

But, if you know of any person who is eager to come to Wardha and live with us in this atmosphere, please do try to let me know at your earliest convenience. I am eager to gather a group of qualified youngmen who are imbued with a desire to further the cause of Gandhian thought in India. I am sure, you will kindly help me in this work.

With cordial greetings.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN NARAYAN. *

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
Member. Indian Parliament,
New Delhi.

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* Shriman Narayan has later become General Secretary of the A I C C and a Member of the National Planning Commission and Governor of Gujarat. He was good enough to help Rangaji in preparing for the press his book "WHY FOUR CRORE ARTISANS HAIL GANDHI PLAN" in 1946. — Ed.

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PREVENT ALIENATION OF MOKHASA LANDS

Andhra Provincial Congress, Camp: Vizianagaram.
Bezwada. D. 2-3-1950.

My dear Sri Sitarama Reddiar (Minister)

I am enclosing two petitions of ryots of Mokhasa villages of Vizagpatam District. Even at Salur, some ryots

made the same complaints. This problem of forcible eviction of tenants who have long been in occupation of lands in most cases for generations has asumed specially serious shape in this District.

In some cases some of these Mokhasadars, (Petty Zamindars) in some places have even shot at Kisans and killed a few in the last 2 years.

Litigation is increasing as a result of this unholy campaign of landlords against tenants from their attempt to oust tenants from their lands.

Our P. C. C. has repeatedly requested Government to take necessary legislative or administrative action, specially to protect such Mokhasa tenants who have been in occupation of lands for more than 12 years and indeed for generations. If need be, necessary protective steps may be taken to enable landlords to come into occupation for self-cultivation of only such lands which have been given to tenants for less than 12 years or when the land-lord do not have more than 40 or 50 acres or any alternative employment and who really which to take actual and personal cultivation.

But immediately this large scale and forcible eviction of long established, tenants ought to be stopped,

I request you to get this ticklish question carefully examined, if need be with the aid of experts and representatives of both parties, i. e., landholders and tenants and see that justice is done to all.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM
LONDON CENTRE

Chairman : Y. OSMAN.

Swaraj House,
32, Percy Street,
LONDON, W-1.
March 5, 1950.

INTERNATIONAL SUB-COMMITTEE

Dear Prof. Ranga,

My Committee has asked me to write to you to express their regret that you were unable to attend the Conference on Colonies and War, which was held in London last October.

This Conference was very valuable in making it clear that the colonial peoples were not prepared to become involved in the machinations, and preparations for war which the two rival blocs are pursuing.

The Congress of peoples has extended its sphere of influence considerably while at the same time the cohesion and unity of the affiliates with the Centre has greately increased. These developments have given the London Centre many responsibilities and duties which it has been eager to undertake. Month after month new incidents occur in the colonies which display the despotism of the imperial powers and the colonial peoples appeal to us to support them in their struggle in such ways as we can viz., by meetings, in the press and through sympathisers in the House of Commons. In this connection, you will be interested to hear that our International Chairman, Fenner Brockway, has recently become a member of Parliament.

We hope that we may count on the support of your organisation in the coming year, and that you will formally affiliate to the Congress of Peoples against imperialism.

We shall be very glad if you will write to us and let us know how things are going with you, and let us have your literature, and of course we shall be pleased to do the same.

Yours sincerely,
Y. OSMAN.

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RANGAJI'S SPEECH AT KOTHAKOTA (VIZAG)

PLEA FOR KISANS CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

ANAKAPALLE

5-3-1950.

About the Peasants' demand for the development of Sarada Project at Madugole and Varaha Project at Kothakota, Rangaji said that "there is urgent need for the development of Project on Sarada, Varaha rivers at Madugole and Kothakota respectively and all such small projects within the next five years. But the provincial Governments have no sufficient funds and technical staffs at their command. Therefore it is the duty of our peasants to offer to bear atleast one fourth of the cost of these projects, if need be by paying in ten or fifteen instalments by way of inclusion or betterment fees, welcome the initiative taken by local people in offering to bear a portion of the cost of such projects. I am convinced that if only our engineers display sufficient resourcefulness we can build these projects by utilising most of the local materials, and personnel and if the local peasants are inspired to undertake their construction especially the building of canals etc. – the cost of these projects can be lowered considerably."

FORMULA FOR PROTECTION FOR TENANTS

He said "it is the duty of our tenants who produce such commercial crops as sugar cane, tobacco, turmeric, whose prices are subject to speculation and precipitate fluctuations to organise themselves and to see that rents are not pushed up by their cut-throat competition. Moreover, It is as well for our Government to prepare a standard rent-control form which stipulates a basic front as per the price of the product at a base period and a sliding scale of increment

or deduction in proportion to the fluctuations of prices, in relation to the basic price of the base period. Such a contract, if accepted by all concerned, will protect the tenants from the calamitous results of fluctuations of price and makes the land holders share to some degree in the fortunes of cultivation of their lands. Government should also explore the possibilities for statutory protection of the tenants of such lands on which these commercial crops are being raised."

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WELFARE OF ADIVASIS.

Sri B. GOPALA REDDI
Finance Minister.

Fort St. George,
MADRAS.
17th March 1950.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Thanks for your kind letter regarding Agency from Madugole.

We are appointing a Special Officer of the Grade of a Senior Collector to be in charge of the Agency Amelioration and I am sure he will go into the question of *Muthadari system and we shall take all steps to abolish that system early.

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* Muthadari system was based on the government's recognition of the head of a group of Adibasis living in a village or cluster of hamlets, as its agent to collect taxes, maintain peace and settle local disputes. Taking advantage of their connection with Government, the Muthadars or Chiefs of Muthas were exploiting the poor peasants and levying their own cesses and colluding with merchants in commercial transactions of Adibasis. So Rangaji has been pleading for its abolition, ever since he discovered its evil activities during his enquiry into the social and economic conditions of Tribes of Bhadrachalam in 1926 and Nilgiris in 1928. The late Shri R. M. Sharma, his colleague in the movement

I know Mr. Mandeswara Sarma's work and all glory to him for the silent work he is doing.

I am getting all the points raised in your letter examined by our Department.

Yours sincerely,
B. GOPALA REDDI.

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against Zamindari system, and Kodanda Ramaiah devoted the last years of their career (1950) to the liberation of these much exploited Adibasis of Andhra and worked in co-operation with Rangaji.

But it is only in the wake of Naxalite agitation of 1968-71 that Government has made a determined effort to ameliorate their economic conditions by freeing their lands from the clutches of money-lenders and merchants by offering economic prices for their produce through Tribal Co-operative Finance, Marketing Corporations. In all these directions, Rangaji has been strengthening the cause of Adibasis. — Ed.

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T. PRAKASAM

Government House,
Mount Road,
MADAAS.
March, 18, 1950.

My dear Sardar/Jawaharlal Nehru,

The same persons and their associates who were responsible for enlisting lakhs of effective members and collected lakhs of rupees both in Guntur and other places, were created by Shri Kala Venkatarao and Dr. Pattabhi, and are responsible for making this supreme effort to supersede the Andhra P. C. C. or to make it an effete body. The Congress President and his Secretary have been setting side disciplinary actions taken against members of their party. Invariably they have been issuing "stay" orders. Recently when the General Secretary Shri Kala Venkata Rao came here and met the Secretaries and others of Andhra P. C. C. at Bezwada he made them understand that he would not allow them to function as Congress members of P. C. C. and that if necessary he would even see that the

A. P. C. C. was superseded. When the last A. I. C. C. decided the enlistment of lakhs of effective members was a fraud on the country they did not make any provision for enquiry into the conduct of the offenders. This has emboldened them to start the present proceedings and call upon the people of both sides to go to Delhi for enquiry. The aim of the Congress High Command is to see that the Andhra P. C. C. is disabled or made ineffective by appointing some one of another province to take charge of the Andhra Congress elections. I am anxious that a crisis should be avoided by your Working Committee and also your leadership. I hope the Working Committee under your leadership would be able to avert serious consequences.

People have been in a disturbed state of mind for three years. Nothing that might exasperate them further should be done at this juncture. I do not wish to say more when you have got so many matters of capital importance to engage your attention.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,
T. PRAKASAM.

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NEW DELHI.
D. 23-3-1950.

My dear Panditji,

I was very sorry and upset by what you have said yesterday in the party meeting about your relations with the Cabinet, because that made it so clear to me that on all essential matters concerning the highest and most crucial policies there is no body of statesmen or collegues whom you are prepared to consult and whose opinion you are prepared to accept.

Surely this attitude is not democratic. And I have all along accepted you, as did millions of our people, as the most genuine democratic leader.

I dare say you remember our discussions in the Working Committee in the presence of Bapu as to the relations that should subsist between it and Government and you used to maintain that questions of policy and programmes concerning Government should be left to be decided by the Cabinet and be discussed in the party Executive. You would not discuss questions of high policy as you would like us to leave them to be discussed by the Cabinet.

Now you announce this dictum that as Prime Minister you should be free to formulate and execute high policies, whether a majority of your Cabinet is with you or not.

I would not have worried myself so much if you had made that remark in a moment of excitement or of high temper. But you kept on.

I do hope that you will find it possible to change your view of the collective responsibility of the Cabinet and its responsiveness and responsibility to the party Executive and the Working Committee.

If, however, you want us all to accept your position of yesterday, then I have to place my resignation of the membership of the Executive in your hands.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

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PERSONAL

Prime Minister,
India.

NEW DELHI,
March 23, 1950.

My dear Ranga,

Your letter. I think you have completely misunderstood me, I never challenged the joint responsibility of Cabinet.

I was referring to major matters of policy for which our Party stands. Among them being our attitude to communalism. What I said was that in a major matter of policy, for which the Prime Minister is specially responsible, if the Prime Minister's views are not accepted, then he has to go somebody else must take his place.

You must remember the background to which reference was made at the meeting. Whispering campaigns and attempts to run down the Prime Minister have been going on for some time. It is not possible for me or anyone in my position to carry on in this way. I think I am democratic enough, both in regard to the Cabinet and in regard to the Party, and I hope, the country. But what is happening is that almost everything that we stood for in the past is gradually being lost sight of and people are advocating policies in direct opposition to Congress policies. If I stand up for Congress policy, so called whispering campaigns are set afoot. Obviously when a crisis arises, it is most important that a decision should carry with it the largest amount of consent and approval and should be in conformity with our major policies. We have reached a time when these major policies themselves are apparently in dispute. I think we should clear that up.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

Shri N. G. RANGA,
New Delhi.

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N. R. SHUKLA, M.A.,LL.B., JABALPUR,
26-3-1950.

Prof. Shree N. G. Raga,
President,
All India Kisan Sammelan,
Dear Sir,

It is with deep regret that I am once again required to write you this letter. I have not been able to get any lite-

rature from your office as mentioned in your letter of 19th February 1950.

Swamiji had been here and I have discussed with him many matters but I am of impression that it will take centuries to do anything tangible by his method. Our programme ought to concentrate on a constructive basis and should be worked out on a large scale.

Without literature, I am not able to form a single body although I have moved in about 50 villages. I am starting a Co-operative multipurpose society in one centre and this work will be completed within a week's time.

Please let me know as to when you are coming to this province so that I may be able to discuss with you many matters in this connection.

It is very difficult to get Government help as there is a good deal of red tapism about every affair.

It will be necessary to create a lot of workers for the villages and that too from the villages themselves. The people in the City are too much engrossed in party politics and mean to do little.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
N. R. SHUKLA.

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SARVODAYA SAMAJ, WARDHA (C. P.)

Date 27th March 1950.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

You perhaps know that the Sarvodaya Samaj is holding its Second Annual Conference at ANGUL in Orissa from the 6th to the 13th of April 1950. I cordially invite you to attend the Conference and participate in its deliberations.

In case it is not possible for you to spend a whole week at ANGUL, please come for at least two or three days – from the 11th to 13th.

A formal invitation letter is also sent herewith and also a Sarvodaya Samaj Sevak form for your signature. Principal Agarwal told me that you are kindly interested in the Sarvodaya Samaj.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. DHOTRE,
Secretary.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
29-3-1950

My dear Sri Triloki Singh,

I am glad to learn that you had a talk on the 19th morning with Mr. Chitra. * the famous artist and house decorator and Deputy Director of Cottage Industries, Madras Government who is now serving as Deputy Director of Cottage Industries in Industry and supply Ministry. He started and edited the well-known high class art magazin 'SILPI' from Madras and spent more then fifteen thousand rupees on it.

Just because the U. P. S. C. would not recognise the degree conferred on him by Santiniketan, he could not be appointed as Director of Cottage Industries although the minister was keen on it. I do hope you will be able to make use of his extraordinary talents.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

Sri Triloki Singh, I C. S.,
Deputy Secretary, National Planning Commission,
NEW DELHI.

* Shri Chitra eventually was chosen by the International Labour Office as the Advisor and promoter of Cottage and Handicrafts industries in Asian and African countries. – Ed.

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United Nations Commission on Korea
A P O 404, C/o Postmaster
San Francisco, California.
U. S. A.

United Nations Commission of Korea. ... Nations Unies
Seoul, Korea,
25th April 1950.

My dear Professor Ranga,

I owe you an apology for the inordinate delay in writing to you. I have almost deliberately abstained from writing to you as I did not like to waste your time by writing to you for mere formality.

Our position is somewhat delicate here. The Government of the Republic was brought into being mainly on the favourable recommendation of the Temporary Commission which, under the distinguished guidence and Chairmanship of Mr. K. P. S. Menon, had observed the elections in May 1948 and reported favourably to the U. N. General Assembly. To that extent this Government is an Indian baby and the United Nations and twenty-eight other countries have recognised it. Yet, we could not accord recognition as it would mean recognition and perpetuation of the present partition, while our objective as a member of the U.N.Commission was the achievement of her unification. Again while we have voted for the appointment of military conflict along the 38th parallel, we are not sending our quota of observer lest it should antagonize Russia and we get more and more entangled in this internationaI conflict. Our position perhaps indicates the dictum to give a diplomatic demonstration in distant Korea of the famous Indian rope trick.

News about the communal situation in India is distressing. One can only hope that the recent agreements between the two Prime Ministers will save the two countries from the precipice.

The impression that Mr. K. P. S. Menon has made on the minds of the Koreans as the Chairman of the first Commission is amazing. Their frequent references to him are invariably replete with great respect and admiration for his dignity and scholarship and his unmatched ability as Chairman. They still recall his inspiring speeches and illuminating utterances and his endearing social charm.

I hope Shrimathi Bharati Devi Garu is keeping well. Please convey my kind and respectful regards to her.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

C. KONDAPI

165

Suggesting the need for Farmer's Radio Forum.

Prof. N. G. RANGA.

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
7th May, 1950.

My dear Shri Munshi, Minister for Agriculture,
Diwakar, Minister for Broadcasting.

I am enclosing a note from my friend Dr. C. Dakshnamurthi which was prepared at my request on popularising the basic principles and methods of agriculture among our general public and more particularly the rural public. I very much appreciate the public spirit with which he has prepared the note on the lines I suggested. I have seen some of the pamphlets published by the British Ministries of Agriculture and Education and I am sending one of them to you as a sample for your information. Many such pamphlets on various subjects can be had from the British Institute.

As you know, our agricultural extension work in India is not quite satisfactory and the consciousness of our kisans about the basic principles of applied agriculture is not as highly developed as it ought to be. We can help our people through the publication in a popular form of the results of the researches in agriculture, in our teaching in schools, in our broadcasts over the Radio and also in small pamphlets that our agricultural department publishes from time to time.

It will be worthwhile if the Central and Provincial Governments form Advisory Councils of such agricultural scientists and educationists to serve the same purpose as boards of studies of Universities do and get such pamphlets prepared for the use of our people and spread them out all over the country through language translations, through the media of agricultural departments, elementary and high schools and also the farm forum recently started by the A. I. R.I may say that very good results have been achieved through the Farm Forum Radio means by U. K., U. S. A. and Canada and I think it will be about the cheapest means for popularising the results of our research and also the fundamental principles of agriculture.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

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SRI M. SOMAPPA — YEMMIGANUR.

President. — D/ 12–5–1950.

Dear Rangaji,

I find from papers that the Textile Commissioner Bombay has excluded sarees and honey comb towels from

the reservations. Without this all the rest of reservations made is an eye wash. The apprehension of the Textile Commissioner Bombay with regards shortage of sarees and honey comb towels consequent on the reservation is unfounded, as a major number of handlooms are engaged in manufacturing coloured sarees in designs. Further, Mills are not totally prohibited from the manufacture of sarees with borders upto a width of 2½".

The question of reservation was first considered by the Standing Handloom Committee and then by its sub-Committee. It was considered again by the representatives of handlooms and Mills and on their unanimous decision, it was finally decided at the ministerial level to enforce reservations on certain varieties.

When these decisions were taken after so much of labour and precaution, how could the Textile Commissioner Bombay withhold the most important items as said above? I sincerely feel that this must have happened at the instigation of the Powerful Mill Owners who are all along dectating terms.

Under the above circumstances I request you to kindly call for an emergent meeting of the Handloom Standing Committee of which you are the President and bring home to the Centre the grave injustice done to this industry.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. SOMAPPA.

Prof. N. G. RANGA. M. P., NEW DELHI.

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INDIAN SOCIETY OF AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS

President :

The Hon'ble Dr. RAJENDRA PRASAD.

Secretary ; Camp : INDORE.

Dr. P. V. SUKHATHE. D/ 14th May, 1950.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

You will perhaps recall that at a meeting of the Council of the Indian Society of Agricultural Stastistics held at your residence in New Delhi, we had an opportunity of discussing the developments relating to the Statistical Organization in India. The Society has given considerable thought to this subject and had, in fact, arranged a symposium for discussing the subject at its first annual meeting in 1947 under the chairmanship of the then Finance Minister to the Government of India. The views expressed at this symposium were subsequently crystallized in the form of a Memorandum prepared by the Council of the Society, a copy of which is enclosed herewith.

This is an opportune time for the circulation of the Memorandum since the future set-up of the statistical organization in India is receiving attention from the Planning Commission.

I am at present on leave and would like to take the earliest opportunity of discussing the entire matter with you when you come to New Delhi.

Yours Sincerely,

P. V. SUKHATHE.

C/o. S. K. DEVAL,
631/72, Sadashiv Peth,
POONA-2.

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Minister

Information & Broadcasting
Government of India

NEW DELHI,
May 17, 1950.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Your kind letter dated the 7-5-1950. Your interest in the agricultural research, and farmers education mentioned in your letter is well-known and I very much appreciate your suggestions.

Since the suggestions are entirely as regards agriculture, its publicity and its development I have forwaded your letter along with the article to the Minister for Agriculture.

I met the Hon'ble Mr. Munshi only this morning and he is thinking of putting some vigour in the whole farm publicity * and educational programme of the Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
R. R. DIWAKAR.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P., NEW DELHI.

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* It came to be started in 1952 on receipt of Rangaji's more detailed report on the Working of Canadian Programme after himself participating in Canadian Farm Radio Forums in 1952.

This scheme has since come to be adopted by the A. I. Radio and every day, farmers are being reached by a spocial programme, in addition to the Weekly half hour discussion among farmers and agricultural scientists and demonstrators. Ed.

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K. M. MUNSHI
Minister for Agriculture

2, Windsor Place,
NEW DELHI.
May 19, 1950.

My dear Ranga,

The Honourable Shri R. R. Diwakar, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, has passed on to me

your letter about popularising the basic principles and methods of agriculture among the agariculturists. I am having the material, accompanying your letter, examined in order to see how far it could be put to practical use in the conditions obtaining in the country.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Y. M. MUNSHI.

Prof. N. G RANGA,
C/o. A. P. C. C., Bezwada.

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V. R. NARLA
Editor,
Andhra Prabha.

Club House Road,
Mount Road,
MADRAS,
D/ 20th May 1950.

My dear Rangaji,

In spite of your multifarious activities you were so kind as to find time to enquire about my health for which I am indeed grateful. My foot was operated upon on the 3rd instant. As big chunks had to be cut out healing is rather slow and it would, I am afraid, be another fortnight before I could move about again. There is 90% chance of my getting rid of the trouble for good. I am glad you liked my leaders on the communists.

Please convey my kind regards to Srimati Bharati Ranga.

Yours affectionately,
V. R. NARLA.

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HARIKRISHNA MEHTAB.
Minister for Industry & Supply,
D. O. 63/HM/50

NEW DELHI,
The 25th May 1950.

My dear Sri Ranga,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 23rd May 1950. I pray I may fulfil all your expectations. Yes, my coming here was dependent on Naba Babu's becoming the Chief Minister there. You know him well and therefore affairs of Orissa are quite safe in his hands. There was a little trouble with Biswanath Babu over this matter, but it was settled most amicably.

I am at your disposal. I shall attend the All India Handloom Weavers Congress at Sholapur as you desire. I received a letter from them direct. Of course the handloom industries have to be not only maintained but improved considerably. I am glad you have taken up the work yourself and I shall try my utmost to help you in all possible ways.

Yours sincerely,
HARIKRISHNA MEHTAB.

Sri N. G. RANGA, M. P.,
Congress House, Vijayawada.

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Train near MATHURA
28-12-1950.

My dear Ranga,

I have to-day received your letter of the 20th instant at Kotah in Rajasthan.

I am on my way to Delhi. I shall be there to night and shall go by air to-morrow morning for Allahabad to be

present there on the occasion of the IMMERSION in the TRIVENI of Sardar Patel's ashes. The points * on which you have written can best be discussed personally when I am back in Delhi after my visit to the Uttar Pradesh. I hope to return to Delhi either in t he First Week or the beginning of the Second Week of January.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
P. D. TANDON.

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* Rangaji was then a Member of the Congress Working Committee and President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. Tandonji was so keen on retaining his Co-operation that he did not formally accept till October 1951, Rangaji's resignation offered in April, as a protest against what he considered to be immoral means by which his twenty nine P. C. C. Members were prevented from voting for him in the A P C C President election in that April 1950 and as a result he was put in a minority of five. — (Ed)

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RANGAJI'S ROLE IN THE LEGISLATURE

Rangaji played a notable role in India's National Legislature whether it be Central Legislative Assembly, Constituent Assembly, Provisional Parliament, Lok Sabha or Rajya Sabha ever since he entered it in 1930 right upto 1971 General Elections except for few breaks when he was in jails or between an election and a byelection. He has himself given short glimpses of his activities and contribution in this sphere in his books (i) Fight for Freedom (1967) (ii) Freedom in Peril (1962) (iii) Why Ranga Resigns from Congress and (iv) Storm Bursts over Peasants (1959) (v) Nationalise Banks (1946) (vi) Kisan Speaks (1937) and (vii) Modern Indian Peasant (1936) and (viii) Tibetan Struggle published by Democratic Research Bureau, Bombay (1951). His tribute to Speaker Mavlankar and his article published in the Silver

Jubilee Souvenir of the Indian Public Accounts Committee also provide useful information about his works and thoughts over the role and opportunities of legislators to promote public interests. Dr. Manoranjan Jha, Reader in Political Science at the Hindu University, Banaras is the first distinguished Indian Scholar who has made a study of the contribution made by our legislators in his book "Role of Central Legislature in the Freedom Struggle" published by the National Book Trust, India, in 1972. We take the liberty of quoting in full some of the references he has made to Rangaji's contribution to the debates of the Central Legislative Assembly between 1930 and 1947 with reference to India's Freedom Struggle. — (Ed.)

DURING THE DISCUSSION ON ROUND TABLE CONFERANCE ON 10-7-1930.

N. G. Ranga severely criticised the Simon Report and felt it was wrong on the part of the British Government to give wide publicity to "this disastrous and mischievous Report". He asked Jinnah if the whole of the civil disobedience movement was not able to reason with the British Government and the Government of India, would he be able to convince the British Government who had already made up their mind about the RTC and the Simon Report how could Jinnah chage its mind. He emphasised that without the participation of leaders like Gandhiji, the R. T. C. was bound to fail. Pp 170-171.

FIFTH ASSEMBLY AND CONGRESS PARTY THE NEW LOOK OF THE ASSEMBLY

January, 1935.

The fifth Assembly had altogether a new look. The Congress Party was led by Bhulabhai Desai, a brilliant lawyer of Bombay. Govind Vallabh Pant, who soon became a

"bugbear" to the Finance Member, was the Deputy Leader of the Party. B. Satyamurti "the terrific debator", was one of the Secretaries of the Party, Nilakanta Das being the other Secretary. Asaf Ali was the Chief Whip. T. S. S. Rajan and N. V. Gadgil were the other whips. Shri V. V. Giri, N. G. Ranga, N. M. Joshi and Mohanlal Saksena particularly interested themselves in labour and peasant legislation. — Pp. 204–205.

FIGHT FOR BETTER LABOUR LEGISLATION

In the fifth Assembly. the members showed considerable interest in labour legislation. Giri, Joshi, Ranga and Mohan Lal Seksena endeavoured, the policy of the Government of India, to get the Assembly to recommend such steps for the relief of unemployment in India as would lead to the ratification of the Draft Convention of the International Labour Conference held in Geneva. (21–2–1935). These members, while participating in the debate on the Indian Mines (Amendment) Bill, 1935, pressed the Government to fix a SEVEN-AND-A-THREE-QUARTER HOUR day for CoalMiners within the mines as recommended by the ILO as against the Government's proposal of NINE HOUR-DAY. — (P. 243)

WAGES ACT

February, 1935.

During the debate on the Bill for payment of Wages RANGA spoke for more than one hour in favour of liberalisation of its provisions and its extension to Agricultural Workers. Then, during the debate on the amendment proposed by the Government for deduction of wages of workers if "ten or more employees acting in concert absented themselves without notice and without reasonable cause, Joshi, Ayyangar and Ranga strongly opposed it".

"Ranga referred to the plea of reciprocity of treatment between the employer and the employee and said that the workers were in such a wretched condition that there could not be any equal partnership between them and the employers".

"Ranga hit hard at the collusion between the [Government and the capitalists against the interests of the workers".

* * * * *

It was on this or on similar occasion Rangaji condemned the United Opposition offered by capitalists on the Congress, European and Government benches to the interests of the Peasants and Workers by remarking that "Capi alists on all sides do not change their spots like leopards".–Ed.

BOMBING OF TRIBAL AREAS (IN N. W. F. P.)

"Ranga condemned the bombing of the tribal areas by the Royal Air Force in 1935 even when there was peace and said :

> "It was Mussolini who followed in the footprints of the Government of India; it was not the Government of India who followed in the footprints of Mussolini. And yet the Government has the cheek to say that it is fighting Fascism, Naziam, Hitler and Tojo" (P. 283)

RAILWAYS

February, 1939.

During the debate on Railways Ranga raised the question of the recognition of the Railway Unions.

WHY NOT SUPPORT STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE OF INDO-CHINA AND INDONESIA ?

21-1-1946.

In the sixth Assembly Congress Party chose Sarat Chandra Bose as Leader and Ranga as Secretary. During the First session "The tone of the debate in this session was set by N. G. Ranga on the very first day" (21-1-1946). "He moved an adjournment motion to consider the failure of the Government of India to refuse to co-operate with the British Government in their violent operations in Indonesia and Indo-China even after the War with Japan was over. He attacked the decision of the Government to send Indian troops to these countries without taking the opinion of the Legislature. He characterised the war going on in these countries as a war between the "Haves and Have nots". He denounced the Government for using Indian troops in upholding the Dutch and Freneh Imperialism in Indonesia and Indo-China respectively. Ranga was powerfully supported by Sarat Chandra Bose.

* * * * *

It is worthy of note that Jawaharlalji convened the First Asian Conference a few months after becoming the Prime Minister of India in Delhi in 1947 to strengthen the struggle of Indonesians for independence against the return of the Dutch Imperialists for recapturing their earlier control — (Ed)

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Prof. N. G. RANGA, M.L.A., Peasants' Institute,
NIDUBROLU.
22nd June 1936.

My dear Panditji,

Many thanks for your letter dated the June 13 regarding my proposal to form a Kisan cum Congress Parliamentary group in the Provincial Assembly .

I am glad you say that 'it is certainly desirable that both the Kisans and Workers should have chance of selecting their own candidates'. But somehow you have wrongly thought that I have intended such candidates to be set up as against the Official Congress Candidates. For, all that I have suggested is that the Candidates selected by the Kisan Congres or Workers' Organisations from among our Congressmen themselves should be adopted by our Congress Committee as their Official Candidates. Therefore I have not contemplated the suicidal development of there being a three-cornered fight in which the Kisan-Congress candidates have to fight against the Official Congress Candidates.

I have however suggested that the Kisan candidates accepted by the Congress ought to be allowed to supplement their u sual congress pledges to the electorate by their kisan programme and then to sit in the Assembly as a separate group within the Congress Party and enjoy the freedom of voting on all questions concerning the special interests of the Peasants or Workers or both.Of course the kisan cum congress or worker cum congress members have to accept the Congress whip on all questions or occasions of confidence.

I am however anxious that the kisan or workers organisations must have the right to insist upon all their candidates giving their pledge that they will not join the ministry though supporting it if and when it comes to be formed as per the general decision of the A. I. C. C.

It is on these lines that the recent Andhra Provincial Peasants' conference has decided to develop its parliamentary activities and thus to safeguard the special kisan interests while generally supporting the Congress in the national and anti-imperial interests. I have sent to you only a few days back the resolution of the Andhra Provincial Ryots' Conference. I request you to kindly convey to me your thoughts on their resolution at the earliest possible

opportunity so that I can try to help the Peasants to come to the right decision which will be fair to both the Congress and Kisans.

It seems to be impossible in practice either to capture the present leadership of the P. C. C. or to hope to persuade the present leaders of the P. C. C. to accept the candidates suggested by our kisan sabhas. I hope you will realise that the position of our Kisans will be made very difficult and dangerous if their scheme is not accepted by you since the only course open to them, in that case is either to vote for Official Congress Candidates most of whom may not inspire their confidence and believe in the acceptance of ministry. If by chance the Congress refuses to accommodate our peasants who are genuinely anxious to co-operate with the Congress while fighting for their class interests, they will be obliged to resort to the unenviable means of non-co-operation with the elections.

I may assure you that it is just because our kisans are anxious not to treat the Congress as 'Foreign Entity' but to embrace it without any harm to themselves that they are so particular about these negotiations.

I will certainly be the last person to suggest any course that is likely to weaken or undermine the strength of the Congress in its fight against the British imperialism. But I am convinced that as long as the present majority leadership of the Congress organisation remains as it is and as long as the peasants and Workers are unable to gain control of its machinery, even by joining it in large numbers as you suggest it will unfortunately be so for some years to come and to agree upon office acceptance, the best means possible by which we can ensure the safeguarding of the class interests of our masses, is by accepting our Kisan Congress proposal.

Yours faithfully,
N. G. RANGA.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
President, All India Congress Committee,
Anand Bhawan, ALLAHABAD.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Swaraj Bhavan, ALLAHABAD.

5-3-1937.

Prof RANGA, M. L. A.,
Legislative Assembly,
NEW DELHI.

My dear Ranga,

I have your long letter of February 26th. So far I know nothing about this matter except scraps that I saw in the press during my election tour. I think that there must have been a great deal of misunderstanding on the subject and I am very sorry to see that a controversy has started about peasant rights. As a member of a peasant association you have every right to press forward demands on behalf of the peasantry, just as a Trade Unionist can press forward demands on behalf of the workers which go a little beyond the Congress demands. Of course such demands should not be in conflict with the Congress demand. I think however that it was not a very wise move on your part to issue a kind of a pledge and ask candidates to take it. You know that this could also have been done by Trade Union leaders. But they refrained from doing so and rightly. The question of taking pledges other than the Congress pledge by a congress candidate produces confusion and you yourself would have been put in a difficulty if some had taken this pledge and some had not. The right way was to appeal to candidates and others to keep in view peasant rights and to work for them in so far as they could, subject of course to the congress policy and Congress discipline. This would have served your purpose and would have been perfectly correct procedure. Your issuing another Pledge must have

given rise to misunderstanding in the minds of many people and especially of Sardar Vallabhai Patel, I have not myself discussed this matter with Sardar Patel or seen all the papers, but I am quite sure that much of this controversy would not have arisen except for gross misunderstanding on the part of several people. I do not think that any question of disciplinary action arises. I am glad that you did not insist on your pledge. Unfortunately this question of peasants rights and workers rights raises suspicion in some people's minds and small things appear big to them. We have to keep this matter in view while proceeding with our work amongst the peasantry and try to win over to our side those who would undoubtedly be with us but for suspicion.

We are playing with great forces and we have to remember this fact: they are greater than our individual selves and even our organsiations. Observe the great mass upheaval in Bihar and the U. P. during these elections. There were peasant organisations in some parts of the provinces but essentially the upheaval was a much vaster thing than any small organisation could have brought about. The problem before us is to understand these great forces and harness them.

I do not think it will serve any useful purpose for us to carry on this controversy about your having issued a pledge in Andhra The matter has ended. We have other work to do now. Personally you know that I was much impressed by the ryots organisations in Andhra. I think they have a great future before them but it would be unfortunate and injurious to all concerned if the impression got abroad that the peasant's organisation was in conflict with the Congress.

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

PEASANTS INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS &
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Principal :
Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. L. A.,
Resident Master,
G Lakshminarayana, M. A. B. L.,
Secretary, blicity Department.
K. Obul Reddy,
PresidentPeasant's Protection Committee.

NIDUBROLU,
June 15th 1937.

My dearPanditji,

The enclosed copy of my letter to Sardarji will give you an idea as o how we of the Peasants' Association in the Andhra are being pursued by the A. P. C. C. with the object of somehow or other putting us in the wrong. The following facts concerning the Kothapatam School Episode go to strengthen the impression.

The Kothapatam School was banned on the 20th of May. I was there that day. I admired the bravery of the students in thus deciding to brave this unjust order of British imperialism.

I may therefore inform you that the school was organised and run by the Andhra youth league and the C. S. P. and had no direct contact with the A. P. C. C. The decision of the students was directly due to the specific ban order and had nothing to do with the Congress decision not to undertake any civil Disobedience. I had there fore not felt it necessary to advise the students to ask our local congress authorities for permission.

I am sending this letter to you to keep you in the know of the Andhra Political maneuvers.

Yours fraternally,
N. G. RANGA.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE,

Swaraj Bhavan,
ALLAHABAD.
28-6-1937.

Dear Ranga,

I have received your two letters dated 17th and 18th June. You mention in one of them that you are sending me a copy of your letter * to Sardar Vallabhai. I have received no such copy. I have already written to you about the Kothapatam school incident and issued a public statement on it: I think that this was a scandal of the first magnitude and it brought out the real nature of the present Government more than any thing.

Yours sincerely,

J. NEHRU.

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* P. S. I have subsequently seen this. I have just received your letter of June 24th. I propose to issue to the press soon a statement about the relation of the Congress to Kisan Sabha. This will cover various questions that have arisen in Oorissa.

J N

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NAIDU FROM I. F. A. P. CONFERENCE

Grand Hotel,
PARIS.
20-5-1948.

My dear Rangaji,

We spent a day in London and left for Paris on the 17th. Mr. Wankhade (who later became a minister in Bom-

bay. Ed.) joined the farm tour on [illegible] He told me that he enjoyed it. Messrs. Dr. Chandrasekhar (who later became a Minister of State for Family Planning in Delhi) and Radheshyam Sarma (Lecturer of Banaras University) came too late for the Farm Tour.

I gave your letters to Mr. James Turner, President of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers (I. F. A. P.) I was invited to attend the meetings of the Executive Committee on your behalf. Mr. James made affectionate enquiries about your work on the farm front and among national leadership. He asked Mr. Caims, the Secretary to get copies made of your message to the Conference and distribute them, as conference paper, to all delegations. Yesterday the conference was opened by the Director General of Agriculture of France I was asked by the President to read your message. Everyone was impressed with it. Sir Boyd Orr was also pleased. The chief delegates from France, Canada, and Holland came to me to convey their appreciation of your message and your contribution to the I. F. A. P.

Then, country after country was called upon to address the Conference. I spoke for 10 minutes on behalf of our delegation. All our delegates and those from Burma were pleased with my speech.

This year, delegates came from more countries, such as Kenya, West Germany and Belgium.

Boyd Orr of the F. A. O. and Director General of International Labour Organisation also addressed the Conference.

They propose to elect you again to the Executive Committee even in your absence.

Please convey our namaskarams to mother Bharati Devi.

Yours affectionately,

N. V. NAIDU.

EXTRACTS FROM RANGAJI'S MESSAGE TO CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS HELD IN PARIS IN 1948

Fellow Peasants and Farmers,

Let me share with you my satisfaction that we too have come to have our efficient World Organisation to present the case of the tillers of the soil to the peoples of the world.

For too long a time our case has gone by default. We have said in 1946 in our first conference in London that it should no longer be like that and that we are determined to speak up for our rights

The peoples of the world have at long last come to realise the danger to everyone if agriculturists legitimate demands for an honourable place in our modern economy and society continue to be neglected It is now our duty to state in unmistakeable terms that we are determined to serve and save the world by producing bumper and better crops and also to claim an equitable share in the wealth and opportunities of the world. We demand parity between our agriculturists and industrial and commercial interests and between villages and towns.

Indian Peasant Institute, N. G. RANGA

NIDUBROLU.

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GANDHIJI'S HINTS FOR WORKERS ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

KISANS.

The Kisan or the Peasant, whether as a landless labourer or a labouring proprietor, comes first. He is the salt of the earth which rightly belongs or should belong to him, not to the absentee landlord or zamindar. But in the non-violent way the labourer cannot forcibly eject the absentee landlord. He has so to work as to make it impossible for the landlord to exploit him. Closest co-operation amongst the peasants is absolutely necessary. To this end special organising bodies or committees should be formed where there are none and those already in existence should be reformed where necessary. The Kisans are for the most part illiterate. Both adults and young persons of school-going age should be educated This applies to men and women. Where they are landless labourers their wages should be brought to a level that would ensure a decent living which should mean balanced food, dwelling houses and clothing, which should satisfy health requirements.

Land Laws should be investigated The peasant indebtedness offers a limitless field for research. The problem of cattle too is an integral part of agriculture in India and therefore requires the attention of workers skilled in this very intricate and somewhat baffling problem.

(ii) LABOUR

Closely allied to the kisan work is labour. Here labour means industrial labour and therefore concentrated and centralised and much more limited in scope. Moreover, it lends itself readily to political handling. Being necessarily confined to cities, it attracts workers more easily than kisan

work. As part of constructive programme its primary aim is elevation of labour to its deserved status. Therefore a labour worker's aim should be to raise the moral and intellectual height of labour and thus by sheer merit to make him or her capable not merely of bettering his or her material condition but making labour master of the means of production instead of being the slave that it is. Capital should be labour's servant, not its master. Labour should be made conscious of its duty from whose performance rights follow as a matter of course. In a concrete form:

a) Labour should have its own unions,

b) Education both general and scientific, of both men and women, should be regularly undertaken through night schools,

(c) Children of labourers should be educated after the basic education style.

(d) There should be a hospital, a creche and a maternity home attached to every centre.

(e) Labour should be able to support itself during strikes. (Labour should be taught the science of conducting a successful non-violent strike).

All the work I have mentioned could be only done through unions mentioned in (a). To my knowledge the Ahmedabad Union is the best managed union. This does not mean that it has reached my ideal. It is trying to. If all the unions worked in the same direction, the lot of labour would be infinitely better than it is today: Labour united and morally and intellectually trained would any day be superior to capital.

Sevagram, M. K. GANDHI.

22-10-1944.

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SEVAGRAM
(Via) WARDHA (C.P.)
12-2-1945.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I have been out of station, so I regret I was not able to see you when you passed through Wardha.

As far as I understand Shri Indulal Yagnik was asked by Bapu to put himself in the hands of the Gujarat Congress Mandal (the present Group of Congress Workers in Gujarat) and it was to decide what Shri Yagnik was to do.

Bapu has given the same advice to Swami Shahajananda Saraswati. As you know local questions and circumstances have to be dealt with by the local workers. if the Congressmen on the spot need the services of these friends they may make use of their services.

Yours sincerely,

KURSHID A. D. NAOROJI.

As per Bapu's advice, Indulal and Swami met Ranga later in Bombay and discussed how to organise Kisans in harmony with the Congress - (Ed.)

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SEVAGRAM,
Via. WARDHA (C.P.)
20-2-1945.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for your letter which I have passed on to Bapu.

Regarding your activities in other fields (i. e. apart from Kisan Work - Ed.) it is all to the good, but Bapu would

like to see Andhra the model province from which he can take inspiration for all Kisan problems.

Times are going to be difficult, so on the whole quiet, efficient organisation is more preferable.

With best wishes to Bharati Devi and Yourself.

Yours sincerely,
KURSHID.

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SEVAGRAM
Via. WARDHA (C.P.)
24-2-1945.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Shri Kaleswara Rao, Shri Chandramouli and three other friends will come here on 9th March for Congress affairs particularly Kisans.

I do not suppose you can miss the Budget Sessions but if you can or Bharati Devi can come, it would be good.

Of course I know that you will accept the decision of Bapu and act up to it.

I am very anxious that the constructive work should be pushed on and the organisation firmly established. I am sure you will agree with me.

With best wishes to Bharati Devi and yourself.

Yours sincerely,
KURSHID A. D. NAOROJI.

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RANGA'S "KISANS AND COMMUNISTS"
(Pratibha Publi ations No. 6)

Review by the Socialist Weekly "JANATHA"

NEW DELHI
D/27-2-1946.

The Indian Kisan will not fit easily into proletarian Communism. He is the lowest of the low. The Industrial Labourer compared to him is a much more favoured unit of Society. This is not easily apparent to Western Socialists. Post-Lenin Communism though it has shed many of the spots of the Bolshevist leopard, will not as yet declare as part of accepted theory that minute possessions in the shape of agricultural land or rights over such land, may be overlooked in casting up a schedule of capitalist forms. Leninism liquidated the Kulaks, believing that all vestiges of possessiveness the post-Marxian human were being eradicated. But Stalinist imperialism has definitely given a place to competitive possessiveness regulated of course in the credo of the new Russian State. However, the practice of Communism in Russia has very little to do with the preaching of its theory abroad. Therefore, fifth column parties like the Communist Party of India find themselves in very anomalous positions.

The relationship of Indian Communists with the Kisan movement in India illustrates this very pathetically. Talking constantly of an inescapable dictatorship of proletariat, it has yet to devote a great deal of time, bluffing the Indian peasant who would regard a proletarian dictatorship as a very abominable state of affairs. Professor Ranga in his book has dealt in detail with this anomalous and rather difficult position. The author is one of the few congress-

men. who has practically all his life been exclusively connected with the problems of the peasants of India. His leanings are definitely to the left, and his criticism of the Communist Party has no tinge of the usual self-preserving capitalist argument. Prof. Ranga's thesis is this: Bolshevist strategy which put the proletarian party at the correct moment in the correct position of vantage in the period of revolutionary success in Russia, has tried to hide from the World the great part that peasant revolutionarism has played inall countries towards the achievement of social justice.

Lenin's liquidation of the Kulak is no Proof that the kulak had not a revolutionary programme or philosophy. In subject countries particularly, the upward social urge is invariably based on peasant resistance and agrarian sense of democracy. The Communist knows this and is trying to exploit it, all the while maintaining a mental reservation that may ultimately lead to the liquidation of the Kisan.

Though it may not be accepted as a wholly convincing example, we cannot but point out in this connection to the difference in resistence potential labour and village units during the 1942 rebellion in India The latter showed a determination to continue the struggle and a capacity for innovation which surprised both Indian Nationalism and its enemies. The former after a short period of angry agitation reverted to the usual mood of post-strike helplessness.

No Indian Socialist will quarrel with Prof. Ranga when he says that the Kisan, much more than the industrial labourer, should be the focal unit of democracy in this country. In saying that, it is not suggested that the right of the mazdoor can be overlooked. Rather it is an admission that the majority must decide. Prof. Ranga establishes with many examples that this is not only so in India, but also in all countries where economy has not been overwhelmingly influenced by Capitalists or imperialist industry. His exa-

mination of Communist Kisa Congress relationship is very interesting to any one who has a mind to explore the Indian Left. He successfully proves that one reason why revolutionary process is so slow in India is that the Kisan has not been activised by the proper type of political ideology. He blames it on the Congress that it should have left it to the non-national Communist Party of India to exploit Kisan needs during the past decade or so. His book though rather hastily printed deserves close study of Kisan workers.

(Quotations from, and references to this book were made by General D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller in their book called "COMMUNISM IN INDIA" published by University of California, Berkeley 1959 - on page 182, 183. - 196-197, 207, 384-385, and also from "Revolutionary Peasant." — (Ed.)

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GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

Bajajwadi, WARDHA.

26th January, 1949.

My dear Ranga,

Many thanks for your letter dated 22nd January. I am glad that you are making a tour. I hope it will be successful.

We have asked the industrialists to collect 5 crores from amongst themselves and they have promised to raise 5 crores. So whatever they are collecting will be credited to the Province when we get the money from them. What I was thinking of is not what is being collected by them and others for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund but what we

Congressmen have been doing. I do not think w can take any credit for what they collect and it would really be a matter for deep regret and disappointment if Andhra goes against its own tradition on this occasion.

Yours sincerely,

RAJENDRA PRASAD.

Prof. N. G. RANGA,

Andhra Provincial Congress Committee,

Vijayawada.

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Bajajwadi, WARDHA.

3-2-1949.

My dear Ranga,

I am so glad to receive your letter dated 28th January informing me that your tour for collection of Gandhi National Memorial Fund has been quite successful and that you expect by the 6th April your province will contribute another ten lakhs. You may have seen in the press that I have kept the Fund open till the 30th April next. This has been done at the request of many of the Provincial Committees which wanted more time. I hope this interval will be utilised in the best possible way in your province.

As regards the accounts, you should have no anxiety, every province will get credit for the amount raised by it.

Yours sincerely,

RAJENDRA PRASAD.

Prof. N. G. RANGA,

2, Pherozshah Road, NEW DELHI.

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SREERAMULU FASTS

Bajajwadi, WARDHA.

3-2-1949

My dear Ranga,

Many thanks for your letter dated 28th January about Shri Potti Sreeramulu. Some time before he started his fast* he saw me and I had a long discussion with him and advised him not to undertake it. But he was not convinced. Again on the 30th of January Sj. K. G. Mashruwala, Shri Krishnandas, Jaju and I saw him at Sevagram where he is fasting. But he was not agreeable to break his fast. I had written a letter to Sj. Reddiar, Chief Minister, some time before he undertook his fast. To-day is the 23rd or 24th day of the fast. There is only one thing which can be said to be satisfactory, that although he had been fasting for 19 days on the 30th, his condition was not as bad as one would expect after such a long fast. Sj. Vinoba Bhave is expected in another 4 or 5 days and we shall make another attempt through him to induce Sj. Sreeramulu to break the fast.

Yours sincerely,

RAJENDRA PRASAD.

Professor N. G. RANGA,

2, Pherozshah Road, NEW DELHI.

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* Sreeramulu's fast was undertaken in order to make the Madras Government carry out anti-untouchability campaign, especially temple-entry, universalisation of wells. Eventually Madras Chief Minister, Reddiar, decreed that the 30th of every month should be observed by Collectors as Anti-untouchability Day.—(Ed.)

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ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD.

23rd January, 1951.

My dear Ranga,

I was very pleased to hear from you and have pleasure in reciprocating your wishes for a prosperous New Year, which shows few signs of responding to our desires. At least this morning's news is a little better, and I am glad to see that Great Britain has had the courage to vote with the Indian delegate against the United States. For some of us here Nehru's handling of International Affairs has been, for sometime past, the only bright spot in an evil world. I, personally, was opposed from the start to British participation in the so-called real United Nations action which was done in the absence of the Russians and with the wrong Chinese delegate seated at the Security Council, I felt that, as between the North and South Korean Governments, I much preferred the North, and, above all, that I wanted no more white man's interference in Asiatic affairs than is absolutely unavoidable as part of the process of getting out in decent order. I did not at the outset, find many people here to agree with me, though there was much disquietude even at the beginning, and a great deal more the moment the Americans insisted on advancing across the 38th Parallel and thus put themselves definitely in the wrong, even apart from their attitude over Formosa. From the moment, there has been a quite considerable rallying of opinion round a determination to use every possible effort to avoid embroilment with China, but I am afraid that, even now, this feeling is strong mainly among the intellectuals and among the ordinary rank-and-file members of the Labour Party leadership. Of course, the root of the trouble is that so many of the leaders feel themselves to be under an inescapable

necessity of keeping in with the United States. In order to make sure of American help in Europe, they are not prepared even to contemplate any action which will run counter to the very strong current of American opinion. As for the Americans, what appals me about them is not their imperialism but their folly and inexperience in the handling of world affairs. They have this enormous strength and use it like children, and think anyone who ventures to disagree with them on any point is guilty of the unpardonable offence of letting them down. I can see nothing for it but to take a firm stand against them and make it clear to them that the free world will not be rushed into another war until every chance of avoiding it has been fully explored.

Of course, the trouble is that, in the Americans' present mood, this will suit Moscow very nicely, because the Americans' will take offence with Europe, and the probable result will be at least a temporary strengthening of isolationist forces. However, the alternative is a good deal worse, for, if we follow the Americans blindly, we shall be led into sheer economic disaster, to say nothing of the fact that I do not think the workers will respond, and I believe there will be a rapid spread of Labour troubles, of which there are already ominous signs.

We, then, have our troubles as well as you. It is not at all surprising, is it, that the building up of a democratic party in India should be, at this stage, a portontously difficult task. Habits of mutual for-bearance take a very long time to grow, and Congress has always been an amalgam of forces united by nothing except Nationalist sentiment, which is now no longer enough to hold the different elements together.

With best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

G. D. H. COLE.

Prof. COLE was the famous British Socialist, eminent Oxford Professor, author of over forty standard works on British

Labour Politics, Trade Unionism and propagator of Guild Socialism, as the best democratic alternative to Marxist Soviet Totalitarianism. He appreciated Rangaji's exposition of self-employment economy, buttresed by Service Co-operatives and hailed self-employment economy of the East as the quintessence of Guild Socialism. Their life-long friendship commenced in 1923 at Scarburgh Labour College. Every time Rangaji visited England, they used to meet frequently and exchange thoughts and experiences over the travails of democratic Socialist and Peasant movements. — (Ed.)

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NEW DELHI.

March 22, 1951.

My dear Ranga,

Your letter of March 21st. I have not seen myself the press story that you refer to. Nor had I heard anyone mention the fact that of the American Embassy paying anything. * You need not trouble yourself about this matter.

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

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* Piqued by Rangaji's successful tours abroad, in favour of democratic cause, Communist papers began to hint that Prof. Ranga might be receiving financial assistance from American Embassy.

Rangaji who earned well-merited reputation for financial independence and political integrity hastened to bring these sly communist innuendoes to the notice of Prime Minister Nehru and requested him to get these reckless charges investigated, with the help of the C. B. I. Jawaharlalji was good enough to write the above letter assuring Rangaji of his faith in his integrity. (Ed.)

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Dr. P. S. SASTRI, M. A., M. Litt., Ph. D.,
University of Saugar,
SAUGAR (C.P.)

16-4-1951.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

A year or two back, I congratulated you on your entry into the Congress Working Committee, as an Andhra. You may rember that I come from Guntur District (Tenali-Ramalingeswar Pet). Ever since I felt that your voice in that Committee of a fallen Organisatson has not been effective. To-day I congratulate you on the bold stand you are taking along with Shri Prakasam Pantulu Garu. Politicians like you and Pantulugaru (Sri T. Prakasam) should come forward to purify the political parties of the country with principles based on morality and justice. I am confident like countless other Andhras and Indians that you two are fit for this task, a task dearer to the heart of Gandhiji. My prayers are always with you and with people like you.

Yours ever,

P. S. SASTRI,

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* These two senior Andhra leaders (Rangaji and Sri T. Prakasam) had thus the appreciation of such intellectuals as Dr. Sastri for their fight against corruption and political immorality creeping into the Cabinet-ranks of Congress administration. But the electorate did not rise to that moral level of protest in 1952 general elections. (Ed.)

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NIDUBROLU,
27-4-1951.

My dear Gen. Mohan Singh,

Sri Sundarao, one of my earliest political workers, has been associated with you. He will tell you about the

aims and objects of our politics. You were once good enough to write to me about your agreement with my political credo as explained and expounded in my book 'OUTLINES OF NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PATH'. I hope that all of you, including my old friend Sri Seelabhadra Yajee will find it possible to think of serving our masses in the democratic K. M. P. way.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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NIDUBROLU.
30-4-1951.

My dear Shyam Babu, *

I have read the press report of your new Party's activities. I am glad to learn that you are also thinking of all of us coming together into the same platform and developing some common platform for the promotion of our democracy.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

* Shri SHYAMA PRASAD MUKHERJEE founded the Jana Sangh. As ill-luck would have it, the various democratic groups which were developed mostly by earstwhile Congressmen, such as K. M. P. P., K. L. P., Jan Sangh, Ganatantra Parishad, failed to combine into all India United Front right upto 1971. Ed.

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NIDUBROLU,
30-4-1951.

My dear Sri Prafulla Babu, *

I am enclosing a copy of some of the decisions taken by our Praja Party at its recent meeting. You must have

* Sri Prafulla Chandra Ghosh later became Chief Minister of West Bengal.

read already that we stand for the same ideal of democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj that your KMP Party stands.

So I am looking forward to develop a fine comradeship between your party and ours.

Moreover we both have had the privilage of co-operating so wholeheartedly on most of the vital issues and occasions during the last 4 years in the Congress Working Committee. There is a great and urgent need for developing an all India platform. Of course the provincial parties will be the final authority for settling the candidates for their respective provincial legislatures while the All India Platform and its leadership will finally approve the candidates for the Union Legislature.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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NIDUBROLU,
30-4-1951.

My dear Sri Jai Prakash,

I am glad you have hastened to offer your co-operation to our Praja Party. On almost all the present issues, we seem to have the same opinions.

As you know, I have always stood for democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj and the Janata of 1945-47 used to accept and popularise this ideal. It was only after you had left the Congress you made some change by dropping the conception of 'Praja' from that ideal. I did express my dissatisfaction at that change in my long letter to you sent at that time.

Both Sri Prakasam and myself are strongly opposed to totalitarianism of all kinds and naturally we cannot accept Marxist conception of dictatorship of the proletariat.

We are glad to note that you took part in that Delhi Conference on cultural freedom and advocated a policy of co-operation between India and the United States. I am strongly in favour of building up World Democratic Front.

As for the local agrarian reforms, Sri O.P.R. Reddiar, Ex-Premier and myself have submitted the Minority Report to the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee. Our Party generally stands for that programme.

Regarding controls, we stand for the progressive decontrol and a radical reorganisation of food controls, so that there would be free markets for the major portion of our foodgrains supplies.

We will be very glad indeed to co-operate with your party.

And both of us have high regard for you and your political scruples. So let us hope that when the right time comes for taking active steps for fighting the next general elections, we will be able to develop and pursue an effective programme of co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

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PURI,
5-5-1951.

My dear Rangaji,

I am glad to receive your message and letter through Comrade Sunder Raoji. It is after a long time that I have

heard from you and I think that it is about time that we should meet and discuss several things in order to find out a way to coordinate our efforts to serve our masses.

Comrade Sunder Rao has given me a fairly good picture of your activities in these days. I am at present on tour of Orissa, Bengal, Bombay, Gujerat, Maharashtra, C. P. & Behar States. It will take me about a month to finish my programme. Comrade Sundar Rao will be able to give you full details of my tour. It will be a good thing if during this tour we can manage to meet somewhere, otherwise please inform me when you come to Delhi in the month of June and I shall try to contact you there. My permanent address is P. O. SANAHAL, Dist. LUDHIANA, Punjab.

I hope you are keeping fit and happy. Rest when we meet.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAN SINGH,
(of the I. N. A. - Ed.)

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N. G. RANGA, M. P., 2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
Camp: Patna, 14-6-51.

My dear J. J.,

Thanks very much for yours of the 30th April and the enclosures and also for the previous notes and letters on the good work you were doing in sponsoring and strengthening the Bills for Food Grants to India.

You must have noticed how Sri Masani and myself have come in for a lot of undeserved criticism for our sincere and spontaneous appeal made to the American Congressmen to speed up the passage of the Food Grant Bills, in the

rests of our starving millions. Jawaharlal critised our well intentioned move but had, later on, to revise his views when this question was thrashed threadbare and also to hasten to assure India that the Bills had no political strings attached to them and that he appreciated the U. S. Government's effort to speed up the passage of the Bills. Thus we were vindicated. It is the irony of public life that even the best intentioned moves come for so much misunderstanding.

Now that the Bills are passed and wheat will be pouring in, our people are quite happy, as is indicated by Nehru's statement.

The International Federation of Agricultural Producers (I. F. A. P.) has also sent out an appeal from its Mexico conference to World's Farmers and peoples for food aid to India.

This passage of American Bills has emboldened our Government to restore the grain ration out.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

J. J. SINGH, (New in Kingsway, NEW DELHI.)
14, East 56th Street,
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P. NEW DELHI,
Federation of Rural Peoples Organisation.
16-6-1951.

My dear Mr. Cairns,

I wish to thank the I. F. A. P. for the timely appeal made by Mexico Session to the World's farmers to come to the rescue of Indian farmers and starving peoples by rushing

to India emergency supplies of food grains, if possible at concessional rates and if need be, by suspending the terms of the world wheat agreement.

It is good news that the American Congress has at last passed the Food supplies to India Bill and this gesture of goodwill is appreciated very much in India.

I hope our delegates has explained to you the difficulties that we have had to overcome in sending the affiliation fees to the I. F. A. P.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

Mr. Cairns, Secretary-General,
International Federation of Agricultural Producers,
Jackson Place, Washington D. C., U. S.

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GANGANAGAR,
3-9-1951.

Respected Rangaji,

I congratulate you for the bold step taken by you in connection with the formation of the Krishikar Lok Party. I think, most of the literate kisans support you and wish success of the stand taken by you. In Rajasthan also, the reactionaries and opportunists hold sway over the Congress Organisation and instead of being common man's organisation, it has become the "Seth Party". I intend to leave it and accept your kind and wise guidance.*

Yours sincerely,
HARDUTT SINGH.
(Ex-Dy. Prime Minister of Bikaner State
&
Ex-President of State Congress)

* Eventually there came to be 6 M. L. A.s in the Rajasthan K. L. P. after 1952 General Elections. They joined the Congress in 1954, when K. L. P. merged with the Congress. (Ed.)

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How Rangaji Paved the way for Non-Tamil, Non-Andhra Khosla Commission – Which Finally Approved Nagarjuna Sagar Idea.

How Rangaji and Moturi Satyanarayana, both M. Ps. Persuaded Shri Sriprakashji, then Central Minister for Irrigation to Appoint Khosla Commission and prevented Tamil Minister Shri Bhaktavatsalam from diverting Krishna Waters to Tamilnad, is indicated by the following extracts from Rangaji's letter to the Minister on 12-9-1951 :-

My dear Shri Prakasaji,

Thank you for your reply stating that as soon as the report from Madras Government is received about the Irrigation Projects on the Krishna River, you will give your consideration to the points mentioned in my letter and also to those submitted by others on the matter.

But I am surprised to hear from my friend Sri M. Satyanarayana, M. P. that you have decided upon the appointment of a Committee of Engineers and its terms of reference. I sincerely trust that you have not taken an irrevocable decision about this matter.

The main points on which people like me lay special stress regarding the Irrigation Projects on the Krishna river are the following :-

1) This Madras Government has shown itself too partisan in favour of the Tamil Nadu in regard to their conceptions and plans for the utilization of the waters of this river especially by their strange and farfetched arguments to counter our demands accepted

all over the world that the claims of the people of a river valley should enjoy prior claim to the utilization of the water of that river.

2) The Madras Government proposal for the utilization of most of the units of water of River Krishna allotted to the area now under the jurisdiction of Madras State through the development of Krishna-Pennar project by the construction of two big dams will result first of all in the innundation of rich and fruit ful garden lands of Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts which deserve more irrigation and not such a cruel fate. Secondly it will not provide half as much irrigation for the famine-ridden areas of Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore, as the other alternative projects of Sangameswaram with the Korti Kanuma channel and the Krishna Reservoir Project (known as Pulichintala). Thirdly the Madras Government's proposal would divert to the damage of the areas and peoples of these famine-stricken districts (Andhra). a very large quantity of the Krishna Waters to the distant districts of Madras, Chingleput and South Arcot and North Arcot which are outside the valley area of not only the Krishna but also of the Pennar and this will prove to be the single such extraordinary and unjust diversion

3) Our alternative proposals that is, the Sangameswaram with the Korti Kanuma and Pulichintala Projects, are calculated to minimise the possible area to be submerged to provide maximum possible irrigation facilities to the undeveloped and famine-ridden districts of Kurnool and Cuddapah and upland Taluks of Nellore, Guntur and Krishna Districts. Besides, the existing delta ayacut of Guntur and Krishna Districts can be afforded water supplies for a second crop, in addition to assuring better supplies for the

first crop. The total investment on both these projects will be very much less than what has to be spent on the Krishna–Pennar Project.

4) The Madras Government's proposals violate the world wide conception of irrigation that it is best to proceed with the construction of the dam at the lowest reach of a river and then take up dams at the upper reaches, as was done for instance on the Tennessy Valley. The proper thing for Government to do is to take up the Pulichintala Project, which is the last and lowest site on that river suited for such a dam and go up to Srisailam and exploit that wonderfully high fall of water for the generation of electricity and take up the construction of the Samgameswaram Dam.

Therefore there is a strong case for the appointment of an impartial non-Tamilian; Non-Andhra or all inclusive Commission to study all the projects concerned and not to take up only one project and study it in relation to other rival projects.

I am most anxious that the terms of reference should make clear to the Commission that it should study the over all possibilities for the best utilisation of Krishna River Waters primarily for the benefit of the peoples of the Valley giving as it should be first consideration to the people and areas within the famine zone of the valley and consider the relative merits of the rival projects and all those projects which may serve complementary purposes that are being mooted to-day by the peoples and the Government.

In conclusion I may mention that I suggested to the Planning Commission that it would be best to postpone

final decisions by Union Government until after the general elcctions, in view of change in the party-character or personnel or both of the forthcoming Ministry. In view of the unholy anxiety of the present Madras Irrigation Minister to rush the Union Government to a decision before the general elections and also in view of the Andhra's efforts to get the Andhra Province and its own Government to deal with the utilisation of the waters of Krishna, it is the wisest thing for Union Government and their Planning Commission not to be in such a hurry but to await the formation of a new Ministry at Madras after the general elections and to let it decide upon its own proposals and thereafter alone, to decide at the Union Governmental levels, as to what project or projects on the River Krishna* should be taken up for inclusion in the National Development Plan.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

The Hon'ble Shri Sri Prakasa,
Minister for N. R. & S. R., NEW DELHI.

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* Eventually the Khosla Commssion which was appointed by Central Government, consisting of only non-South Indian experts recommended in favour of the development of Nagarjuna Sagar Project at Nandikonda on the Krishna and giving first priority for the irrigation of lands in the adjoining Andhra Districts. (Ed.)

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CUTTAK-1

November, 16, 1951.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

To-day I received your letter of the 14th instant. It is very good of you to keep me informed about the activities

of your Party. The arrangements and the prospects of success, as envisaged, are very encouraging. I wish them success. The position seems to be very good. If the present official Congress, ruled by a corrupt caucus, loses its majority in some of the States, it will be a great thing. Otherwise it will mean ruin for the whole country. In view of this the country will be grateful to you.

Here in Orissa we stand disorganised. The few that could do something are under this or that handicap. If you can spare some time to come to Ganjam and Rayagada at least, it will mean much. We all expected you eagerly when you were to come here a few weeks ago.

My seat is being contested very hotly. I did not care for the Congress. But here there is an under-current of the Congress. In almost all constituencies there are candidates said to be clandestinely supported by Harekrushna Mahtab, inspite of there being official congress candidates. Such a one is there in my constituency appealing to the voters on communal ground. He belongs to the cultivating caste, in which in the former days of Orissa he formed the Peasant militia. In the population of Orissa their number will be in the neighbourhood of 70%. As you know, appeal to communalism seems to be the most effective.

I am glad to learn that you think that my presence at least in Srikakulam and Vizag may do some good. I find from the time table of the elections that the polling both in Madras and in Orissa extends as far as the 24th of January. If time permits, I shall do my best to take a trip.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
GODAVARIS MISRA*.

* He was a former Minister. His son Loknath Misra became an M. P. (Ed.)

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ALL INDIA YOUTH CONGRESS

PREM DUTT PALIWAL
General Secretary.

AGRA,
6th December, 1951.

Dear Sir,

It is with great pleasure to inform you that Shri Prem Dutt Paliwal, General Secretary, All India Youth Congress is an independent candidate for U. P. Legislative Assembly from Agra. He has full support from Youths, Students and Labour Classes.

I, therefore, request you to please send your good wishes.

Yours truly,
K. N. KAPOOR
Office Secretary.

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LETTER FROM MARY BARR, A GANDHIAN SOCIAL WORKER SETTLED AT SEVAGRAM

Year 1951.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I met you in the train about 16 years ago and later visited you and Bharati Devi at NIDUBROLU. I have just returned to India after a break of nine years spent in caring for my old father in S. Africa.

I should not have intruded upon your attention just to say the above - the reason why I am writing is to tell you that shortly before I left London in October, I met Mr.Peter Abraham * whom I had met first years before in S. Africa

* PETER ABRAHAM is the well-known African intellectual and novelist, who hailed Rangaji's book Colonial and Coloured Peoples" as a classic, which inspired many a freedom-fighter in the Negro World. Prof. A. G. Stock re-printed some chapters of that book in "PAN-AFRICA", the Journal of PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS. PETER became an intimate friend of Rangaji. (Ed.)

and when he heard that I was shortly to return to India he asked me to give yop a very special message of greeting from him. He has become a highly successful writer now and I thought you would appreciate his kind memories.

I have fulfilled P. A's order in writing to you – it only remains to say that I shall be happy if the path of you & your wife should coincide with mine again.

Yours sincerely,
MARY BARR.

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GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

Sri B. GOPALA REDDI
Finance Minister

Fort St. George,
MADRAS
20th January 1952.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I am sorry to see that you too have lost in the elections. There is no use of blaming anybody for this debacle. All of us are equally responsible. The whole position has to be reviewed and if possible recaptured. It means hard work, good planning and better team work. Please let me know when are you next in Madras so that I can meet you. Rajaji is very much distressed at the turn of events. *

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. GOPALA REDDI

Prof. N. G. RANGA, NIDUBROLU.

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* All the principal protoganists on either side of the split that occurred in Congress as a result of the defeat of Rangaji in the election to Presidentship of the Andhra Provincial Congress, in which more than 30 supporters of Rangaji were prevented from voting by a Court Injunction obtained by the Ministerialist section in the face of clear advice given by National Executive; that is, Messrs. Ranga, Prakasam, Sanjiva Reddi, Gopala Reddi, Chandramouli, Kurmaiah, Kaleswararao, Kala Venkatarao were defeated in 1952 General Elections. The Congress Party in the whole of Madras State, including Andhra, Tamilnad lost its majority and was confronted by the Communist dominated coalition, challenging to form the alternative ministry. It was at that stage Rangaji decided to reinforce the Congress and help it to achieve majority and form the ministry. Thus he saved democracy in the South. (Ed.)

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ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
WALTAIR.
D/ 4-2-1952.

My dear Ranga,

I am extremely glad to hear from you. From my bed I have been listening to strange events through the Radio. The results of the elections have come as a surprise to me I am not a close student of Politics & so they are perhaps a surprise to me only. I am however extremely sorry that Bharati & yourself who have such a fine record of public service have failed to get elected.

Your views on the present situation are interesting. Politics is a field which my readings have proved wrong and I do not therefore offer you any advice. The situation requires cool thinking and firm action and I am sure that Bharati would give you the correct advice.

The doctors are too conservative and they may not permit me to get out of my bed for another week. I may not be able to go out of my house for another month. I feel I am quite O. K. even now but the doctors too cautious.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
V. S. KRISHNA.

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G. V. MAVALANKAR,
Speaker, Lok Sabha.

No. A 405/52.
20, Akbar Road,
NEW DELHI,
5th February, 1952.

Dear Professor Ranga,

Yours of 1st enclosing your formal resignation from your seat of Parliament to hand.

The election-results ought to be an eye-opener to all of us, and particularly to the Congress Party. We must try to consolidate our democracy by the education of the masses in every walk of life. Unfortunately those in charge of affairs have practically lost touch with the masses with the result that public opinion has begun to drift away from the authority both in the Congress as also in the Governments. I hope, the election-results will have a sort of sobering effect on all concerned. Democracy cannot be welded into the form we like by legislative hammers. It is a slow process depending entirely upon the human element, and, therefore, the approach has to be human and personal, and we must not try to rush up reforms in our enthusiasm to improve things. This is my personal view.

I am overwhelmed with the last part of your letter, in which both Bharatidevi and yourself express your gratefulness to me. I take this feeling as a response of my own feelings towards you, as we shall be meeting off and on, outside the House as friends and co-workers in the cause of our country's uplift.

Please remember us both to your wife.

With best wishes,

Yours affectionately,
G.V.MAVALANKAR.

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BHARAT KRISHIKAR-LOK PARTY

C. L. PATEL,
General Secretary.

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
9-2-1952.

Dear Sri Rangaji,

I am enclosing herewith a letter from Sir Datar Singh for Indore Meeting on Planning for Agricultural Development

called by Minister K. M. Munshi. If you are to attend the meeting perhaps our people from Shajapur-Madhya Bharat-who wanted to set up 24 candidates for State Assembly might meet you there. On hearing from you I shall inform them if you are to go to Indore.

Rajasthan friends are to get some more members from Independents. Actual number is not yet known.

Gujarat people want you there.

Dr. Chenna Reddy came to 2, Ferozshah Road to meet us. He told me that there was a move in Madras to bring back into office Sri Rajaji as Chief Minister Madras and you, into Congress, as Home Minister Madras State, since only such strong government in South can survive the aggression of undesirables. I know your stand that you can only join Democratic United Front. But still considering the over all situation in Madras, I feel that in larger interest of country it would not be bad but patriotic for you to go back to Congress, I also learnt that they wanted to hand over to you the APCC. As to parties affiliated to KLP some understanding could be reached with those who are anxious to serve the cause and not the party label.

These are my personal views. Trust you are doing well. With best respects to Deviji.

Yours sincerely,
C. L. PATEL.

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THE JOINT MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE ANDHRA KRISHIKAR LOK PARTY AND STATE LEGISLATURE GROUP OF K. L. P. HELD IN MADRAS ON 5-3-1952 PASSED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION :-

The Party reiterates its resolve to maintain its integrity not only in its day-to-day constructive work in the country

side but also in its political and legislative activities in order to promise its democratic programme and policies and thus help the masses to move towards the achievement of Kisan Mazdoor Jan Raj it is most dangerous to the country and to the people to allow our State to fall into the hands of those political elements and parties which are sworn enemies of parliamentary democracy and whose international policies and peasant and proletarian programmes are highly detrimental to us.

"The best and most effective means of safeguarding democracy and the interest of the peasants and artisans and other labour sections of the Society in this State at this juncture is the formation of a coalition ministry with a solid majority consisting of all genuinely democratic parties and elements behind it. Despite the risks involved in the present situation, the Congress Party which does not command an absolute majority in the legislature has, however, undertaken the responsibility of forming a ministry.

"Nevertheless, with the election of Rajaji as its Leader, we feel that we should give this experiment a fair trial.

"Therefore, we wish to offer our responsive co-operation to him* even while reserving to ourselves the freedom to judge every issue as it arises on its own merits and offer constructive criticism from time to time, and thus promote the interests of our masses and the development of constructive parliamentarianism".

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* The K. L. P. did not wish to accept any position in Rajaji's Cabinet but would welcome consultative status in association with the ministry. The K. L. P. Leadersdip agreed to this only because Rajaji who was well-known for his administrative and political integrity and freedom from factious spirit was chosen as the Leader of Congress Legislature Party. Neither Rangaji nor any of his Party men was prepared to accept any position in the Cabinet. That gesture was hailed as "NISHKAMA KARMA" by Shri S. V. Ramamurti Retd. I. C. S. (Ed.)

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BHARAT KRISHIKAR LOK PARTY

2, Ferozshah Road,
NEW DELHI.
16th March, 1952.

My dear Sri Chester Bowles, *

I am enclosing the resolution passed by the General Council of our Party on the 11th instant. Further I might add that I had conveyed these ideas to the Heads of British and Foreign offices when I interviewed their heads and ministers in 1948 and 1949.

I wish also to express my personal appreciation of Sri Acheson's latest speech reported in today's daily papers in which he has correctly expressed the extent of Communist menace to Indian Democracy. I warned Sri Truman, your President, when I had seen him in the White House in July 1949 that these developments were in the offing.

Both our Union Government and your State Department had to wait unfortunately till now, to realise what actually has been happening to our Social Economy. I have been very pleased with the radical change for the good that has come over our Government in its relations with the U. S. democracy. Many of us have been working towards such a consummation.

The development of major and multipurpose-projects on the rivers of Tungabhadra, Krishna and Godavari, Narbada, not within the next 25 years, as our Government

* Former U. S. Senator & Governor, Mr. Chester Bowles was the famous Ambassador in India. His books on Indian and Asian problems are deservedly popular.

Plans, but within the next 10 years, is most essential, if democracy is to be safeguarded. This can be achieved only if the U.S.A. takes a hand in their construction.

This horrible Rayalaseema famine is due to the absence of these projects and only when these are developed, Rayalaseema can be freed from the ravages of these frequent famines.

I am glad to learn that you were good enough to address our Foreign Relations Affairs Society, of which I happen to be the president and I thank you for the nice compliment you have paid for its work.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

Encls :

1. Krishna River Project's Details
2. (Brochure) Role of K.L.P. in Democracy in Madras.

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NATIONAL HERALD

PERSONAL

LUCKNOW
March 25, 1952.

My dear Ranga Garu,

1 do not know if Shankar (of Shankar's Weekly) explained the position. There was, indeed, one sentence I wrote regarding the Congress Presidential Election which hurt you. I understood the position later and I was genuinely sorry for what I had done in my momentary zeal, perhaps, as an Andhra excited over an Andhra's election. I want to assure you of my regard for you. There is noth-

ing which we expect of each other, but I have always believed and since my student days I have been your admirer and well-wisher. I would not do anything deliberately or out of malice to hurt you.

With deepest regards.

Yours sincerely,
CHALAPATHI RAO
Editor.

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Sri N. SANKARA REDDI,
Minister for Local Administration.

MADRAS
14th April, 1952.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter expressing your joy over what has happened. * I am aware that you had much to to do with it and not a little I do not know in what way I can show my gratitude for what all is done. I assure you that what all lies in my power will be done to attend to the common man's problem.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
N. SANKARA REDDI.

Sri N. G. RANGA,
Andhra Ryotu Cooly Praja Party,
Vijayawada-2.

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* Rangaji, who was then the leader of the K. L. P. offered the support of 17 K. L. P. MLAs to the Congress which could not form a majority without them, and enabled the Congress Party with Rajaji as its leader to form the Ministry and thus prevented the Communist-dominated Coalition to capture Madras Government. He and his party declined to join that Ministry. (Ed.)

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Dr. M. CHENNA REDDY
Minister for
Supply (Food) & Agriculture.

HYDERABAD
3rd/5th May 1952

My dear Shri Rangaji,

As you have advised in your letter, I am considering about opening free market within the district limits and I am sure this will be finalised very soon. As for exempting from compulsory levy from the small landholders, I think we can consider this after the present levy collection is completed and before starting the next Khariff collections, when we have enough time to go into the details. While we have already started the collections, any change at this stage may not be possible.

Regarding the Wage Boards, for agricultural labour I have to request you to arrange to send to me some details about the constituting and functioning of the Boards and if any kind of legislation is necessary, the details pertaining to it and also the details of functioning of such Boards in other countries.

I hope Challapalli political school must have been a great success and for the short notice, I regret our workers could not take advantage of it.

After all the confusion in Madras politics, it was again possible to evolve the present position and I should say that this (coalition) is a bold experiment and naturally the whole of India is watching it with a great interest and hope. I am sure, this will lead to real salvation of the masses, particularly the Kisans and break the very backbone of the unsocial elements.

As for Kisan organisation, I discussed recently with Shri V. Bhaskar Rao and other colleagues and we are just

watching the situation particularly that has developed within our Congress organisation resulting out of re-organisation and other things. I assure you that we will, as hitherto, try our best to build up our organisation and always work under your inspiration and guidance.

Yours affectionately,
M. CHENNA REDDY.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, NIDUBROLU.

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V. RAMAKRISHNA, M.A., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retired) M.L.C.,
Managing Director. 55, Peters Road,
The K. C. P. Ltd., Cathedral, Madras-6.
28th May 1952.

My dear Professor,

Thanks for your letter of the 27th. I am very glad indeed that both your speeches have created a tremendous impression and that you have been able to get our friends to join you.

I am meeting Mr. Kidwai to-night at dinner at Goenkas and shall try to explain to him our view point in regard to the food problem. I have prepared a Memorandum on the subject which is fairly exhaustive. I shall be leaving a copy of it for your information with Umamaheswar to translate it into Telugu and publish it in Vahini.

Yours affectionately,
V. RAMAKRISHNA.*

Prof. RANGA, M C.S., Krishikar Lok Party,
NEW DELHI.

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* The late Ramakrishna was one of the M. L. C's in Madras Legislative Council, representing Krishikar Lok Party, founded by Rangaji. He was an able ally and comrade of both Ranga and V.V. Giri, in Planning for industrial development with industry cum labour Co-operation. (Ed)

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Prof. N. G. RANGA, President
Foreign Relations Committee,
NEW DELHI,

HEMEN RAY
Regensburger Str. 28
BERLIN W. 30, GERMANY.
14th August 1952.

Dear Professor,

I hope you have not yet forgotton me. Since 1949 I am living in Berlin - working with a newspapsr on Indian and Asian problem and at the same time studying in the School of Political Science. Early this month, the Rector of our school has announced an essay competition under the title "The Position of India in the struggle between the Soviet bloc and the democratic western powers". I have decided to take part in the competition. May I request you to be kind enough to help me in securing the speeches delivered by you dealing with your foreign relations, or any material that would be helpful to me. The essay must not be less than 100 Pages and to be submitted before the end of this year.

I shall be extremely grateful to you, if you be kind enough to send me some materials of our relations with the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Would it be possible for you to send me a short resume of your personal opinion of our relations with China, Soviet Union and the United States.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours

HEMEN RAY

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FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

ROME.
14th August 1952.

Dear Professor Ranga,

I have just heard from Mr. Damle that you are expecting to arrive in Rome on 18th August and contemplate paying FAO a visit. I need hardly say that we shall be delighted to see you at any time during your stay in Rome. If your Secretary could telephone my secretary suggesting a time convenient to yourself we will make all arrangements to meet you and I will introduce you to the technical members of the Organization whom I am sure you will like to meet.

Yours sincerely,
HERBERT BROADLEY
Deputy Director General.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, C/o. Indian Embassy,
Via Francesco Denza, 36, Rome, Italy.

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PERSONAL

C/o. Indian High Commissioner,
49, Willis Street, WELLINGTON C.1.
21st August 1952.

Dear Professor Ranga garu,

In the news item published from Sydney, I noticed that you are going to Canada in early September 52, to attend

the Parliamentary Conference. It would be a great pleasure if you could return to India via New Zealand.

On your return trip from America, I was waiting for you to visit Siam. I was there. It was not possible for you to do it. Now I hope you will find some time to visit this place and believe me it w ll be a great re-union.

Talking about New Zealand, there are 1300 Indians here. Almost all of them are comfortable. After the introduction of restrictions on remittances in 1948 or 1949, we find that a large number of properties have been purchased by Indians and the standard of their living has improved remarkably. Though Indians complained against these restrictions, the fact remains that they are much better off to-day. The younger generation, which is taking to education, will be able to move on terms of equality with the white settlers of this country. New Zealanders are good people and they have no colour prejudice; at any rate not to the same extent as you notice in America or Australia, of course never comparable to South Africa. Government of India's policy is appreciated and Pandit Nehru enjoys a high reputation. You do not come across the type of problems you notice in Malaya, Siam and other countries as the Indian population in these parts is not big.

Your contribution in the recent Council of States debate on Preventive Detention showed your ideological sympathies with Congress and what a great supporter you are of our Government. Many people thought that you may oppose. We must build up our country and see that it does not suffer from communist activities. Once unity is achieved and we develop a Two-Party Government, we will become a power to reckon.

With kindest regards and respect.

Yours very sincerely,

V. LAKSHMI PATHY.*

* Shri Laxmipathy was a researcher on Labour Conditions. He joined Indian High Commission in New Zealand. Later he has settled down in London. (Ed.)

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The Evangeline Booth Hospital,
NIDUBROLU, Ponnur P. O.
Guntur Dist. South India,
Sept. 2nd, 1952.

Dear Professor Ranga,

What excitement and what a thrill to receive your letter yesterday. How it brought everything and everyone so near. I could just see my father following a few years after the bus waving to you. It was so kind of you to take such a long bus journey to see him but you have given so much joy and pleasure by so doing. I was going to write to you yesterday. Monday is such a busy day, by the time I had taken my lunch and written to my father, the 2.00 P. M. bell went, so I finished up my work with a new idea in my mind-which I followed and went to see your dear wife, we read the letter again and almost lived over your visit there. She is looking better and taking care of the cattle and property while her mind is roaming with you to so many places.

I had the usual weekly letter from Jean * to-day. I hope you are now safely across the Atlantic, you will find a drier climate. I hope you had not too much rain in Manchester.

My brother's address is Noel A. Round

69 4th St. S. E, Medicine Mat. Alberta.

I would like to visit him myself as I have not seen him since I first came to India in 1927. he left England for Canada the same year.

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* JEAN is a Harijan Orphan Girl of NIDUBROLU adopted by Dr. Round and educated in England She has married a Swiss and settled down in Switzerland.

We had a sad happening last Wednesday – Thursday night, when Damayanthi Devi, Wife of Subbarao (Naidamma's brother) in NIDUBROLU lost her life and that of her baby in child birth.

Very best wishes for the rest of your tour and again many thanks for the joy you brought us.

Yours sincerely,
DAISY ROUND

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VAL-KILL COTTAGE, HYDE PARK, DUTCHESS COUNTY

NEW YORK
September 27, 1952.

Dear Professor Ranga,

I will be very glad to see you on October First, at Five O' Clock at the Park Sheraton Hotel, 56th Street and 7th Avenue. My suite number is 2524.

Hoping that this is a convenient time for you, I am.

Very sincerely yours,
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

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G. D. NAIDU,
'Gopal Bagh'
Coimbatore, S. India.

COIMBATORE.
30th September 1952.

Dear Friend,

I am glad to receive your letter dated 13th instant and to know that your trip is very successful and that it will be

very useful for our backward country. If all the leaders like you join together taking all the experts to work in various directions, our country will shine brighter than any country in the world. I hope you will try this on your return. I think if you see the agricultural ways and means in Sweden, Denmark, France and other European countries, it will give ideas suitable to put into practice in our country.

The way in which the California Agriculture is conducted on co-operative basis is more suitable for any country whether big or small. I understand Palastine also is following the same principle; now it has become an ideal and California is to copy the same. I hope you won't miss to visit this place even if it takes a few days more

After I returned from Delhi, the six weeks Automobile Radio and Bacteriology courses were finished. The Industrial Education Exhibition was opened by the Hon. Minister V. V. Giri on 1-9-1952. The Exhibition is to be closed today; perhaps it may be taken as closed once for all. When will the Government take such responsibilities in their hands? As a private person when I took these responsibilities spending my time, energy and wealth, the government has not realised its value. Hence this chapter is to be closed.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
G. D. NAIDU.

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
C/o. The High Commissioner for India,
India House, Alwych, LONDON.

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COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE,
OTTAWA September 1952.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, (Member of Council of States, India).

While the United States of America has emerged victor, it has come forward to help the defeated nations and orga-

nised help through the U. N. R. R. A. in co-operation with all the other democratic peoples. Not being satisfied with that, it has placed huge amounts of its surplus help at the disposal of many countries. Those moneys have been given not by way of loans, but by way of gifts; offered on a silver platter. It is indeed unprecedented in the history of mankind. It is a great object lesson that in a democratic way the spokesmen for the United Kingdom and the spokesmen for India in this debate on foreign affairs come not from the Government parties. This is an object lesson for Mr. Stalin and his satellite Governments, as in those countries Opposition Parties are not allowed to function freely. Here in our democracies, it is not only the Government parties, but also the Opposition Parties,in many cases, who are all united in this Conference and elsewhere, as was evidenced by our friends from the United States of America and the United Kingdom in defending democratic ideals. They are the people who are defending the democratic freedoms here. I therefore welcome this opportunity given to me by my delegates to put before you the facts regarding India's foreign policy.

India stands for non-involvement in this cold war struggle. India does not want to get involved in any such struggle because, as others have said, we must consider our ability to fend for ourselves. India has to look after her own and on that basis determine what position she will adopt.

Five years ago we became free. Until that time it was not possible for us freely to associate ourselves with many of these international organisations which had been brought into existence after the war in order to develop international goodwill and co-operation and thus build up our democratic strength.

We have since become free. We have accepted membership in many organisations of international scope. We are ready to play our role in a co-operative manner in these

international organisations that have been brought into existence.

A defence force is simply a reflection of the economic strength of a country. What is our economic strength? Our spokesman yesterday stated that millions of our people are very poor and yet 50 per cent of our national revenue is being used for defence purposes. We are building up our defence. We had only one shipyard when the British went away, and there was only one dry dock. We are constructing three additional dry docks and we are going to have another shipyard. We are building up our air force which was quite nominal before.

We are also anxious that people similarly situated as we were on the continent of Africa should become free. Now that we have won our freedom we naturally feel for those people in their struggles for freedom. We want to stand by them and we have been standing by them.

During the past five years we have been called upon to express our opinions at the United Nations and we have always been consistent in our support of under-privileged peoples in any nation or in any group of countries.

The northern borders of our country are supposed to be defended by the Himalayan mountains, but the fact is that to-day they are not impregnable. An aeroplane from the Soviet Union or Communist China could cross those mountains and be in India in an hour or an hour and a half. Many Communists are operating in territory close to our eastern borders, between Burma and our own country. Whether these people to the north are Soviet Communist or Chinese Reds we do not want to pick a quarrel with them. All these things have to be taken into consideration.

The question of our relations with Pakistan is much different from the stand taken by our friends from Eire to-

wards North Ireland. We do not question the right of Pakistan to exist. Pakistan is a state because of our agreement and we accept Pakistan as a separate nation. We want them to be our good neighbours, friendly neighbours. Just as the United States and Canada in their earlier days had many misunderstandings and difficulties but have now reached the point where without any written agreement they are able to set up a Joint Defence Board, I hope that the time will come when India and Pakistan will have a similar joint defence board and also that trade will move freely across our borders without any trouble at all.

I also contemplate the time when the growth of our defence force will be regarded by them as additional strength and the growth of their defence force will be regarded by us as additional strength so that it will become possible for both of us to become stronger elements within the Commonwealth and within the United Nations, so that we may become the bulwarks of the democracies in the East.

In conclusion I appeal to the fellow democratic nations to understand with sympathy India's special need for her present policy of non-involvement and her faith in peace.

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DAIL EIREANN BAILE ATHA CLIATH

DUBLIN, 2nd October 1952.

Dear Professor Ranga,

Is there any possibility that on your way home through London you would be able to spend a couple of days visiting our Country here? If so, please let me know so that I can

make arrangements to show you round, and for you to meet some of our people here.

I hope that you had a pleasant trip.

Yours sincerely,
EARNEST (M.P.)

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
Member of the Council of States of India,
India House, Aldwych, LONDON W.C.2.

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G. N. A. DUTHRE, M. P.,
Camp : The windsor, MONTREAL. 5-10-1952.

Professor G. Ranga, London Hotel.
Dear Professor,

Sorry we did not have a chance yesterday to continue our informal talk over Kashmir. I have to leave at 8-30 A. M. to-day for New York on my way home Via USA & PACIFIC. So I am jotting down the outline of what I mentioned yesterday for your further consideration. It seems to me :-

1. An explosive situation exists between your two nations over Kashmir.

2. So far all attempts to solve the problem have failed. The Plebiscite has not been held. Pakistan blames India. India blames Pakistan. The dispute has been before U. N. and delegates returned home without a solution. Prime Ministers of other countries have tried to help without success.

3. I suggest an answer could be found within the Commonwealth of Nations rather than outside it, by

a top-level Conference in Colombo – a neutral country – & attended by the Prime Ministers of U. K ., Canada, New Zealand & Australia as well as the leaders of the Opposition in each of those countries with India & Pakistan represented by their Prime Ministers and Leaders of Opposition in each of those countries with India & Pakistan represented by their Prime Minister and Leaders of opposition if you thought fit.

All the cards could be put on the table and utter frankness be the keynote, with a new approach on the basis of not WHO IS RIGHT, BUT WHAT IS RIGHT – thus shifting the emphasis from personalities to principles.

I feel sure U. N. cannot solve this. I feel equally sure India and Pakistan cannot solve it in an attitude of tension & strain either such a Conference, within the Commonwealth might remove the last obstacles to a solutlon. I appreciate your point that it would have no legal binding on either of your countries TRUE, but the LAW COURT has already failed; the official arbitrator which is U.N. has failed. In a spirit of mutual respect and common interest answers often come where legalities only clog & fog and intensify the problem.

You say sentiment and prestige are important to India and that no plebiscite can be held until Pakistan troops are withdrawn. The Second fact has weight If Pakistan can be persuaded to remove such troops and India can guarantee to hold a Plebiscite within one month of such withdrawal and the Commonwealth Conference. I have suggested appoint neutral observers from those countries represented (U. K. Canada, New Zealand, & Australia) to assit in conducting the Plebiscite – well then prestige has not suffered and both India and Pakistan would have taught the World something new in finding solutions to grave problems.

Would you be good enough to discuss this with your Leaders? I intend to mention the matter to my Prime Minister on return.

As I told you I have outlined the Plan to Pakistan delegates Ahmed & Mohammed and they are impressed with it.

Yours sincerely,
* GILBERT N.A. DUTHRE, M.P.
Longford, Tasmania, AUSTRALIA.

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* G. N. A. Duthre, M.P. was an Australian delegate to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in Ottawa in Septomber-October 1952. Pakistan's delegation raised the Kashmir issue in their statement and both Speaker Mavlankar and Rangaji replied to it. Thereafter Mr. Duthre joined other M. Ps in informal discussions with Prof. Ranga.

222

17 Sidney Avenue,
LONDON, N. 13.
7th October, 1952.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

It is good to know you are back from your Canadian & U. S. tour. Ring me at Bowes Park 5492 in order that we may arrange when and where to meet.

Koinange lives at 42 Seymour St. London. W.1. not far from marble arch.

Yours fraternally,
SEMAKULA MULUMBA. *

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* SEMAKULA MULUMBA is a leftist leader in Uganda's freedom struggle. He co-operated with Rangaji on the Colonial Peoples Freedom Front. (Ed.)

223

17, Cranleigh House,
LONDON, N. W. 1.
7th October, 1952.

Dear Professor,

Delighted to hear that you are back safely. Will call to see you at India House on Thursday about tea-time. It will give you time to get the letters. Look into the Library.

Dorothy sends her love and would like you to have a meal with us.

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE.

224

A. CASEY HAYFORD

Ministry of Agriculture
And Natural Resources
P. O. Box 1424, ACCRA.
9th October, 1952.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Just a line to say I reached home safely on September 29th in time for the opening of our Legislative Assembly on September 30th.

I have no doubt you have also returned home safely by now and settled down again.

I am sure we all retain a very happy memory of our very successful Conference, and tour of Canada, all of it so full of goodwill, good cheer and pleasant memories.

I look forward some day to visiting your beautiful Country and hope that you too some day may have an opportunity of seeing the Gold Coast for yourself.

With kind regards and every good wish.

Yours very sincerely,
A. CASEY HAYFORD *

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M P,
Indian Farmers' Union,
NEW DELHI. India.

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* He was one of the elder statesmen of Gold Coast (Ghana), and again became Minister in Nkruma's Cabinet. He met Rangaji again in Delhi in 1958-59, when they were delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. They both pleaded for the release of JoMo Kenyatta and granting of freedom to Kenya and other British Colonies. — (Ed).

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THE MADRAS STATE RYOTS CONFERENCE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Chairman :
Sri A. PARTHASARTHI.
Secretary :
Sri E. VENUGOPALA REDDI.

49, Royapettah Road,
MADRAS-4.
20-10-1952.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

We are very glad to inform you that we are arranging to hold the Madras State Ryots (Conference) on 2nd November 1952 at Minjur, Chingleput District. Sri O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar will appraise you of all the details.

We are contacting the authorities to arrange Agricultural and Veterinary Exhibition also at the Conference Place.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
E. VENUGOPALA REDDY.

226

Lincoln College,
OXFORD.
27-10-1952.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I am a student from Allahabad, U. P. and I am doing a B. Litt. here under Prof. G.D.H. Cole. The subject of my thesis is " Workers & Peasants Movements in India (1920-1951)."

As you are aware very little literature exists on the subject. Even what that is not to be found in the Idian Institute here as they mainly concentrate on philosophical and language books. I could only get hold of one of your books 'Modern Indian Peasant'.

Prof. Cole suggested that I should get in touch with you as you are the leading authority on the subject. Could I request you to send me literature on the history of the Kisan Movement:

If you had anytime to spare, I should be very obliged to get your valuable advice on how to proceed with the study of the subject.

It might interest you to know that I have taken a diploma from Barnett House. Barnett House has now been taken over by the University. Miss Butler has retired from its headship though she continues to tutor students. Among your other acquaintances I know - Dr. J. J. Mallon con-

tinues to be Warden of Toyanbee Hall, London and inspite of his advancing age still keeps in the best humour. Mr. Noel Brailsford is not in very good health these days.

Hoping to hear from you.

Yours sincerely,

S. B. SINGH

227

PROF. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

NIDUBROLU,
S. India,
31-10-1952.

My dear George and Dorothy Padmore,

I am glad to inform you that I have reached home safely and been in my "GOBHUMI" since 26th night. These are fine days, since all our friends are happy to see me again and we are having such a beautiful moon light during all these nights. You will be interested to know that moonlight is at its best during this fortnight for rhe whole year and it is supposed to be an eternal elixer for young people.

I get a beautiful panoramic view from my upstairs, for miles and miles, it is all one ocean of green rice fields, broken here and there by canal bunds or tall palmyra trees with their fan like leaves, it is cool, not too chill and very nice. The sun is delightfully friendly giving enjoyable warmth and no more. We will enjoy in the South air-conditioned sunshine for 4 months -November-February.

I have been too busy, while in this place with the preparation of my plan for propagating the cause of democracy, human rights and international understanding. I have sent copies of it to our Government and also to the U.N. E. S C. O. and some friends in U. K. and U. S. A.

Besides friends from different parts, those of these two Districts, Guntur and Krishna have been pouring in for talks about my travel experiences.

What do I tell them ? Not much about the fun and frolics of your people, though I rather suspect they will love to hear about it but only about my political talks with so many of your statesmen.

I spent 5 days from 21st in canvassing for our candidates in a bye-election in Srikakulam District for Madras State Assembly. It was hard work, though pleasant. It was a lovely countryside, with blue mountains all around every small compass of a level ground, with a number of lakes beautifying the area. Unfortunately the people of this District are too poor, ill-clad and ill-fed and having not even minimum clothing, because they have been exploited by Zamindars for ages'. we have at last succeeded in freeing them from the Zamindars.

But in these electioneering campaigns I have discovered to my amazement how much they have learnt to hug the chains of slavery and how despite all our propaganda, they have chosen to vote into Assembly only the Zamindars, such is the irony of social suppression.

I am glad to say that Bharatidevi, my wife, is in good form for wok for our cause She also canvassed for our candidate and told me, on my arrival from Europe that we had no chance of succeeding in that area. Yet, we all poured our spare resources into that campaign and ultimately our candidate Sri Ch. Parasurama Naidu, an advocate was defeated and the land-lord was elected.

Yet we are pulling on, as best as we might.

I was in Paris on the 15th till 18th October I am glad to say that I was able to meet the principal Directers of different Departments of the U. N. E. S. C O and they have all appreciated the approach, I have suggested

towards the world cause of democracy and have promised to do their best to get my plan implemented through their organisation.

I have been busy preparing my report on that plan and sending its copies to a number of prominent savants in England, U. S. A. and India especially Mrs. Roosevelt, Attlee besides the U. N. E. S. C. O. Let us hope that the World Democratic cause and its publicity campaigns will gain some additional momentum in the months and years to come, as a result of my hard and sincere work during this tour.

I have submitted a plan to the great American Farmers' Organisations and also to the National Farmers' Union of U. K. for enabling two dozen farmers' youths and a dozen farmers' leaders of India to go to their countries, work on their farms, study the working of democracy through their farmers Unions and such Organisations of their youth as the young Farmers, Future Farmers of America. 4-H Clubs and the contributions being made by extension schemes and Research Stations and Agricultural Ministries, especially in fixing prices and wages. Their leaders have expressed much interest in the plan. I am confident that some good results may be achieved. Whatever success may be met with in this direction will produce increasing returns in Indian-Farming world since such well trained leaders and youths can be expected to raise the levels of propaganda, organisational and brain-trust equipment.

I will soon come to be absorbed again in the local, state and Indian Politics with their incessant and pressing claims on my time, energy, and I am afraid I will have so little energy or opportunity to concentrate on the bigger and comparatively more useful international responsibilities. Therefore, I request you to supplement my work by whatever you can do from that end.

Let me express my gratitude once again to you for all the comradeship, and hospitality you have showered on me during my tour.

With best regards,
N.G. RANGA.

228

From
Sri M. Jayanandam,
Tahsildar,
Bapatla.

To
Srimathi Bharati Devi Ranga,
President,
Rayalaseema Famine Relief
Committee, NIDUBROLU.

Re. 2400-52 B1 D/1-11-52.

Sir,

Sub :- Season Adverse seasonal conditions
transport of paddy from Bapatla Taluk

Sri Puvvada Basavaiah of Cheruvu Jammulapalem has placed 23 bags of paddy in my custody for transport to famine affected area But the place of destination has not been intimated as yet. Please intimate to which place of the affected area I have to transport the paddy of 23 bags. An early reply is requested.

Sd
for Tahsildar, Baptla.

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PHILLIP and IRRNE THOMPSON

Ronwall
Higher Durham, Uxbridge
LONDON.
19—11—1952.

Dear Mrs. Ranga,

There is an icy wind tonight and cold sleek all the leaves have fallen but I found a handful of rose buds and

in the warmth of the room they have opened and given their scent, which Ranga likes. Our sitting room was filled with big, English roses - bouquets of them when Ranga was with us.

> Phillip has made a big fire of logs and we have had coffee and the crowning pleasure would be to have you both here to talk with us. I hope you will forgive, Mrs. Ranga, that I write so directly. Your husband talked so much of you that I seem to know you very well and Phillip of course has met you at Oxford. Your husband's visit was a great pleasure for us both and brought a renewed faith in "World intangible"

Prof. Ranga,

We have had disappointed letters from Paris where our friends tried hard to get in touch with you. Although you are concerned with different parts of the Earth's surface, the things you would achieve I think, are the same and much the same problems face you both. I hope you will get in touch by letter, if not personally. You would be sure of very warm understanding from the Begoneus family and they most certainly belong to that world of democratic intellect -uals which you wish to influence and unite Pierre Telhard a scientist, philosopher and mystic has a gift for quickening hope despite the most difficult frustrtaions and his contacts are world-wide.

Philip's sister Teresa has become engaged and is to be married on December 26th.

The Reverend Mother at the Convent wrote to thank me for bringing you to talk to the Students. She said how much they had been impressed by your sincerity and complete dedication to a great cause

Warmest wishes from Phillip.

IRENE.

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Camp : NIDUBROLU,
Date : 21-11-1952.

From
Srimati G. Bharati Devi Ranga,
President,
Rayalaseema Famine Relief Committee,
NIDUBROLU.

To
The Collector,
GUNTUR.

Sir,

Sub:- Season - Adverse seasonal conditions - Relief Measures - Nellore District - Gift of Foodgrains - Collections by the Famine Relief Commiittee.

REF:- L Dis.X.3130/52 dated 23 9-1952 of the Board of Revenue to the Collector, Nellore.
R.C.P. 4,7928/51 d/22-10-1952 of the Collector, Nellore., to the Collector, Guntur

I am glad to inform you that I have allotted 190 bags of paddy to the Famine-affected areas of Darsi (25 bags) Podili (30 bags), Kanigiri (30bags) and Udayagiri (45 bags) Taluks in Nellore District for distribution and I request you to advise the Deputy Tahsildar, Podili which is centrally situated to consult Sri R. Mahananda Chowdary of Kurichedu, Darsi Taluk in despatching 30 bags to Punugupati Ramaiah of Kanigiri Taluk, Medarmetla Chenchayya of Munclamoor and 60 bags to R. Mahananda Chowdary of Kurichedu and Katuri Narayana Swami of Podili. The 45 bags allotted to Udayagiri have to be sent to Kavali Railway Station and thence to Vinjamuru and handed over to Sri Gurijala Venkatramayya:

Our people have handed over 45 bags to the Tahsildar Bapatla, and 111 bags to the Tahilsdar, Tenali for export to Nellore District and the rest of the 35 bags are with

our Office Secretary, Sri N. Sitharamayya at Tenali who is advised by me to hand over the stocks at once to the Tahsildar, Tenali. The Collector, Nellore in his reference cited above informed you that the above mentioned Taluks are famine-affected areas and hence the grain allotted by me may be moved to Nellore district at once. The Collecter, Nellore has instructed his Deputy Tahsildar at Podili to take delivery of the stocks at Ongole R. S. to be sent by the concerned Tahsildar of Tenali and Bapatla.

So I request you to kindly arrange for the speedy export of the paddy handed over by us to your Tahsildars at Bapatla and Tenali to the Deputy Tahsildar, Podili,

Yours faithfully,
G. B. Devi, President,
RAYALASEEMA FAMINE RELIEF COMMITTEE,

This letter is typical of the Correspondence carried on by Smt. Bharati Devi with the Revenue authorities during 1952–53 severe famine that overtook Rayalaseema. She organised famine relief. She collected more than ten thousand bags of paddy and rice and several hundreds of wagon-loads of fodder in the Circar Districts from peasants among whom she was so popular. She arranged that most of these collections should be distributed among the distressed masses by the Ramakrishna Mission, who were famous for their impartiality, honesty, integrity and humanism with the aid of local public workers among Kisans, Bharati Devijee's painstaking and humanistarian work was praised by the Central and State Governments as well as the local public Whenever the Mission Workers were not functioning, local public workers whom she know personally to be honest and able, were chosen by her for distribution work.

She toured incessantly for months in all the distressed areas and also in the donor-areas and personally conducted the whole campaign despite the scorching summer and her indifferent health. In that campaign, all the Kisan workers

including P. Timmareddy, B. V. Sivaiah, P. Rajagopala Naidu, N. V. Naidu, and late Gorrepati V. Subbaiah aided her ably.

She organised similar campaign for offering relief to flood-striken people of Godvari during Godavari floods of 1940-41. She was therefore hailed as "KISAN MOTHER OF MERCY" all over Andhra. ..... (ED)

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A-19/629, Adigmet,
P. O. Jamai Osmania
HYDERABAD-Dn.
D. 24-12-1952.

Paramahamsa.

Pujya Rangaji,

Yes, I am happy we are getting our Province. It is now necessary that all democratic forces should get together to see that Communists do not capture the new State. I do not think we are promoting our cause of democracy by fighting congress on one hand and the C. P. on the other. It is my belief that we do not have any other party nearer to us than the Congress. So when these old friends are prepared to give us an honourable and fitting welcome, why should we hesitate to accept it. You might say that masses are with us. I have lost my belief in their capacity to judge things and understand them. They are being turned any way by catchy slogans. Inspite of our strength in the masses, in what way they could come to our rescue in the last general elections. Moreover we do not have effective people in large number in our party to bring additional strength to us.

Yours affectionately,
PARAMAHAMSA

232

150-30 Village Road, Parkway Village
Jamaica 2, L. I, NEW YORK, N.Y.
Jan. 1, 1953

My dear Professor Ranga,

Allow me, on this first day of the New Year, to wish you and the new state the best that may be in the womb of the future. All non-Andhra Indians of goodwill will be happy in principle about the formation of the new Andhra State.

I write this letter especially to bring to your attention a problem that has disturbed me for some time now; the question of well qualified and competent young countrymen of ours in the UN. The longer they stay here the greater the chance of their making a permanent career of it. I can appreciate older or incompetent young men or those who are in a hurry to make a little money in a short period wanting to stay on in the UN. But for up-and-coming young men the UN, as you probably know, does not provide the right atmosphere or challenging work except perhaps for a few years in the beginning. Thereafter they are apt to forget their skills but stay on merely for "flesh pots of Egypt"

I have therefore felt that whenever we can every effort should be made to get back atleast those competent young men who would really like to get placed in some service in India and who would be useful to the country.

I recommend this young man to you with great enthusiasm. If there is any reasonable chance please let me know.

With all good wishes and looking forward to meeting you soon,

Yours Sincerely,
K. T. BHANA
Secretariate,
(Retired from U.N.O.)

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2 - Belsize Park Gardens,
LONDON, N. W. 3.
9-1-1953.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thanks for your kind letter which I received some time ago and for the parcel of books I have just received.

I myself had been feeling that treating 'Workers and Peasants' movements in India together would be messy as the pattern of our social and economic development has been very different from the West's. Your letter very much strengthened my idea. I have discussed the matter in detail with Prof. Cole and we have agreed to call the thesis "Indian Peasants, Movement"

I have received the parcel only just now. I had read your 'Modern Indian Peasant' at the Indian Institute Oxford and have also been able to obtain 'The Revolutionary Peasant' from India House.

I intend to trouble you once again after having gone through all these and hope you will be kind enough to clarify points raised.

Miss Butler & Prof. Cole send you their regards.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,
S B. SINGH.

234

Ministry of Education
INDIA, NEW DELHI
June 12/15, 1953

My dear Prof. Ranga.

Since we discussed your plan for the promotion and propagation of the cause of world democracy last month,

we have gone through it again carefully. We feel that the main objectives which you have in view can best be fulfilled through appropriate political and other organisations. As you are aware, UNESCO and the Indian National Commission are primarily concerned with education, science and culture and we would like them to concentrate all their already too limited resources on tackling this specific problem. We will, however, fully utilise such elements of your plan as can be fitted in with the basic objective and programmes of UNESCO.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely.
HUMAYUN KABIR

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.,
P. O. Nidubrolu, (S. India),

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GEORGE PADMORE, THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS
22 Cranleigh House,
Cranleigh Srteet,
LONDON, N. W. 1.
9—6—1953.

Dear Ranga,

What a pleasure it was to hear from you. I appreciate it all the more for I realise how frightfully busy you are. Thanks for all the information and interest in African affairs. As to be expected we are daily in the thick of things and fairly up-to-date on events. I see much of young Koinange and through Mr. Dudley Thompson, a West Indian advocate in Moshi, Tanganyik, who also acted as a defence counsel, we hear news regularly about Kenyatta and other prisoners. We are doing the best we can for them, but you know the forces up against us. That is why we are worried about the offer on the part of certain Indian business interests and political leaders in Kenya to give active support to the white settlers and their government. I hope

the Committee set-up in New Delhi will use its influence to prevent a split between Africans and Indians. I know the Africans in West African newspapers are criticising the attitude of some of the Kenya Indian Leaders.

I always get Prime Minister Nehru's addreses on foreign affairs and send out to my papers all his references about Africa and the colour bars. They are always given front page treatment. Do not be discouraged, Africa is on the march. Nothing can hold the Africans back. We shall suffer many blows before achieving freedom, but now that they have learned the Gandhian technique of non violent non-co-operation they have a mighty weapon in their hands. I have disscussed its application in the Gold Coast in my book "The Gold Coast Revolution" a copy of which I have sent you. I hope that the book will become a sort of text book to guide other African movements which have not yet reached the stage of the G. C. Already the British are trying to divide up Nigeria along the lines of India – on religion and communalism, - but we are fighting it tooth and nail. Thanks for the example and warning from India, we are prepared to meet the imperialist challenge The whiteman is desperate. Africa is his last hope for imperial survival, so he intends to use fire and sword. He is the real Mau Mau–for empire is built and maintained on violence, force and fraud.

I am now discussing agricultural affairs with African directors of the Cocoa Marketing Board I want them to join the World Agricultural Organisation. For the first time control has passed into the hands of Africans. Please write directly to my friend and tell him that you are prepared to sponser their membership. His address is — Mr. Kojo Mercer, Chairman, Cocoa Marketing Board, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa You can mention my name as I shall tell him to expect a letter from you on his return to the G. C. on the 16th June. You will be doing Africa a great

service. For once the G. C. is a member, they could help to bring others in. Meanwhile our best regards to yourself and family.

Ever yours sincerely,
GEORGE.

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EXTRACTS FROM SRI SRI PRAKASA THE GOVERNOR OF UNDIVIDED MADRAS STATE, LATER GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

PERSONAL

RAJBHAVAN
Ootacamund,
June 12, 1953.

My dear Ranga,

I was glad to learn from your letter, of the Coalition that is taking place. I may only hope that the results would be in the best interests of the new Andhra State. It is but right and proper that all of us should see to it that we launch the new venture under very good auspices. I, however, must confess I have my own very serious apprehensions. I do not understand, for instance, how the legislators decided on Kurnool, as the Capital of Andhra. I doubt if the place has any advantages that a Capital must have. As temporary Capitals tend to become permanent, my fears become deeper. You know how vested interests arise in every situation, and if later on an attempt is made to take the Capital to some other place, there is bound to be a big hullabaloo. However, let us hope for the best. Our friends must have thought deeply and carefully, before they took their final decisions. I personally however, do not think we have heard the last of it, for unfortunately by temperament, we do not accept finality. Those against whom the judgement has gone, are sure to keep up their running fight, instead of settling down to business. Our friends might all be engaged in an eternal tug-of war of offence anddefence. I am sure your good offices will be thrown on

the right side, and that you will help to pour oil on troubled waters and see that all is well.

I thank you very much for all the kind things that you say on your behalf as well as on behalf of the family for my visit to your house. A tour in Guntur could never have been complete for me without a visit to your place, and I would have invited myself, if you had not invited me. It gave me no end of joy to see the happy family in its beautiful domestic setting and to meet Bharatiji, Sushilaji with her husband and the boy, under the paternal roof. I think it is a great honour that you did me - non-brahman that I am - in making me the guru of your little grand-child, and it is really for me to thank you, rather than the other way round

I agree with you that if only we were all human and did not stand on ceremony and were not self-conscious all the time, the world would be a much plesanter place than it is. Everybody has been very kind to me and I cannot be sufficiently grateful for all that they have done for me during my term of office here. My sorrow is great that more than half the State is now being rent asunder, but my good wishes are earnest and sincere that the great Andhra people may prosper in their own session and live at peace among themselves and rear up their great state with a stable goverment and kindly people so that all may be well with everybody I am, however, not unaware of the difficulties before your difficulties created by irreconcilable hostilities of party politics, of drought and famine devastating large areas, financial stringency always coming in the way of good work, and all possible continuing racial and linguistic antagonism of Andhra and Tamil. Men of goodwill must rally round a single standard and see that all difficulties are over come. If I could be of any use, I should place myself at your disposal, but I know I shall be useless and have already been rendered so, by so many unnecessary suspicions coming into the minds of old friends and colle-

agues who, I thought, knew me better. However, I will not complain for when so many persons are kind, I must be prepared for a few being not so.

Coming as I do from the North, and having seen all the complexes that went up to raise the bogie of Hindu Muslim dissensions and resulted finally in the Partition of the land., I have been pained to find the same mental process at work here. Of course, the saving grace is that we all are parts of the same Union and there is no talk of a separate nation and a separate Independent State, still the psychology is very disturbing and I am not very happy as I look to the future.

It is some consolation to me to know that you think so well of Rajaji. In your letter under reply, you were going for a short holiday to Kashmir. I do not know whether you did succeed in doing so, for if I am not mistaken, I seem to have read in the papers, while I was ill, that you were somewhere in Bombay.

I just let myself go, as I was writing to such a good friend and colleague as yourself. Please remember me to Bharatiji and all other members of the good family as well as friends who gave me such warm welcome at your Gobhumi on that beautiful day.

I am,
with kind regards
Yours affectionately,
SRI PRAKASA.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P.
Nidubrolu.

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RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEWAK SANGH

Jhandewala Mandir,
New Delhi-1
D/ 3—11—1953.

My dear Shri N. G. Ranga,

It gives me great pleasure to invite you to preside over the annual function of the Delhi branch of the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh on the 29th of Nov, 1953.

Many of my friends from Andhra have been talking to me about your qualities of head & heart & your solicitude for the common people. The R. S. S. also has been trying to serve the common people of this country in its own way. The annual function which will be attended by thousands of invitees besides the regular members of the R. S. S. will enable you to see & understand the activities of the R. S. S. from close quarters.

Yours sincerely,
Hans Raj Gupta.
EX-MAYOR OF DELHI.

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PERSONAL

MINISTER FOR LABOUR,
(GOVERNMENT OF INDIA)

NEW DELHI,
7th November, 1953.

My dear Prof. Ranga.

I am glad to know the turn of events in the Andhra Politics. I tried to do my very best in the matter because I felt that it was in the interests of our State. I am glad to see from the press that it is coming to pass and I know you will, by your wisdom, statesmanship and patriotism, secure for the Andhra State its due.

Prof. N. G Ranga, M. P.
155, Shenoy Nagar,
MADRAS-10.

Yours sincerely,
V. V. GIRI.

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TRIBUTE TO SRI POTTI SRIRAMULU

15th December, 1953.

In a joint statement Shri N. Sanjiva Reddi, President, Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, and Prof. N. G. Ranga,

Leader, Krishikar Lok Party, said that the sad news of Sri POTTI SREERAMULU'S death has cast a gloom all over the country. It is tragic that a man of selfless sacrifice could not live to work in the new province that is to be formed, so much in response to his sufferings.

We have full confidence that the Andhra State will soon be an accomplished fact, thanks to the new zeal and determination of our Prime Minister. Pandit Nehru, evoked by Sreeramulu's Sacrifice. We, therefore, wish to urge upon our people to face this most unfortunate and tragic loss with composure and confidence in keeping with Sreeramulu's fifty eight days of silent sacrifice and make it easier for our statesman in charge of Government of our country to accede without any more delay to the cherished demand of our Andhra masses.

N. SANJIVA REDDI.

N. G. RANGA.

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EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS OF RANGAJI AT FOURTH I. P U. CONGRESS FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1954

Mr. President,

Why have we taken upon ourselves this terrifying mission of resisting Communist totalitarianism? Surely it is not merely because we are anti-Communist. It is primarily because we are advocates of independence, freedom and co-operative effort. The love of independence comes to us naturally, since for generations past we have loved our freedom on our small holdings as independent entrepeneurs, finding our own employment, driving ourselves into creative effort, and taking pride in producing more and more crops to feed the world's population. We have learned to be our own masters, and with all that, to serve our nations in a dutiful and efficient

manner. Nothing is so galling to us as to have to work at the building of any master whom we have not voluntarily chosen and whom we cannot depose. Therefore our peasants can be trusted to be the most scrupulous and unyielding defenders of our freedoms.

What is it that today the socialists want to achieve for the benefit of any class of toilers? To free them from the exploitation of capitalsim and give them the opportunity of feeling that they are working for social well-being. Is it half as valuable an idea as what our peasants have been trying to achieve and retain? We work and produce for social well-being, we do it on our own with the voluntary consciousness of our social duties. We enjoy the additional advantage of not having to work under any manager or master appointed by some arbitrary authority masquerading as the State. But that is not the case with other classes of toilers. They have yet to achieve such an experience. Therefore they do not know its value and its indespensability. They may not be able to stand the strain of as long and painful a struggle for the achievement of such a status as we can. We are marked out by the very historic necessity of the times to fulfil this sacred mission of safeguarding freedom and independence, of carrying on co-operative and social endeavour, and offering the most effective resistance to all totalitarian movements, whether of the fascist or communist type.

We are democrats par excellence. Democracy is also sine qua for our continued freedom to find our employment on our own small holdings and to achieve social security thereby. You destroy democracy - the next moment independent peasantry is undermined. No country which has not its complement of independent peasantry and which does not cherish this class, can long remain either free or democratic. It is to the credit of the peasantry that it has shown the way to the World of how to split up and distribute economic power among millions and millions of people, and yet ensure both efficiency and economic progress. This is the essence of

our agrarian socialism, which we call Gandhian socialism in India. Let us work for the fulfilment of our mission of democratic and peaceful agrarian socialism.

(The full text of this speech was published in "TOWARDS WORLD PEACE" (1956) and also in "THE CREDO OF WORLD PEASANTS" (957) -Ed.)

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Model Town,
Hoshiarpur, PUNJAB,
3—11—1954.

My dear Bharati Devi,

Thank you for your kind words about my mother, conveyed through Mr. Umesh (G. Umamaheswara Rao),. I left her well; considering her age (90) in mind and body (In New Zealand). I arrived here on November First, a telegram awaited me to say that she had died, quickly and peacefully, only a few days ago. I am still hardly able to realize the loss. The fact that I must no longer turn all the day to day details of life here, with letters to her will drive it home soon enough. But I have reason to be truly thankful that I was able to take overseas leave this year and give her the pleasure of seeing me.

It is sad to hear that your mother too is old and disabled by paralysis. I know she has your love and care to sustain her and I hope that like my own mother, she may retain some joy in life to the end and that the end when it comes, may come with little suffering

I was in Madras, on the way here and called at the "VAHINI" Office but Mr. Umesh was not there because of the Diwali. I called to say that I would, as he asked, send him some short message for Ranga's Birth-day number.

My train passed by NIDUBROLU without stopping, r-minding me of that memorable visit. I paid you there so long ago. How beautiful the South Country is. I would like very much to meet you again in Delhi. Till then, my very good wishes.

Yours sin:erely,
DINAH STOCK

* * * * *

Three weeks ago I spoke in Conway Hall at a meeting on India organised by the anarchists. Chris Jones, Organiser of the African Seaman's Union was the last speaker. I was given the longest time.

I am glad that what I said was, in spirit, an exact expression of the Colonial Peoples Freedom Front and I was backed up to the lost word, and beyond, by Chris. It had a good reception. Reg was speaking at another meeting in the same week and must have put much the same point of view.

Sincere good wishes to Bharatidevi. All my thoughts and hopes are with you both in your great work, and I cannot say how much it encourages me to find that we are still in such complete agreement.

DINAH.

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FERENC NAGY'S VISIT TO BHARATI DEVI'S HOME

Meeting between NAGY and RANGA at NIDUBROLU

Mr. FERENC NAGY, the Hungarian Leader, Ex-Prime Minister of Hungary and Vice-President of the International Peasant Union visited Nidubrolu, Mr. Ranga's home -village on the 12th November, 1954.

Mr. Nagy was given a rousing reception at the railway station by G. Lakshmi Narayana, K. Obula Reddy, G. V. Subbaiah, Kisan Leader and others. The Panchayat Board of Nidubrolu and its President Mr. N. Nagayya presented a civic address. Mr. P. B. Naidu, the founder of the local P. B. N. College and Mr. P. A. Prasad; President took him to the College, where Mr. Nagy addressed the Students. Then Mr. Nagy went to Narasaraopet; met the leaders of the upland areas, and addressed the people of Munipalle, Vallabharaopalem on his way back.

Mr. Nagy returned to GOBHUMI, the home of Srimati Bharati Deviji and took part in the Dinner Party given by her in his honour. Prof. Ranga reached Nidubrolu on that night by 11 P. M. from Japan, Thailand via Calcutta after completing his World Tour. Both these leaders of International Peasant Movement embraced each other and were closeted for 2 hours, discussing the problems and prospects of democracy, as they have studied during the past six weeks after they had parted at I P U Conference in New York on the 1st October. Mr. Nagy left in the early hours of the 13th for Peddapuram, Anakapalli and Vizag.

Mr. Nagy toured ,Rajasthan, Gujerat and Punjab, the strongholds of Peasant Movement and then reached Delhi. Prof. Ranga stayed in Nidubrolu for a few days and then went to Delhi, and presided over the functions of the Foreign affiairs Association which were organised in honour of Mr. Nagy's visit.

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12 November, 1954.

TOBACCO EXPORT CORPORATION

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P., Leader of the Krishikar Lok Party has returned to India on the 12th instant after his

2 month-long world tour. On reaching Nidubrolu, his home-village, he was met by the President and other leaders of the Guntur Tobacco Market Committee, and they asked him regarding the prospects for Virginia Tobacco. He told them that there is urgent need for the National Government to establish a National Tobacco Exports Corporation with the growers and merchants as co-operative partners in order to protect their interests in the importing markets and to ensure reasonable prices for Indian Tobacco. In England the tobacco import trade is being concentrated in a few hands and so, our exporters are more or less at the mercy of their monopoly interests. Japan which buys large quantities of uncured or country tobacco is unwilling to give a fair deal to our tobacco exporters because of her own problems of shortage of foreign exchange and devaluation of Japancce Currency 'Yen' and also of the tendency of our exporters to indulge in cut-throat competition and Japanese anxiety to become self-sufficient in tobacco production. The totalitarian Soviet Countries can be expected to give a reasonable price, only when all our exports are canalised through a State Exporting Agency, similar to their own State Trading Agencies.

He said, "I talked to English, Japanese importers of our tobacco during this tour about the possibilities for more exports of our tobacco to their countries. I was struck with their consciousness of the impact of our large unsold tobacco stocks in the Continental and Japanese markets and Warfs. So I have come back with a greater conviction in favour of an Indian State Trading Corporation. I therefore advise our tobacco growers to press the Central Government to move in this direction."

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INTERNATIONAL PEASANT UNION (Geeen International)

FERENC NAGY

HERNDON, Va. U. S. A.

Vice-President, (President since 1969.) February 1, 1955.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Please forgive me for not writing you sooner but I can honestly say that since my return every one of my days had been occupied with one matter only; India.

First of all; however, I want to thank you for inviting me to visit your country and for the many gestures of true hospitality and friendship I have received from you. I was pleased to see your popularity and the respect and affection you enjoy among your associates as well as your political opponents. Your unselfish services and high principles set an example to your countrymen while your political wisdom adds to the national prestige of India.

My sincere congratulations to you for the agreement you reached with Nehru in connection with the Andhra elections. But I also must praise the Congress Party for having the wisdom to recognise the importance of your role and extending you a helping hand in your efforts to promote real democracy. I can assure you that the prestige of Indian policy-making was greatly increased by it. I hope that this local agreement will develop along the lines you have discussed with Nehru and it will not be long before you can organize the peasantry of India in a vast unit.

And now, let me inform you of some of my activities since my return.

My efforts concerning an Asian Peasant Union have been most encouraging. My personal feeling is, however, that if you could be in the Congress while continuing the organisation of the peasantry at the same time it would greatly strengthen your work.

I have hopes that during the spring I will be able to visit one of your neighbouring countries.

Since my return, I have done everything in my power to create a better understanding for India's problems in this country. I spoke to the public via radio and television. I had discussions and conferences with practically all those who have influence in Asian matters. I also informed the Central Committee of the IPU and that of the Hungarian National Council. My remarks were received with an amount of surprise everywhere because of the general belief in this part of the world that India is a half-communist country, the often expressed neutrality of which is nothing else but a silent approach to the Communist bloc. When I told people that India is really a non-communist which under the leadership of Mr. Nehru, Radhakrishna Prof. Ranga and the Socialist Party conducts a determined and intelligent fight for democracy they were relieved. If you have been watching the American Press, you may have noticed a different tone towards India. I hope that this is only the beginning and the situation will keep on improving until, eventually, the misunderstandings between the two great countries will disappear.

I often think of your fine associates, Messrs. Ramana, N. V. Naidu, C. L. Patel, Paramahamsa, Obulu Reddi and all the others. Please, give my best regards to every one of them. Also, Please, forward my sincere greetings to Mr. Ashok Mehta. I will try my best to write to him.

To you Prof. Ranga and Mrs. Ranga the most wonderful and faithful of all your associates my very best wishes.

Respeetfully yours,

FERENC NAGY.

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JAWAHARLALJI AND DHEBAR HAPPY OVER RANGA'S RE-ENTRY INTO CONGRESS

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7, Jantar Mantar Road.
NEW DELHI-1
March 7, 1955.

My dear Ranga,

I was happy to have glimpse of you last evening. Unfortunately, we came away immediately after the show and I could not see you again.

I need not tell you how happy I am at the result of the Andhra elections. This has cast a heavy burden on all of us. The people of Andhra have undoubtedly expressed themselves forcefully and put their faith in us. We have to be worthy of that faith. Nothing will be more dangerous than for us to grow complacent.

Dhebarbhai came to see me this evening and told me about his talk with you yesterday. He also showed me his correspondence with you of to-day. I was happy to read

this and to know that you and your party have decided to enter the Congress again and work shoulder to shoulder with all of us.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

IN ANOTHER LETTER OF THE SAME DAY, JAWAHARLALJI ADDED:

I am very glad indeed at your decision to merge with the Congress. I earnestly hope that we have seen an end of Party-faction and bickering in Andhra and that the new State will go ahead with vigour.

All good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

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ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7, Jantar Mantar Road,
NEW DELHI-1,
March 7, 1955 (P-2/1366.)

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I was very glad to meet you yesterday. Andhra has done exceedingly well and I must congratulate you for the great part you played in achieving the result. I will be failing in my duty if I do not congratulate and thank the people of Andhra, who took up such a decisive stand against Communism in what was nothing less than a forth-right attack of the Communist Party of India to capture power in Andhra. As I said yesterday, I interpret this result as an evidence of the great urge the people of Andhra have been nursing in their hearts for a united and stable leadership by

a united and stable party. The alliance at the time of the election has been very fruitful and I am happy to note that you also realise like me that it has become inevitable for all of us to function as one body both in the legislature and outside.

I am writing to you once again to congratulate you on the result as also to express my hope that you will soon be able to make this possible by advising your people to join the Congress both in Andhra and elsewhere. I wish all success to your efforts in that direction.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
U. N. DHEBAR

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COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION
(United Kingdom Branch.)

H. Commons
LONDON, LONDON S.W.1
20—5—1955.

Dear Mr. Shakdhar,

I have been consulting Sir Howard D. Egville (Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association) and we both think it would be a good idea to ask Prof. Ranga, who came to the Commonwealth Conference * at

* Former Prime Minister Earl Attlee presided over that meeting. He referred to his 30 Years long friendship with Rangaji from his Oxford Days and congratulated him on his meritorious work for democratic cause. He referred to Rangaji's plan for popularising the achievements of democratic peoples and governments.

ATTLEE also praised Rangaji's work for the liberation of Colonial Peoples and observed that he and his Labour Government had done their best to liberate many African and Asian Countries and their peoples, whereas the great Country in which the Indian delegation has recently been touring has spread its tentacles on many European Countries.

Ottawa three years ago, to address our Members and I suggest the date of Tuesday June 21st at 5 P. M.

I wonder if you would ask Prof. Ranga if he would do this

Yours sincerely,
J. G. LOCKHART

Mr. SHAKDHAR
Secretary, Lok Sabha,
NEW DELHI.

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PROF. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

MOSCOW,
D/28 - 5 - 1955.

My dear Bharati Devi,

I am glad to say that we have had a very useful instructive and even inspiring tour through Moscow (3 days) Stalingrad (2) Tashkent (2) Tazikistan (2) Georgia (2) Ukraine (3) Leningrad (2).

We have seen a few Collectives (Co-operation) as well as State Farms and a few houses of Peasants' If we remember that the fathers of most of these peasants used to be slaves 80 years ago (slavery was statuterily abolished in 1870, though it was not given up in most places till 1900) we can form a proper idea of their present pitiable status.

The Soviet Union believes in the education, health and good cheer of children, as much as the Japanese do and it is most inspiring to watch the working of their pioneers organisation and Youth Clubs and palaces (Komsomols).

I once came across teachers of an agricultural High School in Japan who demanded higher pay for then than

for urban teachers because they work in the fields which is bone-breaking, while the other teachers had less tiresome work. Similarly manual workers in Russia are paid more than intellectuals who enjoy the advantages of working under shelter and more congenial conditions., A good approach.

The avenues, landscape, Paintings by Sheishkin, Creepers, Crotans are also beautiful - there is evidence of hunger after Nature, possibly because of six months long cold weather, it is so pleasant to see all this.

Women are making a great contribution to their national development. From road-making, railways to doctoring and Statecraft, they are a special feature. Can you believe it, that in the marvellous health resort, Sochie there are more women doctors than male doctors? There is plenty of evidence of growth, work, development and intense determination to build up. It is so stimulating.

Towns are springing up, as by magic. Only in a few ancient places can we see the kind of our villages ? Factory atmosphere is arising in rural areas too.

I marvel at the People of Kiev, Stalingrad, especially Leningrad! How they fought the Hitler's war, Nazi persecution and withstood the horror of long and destructive war! We paid our homage to them (900 Days Seige of Leningrad by H E. Salisbrery - Ed.)

I am glad to-day that we had extremely pleasant weather, like that we enjoyed in Kashmir in 1953; until we reached Leningrad.

We have been enjoying the Opera, Ballet, concert, and amateur musicals, treats on almost every alternate day. These are like our Tamils and Bengalis and Germans - so fond of music, dance and they are at their best in their welcome to friends and guests.

We will be going to Tolstoy's birth-place to-morrow.

We visited Stalin's birth place too. We saw Lenin's

rooms – so austere in their furniture etc. in the CZARS which used to be the school for former princesses and also Lenin's flat in the Kremlin.

Day after to-morrow we will fly to Yugoslavia...

With love,
N. G. RANGA.

* * *

Rangaji joined the Indian Delegation (Parliamentary) to Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia in 1955 His report on that visit covering over 60 printed pages was published by the Indian Parliamentary Union in their Special Report on Russia It was hailed as an unbiassed Gandhian appraisal of Soviet Conditions Shri Diwan Chamanlal, another distinguished Parliamantarian delegate has also published a book on that visit quoting many observations of Rangaji. Subsequently Rangaji has been carefully studying the developments not only in USSR Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and also other Communist countries with the help of the writings of Djilas, Solzhenitsyn and Pasternak. He visited Bulgaria in 1957as a delegate to their Co-operative Congress. That he has no special bias against Communist Countries, as such was demonstrated when he hailed the Indo-Soviet Treaty in 1971 and India Brezhnov agreements of 1973.

IN ANOTHER LETTER OF 1967, THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS WERE MADE :-

I was certain that peasants were degraded in both U.S.S.R and Yugoslavia into a "depressed section" and even those on co-operative farms were being watched as potential c iminals. The peasants in co-operative farms were denied social securities and their villages lacked transport and protected drinking water facilities. Most of the peasants had to work hard during all leisure hours and the whole of Sundays on their tiny kitchen gardens but without the aid of mechanical tools and machines supplied only to co-opera-

tive farms to supplement their inadequate earnings from the State Co-operative farms. They were not free to sell their kitchen-garden produce to any merchants, as there were none and not even to State Shops.

We did not find in the U.S.S.R. any such villages as are anything like our villages except in certain parts of Central Asian Republics New rural Townships, like Agro-industrial centres were being constructed, in and around collectives of Co-operatives. There seemed to be a plan to prevent any large congregation of peasants of even the collectives, lest they should develop their distinct peasant community life Certainly the Soviet authorities were determined to sovietise every activity - personal, communal, educational occupational - of every person from childhood to old-age, within their urban-oriented townships.

We could not know whether the agricultural activities on their co-operatives and collectives were efficient or productive or whether their use of the hundreds and thousands of tractors and their cultivating accessories which were being poured into every district was economical. From whatever revelations that Khrushchev has thought fit to make since 1958, we could understand what colossal wastage and losses have had to be sustained by Soviet Russia and much of it must certainly have been due to the indifference shown by Soviet Peasants to the fortunes of collectivised agricultural economy.

The Soviets have found it is necessary to yield more and more to the pressure of peasants for more freedom in working on their kitchen-gardens, in owning cows, more and more pigs, poultry and in enlarging their holdings and in marketing their produce. It is now admitted that the yields from land and dairy animals are at least twice as high from private holdings or private cattle than on the co-operative or collective farms. What is of even greater significance is that USSR has come to suffer from such serious food short-

ages during the past 2 years (1963-64) that she is obliged to barter away her accumulated gold in exchange for wheat from Canada, USA, Australia etc.

Khrushchev and Brezhnev have boldly deplored the huge losses caused to Soviet Agriculture by the failure of the leaders and members of co-operative and collective farms to protect and keep in good repairs tens of thousands of tractors and other valuable machinery and to safeguard the standing crops from frost or rain or sand storms etc. by taking suitable protective steps. He exposed their callousness in neglecting the reaping and garnering of crops at the right time and in storing the harvested grain. He deplored the prevalance of corruption, inefficiency, wastage and criminal pilferage, in their agricultural operations and management. Even Brezhnov, his successor has been exhorting - we do not know with what effect - the farm managers and their Soviet leaders – to learn to treat the peasants in a more humane and comradely manner and offer them real and effective incentives to evoke better work.

We are impressed with the special zeal shown by the USSR to speed up her technical training and teaching facilities and to enthuse a large percentage of the youth to take up technological studies. Everywhere there was evidence of the State's propaganda in favour of the new religion of industrial and technical equipment for the temple of communism and every effort was being made to take the people along with the planned economy by the Communist Party. I was impressed with the extremely rapid strides made in industrial and social equipment by those countries thanks to their totalitarian regimes and their indifference to the day to-day feelings or hesitances of the masses. The astounding results of that concentration on technical training and industrial development came to be seen by the whole world, when the Sputniks went successfully round the World.

While condemning capitalism, all the incentives devised by capitalism to induce masses to work hard, produce more and earn and save more and invest and earn interest thereon were being extolled and utilised in these Communist countries. Workers and technicians were being encouraged to save and invest in Government Bonds and earn interest and also to invest by instalments in anticipation of cars to be supplied and houses to be constructed in future years. Some inequalities of incomes, properties and personal positions were being accepted as normal social features. There have come to be clear evidences of the presence of a ruling class as was also testified by Djilas. Since then, Khrushchev and Brezhnev have boldly advised Communist Planners and authorities to learn from Capitalist economy., the various secrets and possibilities of incentives for better and bigger production and better utilisation of available goods and services.

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WORLD PEACE (REVIEW BY "HITAVADA" 1955 JUNE)

Rangajei's message through his books "Towards World Peace" and "Co onial and Coloured Peoples" as viewed by the 'Hitavada's Reviewer ; 5–6–1955

Freedom of colonies from the Imperialist Stranglehold-Capitalistic and Communistic- is the first important requisite for achieving World Peace. Next in importance is freedom from class domination, which is but narrowly understood as domination and exploitation by the handful of Capitalists of industrial workers. There is, however, systematic exploitation going on of 70% of World's peasantry whose services have been priced at too low rates to pay for the comparatively higher standards of living of the industrial labour. This must also come to an end if World Peace is to be achieved.

There should be distribution of wealth from industrially advanced countries to the underdeveloped nations of the World, and between the industrial and agricultural masses, through parity price mechanism. Kisans or Peasantry of the World should be organised not only nationally but also inter nationally. As the I.L.O. has done so much to alleviate the lot of world industrial labour, so also F.A.O. should take upon itself the work of raising the peasantry of the world from poverty and squalour, in which it is steeped.

World Peace can only be achieved through democratic principles of administration at national and international levels. To make democracy successful, adult education is necessary, which will ensure public opinion in favour of democracy as against totalitarianism. World Organisation of Parliamentarians is necessary to give effective publicity to the achievements of Parliamentary forms of government throughout the World.

These are some of the important steps which can be taken towards achievement of world peace. Through his speeches at national and international conferences which are collected in this book, Prof. Ranga points out the obligations of the industrially advanced nations of the West towards their unfortunate counterparts in Asia and Africa who are struggling hard to exist. He analyses politico-socio-economic ills of the present-day world, and suggests cures for those ills and evils through the functioning of international agencies like UNO, I.L.O., F.A.O W.H.O., E.C.A.F.E, U.N.E.S.C,O, and its associate international organisations. His outlook towards the working of all these international agencies is one of optimism. For their successful working towards world Peace, he advocates abolition of Veto Power invested in the big nations like U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R.

Besides enumerating the essentials of World Peace, the book surveys the present day national and internal political developments having a bearing on the question of peace.

M. M.

(Reprint from the HITAVADA dated the 5th June 1955.)

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MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM

Head Office : 318 Regents Park Road,

LONDON, N. 3
Finchley 5926

Chairman :
FENNER BROCKWAY,

General Secretary :
DOUGLAS G. ROGERS

6th June, 1955.

Dear Professor Ranga,

Our mutual friend George Padmore tells me you will be arriving in London on Thursday or Friday of this week and would be willing to address a meeting on the situation in India, specially with relation to India's place in the world situation and the struggle for colonial liberation, this matter being that with which we are mainly concerned.

I have provisionally arranged a meeting to take place on Tuesday, 14th June, at 7 P. M. in Committee Room 11 at the House of Commons, in the name of our Chairman, Fenner Brockway, M. P.

Yours sincerely,
DOUGLAS G. ROGERS.
General Secretary.

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22 CRANLEIGH HOUSE
LONDON N. W. 1.
June 8, 1955.

Dear Ranga,

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter posted from New Delhi and the card from Moscow. We shall be delighted to welcome you on your arrival.

I have informed the Secretary of the Movement for Colonial Freedom of your coming and he has made arrangements for you to talk to us on the peasant problem in India. He will write to you at India House. We have fixed the date for June 13 or 14 as the meeting will be held in the House of Commons and that is the most convenient time for M. Ps.

I would like you to have supper with us on Saturday or Sunday night-which ever is most suitable to you. I would also like to introduce you to the Gold Coast Commissioner at the Gold Coast Office while you are in London.

I reserve all other news until we meet.

Your good friend,

GEORGE PADMORE

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Prof. N. G. RANGA, M P., BELGRADE,
10-6-1955.

My dear Bharati Devi,

We have completed 33 days of intensive tour in both U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, I am told that we flew 10,000 Air-Miles in USSR and a thousand miles more in this Yugoslavia.

Every day we have been busy from 7 A. M. till 12 midnight.

Macedonia is one of the provinces of this country. Alexander the Great was its son and ruler and he came upto Punjab and Sind, in his conquering campaigns. To-day its people are very depressed what an irony.

Yugoslavia has made tremendous progress during the past 10 years How did they achieve this remarkable progress! Initially they were helped by German - Reparations and

machinery of strategic importance. They set it up with the help of the War Prisoners who were Socialists. Some Swiss, Scandinavian, German experts also assisted them Then they sent their own experts abroad to study the latest industrial technics. Thus their industrial progress got started. Of course they had some inter-war periods industries, to start with.

The American-aid by way of machines experts and training became available over and above everything else. Tito's grass-roots leaders of the Partisan War provided the drive and Communist Party helped. To-day in the state of Slovania, 52% of the Working population is engaged in industries.

Yugolavia's approach to Guild Socialism. Another remarkable feature impressed Soviet leaders led by Kruschev who recently visited Yugoslavia in 1955 pressed so Tito told us in reply to my reference to it when we met him on 4th June It is the self-governance introduced into every industrial and commercial enterprise, within the overall Communist economy. That is, the workers in any concern elect their own Workers' Council which elects the Executive Board, which again selects the Director, in co-operation with the Municipal Council. They together direct co-operate, check the director in the actual process of administration. This avoides the Russian beauracatisation and managerial bossing and ensures both discipline and encourages initiative and democratisation through decentralisation and economic self-governance. India has something to learn from this innovation.

YUGOSLAV PEASANTS AS NEGLECTED AS IN USSR

In agriculture, 75% of the land is in the hands of independent peasants, 5% in the control of State farms and 20%

under Co operetives. Peasants are not treated fairly They are given less or no representation in the Producers' Councils attached to Parliament and Provincial or State Assemblis and even Municipal Councils. They are not consulted when prices are being fixed. In fact prices were fixed 7 years ago, though since then, the value of money has gone down. * There is no social security or housing programme for them, whereas all others enjoy them. Their leaders have agreed with my criticism They know that we are friends with such famous peasant leaders as Matchek and Radich and said they would press for these facilities for Peasants also.

Agricultural Co-operation is making good progress. Very many peasants lease out their lands for small rents to the Co-operatives, keeping one or two acres each for kitchen gardens. They keep their own pigs and fowls, one cow, a few goats and raise some corn, wheat and vegetables. Their standard of living is very low but it is slowly rising. **

Medical facilities for Peasants are meagre. Rural Communications are poor.

The ruling Communist Party calls itself the Socialist Alliance of the Working People; not of the Proletariat alone, as in USSR. This is very significant.

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* Shri Nanda, Central Minister observed in 1969, after his visit to Yugoslavia that Yugoslavia was trying to introduce some freedom into its Communist totalitarianism, while Indian Planners were attempting to inject some controls into free economy of India. India's Mixed economy and Self-Employed Sector have much to teach Communists, observes Rangaji.

* * The Position of Peasants has improved in the wake of Hungarian and Polish revolts against Soviet over-all controls and local Communist totalitarianism. Zillas the brave and famous critic of Communist Party's ruling elite has been exposing how the bosses of Communist party have come to impose themselves, as the new exploiters, ruling Class fattening on the people and denying the masses of economic and social freedoms. (Ed).

We find Tito's statue or Photo displayed prominently in every office, room and Railway Station but it is not as glaring as the display of Stalin's in USSR. All along the road there are neither commercial advertisements as in USA and U. K nor propagandist placards as in USSR.

The recent talks between Tito and Kruschev and subsequent agreement for friendship between the two countries, giving up the confrontation of Stalin era have encouraged these people. Yet they are on their guard in view of the hang over of economic blockade and virtual state of war maintained against them by USSR since 1948.

There is no starvation of People. There is scarcity in all consumers' spheres, yet, it is not half as serious as in the U. S. S. R.

This out-post in Europe for our Non-Involvement policy is of great importance. Together with Egypt and Ethiopia, we have gained strategic influence in both Europe and Africa. It is good for peace.

I am sending this letter through Sardar Hukum Singh (Who later became the Speaker of Lok Sabha. Ed.) who is flying to-day for Bombay to meet Master Tarasingh who has again started Satyagraha for Punjabi Sabha.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

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"THOUGHT" DELHI, June 11, 1955

ANDHRA CONGRESS AFFAIRS

"After the recent election in Andhra and the unanimity of outlook it revealed among the Congress and its two sister parties in the United Front, the return of the latter to the fold of the parent organisation seemed only a matter of time Mr. N. G. Ranga's subsequent decision to wind up his Krishikar Lok Party and join the Congress heightened the hopes of a consolidated Congress.

All India leaders (Congress), including Mr. Nehru and Mr. Dhebar on their part gracefully recognised Mr. Ranga's role in the resounding victory the United Congress Party had scored against the Communists. There were reports that one of the reasons for the High Command's suggestion that Mr. Prakasam should step down from Chief Ministership was to see Mr. Ranga in his place. But it was good that former K. L. P. leader declined the reported offer, for otherwise his joining hands with the Congress against the Communists would have been interpreted in a narrow way.

But now, like a bolt from the blue, comes the defeat of Mr. Ranga in the Andhra Pradesh Congress President-ship election. * It is not known whether the whilom K.L.P. Leader wanted to fight the election; for he is now in Yugo-slavia, as a member of the M. P's delegation which has just completed a tour of Russia. Even if he was not for it, his lieutenants, who rejoined the Congress only two months ago, must have remembered the old quarrels and plumped for an early trial of strength. Within the Congress, while Mr.Gopala Reddy, the Andhra Chief Minister * * and his followers

* Rangaji was not for it. His permission was not obtained.

** Gopalareddy who owed his choice as Chief Minister to the support of Rangaji chose to remain neutral at the last moment, after having encouraged Ranga's supporters to sponsor his candidature. (Ed)

supported Mr. Ranga, Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy and Mr. Kala Venkatrao backed the successful candidate. In other words, instead of the old K. L. P. becoming part and parcel of the Congress, dissensions are developing in the parent body itself. It is not uncharitable to say that the Congress in Andhra has been alternating between being Philip drunk and Philip Sober, in recent years. When internecine group rivalry reduced the party to a rubble and made prostrate in the 1952 elections, Congressmen bestirred themselves and got over differences.The result was the recent resounding victory. Now again Philip drunk is making his appearance."

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Review By "Vigil" (Calcutta) Dated June 11, 1955.

TOWARDS WORLD PEACE; By Prof. N. G. Ranga

By dint of sheer study and self realization Prof. Ranga has become at heart a citizen of the World. Hence his active participation, periodically, in several international conferences.

Prof. Ranga's forte, however, is economics. Consequently he believes :

"India's effective role in the world of foreign affairs would directly depend upon the economic strength, actual and potential, in addition to her moral influence arising out of her adherence to Gandhiji's ideals" (p. 21)

Therefore, it is no wonder that he is a friend primarily, of the peasants.

'Prof. Ranga's argument is incisive, as his aspiration is infectious. In the book, under review his dominant note, intellectually and emotionally, is Democracy, so much so that he proclaims with all the strength that he can command; "Democracy shall never die."

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74 Holders Hill Road,
LONDON, W-4
13th September, 1955.

Dear Sir,

I have known Professor Ranga for a great many years, and he has visited me from time to time where he has been in England, and has also done something to keep me informed about the development of Peasant movements in India, and about his work for the International Federation of Agricultural Procedure.

I have always placed a very high value on Professor Ranga's services to the cause of the Indian Peasant, and have valued his friendship. I am glad to associate myself with the Celebration of his birthday.

Yours sincerely,
G. D H. COLE.

Convener,
Birthday Celebration Committee, NIDUBROLU.

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74, Ferryhill Road,
ABERDEEN, (Scotland)
22nd Sept. 1955.

Dear Sir,

I have great pleasure in sending my greetings and good wishes for the celebrations of Prof. Ranga's 56th Birthday. I think it an excellent idea to say "thank you" for Public services while a man is still alive, instead of waiting until he is dead.

Prof. Ranga and I have been friends for over 30 years ever since we were fellow students at Oxford University. Our

common faith in Socialism and in the coming Freedom of India brought us together. The Colour Bar much stronger in the Oxford of those days was always hated by me, and I was happy to welcome Prof. Ranga into my parent's home, where he is still remembered affectionately by all my family.

In those early days Prof. Ranga had already determined to devote his life to the upliftment of the Indian Peasants and to the everthrow of untouchability. So through the years I have watched with interest and pleasure the success of his endeavours, and the increasing esteem in which he is held.

Although over the years we have corresponded occasionally, Prof. Ranga and I had never been able to meet again until a few months ago when he was in England after his visit to Russia and Yugoslavia. Then, although it was over 30 years since we had met, and although we were both a little older, we recognised each other at once and immediately our old personal friendship and affection were resumed as though we had never been parted. We talked of many, many things and I was glad to find that Prof. Ranga has still his merry laughter which will keep him always at heart.

My wife (who also knew Prof. Ranga at Oxford) joins me in wishing him a very happy birthday in November, and many more years of successful service to the great causes which are so dear to him, and for which he has sacrificed so much.

But in the celebrations for Prof. Ranga will you please also remember his charming wife, whom we met many years ago in England. His Public life owes a great deal to her love and loyalty and her willingness to sacrifice with him.

Thanking you for giving me the opportunity to send these greetings to my old friend.

Yours sincerely,
LEONARD BAKER SHORT. *

Convener,
Birthday Celebration Committee,
NIDUBROLU.

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* LEONARD BAKER SHORT is LL. D. from Oxford He has become an eloquent Unitarian Divine, who has rebelled even against that Church. His wife Eve was also an Oxford graduate and Labour Politician. The Shorts have become the most sincere humanitarians, well-known in both England and Scotland and beloved of Lord Boyd Orr, the Nobel Laureate and friend of Rangaji.

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341, Church Street,
TORONTO, ONT.
October 21st, 1955.

Dear Sir,

Please convey my greetings to Professor Ranga on his 56th birthday, and tell him how proud I am to be counted among those who rejoice in his friendship.

Since making his acquaintance last summer, I have been learning a little about his life work of his dedication and integrity and sharpness of perception.

But it is not as a statesman, not as a leader of a movement involving countless thousands, nor even as the champion of the farmer that I like to think of him (though all these aspects of his character are an after-knowledge, which rounds out the picture, and lends depth to what is known directly...)

Rather I remember him as it was given me first to see him as a man of such direct and candid simplicity that he creates order and harmony wherever he goes.

So that strangers delight to turn to him, joy in natural beauty, sharing thoughts too as easily and naturally as one would with a trusted friend and learning from him too as well although at the time one does not realise that one is learning. If other teachers were only as inspired, as gentle.

So if I salute him to day, it is as the leader of what he himself gaily christened "the Pericles Group" that small band of travellers who met quite by chance in Athens last summer, and who never would have been able to spend so many happy and illuminating hours together, had it not been for Professor Ranga's gift for friendship.

Resolved on solitude, I had gone alone to the Acropolis, the night following the full moon, last June. And found myself effortlessly to that small band, of which he was the core.

The other five included two Americans (a girl who was studying journalism, and a Professor whose research eventually was to take him to India). Three, if one counted the lovely Greek girl, who had emigrated to the U.S.A. but was on a return visit to her native land. Then there was a Cypriot who had been imprisoned by the Communists for eight years, and a Greek Jet Pilot. A Candadian Journalist, I was the seventh and last to join that Company.

Had it not been for Prof. Ranga, we should have been too reserved, too self-conscious to talk together with such ease and candour at least, on such brief acquaintance. But in his presence, mental strait-jackets melted.

Never shall I forget the conversation on the Areopagitou that evening that rock from which Saint Paul said "O men of Athens... you worship an unknown God"

"What brought us each to Athens"...Was it not love of Philosophy" he asked, and each in turn approved the answer.

It seemed singularly appropriate to me at that time, that it would have been a man of India who served as the Cata-

lyst as it were certainly playing an interpretive role (though English of course was our common language), in helping us to understand one another.

Perhaps I give too much credit to the individual, however; and not sufficient to the magic of places. In retrospect, I am inclined partially to accept Mrs. Ranga's suggestion that certain spots which good men have hallowed by their presence carry a special atmosphere. "Which is as apparent to those who are spiritually prepared as furnace heat or air-conditioning in a room."

At any rate, Athens and Prof. Ranga and "the Pericles Group"...these were a memorable combination.

Another delightful memory of Prof. Ranga is of his reading Walt Whitman's "Passage to India" to us in the air conditioned waiting room of one of the big American Airlines.

(Whence we had fled to escape the heat) Impervious to the surrounding commotion he read from a volume that the young American student of Journalism was carrying with her around the world. I am sure she will never read that particular poem again, nor shall I, without hearing those unhurried tones, savoring the beauty of every line...

Still another recollection is of the afternoon following the evening on the Acropolis. We had talked late into the night and were weary the next day. The afternoon, while the rest of Athens was enjoying a siesta, the young Cypriot obtained special permission for us to visit the Museum where Byzantine treasures are displayed, also many of the exquisite Greek national costumes, and ancient jewellery.

In a way, it was a test of stamina, one which proved Professor Ranga had. First the young student of Journalism left the group. After a time I found myself tottering slightly. But the first to weaken actually was the most Athletic - looking of the lot the young Professor, wiping his brow, he announced that he was going back to the hotel to

sleep. Too tired even to go that far, I subsided onto a bench in the Museum and declined to walk a further step. But Professor Ranga, about two decades older chronologically, was as ebullient at the end of the afternoon as at the beginning. Even the young jet pilot was beginning to look somewhat pallid, by that time.

Obviously I could write more. And all that on an acquaintance of about one and one half days.

Yours sincerely,
ELIZABETH TROTH,
Joint Editor, Monetary Times.

Convener
Birthday Celebration Committee,
NIDUBROLU.

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B. R. SHENOY
Director.

University School of Social Sciences,
Gujarat University, AHMEDABAD-9.
17th January 1956.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I am forwarding to you under separate cover a copy each of the summaries of the first three of the Sir William Mayer Endowment Lectures, which I recently delivered at the University of Madras. I am also enclosing therewith a copy of a paper on "An Estimate of Non-inflationary Deficit Financing for the Second Plan", which I wrote for the Planning Commission. This paper is substantially the same as the fourth lecture of the above series.

I was glad to read your views on deficit financing as reported in the press. I thought you may be interested in reading the summaries of the lectures.

Yours sincerely,
B. R. SHENOY.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.
C/o. The Speaker,
'Lok Sabha', NEW DELHI.

259

Letter dated the 25-1-1956 from Sri B. Gopalareddy, Chief Minister, Kurnool to Shri Dhebar, President, A.I.C.C. 7 Jantarmantar Road, New Delhi.

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Last 25th January you were at my place, Nellore. You commenced your Andhra tour on 25th January last year and addressed a meeting at Nellore that evening.

On the 23rd night when I broached the subject with Sri Latchanna, he was excited about the proposal and he definitely told me that either Prof. Ranga or he cannot agree to any substitute in the place of Sri Obula Reddy. I suggested to him the name of Sri Venkatayya, and he told me that even Sri Venkatayya would not accept and so that is out of the question.

It has now become a very delicate question for me also to decide. I have not so far spoken about this to Sri Sanjiva-Reddy. Now that you have heard both sides, please advise me what I should do.*

Yours sincerely,

B. GOPALA REDDY.

Copy to Prof. Ranga for information.

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* After delay of a year, Shri Obula Reddy came to be appointed as Minister for Agriculture. The K.L.P. which joined Congress 1955 after helping it to triumph over Communist Challenge in the Midterm Election was treated shabbily and dishonourably by the Congress Leadership and that led to further split in Congress in 1959. (Ed.]

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F. G. FRIEDMANN
Department of Philosophy,
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas.

July 24th, 1956.

My dear Mrs. Devi,

I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the new issue of our Symposium.

I hope so very much that you will permit us to borrow your experience and insight. It is one of the purposes of such an informal exchange of ideas to learn from each other, see the other's problems and broaden our view so that we see, one day, that the many different issues with which we have to deal are only manifestations of one or of a few fundamental issues.

Please do give us your critical comments particularly as your own in the field might dictate to you. Also, we have not yet moved sufficiently close to the peasant mind and I fervently hope you will enlighten us in this matter.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
F. G. FRIEDMANN.

Mrs. Bharati Devi, NIDUBROLU.

261

Grand Hotel,
Place del Opera,
PARIS.
1—11—1956.

My dear Bharati Devi,

I am very angry with these French People with whom I am working in this Conference of the International Pea-

sants Union. The Governments of France and England are at war with the poor, weak but proud Egyptians. The possibility of Palestine War which they are supposed to be opposing is only a pretext; the threat to the Suez Canal is only a pretense. This is really an unprovoked, unjust imperialist war after the fashion of 19th Century immoral wars. They are rushing into it in the face of the protests of the United Nations and its high ideals of peace and equality of nations.

As I was walking along these boulevards and the Seine river and seeing these young people, engrossed in their loving caresses, the old, engaged in their struggle to live well and others worried over the own cares, I was wondering how many of them do really bother about this war, its implications, its futility and its aweful consequences to humanity as a whole. I had to confess to myself, so few of them think seriously about it. It was in this fashion they had been driven into the Two World Wars.

Ah, there can be Wars and Wars. The Pope's representative in Communist Hungary was thanking a few days back the guns and other weapons of the Hungarian Patriotic Communists who have been fighting against the Soviet - Russian forces, driving away the Soviet armies from Hungary and thus liberating their Country from Soviet imperialism. So a war for national-liberation is justifiable. Similarly our fight for social justice for our peasants, Harijans and depressed classes and rural people is also just.

I cannot go to Israel, as I had planned. (He was able to visit Israel as well as Egypt in 1969. Ed.)

As I am looking at these serried streets with their 4 to 7 storied palatial-buildings in these City areas, and admiring the lovely and broad bridges built at a distance of half a mile from each other on this historic and tamed Seine, I wonder how many thousands of crores of rupees must have been spent in every generation to build this powerful, expensive, beautiful and planned City.

It was this City which witnessed so many revolutions in the 18th and 19th Centuries as had inspired Shelley, Godwin, Wordsworth and Dickens and so excited Edmund Burke to abandon his liberalism which welcomed American revolution and embrace Conservatism which condemned social revolution. It was also these people who surrendered in 1940 to Hitler's Nazis, rather than face the danger of the City being bombed and destroyed. * Were they wise or heroic? or even human? Have not the Japanese rebuilt their Tokyo, the Russians, their Kiev, Stalingrad, Rostov Leningrad, after the war?

Many nations reach a time when they lose their grip over themselves and let their momentary pleasures and fortunes blind them to their historic responsibilities and need for sacrifices. The Greeks and Romans failed thus. Our own Vijayanagar Rayas failed too But the Kakatiya Kisan Nayaks fought to the finish and gained the freedom of South India for at least 20 years.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

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MADRAS GOVERNOR'S CAMP.

November 28, 1956.

My dear Friend,

I am thankful to you for your kind thought of me in my deep distress at the loss of my dear son The blow has

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* The same demoralised French People who had experienced such terrible humiliation of defeat under Nazi arms allowed their pusillanimous government, once they recovered somewhat from the World War's defeatism, to serve an ultimatum upon Egypt and invade her national territory. What an irony of history! (Ed.)

come so suddenly that I do not know what to say or do. I, however, realise that sorrow is the lot of man, and we must put up with our Karma which will take no denial.

At a crisis like this in one's life, words of sympathy and solace that come from friends, give comfort and strength. I thank you for sending me your condolences and sharing my grief.

God's will be done. Man is helpless and must suffer.

Yours sincerely,
SRIPRAKASA.

263

21st February 1957.

Dear Mr Ranga,

In 1947 I had the privilege to converse with you and to talk over some problems of the agriculturally under developed countries, when we met at the conference of the IFAP in Scheveningen. Addressing the session on behalf of the Hungarian delegation and taking part in the work of the various committees I was supported by your valuable advices when consulting you as one of the prominent representatives of the Asian countries.

After that under the stress of circumstances I had to sever relations with the Western Organisations and friends. I left the Ministry of Agriculture and I am working in one of the agricultural research institutes since. Making use of my English, German, Russian etc. linguistic knowledges I am working now at a monograph dealing with the farmer organisations of the various countries, and with the main items of their agricultural economic problems. Owing to the difficulties in securing the necessary means there is no hope of my studying the work of the Indian farmer organisations

and agricultural economics on the spot. Therefore I should esteem it a favour if you could send me the publications dealing with these questions. The copies of the Indian Journal of Agric. Economics are in my possession.

With best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,
DR. E. PATAKY
late reader in the University,
agric. research worker.

Budapest,

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TEXTILE LABOUR ASSOCIATION
Gandhi Majdoor Sevalaya,
P. B. No. 110, BHADRA.
AHMEDABAD. 2nd March 1957.

Dear Sir,

The Textile Association (India) is holding the 14th Textile Conference at Kanpur for three days from the 15th March 1957. On the 17th March there is a special General Session on the "Co-ordination of the mill industry, Hand Loom Industry and small scale Cottage industries, engaged in production of cloth and yarn including the economics of Ambar Charkha".

Your self and Shree Somappa are also invited by the Association as representatives for Hand Loom Industry.

Shree S. R. Vasavada and V. Sharma are also to come at Kanpur to participate in the same session. This is a proper opportunity to educate the Technicians on the subject of decentralisation of Industry.

I have personally to request you to attend this session and express your views on the subject.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. PADOLA
Technical Adviser.

Prof Shri N. G. RANGA.

265

Minister for Home Affairs,
NEW DELHI,
26-3-1957

My dear Ranga,

I had seen the result of your election in the papers and send you my hearty congratulations on your well deserved success. You have for decades rendered valuable services to the country and I have no doubt that the future will in this respect be as fruitful as your past record.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
G. B. PANT.

266

MADRAS-17.
3-4-1957.

My dear friend,

I am touched by your affectionate letter. This is a small matter (Giri's defeat in the election to Parliament) as I am available always for work so long as I live. As you once affectionately said, dead or alive, the elephant has its worth and so my services whether in Parliament or not are available.

I trust Mrs. Ranga is keeping fine. I hope the powers that be will take your advice and take you into the highest Council of Government.

With kind regards to you both from us both.

Yours affectionately,
V. V. GIRI.

267

Prof N. G. RANGA, M. P.

96, North Avenue,
NEW DELHI.
10-5-1957.

My dear Bharatidevi,

This is my first letter from this Lok Sabha after an interval of more than five years (He was an elected member of Rajya Sabha during 1952-1957, Ed.) so many memories keep coming into my mind. Then we had that noble friend of ours Sri Mavlankar in the Chair. He laid foundations of parliamentary procedure for Indian democracy. From tomorrow, we will have our Andhra Ayyangar. Then, there were fewer seats and now, the House is over-crowded.

> I was then in the Congress Working Committee and President of the Pradesh Congress Committee and now, I am only a front bencher in this House and a back-bencher in the Congress.

Then the House was the provisional parliament and this is the most important wing of the Swaraj Parliament.

During the long interval of five years, God willed it that I should serve our national and peasant cause through the Rajya Sabha, although the voters, our party and myself were foolish enough to lose the seat in the Lok Sabha.

> During the same period, we were given three great opportunities in 1952 and 1953 and 1955 to save our democracy in the Andhra and Madras, by offering to support the Congress, by overcoming our party's dislike of the Congress Leadership. It is true that Congress people and their leaders did not display as much appreciation of our goodness, statesmanship and sacrifices, Nevertheless, we have the satisfaction of having done our duty and saved our nascent democracy. This satisfaction will add spice to our musings and will certainly inspire future generations.

This seat on the Front Bench is allotted to me because of my seniority and parliamentary eminence.

Nehru is again the Prime Minister. But whereas there was the Sardar to aid, advise and control him, to-day, he is all alone, but let us hope, with much greater wisdom.

He is to-day by far the greatest world statesman of this age. His sincerity and passion for peace are recognised by all throughout the World.

Yet he is so weak, as he is faced by the emotions of those who are very close to him, so says V. P. Menon who has seen him at close quarters during the past five years.

So many new eloquent speakers must have come into this House I have yet to come to know them. But I do miss those great figures like Shyam Prasad Mukherjee, H. V. Kamath, Mudaliar, Dr. Ambedkar, Shyamnandan Sahya And as I stretch my memory to those earliar times of 1935 March, when I entered the House as a Congress M. L. A., I seem to see by my side those great parliamentary figures such as Satyamurti, Bhulabhai Desai, Jinnah, Pant, Sri Prakasa, Gadgil. It is wonderful how, one of the younger Reporters rushed to me this morning to point out my old seat on the second bench just behind Bhulabhai, on the opposition and remind me how he was picturing me back in my old seat.

It is indeed a magical thing that the Congress which was in such a hopeless opposition in 1934 had transformed itself into the Ruling Party by 1947 and is now, on the treasury benches for the tenth year; think of those days of glorious eloquence of Bhulabhai, Satyamurti, Asaf Ali, Aney, Khan Saheb, Sri Prakasa, Gadgil, Ayyangar etc. of course you used to see your Ranga by their side. I was proud to have been clubbed with N. M. Joshi and Giri as the Triumvirate of Labour Champions. Bhulabhais'. Satyamurti's

spirits must be hovering over this House and trying to bless us. Did they live in vain ?

> I do not think so, Have not their speeches contributed to the stuff and spirit of our present day atmosphere and life ? I am sure, this House is in some unseeable manner the product of their work also.

Only four years back, this House was resounding to the conch-like tones of Shyam Prasad Mukherjee, under whose stentorian criticism, Pandit Nehru used to wince so noticeably.

> You will be glad to know that I drew the largest and most enthusiastic applause, among all the members, as I rose to take my oath. I took the oath by God;

I have been overwhelmed by such memories during the whole of to-day. I saw the ghosts of so many British statesmen, and such powerful Indian allies of theirs as N. R. Sircar, Girija Shankar Bajpai who used to sit opposite to us, in such arrogant array of invincibility. They did not dream of leaving India so soon. Yet they have all gonenone thinks of them to-day and not even their memory tickles anyone of these hundreds of MPs.

That was the age of negation We pleaded for planned economy but in vain. To day we are living in the age of plans. I wanted landlordism to be abolished, they would not agree. To-day it is gone. Then we urged that the States system should be abolished but the British would not allow us to put even a question about them. To-day I see the Maharajan of Bikaner the son of that Prowd Maharajah who signed the Treaty of Versailles, taking his oath, like all of us. Then, the Maharani's prided on their Ghosha, power and pride. To-day the Maharani of Gwalior sat, like all other women, on these benches and took her oath as a humble upholder of this constitution. Then we had the Moslem members and Harijan nominated members, busy continually to weaken our national front, but to-day, they are in all political parties. Then we could not put questions

on foreign policy and it was with great difficulty that Satyamurti and myself used to manoeuvre to move adjournment montions to discuss a few aspects of foreign affairs. That was the age of resistence to every proposal of new taxation. To-day parties compete with each other in asking for more taxes fordevelopment. We had then only a Police State. Now wewant a welfare state. What a change ? At once revolutionary, exciting, inspiring. There is yet another interesting development. We see friends like Arun Chandra Guha, Mahabir Tyagi, Sardar Baldev Singh who were ministers only the other day in Government but who are only ordinary MPs to-day; Thus underlining Potana's poem about the impermanence of power. Such thoughts help me to feel strong. some may be tired of my philosophy. I am not, I feel inspired. I am happy that I am once again the Tribune of our people under the adult franchise, for which we have been working since 1925, and that too, inspite of the stiffest opposition from Communists and caste-minded people.

Love

RANGA.

268

D. O. No. HII-14 (17O) 57.

MINISTERY FOR WORKS, HOUSING & SUPPLY, INDIA.

NEW DELHI,
September, 1957.

Dear Shri Ranga garu,

While speaking on the Demands for Grants relating to my Ministry on the 14th August, 1957, you suggested provision of Fire Brigades in rural areas to avoid fire damage to houses in the villages, particularly in the summer season. While taking note of your suggestion, I should like to mention that this matter would be the responsibility of the State Governments. I very much doubt whether in the present state

of the Country's resources, we could afford to allocate any funds for such a purpose, however desirable it may other wise be.

Yours sincerely,
K. C. REDDY.

Shri N. G. RANGA,
Member of the Lok Sabha,
"Gobhumi" Nidubrolu.

269

A REJOINDER TO SRI VINOBA BHAVE

1-1-1958.

I have seen Vinobaji's remarks on the far from satisfactory press reports of my speech of the 9th October, 1959 at the Masulipatam Kisan Conference. It is not my desire to weaken his Bhoodan Yatra but I am anxious that Government and the Congress, the biggest party, and Vinobaji should recognise the national purpose served by the Peasant economy and accord to it the protection and encouragement, status and strength, as are given to other economies.

If only Vinobaji had known, what so many of us, the founders and promoters of Village Panchayats, Co-operative Societies have come to know, about their obvious defects in working, to which I referred in my speech, he might not be so keen on entrusting the ownership, management, and actual cultivation of all the village lands to them, in prafe-rence to the existing peasant economy of hundreds of small-holders in every village. Actually as many Panchayat Boards have not been able to achieve any signal success with their minimum civic responsibilities and very limited funds, what-with the red-tapism and political influences associated with their dependence upon the Government Local Administration.

It is of greater social significance that the pent up or latent factious elements, caste rivalries and other social disharmonies in our social lifehave begun to find vent through Panch yat Politics and to cause so much political and social disruption besides misery to the minority inPanchayat Politics Apart from thefairly frequent occasions of mismanagement of funds and inability to evoke villagers' response for reconstruction activities, most of the Panchayats have become weak in their civic appeal to the people because of their inability to achieve a progressive and co-operative relationship between the majority and minority groups. Under such circumstances, it should not be difficult for political realists to see the dangerous social consequences of entrusting to their care the ownership, management and actual cultivation of all the lands within the village and ask them to distribute among villagers the agricultural employment which forms 90% of the total employment available.

I can say that I have been an enthusiast of both Panchayats and Co-operatives. I led the Panchayat movement in 1933-35 in Guntur District and helped to organise Panchayats in 700 out of the 960 villages of the District and I am even now keen on strengthening Panchayat movement. I have also taken active part in the development of many primary co-operative credit societies, Loan and Sale, Marketing Co-operatives, besides working on the State-Level Co-operatives and so have most of my colleagues in the Kisan movement. We do therefore claim to know their uses as well as their limitations We maintain that co-operatives and Panchayats should not be entrusted with responsibilities which deal with the most intimate daily economic activities of our peasants. In fact the co-operative movement among the million co-operative weavers leaves them free to work on their own in their homes with their own implements and similar should be the role of co-operatives among peasants.

It is not realistic to assume that Panchayats can manage the cultivation of lands without depending upon managerial

staff because, even now big enough Panchayats are statutorily obliged to appoint paid executive officers over whom both the Panchayats and State Governments have joint control with all its obvious weaknesses. The valuable clarification given by Vinobaji is very welcome; that he contemplates only the establishment of service co-operatives and not Land Co-operatives. That is exactly what so many of us have been urging upon the Government. Only recently the Prime Minister has happily offered to utilise the Service Co-operatives, but the democles sword of Co-operative farming and Village Panchayat landlordism with all their dangers are still being held over our Peasants.

The Indian Peasants, more especially of the South, have been organising to the best of their resources such Service co-operatives as the Co-operative Banks, Loan and Sale Societies, Processing Factories, Marketing Societies, and they are welcoming what all support the Government can offer.

When Vinobaji is prepared to contemplate the division of village lands into blocs for separate cultivation, I trust that it is not too much to expect him to recognise the much better and more productive utilisation of land by hundreds of small-holders of a village, reinforced as they would be by Service Co-operatives who can a invest much more of their labour, display greater spirit of enterprise initiative and creative energy than would ever be possible when they have to work under the orders of even their elected chiefs and the management of their majority-led Co-operative farm or Panchayat land-owner.

Service Co-operatives and Panchayats can reinforce the obvious advantages of the peasant family-farming economy and thus national interests as well as the economic freedom and social security now enjoyed by our Peasants, can be fully insured and promoted.

Panchayat Landlordism versus Peasant Economy.

(Pp. 36-39.)

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PAMULAPATI BUTCHINAIDU COLLEGE,

NIDUBROLU.

Ref. No. SF8/58.A. D/ 4-1-1958.

From :- G. V. Subbaramaiah, M.A. (Hons.)

Principal, P. B. N. College, NIDUBROLU.

To

Ptof. N. G. Rangaji,

NIDUBROLU.

Dear and Respected Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of 1699 books donated by you, * in the name of the Ranga Trust, from time to time, to the P.B.N. College Library, of which the total price has come to Rs. 3.352.19 Np.

Thanking you for your generous donation.

Yours faithfully,
G. V. SUBBARAMAYYA
Principal.

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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
Ministry of Commerce AND Industries.
Dept. of All India Hnndloom Board,
Ballard, Estate, Bombay, dated the 24th January, 1958

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* Subseqnently another thousand books came to be presented to this College. Ld.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Please refer to your letter dated the 19th January, 1958 regarding the housing Colony for Weavers at Nidubrolu.

2. We have recently agreed to sanction housing colonies at Mangalagiri, Pochampally Jangaon and Alaginipadu in Andhra Pradesh State. Sanction for these 4 schemes is under issue. We have not received any scheme for a housing colony at Nidubrolu. If such a scheme is contempleted, I have no doubt you will ask the State Government to forward the proposal to us.

Yours sincerely,
D. S. JOSHI.

Prof N. G. RANGA, M. P ,
C|o All India Handloom Weavers' Congress,
NIDUBROLU (Andhra Pradesh).

Many such colonies have since come to be constructed (Ed.)

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ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

Dr. V. S. KRISHNA, B.A., (Oxon), Station: WALTAIR.
Ph. D. (Vienna), Date 22nd April, 1958.
Vice-Chancellor.

My dear Ranga,

I could not attend the last Syndicate meeting; but I have been informed that Body has decided to leave the question of the Nidubrolu College to me for disposal.

The latest Resolution, which the Secretary of the Nidubrolu College* has forwarded to me, does not improve matters. It says that the Administration is prepared to accept such conditions as are imposed on other Colleges which have been established during the last 20 years.

According to our Rules, the Syndicate has power to grant affiliation to a College on general and special conditions. In the case of accommodation, equipment and service conditions, some general conditions have been laid down which all Colleges should observe. In the case of Constitution of the different Administrative Bodies, each College has separate Rules and as far as I am aware, no two Colleges have the same constitution. The suggestion of the Nidubrolu College is, therefore, an impracticable one.

I think that if you, Mr. Butchi Naidu and myself sit together, we might devise a reasonable scheme. Unfortunately I am not in a position to leave Waltair at present.

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* This College in NIDUBROLU was one of the first group of such educational institutions started in Rural India. Mr. P. B. Naidu, who was a delegate to Copenhagen Conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers in 1947 and one of the supporters and students of the Indian Peasant Institute, founded the College in 1951. Ranga has fostered this institution from its inception. The present Principal Shri G. Sreemannarayana, M. A., was also a graduate of the Peasant Institute. Differences arose among the executive of the College Management. Some of the leaders of the ruling Congress Party tried to get the College disaffilated or grants disallowed or management taken over by officially nominated Committee. Dr. V. S. Krishna sought the advice of Rangaji, who had been fostering this rural College from the beginning in saving the College from official interference, by persuading the College Management to accept some nominees of the University as ex-officio members. Mrs. Bharati Devi has been on the College Management Committee from the beginning.

Dr. Krishna was one of the six Andhras and a fellow student of Rangaji in Oxford. There are many references to their Oxford life in Rangaji's autobiography "FIGHT FOR FREEDOM". (Ed.)

For over two months, I have not been allowed to leave Waltair by Doctors, and now, I have been asked not to leave my residence for another three weeks. Will it therefore be possible for you and Mr. Butchi Naidu to go over here immediately and stay for a day or two and discuss this knotty problem at leisure ? The Government has been expecting an early communication from the University, and unless we send our advice very shortly, they may act independenly. I, therefore, request you to find some time and be here. I shall also be personally delighted to have you with me at a time when I am much depressed.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

V. S. KRISHNA.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M.P., NEW DELHI.

(Copy sent to Nidubrolu address also)

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PRIME MINISTER TO BE MERELY P. M.

Extracts from Rangaji's speech in Parliament on 22-4-1958.

I want the Prime Minister certainly to divest himself of many of these less important responsibilities that he has laid on himself. Even in regard to foreign affairs, now that he has achieved this tremendous prestige and status for the country, it would be a splendid thing indeed for him to find competent collague of his own to take charge of that work. Itis always the good fortune of any great statesman in any part of the world to know when to take up a particular res-

ponsibility and when to give it up. Mahatma Gandhi had that genius and he was able to retire from the Congress organisation as an organisational person in 1934, but nevertheless he continued to be at the head of Congress consultations right up to the day of his death. So also, I think it is time that the Prime Minister should be satisfied to be the most effective Prime Minister and to be able to have an over-all supervisory and directory power over the whole of the Central Government as well as the State Governments. In that way, he can give even more effective leadership to our country and also find more satisfaction for himself in the work he will have to discharge. Otherwise, I am afraid the country would be losing very heavily, if that sense of staleness, as he said, were to grow upon him. We would not like it to grow upon his mind We want him to be just as fresh and come to us with just as much fragrance as his own red rose in his button hole which we all admire every day.

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NIDUBROLU.

11-7-1958.

My dear Allan,

It is a long time since I heard from you.

I think I informed you how I suggested, on behalf of the Indian Delegation, at the Delhi Session of the Common wealth Parliamentary Association in Dec.-Jan. 1958, the need for a Summit Conference to ease the tension between the two Blocs. Since then, both the groups of nations have been manoeuvreing against each other over this matter with no chance of meeting at the so called Summit.

I wrote two articles in our monthly English Journal called the "INDIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS" published by

Jatendra Mohan on behalf of the I. F. A Association of which I have been the President and I could not feel sure of prolonged peace. The pity is that all under-developed countries need peace for atleast 25 years and plenty of economic support from the developed and over-prosperous countries like USA. Canada, Australia to raise their people upto subsistence level. Where is the guarantee for that peace except through the determination of the great powers to accept Panch Shila code of international conduct ?

The Sputnik excitement is slowly coming to subside but Russia's reputation for development has consequently gone up.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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DEMOCRATIC LITERATURE FOR THE POOR

Prof. N. G. RANGA

NEW DELHI
August 11, 1958.

My dear M. Chester Bowles,

I am all for Socialist orientation for our social economy and for the establishment of welfare State. We should not lose our most precious heritage; that is the true and decentralised and creative economy of the self-employed peasant and artisan masses of the East, especially of India.

I am convinced that once wage-economy and managerial organisation come to supersede our peasant economy, the biggest bulwarks for social freedom, economic self-governance and political democracy will come to be distroyed and the way would be made clear for totalitarianism.

I wish to express my appreciation of the good work you have been doing in enlightening American and western public regarding the real issues at stake in the East and in preparing them to sympathetically understand the feelings, and political ambitions and urges of the African and Asian peoples

The popular editions of your books are reaching a large public in India. I am so glad that the idea I was trying to put across to your public; that a large number of such books from such progressive writers, in U. S. A., Canada, U K. ought to be published at cheap prices for widespread circulation in the poorer African and Asian countries, is finding greater response. Mrs. Roosevelt was so keen on this. Our friend M. Kurt Enoch of Mentor Publications is doing splendid work.

It will also be good if a number of our books-in full or as abridged versions are also taken up for publication, as cheaper editions. The cheep editions of the biography of "Magsaysay" and Louis Fischer's "Mahatma Gandhi" have achieved large circulation in India. This kind of work will promote the cause of democracy.

You will find from a perusal of my books "Towards World Peace" and "Credo of World Peasantry" what a lot of common ground there is between your bold ideas and mine.

I trust that you will find some interest in the enclosed copy of my letter to the Hungarian author Imre Kovacs of New York, a former M. P. of Hungary.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA

Senator Mr. Chester Bowles,
Former Ambassador of U.S.A. in India,
Essex, Connectiut, USA.

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NEHRU ON WORLD GOVERNMENT

No. 1935-PMH/58

Prime Minister's House,
NEW DELHI.
August 12, 1958.

My dear Ranga,

I have received your letter of August 12 about the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government.

I believe that all sensible persons who try to look ahead a littler realise that there will be no final solution of the world's problems except in the closest co-operation between nations and, possibly evolution of a world authority. Therefore, I accept this as an ideal to be aimed at, though I am by no means sure as to the nature of that world authority.

But there is an initial difficulty. We cannot deal with a world situation by passing a resolution at a conference, nor can we create a World Government in this way. Today we see not only the cult of independent national States, each jealous of its independence, but also a cold war growing between rival groups of Great Powers. Anything further removed from World Government, I can hardly imagine. I do not see how this cold war etc., will be removed by a conference.

In other words, the world authority may be the final result of numerous other steps which will have to be taken in course of time. Among these steps is really changing the mental outlook of Governments and peoples. That is no easy task. To talk about a World Government now therefore seems to me to have little relation to reality.

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

Shri N. G. Ranga, M. P.,
Secretatry, Congress Party in Parliament,
NEW DELHI.

At that time Prof. Ranga happened to be the General Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament and also Indian representative of the world Federation of Parliamentarians for World Government. The then Speaker M. A. Ayyangar also gave a message. Rangaji is also associated with the Association started by Lord Bertrand Russel. (Ed.)

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P. TIMMA REDDY
Minister for Agriculture

HYDERABAD,
D| 16—8—1958.

My Dear Guruji,

Chi. Bharathi's marriage has been fixed for 27th instant. You blessed me at my marriage 19 years back. It is now Ch. Bharathi's marriage who is named after

"AMMA". I request you to please make it convenient to attend the marriage and bless the couple.

Yours sincerely,
Sd./-P. THIMMA REDDY

Sri N. G. Ranga Garu, M. P.,
Lok Sabha, NEW DELHI.

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WORLD ASSOCIATION OF PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

2 Manchester Square, London, W. I
August 21, 1958.

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament,
24-25, Parliament House,
VEW DELHI-1. INDIA.

Dear Professor Ranga,

Thank you very much indeed for your letter of August 12 enclosing the list of delagates to whom you sent invitation to our 1958 Conference.

It was with the greatest possible pleasure that I lenrned of your approach to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, your Prime Minister, and I am eagerly looking forward to receiving his message to the Conference.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
GIDLBERT MCALLISTER

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Forest Hill,
TORONTO, CANADA
6-9-1958.

My dear Professor Ranga,

Just a note to say - Bless you for that wonderful statement (on Israel Vs. Arab States Challenge etc.) on International affairs which I received only an hour ago. I was deeply touched and moved by your sincerety and courage and determination to hold by what is just and true and compassionate. And I hope that your voice may echo around the World. Instinctively I reacted as you did to that business in Jordan. For Israel, naturally the Western World always must feel grave concern, responsibility guil as well.

16-9-1958.

This week-end I go to Montreal to the Commenwealth Trade and Economic Conference. How I wish your voice was to be heard there. However Mr. Morarji Desai seems to have had some salutary and realistic things to say.

ELIZABETH TROTT.

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INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS
1, Rue D'hauteville
PARIS X. FRANCE
26th September 1958
P. 885/58

Prof. N. G Nanga, President,
Federation of Rural Peoples' Organisations,
96 North Avenue, NEW DELHI, India.
Dear Professor Ranga,

I have also received from Washington a copy of your correspondence with Professor Shenoy. We will try and make use of this material in future IFAP publications.

May I seize his opportunity of thanking you most sincerely for the kind reception you gave me in Delhi a few days ago and for the opportunity I had to meet so many farm leaders and high government officials. Brief as it was my stay in India has been invaluable to me and I look forward to other opportunities of becoming better acquainted with the economic and social problems of your great country.

Yours sincerely,
ROGER SAVARY
Secretary General

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3rd October, 1958.

My dear Prof. Shenoy,

I wish to think you for your welcome opinion about our thesis "THE PEASANT AND CO-OPERATIVE FARMING" and I value it immensely, especially as it comes from one who, alone among the panel of economists, had the moral courage and foresight, to warn the country about the impossibility of raising the contemplated resources and financing the Second Five Year Plan, without indulging in a dangerous degree of inflation.

I am happy to note that you agree with the distinction I have made between private capitalist enterprise and self-employed economy, with my stress upon the socio-economic qualities and imponderable contribution made by the self-employed peoples' and the need for the State to take necessary steps to protect and promote the peasant and handicraft sectors of our economic life by providing such aids as Service Co-operatives.

I agree with your emphasis upon the need to encourage all non-exploitative private enterprise and also to welcome

the co-operation of large-scale private enterprise, if and when steps are taken to prevent it from exploitating society and working classes.

You will be glad to learn that I have prepared a paper on the need for recognising the self-employed peoples economy as a separate sector, as apart from the Public, Private and Co-operative Sectors, so that the blunders of the two plans in seeking to undermine agriculturists role in society can be avoided in the third and subsequent plans. I hope to send it to you in a month's time once it is printed.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA

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IMRE KOVACS / 99-05 63rd DRIVE REGO PARK 74

NEW YORK

December 4, 1958.

Dear Professor Ranga,

Under separate cover I have mailed to you a book entitled FACTS ABOUT HUNGARY which I compiled and edited.

Since my last letter twice I was in Europe attempting to convince governments and the public that something must be done for Hungary. With other Hungarian exiles I was delighted when the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Hungarian question for its agenda with a majority vote of 61 which demonstrated the deep sympathy and sincere interest of freedom-loving peoples. Now it is up to the General Assembly to make a contribution toward the solution of this problem; however, I fear that the stubborn Soviet resistance to the UN resolutions will preclude any progress in that direction.

Hungary is a small country. But, after two years, its revolution still remains a topic in world affairs. You will understand, that I, a Hungarian, am eager to find a solution as quickly as possible. Therefore I take the liberty to ask you, dear Professor Ranga, for your opinion what mistakes were committed and what you would consider to be an equitable solution to the Hungarian problem.

Prof. N. G. RANGA
78 North Avenue, NEW DELHI.

Sincerely yours,
IMRE KOVACS*

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RAMAKRISHNA V. BET. B. A., LL. B.,
Pleader.

16 B Guruwar Peth
SHOLA PUR.
D/ 18-12-1958.

Dear Shri Rangaji,

I am glad to inform you that your letter to the Minister, Commerce & Industries, New Delhi has produced the desired effect. I have received a wire from the Commerce & Industries Department informing me that I have been nominated on the All India Handloom Board. However, I received the wire a bit late which rendered it impossible for me to attend its first meeting.

I hope Shri Pragada Kotaiah is also nominated on the Board.

Please accept my sincerest thanks for all that you have done for me.

Looking up to you for further guidence, I remain.

Yours sincerely,
RAMAKRISHNA V. BET,

Mr. IMRE KOVACS was a Member of Hungarian Parliament before Hungary was taken over by Communists, with the help of the Russian Red Army. He is a distinguished scholar, author and Peasant Leader. (Ed.)

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INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

President :
Smt. RAMESHWARI NEHRU

14-B, Queensway Barracks,
NEW DELHI-1.
December 20, 1958.

Dear Prof Ranga,

An All India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity is being organised in Calcutta in the 1st week of March 1959. A Reception Committee is being set up with Shri Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Council, Shri Triguna Sen, Mayor of Calcutta, Dr. Kali Das Nag and many other prominent citizens of Calcutta.

The cause of Afro-Asian solidarity is such that it should get the support of all the people of good-will in our country.

I shall be very glad f you give your name in support of this cause.

Yours sincerely,
RAMESHWARI NEHRU.

Shri N. G. RANGA M. P., NEW DELHI.

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MPOSE CEILINGS ON ALL SECTIONS

January 1959

PLEA BY 104 Congress M. Ps.

The following Extracts from the letter of Protest sent on 23-12-1958 by more than 100 Congress M.Ps. led byProf.Ranga, who was then the Senior General Secretary Congress Party

about "the urgent need to introduce simultaneously Ceilings on atleast one of the many types of Urban, Industrial, Commercial or Professional incomes" along with the proposed Ceilings on Lands and Agricultural Incomes will be found to be equally relevant and unanswerable in the present controversy over the present proposals for Land Ceilings :-

a) We are anxious that the proposal for imposing Ceilings on income and properties as a matter of social justice ought to be made applicable to all types of incomes and properties of all classes of people and implemented simultaneously if we are to be just to all sections of our society and if we are not to be accused of discriminating against our peasant proprietors alone. Even if practical exigencies were to be considered, it is essential that ceilings should be imposed on at least any one of the many types of urban and professional incomes and properties simultaneously with the imposition of land ceilings if at all we are to justify our stand before the bar of public opinion and the social conscience of our nation. Therefore, we request that if the Congress were to be so very particular about the imposition of land ceilings not only on future holdings, but also on present holdings and incomes, then it should not be done unilaterally but simultaneously with the imposition of similar ceilings, at least on the incomes of Government employees or professional employees or any other urban class of people. We trust that nothing will be done to make the Congress open to the charge of discrimination against the broad masses of agriculturists.

Extracts from Rangaji's reply to Jawaharlal's refusal of their demand.

(b) I am sorry to say, I am unable to appreciate the rationale of your refusal to this demand for placing a ceiling more or less simultaneously on the incomes and

properties of both peasant proprietors and also professionals, civil servants and other industrial and commercial clauses.

All the weighty arguments that you advance against placing a ceiling on the incomes of non-agricultural sections will appear to any unprejudiced person to be equally applicable to our agriculturists also. Such arguments make it difficult for me to refrain from concluding that different and contradictory yardsticks are being used for different classes for the application of social justice in developing socialistic society.

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Extracts from letter dated 5th & 12th February, 1959 received from Shri K. M. MUNSHI,

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty Road, Bombay-7.

Apart from that, I am afraid coercion is sure to be used on the helpless peasants and will lead to unsettled conditions in which the only people who will thrive will be the Communist Party of India.

x x x x x

I am shocked at the way in which ideological devices are being forced on the country. Ultimately we will end in complete confusion which will only breed the demand for a totalitarian state.

x x x x x

I entirely agree with you that the passion which the Prime Minister brings to bear on the question of Co-operative farming is going to introduce totalitarian ways whether he wishes it or not. The only way is to awaken the people

to the dangers of this kind of campaign. If the papers tell the truth, the AICC is going to take strong action against anyone who has the courage to criticize the Nagpur Resolution.

x x x x z

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WHY RANGA DIFFERED FROM JAWAHARLAL

As Statesman of Delhi Viewed 14-2-1959

Prof. N. G. Ranga is an agricultural economist. He is, in fact, an eminent agricultural economist whose theoretical contributions have been based on practical experience. For Prof. Ranga is a farmer in his own right, and has in the last 30 years amassed a wealth of experience of the conditions of Indian agriculture and the workings of the peasant mind.

Prof. Ranga is also that rarity, a politician who is not afraid to defy the party whip and give full vent to his views, quite regardless of personal consequences. Perhaps it is his sincerity and unquestionable bonafides he has been a Member of Parliament for 30 years that gives Prof. Ranga the power to speak as he does.

Of the Nagapur resolutions Prof. Ranga had much to say. He believes that the Congress Party has adopted principles that will lead to a collectivized, fear-dominated Soviet State. Prof. Ranga, whose fervent faith in democracy dates back to his early days at Oxford, finds it difficult to believe that the Congress leaders could so unthinkingly have committed themselves and the country to a policy that "would negate much that they so vociferously claim to stand for".

Prof. Ranga's objection to farming co-operatives takes two forms. On the ideological plane he is opposed to any

unnecessary proliferation of the States activities and more pragmatically, he believes farming co-operatives to be expensive, wasteful and conductive to "bossism".

"In no country have farming co operatives been a success". In no country, "has the wilful co-operation of peasant proprietors increased agricultural productivity. The very Soviet experience that these urban interlopers are so fond of recalling belies the idea of Co-operation " In Russia Co-operation failed and Collectivization has only achieved the mass liquidation, first of the Kulaks and later of middle holding peasants. But there is no need, Prof.Ranga felt, to look for examples abroad. In India itself over 200 experiments were carried out in the formation of farming Co-operatives in U. P. and Bombay. Great concessions and incentives were provided to induce farmers to form Co-operatives. It was not a happy experience. Quite apart from the additional overhead charges that the system of farming Co-operatives implies, he says, there soon developed amongst the farmers a sense of frustration, a blind hostility towards the supervisors and an apathy to greater production.

Pror. Ranga is far from satisfied with the presant state of agriculture. As a substitute for farming Co-operatives he proposes the formation of Service Co-operatives.This would involve the setting up of tractor stations, pesticide squads; seeds, fertilizer distributing centres and so forth. The peasant could make use of these facilities on a payment basis. It is a great mistake, in his opinion, to consider India's peasants backward. They are perfectly capable of making the best use of any facilities within their reach. They are both progressive and enterprising. Prof. Ranga considers that Congress policy is too much concerned with the condition of the peasants of U. P. and Bihar who are by no means representative of the country as a whole. They have been free from the oppressive Zamindari system for a mere seven or eight years. If the Congress leaders considered the peasant proprietors of Mysore, South Kerala, Tanjore and Andhra in the

South, and those of the Punjab and Gujarat in the North. who have been free (from intermediary Zamindars-ed) for centuries, they would form a very different estimation of the ability, and initiative of small-holding farmers.

I found him far less agitated over the proposed ceilings on land holdings than on the subject of farming Co-operatives. He did, however, feel that the Ceiling was ludicrously low; he thought it extraordinary that the Prime Minister could oppose the ceiling of Rs. 30,000/- per annum on industrial incomes * and yet agree to a limit of Rs. 3,600/- on agricultural incomes. It would certainly drain agriculture of what little talent it had. "They are conspiring to make land the sediment of all stupidity", he remarked. It is certainly inconceivable that men of ability would be prepared to slave away for a pittance, for a fraction of what they would earn in urban employment. In addition, he felt that this unwarranted discrimination between agriculture and industry was a travesty of social justice.

"STATESMAN" (14-2-1959)

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No. 1260-3, 2-chome
Shimoshakuji, Nerima-ku
TOKYO, JAPAN.
March 16, 1959.

Dear Prof. N. G. Ranga,

I should like to express many thanks on behalf of my father for your kind arrangement for his friend, Mr. Eizaburo Saito.

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* By 1971, Congress under Indira Gandhi's leadership has come to realise the need for simultaneous imposition of Ceilings on urban incomes and properties as on rural incomes and properties, thus meeting one of the main objections of Rangaji. Co-operative farming, as conceived by Nehru and Nagapur Congress has almost come to be abandoned as a Compulsive national Programme; removing his other powerful objection; thus paving the way for his return to his old love, the Congress Party by 1972. (Ed.)

I suppose you have returned from your long trip in the country. As you might have already noted from Kavoko's letter, I married last May and now live in the suburbs. It takes forty minutes by tramcar from Otuka. At the begining of last February, my parents' new house was completed next door to my house. Every morning and night, we can exchange "Good Morning" and "Good Night" as if we live together in one house. It is very happy for me to live with my old parents even after marriage. Their new house admits plenty of light and is rather a comfortable one with a typical Japanese garden, though not very large, and many evergreen trees surrounding the house. There stands a little shrine in the corner to the south-east of the garden and a stone lantern in front of the house. I think when you come to Japan next time, this typical Japanese style garden will delight your eyes and I eagerly hope the time will come in the very near future. Here is another news that my younger sister, Kishiko got engaged last January and will marry on the coming May 10th.

In the meantime, kavoko is a man of varied tastes such as tea ceremony, flower arrangement, Ezaras a (special printing cotton) and cooking, etc. Especially in cooking he is so skilful as to put a professional to shame. Whenever we visit him, he treats us to wonderful Japanese dinner cooked by him. Besides he desires to have a personal exhibition of printed cottons of his own printing in your country if it is possible.

I shall be much obliged if you will give him any assistance during his stay in India and I hope you and Mrs. Ranga like him and make good friends with him. Best regards to Mrs. Ranga from all of our family.

Yours very truly,
AKITOSHI MEIO

Prof. N. G. RANGA
NEW DELHI, India.

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PROF. N. G. RANGA, M. P., 96, North Avenue,
NEW DELHI
Dated the 29th April, 1959.

My dear Philip Thompson,*

It is many months since I have tried to commune with you During the last four months (January to April) a crisis has arisen in our country over the fate of the peasantry and other self-employed like your brother and sister. They own their own means of production i. e. small holdings or cottage industrial impliments. They are poor, unorganised. They need the support of the State. They have been asking for it for ages. They have to be protected from the exploitation by the merchants, money lenders and processing factories.

Instead of helping them in this way and thus strengthening their self-employed economy and treating it as the very foundation for the building up of the projected socialistic co-operative commonwealth, the Congress Party have decided on 12th January in their Session held at Nagpur to give every possible support to Co-operative Farming Economy as the only alternative to Peasant economy and therefore to devote all their efforts during the next three

* Philip Thompson started his career as a textile spinner, with his Parents and sisters employed as Workers, in spinning and weaving Mills of Chorley, Lancashire. He won his way to Oxford University through his studies in Workers Educational Association and Labour Colleges. He retired as Senior Welfare Officer. His wife Irene and their daughter Janet are also Oxford graduates. His brother and sisters are self-employed Confectioners in Chorley. Both Mr. and Mrs. Thompson have been friends with Mr. and Mrs. Ranga since their Oxford Years of 1924-26.

See also Chapter 4 "May life in Europe and at Oxford of Rangaji's Autobiography entitled "FIGHT FOR FREEDOM", especially pages 102-105 for details about his first contacts with many of these English friends. (Ed.)

years for organising Co-operatives so that they can pave the way for collective Farming in place of Peasant Farming.

Naturally I was obliged to oppose this move. So I resigned from the Secretaryship of the Congress Parliamentary Party at Delhi.

This has aroused a nationwide controversy over the advisibility or otherwise of the Congress Party's decision to go against peasant economy and to develop Co-operative Farming in its place.

I dare say you are already in receipt of my earlier pamphlet entitled "The self-employed sector" as well as my Presidential speech at the Punjab Conference.

I think I will have to be specially busy during the next 2½ years before the next General Elections over this question whether India is to go the way of Soviet Russia and China and pave the way for the liquidation of peasantry and their freedom and bring in Co-operative farming which could be controlled by Government or whether free peasantry should continue to function and serve the country and themselves more effectively with the aid of Service Co-operatives and all the support of the plan-minded democratic Government.

Unfortunately, the Election Campaign in India is becoming more and more costly and the daily press is also becoming too costly a venture. The press lords are too much afraid of the Government and are also power mad. Therefore, it becomes more and more difficult for such organisations and movements as ours which are not backed by money or the press. Our people are by and large illiterate and politically under-developed and therefore to carry on any kind of agitation among them is too costly and needs the co operation of much large number of workers than else-

where. So you can easily imagine my almost insuperable handicaps; yet we must strive and struggle against these odds and work for the preservation of the existing freedoms and also hope for the improvement of the lot of our masses.

Therefore, there does not seem to be much of a chance for me to go abroad either to Europe or America.

You will be glad to learn that I have been able to tour in Mysore and Bangalore, Kerala (Trivandrum) now under the control of Communists and Madras State. Gujarat, Punjab and also North Eastern States of Manipur, Tripura and Assam. These tours have given me an idea of the marvellous cultural attainments of our Indian ancestors over a period of thousand years right up to the 12th Century A.D. Fortunately, Mrs. Ranga was also able to accompany me. We have added to the fund of memories and knowledge, which after all is the biggest asset and source of happiness for such public workers as ourselves in their old age.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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MINISTER OF DEFENCE

NEW DELHI
24th May, 1959.

Dear Professor Ranga,

I hope you have received the copy of our Report sent for your signature a few days ago. Perhaps you have already returned it signed. If you have not, please treat this reminder as an urgent request to return your copy to me with your signature.

As you are aware. A.I.C.C. has arranged a meeting at Ootacamund for the discussion of various matters, at which there will be discussion about this subject also. It would be

embarrassing for me either to espouse the attitude in our Report or to decline to do so during the discussion unless Report is communicated to the leader of the Party! Furthermore, this is an appropriate time when the leader of the Party, who will be present, and others should be aware of the considered views of the Committee appointed by the Parliamentary Executive. *

Kindest regards.

Yours sincerely.
V. K. K. MENON.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

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PROF. N. G. RANGA
Member of the Lok Sabha.

NIDUBROLU,
4th June, 1959.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Leader, Congress Party,
NEW DELHI.

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I hereby tender my resignation of my membership to to the Congress Parliamentary Party. as I have found it impossible to agree with your insistence upon the implementation of the Nagpur resolution, especially in relation to co-operative farming.

As I have informed you earlier. the Peasants Protection Committee is publishing a brochure, containing our correspondence regarding the Land problems and Peasants' in-

* Congross Parliamentary Party appoined a Committee on Public Undertakings with Krishna Menon as Chairman and Rangaji, the then General Secretary of the Party was also a member. The later re-organisation of the relations between Government and Managements of these undertakings were based on the unanimous recommendations of that Committee. (Ed.)

terests to explain in some detail my reasons for differing so much from you.

I thank you for the courtesy that you have extended to me during these years of our comradeship.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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NIDUBROLU,
10th, July, 1959.

My dear Dadaji, (J. B. Kripalani)

Rajaji and myself have been keen on contacting you and seeking your comradeship in this political effort which we have undertaken with the co-operation of so many valued friends and colleagues, to provide our people and country with a broad-based democratic party to protect and promote the interests of our masses esplly Peasants as against the totalitarian trends and inefficient administration and largely corrupt and factious use of Governmental powers and resources.

Rajaji told us that he requested you to co-operate with us, but you promised to send him a note but did not send any note so far.

I am enclosing a copy of the tentative aims and objects of the Swatantra Party and copies of my brochures on peasant problems.

I will be obliged to you if you are good enough to give your advice regarding this statement of our approach to the present day problems and post your letter to reach me in Bombay by the 28th instant, so that we can keep it in view while we attempt to review it finally in the convention to be held on the first and second of August.

We will be extremely happy whenever you choose to give us more of your comradeship and co-operation, since so many of us, including our leader, Rajaji, have been devoted like yourself to Bapu and his ideals.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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NIDUBROLU,
12th July, 1959.

My dear Dadajee,

I tried to see you when I was last in Delhi on 11th-15th June but you were not in the City and so I left word that you should be informed of my call.

I know how you have been trying to give the Gandhian touch to the earlier policies and programmes of the Socialist Party and the P. S. R. manifesto has therefore come to be more democratic than Socialistic, as Socialism was understand to be in the west and in Indira right upto 1946. "The Twentieth Century Socialism" of the Socialist League of England almost approximates to the Gandhian Socialism, as we have come to think about it. I have tried to indicate how it can be constructively applied to our Peasant and Co-operative Farming."

The rank and file of our othodox Socialists are almost incorrigibly wedded to the out-worn. State Socializm of the Webbs conception and are not even prepared to comprehend ideological bases for Guild Socialism.

I am convinced that the self-employed peasant, enjoying proprietorship of his small-holding is to-day the best bulwark to economic democracy and can prove to be the most efficient unit of agricultural production, provided the state and Service Co-operatives give him the needed assistance. But Government are trying to subvert this sound foundation.

There are millions of shop keepers and small enterpreneurs running medium-sized industrial enterprises; besides the forty to fifty millions of artisans and all their dependents But this Governments Planning is busy displacing these Self-Employed people, without creating any alternative means of living.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

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SWATANTRA PARTY

60, Bazulla Road, Madras.
6th September 1959.

My dear Ranga,

Krishnaswamy being absent I have read your letter of September 3 with enclosures.

I would like you to join me even at Madurai on the 13th on which evening I have to address a mass meeting there. Your presence along with me at Madurai, Trichinapally and Coimbatore - at all or at least some of these places is more important than your joining at Beach Meeting in Madras on the 20th. You have an engagement in Andhra on the 19th. You may arrange your programme in view of what I have said above. You will of course use your discretion. I shall not be dissatisfied whatever your decision may be.

Thank you for being satisfied with my Hindustan Times interview. The representative who came from Delhi was a good man but all the same a very difficult and unconvinceable type. His questions were not precise and were clothed in long winded discursive language which expressed his own convictions led by the cliches current in present day politics.

I can raise no objection to your dynamic application and concentrated endeavour on big game. All the M. L. A. Groups who have been unsuccessfully fighting the Congress are no doubt standing to gain by association with our party and raising an All India Slogan. I have no objection to a spectacular start being secured for our party in this way, but what I am afraid of is that they will in their eagerness to organise stunts and impress their own groups they may behave unwisely on some occasions and ruin the prestige of our party at the very outset. I am particularly afraid of local issues being brought up in the name of our party and leading to misinterpretation of our overall position.

This is a long letter but you must know my mind before you exercise your judgement. In such matters with your experience and your knowledge of men you should take the responsibility and give my own doubts only second place.

I am addressing this to Delhi. To reach you by letter is like trying to shoot a flying target.

(Typed to Dictation)

S. KRISHNAMURTHI RAO
for RAJAJI

Acharya N. G. RANGA,

96, North Avenue, NEW DELHI.

Copy to :

Sri S. Y. KRISHNASWAMY,

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Dr. M. CHENNA REDDY

HYDERABAD–17
9th October 1959.

My dear Shri Rangaji,

As you must have already seen we have finally decided to join the Swatantra Party. It is true that there was conside-

rable delay in this process, but there were many difficulties and hurdles which took us all this time. I am however glad that it has been ultimately possible to take an unanimous decision and able to carry with us large number of colleagues and workers including (29) members from the Legislative Assembly and five members from the Legislative Council.

It is needless for me to state what a great relief our decision has been in Andhra, where all the forces have come together under your leadership. With this strength and broad basis of the alignment of forces, I hope it would be possible to effectively organise and develop the Swatantra Party in our state to rise to the expectations of the people. We have fortunately great leaders as Rajaji and yourself as founder and President of the Swatantra Party and hope under their guidance the party will effectively play its part in restoring the confidence of the people in democracy.

Copy of the resolution passed in our meeting at Vijawawada is enclosed herewith for your kind information.

With affection and best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. CHENNA REDDY.

Shri N. G. RANGA, NIDUBROLU.

I am sending the Copy of the resolution and of this letter to Shri G. Subbaiah for information and record.

M. CHENNA REDDY.

Copy of the Resolution

"Having been convinced that the affairs of the Congress Party have been going from bad to worse beyond redemplion a section of tired and longstanding Congressmen left the Congress and formed the Democratic Party with a view to better serve the people.

"With the same end in view the Socialist Democratic Party was formed at Tenali so as to strengthen the opposi-

tion to the Congress and bring together the democratic forces in Andhra Pradesh.

"Latter emerged the Swatantra Party on an All-India level under the leadership of the wisest man, senior-most Congress man and an elder statesman, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, and the man of the masses, Mr. N G. Ranga. The Swatantra Party has also the same end in view for which Democratic Party was formed and therefore the Democratic Wing of the SSP feel it just and proper to strengthen the Swatantra Party and decided to join the Swatantra Party in order to better achieve their aims on an all-India scale.

"At the same time, we wish well of the residuary SDP and desire to maintain with it cordial and good relationship.

M. CHENNA REDDY.

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PRIVATE & PERSONAL

"SHELTER", Cooke Town,
BANGALORE-5.
9th October 1959.

My dear Ranga,

I was so happy that I saw you in Hyderabad and also had the privilege of meeting your wife. Once Dr. Chenna Reddy and others came in unconditionally. I understood it was your idea to adjust then amicably in consulation with all our friends, and also if necessary with Rajaji.

All the best.

Yours sincerely,

V. P. MENON.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.
Nidubrolu, Guntur (Dist)

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IE - NO - HIKARI ASSOCIATION
No. 11 Funakawara-Cho, Shinjuku-ku
TOKYO, JAPAN.

November 4th, 1959.

Dr. N. G. RANGA, Vice-president
All India Co-operative Union,
72, Jorbagh, Nursery, NEW DELHI-3, India.

Dear Dr. Ranga,

I am asking of you if you would have received the letter of our president dated the July 8th, this year, in which we have requested your message for congratulatory opening ceremony to be held on the last day of November.

As the letter mentioned, now our new office building is under way of completion. We are wishing to have your message to present to about one thousand attendances from various co-operatives, contributors of our magazines and publications etc. for one reason of Japanese custom on the opening ceremony, for other reason of stimulating co-operative friendship.

And then on this occasion of completion of our new building; we are going to promote our publishing activities among the co-operatives (movement) and to work for active services to the members of co-operatives by making use of our equipment in the building.

Yours truly,

YOSHIRO TAKAHASHI
Executive Director.

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THOUGHTS FROM 85 YEARS OLD JOHN SEDWICK

1, South Port Road,

CHORLEY.

X'mas 1959.

Immortality is not just a matter of religious belief, it is a fundamental fact of life.

Because life — like TIME and SPACE — is an Infinity with no conceivable beginning or end.

Birth and death are the stages by which we travel to that goal promised by Jesus :

"YE shall be perfect even as your father in heaven is perfect." (Mathew V. 48)

Kind remembrances for Christmas and every good wish for the coming year — from

JOHN SEDGWICK *

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NIDUBROLU.

4—1—1960

Dear friend,

Happy New Year to you all.

Thank you for yours of the 20th December and the enclosures.

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* The late Mr. Sedgwick was a great figure in the Social life of Lancashire, as a Trade Unionist, Scholar, Preacher, Good Samaritan and Cosmopolitan. He was an admirer of Gandhiji. Every time Bapuji visited Chorley or Bolton or Manchester-he tried is meet him and discuss problems of World. (Ed).

I am sending herewith the circular appeal duly signed by me. In fact I have already informed you that I would be happy to serve our common cause of World Peace and your organisation which has the blessings of my dear friends Lord Boyd Orr. Therefore I will be happy to serve on your Executive World Committee for World Constitutional. Convention.

I hope you have contacted the Japanese leader Mr. Shimonaka whom the present Prime Minister of Japan holds in high esteem. I will be glad if you try to win the co-operation of Madame Kora, Ph. D., Senator, Tadaatsu Ishiguro, 71, Agebacho Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, and Takato Nakatani, the standing Director of the Council of Asian Diplomacy all of whom are legislators, at present or in the past.

I regret our inability to make any financial contribution to this movement for World Peace or to undertake foreign tours at our cost. I hope you will get most of the work done through correspondence.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

Philip Isely Director, World Committee for World Constitutional Convention.
8600, West Colfax Avenue, Denver 15, Co-orado, U. S. A.

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NIDUBROLU,

23rd/28th May, 1960.

My dear Nandaji *

I am sorry to have to reiterate, my oft-mentioned complaint, that the Bharat Sevak Samaj has come to be made to depend upon the political wishes and interests of the

States Chief Ministers and the Provincial Congress Committees, instead of being developed as originally intended, into a full-fledged all-party or non-party national organisation for social service.

I made this complaint, so often, even when I was within the Congress fold and it assumes special significance, now that I happen to be outside the Congress and the head of an Opposition Party. When you were good enough to observe on the 30th April about my absence at the meeting of the National Executive, which you and Jawaharlalji were good enough to invite me to be a member from the inception of the BSS, I observed that the help I could offer to the BSS under these circumstances was not to resign from it. You once again pleaded your difficulties in building up this institution and that you were trying to liberate it from the navel strings that bind it to the Ministries and PCCs.

I have long ago realised the need for a non-political and all party or non-party social organisation to render social service to our suffering masses and obtained Gandhiji's blessings for that idea, during the famous interview with him in November 1944. When you mooted the idea of organising the BSS in 1952, on your becoming the Central Congress Minister, I agreed to co-operate with you even though I was then in the Krishikar Lok Party in the hope that it would come to be such an organisation of Gandhiji's conception. But I find, after having co-operated with you wholeheartedly for all these eight years that the BSS has not outgrown its infantile weakness of being an appendix or adjunct of the Congress Ministries, if not the Congress Party.

I, therefore, feel that it is high time for your Executive and General Body to consider seriously whether it is at all possible for the BSS to make itself independent of the influence of the Chief Ministers and Congress Committees, in the appointment of State Convenors, District and Taluk Con-

venors and in the organisation of Youth and Student Camps etc. and whether you can extend as full and open invitation to all other democratic parties as for the Congress, in supplying personal for the various cadres of leadership from different sections of BSS activity.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

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* Minister of Labour, Employment and planning. New Delhi. (Ed)

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D. No. 525/CH/BSS/60

Minister of Labour &
Employment and Planning
NEW DELHI.
June 11, 1960.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 28th May, 1960.

There is no difference of opinion regarding our approach to the working of the Bharat Sevak Samaj. Normally we have succeeded in preserving the non-political and non-official character of the organisation. A certain amount of liaison with the machinery of the Government is inevitable on account of the nature and volume of the activities undertaken by the Samaj. Consultations with the Chief Ministers are being held from this point of view. An important consideration is that persons should be appointed as conveners who are able to enlist the maximum co-operation all round.

At Bhilwara convention, we have decided that the selection of Conveners should proceed on the basis of the consensus of opinion of the active workers, to be ascertained in an informal manner.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
G. L. NANDA.

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REVIEW BY AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA

D/ 26th June 1960.

NEW IDEOLOGY

The Peasant and Co-operative Farming (A socio-economic Study) :

By Prof. N. G. Ranga and P. R. Paruchuri, Indian Peasant Institute. Nidubrolu.

Prof. Ranga is the founder president of the Indian Peasants' Institute inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi in 1933 at Nidubrolu in Andhra Pradesh.

Many regard Prof. Ranga as the source of inspiration of the Indian Peasant Movement and as the propagater of a series of ideas known as peasant philosophy. P. R. Paruchuri a post-graduate of the University of Bombay has been associated with Prof. Ranga in the benevelent task of amelioration of the conditions of Indian Peasants. In bringing out this book he provides details and data of vital importance to his eminent colleague.

Farming as an occupation has got two equally important aspects – economic and non - economic. In the opinion of

the two research workers both the capitalists and the Communists fully fail to take notice of the valuable non-economic aspects of peasant forming.

They stipulate. Agriculture, the system of peasant family farming, provides the people engaged in such exterprise not only with the economic monetary returns but also with important noneconomic returns like the important self employment status, freedom and independence from organisational bureaucracy. the disabilities of wage labour and the emotional joy and satisfaction resulting from family ownership of land.

It is because of these characteristics that the peasant farming has com to stay more as a way of life, than merely as the economic enterprise. Such socio-economic enterprise offers an emotional equilibrium a balanced tonic to the mental and physical work to the people. The importance of such a system in the modern society which is becoming more and more centralised cannot be underestimated.

S. B.

303

WARNING ABOUT THE MASSING OF CHINESE TROOPS ON HIMALAYAN BORDER

NIDUBROLU,
27-6-1950.

My dear Sri Satyanarayana Sinha,

You must have read the report of the Prime Minister's statement at the Press Conference in Delhi on the 24th instant regarding the massing of Chinese troops along the Himalayan Border.

For more than a fortnight, we have had press reports of such (military) activities on our borders by the Chinese; smacking of an atmosphere of mobilisation.

In view of the failure of the Paris Summit Conference this development assumes special significance. From the Prime Minister's statement it seems as though our Government is not in a position to ascertain the actual development on the border, possibly in view of the provisional agreement reached between the two Prime Ministers at their recent Delhi Conference.

I think it is high time that Parliament is given an early opportunity to consider this developing situation which may prove any day to be embarassing; if not serious.

Yours sincerely.
N. G. RANGA.

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NEW DELHI,
5-9-1960.

My dear Shri Ranga,

I have shown your article on the need for Independent Commission to manage Co-op. Community Development Panchayat Raj institutions to Shrimati Durgabai, and we both think you are very right in urging that as much as possible of Governmental functions in the fields of social services and social welfare, Local Self-Government and Co-operative Organisations be discharged through non-political and purely functional organisations. This is especially necessary to correct a growing governmental tendency, especially

in the states, to constitute and use every possible governmental or non-governmental agency for partisan political purposes.

With our best regards.

Yours sincerely.
C. D. DESHMUKH.

305

Posted from Amaravati on 1-10-60.

M. S. ANEY, M.P.,
C/o. M. R. Bobde, Advocate
Civil Lines, Nagpur.

161, South Avenue,
NEW DELHI.
30-9-1960.

My dear Rajaji,

The cryptic message from you was something like a shower of blessings on the Nag-Vidarbha Workers, from the wisest Statesman of India. On the 28th morning I was surprised most agreeably by a message on the phone from Ranga that he arrived a short time ago and "is staying in Empire Hotel" I immediately arranged to get him to live with me. He was surrounded by the circle of friends at Nagpur whom he had met only four days ago. At great inconvenience to him Prof. Ranga agreed to halt here for two days. On 28th he accepted the invitation of the Umred People to visit their town and address the public meeting which had been already announced by them. I and Biyani, T. G. Desmukh and Shri Rajabhau Dangre, an ex-member of Rajya Sabha and a veteran Congressman accompanied him to that place. He was warmly received and he delivered there an extempore speech in English which was rendered in Marathi by Deshmukh. It was heard with rapt attention. He gave very cogent and convincing reasons for the demand that the question of Vidarbha's status must be allowed to be decided by the vote of

the people of Vidarbha and not by the votes of the members of the legislatures whether of the State or of the centre. He also explained the objects and the principles for which the Swatantra Party stood. His address made a very favourable impression on the people present. On the 29th he addressed the audience assembled in the Conference Pandal at Nagpur for one hour. There was pin-drop silence in the hall and the audience was almost spell-bound, while he was speaking in English and was being interpreted by Dandekar, the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Prof. Ranga issued a press communique which clearly though succinctly stated the position he personally took and his party takes in so far as the demand of the people for the formation of the separate State in the Indian Federal Republican Union is concerned He strongly supported the legitimacy of the demand and even suggested that it would succeed if the people of Vidarbha would prove at the ensuing general elections of 1962 that they were behind that demand. He called on the Congress Government that it should give members of the Congress Party the freedom to work and vote in regard to this matter just as Swatantra Party had decided to do.

It was indeed a great pleasure to be in association with Prof. N. G. Ranga for 2 days. Nagpur would have certainly liked him to prolong his stay here longer. I really feel grateful to Prof. Ranga for the cheerfulness with which he put up with a good deal of inconvenience which our sudden fixing up of programmes had caused him.

I found in him a man of very simple habits and extraordinary capacity for adaptation. He speaks with a sweet tongue in his mouth and with a perrenial smile on his lips. I liked the President of your Party very much.

My greetings to your son Narsimhan, my present colleague and companion in the Lok Sabha.

Thanking you once more and with kindest regards.

I remain Yours sincerely,
M. S. ANEY,

Sri C. Rajagopalachari
T. Nagar, Madras-17.
Copy to Prof. N. G. Ranga.

306

NIDUBROLU,
1-10-1960.

My dear Sri Deshmukh,

Thank you for sending me the copies of the notes regarding your demand for independent Commission to enquire into charges of corrution and misuse of power by Ministers.

I am enclosing for your information, my note on the demand for the extension of the principle underlying the activities of the U. G. C. to the distribution of funds, now being allocated by State & Union Governments among the Local Boards, Co-ops., Social and Welfare Organisations and also to the regulatory and Control Powers of the State over their internal management.

I talked to you about their suggestion and you were good enough to agree with it in general.

When I told Rajaji about your agreement, he was pleased and asked me to write this article, hence this effort. Sri Durga Das has circulated it under his INFA Service.

I am glad to inform you that wherever and whenever I have discussed this point with political leaders of different Parties and in public meetings since August 13-15th, I have found universal support for this suggestion.

In a way, this support has come from the fact of the success of the U. G. C. under your wise Chairmanship. So I thank you.

I am sure that my sister Smt. Durgabhai will be pleased with my reference to her recent fight for the freedom of the Social Welfare Board, etc.

With best regards to her and yourself.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

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C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

60, Bazlullah Road.
Tyagarayanagar, MADRAS-17.
3rd October 1960.

My dear Aney,

Your letter of September 30 was delightful reading. Rangaji was here for a few hours and it was obvious he was very glad for the hospitality bestowed on him in Nagpur and your great appreciation of his response to your request. I am very glad although your request came rather late that he was able to comply inspite of the unavoidable delay in communications on account of Rangaji's movements, over and above the usual delay in P. & T. I express my gratitude for all your affection. I am so very glad you are pleased with Rangaji. He is so simple-hearted and you are so generous. May our old culture never die.

Yours sincerely,
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Sri M. S. Aney, M. P.
C|o. Sri M. R. Bobde. Advocate,
Civil Lines, NAGPUR.
Copy to Prof, N. G. Ranga.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

NIDUEROLU.
20-10-1950.

My dear Jaiprakashji,

I request you to give some time for reading the enclosed papers and considering the points made therein.

I am glad to say that a large number of us are giving serious consideration to your proposal that political parties should withdraw from elections to local democratic institutions. Swatantra Party has come to the conclusion that it should not contest in Local Board elections. That will not be enough.

I am keen on pressing political parties to withdraw from the elections to all Local Boards, local social and economic voluntary institutions, such as all types of Co-operatives, Religious Endowments, Educational institutions for the up-lift of Women. Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Tribes, (their Hostel Managements etc.) Even then, the trouble does not end, so long as we depend merely on the majority vote principle for the choice of their leadership. So it is essential to add to it, making the final choice by drawing 'Lots', as indicated by the Uttara Melur (Village) temple Inscription of the Chola Period (9-11th Centuries).

Besides, there is also the need for transferring all powers over these Local, Social, Voluntary organisations, regarding their elections, mutual relations, distribution of Government Grants etc., from State Governments to Independent; Non-Party, Quasi-judicial Commissions (Like the Public Service Commissions, University Grants etc.) which will be above political influences of the ruling Party, the ministerial political interests.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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PC-M (A)-25-1-1960

PLANNING COMMISSION NEW DELHI

D/ October 25, 1960.

My dear Prof Ranga,

Thanks for your letter of the 20th October together with the enclosures. I am glad to know that you are giving detailed thought to the idea of non-interference by the political parties at the village panchayats level and above even upto the Zilla Parishads. This is, however, a matter which, I think, can be satisfactorily solved by reaching some kind of a gentleman's agreement among different political parties in the country. The suggestions made by you in the enclosures can surely be discussed among various political parties in the country at a suitable opportunity.

With cordial greetings.

Yours sincerely,
SRIMAN NARAYAN

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.,
P. O. NIDUBROLU, Andhra Pradesh.

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VICE CHANCELLOR

ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
WALTAIR.
D. 7-1-1961

My dear Ranga,

Thanks for the kind letters from yourself and Bharati. I do not know whether my decision to leave the University is a right one but I had to abide by the advice of my elders.

I am, however, glad that this new post * will give me an opportunity of meeting you more frequently.

I am leaving for Delhi on 13th instant. After taking charge on 14th and attending a few meetings, I shall return home to take the family. My wife and daughter were unwilling to leave Waltair. My wife, like a good Hindu wife, has now changed her mind. but I have still to persuade my daughter.

My best regards to Bharati.

Yours sincerely,
V. S. KRISHNA*

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J. B. KRIPALANI, 30, Prithviraj Road,
NEW DELHI.
May 29, 1961.

My dear Ranga,

The problem of Indians abroad* does need to be raised in the parliament. This Government is not going to do anything whether in the matter of internal or external troubles. They can only reel out heroic words as they have done at Durgapur.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIPALANI.

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* Dr. V. S. Krishna was later appointed the Chairman of the University Grants Commission, New Delhi. which is to help the Universities in India with the distribution of Central Grants, advice and guidance. Unfortunately Dr. Krishna passed away, due to heart failure only one month after taking up this highly important and prestigious post. The Colleges at Waltair and Rajole have come to be founded after his name with the munificent donations made by his wife.

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* Indians in Africa are being persecuted and expelled; the Ukase of 1972 passed and executed by Amin of Uganda is the most extreme and unkindest exhibition of racist - hostility and national sovereignty. India and U. K. are helpless witnesses of such brutalities, in retribution of the former imperialist exploitation of African Peoples and countries. (Ed).

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NIDUBROLU,
14-6-1961.

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I dare say you remember my intervention at Question Time when the disabilities of the Ceylonese Tamils and their repression by Ceylonese Government were being discussed at the fag-end of the last Lok Sabha Session.

I am enclosing now two press cuttings, one from the Swarajya of 27th May and another from "The Hindu" of 16-6-1961. I request you to consult your experts in regard to the facts mentioned in these articles.

I request you to realise that not only the people of Madras State but also the people all over the South and South West States of India feel strongly over the discriminative policies of the Ceylon Government and violent "Programmes" indulged in by the Sinhalese, with the connivance or benevolent indifference of the Ceylon ministries.

I hope you will agree with us, it is the duty of our Government to be constantly in touch with all that is happening to worsen the fortunes and citizenship privileges and Human Rights of the Ceylonese Tamils and Malayalees, including both Hindus and Moslems and see that everything is done to help them to secure a decent and humane deal from their Government.

After all, Indian Government has been on the best of terms with that of Ceylon and has exercised so much patience and displayed consistent friendship during all these years of unilateral treatment of lakhs of our labourers as Stateless persons. Your Government has so far displayed super-human forbearance, even in the face of the 1957 riots. Both are members of the United Nations Therefore is it not

high time that you should call upon the Ceylonese Government to show respect and consideration to the legitimate feelings of the people of India in regard to the demand of the Ceylonese Tamils for equal rights of Citizenship and parity in tratment of the language groups.

I request you to explore the possibilities for persuading the Sinhalese Government and their national leaders to settle their minority problems in a humane manner as indicated by the present Ceylon Tamil's movement for protection. Other suggestions made by these writers Dr. A. W. Berchmans and Veerasingham are also worth examination.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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TRIBUTE TO KHASA, THE GREAT EDITOR

By N. G. RANGA.

By the death of Shree Khasa Subbarau, India has lost one more from the thinking ranks of the great champions of freedom of the Gandhian age. Of all those myriad warriors who were brought to the fore during that age, Sri Subbarau stood out as one of the bravest and far-sighted champions of Gandhiji's ideals of Swatantra and Dharma. As a journalist, and an ideologist. Subbarau was an outstanding intellectual and writer and proved to be the heart and soul to all those of us who tried to remain loyal to Gandhian standards of publ c life.

Subbarau distinguished himself as much by his sufferings and sacrifices during our national struggle as by his

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Similarly Rangaji has been pressing Government to look after Indians in various African countries, which have achieved Independence and been treating Indians very shabbily, bordering on vengeance and cruelty. (Ed.)

scrupulous espousal of the noble standards of public service that Gandhiji had placed before us. There were few writers of this country who could write such English prose and Subbarau wrote only when his head and heart, scruples and thoughts coincided with the urgings of his Saraswati.

from "SWARAJYA" (24-6-1961)

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NEW YORK,
25th June, 1961.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I received "Bunch of Tributes" offered on your 60 years' Celebration and also the booklet about your wonderful wife Bharati Devi Ranga.

How happy it made me. You shall always serve to inspire me. I shall be once again in my beloved Athens this summer. I shall go again to the Acropolis.

My warmest good wishes to you both.

Fondly,
IRENE, KORRAS.

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NIDUBROLU
5 7-1961.

My dear Chy. Radha Krishna,

I wish to congratulate you and thank your dear father on the good and useful line that the "Andhra Patrika" has been adopting in its criticism of the wrong and nationally disastrous policies that the Nehru Government has been pursuing in regard to Land.

I wanted to write to you about a fortnight back congratulating you on the fine editorials on Godavari-Krishna waters and co-operative farming. I find to-day an excellent editorial on LAND REFORMS dealing with the fate of the small peasants. It is as I have myself written it. The percentage of holdings covered by less than 5 acre excluding Chittoor district comes to 34.5% in Rayala Seema as compared to 67.3 of Coastal Districts. It is just this large section of peasants who deserve and need the maximum and prior consideration from a democratic regime and it is these whom, as you so truly observed, the Congress Government has so far neglected. Indeed it wants to liquidate them through its campaign for co-operative farming and consolidation of holdings, on the wrong plea of liberating them from their slavery to uneconomic holdings and their too poor yields and incomes. Yet, it has no plans to provide them alternate employment etc. What a tragic mistake.

The greater tragedy is that our Telugu dailies excepting the Visalandhra which have somehow taken their places on the side of the Ruling Party, do not even give equal publicity for the campaign of those of us who want to change these policies of the State. Can a Daily continue to claim to be a national paper without holding the scales even between rival democratic parties. All these Dailies act as if they are merely Congress Party organs, giving front page publicity even to their internal party-personal-workers problems.

Yours sincerely,
RANGA,

Chy. Radha Krishna,
Andhra Patrika.

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NEW DELHI-1.
3rd September 1961.

My dear Prof. Shenoy,

I do not however agree with the notion so commonly shared by most economists of the non-Marxist and Pro-Marxist persuasion that the road to economic progress will be in bringing the whole of the peasant and artisan economy into the orbit of exchange and market economy. Its insulation does not prevent economic progress and higher production, while it does protect the peasants and artisans from the blizzards of free market economy and also the hazards of collectivist economy.

The economies of the self-employed section has got to be carefully studied by our economists.

With best regards,

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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B. R. SHENOY
Director

School of Social Sciences
Gujarat University
AHMEDABAD-9.
14th September 1961.

My dear Professor Ranga,

I was glad to receive your letter of 3 September 1961.

2. Material well-being is a matter of increased production, this is of prime importance when the masses of the people are at or below the minimum of subsistence. So far

as material well-being is concerned, it would not very much matter whether increased production is effected with or without an exchange economy. The issue of an exchange economy is of relevance only in so far as it may assist accelerated production of the goods and services needed by the people. If such acceleration is possible without an exchange economy. I see no difficulty in agreeing with you. But my general bias as an economist is that an exchange economy assists rather than hinders a levering up of economic production.

With best regards.

Yours very sincerely,

B. R. SHENOY.

P. S. I wonder if you have read a booklet entitled "GROWTHMANSHIP" by Mr. Colin Clark. It was published in March 1961, being sponsored by the Institute of Economic Affairs, Euston House, 66A Eaton Square, London Sw.1. In the booklet he has said that Gandhi was a distinguished advocate of the free market philosophy.

Yours sincerely.

B. R SHENOY.

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11—10—1961.

My dear Rajagopal Naidu,

I have made the following points in my note sent to Messrs C. D. Deshmukh, Jaiprakash Narain and Sreeman Narayan of Planning Commission regarding our attitude towards Panchayati Raj - conduct of elections and utilisation of funds. I have dealt with the question of elections through the introduction of ancient Indian method of choosing the leaders by drawing lots, in my paper published in the P. B.N.

College Magazine 1960 and also in the second Volume of the Economic Survey of Indian Villages (1930)

(1) There should be an impartial quasi - judicial non-political Commission in every State to manage, supervise, assist and guide all the local Boards and Panchayats, Co-operative Societies and various Social Organisations that have come into existence to administer the grants made by the Government for backward classes. scheduled castes, scheduled tribes' hostels and also Religious Endowments. They should also be empowered to distribute whatever funds and finances are sanctioned and prepared to sanction for distribution among all these institutions for local development social and welfare activities. Such a commission should be beyond the control of the ministers and politicians.

I have been trying to get into touch with a number of independent, non-political leaders in the country like Sri C. D Desmukh. who are already having some experience in working such Commissions, e g., Public Service Commission, University Grants Commission and so on. We will have a Commission like that for these purposes. The people appointed should not have had anything directly to do with any political party during the previous 3 or 5 years It may be presided over by any retired High Court, or any present High Court Judge. The main purpose for which this is being suggested is to free the ministers from the onerous responsibility and remove the temptation to utilise their power over these institutions, to strengthen their political interests, and also to subsidise their political friends and favourities.

(2) Mr. Srimannarayan Agarwal said that the Panchayats should be kept out of party politics. We agree with this. By doing so, we would be fulfilling a part of Jai Prakash Narayan's thesis that there should be non-party politics. But it should not stop at the village panchayat level. It should include the Samitis and Zilla Parishads also.

We should also try to introduce the ancient Indian principle of choosing the Chairmen and if possible, members of these Panchayati Raj institutions by drawing lots from amongst those Candidates who are chosen, initially by the voting public, if need be, by majority principle, if not by proportional representation. This principle of making the choice of leadership by drawing lots was widely practised in Chola times (9th to 11th Centuries).

That is, let a Panel of acceptable candidates be chosen first by majority vote, at every stage and then let the additional principle of making the final choice of a member by drawing lots from out of such a panel be introduced. The same principle may be utilised in the election of the President as well as the Vice-President of the Parishads. Similarly the same process may be adopted in the choice of Presidents, Directors of the Co-operative Societies as well as in the choice of trustees for Religious Endowments. To that extent at least, we can give scope for non-party choice of the leadership for all these local and social organisations. By this means, factious spirit can be minimised, indulgence in their casteism can also be reduced and aspirants for any post need not press into service all his resources, with a view to ensure success nor, need the defeated persons feel so disconsolate for the loss of prestige or "Face". Moreover the Ruling Party would be prevented from exploiting the over whelming influence that it enjoys to-day through its grants and various other powers. Only if the Planning Commission is agreeable to such a re-organisation of the election methods for the Local Boards, we can take seriously the offer of Sri Srimannarayan Agarwal into consideration.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

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NEW DELHI.
1st November, 1961.

My dear Venkata Subbaiah,

I am glad to let you know the following results achieved by the combined efforts of the Andhra Ministry, M.Ps of all parties as a result of our Conference with Union Government during this week :—

1) Somasila is accepted, in the first instance, as a flood control scheme and the barrage thus constructed can be later used for Irrigation.

2) Siddheswaram will be investigated.

3) Vamsadhara is included in the plan.

4) Budameru will be taken up this year and its two sections reservoir and diversion will be in the 2nd Plan.

5) Tammileru, Yerrakalva etc., Kolleru works also are included.

6) Tungabhadra High Level Channel is in it; so also, K.C. Canal widening.

7) Development of Inland Water Navigation from Ramachandrapur to Madras by Buckingham Canal will be taken up for communication purposes.

8) Torrigadda Pumping is likely to be in the Plan.

9) Godavari flood control scheme also.

Thus, almost all our demands have been accepted, thanks to our work through Planning Commission, Irrigation Ministry and Parliament.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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TIBET AND P. M's FAILURE

Extracts from Rangaji's Speech in Parliament on 4-12-1961

I find that contrary to the assurances given by the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister; the defence of our country so far as the Himalayas are concerned are not being developed as well, and as energitically as they should be. Had they merely been serious about their claim to be aware of the difficulties confronting our soldiers on the Himalayas, they should have sent forth a call to the youth of our country, to enlist themselves in the new cadres of the army which would be willing to go onto the heights of the Himalayas and defend the frontiers of our country. Just as the Americans are now recruiting for their peace army, so also there should have been a Himalayan army recruited in our country from amongst the flower of our own youth.No such call has far been sent out.

It is high time that we revise our policy in regard to Tibet and begin to champion Tibet's right for regaining her national freedom. We will not be the only country who will be doing it. In regard to Algeria and the African colonies we have taken a similar attitude. The western countries of the world have been championing the cause of the satellite countries of Soviet Russia. In the same way and in a better way and with greater justification we should begin to champion the cause of Tibet. Otherwise, we would not be doing atonement for the sins that we committed in regard to that sacred land.

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N. G. RANGA, M. P.
INDIAN PEASANT INSTITUTE,
NIDUBROLU (P. O.)
(Andhra Pradesh)

Swatantra Party,
96, North Avenue,
NEW DELHI 1961.

Dear friend.

I thank you for having asked me to continue to be a member of the new Executive of the Congress Rachanatmak Sangh. I regret to express my inability to accept this responsibility.

I am a strong believer in Social Work and the development and functioning of Special Organisation, independently of and without being influenced by the political interests of political parties, working for the social regeneration, uplift and service of our people. I am not opposed to prominent political leaders and politically minded social workers, joining such Social Service Organisations and making their contribution to the service of people. But Political leaders should not be office-bearers, lest knowingly or unknowingly they might turn their opportunities into political advantages or deviations. It was with this view that I have been encouraging the B S. S. ever since its birth but unfortunately it has also failed to out-grow its dependence upon Congress ministerialism.

I hoped, when you originally asked me to join you that your organisation might succeed in encouraging such Congressmen as were inclined to turn their attention more to Social Work than to the ministerial politics and its inevitable concomitant of toutism but as your biennial report admits, it has failed even in that limited sphere.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

The President,
Congress Rachanatmak Sangham,
Jantar Mantar Road, NEW DELHI.

INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH; Inc·

NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK.

President :
IMRE KOVACS

Vice President :
IVAN NAGY

Secretary :
FRANK P. UHLIR.

25th January 1962.

Professor N. G. Ranga

Dear Professor Ranga,

We met a few years ago here in New York, when you were attending the International Peasant Union Congress. I was a member of the Hugarian Delegation, attending in my capacity as former Secretary General of the Hungarian National Peasant Party.

I also tried to get in touch with you in November 1957 when I was in New Delhi, but was informed by your Secretary that you were away at the Indian Peasant Institute,subsequently, in 1958, we exchanged letters. Since that time, I have heard much of you and your activities; and was also very much impressed by the pictorial : story fof your life and your writings, especially the , these on "The Peasant and Co-operative Farming" and "The Credo of World Peasant's.

Knowing of your boundless interest in the life of the Peasants all over the world, I take the liberty to address you with regard to a very special protect. I am now the president of the International Center for Social Research, an institution recently established for the purpose of studying international social problems, but concentrating particularly on Latin America.

We would very much like to have the benefit of your great knowledge in this field, and to apply some of the Indian methods in the study and solution of agrarian problems. Therefore, we would consider it a great honor if you would accept our invitation to become a member of our Advisory Council. We are addressing ourselves to internationally-known experts in the fields of economics and the political and social sciences, and feel that our list would not be complete without your name.

Hoping that we may have your support for our efforts, I am,

Sincerely yours,
IMRE KOVACS

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FEDERATION OF RURAL PEOPLES ORGANISATION

(Central Office : RANGA BHAVAN, HIMAYAT NAGAR, HYDERABAD)

President :

Prof. N. G. RANGA, B. Litt. (Oxon) M. P.

Secretaries :
C. L. Patel,
N. V. Naidu, M. L. A.,
S. K. D. Palliwal, M.L.A.

13, Barakhamba Road,
NEW DELHI.
D| 27-2-1962.

Dear Sri Prof. Rangaji,

We are shocked to learn about your defeat at the Lok Sabha Poll. We understand here that this has been brought about by underground activities of Congress Workers by co-operating with the Communist Candidate. However the defeat though we may feel strongly about it, should be taken in a sportsman spirit. You and our party people have done their

best. Of course you must not have found adequate time to go round your own Constituency as you had to look after others.

One thing I did not like was Sri Rajajee's speech at Madras, before your election was over, inviting Ramaswamy Mudaliar to take up the leadership of the Party which to my mind and to people of my thinking, amounted to no-confidence in present leadership.

Trust you and Smt. Bharati Deviji would not worry much over the matter now and keep good cheer in the interest of your health and consequently of the Party.

Yours sincerely,

C. L. PATEL.

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WORLD CONSTITUTION CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

2310 North 15th Avenue,
PHOENIX 7. ARIZONA U.S.A.
March 12, 1962.

N. G. RANGA, NEW DELHI, India.

Dear Mr. Ranga,

Some positive alternative must be offered quickly to the world before the fatalistic attitude to the inevitability of nuclear war brings disaster.

India's desperate act to gain justice in Goa has cost her much in the way of lessened moral prestige. People are asking, "If non violence is not the answer, what is ?" By naming delegates to the Convention, India may demonstrate that the alternative to violence is the achievement of national security and world order under law.

Sincerely,
EVELY MARTIN.

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Professor N. G. RANGA,

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
Curzon Road, NEW DELHI.
27th March, 1962.

My dear Rajaji,

I am enclosing the text of the call for a Convention to formulate world constitution, for your information.

In view of your latest observation regarding the current disarmament talks and our faith in World Government and the need for a Rule of Law to govern inter-state relations it would it seem to be a positive contribution if our forthcoming convention were to endorse this call, as a gesture of our faith in World Government ?

Yours affectionately,
RANGA.

Shri C. Rajagopalachari, MADRAS.

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My dear Radhakrishnaji,

Rajaji was particularly happy that we had the first opportunity of publicly avowing our faith in and support for you in the forthcoming election for this unique position of responsibility and honour in our Republic. This gives me special pleasure, in view of my 26 years of friendship with you.

Bombay,
D. 10-4-1962.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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N. G. RANGA, M. P.

BOMBAY,
D. 10-4-1962.

My dear Jomo Kenyatta,††

Please let me congratulate you on the partial success achieved by you, in your heroic efforts to gain complete political independence of Kenya. I pray that your efforts to achieve national unity if need be through Federalism, through your participation in this first all party Government should succeed.

I trust that you will be able to gain the whole-hearted co-operation of all the Asian elements in your society in reconstructing and developing your national economy, by offering to them the rights of full citizenship and protection of the fruits of their enterprise. As you know only too well, the post-war Afro-Asian National economics are coming to be enriched by such international co-operation and mutual assistance.

I am glad to say that our mutual friend Miss A. G. Stock is now the Head of the Faculty of English in Rajasthan University in Jaipur.

With best regards.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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†† Jomo Kenyatta has since come to be hailed as the Seniormost President among all African Republics. He is widely respected in Africa, as being free from the contemporary African racism against Asians. He and Rangaji worked together in 1930 in developing the League of Coloured Peoples and in 1946 in developing the Colonial and Coloured Peoples Front. (Ed-)

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JAIPUR,
13-4-1962.

Dear Ranga,

Your letter to Kenyatta is timely, I hope they will evolve a harmonious inter-racial life, though no doubt the African exuberance will be a problem at first and the Indian Trading Community will need some statesmanship. When I paid that flying visit about seven years ago, what struck me was that, the Government measures nominally against Mau Mau told most heavily on the African who was beginning to set up for himself in a small way which of course is just the point where he will come up against an Indian competitor. But Kenyatta will welcome your letter, I am sure, since he has always worked for Co-operation. I am going to Kenya on May 15th and I shall be Kenyatta's guest.

I look forward to hearing of your return to Parliament. After all, it has become your proper element and will hardly know itself without you.

Good wishes to Bharati Devi.

DINAH.

In spite of anti-Asian Racist Campaign of Uganda, Zanzicar, Kenya has maintained its inter-racial, Afro-Asian Co-operative Posture, thanks to farsighted leadership provided by Jomo Kenyatta.

* Rangaji was defeated in 1962 general election and was re-elected in Chittoor by-election:

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VICE-PRESIDENT, INDIA.
NEW DELHI.
April 13, 1962.

My dear Ranga.

Thank you for your letter of the 10th inst.

I saw it in the papers and I thought that Rajaji and yourself had taken the lead in the matter. It is very kind of you.

You say we have known each other for 26 years. It is a mistake for 36. I saw you first at Oxford in 1926 at the time when I gave the Upton Lectures on the Hindu View of Life* and you were good enough to write four articles in Andhra Patrika under the name 'Gogineni Ranganayakulu'.

Yours affectionately,
RADHAKRISHNA.

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MINISTER FOR FOOD & AGRICULTURE,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
NEW DELHI.
April 18, 1962.

My dear Ranga,

I was really glad to receive your letter of the 9th instant I do not know how I should express my gratitude for the felicitations which you have so kindly sent me. Your good wisnes shall give me courage and strength to serve my people in an increasing measure.

I am sorry that now we will be missing a veteran like you in the Parliament. Though we have slightly different ideologies, I always looked upon you as a friend. I wish to see you again in the Parliament as soon as you can make it.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. PATIL.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, Nidubrolu.

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* It was then Smt. Bharati Devi Ranga played the host for Dr. Radhakrishna for a day. The Photo of the Andhra who were then in Oxford, including Bharatideviji, Radhakrishna Gopalaswami, Pulla Reddi, L. V. B. Chowdary, Krishna Murari is in Gobhumi in Nidubrolu. (Ed.)

* How Grim and Passionate was the Opposition offered by the Ruling Congress Party to Rangaji's Return in the Bye-Election to Parliament from Chittoor in 1962, after having defeated him in Tenali by helping Communist Candidate to win against him is indicated by the following excerpts from Rajaji's "Dear Reader" Column of Swarjya of 30-6-1962). (Ed.)

"The Andhra Congress President tells the public that the Home Minister of India and the Prime Minister's daughter (Indira Gandhi) and newly appointed Harijan President of the Congress who had been Andhra Chief Minister will all tour Chittoor to canvass against Acharya Ranga. The Harijans of Chittoor, let us hope, will not be bamboozled to think that the whole Community has been lifted into the Congress 'Gadi' with Mr. Sanjeevaiah and that therefore they must vote Acharya Ranga out ... ... What, however, is a matter of concern is the way in which so much unfair and extraneous weight * is sought to be thrown into the scale by the ruling party against an acknowledged leader of political thought in the country, in order to keep him out of the nation's Parliament,...What is Parliament worth, without Masani, and Ranga and Kripalani being given a chance to be heard?...Earlier (7 April) Rajaji wrote also "Without Ranga, Masani, Kripalani and Asoka Mehta, the Lok Sabha cannot be what it ought to be".

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* In spite of all that terrific, venomous and communally breath-taking opposition, mobilised by Sri N. Sanjeeva Reddi, with all his prestige as Ex-Congress President and Power and Funds who declared that 'Rayalaseema would accept the challenge' Rangaji was elected but with the tiny majority of over 1800 votes. Thanks to that well merited and hard won victory, Rangaji was able to organise the nation wide struggle of Peasants in 1964-65 against the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution. He was thus able to protect holdings of the self-employed peasant masses below the Ceilings from that almost confiscatory amendment to article 31 of the Constitution. (Ed.)

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Prof. N. G. RANGA
Member of Parliament
(LOK SABHA)

NEW DELHI-11.
August 3, 1962.

My dear Nageswara Rao,

The enclosed letter is self-explanatory.

I think you were also fortunate to see Bapuji on that great Day i. e., 23-12-1933 but you had his Darshan at Inturu. I have not seen the list published by you of the villages that Bapu visited. I will be glad if you mention Tallapalem, Aluru also.

Actually, Bapu performed a Padayatra from Nidubrolu Railway Line upto Tallapalem through Aluru, since the road was in too bad a condition, owing to rains. I wrote in my Autobiography how Bharati Deviji hurt herself on those knife-sharp pebbles and Bapu was struck by her patience.

I dare say you remember how we have cherished that valuable photo of the great gatherings at Nidubrolu with Bapu and so many of us including my mother and Bharati Devi on the platform, under the noble Jamboo trees. That Nidubrolu meeting was held in P. B. Naidu's field, where his cinemas have come to be built later on.

In Inturu, you arranged such a miniature ring-road, that Bapu's car had to go round it, so that you and your colleagues could garland him, and your people could have his Darshan leisurely.

At Nidubrolu, he opened the Peasant Institute, inaugurated Kisan Publishing Firm, blessed the Ranga Public Library and appreciated the Telugu Novel called the "Harijan Nayak" written by me and published by the Peasants of Edupugallu. Deviji presented him with a purse on behalf of

local women, with his picture darned into it by herself. Bapu expressed his happiness at Deviji's skill as an artist from Oxford.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA

Sri P. Nageswara Rao,

Editor, Andhra Patrika, Madras.

These facts are also mentioned in the unique biography of Bapu in poetry written recently by Tummala. The famous poem was hailed by National Sahitya Academy. Rangaji's 100 pages book called "Bapus Bleses" containing some of his talks with him is edited & Publishedby Philosopher.Poet Dr. Chitturi Satyanarayana, M.S. of Madras in 1969. (Ed.)

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JAIPUR.
12-9-1962.

My dear Ranga.

I returned from Kenya with a bit of the Past, in the shape of Jomo's Grand Daughter and Niece, both aged 19 and 20 for further education in India.

Well, it was cheering to read the news of your return to Parliament. Equally exhilarating to see a remark in "the Statesman" that in your absence there was nobody in the same class as a heckler of the Government. Getting back into the House must feel like coming home.

Jomo was in excellent form and very much himself. He has a lordly house in Nairobi allotted to him as Minister for Economic Planning, where I stayed with his daughter Margaret and the two girls. But he does not take to town life. he has built up a wonderful estate for himself about 30 miles

out and comes in daily to the Ministry and returns to throw off his town clothes and throw himself into the business of laying out grounds, altering walls and windows and gates and what not. If he is really 72 as they say, it is superhuman, but perhaps it is the double life that keeps him young. You would love the place about 500 coffee trees and the hillside waving with bananas as far as you can see and every kind of fruit and vegetable; there seems to be nothing you cannot grow in Kenya.

I went round with him to two or three outlying meetings; it was delightful to see how the people began dancing and singing with spontaneous glee when his car was recognised on the road. He is a superb orator.

The Africans have a very practical down-to-earth mentality, they lack, perhaps too much that passion for explaining themselves to a stranger in general terms, which made a visit to eve-of-independence India so exciting to a foreigner. But the zest is there and a joyous expectant feeling, in spite of the problems to be solved and an immense feeling for African Unity.

Yours
DINAH.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P. Camp : NIDUBROLU, A.P.
3-10-1962.

Dear Mr. Read,

Thank you for your note and also the call to a convention for adopting a World Constitution. I think that such isolated moves by private individuals like us and a few Ministers of a few Governments who have so far been admitted as members of the United Nations Organisation will not be effective nor can they influence world public opinion.

I am sure you would have known by now through your experience of the response obtained so far to your call from various Governments that so few Governments are willing to make themselves responsible for the drafting of the proposed World Constitution. Therefore I think it would be best for such of us as are interested in the evolution of the World Government, to canvass our various suggestions for the reform of United Nations Constitution and circularise our thoughts through articles etc., among the World Press; so that in course of time Statesmen, Scholars and leaders of Governments may come to adopt some of our suggestions and sponsor amendments to the United Nations Constitution. I am giving extracts* from my letter to Senator Neal Bishop for your information. I hope your Committee will find it possible to co-operate, if not merge with that.

Yours sincerely,

RANGA.

* EXTRACTS

I agree with you that this confusion between different Committees which stand for World Government is harming our movement. You should do some thing to prevent this confusion.

Recently our National leader, the oldest and most experienced Statesman Mr. Rajagopalachary, popularly known as 'RAJAJI' has gone with the good wishes of our P. M. Jawaharlal to the United States, United Kingdom, France and Rome as the Leader of the 'Gandhi Peace Commission' and met M/s. President Kennedy, Premier Macmillan, President De Gaulle and the Pope to protest against the Nuclear tests. I expected some of you of the United States group to meet him and discuss the prospects for the proposed World Constitutional Convention.

I have already informed you that our Committee can only function as a Catalytic for the movement for World

Government but not as leader for the representatives of various Governments to bring into existence World Constitutions Convention. I do not think that the Present day world conditions are in any way similar to what prevailed when the American Constitutional Convention was convened, at the Foundation of the United States. I hope you will reorient the thinking for the proposed convention.

Sofar as our people in India are concerned, at this present juncture, they are much concerned with the Chinese crisis. But I hope that in the light of growing support moral and material from the Western Democracies to our Government, the attitude of Nehru and others of the ruling Party and the Democratic Opposition may become more and more friendly towards the idea of World Government.

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SRI PRAKASA

"HOUSE VEERANA"
9, Ballupur, Chakrata Road,
October 5, 1962.

My dear Ranga,

Many thanks for your kind letter of September 23. I was happy to get it. It brought a flood of happy memories of dear old days that will never come back. I feel happy indeed that friends & colleagues like to remember me & continue to be kind. I am now here living in peaceful retirement, and utilising my time in quiet reading & writing. I have been writing for the Press a great deal, and I am rather inspired at the attention my articles have drawn. I have received dozens of letters. Yours is particularly welcome. I agree that after our Zamindars has been ruined & abolished. Government has no business to charge anything from the tenants. They have already got everything. I am glad you are ready to abolish all Land Revenue when you

come in power. We should now only have Congress. I wish the name unchanged-and Swatantra Party, all others should go. We shall then have good & stable Government. Rajaji seems to be doing wonders at this age.

I hope all is well with the family and yourself.

With best regards
Sincerely,
SRI PRAKASA

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Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

NEW DELHI.
23rd November, 1962.

My dear Shri Kanungo,

Apropos Starred question No. 348. May I take it that it is the policy and practice of Government to give every possible encouragement, assistance and co-operation to the Licensees in their efforts to develop the enterprises and manufacturers, for which they are given the licences and not to simply sit back, once licences are given and await the development to be achieved by the licensees and be on the lookout to favour any new applicant, in case the licensees fail to develop the manufacturing plant during the period specified.

I am obliged to put this query because I have come to know that some State Governments obstruct some of the licensees, go back upon their earlier offers of support and the Union Govt has not been too anxious to help the licensees.

Yours sincerely.
N. G. RANGA

Shri Nityananda Kanungo,
Hon'ble the Minister of Industries in the Ministry of Commerce & Industry,
153, Udyog Bhavan, NEW DELHI.

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INDUSTRIAL LICENSES

703–Nov. '62.
Government of India,
Minister of Industry.
NEW DELHI, 24th November, 1962.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Your letter of the 23rd instant. While considering the proposals for licence under Industries (Development and Regulation Act) all factors relating to the feasibility of the project and the capacity of the entrepreneur is taken into consideration. In the process of consideration the State Governments representatives are associated with the discussions. No licence is granted unless State Government certifies about the availability of power and availability of raw materials, if such has to be obtained on lease from the State Government. In other words, all the conditions necessary for successful implementation of a licence are considered prior to the granting of a licence. We are not anxious to cancel Licences. In fact, we have been accused sometimes with being more accommodating than we should be. Therefore, the assumption that "we are on the look out to favour any new applicant in case the licenses fail to develop the manufacturing plant during the period specified" is not at all correct.

I have not come across any instance where the State Government have taken any obstructive attitude. In fact State Governments sponsor more projects than can be accommodated within the targets set for a particular plan Period.

Yours sincerely,

NITYANANDA KANUNGO.

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N. G. RANGA,

44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI,
D/ 24-11-62

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I wish to draw your attention to Circular number 23/OD-7/57/17491-issued by the All India Congress Committee. It is highly objectionable and it alleges that the Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh are attacking you What is even worse it identified you with the Country and says that whoever criticises you is a traitor to the Country. I am giving herein below the relevant extract from that Circular and a press cutting.

> "A campaign against the Government is carried on by some interested parties particularly the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra party and sometimes even the Prime Minister is attacked. It is wrong to permit opposition parties to take advantage of the emergency for throwing mud against the Congress. Extensive tours must be undertaken by prominent leaders, especially by the Office-bearers of the Congress Committee. Meetings big and small throughout all the districts should be held. Positive stand against the criticism about the Prime Minister should be taken up.It must be emphasised that those who criticise him are traitors."

Knowing you, as I do, I feel sure you would have no hesitation to dissociate yourself from this objectionable and insupportable attitude of the Congress. So I feel A.I.C.C. must have drafted this circular in its over enthusiasm for you and you would not have approved of it if you had been consulted before it was issued.

Anyhow this attempt on the part of the A. I. C. C., to develop its own version of Personality cult by exploiting your intimate association with it and to make your personality convertible with that of Mother India and thento castigate any party as traitors because we are performing our legitimate and responsible function of criticising, in the interest of the country, some of your policies as you happened to be the Prime Minister. It is not proper for your party to exhort its members and organisers to treat us as traitors. This becomes an inexcusable and insufferable offence as it emanates from the Governmental party especially when the Government wants us all in parliament to agree to the Defense of India Bill which seeks to give almost totalitarian powers to your Government. Therefore, I request you to express your disapproval of this circular.

I have already had an occasion to refer to this circular on the floor of the Lok Sabha in my speech on the Defence of India Bill.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

Shri. Pandit. JAWAHARLAL NEHRUJI,
Prime Minister,
Government of India, NEW DELHI.

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No. 2080-PMH/62

Prime Minister's House,
NEW DELHI.
November 27, 1962.

My dear Ranga,

Your letter of the 24th November.

I was not aware of any circular issued by the A. I. C. C. of the kind you have mentioned. I quite agree with

you that it was very improper to describe members of the Jan Sangh and swatantra Party as traitors, or indeed anyone who criticises me.

I must say, however, that some members of the Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh have made very irresponsible statements.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri N. G. RANGA, M. P.
44, Western Court, NEW DELHI.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI.
D/28-11-1962

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Thank you for your reply dated 27 th.

I am glad you dissociate yourself from the tenor and conclusions of the A.I.C.C. Circular. It is a pity that you did not take the trouble to send for it and advise them to withdraw it publicly.

Regarding your observations that 'some' members of our party have made irresponsible statements. I have to say that unfortunately it applies to all parties in their relations to each other.

I am sure you agree that it is our duty as the leaders of our respective parties to see such Party Circulars do not commit the same mistake 'some' individual members do.

May I have your permission to release this correspondence to the Press in view of the publication of the A.I.C.C. Circular?

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

Shri JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
Prime Minister.

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REPLY

NEW DELHI,
November 29th 1962

My dear Ranga,

Your letter of the 28th November. You can publish our correspondence in the Press.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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Government of India
Ministry of Steel & Heavy Industries
(Department of Iron & Steel)
NEW DELHI, the 28th November 1962.

From
Shri M. C. MISRA,
Duputy Secretary to the Government of India,

To
Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.
44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your letter of the 16th November, 1962 to Minister of Steel and Heavy Industries, regarding

supply of steel for the manufacture of implements for the agriculturists. Supply of steel for this purposes, has already been accorded priority.

Yours faithfully,
M. C. MISTRA
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

343

D. O. No. DW. II. 5287/62
Minister for Irrigation & Power India.
NEW DELHI,
December 18th, 1962.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Your letter dated the 6th of December, 1962 regarding digging and deepending of wells and repairing of tanks in the Palar and Pennar river basins. The subject concerns the Ministry of Food & Agriculture (Department of Agriculture) for necessary action.

Yours sincerely,
HAFIZ MOHAMMED IBRAHIM

344

DURING CHINESE INVASION

J. B. KRIPALANI Confidential Not for Publication

Gandhi Ashram.
Shahnajaf Road,
LUCKNOW.
December 29, 1962.

My dear Ranga,

There is a widespread feeling that a few friends representative of various trends of thought in the country should get together to consider the grave situation in which the

nation has been placed and the manner in which its affairs are being handled to-day. I have been pressed by friends to t ke the initiative in arranging for a small informal meeting of this nature. Its deliberations will not bind the party to which you may belong. I would like to know if it will be possible for you to attend such a meeting, to be held in Delhi some time in the last week of January.

A list of those whom I am inviting is attached herewith. An immediate line in reply will oblige.

With best wishes and regards.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. KRIPALANI.

List of Names :-

I) Dr. Rajendra Prasad 2 Sri Rajagopala Chari 3) Prafulla Ghosh 4) Sri Jaiprakash Narain 5) Sri N. G. Ranga 6) Sri Ram Manohar Lohia 7) Sri Ganga Saran Sinha 8) Sri M. R. Masani 9) Sri Raghu Vira 10) General Kariappa 11) Sri J. B. Kripalani 12) Sri M. S. Aney.

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Tenneti Viswanatham, M. L. A., (A. P.)

110, New M.L.A. Hostel,
HYDERABAD,
D/ 8-1-1963

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I am very glad to note the great part you played in bringing home to Panditji his unwisdom in trusting dubious friends. However what he has done is not enough. In fact he should have followed up the help offered by U.S.A. & U.K. To accept or not to accept that is his question - accepting late is not of great use as meanwhile our enemies will have time to strengthen themselves for this.

Anyway let us trust everything is for our good.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,
TENNETI VISWANATHAM.

346

COLOMBO PROPOSALS RE. CHINESE CEASE-FIRE

Statement Made by Prof. N. G. Ranga, and other opposition leaders in Lok Sabha on 25th January, 1963 Re. Chinese Invasion of India.

We have understood by Parliamentry practice that when any motion is talked out, it means that Parliament is not committed to the policy or programme indicated by the Motion thus talked out. But surprisingly enough, the Prime Minister seems to be definitely of the contrary impression that, by talking out this Motion and by the Government not moving the House to accept they would consider themselves as being authorised to proceed on the basis of their September 8th proposals as now considered to be more or less the Colombo proposals. This seeks to pervert the well understood Parliamentary principle. In these changed circumstances we must state categorically that the Parliament never gave its unanimous approval to the Prime-Minister's cease fire proposal on the basis of September 8th, 1962 lines of occupation and that by the resolution accepted by the House on the 14th November, no approval was given to these proposals nor are we now prepared to give to quote the Prime Minister's own words "the authority to carry on the policy" Government have been pursuing in this matter. So, we would like to inform the Prime Minister in advance of his reply to-day, that we do not accept the Colombo proposals in principle or his earlier date line of 8th September for cease-fire, that we deem it would be national humiliation to accept the Colombo proposals and we urge that they be rejected by Government and Parliament.

We trust that the Prime Minister and Government would not allow themselves to be taken in, and weaken our resolve to strengthen our Armed Forces. We want the Government to assure the nation that they stand firmly by the policy clearly enunciated by Parliament in the resolutions unanimously adopted and with redoubled vigour, so that the spirit of National Resistance would not at all be allowed to be weakened by the latest Chinese tactical manoeuvres.

We hope that Parliament will be kept in Session and be informed at every stage.

We also hope that the friendly Countries which have so readily and generously offered help would continue to speed up their assistance on a massive scale.

Prime Minister
D/ 21-11-1962

N. G. RANGA
RAM SEVAK YADEV
H. V. KAMATH
M. S. ANEY
ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYI

Only extracts

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Camp :
8th Feb. 1963.

My dear Shri Nanda/Shri Patil,

I wish to draw your attention to the article contributed by Sri K. Brahmananda Reddi, the Finance Minister of Andhra Pradesh on 8 Curse of famine in Rayalaseema' published in "The Hindu" of 7th February 1963.

This article echoes the sentiments and thoughts of so many of us who have been pressing for the protection of famine ridden Rayalaseema during the past 30 years It was in response to our agitation that the then Madras Government established the Rayalaseema Economic Development Board.*But it had neither powers nor finances for initiating and executing any famine protection schems. Even that Board came to be abolished a few years back.

I would like to remind you of the attempt made by the Union Government during the tenure of Sri Jayaramdas Daulatram as Food & Agriculture Minister to improve the conditions of Ajmer and Marwar through the activities of the statutorily established Development Board. It was during the discussion on that Bill that both myself and Sri Anantasayanam Ayyangar pleaded for the constitution of a similar Board for Rayalaseema also and the Minister gave an assurance that a similar Board would be established in Rayalaseema in the light of the experience to be gained from the Ajmeer Board. Unfortunately nothing has been done by the Union Government till now to protect Rayalaseema.The Thungabhadra Project (High Level & Low Level) has only protected certain portions of this vast land; Sri Reddi's article is proof enough for the crying need for more effective and extensive steps for protecting this area from the recurrence and ravages of periodical famines.

* It is interesting to note that Rangaji hastened to strengthen this suggestion of Shri Brahmananda Reddi, though they belonged to rival political parties, because he believed in Constructive Co-operation over peoples' needs and projects, irrespective of Party differences.

Rangaji pleaded for long for Rayalaseema Development Board and as a result the Board has come to be established. It has proved a constructive precedent for similar Boards with effective powers for the development of such backward areas in all States. (Ed.(

I therefore request you to consider this crying need for protection of this area in all its aspects and develop a plan for financial and other assistance to be given to a special authority to be constituted for this specific purpose in the light of the considered suggestions made by the local Andhra Finance Minister. I am addressing this letter to i) Planning Commission ii) Finance Minister: iii) Food and Agriculture Minister and iv) Minister for Small Scale Industries, Union Government and the Finance Minister, Government of Andhra Pradesh in the hope that all of them would be good enough to consult with each other and prepare a comprehensive scheme for the protection and reconstruction of the economy of this area.

In fact similar schemes have come to be needed for similarly famine affected areas in Telengana, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan and also the Himalayan Border Districts in Basti Division of Utter Pradesh.

Yours affectionatcly,
N. G. RANGA

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K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI
Minister, Finance & Co.-op.

HYDERABAD
D/ 12 Feb. 1963.

Dear Sri Rangaji,

Your kind letter dated 8th February referring to my article in 'HINDU' regarding 'Famine'. I am glad that you echo my sentiments and thoughts on the matter. I have sent my article to Sri Nandaji for consideration by the Planning Commission. I thank you for the interest you have taken in the matter.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI.

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PC/HD/5/63 - 233 - 2045
Minister of Labour &
Employment and Planning
NEW DELHI.
13th February, 1963.

My dear Shri Ranga,

I thank you for your letter of the 8th February, 1963 regarding the development of irrigation in the Rayalaseema area. I have also seen the article contributed by Shri Brahmananda Reddi. I am getting it examined and will write to you again.

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
G. L. NANDA.

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* Regarding the same representation, Shri S. K. Patil, Minister for Food and Agriculture also replied on 16th February 1963 that they would get the suggestions examined. (Ed.)

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PREVENT ALIENATION OF HOSPITAL LAND

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.
President, Swatantra Party.

NEW DELHI,
4-3-1963.

My dear Lal Bahadurji,

I hope your trip, to Nepal would yield some good results.

I am enclosing a wire received from one Mr. Valentin Mendes of Goa for your consideration. Please prevent alienation of hospital land.

Yours sincerely,
RANGA

COPY OF THE TELEGRAM

Prevent Big Loss by Disallowing Sale To Salgaocer Brother For 18 Thousand Rupees Government Ground Originally Reserved For Hospital in Mormugao Central Zone 3,964 Square Metres with over 5 Lakhs. Order Immediate Enquiry.

Valentin Mendes of Health Department.

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NATIONAL DISCIPLINE

J. K. BHONSLE,
Director-General.

D.O.No.F.1 (36)/63-NDS-P I.
Directorate of National Discipline Scheme
Ministry of Education
INDIA.
C-24, Defence Colony.
NEW DELHI. 20th March, 1963.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

We are celebrating the National Discipline Scheme Day on Tuesday the 26th March, 1963 at 5-30 P.M. at the National Stadium, New Delhi. 680 Boys and girls drawn from eleven States of India, who are receiving training under the National Discipline Scheme would be coming to Delhi specially to participate in the Celebration. The programme which is likely to last three hours will include drill, Physical training, patriotic songs designed to instil a sense of unity and patriotic fervour in the younger generation and a variety programme depicting the cultural heritage of India.

It would be a source of great encouragement and inspiration to the trainees if you could make it convenient to

attend this function. A formal invitation would be sent to you in due course.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
J. K. BHONSLE,

Prof. N. G Ranga, NEW DELHI.

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Home Minister, India.
NEW DELHI,
21st/23rd March, 1963.

Dear Prof. Rangaji,

I have received your letter of the 4th March, 1963 wherein you have given a copy of the telegram sent by one Mr. Valentin Mendes of Goa. Thank you for the same.

Yours sincerely,
LAL BAHADUR.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.
44, Western Court, NEW DELHI.

353

LOHIA ON NEFA DEFENCES

New Delhi,
23-3-1963.

My dear Shri Y. B. Chavan,

I am herewith sending three bits of information and observations from Shri Ram Manonar Lohia, the Leader of the Socialist Party who writes to me from Dibrugarh (20-3-1963) for your information.

Extracts from Sri Ram Manohar Lohia's Letter

Here are some additional bits of information, (I) The Tejpur airport, which is under the control of the Air force,

was not functioning on Twentieth November Midnight, 1962. Civilian Pilots made their landings without direction from controls Panic seems to have overtaken the air force. It may be recalled that the Chinese were hundred miles away from Tejpur and had declared Ceasefire or were about to.

(2) From eighteenth to twentieth massive troop reinforcements were flown in at Mohanbari, Dibrugarh. The Military Command was too bewildered to make any effective use of them. Some say Walong had fallen before the eighteenth, that is why the bewilderment. That is a funny way of waging battles. As a sidelight, a people's group of Dibrugarh sank a tube well at Mohanbari on eighteenth midnight, for troops did not have enough drinking water. That much for the organisation of administration and military.

3) I have heard it said that British battles were won on the Playgrounds of Eton and Harrow. That may or may not be true, but Indian battles have been lost in the rooms of Hyderabad and Mussorie Staff Colleges or Kadakvasala and Dehradoon Military Colleges. The Hyderabad Staff College spends, over Rs. 3,000/- (three thousand) on each student. The student, who is an administrator of some sort, learns how to be smart and spend money with ease. That seems to be the prevailing doctrine for all administrative and Military Colleges.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

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No.477-DM(c)/63
MINISTER OF DEFENCE
NEW DELHI,
April 1, 1963

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I thank you for your letter of 23rd March and the extracts from Shri Lohia's letter.

With best wishes.

Yours faithfully,
Y. B. CHAVAN.

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865-FM/63
FINANCE MINISTER
New Delhi,
1st April. 1963.

My dear Ranga,

Please refer to your letter of 24th March 1963 regarding the request of people of Indian origin in Burma that they might be allowed to bring Rs.100/- in Indian Currency when visiting India. As you are no doubt aware, we have imposed these restrictions with a view to further tightening up the leakage of foreign exchange. You will appreciate that it is not possible to accede to the request when the import of Indian currency notes has been banned and when it is not even known as to how the persons concerned came to be in possession of Indian Currency. However, the matter is under examination in consultation with our Embassy in Rangoon.

Yours sincerely,
MORARJI DESAI

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P.

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New Delhi,
2nd April, 1963.

My dear Shrimati Lakshmi Menon,

I have received to-day the following cable from the Burma Tamil Calcutta Society. I request you to take necessary steps to help them in time. I may say I have received another a week ago complaining about the difficulty experienced by them in bringing back their Rupees in view of the Reserve Bank's new regulation. I have written about that to Shri Morarjibhai Desai.

Yours sincerely,
RANGA-

To

Shrimathi Lakshmi Menon,
Hon'ble Minister of State
in the External Affairs,
Government of India, NEW DELHI.

COPY OF THE CABLE
Rangoon. 126/118.

Professor. Ranga, MP, Parliament Building, NEW DELHI.

Considerable number of middle labour class Indians are desirous of leaving Burma due to no earnings whatsoever. Many are without passports. Pray our Government to issue emergency certificates without unnecessary queries and delays. Urge to ply steamers to Rangoon Calcutta Madras. Direct Reserve Bank to lift ban imposed on bringing in Indian Currency.

BURMA TAMIL CALCUTTA SOCIETY.

357

WELLS FOR ANANTAPUR

NEW DELHI,

3-4-1963

My dear Shri Srimannarayan,

I learn that Shri Vikramadeva of Kotalapalli in Gooty Taluk of Anantapur district has made certain representations to you suggesting that the Government should try and tap under-ground water by installing a few Tube-wells upto a depth of 400 Feet in that chroincally famine ridden area.

I know this area. My hopes of this area being irrigated nder the high-level channel to be taken from the Tungabhadra Dam have not come to be realised. Therefore, the only possibility for protection from famine for the local people lies in the development of Tube Wells irrigation.

I request you to take necessary steps to get this possibility of being irrigated, investigated.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

Rigs are sent in 1974 to develop deep wells, (Ed)

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PC/M (A)–25/63
Planning Commission
NEW DELHI
April 4, 1963.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Thanks for your letter of 3rd April. I am myself deeply worried about the irrigational difficulties of the Anantapur District. I am discussing this matter with the technical experts of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and will take up this matter with the Andhra Pradesh Government when I go there on the 18th of this month. We will try to do all that is possible to provide this area with suitable irrigation.

With greetings.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN NARAYAN

359

Minister In The
Ministry of External Affairs,
NEW DELHI.
4th April, 1963.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 2nd April, 1963. As you know, there is very little that we can do regarding the restrictions imposed by the Burmese Government. However, we are taking up the matter with our Embassy. Regarding the deputation of a Mission it is not necessary as we are fully apprised of what is happening through our Ambassador there who is also a Tamil. Since

you have already taken it up with Morarjibhai I am sure special customs facilities might be given to people who want to come to India.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,

LAKSHMI N. MENON

360

Minister, Commerce & Industry, India.
NEW DELHI.
April 6, 1963.

My dear Shri Ranga,

Please refer to your letter dated the 22nd March, 1963 regarding the supervisory scheme for sale and delivery of Indian cotton.

2. I enclose a note which explains the correct position regarding the scheme and also deals with the points raised in your letter. My Colleague Manubhai Shah would also be glad to explain to you at your early convenience any points of detail on which you may like to have clarification.

With regards.

Yours Sincerely.

K. C. REDDY.

N. G. Ranga, M. P.
44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI.

361

B. Ramachandra Reddi, Ex-M. P.
President,
Andhra Swatantra Party.

Buchi Reddi Palem
24-4-1963.

My dear Professor,

Badvel (Bye-election) has failed us and shocked us. Purse & Power have succeeded once again over democracy and Principles.

What are the details & implications of amending article 31 of the Constitution to bring in Ryotwari under the definition of Estate ? What is the action we can take ?

Hope this finds you in good health and Cheer.

Yours sincerely,
B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI

362

NIDUBROLU,
5-7-1963.

My dear Rajaji,

I have sent invitations to all the leaders of the different Democratic Groups in Parliament to meet on the 12th August at New Delhi to exchange thoughts regarding the questions that would come up for consideration in Parliament during the first week.

In his reply Shri P. K. Deo has made his Observations:

I am glad, that you have laid stress on the minimum demand for Good Government, as the basis for comradeship between the Democratic Groups.

The Patnaik and Mahtab duel over the Serajuddin affair threatens to unearth some more of the scandals of this Congress political immorality. The recent reports of the charges and counter charges made by ministers and ex-ministers and other MLA's in Andhra and Punjab indicate how callously the Congress ministers are misusing their powers and opportunities to wreak vengeance against each other, not to speak of their partisan misuse of Governmental authority.

We have to rouse the national conscience against this dishonourable governmental leadership, which threatens to destroy the faith of the people in any standards of public life and political decencies.

I trust that you are in good cheer.

362 A

SEVENTEENTH AMENDMENT BILL

NIDUBROLU,
5-7-1963.

My dear Rajaji.

But we will immediately be faced with this Seventeenth Amendment Bill. So much depends upon the readiness or otherwise of the SP and PSP to oppose this bill. Let us hope that they and Shri Kripalani would decide to oppose this pernicious Bill.

Thank you for having published in "Swarajya" the relevant portions of my letter on the 17th Amendment to the constitution threatening to confiscete Ryotwari holdings also. I am trying to write to some of our State leaders to develop their local campaigns. I request you to give the needed advice to Madras State leader and President, when they meet you.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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(i) Campaign against 17th Amendment

(ii) Extract from "Swarajya" of 6-6-1963

Acharya N. G. Ranga writes from Nidubrolu under the date June 27, 1963.

I hope all those who are interested in the Welfare and freedom of our people will study carefully the full implications of the seventeenth amendment to the constitution introdueed in Parliament on 6th May last.

To the definition of "Estate" given in article 31-A the following new items are sought to be added, (i) any land

held under Ryotwari settlement (ii) any land held or let for purposes of agriculture or for purposes ancillary to including waste land, land for pasture and sites for buildings and other structures occupied by cultivators, agricultural labourers and village artisans.

In the Third clause which deals with the ninth schedule to the constitution from the 21st Andhra Pradesh Estates (Abolition and conversion into Ryotwari) Act 1948 to the 143rd the Manipur land revenue and land reforms Act 1960 as many as 123 new Acts are to be included, thus extending the protection article 31-A to all those so-called land reforms, ceiling of legislation and extending also the sphere of public 'purposes' as envisaged by the plans and as accepted by the Supreme Court.

Since co-operative farming comes within the purview of Public 'purpose' as envisaged by the plans and planning commission and as embraced by the decision of the Supreme Court, peasants holdings are in danger of being notified as coming within the sphere activity of any co-operative farming society and peasants being presented with the alternatives of either pooling their lands with the co-operative farm or being offered the compensation fixed by a Land Tribunal for complusorily acquiring them for the farm. Of course the Courts are to be kept out of the proceedings. The compesnation may be prescribed as so many times the land revenue, as has been fixed by Bombay and other legislations, the Tribunal having the power to settle the exact amount. It is likely to be only a nominal amount, when compared to what a peasant is now entitled to under the compulsory Land Acquisition act with all the protection of the Courts, viz the market value.

I am afraid that item (iii) seeks to bring even the agricultural workers within its mischief by denying them the hope of getting Government waste lands allotted to them.

We must fight this mischievous attempt to undermine the stability of peasant proprietorship, to force peasants

to join collective farm, to destroy the present rural economy based upon land values and self - employment, and to deny the right of peasants to lease out their lands for temporary periods to obtain medical treatment, get their children educated in towns or take rest in old age with the fear of their lands being taken over either by a co-operative farm or tenants.

I am of the opinion that we should ask in parliament for circulation of the bill, demand its reference to a select committee with power to call witnesses. Pessants should organise Marches during all this period upto its final passage through parliament. Groups in state legislatures should table resolution asking Parliament not to pass the Bill and demanding the Union Government to withdraw the Bill.

Bar Councils and Bar Associations should protest against this bill and defend at least the rights of Ryotwari holders of land, which were conceived as fundamental by the framers of the constitution.

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TO RAILWAY MINISTER

RY. WAGON SUPPLIES FOR RICE MOVEMENT

NIDUBROLU,
17-7-'63.

My dear Swaran Singhji,

I am surprised to find that though the Rice Procurment Officers of the Central Government have procured rice with the help of the local Government Officers and the co-operation of the Factory Owners and have indented for wagons sufficient supplies of them are not made available and even the wagons which have come to be supplied and loaded are kept waiting in local Railway Stations (in Vijayawada right upto Chirala to the South and Tadepalli

gudeum to the North) thus causing so much loss to the Factory owners the Railways and the Consumers.

Only a week ago, your Deputy Minister was trying to assure Andhra Public that every effort is being made to remove such mismanagement. You can see from the enclosed cutting from the most important daily Andhra Patrika (You may get it translated) that while the procurement officers have asked for 75 wagons a day, only 25 have been offered by the Railways I may say that this failure of the Railways to maintain a satisfactory supply of wagons according to the proved needs and demands of this Rice Bowl area has been almost chronic.

I request you to do something urgently to relieve this shortage of wagons and see that their supply is regulated more systematically and adequately.

Yours Sincerely,
RANGA

Copy to: Shri S. K Patil,
Food Minister.

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TEST BAN TREATY

NIDUBROLU
24-7-1963.

My dear Rajaji,

Congratutalions upon the development of your "flowerful" hopes into "fruitful" treaty over the Test Ban. *

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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* A few months after that memorable representation by Rajaji of the claims of the non-involved millions, Rajaji's draft proved to be the basis for the Test Ban Treaty signed by Kennedy and Khruschev. Thus Rajaji's flowerful hope proved fruitful. (Ed,)

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POST-CARD CAMPAIGN

NIDUBROLU,
24-7-1963.

My dear Rajaji,

The Post Card petition campaign against 17th Amendment is gaining momentum in these Andhra Districts. The Lok Sabha Secretariat have been receiving large numbers of these Post Card petitions. I hope our Madras Unit is also getting busy over this.

Jinraj Hegde has written to say that the Convention against Amendment will be held only on the 6th August and not on the 5th.

I hope you received a copy of the leaflet published in English by Sardar Basant Singh on this Bill. He is quite dynamic. I am sure he will build up this Campaign there.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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MINISTER FOR FOOD AND AGRICULTURE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

NEW DELHI
July 22, 1963.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I am very glad to receive your letter of 17th instant. You need not be worried over the 'threats' that I gave to the trade in my talk. Sometimes they over-step the mark and make it impossible for me to keep friendly with them. You know it very well that I am not a lover of controls and

rationing in any sense. I am more than convinced that such remedies will be worse than the disease itself. But sometimes these threats go a long way in bringing back the discipline among the traders. I have been very appreciative of your attitude towards my food and agricultural policy. I am sure I shall always deserve it. There is no change either in me or my policy. I shall discuss the details with you when you arrive here. I hope you are keeking well.

With my kindest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. K. PATIL

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
Member of Parliament, Nidubrolu.

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GODAVARI ROAD-RAIL BRIDGE

Dr. K. L. Rao

Minister For Irrigation & Power
INDIA
NEW DELHI,
August 1, 1963.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for your kind letter of the 27th of July. I am grateful to you for the encouragement you have given me.

Regarding the rail-cum-road bridge at Rajahmundry, we shall together pursue the matter when you come here.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
K. L. RAO

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.

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Shri V. P. Menon, Former Secretary of States,
Ministry Of India Observed on 6-8-1963
At The Convention of Southern States
Against 17th Amendment

I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. N G Ranga. He has spent his entire public life working for the independent peasant and the self-employed craftsmen. The subject which we are to discuss to-day, a direct threat to the small property owner, is one in which he has a very close interest.*

* While inviting Rangaji to preside over the Peasants Conference of Southern States to protest against the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, Shri Menon made the above observations.(Ed.)

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MILITARY ACADEMIES

868-DM(C)/63
MINISTER OF FINANCE
NEW DELHI.
8th August, 1963.

Dear Professor Ranga,

You may recall that during the discussion in the Lok Sabha on Defence Estimates, you had mentioned that there should be more military academies and training institutions. I am enclosing a note showing the steps taken by the three Services for meeting our anticipated training commitments.

I may furthur add that training facilities available are constantly under review and steps are taken to meet demands for additional training facilities as they arise.

With regards,

Yours Sincerely,
Y. B. CHAVAN

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
44, Western Court, NEW DELHI.

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Peasants against 17th Amendment.

Dharm Singh Rathi

PANIPAT
21-8-1963.

Respected Rangaji,

Recieved your kind letter dated 19-8-1963 and I warmly thank you for the same. We are already doing our best against the 17 Constitution Amendment Bill, 1963. We have already sent resolutions against this Amendment from all Constituency Units as well as from District Units to the Government of India. Now you have suggested a post-card campaign in this connection I assure you that Haryana will do maximum possible efforts in the Campaign and you would find more such post-cards than from Punjabi Region. After 10th September you may kindly see with the Secretary Lok Sabha what Haryana has done in this behalf.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,
DHARM SINGH RATHI

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
44 Western Court, NEW DELHI.

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CITIES SWALLOW UP PEASANTS' LANDS

No. 2032-PMH/63

Prime Minister's House
NEW DELHI.
August 27, 1963.

My Dear Ranga,

Your letter of the 26th August about the Ghaziabad peasants.

I have been interested in this matter for some years now. They have come to me repeatedly and every time I have given them such help as I could. On this occasion also I have met them.

When they first came to me, a large area, about 35,000 acres or so had been decided upon for acquisition for the Master Plan (This Master Plan has nothing to do with the Planning Commission). We succeeded then in having this reduced to 6,000 acres or so. Furthur instructions were issued about the avoidance, as far as possible, of good agricultural land and certain criteria of judging compensation.

Later these people came to me again. Thereupon I referred the matter to Ram Subhag Singh, Minister of Agriculture, who paid personal visits to these areas in Ghaziabad. Another step I took was to appoint Amir Raza who is a special Officer in the Planning Commission and who is particularly acquainted with agricultural conditions in the U. P. Amir Raza was sent to Ghaziabad to enquire and he spent some time there. He came back and presented a report to me which I forwarded to the Chief Minister of U. P. Some of his recommendations were not accepted on the plea that they would be against the present law on the subject. Meanwhile a number of peasants have accepted the compensation that is being offered by the U. P. Government. I have again reminded the Chief Minister of U. P. to finalise this matter quickly.

I do not know what more I could do in this matter. It is true that peasants who are uprooted from their lands suffer. In the present case, quite apart from the Master Plan, these lands adjoining Delhi are being acquired by private people who wish to make money out of them. In any event, the peasants are going to lose this land. The only question is of the quantum of compensation. Living near Delhi these peasants come here repeatedly and exer-

cise pressure. Many other peasants who live far from Delhi cannot do so.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.

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Pucca Bagh
JULLUNDUR CITY
30th August, 1963.

My dear Prof. Rangaji,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 17th Aug. 1963. I have read the pamphlets and the other matter concerning the 17th Amendment in the Constitution. I assure you that I will certainly write in my paper about it at the appropriate time.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely
JAGAT NARAIN
(Editor.)

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.
44, Western Court, NEW DELHI-1.

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Ratibhai Ukabbai Patel, M. L. A. M. A. LL. B.
Hathikhana Road,
RAJKOT. 1-9-1963.

Dear Ranga Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 20th August 1963.

We have already started campaign to reach Peasants and persuade them to send petitions to the Speaker of Lok Sabha & the Prime Minister of India. Copies of such

petitions signed by about 5,000 peasants are already submitted on 24th September at the time of our Conference held at Junagadh.

Kindly send us further instructions regarding this 17th Amendment, so that we can cultivate Public opinion in effective manner.

Thanking you for your valuable guidance.

Yours sincerely,
R. U. PATEL.

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No. 2095-PMH/63

Prime Minister"s House
NEW DELHI
September 1, 1963.

My dear Ranga,

On the 14th August you wrote to me about the Constitution (Seventeenth) Amendment Bill. * I sent your letter to Nandaji. He has replied sending me a brief note on the subject. I am sending you this note.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

Professor, N. G. Ranga, M. P.
44 Western Court, NEW DELHI.

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* This Seventeenth Amendment Bill sought to place the Peasants' holdings on the same footing as the Estates of the Zamindars and Talukdars and abolish and expropriate them by paying nominal compensation. Rangaji took cudgels against this unjust move and warned Jawaharlalji that his move was contrary to the pledges given by himself and Dr. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly that the Peasants under Ryetwari System would not be treated in the same way as the Zamindars. A Nation-wide Protest Campaign was organised by Rangaji with the aid of the Swatantra Party, which was founded primarily for Peasants Protection. The result was that the Peasants' holdings below the Ceiling levels came to be exempted from the near-confiscatory rigours of that Bill. (Ed)

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S. SAMBHU PRASAD Ex-M. P.
Editor, Andhra Patrika

MADRAS.
7-9-1963.

Dear Ranga garu,
Namasthe.

I note what you write about the proposed 17th Amendment (to Constitution). The Prime Minister thinks that Socialism comes and establishes itself by just talking about it. Some one rightly said about him. "He treats India as a Crowd". As a Socialist he is an outdated one.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
S SAMBHU PRASAD.

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Post-Card Petitions to Parliament.

LOK SABHA

Summaries of Representations Regarding the Constitution (Seventeenth Amendment) Bill, 1963, Received in the Lok Sabha Secretariat and Placed in Parliament Library For Reference By Members

1) 33,714 further representations from various persons, bodies etc. (6,765 from Andhra Pradesh; 19 from Bihar; 16,301 from Gujarat; 4 from Maharashtra; 3,226 from Mysore; 1,483 from Orissa; 280 from Punjab; 152 from Rajasthan; and 945 from Uttar Pradesh) opposing the Bill They request that the Bill be dropped.

2) Representation dated 24th August, 1963, from Shri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde, General Secretary, All India Agricul-

turists' Federation, Mangalore, putting forth arguments and objections against the Bill e.g. insufficient publicity to the Bill, retrospective effect, non-justiciability of compensation, references to debates on the Constitution First and Fourth Amendment Bills, connotations of estate and RYOTWARI. He has also enclosed a comparative statement showing provisions in the Madras Act No. 58 of 1961, Mysore Act No. 10 of 1962 and Kerala Agrarian Relations Act of 1960. He requests that the Bill be dropped.

M. N. KAUL,
Secretary.

NEW DELHI;
11th September, 1963.

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Swatantra Party Parliamentary Office

PARTY CIRCULAR

53, North Avenue,
NEW DELHI, 14-9-1963.

Dear Sir,

It is for your information that 62,000 petitions in all have been received upto 13th September 1963. This Bill is scheduled for discussion in the Lok Sabha on Wednesday, the 18th September for reference to the Joint Select Committee. The Committee is to present its report in the 1st week of the beginning of the next session, i. e. in November.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, therefore, desires that our efforts to secure more petitions should continue till such time the Bill is finally passed by the Parliament.

A. P. JAIN
Office Secretary.

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Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.

NIDUBROLU,
13-10-1963.

My dear Rajaji,

You will be glad to know that the Joint Select Committee on the 17th Amendment Bill has agreed to extend the time for submission of Memoranda till the 15th November. So we will have some more time to develop our campaign.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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D. O. No. DW. 11. 5287/62
Minister for Irrigation & Power
India.
NEW DELHI, December 18th, 1963

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Your letter dated the 6th of December, 1962 regarding digging and deepening of wells and repairing of thanks in the Palar and Pennar river basins of Chittor. The subject concerns the Ministry of Food & Agriculture for necessary action.

Yours sincerely,
HAFIZ MOHAMMED IBRAHIM

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Prayer to President of India to Reject Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill.

Year, 1963.

1. The 17th Amendment to the Constitution is of an extremely far-reaching character, encroaching as it does on

the Fundamental Rights to property of no less than 60 million families in India who own and cultivate some land. By a stroke of pen, ryotwari farmers, the backbone of our society, are sought to be placed on a level with feudal landlords and intermediaries by designating any land used for the purpose of agriculture as an "estate". This distortion of language and justice is made retrospective as from 26th January, 1950, when the Constitution itself was brought into operation. This 17th Amendment infringes the important principle of law that a new enactment should be expressed in simple and clear language. It is cryptic and has all the characteristics of a riddle, the full implications of which can be fully understood only by men learned in the law.

2. This law in effect does away with the whole of Part III (including the vital Article 14) of the Constitution and the guarantees therein contained, so far as land-owing citizens, small or big, are concerned. The contention that this Amendment is necessitated by the desire to carry through land reforms is altogether untenable since land reforms in a free society have always been understood to mean freeing the peasants from intermediaries and parasites rent collectors and not the dispossession of the actual tillers of the soil like the ryotwari landholders who are in direct relationship with Government. The plea that an Amendment introduced in the Select Committee protects those actually cultivating the land below the ceiling from expropriation is an untenable one for two reasons.

First, it opens the door to their being divested of their land for any purpose and not for any specific public purpose as would be the case if the land acquisition laws were to apply.

Secondly, the ceiling itself is capable of unilateral reduction on the part of the State Government or Legislature, thereby rendering this so called safeguard illusory.

This is a situation in which the President would be acting entirely within his rightful province to ask that no such Amendment to the Constitution be made until after it has secured the mandate of the electorate at the time of the next General Elections in 1967 or, if the Present Government so desires, earlier.

A second specific reason for this appeal is that while the letter of the Constitution may appear to have been respected, its spirit has been violated by the manner in which this Amendment was got through Parliament. It will be recalled that on April 28 this year, this Amendment failed to secure the particular majority required for such an Amendment to the Constitution, as a result of a failure on the part of the majority of the members of the Lok Sabha to turn up and vote for it. Constitutional propriety demanded that the measure should have been dropped for the life of this Parliament or that a new measure was evolved and referred to a Select Committee before being placed before Parliament. Instead, in an attempt to vindicate lost prestige, a special session of Parliament, at great cost to the nation, was convened on 27th May, for the ostensible purpose of getting it passed somehow, under the new number 19. Such an amendment to the Constitution should not be made a matter for the Party Whip and that the traditions laid down at the Constituent Assembly that all decisions should be left to the free vote of the members should be observed. The Congress Party constrained its members, many of whom were not in agreement with this measure, to vote for it. This in effect nullifies the express provision in the Constitution that a free vote of an absolute majority of Parliament should signify assent to any such Amendment. The question arises as to whether the kind of consensus required by the Constitution in the case of an Amendment to it was forthcoming in this case.

This Amendment represents a breach of faith with Parliament and people on the part of the Congress Government. On 1st June, 1951, while replying to the Constitution (1st Amendment) Bill, Dr. Ambedkar gave an assurance (Parliamentary Debates Vol. XII, Part II c. c. 9913–14) that "there is no intention on the part of Government that the provisions contained in article 31 (a) are to be employed for the purpose of dispossessing ryotwari tenants." The use of the word "tenants" is merely conventional, such tenants being recognised by the law and all the Governments that ruled India as full-owners. The Law Minister, Dr. Ambedkar, spoke on behalf of Government and proceeded to point out to the critics of the 1st Amendment Bill that there was a specific safeguard against a breach of this assurance. He drew attention to the proviso attached to article 31 (A) "which requires that every such Bill shall be reserved for the consideration of the President", and proceeded to say. "I believe that whenever any such measure comes before Parliament for consideration, the undertaking given in this House would be binding upon the President in giving his sanction so far as any such measure is concerned. Therefore, I submit there is no ground for any fear of any such thing happening and I believe that there is also no justification for any kind of propaganda that may be carried on by interested parties that this Bill proposes to give power to Government to expropriate everybody including the ryotwari tenants." It may be repeated and explained here that when used the word ryotwari tenants, which was a technical term used under British rule, Dr. Ambedkar was referring precisely to those whom clause 2 Sub-Clause (ii) of the Bill describes as holders of "any land held under ryotwari settlement" and who are full owners of the landed property they hold.

The day that Dr. Ambedkar thought would never come has arrived. The situation in which he assured Parliament that the assurance given "would be binding upon the Presi-

dent" has now arisen. It is hoped that the President will be pleased to fulfil the responsibility entrusted to him by seeing that the official assurance given to Parliament at the commencement of the process of amending the Constitution is respected.

For all these reasons it is requested that the President may be pleased to withhold his assent to the Constitution (17th Amendment) Bill.

*** The President gave his assent to that amendment. When it was questioned in the Supreme Court, it decreed in its judgement in the Golaknath appeal, that it would stand as a part of the Constitution but no such amendments could hereafter be made by Parliament thereby protecting non-agricultural properties only. The Congress went to the Polls in 1971 with a clear demand for power to overcome that judgment and to regain for Parliament, power to amend the Constftution even in its Chaptor on Fundamentel Rights. The people gave 2/3 majority to that Party and on that authority, the 24th and 25th amendments were passed by Parliament in 1971. Thus, the properties of not only Ryotwari peasants but also all others are now brought within the ambit of Parliament despite the Chapter on Fundamental Rights thus removing the previous disorimination made by seventeenth amendment and placing all types of properties agricultural and non-agricultural-under the same disability. (Ed.)

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PAPER-BACKS

The Man Around The Town Of "Indian Express" Wrote The Following about Rangaji In 1963'-64

Passing a leading bookshop on Mount Road, the Man Around the Town spotted a familiar profile across the thick glass plate. Could it be the Swatantra Party Chairman, Mr. N. G. Ranga ? There could be no mistaking him.

There he was, rummaging for a particular paperback that had been eluding him, "Advice and Consent", a book on American Politics.

Mr. N. G. Ranga learnt his politics at Oxford and studied Communism as interpreted in London by that high priest Rajani PalmeDutt. Back home, he taught politics for a while in the Madras Pachaiyappa's College and plunged into politics not to look back.

Like Krishna Menon, Ranga devours paperbacks by the dozen while travelling. But the Swatantra Leader does not share Menon's predilection for crime fiction. It is the more serious type of paperback he goes in for. Spotting "The Nile" by Emil Ludwig of the Acharya told the Man Around Town: "A very good writer". Emil Ludwing was fashionable among the British Marxists He said he liked William Shirer's "Rise and Fall of the Third Reich", a paperback with a prairie-fire sale.

In the end, the Acharya did not get the book he wanted.

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* It may be interesting to know that when this was reprinted in a Tamil magazine, some reader in Malasia read it and offered to that Editor to send a Copy of that famous book "Advice and Consent" if Rangaji needed this and eventually the book was actually sent to him. [Ed.]

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JAWAHARLAL'S ILLNESS

Prime Minister's House
NEW DELHI
February 10, 1964.

Dear Shri Ranga,

I thank you for your kind message. Good wishes are a source of strength.

My father is much better now and is gradually resuming his normal activities.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI.

** Rangaji was one of the First Batch of M. P.'s to call at the P.M's house and enquire about his health and pray for his recovery on the morning of the day of JAWAHARLALJI's SWARGAROHAN in May, 1964 Such was his affection for Jawaharlal despite political differences [Ed.]

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Prof. N. G. RANGA
Member of Parliament
(Lok Sabha)

NIDUBROLU,
24-6-1964.

My dear Rajaji,

I am sending herewith copies of my correspondence with Jawaharlalji in 1950 about the then unsatisfactory state of the Congress Party and his Cabinet. You may find its perusal quite interesting, in the light of latest developments.

I have found these papers, only yesterday quite by chance, in my accumulated papers.

Yours affectionately,
N G. RANGA

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LAL BAHADUR'S HEALTH

N. G. RANGA
Member of Parliament
(Lok Sabha)

143, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
BOMBAY. 5th July, 1964.

My dear Lal Bahadurji,

I Pray for your early and full recovery.

We all sincerely regret this unexpected and undeserved exhaustion.

The best thing to do, under the circumstances is to free the Prime Ministership from all other direct responsibilities with other ministries and this is the advice that I have repeatedly given to Jawaharlalji but in vain.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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Prime Minister's House
NEW DELHI
No. 291-PMO/64 July 11, 1964.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 5th July, 1964. I am now all right. I do feel that I should try to regulate and reform my work in future.

Yours sincerely,
LAL BAHADUR.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P.
143, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
BOMBAY

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August 24, 1964.

Professor N. G. Ranga, M. P.
C/o India's High Commission,
Aldwych, London, W. C. 1

Dear Professor Ranga,

It is always a fine experience to hear from you, if only by correspondence, our friendship which goes back, as you will recall, to 1946 in London.

I do hope that you will come to our Washington office and visit with our people. The Director in charge is Mr. Reuben Johnson. You will also want to visit with our former Director, John A. Banker who is now Assistant Secretary of Agriculture.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,
JAMES G. PATTON
President, Farmers' Union.

National Farmers Union. 1404 New York Avenue, N.W. Washington D. C. 20005.

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Parliamentary Group For world Government

House of Commons,
LONDON, S. W. 1.
31-8-1964.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for telling me you were coming to London. I hope very much it will be possible for us to meet. Would you be free for lunch to-morrow or Wednesday.

Yours sincerely,
PATRICK ARMSTRONG.

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(WORLD LIBERAL UNION)

Liberal International :

45, Whitehall, London, S. W. I. 31-8-1964.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I will be delighted to meet you on Wednesday morning if that is convenient to you.

As you are going to New York, I have written to Mr. Arthur Goldsmith. the Secretary of the American Liberal Association. I am sure that he and other members of American Liberal Association will be pleased to meet you.

Yours sincerely,
VERNON DAWSON

During that visit, Rangaji meet the leaders of international Socialist Forum also. [Ed.]

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RANGA IN CANADA

Private Line, By Lotta Dempsey
(T›ronto Daily Stars)
MONDAY, SEPTEMBFR 14, 1964

Professor Ranga Speaks U?

The thoughts expressed by one of the world's greatmen, Prof. N. G. Ranga of India, when spent a few days quietly in Toronto last week, in the course of his world travels.

Prof. Ranga has been a member of the India Parliament from 1935 onwards. Known as the Father of the Indian Peasant Movement, he has written several books including "Towards Wold Peace", "Revolutionary Peasants". "Labour in South India", Credo of World Peasants.

In India, he is hailed as the champion of rural masses

He was in the forefront of the struggle for freedom and courted imprisoment many times. Also, he is a pioneer in co-operative, adult education and rural library movements in India.

Canada's role in international affairs ?

" So many of us in India have admired the constructive role piayed by Canada in postwar international affairs. Canadian contribution in the Korean crisis.

"We do not think Canada is playing only a second role to the U. S. A. She is looked upon as a sincere collaborator providing just the needed 'second thought and helpful check' to American policy".

Canada's contribution to democracy?

" We have held up Canadian achievement of co-operation between her French and English peoples, their languages and their differing approaches to religion, for emulation to our multi-lingual and varied religious-minded peoples of India. So I am saddened by the recent outbursts of intolerance by some of the leaders of Canadian majority groups towards the Frech-speaking people.

MATURE CANADIANS

"We are glad that, like the British people of the United Kingdom, Canadians have been mature enough in democratic ways to help the Opposition gain enough momentum and voting strength in their Parliament.

"We in India are working hard to make our masses, too, realize just this need for an effective opposition to make our democracy work in a responsible manner."

About Canadian agriculture...

"The Canadian farmers are educated, have big enough farms, possess both the machines and the skills for their operation, and the 'Science Centres' are within easy reach.

"So Canadian agricultural production per capita is very high.

"India is grateful to Canada for placing a part of her food surpluses at our disposal. We need so much more. Our semi-famished masses deserve more help...

In India and the South East Asian countries we have developed irrigation, milling, dairy and other projects with the help of Canadian know-how, funds and machinery.

"Unfortunately there has been no United Nations machinery to help the aid-needing countries to utilise such assistance more effectively.

"Too often too much is wasted in so many areas. It has gone only to underwrite unpopular or inefficient leadership and corrupt administration.

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Private Line - By Lotta Dempsey
(Toronto Daily Star - Tuesday, September 15, 1964)

RANGA'S HOPES FOR INDIA

What about Southeast Asian political affairs, Professor Ranga ?

"I wish the peoples of those war-ridden and crisis-smitten areas of Viet Nam and Laos would get atleast a decade of peace to grow accustomed to democratic ways, and to gain or build up an honest civil service.

"Unfortunately they have been subjected to terrific pressures since 1940 (i. e. since the Japanese invasion).

What about Southeast European captive nations?

"The growing "Czechoslovak, Polish, Romanian native pressures against the U. S S. R's domination ... indicate that freedom's urges are irrepressible.

How important was the Test Ban Treaty!

"The late President John Kennedy displayed great statesmanship in initiating these talks and Khruschev, too, deserves credit for signing. India has made her contribution. Rajaji, the founder of our Freedom First Party and India's last Governor General prepared the draft for this treaty.

"The Gandhi Peace Mission presented the draft to Kennedy and Khruschev.

"Young yet wise, powerful yet purposeful, strong yet self-controlled, determined yet fair minded, Kennedy, youngest among all the great of this age, made the best contribution to the twin causes of peace and democracy.

Prospects for democracy in India ?

"True, big determined efforts are being made by the new Congress Ministry. The permanent potent check upon these evils of overgrown bureaucracy and statism-these are our two bad legacies of Nehru's regime-can only be an effective Opposition.

"...The rapid growth of Sovietized cheap propaganda, paperbacks, etc. the five-year plan-induced inflation; wasteful expenditure of public funds, growth of the army of unscrupulous contractors and dishonest officers are threatening to undermine the morals of the public and inundate political life."

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CANADIAN APPRECIATES RANGA'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

417½, LAWRENCE ANENUE,
WEST HILL, TORANTO
25-9-1964.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

The world is after all not so big and not so far apart for kindred souls.

I listen to your voice on Tape and read your autobiography (MSS)

I was so moved by your account of the pressure brought on you to have you suppress the part of your thesis that dealt with Khaddar and Handloom and Gandhi.

And I loved your way of relating art-music-architecture - both Western and Asian examples. I was so happy to see that Mrs. Ranga like myself studied art. I marvel at your energy - and rejoice when you permit yourself to relax to lounge at the Fountain of Nymhs in Rome or to watch Geneva's night-lights.

Yours is a wonderful story.

Your autobiography is absolutely fascinating. To have dreamed so boldly and to have witnessed the fulfilment of so many of those dreams.

I loved your account of the Workers Educational Association (WEA) Summer School at Bangor in 1922 and the way you wrote of making friends with trees, when you first went to Botley (Oxford). I had a Russian Poplar tree I regarded as a personal friend.

Your trials at the Stork Club (New York) as guest of a journalist, remind me that your influence is here still felt – my friend drinks somewhat less and myself, practically not at all.

Yours affectionately,

ELIZABETH.

This was published under title "Fight for Freedom" by Chand & Co. New Delhi in 1958. (Ed)

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No EB/64/Reorg.
Minister for Railways
INDIA, NEW DELHI,
27th October, 1953.

My dear Ranga,

Kindly refer to your letter of 23rd ultimate enclosing a copy of the representation made by Shri Latchanna regarding inclusion of certain lines from South Eastern Railway in the proposed new Railway Zone. A copy of the reply sent to Shri Latchanna, with reference to his representation received direct in this office, which explains the position, is enclosed for your information. The proposal to carve out a new Railway Zone out of the present Southern and Central Railways is still under consideration and no final decision has been taken as yet.

Yours Sincerely.
S. K. PATIL.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.
44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI.

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INDIA Vs. PAKISTAN

Text of the Speech delivered by Shri N. G. Ranga at the inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Copenhagen in 1964.

Mr. N. G. Ranga :- Mr. President (An Africa delegate Sir, I wish to congratulate you - and myself, too - on your presence to-day in the Chair of this assembly, because it is the fulfilment of the dreams that so many of us had in London. in 1922-3). At that time, many people thought that they were dreams, but that dream has come true to-day, with the result that the people of Africa and Asia are becoming freed and are taking their own honoured place at International gatherings like this.

In the same way, I live in the hope - and millions of people in India, as well as in Pakistan, live in the hope (He expressed this hope even in 1952 in Ottawa at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and referred to the example of Peaceful border between USA and Canada without presence of the military. Ed.) - that very soon the day will come when it will be possible for them to live together in amity and peace without the need of any military forces guarding their borders, as has happened in the case of the United States of America and Canada. On all those thousands of miles of border between Canada and America, there has been peace for more than a century. Similarly, the peoples of India and Pakistan should also be able to live in peace and amity. (But twice in 1965 and again in 1971, Pakistan invaded India. Ed.).

Unfortunately, however, the delegate from Pakistan, who this morning came to speak from this rostrum, sounded a discordant note.

Kashmir issue :

In regard to Kashmir, ... let us remember (also) what the United Nations said many years ago. Who was the aggressor in Kashmir ? The United Nations did not castigate India. It merely supported the offer made by the Indian Government and said to the late Mr. Nehru that the wishes of the Kashmiri people should be ascertained. Efforts were made in that direction, but disagreement arose.

Eviction of Pak Nationals :

There has also been a reference to what are known as the evictions of people from one country to another. What is happening ? There were hundreds of thousands of people in Assam who were discovered to have been Pakistani nationals but who, somehow or other, had strayed into Assam. Therefore, the Government of India asked them to go back. There is a citizenship law in India, as there is in every other country. You certainly would not allow people to come into your country in an illegal manner. India has kept this question open for mutual understanding.

Then there is the question of massacres. Where have those massacres occurred ? May we ask for the evidence of the world Council of Christian Churches about people who have had to run away to seek protection in another country ? Is it not a fact that to date - and this has not been denied by the President of Pakistan - more than 400,000 people have had to leave Pakistan to find shelter in India, and India is obliged to spend vast sums to protect these people ? Therefore, why exacerbate these issues ? It is only to keep the record correct that I have sought this opportunity to place these facts before you.

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* Proceedings of Inter-Parliamentary Conference, 1964, pp. 712-13.

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Prime Minister's House,
NEW DELHI.
9th May, 1965.

No. 2162 - PMO/65

My dear Prof. Rangaji,

I have received your letter of the 6th May, 1965, and can well understand your feelings and sentiments. I agree with you that in the present critical days, we should all try to work together with unity of purpose. I shall try to keep in touch with the Leaders of the Opposition Groups. Please accept my sincere thanks for the trouble you have taken.

Yours sincerely,
LAL BAHADUR.

Prof. N. G Ranga, M. P.,
44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI-1.

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No. 1243-PMO/65

Prime Minister's House,
NEW DELHI.
March, 19, 1965.

My dear Shri Rangaji,

I am requesting the leaders of the various Opposition Groups and Parties to meet me at 4 P.M. on March 22, 1965, in Room No. 9, Parliament House, for a discussion on the language question. I shall be greatful if you would kindly join.

Yours sincerely,
LAL BAHADUR.

Shri N. G. Ranga, M. P.
44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI.

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Bombay House,
FORT BOMBAY-1.
25th May 1965.

My dear Ranga,

Your letter of the 14th May came as a very pleasant surprise. I found (Your Commentary) very interesting on the re-print of my biography of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, showing incidentally, how carefully you had read it. Thanks a lot for all you have said. Coming as it does from you I have greatly appreciated it

I believe the Government of India have recently adopted for inclusion amongst National Publications a number of biographies of the pioneers of the freedom movement, but Pherozeshah Mehta does not figure among them. Since the biography was first published I have been told by some knowledgeable critics that it ought to have been adopted as a text-book by the Universities, as it deals not only with the life and career of one who was regarded in his time as the most outstanding leader of the national movement, but is a well-documented history of the times in which he lived. Is it for me to set the ball rolling in such matters.

I hope this finds you in the best of health and spirits. My wife joins me in conveying to you our warm regards.

Yours sincerely,
H. P. MODY. *

* Shri H. P. Mody was an eminent Parliamentarian and rose to be Governor after Swaraj. He and Rangaji were colleagues in the Central Legistive Assembly, himself representing Textile Millers and Rangaji handloom weavers. (Ed.)

Independent Commission to Issue Licences,
Permits & Quotas.

June 12, 1965.

My dear Rajaji,

Nandaji reminded me on the 9th about his earlier request that we should co-operative with him in evolving a practical scheme for regulating the issue, renewal and termination of permits, licenses etc. He suggested that if Dandekar also could join me on the next day and attend the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Administrative Reforms or Reorganisation, he would be very glad. So both Dandekar and myself attended that meeting yesterday. Nanda said to the Committee that he had approached me about this matter and he was glad we responded.

M. M. Shah was all he time resisting our proposal that a High Court Judge at the State level and Supreme Court Judge at the Central level should be given the power to decide as to who among the applicants should be given a license, also whether any of the licenses given should be withdrawn, or additional time given etc.

Ranganathan, the Senior Secretary, was trying to toe the line with Mr. Shah. At a stage Ranganathan observed that the issue of licenses is not like the calling for and acceptance of tenders, since no time limit is fixed for applications and as and when any application comes up with all the details regarding preparatory planning as the required technical apparatus and know how, capital-partnership at home and abroad, the Ministry is at present obliged to process and prepare the case for or against its acceptance and the

concerned Advisory Committee which includes a large percentage of well-known industrialists and retired political or servicemen like Ramaswami Mudaliar would take the final look and the Minister or Secretary or both take the ultimate decision.

Dandekar observed that the processing ofcourse will have to be done by the concerned Ministry and the Judge would take the decision, instead bf the Advisory Committee and Minister, we are anxious that political decisions should be avoided and thus eliminate partisan attitudes. Nanda said he would like to eliminate partisan or political decisions.

Kohli of the C. B. I. observed that much of the mischief is found to creep at the processing stage only.

Then we were told that at present the Advisory Committee meets twice a year. Each time about six appeals only came up. Nanda wondered whether that could not be taken to favour the present system. Dandekar replied "No. Most of the aggrieved parties have so many more proposals before the Govenment at various stages of consideration and so they would not like to run the risk of upsetting the Secretariat by preferring appeals on every issue and at every stage". Nanda agreed.

I said, we are not so much upset by the permanent services as with the political interests and we want to eliminate political, partisan decisions.

Nanda pressed that something should be done to create public confidence in these matters. Shah wanted us to produce a scheme to indicate how our suggestion would work. I replied "you are in Government You have the co-operation of these Secretaries. So, it is for you to devise a workable scheme for such of the aspects of this matter as can be tackled by the kind of Tribunal or Commission that we suggest. It is in the hope that all of us in this Committee work out a practical scheme with the active assistance of the Administrative experts, we have accepted Nandaji's invitation.

Then Nanda said that Congress viewed everything from the angle of social justice. I said that he should remember that we of the Swatantra Party also stood for social justice. It is only in the manner of achieving it, there arise differences.

Shah said that Government is committed to socialist approach and it cannot leave policy decisions to others. We said, we want the Judge and Commission to decide as between different interests and individuals once policy is settle by Government.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

Shri C. Rajagopalachari,
Bharata Ratna,
Kalki, Kilpauk, MADRAS.

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* Shri G. L. Nanda was then the Home Minister and Shri M. M. Shah, the Minister for Commerce in Government of India. Shri Ranganatham was the Powerful Secretary for Commerce.

Till now; this proposal is still hanking in the air. After Nanda's exit from Central Cabinet, no other minister has evinced any interest in this or any such proposal to administer this extremely sensitive and politically exploitable activity regarding Quotas, Licenses and Permits, (Q. L. P,) Rajaji and Rangaji were so much convinced that Socialism can be welcomed, if only this Q. L. P. Raj is brought under impartial and non-partisan control and offered to withdraw their party if such non-political administration would be instituted. (Ed.)

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Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.

44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI-1.
June 12, 1965.

My dear Madhava Warrior, *

I attended the 2 days-long meeting of the Kerala - Parliamentary Advisory Committee (KPAC) on the 8th and 9th in Delhi. **

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* Shri MADHAVA WARRIOR of Kottayam is an advocate, journalist of Kerala.

** When Kerala was taken over under President's Rule, Rangaji joined the Consultative Committee, formed by Parliament.

We discussed the Food situation and I supported Govinda Menon's plea for increasing the rice ration from 6 oz to party with other people in the Southern States.

I suggested that since Kerala is contributing to the tune of 30 to 40 crores annually by way of foreign exchange she should be given credit for this by Government of India subsidizing her purchases of foodgrains, notably rice, in the open markets of Andhra, instead of starving her masses by making her dependent upon the inadequate supplies from Andhra procured compulsorily at the unsatisfactory and uneconomic controlled prices.

The Home Minister did not accept that suggestion but quite a number of Kerala M. P's appreciated it, since they realised that it would be unreasonable to expect Andhra to suffer losses by offering supplies at the low control prices.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

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PERSONAL

Fort, BOMBAY-1,
21st June, 1965.

My dear Ranga,

Thanks for your letter of the 11th June. While I am grateful to you for what you have done *, I am sorry to have to say I feel greatly embarrassed by it.

I fully appreciate the friendly regard which prompted you to write to Mr. Jha.

Yours sincerely,
H. P. MODY.

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* As had been hinted in the preceding Letter (25th May, 1965), Prof. Ranga took up this thought of Sir H. P. Mody with Government of India and suggested the publication of an abriged edition of Mody's biography of the then Grand Old Man of Bombay and National Congress, namely, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta in the National Builder Series. His suggestion was readily accepted and the abridged edition was published So, Sri Mody thanks Rangaji for his successful recommendation.

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"Shelter" Cooke Town,
BANGALORE-5,
29th July, 1965.

My dear Ranga,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd.

I am going to England in the first week of September. If London doctors could not put me right, my idea is to go to Moscow. They say there are very good specialists there. I hope to return by the end of September, fit and well.

At the present moment, my state of health is bad. Rajaji came and saw me. What he said is quite true, I am only skin and bone. I hope God will put me alright again. Thank you very much for your kind enquiries.

Yours affectionately,
V. P. MENON.

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* Shri V. P. Menon, the distinguished Secretary of the States Ministry in Swaraj India, helped Sardar Patel in achieving integration of Indian (Princely) States into the rest of democratic India. [Ed]

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No. 3275-PMO/65

Prime Minister's House,
NEW DELHI,
August 18, 1965.

My dear Rangaji

Many thanks for your letter of August 17, 1965. There would be no difficulty in your going to Srinagar to gather first

hand knowledge of the situation prevailing there. A party of Members of Parliament has actually left for Srinagar this morning.

I am writing to the Home Minister about it.

Yours sincerely,

LAL BAHADUR

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.
44, Western Court, NEW DELHI.

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* There were much correspondence and persenal talks between Ranga and Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister during the then [Second] Indo-Pakistan War. This and the following two papers ei September 6 and 17 have become available for the present. [Ed.]

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b) Points made by Prof. N. G. Ranga, at the meeting of party leaders, at which he was present, with the Prime Miniter Lal Bahadur Shastri on September 6, 1965.

1. We must make it clear to the world and to ourselves what we want to achieve through our present activity and campaign in Pakistan in reply to her calculated, mischievous and pre-arranged aggression as demonstrated through the continuous process of infiltration into Kashmir.

2. Ours must be a limited objective, mainly to teach Pakistan to learn to become and behave as a good and peaceful neigbour and not to continue as during all these years to irritate, trouble, obstruct and harass us and to interfere in our national affairs and our social and economic development. Therefore, our present campaign should be taken to be a police action, with all its limitations in time and also in action. We should not run the risk of arousing impossible and impractical hopes and ambitions on the part of the people as to

our objectives. We have made it perfectly clear that we do not want to gain any area or any group of people from Pakistan. We have no ambitions for any conquest.

3. Any war means suffering for all concerned. Even if we come out victorious, it can only mean that we would have suffered less than the vanquished. Both parties would have suffered terrible losses and postponement or prevention of their progress and development. So, let us always be ready to hasten to take advantage of any move towards peace whether it may offer itself.

4. We cannot afford to ignore world opinion, and have to carry on a campaign to enlighten our aims. Our aims are (1) to assure ourselves of a peaceful neighbour and (2) to ensure that we do not have to suffer as we have during the last 18 years from military intervention and irritations from Pakistan.

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Prime Minister's House,
NEW DELHI
September 17, 1965.

No. 4305-PMO/65

My dear Prof. Rangaji,

I have received your letter of 16th September 1965 and want to convey to you my heartfelt thanks for what you have said. As an old fighter for the freedom of India; I know how you must be feeling these days.

With all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
LAL BAHADUR.

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MFA/VIP/2427/65
Minister of Food & Agriculture
Government of India
NEW DELHI
23rd September, 1965.

Dear Shri Ranga,

As you are aware, the emergency is by no means over and it is more than ever necessary for us to take adequate steps on the food front. I would be grateful if you could let me have your views within about a week, on the note for an Emergency Food Plan which I had circulated. I shall call a meeting of the Opposition Leaders sometime during the next Session, if it is considered necessary.

Yours sincerely.
C. SUBRAMANYAM.

Shri N. G. Ranga,
Member of Parliament, NEW DELHI.

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Prime Minister's House
NEW DELHI.
No. 5300-PMO/65 November 19, 1965.

My dear Rangaji,

Many thanks for your letter of 16th November, 1965. I shall speak to Nandaji about the matter* you have raised.

Yours sincerely,
LAL BAHADUR.

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
44, Western Court, NEW DELHI.

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* Need to establish an Independent non-Political, Quasi-Judicial National Commission to allot Licenses, Quotas and Permits for industrial purposes. See also the letter to Rajaji dated 12-6-65 (Ed)

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2nd December 1965

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE COMMONWEALTH.

The third session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference began at 9. 30 A. M. on Thursday, 2 December, 1965. in the Parliamant House of New Zealand. The discussion was on "Economic Growth in the Commonwealth" and the effective use of technical and financial resources for economic development.

The Chairman of the General Council, Hon. Blair Tennent, M. P., was in the Chair, and the discussion was opened by Professor Shri N. G. Ranga, M.P., India.

Professor SHRI N. G. Ranga, M. P., India - Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, it is my privilege this morning to draw your continued attention to the need for implementing the resolution passed at the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference held in Montreal in 1958, that "Commonwealth Countries are inter-dependent in that the progress of each is affected to a greater or lesser degree by the prosperity of the others. In particular the rapid advancement of the less developed countries is a matter of immediate concern to their more prosperous partners."

What has been happening all these years ? During the past 175 or 200 years, ever since the industrial revolutions in England and later in various Continental countries and America, the terms of trade between agricultural and non-agricultural countries have been so managed as to work to the disadvantage of the agricultural countries. There has been an invisible transference of wealth from agricultural countries to industrial countries, from under-developed countries to developing countries, and later, by the same

process, even to the developed countries. The result has been the continued and growing poverty of agricultural countries, and the rising property of industrial countries. The industrialised sectors of a country have been insulated and blessed with a higher standard of living, larger incomes, and greater wealth. Little has been done to check this inequitable process. Indeed, most people in the World did not realise the defective economics prevailing, and do not realise even today the injustice which is being perpetuated. This came to be realised only when in America the great economic depression struck down prosperity for a time and caused people to begin to wonder why it was that, although they had huge deposits in their banks, much industrial capacity in their industries, and more and more production from their firms, their economy came to standstill. That depression proved to be a disaster not only to Americans but to the rest of the World also. It was then that President Roosevelt devised what was known as the New Deal because he realised that the industrial sector could not continue to progress for long at the cost of the agricultural sector. He suggested that agricultural prices should be increased by 25 per cent. The prices to farmers should be raised to enable them to purchase agricultural machinery and consumer goods, and to hire labour. Congress agreed with him, and the wheels of industry began to move again. Consequently America is again prosperous, and many other countries also which had experienced poverty as a result of the American depression, have recovered.

Similar steps can be taken on a world scale in regard to our exchanges between agricultural products and industrial products by righting the terms of trade between the two. If this is done it would be possible for the whole of the World to prosper.

That was not done until very recently. Once again America gave a lead through the KENNEDY Round of talks over Tariffs initiated by the late President Kennedy. He

suggested that tariffs should be removed by as many of the developed countries as possible in order to enable the under-developed agricultural countries to export their agricultural products, their processed products as well as their raw products, to those developed areas at higher prices and more easily. This was a measure of progress but it was not enough What Roosevelt did in America for the American farmers was a good thing. He advised his people to agree to an ad hoc increase of 25% for agricultural products That policy should be agreed upon by us, by the Governments of the Commonwealth, in order to help the agricultural masses, the agricultural countries in various parts of the world, to step up their production, to increase their standard of living, and in that way to catch up with their more developed brethren in the more developed areas of the world.

If that is not done, I do not think it would be possible for us to implement the resolution that was passed at Montreal. Important pledges were made at that assembly and also at the General Conference on World Trade that was convened at Geneva two years ago. If that were done it would not be possible, even for statesmen like Mr Shinwell, to think that they are making great sacrifices by placing foreign aid and assistance at the disposal of so many under-developed countries. That is a wrong impression that has been spread in many parts of the world. Many statesmen do not realise the economic soundness of Roosevelt's economic achievement, or the justice that lay behind it. We have to measure the value of things, not so much by the capacity of people to bargain, but by the number of hours of labour that is put into something. The situation can change only when the more developed countries of the world realise the injustice and the need for the masses in agricultural areas to have a higher level of prices and more justice.

The world is coming to realise that. That is why so many international organisations have come into existence. The latest is the association connected with international

development I.D.A. I would like its activities to be enlarged many fold and its policies accepted by other international organisations.

It might be said that the methods of agriculture in developing countries are not so scientific that their products are not so highly processed; that their systems are not so standardised. What is the reason for that ? Assistance has been given but there has not been sufficient technical training connected with the equipment that has been given to the various countries. The various developing agriculture countries are making a genuine effort.

It was only after the challenge thrown out by Soviet Russia in starting projects in so many of these countries that some of our Commonwealth developed countries were good enough to come forward and offer some assistance. But that is not enough. So much more has to be done in order to train our manpower and to share with them the innermost secrets of the development of industry and the prosperity of the West. Some assistance is being given. We must be certain, however, that it will be continuous. Is it to depend upon the vagaries of the cold war, or co-existence. There must be some certainty about it so that we can make our plans go ahead.

This aid ought not to be political ! Let me assure my friends from the developed countries that the underdeveloped countries are not unanimous even in asking for more and more foreign aid.

We are pleading for foreign aid because we consider it even to-day to be our duty to world democracy as a whole, to human progress, that there should be this economic aid from the developed countries to the underdeveloped countries in an honourable and entirely non - political manner. So I want our friends from the developed countries to realise that we are not coming as beggars, nor are we coming as wasters, nor are we coming

as pensioners. We are asking for restitution in part of the financial drain that has been made on these agricultural countries over the centuries. Irrespective of politics there should be this humane and progressive transaction, of technical skill, money and machinery from those who can afford it to those who need it and deserve it and who can make the best possible use of it, so that in the shortest possible time, perhaps within the next one or two generations, it would be possible for us to say that there are no longer any underdeveloped or developing countries. There can be too much poverty, too, and too much poverty in any part of the world has proved to be disastrous to the more prosperous countries. This must be stopped by giving a New Deal to agriculturists and underdeveloped countries.

The Oil-producing Arab countries have more than doubled the prices of oil in 1974 and thus succeeded in forcing developed countries to accept new and higher terms of trade. (Ed)

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Christmas,
NEW YORK, 1965.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I wish on this year, we could be with you as you were near me on my birth-day (11th September). I have Bharatidevi's lovely gift – the golden cup and saucer on my desk before me to remind me of that day. You made it a perfect day. My good friend and educational leader was very much impressed. He came away in a spell of enchantment. The kind of spell only you can cast over people. There is an atmosphere you create that carefully envelopes people. It makes them feel good – almost holy. He felt it is strongly as I always have.

It was such a lovely day-rain and all. Let me at this Christmas time wish you and Bharati Devi – a year filled with health and happiness.

Yours sincerely,
KARRAS.

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COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE HELD IN WELLINGTON,

NEWZEALAND, 1965,

(Ranga's Speech on Fighting Corruption in Democracy)

Mr. Chairman, in my country. one year after we became free, we were conscious of the prevalence of corruption, not only in the ranks of bureaucracy, but also in the ranks of Parliamentarians, especially ministers; so some of us raised in 1948-49 certain complaints. Those complaints were discussed at party level, which was the highest level Later on, the matter assumed such importance that some Members of the Assembly in one State had to go to the President and invoke his right and authority to appoint a Commission to investigate charges that were being raised against some Ministers and the Chief Minister.

An investigation was held, and certain faults were found with the Chief Minister. The result was that the Chief Minister was obliged to resign. As a result of investigations made in another State not by an Independent Commission but by the Central Bureau of Investigation - it was found that there had been a misuse of power by a former Chief Minister and a Minister who was in office at that time. It was found that they had used their powers in an improper manner. The question arises that it is not only bureaucracy against which we have to safeguard ourselves; we have also to safeguard ourselves against Members of Parliament, especially of the ruling parties. We have to ensure that Ministers do not misuse their powers in making decisions and policies,andwe have to safeguard ourselves by seeing that bureaucracy acts in accordance with those decisions. This is where I agree with my friend, the honourable delegate from the United Kingdom, that these are times when Governments are assuming more

and more powers over larger aspects of the social life of the people. Therefore it is more important to create safeguards against any misuse of power, by bureaucracy as well as Ministers and Members of Parliament, than it used to be in the past. It is even more necessary in the developing countries, where about 70 per cent of people are illiterate. They are not used to the parliamentary system, and they are not in a position to control their own Parliamentarians and Ministers as well as the people in the more developed countries.

Therefore, there is the need for further investigation into the setting-up of an institution like ombudsman such as the one which exists in Sweden, New Zealand and U. K. A system has to be introduced which would not cause any injury to ministerial responsibility, collective as well as individual, to their respective Parliaments, and it would be necessary to safeguard the freedom and privilege of Members of Parliament and to safeguard the interests of the masses.

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* Please see also Rangaji's book "BAPU BLESSES" chapters 15 and 16 on "Corruption creeping into Congress Ministerialism - Desabhakta's Protest and also Gandhiji on Andhra Complaints" for earlier developments.

The institution of Lokpal, to discharge the functions of Ombudsman has not yet been established upto 1973. (Ed.)

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Prof. N.G. RANGA

44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI - 1.
1st January, 1966.

My dear Lal Bahadurji,

Let me wish you happy New Year. God has ushered in this New Year by enabling you to make just the welcome gesture to our Parliament.

I sincerely hope your Government and yourself would take advantage of this Kashmir High Court Judgement regarding Bakshi Saheb and see that the United Front is brought about in Kashmir without any delay and the services of Bakshi Saheb and his colleagues are fully utilised for the causes of our country as a whole,

I would like to particularly draw your attention to the front page article by Rajaji and also the first paragraph in 'Dear Readers' column' of this week's SWARAJYA (copy of which is being enclosed) for your consideration. I hope your advisers would be able to demonstrate to Ayub Khan the substantial advantage that would accrue particularly to Pakistan economy if only the proposed common market is allowed to be developed between our two countries.

(A) We all wish to respond to the Prime Minister's call for national unity and support whatever efforts Government wish to make to safeguard our national honour and interests.

(C) There has been no effective economy drive. While we are also keen as Government that all funds including foreign exchange needed for the defence should be found without delay, an equal care should be taken to avoid wastage and corruption. So far there has been no noticeable drive in this direction.

(C) The food situation continued to be serious, even though the U. S. President's generous and timely offer of additional food supply has contributed to sustain our national morale in this crisis. But the Government chose to continue to pursue its wrong policies regarding restriction of movement of foodgrains not only from State to State, but also from District to District. They have worsened the distribution system of foodgrains among vulnerable sections in mofussil towns and townships. In all

these directions, the Prime Minister is naturally expected by the people to take personal interest and ensure maximum possible response to the views and experiences of parties like us who are especially interested in peasants and food problems. Unfortunately, the Government is unmindful of the interests of peasants. It persists in its wrong-headed prejudice that Peasants, traders, rice and flour mill owners are potential, if not actual enemies of its policies, instead of utilising their services in a constructive manner.

(D) Your slogan 'Jai Kisan' is the only outcome of your good wishes so far made to the people. Incidentally, I may state, I have been pleading for this for the past 30 years. But, the Government and the Planning Commission are repeating their threats to increase tax burdens on all sections of rural people, and peasants. All this is weakening the enthusiasm of the people for the national united front.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

410

Lal Bahadur Shastri's Reply to Rangaji's offer of support to Government, during the wars of 1965 forced upon India By Pakistan.

Prime Minister's House
NEW DELHI.

No. 65-PMO/66 January 2, 1966.

My dear Rangaji,

Many thinks for your letter of 1st January, 1966 and its enclosures which I have read with interests.

As I have said publicly, we shall make every endeavour in Tashkent to bring home to the Pakistani leaders the imperative necessity of peace and amity between our two countries.

Yours sincerely,
LAL BAHADUR.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P.
44, Western Court, NEW DELHI

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* Most unfortunately Lal Bahadurji passed away at Tashkent within a week after he penned this letter. [Ed.]

411

(COMMONWEATH PARLIMENTARY CONFERENCE HELD IN NEWZELAND)

HUKAM SINGH
Speaker, Lok Sabha.

20, Akbar Road,
NEW DELHI.
3rd January, 1966.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I was very happy to learn that our delegation to Wellington C.P. Conference had done so well. I was already certain about it because it was composed of very eminent Parliamentarians of our country. Your contribution has always been commendable and outstanding wherever you have gone I reciprocate the same good wishes for the next year and wish you a happy and healthy long life.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,
HUKAM SINGH.

412

GOVERNOR OF MYSORE

Mysore Governor's Camp
D. 5-1-1966.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I have much appreciated your most affectionate letter. In spite of all these years our mutual love remains as ever. We wish and pray for your good health and that of Mrs. Ranga. We both reciprocate your good wishes.

With kind regards.

Yours affectionately,
V. V. GIRI.

413

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

President : K. M. MUNSHI

Chowpatty Road,
BOMBAY-7
January 7, 1966.

My dear Rangaji,

Your telegram to hand.

Many thanks for your Birthday Greetings. It is the deep affection of friends like you which makes both life and work enjoyable.

With kind regards.

yours sincerely,
K. M. MUNSHI

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
President, All-India Swatantra Party,
NIDUBROLU, Andhra Pradesh.

414

PRIME MINISTER

INDIA,

NEW DELHI-11

January 18, 1966.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I thank you for your message of sympathy and condolence on the sad demise of our Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Sastri.

During the short span of his stewardship of the nation, he had shown great qualities of leadership and endeared himself to the masses. His passing away at this juncture leaves a big void which is difficult to fill. We shall strive to carry on the tasks that he set before us.

Yours sincerely,
G. L. NANDA.

415

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Department of Anthropology

Los Angeles 24, California April 29, 1966.

Sri N. G. Ranga, NEW DELHI.

Dear Sri Ranga,

For some years I have been engaged in research on the economy and society of the Badagas and other Nilgiri hill peoples. I hope to complete a book on the subject in the near future.

The best source for information about the adaptation of these peoples to the cash economy of the present century is

your book, The Tribes of the Nilgiris*. I have long been trying to pick up a copy of this from book-dealers in India and Europe, but without success. Now, in some desperation, I am writing to ask if you know of any place in India where a stock of the book still exists.

I apologize for burdening you with such a question at a time when I know you are busily engaged with affairs in the Lok Sabha.

Yours sincerely,
PAUL HOCKINGS
(Asst. Professor)

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* This book was very much appreciated by Mahatma Gandhi. It was published in 1930. It contained the results of the survey of social and economic conditions of the Badagas. Todas and Panians made by Rangaji in 1927-28. When he was functioning as the Hon. Economic Advisor to Government. Unfortunately it became almost impossible to obtain spare copies of it, even at fancy prices. [Ed.]

416

NIDUBROLU,
8-8-1966.

My dear Shri S. K. Patil,

I wish to repeat the general demand voiced by the Andhra Public on every relevant occasion for the extension of broad-gauge* from Renigunta to Tirupathi (then to Katpadi), the most popular religious pilgrim centre in the whole of South India.

Both myself and C. L. N. Reddi have mentioned this long-felt need in the course of our speeches during the discussions on the Railway Budget during these 4 years and several other M. Ps from the Congress Party have also stressed it so many times during the past 10 years.

The number of pilgrims going to and fro Tirupati by rail and road is increasing at a faster rate than what is experienced by any other centre in India. I learn that as many as 3,000 pilgrims come daily to this place by the railway.

Yours very sincerely,

N. G. RANGA

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* Extension of Broadgauge from Renigunta up to Tirupathi has been made and further extension upto Katpadi is promised [Ed.]

417

Congratulations from English Friends.

Glendene Brown Street
Chorley, England,
May 20, 1967.

Dear Ranga,

Very sincere congratulations on your many achievements and on the occasion of the Statued to be erected of you for your excellent work for the Indian people. It is gratifying to know you are recognised and appreciated. May you always have the health and strength and support of your many friends to carry on the good work you have given your life to.

Your many friends in England hereby convey their good wishes to you and join with us in this message of congratulations and we all applaud you.

May your people continue to realize that their faith in you is fully justified and that the fight for them will go on and on.

Very best wishes to you and Mrs. Ranga and all your friends.

With our love to you
Elsie & Allen Cross,

Dr. Round and Jean, Elizabeth Stock, L.B. Short, Philip Thompson & daughter Janet, the Parkinsons, the Berrys, Brewers Staff (Printers), all the friends and acquaintences you met here.

418

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

44, Western Court,
NEW DELHI.
30th June, 1967.

My dear Elizabeth,

Thanks for your reply.

Our Leader Rajaji had the following to say. "What is the secret of Israel scoring such swift and decisive success ... the slogan of "we shall destroy Israel" brought-forth of what Israel was capable of. This is the secret ..... The civilised world should frame a charter of insurance for Israel's life" (Swarajya, 17th June, 1967).

I am glad, Johnson and Kosygin have met and reached some understanding to check the proliferation of atomic weapons and fall-out. I am not surprised at their agreeing to disagree over West Asia and Vietnam. America cannot not score as decisive a victory in Vietnam over Ho Chi Min, as Israel has done over U. A R.

A strange political phenomenon has come to the force since February General Elections. The political monopoly of the Congress has gone and there are now as many non-Congress State Governments as Congress Governments.

Some of the non-Congress Governments are under the influence of the Communists. Already, the Communists, in and behind West Bengal State Government are trying to upset the social peace in the same way as the Communist minorities in the post-war Cabinets of South East European countries had done. But there is some difference. While in Europe, the Soviet occupation armies were helping the Communist minority Ministers; here in India, we have the Congress Government in Delhi and the Democratic Parties in Parliament, to keep guard for Democracy But how long can we do it? In domestic politics, their internal group struggle for power is still very much alive.

Rajaji has been appealing to all Democratic Patriots to achieve a non-partisan all-Party Government at the Centre. But there seems to be no possibility for it for the present.

Mrs. Ranga is keeping well and looking after our small farm in Nidubrolu.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA

419

HOME MINISTER, INDIA.

NEW DELHI.
July 15, 1967.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I have your letter of July 7, 1967. I share your concern about the situation in Naxalbari and have in fact repeatedly made it clear in Parliament that the Union Government cannot afford to remain indifferent to what is happening in that area. The West Bengal Government have recently taken certain measures for restoration of normalcy in the affected area. We have been assisting this process by our suggestions and advice from time to time. We have also taken certain precautions on our international borders in the Siliguri Subdivision.

I do not think there has been any failure on the part of the Union Government to do what they could. But I should very much like to know how you would like us to tackle theproblem and I shall be glad to have a discussion with you at your convenience.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,
Y. B. CHAVAN

420

MINISTER OF COMMERCE,

NEW DELHI.
July 30, 1967.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I have received your letter of 21st July, 1967. The tobacco growers from Andhra Pradesh have been discussing their problems with the Ministry of Food & Agriculture and we are looking into their difficulties. I shall also ask S.T.C. to take interest, as suggested by you.

Kind regards.

Yours Sincerely,
DIGESH SINGH.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P.
44, Western Court, NEW DELHI.

421

MIMISTER OF STATE FOOD, AGRICULTURE, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION

India, NEW DELHI.
the 4th August, 1967.

No.F.12/18/67. Trg.

Dear friend,

The main production components of the special programme of Applied Nutrition, Family Planning and Rural

Manpower, are horticulture, poultry and fisheries. The Programme is of special significance in the context of the present food situation and the need for diversifying food habits of the people. Rural Manpower Programme seeks to provide additional employment opportunities in the rural areas in the present critical unemployment situation in rural areas during the slack agricultural season through small, labour-intensive community works.

Your leadership and guidance are most needed for this popular involvement for the various programmes.

Yours sincerely,

M. S. GURUPADASWAMY.

422

NIDUBROLU,
22-8-1967.

My dear Shri Dinesh Singh,

I am surprised to learn on reaching Andhra the Cotton Growers of Krishna, Godavari and Guntur Districts are suffering for want of demand for their Cotton and are complaining about their huge and burdensome stocks of Cotton.

In this fortnight, they have held meetings in Krishna and Guntur, demanding action by Government to ensure their sales and wagon supplies. The local Minister for Agriculture was present at one of them.

On the other hand, we understood during the recent Parliamentary debates and from Government spokesman that there is short supplies in Cotton and Mill-owners are also keen on lifting the Price Controls on Cotton in order to push up Cotton Production and facilitate their purchase at

prices higher than the Celling Prices. What is this mystery? Who is responsible for this strange plight of Andhra Cotton growers ?

I request you to take necessary steps to ensure adequate marketing and wagon supply facilities for these accumulated stocks of Cotton in these Delta Coastal Districts of Andhra.

Yours very sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

423

NEW YORK
25th August, 1967.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I have just returned from a six week work cum holiday in Puerto Rico. I flew to Puerto Rico.

It was an excellent experience jointly sponsored by the N. Y. C. Board of Education and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It was offered to teachers and educational administrators.

The Puerto Ricans were gracious and hospitable people. We visited the schools on the island. The island itself is very beautiful. It reminded me of my ancestral Greece.

I am home now and getting ready for the school opening on 11th September - my birth day.

The situation in Greece has us all worried. I cannot understand how that cradle of demo racy and once centre of Civilisation could be in the hands of a stupid military junta. I do not think that the proud and independent Greeks will tolerate this for too long.

I was upset to read about India's position in the recent Israel war. How could they support UAR and USSR position in this mess.

I know how politically active you both are but you must think about your health.

Warmest regards to lovely and noble Mrs. Ranga.

Yours affectionately,

IRENE

424

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER OF K. M. MUNSHI TO RAJAJI.

15th October, 1967.

I have given deep thought to the problem that we discussed the other day.

As things are to-day, I am of the view that the leadership of the Party in Parliament and the Presidentship of the Party should vest in the same person. My reasons are as under.

d) The other reasons are purely personal. Nobody can point an accusing finger at Rangaji for favouring vested interests. Besides, he is the only one amongst available, who can be said to be a mass leader. With the growing importance now being given to agriculture by all the parties and public, Rangaji, who has been a kisan leader all his life, would be a great asset to our Party inside and outside the Parliament.

With kindest regards

425

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER FO K. M. MUNSHI TO RANGAJI

October 30, 1967.

Dear Rangaji,

I met Rajaji the other day in Madras. He asked my opinion on a matter of importance which was uppermost in his mind. I sent him my letter containing my views of the matter; a copy of my letter is sent herewith.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. MUNSHI

426

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.

4, Sunehribagh Road,
NEW DELHI-11,
9th May, 1968.

My dear Elizebeth,

You are a marvellous person. Yes, I did strongly feel like having a picture, painted by your husband, as much because it would reflect a bit of your personality that has joined his Being and got reflected in it, without either of you being too conscious of it, as because, he is so great, good and cultured as to inspire you with so much affection, loyalty and spiritual satisfaction. Yet, little did I venture to hope for such quick realisation of my dream and fructification of my hope.

I am sure, Mrs. Ranga (Bharati Devi) and my colleagues would treasure this token of appreciation of my public

work as conceived by one of the votaries of Progressive Western Culture. You need not brother to send any Canadian money for the books. I will ask the Publisher to send a parcel of five copies of the Autobiography I hope you will get them in a month or six weeks.

Indian craftsmanship in editing, printing and publishing is not so highly developed and so, you should not get disgusted by the too numerous printers' devils and so many repetitive statements.

You will be glad to learn that so many reviews are quite favourable and every critic has displayed his respect for my public life and affection for me, as a person. It is all so pleasing.

Only 10 days back, I went to Orissa, a Coastal State on the East, by the side of the Bay of Bengal. I visited the famous temple consecrated to Sun God, constructed 500 years ago, over a period of 12 years. It is such a wonderful structure. There are so many highly decorated chariots, in brown stone, drawn by life-size horses, symbolically driven by the Sun-God; all level with the ground, bearing on their stony shoulders, six-storied temple. Every one of these stories has thousands of lovely statues, big and small, of men and women, in various postures and displaying their mutual affection. Your husband would be able to appreciate more clearly and describe better these more than thousand statues, in life-size and various smaller sizes, depicting human emotions and bizarre as well as ennobling thoughts, dancing postures and divine visions. Indian thought and practice of dancing, etching, sculpture are depicted so eloquently and expertly in these figurnes on this unique temple. There are three lovely statues of Sun in granite stone, with snow-like polish and marble-softness, with effusion of charm and strength. The Morning Sun-God is so irresistibly powerful and promising of growing vigour. The Mid-day

Sun-God is fright-fully vigorous, inspiringly divine and life-giving and the evening Sun-God is weary and drooping with all the weight of the mist-leaden world.

Why did our ancients think of Sun-God? The Persians used to worship him because of his Creative Mission. Because Sun is in the Centre of crores of such Suns, all working their way in a clock-like manner along God's own mysterious, yet, orderly mission impressionists, Surrealists, Futurists and other practitioners of latest schools of Painting and other Arts and even the present day western devotees of Hare Ram, Hare Krishna, Mahesh Yogis and Hippies, Bikini and Declothique faddists would find their artistic and psychological approaches, anticipated 500 years ago by those immortal architects.

There is another temple of equal fame in Madhya Pradesh-Khajuraho and on it also, I learn, equally artistic and realistic delineation of life's lustre in love and enjoyment of people in groups, isolation or even in complete abandonment in mutual affection and confidence has been displayed on stone, through statuettes, Recently the Delegates to the UNCTAD held in Delhi, went there by special train and lost themselves in admiration, and adoration. Why did those Indian sculptors, artists, whom we call Viswakarmas interest themselves so passionately in such depiction? So many philosophers and poets have given many an explanation I do not wish to essay any thesis and weary you now I am content to say that those artists and sculptors wanted to assure the youths and people within the realm of Creation that their private, personal life is as beneficent a feature of life as their later attainment and practice of wisdom, self-control and decent self-sacrificing of old age.

On the 6th of April, I saw a marble-studded temple of Jains whose founder and Prophet, Mahavira taught the Gospel of Love of all living creatures, men, beasts, birds,

ants, flees etc. and non-violenee. Mahatma Gandhi believed in the same principle of love, humanism and avoidance of hurting anyone. In that temple, I saw hundreds of statuettes of exquisite beauty and delicate feeling. Such lovely temples, are to be found in so many places in every part of India, but some of them are as unique among non-Christian achievements of sculpture as St. Peter's Church of Rome, St. Paul' of London.

Yours,
N. G. Ranga.

427

Dr. A. M. D'Rozario,
Joint Secretary.

D.O.No.F. 23-4/68-CAI (3)
Minister of Education,
India, New Delhi.
May 16, 1968.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Will you kindly refer to your letter dated the 6th May, 1968 regarding Sri Sarva Venkataseshayya ?

I am glad to write to you that the Government of India have agreed to a stipend of Rs. 75/- per month for this writer under our scheme of financial assistance to eminent writers and artists in indigent circumstances. The expenditure will be shared between the A. P. Government andhe Government of India. I am sorry we cannot do better because of limitation of funds.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
A. M. D. ROZARIO

428

PRIME MINISTER

NEW DELHI

21st May 1969.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I have received your letter of May 8, 1969, regarding the drought conditions prevailing in certain parts of Rajasthan.

I am deeply concerned over the distress caused by drought in Rajasthan and am in close touch with the relief measures which are being taken.

We should seek not only immediate but also long term solutions to such problems. I have asked the Panning Commission and the ministers concerned to look into these matters.

With good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI

429

No. 13-12/68-LA

Minister of Food, Agriculture, Community Development & Co-operation.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI.

Dated the 22nd May, 1968.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I have considered the question raised in your letter of the 11th March, 1968, regarding quality control on pulses

and other commodities. Quality control and enforcement of grade specifications under the Agricultural Produce (Grading & Marking) Act, 1937, is compulsory only in respect of consignments meant for export. For internal marketing as well as inter-State and intra-State trade, the provisions of law and the Agmark rules are purely permissive in character.

2. As for the colourisation of pulses, I understand that the prevention of Food Adultration Act makes it an offence to use such colouring materials as is not permitted. The responsibility for enforcement of these provisions rests with the State Health Departments which have their own analytical laboratories and enforcement staff. Agmark rules also do not permit any colourisation of pulses. There is, however, nothing to prevent colourisation of pulses with permitted colours and, traditionally, some pulses are coloured artificially to impart an attractive appearance. This practice is not wide-spread due to the high cost and fugitive nature of the colouring material.

3. One way to protect the consignees in Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal as elsewhere-against the use of prohibited colour or preservative, would be to insist upon a warranty from the up-country supplier under Rule 12 (A) of the Prevention of Food Adultration Rules, 1955. I find that sometime ago, the Ministry of Health had such a proposal under consideration with a view to making it compulsory for the consignor to obtain a warranty so that the vendors in the retailing centres can specifically ask for pulses without any added colour from the suppliers in the producing States. This warranty would be to the effect that the produce conforms to the requirements of Prevention of Food Adulteration Rules. How far this would be practical in actual trade is a matter which will have to be carefully examined

by the concerned Ministry to which we are making a reference.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
JAGJIVANRAM.

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
Member of Parliament,
Srikakulam P. O. (Andhra Pradesh)

430

3-7-1968

"Observe 1968 October Second As Human Rights Day"
Our Best Offer to Gandhiji's Centenary.
Ranga's Appeal.

"Let us all offer our homage to Gandhiji on his Birth Day during this year", that is, the Second of October 1968 by carrying on an intensive campaign over a week beginning or ending with that Sacred Day in Promoting Human Rights"

All over the world there is now a feeling that though it is twenty years since the charter of "Human Rights" was published by the United Nations, there is so much more to be done to assure genuine "Human Rights" to the toiling masses; as is indicated bv the encroa chmentsmade by Indian Government on the Fundamental Rights, even thoughthey were assured by the Constitution, by the cruel murder of Dr. Luthes Martin King of U.S.A. by the many atricities committed on Harijans and Girijans in India and on Asiatic settlers in Africa and England. Indeed, the oppression of racial and national minorities in many Asian, African, American and European countries linguistic and social minorities in our own country is a persistent evil. Mahatma Gandhi strove so consistently and passionately more than any other social revolutionary of the century, over nearly half a

century through his constructive and non-violent struggles to awaken the consceince of people all over the world towards the Human Rights of all sections in every society. His repeated and prolonged "Fasts" were in favour of civil liberties of the down-trodden and against untouchability and social taboos, against the socially disabled sections including women have paved the way for the worldwide peaceful agitations and constructive protests against all types of oppressions of people and challenges to Fundamental Rights culminating for this decade in Dr. King's celebrated "Civil Rights Marches" in United States and his martyrdom. Therefore, I appeal to the Gandhi Centenary Celebration Committees and all democratic political workers, led by their respective parties and non political democrats to popularise the Human Rights Charter and to strengthen the creative impulses of our people and their organisations in favour of all the underprivileged peoples and their constructive efforts at self-help".

N. G. RANGA

431

Prof. N, G. RANGA
Member of Parliament
(Lok Sabha)

Gobhumi'
NIDUBROLU (P.O)
Guntur Dt. (A.P)
9th July 68.

DESODDHARAKA'S CENTURY

My dear Radhakrishna,

Congratulations upon the decision of the Government of India (Posts) to issue a Centenary Commemoration Postal Stamp in honour of our Desoddharaka. So many of us including Shri T. Viswanatham can legitimately con-

gratulate ourselves for having made our contribution to this happy result and thus offered our salutations to the Desoddharaka Nageswara Rao, Pioneer Editor and Freedom Fighter.

I am glad to find the study of "Purna Purusha" quite satisfactory, in so far as I have studied. Shri Nori is doing justice to Desoddharaka's writings and thoughts. I will be glad if this as well as the extracts from the Annual Sameekshas which were included in the Annual Numbers of the Andhra Patrika are published as separate books.

I am also happy to have associated myself with the miniature Centenary meeting held in New Delhi during last June, when Shree Viswanadham, Tirumalarao, Lanka Satyam also joined us.

With best regards to your father,

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

432

NATIONAL INTEGRATION - DEMOCRACY

N. G. RANGA, M.P.

4, Sunehribagh Road,
NEW DELHI-11.
1st August, 1968.

My dear Peter. *

I felt so much satisfied that the Canadians have come to have such a good national leader who can keep the English

* PETER BATTEY PRATT, the Professor of Mathematics. his active wife Alta, the actress and teacher, and Rene Cera, the famous French - Canadian Painter and his wife Elizebath, the Art-teacher and Editor, themselves mutual friends, have maintained intellectual communion with Rangaji across the oceans. (Ed.)

and French Canadian People in good humour. They are fortunatein having a Premier who is beloved of both the protagonists of English and French.We are bogged in our controversy between Hindi and English,as to which should be accepted as the link language.The whole of the non-Hindi South and North-East 7 States, with their separate languages are keen on English as that is the only link language between them, while the North (7 States) is keen on their common mother-tongue, Hindi.

During all these 20 years, the border areas like Kashmir, Nagaland, Assam Hill areas have posed this problem of integration. I am afraid, this difficulty will be facing us for few more decades, since their peoples have to be educated, persuaded to feel the sense of national one-ness with the rest of us. Unfortunately, China and Pakistan have been creating a lot of trouble by their espionage and direct or indirect interventions. Indian national leadership of all parties, excluding Communists are determined to maintain the integrity of our Nation and to fight the disruptive elements in these areas.

So far as the integration of the people, among themselves, by their religious, caste and quasi-political elements is concerned, we thought we were achieving great success. But the Pakistani Persecution of Hindus in Eastern Bengal in 1964–65 excited our people so greatly that they threw to the winds their vaunted sense of communal tolerance and harmony and indulged in a lot of mad violence against members of our minorities (Moslems) and shocked our national conscience.

At the same time, the non-Congress parties have also failed to maintain their coalitions and their ministeries, because they have not yet learnt the art of keeping faith with each other and working harmoniously for the fulfilment of their common programme. Thus, the non-Congress ministries of West Bengal, Bihar, U. P., Haryana have gone and

in the mid-term election, the Congress has a gain achieved power in Haryana. My suggestion for all-Party Cabinets at least in such problem states as Kerala, West Bengal, U.P. Bihar and Punjab is receiving careful consideration among increasing number of political groups but is no-where near being adopted by political parties.

USA has reconciled itself to the post-war status-quo in Europe. Mao's China is opposed to any "entry of Liberal Freedoms and open mind". After all, Human Freedoms cannot be suppressed for ever and humanity's hunger for freedom of thought, speech, and association is irrepressible.

So, De Gaulle has achieved his political triumph and I hope, he would now soften in his attitude towards democracy and overcome his war-time complexes.

With best regards,

Yours,
N. G. RANGA

433

PRADHAN MANTRI

NEW DELHI.
August 2, 1968.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for the joint letter dated the 1st August on the question of the reorganisation of Assam. I have noted your views. As you knows the matter is under Government's consideration.

I am sending a Copy of your letter to the Home Minister.

With Good Wishes.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI

434

PRIME MINISTER

NEW DELHI,
August 12, 1968.

Dear Professor Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of July 31. I have read with interest your moving appeal to observe October 2 as "Human Rights Day." Please do not think that Government is insensitive to the sufferings of Tibetans. However, the question is how best we could alleviate their sufferings.

Prof. N. G. Ranga,
4, Soneri Bagh Road,

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI.

435

PRADHAN MANTRI

NEW DELHI,

August 27, 1968.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of August 23rd regarding the drought affected areas of Andhra. The Chief Minister has also sent me a telegram on this subject. I have requested the Food Minister to look into the matter urgently.

I am sending Copies of your letter to the Food Minister and also to the Deputy Prime Minister. I understand that some Central Officials are being deputed to visit Andhra shortly.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI

436

RACIAL ATROCITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P. NIDUBROLU,

2-10-1968.

My dear Leonard Short and Leaders of Unitarians,

The whole civilised world is shocked by what the seemingly cultured and advanced whites of South Africa are doing in their relations with the great mass of coloured peoples. The South African Whites do not believe in multiracial nation, nor do they agree to concede equal citizenship rights to the coloured masses who form the overwhelming majority of the population of South Africa (Rhodesia). By all accepted standards of Human Rights, Fundamental Rights of man or citizenship, their beliefs and political practices are wrong and indefensible. Their beliefs and practices are so much like those of the Nazis and the Fascists or the American Whites before the Great Civil War.

How is it that the civilised and democratic Western nations which were so shocked by Nazi's campaign against the White Jews are not as passionately opposed to this vendetta of the South African Whites against the coloured people ?

In all the so-called white areas of the world, especially Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the Governments and political leaders are keen on removing any impression of discrimination against Asians and Africans only by reason of their colour or customs by offering at least nominal quota for immigration and citizenship.

That South African leaders of White Government should now be making bold, without any respect for the lessons of

history, without any fear of its evil consequences upon the fate of the world which is oscillating between peace or war to reintroduce this cancerous and inhuman system of graded citizenship, colour discrimination and race-wise ghettoes, is indicative of the latent social disease and religious hypocrasy of modern society. It is the duty of all lovers of human values and democratic freedoms to explore and adopt every effective means to put out this "forest fire" and scotch this social infection.

Continental and Catholic European nations went through similar social measles in their campaign against protestants and achieved after century-long social progress their present practice of respecting the equal citizenship rights of all persons, irrespective of their religious faiths.

England too survived such an attack, through the passing of Catholic Emancipation Acts. Even the Czarist Russia felt ashamed of the slavery of her peasants and others and abolished slavery by 1870. Throughout the world, there has been a continuous and purposeful rise in human values.

The United Nations and its Human Rights Committee protested against the widespread imposition, in the latest communist fashion, of forced labour upon the politically under-privileged or condemned sections of people.

Indian History was not unfamiliar to such graded or degrading system of citizenship rights for some and lack of them for others. But thanks to Mahatma Gandhi's forty-year long crusade against it, the Indian Constitution has banned all such discriminations and granted equal citizenship rights to all people.

If people suffering from infectious diseases are kept in quarantine for the good of a society as a whole, why not South African (and Rhodesian) Governments be kept in a

"social quarantine", until her so-called electorate see wisdom in accepting the worldwide conceptions of equal citizenship of all human beings, irrespective of colour, creed or sex ?

Thank God, more and more African countries and their peoples are emerging as free nations and even in these Central African Colonies, multi-racial nations are taking shape and they will certainly not reconcile themselves to their co-existence with this social plague-spot and sooner or later a war.like explosion is sure to take place, to the embarrassment and discomfiture of the UN and Commonwealth.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

437

PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI.

November 8, 1968.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of 4th November. I am distressed to read your discription of the damage caused in parts of Andhra by the new Cyclonic storm which hit Orissa and the adjoining areas.

I am sending your letter to Shri Jagjivan Ram requesting him to get into touch with the Andhra Government and to consider sending a team of Central Officers to the State to discuss the matter of relief and rehabilitation.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI

438

PRIME MINISTER

NEW DELHI

Nov. 30th, 1968.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I have your letter of the 26th Nov. The Central Team has already reached Andhra to assess the damages, as mentioned in my earlier letter, we shall take a quick decision as soon as they submit their report. Meanwhile we have released ad hoc assistanee of Rs. 2 crores to the State Government.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI

439

SPEECH DELIVERED BY Prof. N. G. RANGA, M P. IN THE LOK SABHA ON 5-12-1968 ON "SUGAR POLICY".

SHRI RANGA : Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank my hon. friend, Shri Kashi Nath Pandey, for having raised this debate. I agree with him that at least Rs. 10 Per Quintal of cane ought to be paid to the Kisan.

Shri Shivajirao S. Deshmukh : Rs. 12.

SHRI RANGA : Who is going to pay; how is it to be assured to him; how is it to be paid; What are all the steps that have got to be taken by the Government of India in order to assure our kisans this particular price of Rs. 10 is a complicated matter.

The manufacturers themselves have stated before the Tariff Commission that they want no controls at all. My hon. friend, Shri Kashi Nath Pandey, who represents labour, also wants all the controls to go. I for one do not want these controls in this matter.

SHRI RANGA : But I certainly stand for a minimum price to be assured to our kisans and I want the rest of the controls to go. How is it justifiable that the kisan in Kerala should be capable of getting only Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 a quintal while it is Rs.15 in U.P.? How is it justifiable that our kisans, who insist upon a proper price being paid for their cane, should be forced to hand over their cane to the sugar mills at an arbitrarily fixed price at an unremunerative level by the local government and when they refused to do so they should be sent to jail ? Hundreds of them have been sent, as admitted by Shri Pandey, to jail. Till now we had been discussing the right of workers even of the Secretariat to go on strike. Are the kisans the only people who are to be denied the right to refuse to supply their cane when the price offered to them is not reasonable ? Therefore I raise my voice of protest against the policies of those State Governments who are responsible for taking our kisans to jail just because they have been exercising their elementary right, the right which they have not been exercising for such a long time.

We want the consumers to be benefited; we want also the producers of sugarcane to be protected and, in between, comes a very well-organised sugar-mill sector who have got plenty of capital at their disposal. All of them are not private mill-owners. More than one-third of them to-day are supposed to be co-operative mill-owners. Is it not the duty of the Government to see that justice is done as between these various forces ?

Here are these workers, about 1,37,000 for whom my hon. friend, Shri Kashi Nath Pandey, is a special representative. But are there not lakhs of Kisans? Most of them do not own more than an acre of land under sugarcane and that is their main means of commercial income or cash income. If that goes, they are finished. In fact, the per capita land that is available in Maharashtra is not very much more than one acre, not to speak of area under sugarcane. Are their interests being sufficiently and satisfactorily protected? Is it not high time they should raise the national price from Rs. 7.37 to Rs. 9.37 or Rs. 9 at least per quintal?

Therefore, the only people who cannot make out a case for themselves are the poor kisans. And they go on strike out of exasperation and then they are put into jail.

I wish to give this challenge to the Government. If these kisans are not going to be protected properly, I would once again come into the field and lead the Kisan Satyagraha against the factory owners and against this Government.

440

PRIME MINISTER

NEW DELHI

December 14, 1968.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of 11th December.

I was interested to have your impressions of the recent tour to Nagaland and of the discussions which you had with the State Ministers, Local Army Officers and others. I have noted your comments and suggestions and am looking into them.

With regards.

yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI

441

PURUSHOTTAM G. MAVLANKAR 'PRAGATI,'
Maharashtra Society, Ellisbridge,
AHMEDABAD-6 (Gujarat)
Residence: Laski Institute.

28th December, 1968.

No. DIR/GVM/1847-/68-69

My dear Prof. Ranga,

In the April 1968 issue of the Journal of Parliamentary Information which we received at the Laski Institute two days ago, I saw your article on my father (the first Speaker of Lok Sabha-Ed.) I naturally read it with great interest and I was moved by your warm tribute.

I would like to re-print this article in the February 1969 Laski Institute Bulletin. I shall of course make the necessary acknowledgement to the Lok Sabha secretariat and to your good self.

You know we are running the Laski Institute for last fifteen years. I am now devoting greater attention to its work and expansion, after having resigned as Principal of the L. D. Arts College on March 15 this year.

My mother (Smt. Sushilabai) and all of us in the family are well here and wish you all the same.

With affectionate regards.

Yours sincerely,
P. G. MAVLANKAR
Director.

* Shri Purushottam has since been elected a member of Lok Sabha. (Ed.)

442

MESSAGE SENT TO ALL INDIA PANCHAYAT PARISHAD

Dear sir,

I wish your all India Panchayat Parishad's Session all success.

I am glad that Jaiprakashjee is presiding over it. We are all keen on making the Panchayat Raj a success.

It is however necessary to see that the Governments, their officers and party bosses and ministers are not given powers to make the Panchayats, their mere agents for exploitation.

It is also dangerous to burden the Panchayats with too many powers and too much of funds in these days of factions and castism and political partisanship. I am totally opposed to the proposals and propaganda that Panchayats should be given supervisory powers over the cultivation-activities of our peasants and even ownership and utilisation of all land in villages. That approach, though a part of Sarvodaya ideology will surely lead to Communism and liquidation of self-employed, independent, and free peasantry.

The State Grants, even when channelled through Zilla Parishad, are now a days being distributed more in the interests of political forces than according to the just needs of viliages. So there is need for a non-political; Judicial-minded Panchayats cum Social Development Grants Commission, presided over by a High Court Judge or some one of equal status and impartiality.

There is need to study the possibilities for eliminating the present evils of competitive elections, by introducing the ancient Indian method of choosing the members by drawing lots from among the elected panel of suitable candidates.

443

PRIME MINISTER
No. 498–PMH 69.

NEW DELHI,
February 10, 1969.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I have your letter of the 6th February 1969 regarding the exploration and extraction of marine resources. I agree that this is an exciting area, with potentialities which we cannot yet fully comprehend. I am referring your letter to Dr. B. D. Nag Chaudhari and requesting him to get the matter examined.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI.

444

Minister of Defence,
Dr O. No. 54/DM/69.
NEW DILHI,
March 19, 1969.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

The construction of the railway lines as also other comunication facilities in Tripura will therefore have to be considered on the basis of the report of the Study Team appointed by the Planning commission to go into the transport requirements of the area.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
SWARAN SINGH.

445

YORKS, NEW YORK,
April 8, 1969.

Dear Bharathi Devi,

Your letter was like the first breath of spring to me.

You write so beautifully–your description of the roses and jasmine in April filled me with nostalgia you brought tears to my eyes – tears of happiness – you brought a reminder of all the beauty in this magnificent World that is ours all too briefly.

Ah. You are a poet.

My long silence is due to work and more work. I am very happy as Assistant Principal. My only regret is, it leaves me so little time. Here in New York everything is rushed–we run around like caged animals chasing their tails–so little time to be a woman, to take time to look around and notice spring is again upon the land. Sometimes I feel I am a machine–running on and on. The Pace of life is so very hectic–so senseless. It dulls the senses; your lovely letter brought me great joy. It gave me pause to stop and remember again–the young girl I was 10 years ago.

I could only become one of the graceful statues on the Pantheon–in Athens – to stand there for eternity in the glorious sunlight and silvery moonlight.

Write me–I need your beautiful Comments and poetic expressions and keep me alive.

Warmest regards to Prof. Ranga.

Love always,
REENE.

446

Deputy Prime Minister,
INDIA, NEW DELHI,
15th April, 1969.

My dear Rangaji,

I have received your letter of 14th April 1969 with its accompaniment regarding the difficulties which are being

experienced by tobacco growers and traders. I am having the matter examined and shall write to you later in this behalf.

With regards

Yours sincerely,
MORARJI DESAI.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.,
4, Sunehri Bagh Road, New Delhi.

447

PROF. N. G. RANGA'S INTERVENTION DURING THE DEBATE ON THE DEMANDS OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN TRADE AND SUPPLY, IN THE LOK SABHA ON 17-4-1969

Shri Ranga : What is happening in regard to tobacco trade? Lakhs of growers and hundreds of traders and a few very big people have on their hands stocks of tobacco of the year before last year and this year also, and nothing is being done. The S. T. C. is there doing nothing. I would like the Minister to give us an assurance that the S. T. C. will play its constructive role for which it was established.

The Minister has not said anything about tobacco.

Shri B. R. Bhagat : I can assure the hon. Member that this matter was considered by the S. T. C.

Shri Ranga : S. T. C. is doing nothing.

Shri B. R. Bhagat : The hon. Member has spoken to me about this. A number of Members of Parliament, representatives of growers, and the Leader of the Opposition have all spoken to me about this. After the general discussion, it was agreed that the S. T. C. will go into this trade not only for this year for lifting the surplus, but I have asked the S. T. C. to develop this trade, the export of

this commodity on a continuing basis..... I am quite sure that the S.T.C.* will evolve a scheme of export of tobacco.

448

"INDICATE FAIR WAGE FOR AGRICULTURAL LABOUR"

–Prof. Ranga's suggestion in Parliament on 17–4–1969.

"I am glad that the Minister of Food and Agriculture is present here. It was while he was Labour Minister that we got that clause included in the Minimum wages Act that it should be made applicable to agricultural labour also. I do not wish to go into the details in regard to Governments failure to act in this matter, but I would like to ask whether Government would see to it that whenever the Agricultural Prices Commission makes a recommendation and thereupon Government also comes to a decision as to what price should be paid for the various produce such as wheat, rice and so on, they would also indicate at least from now onwards just as they indicate a fair price, a fair wage based upon that fair price that ought to be paid to agricultural labour, so thae an atmosphere would be created in the country, whether labour is organised in some areas or not, that such and such is considered to be a fair wage and we can expect the peasants as well as the workers to try to reach up to that fair wage at least and approximate themselves to what is considered to be fair in the country ?

*So far (1974) State Trading Corporation (S. T. C.) is most reluctant to break the monopoly Control of tobacco markets held by such combines as Nav Bharat Enterprises trading with Communist Countries and I- L. T. D. etc. exporting to other countries. So, it rarely comes into the markets to compete with monopolists by offering to purchase tobacco at reasonable prices. — Ed)

449

Prof. N. G. RANGA
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)

4 Sunehri Bagh Road,
New Delhi.
April 17, 1969

My dear Indiraji

To-day there was a Calling Attention Notice by Prof. M. L. Sondhi, Shri Kushak Bakula and others. You would find from the Lok Sabha proceedings how much sympathy had been expressed from all sections of the House for the people of Ladakh, and how in response to that feeling the Speaker was good enough to suggest that the Government might send a fact-finding and goodwill mission of Members of all parties and elements to Ladakh.

We have thought of such a team with a view to helping the national interest and not to cause any embarassment to anybody.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA

Mrs. INDIRA GANDHI,
Prime Minister of India, New Delhi.

450

PRIME MINISTER

No. 458-PMO/69

NEW DELHI,
April 18, 1969.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I am sorry I could not reply earlier to your letter of April 10 about West Bengal affairs.

I appreciate the concern which you have expressed about the recent happenings in the State (West Bengal). We have since had occasion to discuss the whole matter

at length on the Floor of the House, both with regard to the Cossipore incident as also the Bundh which was organised recently in Calcutta. Our views were made clear by my colleagues, the Defence Minister and the Home Minister.

With good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M. P.,
53, North Avenue, New Delhi-1.

451

PROP. N. G. RANGA

4, Sunehribagh Road,
NEW DELHI-11,
April 19, 1969.

My dear Munshijee,

I am so happy, you are soon to come to Delhi. I hope to meet you at the celebration.

I am glad to read your article on the Centre-State Relations and the Constitution as published in AMRIT BAZAR PATRIKA of the 12th instant. I agree with you. But who are to assist or advise the President, whenever he has to act in regard to Centre Vs. State relations or the States and Constitution, if your correct interpretation is to be implemented; i. e., that he (the Governor) need not be dependent upon the Central Prime Minister or Home Minister or both?

With best regards to Smt. Leelavati,

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA

Kulapati K. M. Munshi,
Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan,
Curzon Road, New Delhi.

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D.O: No. 21-2-69/Jud. III

MINISTER
MINISTRY OE HOME AFFAIRS
GOVERNAMENT OF INDIA
New Delhi,
May 6, 1969.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Kindly refer to your letter dated the 18th April, 1969 suggesting that Chief Justice of India may be requested to see that retired Judges consult him before they accept any responsibility in connection with the management of industrial and commercial concerns, whether owned or managed by private or public sectors.

We have placed your suggestion to the Chief Justice of India, expressing our agreement with it, and he has indicated that he would consider the matter.

Yours sincerely,
VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA.

453

RELIEF FOR RAJASTHAN

PROF. N. G. RANGA

4, Sunehribagh Road,
New Delhi–11,
8th May, 1969.

My dear Indiraji,

I wish to draw your attention to the enclosed copy of the Report on famine conditions in Jaisalmer etc., in Rajasthan dated 1st May, which had already been sent to you by Shri Thakur Bikram Singh of Pokaram (Dt. President Swatantra Party).

I have seen just this morning the enclosed press reports about Sri S. D. Arya's (Additional Director of

Medical and Health Services) study report and also the statement of Sri Brij Sundar Sharma, Health Minister, Rajasthan. Lest the Government should ignore the continued need for emergent assistance and relief for the sufferers of Rajasthan Famine, I wish to remind you of the earliar complaints and stress the need for special assistance to the sufferers.

I would also request you to see that the concerned authorities pay special attention to the need for developing :

1. Irrigation, 2. Power Transmitting Lines, 3. Energising Tube-Wells, 4. Supplying freely Milk-Powder, Vitamins etc. and last by 5. Increasing the supplies of Drinking Water,

Yours very sincerely.
N. G. RANGA.

454

PROF, N. G. RANGA

S. Sunehribagh Road
NEW DELHI-11,
May, 15, 1969.

My dear Fakruddin Saheb,

I am sending copies of two letters from the Handloom Weavers' leader (Pragada Kotaiah) to the Andhra Chief Minister, urging the need for taking up necessary legislative steps to protect the Handloom Weavers from competition from Powerlooms and also large-scale Textile Mills.

We have been pressing the Government for a long time, on behalf of the All-India Handloom Weavers' Sammelan (Congress), the need for reservation of all coloured sarees and the necessary steps to prevent the Mills and Powerlooms from producing them.

Rajaji, when he was the Chief Minister of Madras got a Resolution passed in support of this demand by the then Madras Legislative Assembly. He is still continuing to support that demand.

This Year's Budget proposals are not very helpful.

I am sorry to say that the condition of the Handloom Weavers is worsening day by day, in view of the rising cost of living and the stagnant demand for Handloom goods and competition from Powerlooms also.

Yours sincerely,
N. G RANGA.

Madras Government proposed in 1974 to pass legislation in favour of such reservation for handloom weavers. –(Ed.)

455

PARLIAMENT HOUSE.
NEW DELHI,
May 15, 1969.

My Dear Shri Jagjivan Ram,

We invite your kind attention to the last para on page 52 of the Annual Report of the Department of Atomic Energy 1968–69. We are glad that the Department of Atomic Energy has conceded that about 40,000 hectares of cultivable waste land could be reclaimed easily if the water in Kutch Saurashtra Region was desalted. This was needed for development of Agroindustrial complex.

We suggest that the Agricultural Ministry should engage its immediate attention for desalting the water in the Kutch region so as to provide necessary base for the development of the industrial complex in the area. As you will agree, the need of the Kutch region for the development

of such an industrial complex has occurred and we should do our best in this regard.

We hope it will be possible for your Ministry to co-operate with the Atomic Energy Department in this regard. An early action in this regard will be very much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

456

PROF. N. G. RANGA

NEW DELHI,
May 19, 1969.

My dear Sri Brahmananda Reddy, (Chief Minister, A. P.)

I am sorry this cyclonic disaster has come to overtake our people of the Coastal areas. You must be very much worried over it.

I am sending copies of my letters to the Prime Minister and the Central Irrigation Minister Dr. K. L. Rao, for your information.

I request you to give careful and earnest consideration, atleast in the light of this disaster to the multi-purpose flood-protection, irrigation and reservoir construction projects which are gaining dust in your records and see that they are taken up for urgent implementation with the help of the proceeds of the recently imposed drainage cess (in spite of our Peasants' protests), plus whatever loans you can raise from the Reserve Bank, against the future collections of that Cess and whatever Central assistance you can obtain.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

457

NEW DELHI,
May 19, 1969.

My dear Shri Morarji,

I am sorry to have to bring to your notice the unfortunate failure of the Andhra Government, its District Collector, and Zilla Parishad of Srikakulam and their engineers to prevent the misdirection or misuse of the Cyclone Relief Funds of more than Rs. 2 crores that you were good enough to allot on the advice of the central team of Officers.

The Collector, and the President of the Zilla Parishad and the President of the District Congress Committee, who used to be together in opposing our proposals for Relief Works, such as drinking water facilities for fishermen's villages and irrigation works (including repairs, reconstruction or renovation works) have now fallen out among themselves, as to whom the contracts are to be granted, what works to be taken up, how they are to be executed and what benefits should go to whose friends and agents from out of the legitimate (or otherwise) profits to be derived from the contracts etc.

We have written to the Chief Minister about these misdeeds and he was good enough to say that he was sending these complaints to the Revenue Minister.

It ought to be possible for you and your officers to give necessary advice and guidance and persuade the concerned authorities in the Andhra Government and Ministry to do justice to the people and to utilise at least the central funds to your satisfaction.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

Shri Morarji Desai
Deputy Prime Minister of India, New Delhi.

458

PRIME MINISTER

No. 582–PMO/69 NEW DELHI,
May 21, 1969.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I saw your letter of May 19th on return from tour this morning.

The news of the havoc caused by the cyclone and heavy rains in the coastal areas of Andhra is indeed distressing and a cause for grave concern. I have been in touch with the Chief Minister since the first reports of the disaster came in.

We normally do send a Central team of officers to assess the help which may be required by the State Government. I agree that should be expedited. I am sending copies of your letter to the Deputy Prime Minister and also the Food & Agriculture Minister who is concerned with natural calamities.

The other important question raised by you, namely, of long-term measures that can be taken to provide better protection to the vulnerable areas should be gone into separately.

With regards.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI.

459

PRIME MINISTER

NEW DELHI,
May 5 1969.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I have received your letter of May 8, 1969, regarding the drought conditions prevailing in certain parts of Rajasthan.

I am deeply concerned over the distress caused by drought in Rajasthan and am in close touch with the relief measures which are being taken.

We should seek not only immediate but also long term solutions to such problems. I have asked the Planning Commission and the ministers concerned to look into these matters.

With good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI.

460

PRO. N. G. RANGA

4, Sunehribagh Road,
May 26, 1969

My Dear Indiraji,

Thanks for your reply regarding my request for rushing aid to the Andhra sufferers of the recent Cyclone of unprecedented strength and duration.

I learn that the Andhra Government had asked for aid of the Army and the supply of boats, in order to salvage the thousands of villagers and villages marooned in flood waters in Guntur, Krishna and West Godavari districts. I trust, whatever aid has been asked for, is being made available to Andhra Government without any delay I request you to ensure that all the concerned ministers give this matter the highest priority and provide assistance, without any delay or hesitation.

The Chief Minister was good enough to invite me to join him in the aerial survey of some of the affected areas of the 20th instant. He also told me that you had mentioned about my letter to you, about this matter.

We found, during that survey, that the railway lines, roads and canal bunds were breached or broken, and not a single village was free from the surrounding flood waters, and many towns were also marooned. Indeed, I found on the 21st, the great city of Vijayawada was completely out off from the rest of Krishna District. Because of breaches on all roads and railway lines. The telephone and telegraph connections were also disconnected.

I am glad that collections of Land Revenue and arrears of past taxes as well as co-operative loans are being suspended. That will not be enough. Necessary legislative steps will have to be taken to declare moratorium on the enforcement of court-decrees and an all private transactions in money-lending.

Smt. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister, New Delhi.

Yours very sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

461

PRIME MINISTER

NEW DELHI,
June 1, 1969

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of May 18. I am glad you have decided to join the Parliamentary Consultative Committe on Planning. I am sure, the Committee will be enriched by your experience and knowledge.

Since you have sent a copy to the Defence Minister, I have no doubt that he will consider the matters raised by you.

With regards and good wishes.

Yours Sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI.

462

Minister for Irrigation & Power, India.

M/P-2924/69 NEW DELHI,
11th June, 1969.

My Dear Prof. Ranga,

I thank you for your kind letter of 19th May 1969 and also the personal discussions which I had with you during my recent visit to Ponnur I have analysed the situation and worked out the steps to be taken in this regard. In the main, the Mitra Committee's recommendations have to be implemented. This will provide quick drainage and disposal of flood waters. However, these will have to be supplemented by a few additional works in the light of our recent experience.

As you are aware, the cost of the drainage scheme has to be met by contributions from the farmers. Collections this year would be difficult because of the widespread heavy loss and damage in the area. Nevertheless an early beginning must be made in taking up the necessary works. I am therefore pursuing the matter of finding finance for making a start.

With kind regards.

Yours Sincerely,
K. L. RAO.

463

PROF. N. G. RANGA NIDUBROLU,
June 26, 1969.

My dear K. L. Rao,

I am shocked to learn that on top of the sufferings and losses caused by the prolonged drought in Chittoor District and other areas of Rayalaseema, the minimum

guarantee for electricity consumption for well-irrigation etc. has been raised from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 50/- per annum per one horse-power. Actually so many peasants have become unable to use this Power, in view of the drying up of wells consequently upon the continued drought.

There is actually a just demand for waiving the whole scheme of this guarantee in all these drought stricken areas.

I learn that attempts are being made to disconnect Power from these motors in rural areas because of Peasants failure to pay up the guaranteed minimum charges. I am afraid such an inhuman policy would provoke peasants to resistance including the outbreak of violence between the authorities and peasants.

The same unjust and too heavy demand is being made from the Peasants of the drought-affected areas of Srikakulam, Vizag and Telangana and more especially the recently Cyclone – stricken areas of Srikakulam and the Central Districts.

So I request you to drop this demand for the minimum guarantee of consumption of Power at enhanced rates and also abstain from disconnecting the Power-connections in all these rural areas.

Shri P. Rajagopala Naidu and others have already written to you in greater detail about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

Copy to Shri C. Narasimham, Chairman,
Andhra Electricity Board.

464

NIDUBROLU,
June 30, 1969.

My dear Shri Morarjibhai,

I dare say you remember how strongly so many of us, from all sides of the House had pleaded with you but in vain, to drop the new tax imposts on Fertilisers.

I request you to give a fresh consideration to our plea, in the light of what the British Labour Government also is doing in favour of the British farmers, who are far more advanced than so many of our Krishi Pandits and who are richer than our rich peasants and where there is no Land Ceilings Legislation.

I wish to draw your attention in this regard to the last paragraph in the enclosed Fact Sheet, circulated by the British Information Services indicating British Concessions on Fertilisers. (January 1969).

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

465

Parliament House,
NEW DELHI,
July 10, 1969.

My dear Shri Morarji Desai/Shri B. R. Bhagat,

I am sorry to say that though I brought to the attention of the Commerce Minister, in the course of my suppplemetary questions and my correspondence, about the plight of tobacco traders and growers, especially of Andhra, nothing concrete has yet been attempted to be done persuade the S. T. C. to enter the market and make purchases of substantial quantities of tobacco or/and Reserve Bank and other Banks to advance credit upto atleast 75% of the average market price against the security of flue-cured and or redried Virginia Tobacco to be kept in the warehouses as per the regulations of the Central Warehousing Act.

I request you, the two Ministers especially concerned in this matter, to take some urgent and adequate steps, through the S. T. C. and Banks to help this vital forain-exchange earning industry.

I trust that Government would not drive the Peasants to resort to any such desperate steps as burning away–these burdensome stocks of tobacco.

Your affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

466

2766–DPM/69 DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, INDIA,
NEW DELHI,
14th July 1969.

My dear Ranga,

I thank you for your letter of 30th June 1969 and the enclosure with it.

2. I have gone through the paragraph indicated by you (from "World Agriculture" that in England, Fertilizers were subsidized and freed from Excise Duties.–Ed.) I do not know how far an argument about tax policy can be made by analogy with the policy of another Government. The tax policy of any country is related to the pattern of Government expenditure and to the judgement of its Government regarding the contribution the various sectors benefitting from such expenditure should make to further progress. The new tax on fertilizers is levied in the belief that the agricultural sector which has benefitted from the expenditures undertaken by Government over the last three Plans should begin to make a small contribution for further growth. I need not stress that I am not singling out any particular sector for a major sacrifice in the interests of development. Oour policy so far has been–and will continue to be–to get every sector of society to contribute the maximum of resources to the programmes of development.

Yours sincerely,
MORARJI DESAI.

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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, CHOWPATTY,
BOMBAY-7.
9th August, 1969.

My dear Rangaji,

Your very kind letter.

Parkinsonism which I am suffering from is considerably under control but the slightest tension activates it.

So far as I am concerned, I have submitted myself to the will of God, When on the operation table in July 1966, a few words came to my mind which I recovered from memory after I regained consciousness.

"Thou dids't light the
flame of life for me;
At thy bidding I fed it,
trimmed it;
Made it burn
bright as ever.
The flame now flickers:
I am ready to depart:
What's Thy will?

The original lines, if I remember aright are from Poet LANDOR but I have changed them to suit the context.

Many thanks for offering prayers for my recovery. Do meet me when you come to Bombay.

My wife and other members of my family join me in wishing you very best.

Yours affectionately,
K. M. MUNSHI.

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World's Celebration of Gandhi Centenary

TELEGRAM

New Delhi, 11–9–1969.

Prof: N. G. Ranga, Swatantra 1–10–122/18
Ashok Nagar, HYDERABAD.

Committee Gandhi Centenary Celebrations abroad requests you kindly to visit spain Marocco Tunisia Libya and Sudan in context Gandhi Centenary Celebrations. It would help if you start preferably by September Twenty-fifth stay abroad not expected to exceed one month Indian Missions concerned will be requested to receive you and make all Arrangements for your stay and Lecture Programmes.

Education Ministry.

Rangaji was also requested to attend UNESCO International Seminar held in Paris on 14–17 October, 1969 as Associate Delegate and the British Celebration held in Prince Albert Hall on 21st organised by Earl Mount-Batten, in which Mira Behen, Gandhiji's close disciple, also participated. He also took part in Television Seminar held in Paris, Cairo (Egypt) and Khartoum (Sudan). (–Ed.)

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SERVICE TO AGRICULTURAL WORKERS, KALAKARS AND HARIJANS.

SRI KOKA SUBBARAO,
11 Rest House Crescent,
Bangalore,
10th November, 1969.

Shri K. Subbarao, Retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court gave the following details about Rangaji's services for Agricultural Workers and Harijans in the course of his felicitations on Rangaji's birth day Celerbrations at Vijayawada on 10–11–1969.

In 1923 in his own village NIDUBROLU Rangaji constructed wells in Harijanwada and requested caste-Hindus to throw open all the wells and tankes to Harijans.

Being the President of District Harijan Sevak Sangh, he trained Harijan Youth as well as caste-Hindu Youth as propagandists against untouchability and developed number of anti-untouchability organisations.

In response to the call of Gandhiji in 1933 he led the first Harijan Seva Dal in India, toured through villages and organised a number of public meetings, requesting caste-Hindus to treat Harijans as equal and honourable citizens. Even Desoddharaka Nageswararao joined in the Inter–Caste Santarpan (free feeding) organised by Rangaji in Tallapalem in which Harijans were the cooks, servers and also co-partners and diners. Gandhiji appreciated this work of Rangaji. That tour galvanised the social atmosphere in rural areas. Harijan Members of the Dal were honoured by the Caste–Hindus. In most places wells and tanks were thrown open to Harijans.

He succeeded in getting some of the Porambokes, Government watse lands granted to Harijans of Guntur and Nellore Districts.

He wanted the Royal Commission on Labour of 1928–30 to pay special attention to agricultural labour, in the hope that Harijan's socio–economic progress could be achieved as most of the agricultural workers are Harijans. He stressed that workmen's compensation Act and the Trade Unions Act and Payment of Wages Act should be extended to the agricultural labour with suitable modifications. He also suggested the establishment of Trade Boards for protecting Cottage Workers, such as are in Beedi production. He met with some success to get the Minimum Wages Act extended to Agricultural labour also.

Rangaji felt that adult franchise is another effective means to uplift the Harijans and other backward classes. Dr. Annie Besent was opposed to adult-franchise. Rangaji met her and Gandhiji, Ali Brothers, Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and pleaded with them for the adoption of adult franchise for helping Panchamas especially. Gandhiji assured of his support and Nehru Committee accepted Adult Franchise in 1929. The Constitution has granted adult–franchise.

RANGAJI AND HANDLOOM WEAVERS:

The movement of hand–loom weavers had been started by Rangaji in 1925. But actual organisational work done during 1936–40. He guided some of his weaver friends to built up Weaver's Congress Committees and organised number of weavers' Co-operatives all over Andhra and obtained funds from the Government for the maintenance of these organisations. He is the author of "The Economics of the Handloom" 1930. He was the President of the Madras Presidency Handloom Co-operative Society. (1940).

He organised special classes for weavers' youths in the INDIAN PEASANT INSTITUTE.

RANGAJI AND AGRICULTURAL LABOUR :

He founded the South Indian Federation of Peasants and Agricultural Workers (1935) and formulated the charter of the minimum demands of agricultural workers. He pleaded for legislation to protect tenants, assuring them security of tenure (at least for 5 years), reduce the rents and establish Rent Fixation Land Tribunals and also minimum wages for labour etc. To strengthen the unity among the agriculturists and the agricultural labour, he organised Agricultural Labour Congress Committees in most of the districts of Andhra. He organised Tenants' Co-operatives of Harijans for the cultivation of Lanka Lands.

He felt the urgent need for better houses for agricultural workers. He encouraged Kisan Congressites to organise small housing colonies for them. In response to his call, some of his Kisan friends built such colonies in few villages of different districts in Andhra. He and his colleagues tried to convince peasant proprietors to pay higher wages to the agricultural labour and then demanding suitable level of agricultural prices, so that, both the sections of peasantry could be benefited.

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AKASHVANI, NEW DELHI-1

GANDHIJI ; AS I THINK OF HIM

(National Programme : Prof. N. G. Ranga's Radio Talk Nov. 30, 1969.)

Gandhiji, as he used to appear to us at prayers, is our Bapu.

At other times he was so much like any other great leader, excelling only in his wit and wisdom, love and laughter.

Once he sat down for prayers, he became a Sadhaka, serene and sacred, withdrawn from us and in communion with his inner Being.

Sometimes, I was privileged to walk behind him to the prayer meeting. At other times' I found myself in the midst of the devout gathering As he sat down, we resumed our places. The gong announced the commencement of the prayers.

A Celestial Being–

He used to keep time with our songs. He joined us in our silent prayers. He was the best 'Bhakta' among 'Bhaktas'.

Many a time I felt, as I looked at him in his 'Dhyanopasan', that he was no longer the frail old man, hardly three feet high as he sat, but was transformed into a celestial being.

To quote from my book 'Bapu Blesses'. "I felt that he was touching the very aura of the heaven and his shoulders were extending towards the poles and his bronze visage was as beautiful as the approaching evening twilight". "It was that Bapu who had aroused our masses, awakened their public spirit and entwined their minds with the national consciousness".

So, I felt myself growing stronger and bolder.

I think of that Bapu every day as I offer my prayers. The chanting of those songs with their magic words resounds in my ears.

Gandhiji toured repeatedly through almost every part of India during his numerous campaigns for Harijan uplift and temple entry, anti-untouchability. Khadi, Prohibition,

village industries, Non cooperation and Swarajya. His pigrimages around the political and social nerve centres of our country were unique and stamped his teachings on this land of villages.

Three to four generations of our people had the honour of seeing him in our villages, and the present generation of our students are regaled by their parents with exciting stories of Bapu's visits to their areas and of his poignant sayings.

A GREAT PRIVILEGE

He had thus come to my own village Nidubrolu in 1928 and 1933. It was a great privilege. I and my wife rushed from Madras in 1928 to share with our villagers the honour of receiving him. My mother felt so proud of her sons and herself as Gandhiji came to our home, accepted our garlands and purse and blessed us; so was every family in every village that he touched.

Most of our people did not understand his Hindi; that did not bother them. It was enough that he was in their midst. They knew that his was the Mantra of Swaraj, mission of mercy for all the suffering ones and liberation for all the suppressed. He stood for work, shelter, food, Clothing and enlightenment and freedom from all types of exploitation of masses. He exhorted them, so repeatedly and with deep faith, to observe Dharma as exemplified by Shri Rama and the saints of all religions.

Thousands of people used to line the routes by which he marched on foot or drove by in car.

So many of his observations are cherished even today. For instance, he asked the rich grandfather of an infant to teach how to give and not to hold on to, when he observed how the baby held fast to the gold coin dedicated to Gandhiji.

Once he asked me for the Telugu word for money and when the train reached Vijayawada, he held out his hand and began to utter the word 'Dabbu' as if it was a Mantra and laughed heartily as people rushed to pour out all they had in their pockets – and that amounted to thousands.

LIKE THE BUDDHA

As I tour through our country, so many people relate such experiences and mention proudly that he stopped or addressed people in such and such places and gave his ennobling messages of humanism through his soft voice, after the manner of Lord Buddha.

Gandhiji's Pada Yatras have planted once again the golden seeds of 'dharma' and love of humanity in this sacred soil of Rama. His foot-prints beckon our masses towards the noble paths of Swatantra, Swarajya, mutual tolerance and love.

Gandhiji believed in Shastras and other scriptures of Hinduism. But he would not accept their supremacy over Humanism. When the Pandits quoted Sastras in favour of untouchability, he defied them with vehemence. He declaredthat the Puranic religion they swore by was not–could not be–Hinduism. He believed in the soulful invocation "Loka–Samasta–Sukhino–Bhavantu". He believed in religious tolerance. To protect the right of the Moslems to practise their religious rites, he risked his life many times through fasts. He knew that full employment, and that too through self–employment, would ensure the self–reliance and self–respect and economic freedom of our people. So he favoured cottage industries and handicrafts Khadi, the prince among them. Though he was a whole-hogger for Khadi, he was prepared to take under his protective wings the handloom weavers who used mill yarn in order to insure them against unemployment.

PEASANT APPLE OF HIS EYE

The Peasant was the apple of his eye. He tested the utility of wisdom of every political or social solution, brought to his notice on any occasion, by asking himself whether it would benefit the peasants or harm them.

He favoured cooperation among peasants so long as it would promote their self-employment, self-reliance and self-respect.

He was opposed to every type of exploitation, caused by individuals or institutions. Hence his support to our demand for the abolition of the Zamindari system and forced labour.

He could not bear any unjust or undue burdens placed on the stooping shoulders of our poor peasants and workers. So he opposed land revenue and salt tax. He opposed food controls because they prevented the peasants from selling their foodgrains in the comparative market and at remunerative prices. Controls meant coercion of peasants by officials, increase in corruption and exploitation of poor consumers. By the same token, he wanted protection for peasants from the exploitation of merchants and money-lenders. So he hailed Rajaji's declaration of moratorium on agricultural debts and Congress Government's debt relief legislation.

Gandhiji desired that tenants should also be assured of security of tenure and economic rents as against the demands of absentee land-holders, even after the abolition of the Zamindari system. Yet he did not want such land-holders to be deprived of their legitimate right to resume cultivation of their lands or to lose their proprietorship.

Over and above everything else, Gandhiji favoured peasant proprietorship and the self-employment that it ensured.

FOR INDUSTRIAL LABOUR

He laboured so hard to win for industrial labour not only decent conditions and maximum protection from exploitation but also a share in profits and management. He wanted wages etc. to be settled by mutual negotiation. and arbitration. In short, he wanted industries to function and prosper through non-exploitation.

The whole world has acknowledged how wise and inspired a statesman Gandhiji proved to be in achieving India's freedom through peaceful means and that he and his Indian freedom-fighters have led the way to the post-war independence of African and Asian peoples. That the Gandhian way continues to inspire ever new cadres of lovers of freedom and human rights is exemplified by the soul-stirring march of the coloured people of United States under the leadership of Martin Luther King and the self-sacrificing self-immolaters of Asia and Europe in their fight against totalitarianism.

But Gandhiji wanted all such struggles against any kind of injustice to be carried on in a humane and peaceful manner and when desperate need imposed urgency, through self-sacrifice. That was why he was so much upset by the inter-communal riots and mob orgies of violence which came to be the lot of India just before and after national freedom. He passionately opposed partition of India. He knew that the birth of Pakistan would not put an end to communal and religious differences and riots but only engender a live volcano, spitting out more bitter and frightful inter-state schisms, strengthened by the evil forces of rival governments. To prevent that disaster, he humbled himself before Mr. Jinnah to persuade him from his cruel resolve to partition India. But alas, he failed.

What happened in the wake of Independence of India and Pakistan - the soul - killing blood - bath, the like of

which was not witnessed since Timur the tyrant-cut Gandhiji to the quick.

"BLEEDING ALL OVER"

So, he exclaimed, when I visited him a few days before the fateful January the thirtieth. I quote him from my book 'Bapu Blesses'. pp 12, 13.

"I am no longer anxious to be in your midst - I cannot blink at these fires of people's sufferings. These killings and sabre–rattlings are wounding me.I am bleeding all over".

I assured him that all of us were suffering - going through inexpressible agony at the thought of his responsive misery. Bapu continued to say.

"Your feelings - our colleagues'' responses – are like soft, soothing breezes. But my heart is on fire. Nothing seems to quench these fires. Every life lost, every anguished heart seared during these unkind days seems to be tearing my heart-strings. I want to close my eyes. I cannot prevent my eyes from closing. Yet, they do not close, because some unseen shocks, unheard of beatings seem to make my eyelids so dry and heavy. I want to sleep. But I cannot sleep. I seem to be awake while asleep."

A Few days later - they looked like hours - he was assassinated by an agent of the evil forces in our society. Thus did Bapu gain his sleep !

EVER TRIUMPHANT

I am convinced that Bapu triumphs. When the princely states were integrated so peacefully with India by Sardar Patel, Bapu triumphed. When Kennedy and Kruschev withdrew from the brink of an atomic war, he triumphed. When Gandhi Peace Misslon led by Rajaji persuaded Kennedy to initiate the Test-ban Treaty, Bapu triumphed. When Martin Luther King marched along the Gandhian

way, painting it with his sacred blood, he triumphed. In the same way as Buddha's 'Parinirvana' was celebrated after 2500 years, Bapu's message of merey, freedom and humanism will continue to inspire humanity as long as God displays his faith in man through "every new born babe".

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FLOOD CONTROL AND PROTECTION

Professor N. G. RANGA NIDUBROLU.
1969.

My dear Dr. Rao,

I am surprised to find the FLOOD CONTROL COMMISSION appointed by you has failed to go to the flood-affected areas of Guntur District.

The tail - end lands in Bapatla Taluk and the whole of the area from Bhattiprolu to the Sea in Repalle Taluk have been subjected to damages caused by frequent floods and over-flow of drainage channels.

I have been pleading for the improvement of these drainage facilities for the past 40 years, by constructing additional drains, widening and deepening the existing drains, straight cuts, etc.

There is need for a comprehensive development of drainage facilities and flood control measures, especially in view of the possibility of over-flow and drainage waters in normal and abnormal years from the Nagarjuna Sagar Irrigation in all the upland Taluks of Guntur District.

Shri G. V. Subbayya, the veteran President of the Powerful and representative Andhra Kisan Sammelan

(Ghantasala P. O., Divi Taluk) has also submitted to the Commission a memorandum on the needs of Krishna and West Godavari Districts, a copy of which is now being enclosed for your information.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

NIDUBROLU,
10-2-70.

My dear Shri Brahamananda Reddi,

Sub :–Urgent need to purchase accumulated Damaged paddy of 1969 May-June Crop.

I am sorry to learn from Shri Gorrepati Venkata Subbaiah, Hon. president of the A.P. Kisan Sammelan, Smt. Bharati Devi and other Kisan leaders and friends in Vijayawada, Tenali, Repalle and Nidubrolu that large stocks of paddy which was damaged during the May 1969 cyclone, are proving an expensive burden to our kisans who had suffered so much during the cyclone and subsequent floods.

You were good enough to suggest to me while we were flying over the flooded areas that I should also use my good effices with the Government of India and reinforce your own efforts to ensure that Government of India and the Food Corporation between themselves would undertake the financial responsibility for marketing of whatever damaged paddy could be salvaged from that calamity. I have therefore spoken and written to both Prime Minister and the Food Minister and they were good enough to give the necessary assurances.

I am sure you and your Food Ministry are fully aware of the sufferings and damages sustained during the subsequent second crop which has come to be harvested in

November-December-January, by almost the same ryots who were the victims of the earliar cyclone because of unseasonal and heavy rains over prolonged periods, the inadequacy of drainage works and also the blight that settled in the wake of bad winds from the Bay of Bengal, with the result that the yields have come down from 20 to 8 bags in some cases, from 15 to 3 in some other cases, from 10 to 2 in very many areas. You can easily imagine how crushing must be the infliction of those repeated losses over two seasons, in addition to the burden of having to find working capital at Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/- per acre for the next crop. Wherefrom can these poor people obtain the necessary credit? How are they to maintain themselves and their cattle and pay for labour and purchase seeds, fertilizers, Pesticides etc.? In spite of nationalization of banks and social control over other banks, most of the smaller peasants are unable to get accommodation from the banks and the middle income peasants are unable to help themselves and provide credit to smaller peasants because of the accumulated, unsold and damaged paddy.

Yours sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

Shri K. Brahmananda Reddy, Chief Minister,
Andhra Pradesh, HYDERABAD.

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Bhailalbhai D. Patel, M.L.A.

Kulpati Niwas,
Vallabh Vidyanagar,
18th Februrary, 1970.

My dear Rangaji,

I am indeed grateful to you for your anxious enquiries about my health. I am recovering speedily from my illness and am taking complete rest. Doctors have directed

me not to resume active work for some months more. Accordingly, I shall not be attending the ensuing budget session of the Gujarat Legislative Assembly which commences on 18th February.

I would, however, like our Central Leaders to realise a basic difference, so far as we in Gujarat are concerned. In Gujarat there is Government of old Congress and Swatantra Party is the recognised Opposition Party. It becomes the logical function of the Swatantra Party in Gujarat as Parliamentary practices to oppose the Syndicate Government and defeat it by normal democratic means.

Apart from this I am not yet convinced whether there is much to choose between the two Congress factions, particularly if we consider their rivalry. Moreover, in Gujarat, Morarji's Congress has had an unfettered rule and in 1967 people of Gujarat voted for us to oppose and substitute that rule. Since 1967, the Syndicate Government in Gujarat has tried every possible means to harass and ruthlessly victimise our M. L. A.s and Party workers and have left no stone unturned to see that the rank and file of Gujarat Swatantra Party is demoralised. Their aim so far has been to weaken and liquidate Swatantra Party in Gujarat so that they have no opposition worth the name in 1972. They have done everything in their power to destroy peasantry in Gujarat.

Even after the developments in Delhi causing a split in Congress organisation, there is no perceptible change of heart on the Part of the Government leaders in Gujarat. I am told that when Masani visited Gujarat last, he talked of "cease-fire". Within four days of Masani's departure, the Syndicate Congress lured nine Swatantra Councillors of Anand Municipality into Congress-(o) fold and thus seized control of Anand Municipality which was hitherto controlled by Swatantra Party. I would like to ask what sort of

cease-fire we are aiming at whether it is to be one-sided affair.

Wisdom has not yet dawned on the Syndicate Congress in Gujarat. History has proved that they are not very far-sighted people and have missed the bus everywhere.

Yours sincerely,
BHAILAL D. PATEL.*

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* Shri Patel better known as Bhai Kaka was founder of Vallabhai Patel University, Anand. He was the President Gujarat Swatantra Party and Leader of the Opposition in Gujarat Legislative Assembly.—(Ed.)

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RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN

NEW DELHI,
Date 26-2-1970.

My dear Ranga Garu,

I have the pleasure and privilege of going through with great interest your extremely illuminating publication on Bapuji (Bapu Blesses). I am sending herewith through our good friend Shri Kalidas Garu my latest publication on "Jobs For Our Millions."

With kindest regards to Mrs. Ranga and self.

Yours affectionately,

V. V. GIRI.

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

4, Sunehribagh Road,
NEW DELHI
February 26, 1970.

Dear Prime Minister,

I am sorry to have to draw your attention to serious complaints that so many of us have been receiving from the Kisan leaders and Satyagrahis of Ganganagar about the unwarranted and unjustifiable violence and cruel treatment inflicted upon peaceful Satyagrahis.

I have had the honour of guiding and supervising such Kisan Satyagraha campaigns in many a state over many years and as recently as 1964 and 1967 in Andhra. But Mr. Brahmananda Reddi, the local Chief Minister, who also happens to belong to your section of the Congress in the same way as the Rajasthan Chief Minister did not give any room for any such complaints because none of our Satyagrahis was either insulted or ill-treated or beaten up during the Satyagraha nor was any third-degree coercion inflicted upon them in sub-jails nor was any sub-human treatment meted out to them during their imprisonment. Indeed, the whole of the Andhra Satyagraha campaign progressed with mutual goodwill and as a peaceful democratic process of vigorous protest and exercise of civil rights by Satyagrahis.

I have been approached to take up the over-all supervision of the Ganaganagar Satyagraha campaign. I have so far abstained from undertaking this responsibility because I wanted to give yet another opportunity to the Rajasthan Government to give up its present policy of violence and vindictiveness and adopt a humane, civilised and Gandhian attitude towards peaceful Satyagrahis.

I dare say your attention has been drawn to the very strong protest made yesterday (25-2-1970) by such a soft-spoken, responsible friend of your Government, Mr. Karni Singh of Bikanir and the passionate protest made by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh during their speeches, over the represssive policy of Rajasthan Government.

I will be glad if the Government appoints a non-party and high-powered Committee to enquire into Kisans' demands and suggest reasonable solution. There is also the urgent need for enquiring into all allegations of undue and excessive violence that had been inflicted upon the peaceful Satyagrahis, with a view to punish the guilty and to suggest guidelines for the concerned authorities to avoid repetition of such offence.

Therefore, I request you and the Chief Minister of Rajastnan to (1) decide upon the non-violent, non-coercive and humane treatment to all Kisan Satyagrahis-before, during and after arrest and (2) release those Satyagrahis who have been in Jail either under remand or after conviction for more than one month, (3) to abstain from prosecuting on Satyagrahis false charges of violence etc.

Yours very sincerely,

N. G. RANGA.

Smt. INDIRA GANDHI,
Prime Minister of India, NEW DELHI.

Copy to: The Chief Minister,
JAIPURE, Rajasthan.

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PASCHIM BANGA KRISAK SAMAJ
12. Bankim Chatterjee Street, CALCUTT/-12.

Dated 30th April 1970.

Dear Sir,

It is not unknown to you how much we suffered in the regime of U.F. Rule in West Bengal. Naturally we

welcomed the President's Rule with great expectations. In the beginning we felt a relief seeing a gradual restoration of normalcy. But the administration is deliberately non-co-operating as it is sharply divided by political colours.

Under these circumstances the peasants of this State have become more shaky and insecure. Moreover, they are being daily threatened openly through different meetings organised by several Marxist Parties of U. F. and violence has not been checked.

In this context we feel that our genuine grievances will deliberately be ignored by this administration unless we, the democratic people have decided to hold a big all Bengal Democratic Kisan Conference with all parties help excepting Marxist on the 16th and 17th May, 1970 near or at Calcutta and we believe that our aims and objects would surely be strengthened by your kind participation.

Yours faithfully,
SAKTI SARKAR
(General Secretary)

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Dr. GURDIAL SINGH DHILLON
Speaker, LOK SABHA

No. 26/4 (1) 70/T
Speaker's House,
(20, Akbar Road)
NEW DELHI.
August 19, 1970,

Dear Shri Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of August 18, 1970 informing me about your land holdings. I very much appreciate your initiative in doing so.

With regards.

Shri N. G. Ranga, M. P.,

Yours sincerely,
GURDIAL SINGH DHILLON

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IRENE KARRAS TO BHARATI DEVI

NEW YORK,
7-9-1970.

Dear Bharati Devi,

Greetings from cold rainy London. I long for the Warm Sun of Greece - of my ancestors. I am on my way to Copenhagen to tour. Warmest affection.

IRENE

21 November 1971.

Forgive me for my long silence - life brings many distractions.

Work at school has been stormy - many Community groups raising voices of protest - many racial (Port Rican, Negro) confrontations and strife.

All is once again quiet and there is time for reflection and rememberances.

Your last letter brought me happiness. Your descriptions of the "Lovely Smiling Roses" and the "haunting aroma" of the night queen in your garden fill me with joy.

December 1971

I long to visit India one day - perhaps I shall. My warmest good wishes for you and Prof. Ranga for good health and much joy in the coming new Year 1972.

How I would love to see you. Your letters refresh me. Your poetic descriptions give me life and add beauty to my existence.

Much love and affection.

IRENE.

(We are placing for convenience sake these three short messages together from Irene Karras (Principal) to Bharati Devi during the two years 1970-1971) (Ed.)

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THREE PLANERS

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

4, Sunehri Bagh Road,
NEW DELHI.
September 11. 1970.

My dear Giriji,

It was indeed a happy opportunity provided for me by Shri Dutta and Smt. Rajeswari to be with you on the 6th and 7th and participate in those heart warming functions, devoted to the memory of our mutual friend and colleague, the late V. Ramakrishna, I.C.S.

I enjoyed the Giri embrace. I was happy when you told the public how we three had been together and dreamt our dreams of national development and continued over several decades to keep faith with each other and with our plans for social uplift and humanitarian service. I am grateful to you for this inspiring tribute you have paid to Ramakrishna. As I was going through our villages during these two memorable days, many a kisan expressed his happiness that you were good enough to declare that Ramakrishna, Ranga and Giri have been the three Musketeers of India's

fight for social justice and development. You saw how spontaneous and wonderful was the response of the tens of thousands of kisans and mazdoors who lined the road along that 60 miles route you covered on the 7th and how the twenty to thirty thousand strong gathering in Nagaram's Ramakrishna College had appreciated your sincere plea for social justice and my tribute to your loyalty to all classes of toilers and to Ramakrishna's love of kisans, mazdoors and his passion for making India productive and prosperous.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA.

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C/o. R. CHURCH.
St. Stephen's College,
DHLHI-7.
12-9-1970.

Dear Sir,

May I introduce myself as a graduate student from Queen's College, Cambridge, currently researching on the political history of the Madras Presidency. I am specially interested in the period 1917-37.

I have read some of your works in English. I have recently read your autobiography "Fight for Freedom" which has been most helpful. You mention, however, in the preface to that volume, that two chapters on your activities in the late 1920 have been omitted. I would very much like to know more about this period, and also your activities in connection with social reform and Peasant movements in your student days and following your return from England. Can you give me any assistance ? Any advice on my research would be most welcome. I would also appreciate a short interview if this is convenient.

Yours
CHRISTOPHER BAKER.

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PROF. N. G. RANGA, M. P.

4, Sunehribagh Road,
NEW DELHI-11.
October 15, 1970.

My dear Shri Prakashjee,

What an uplifting experience it is to read your excellent biography-filial tribute-of your grand-old - father Dr. Bhagawan Das, our Bharat Ratna.

Who would not love to share your father's fascination for fine aroma and colours of flowers and trees ?

I agree with you that there is so much more in the way we live as did your noble father and Gandhiji than in what we teach, to help younger generations to learn and appreciate and respect the godly path of life that we believe in.

Both Bharatidevi and myself and our Suseela felt ourselves blessed by having had the privilege of seeing your father in his house and partaking of your parents' hospitality, as well as your affection.

You have indeed rendered national service by giving us this book-which breathes the Indian message of family, national Dharma Pitru, Matru Devobhava.

I am grateful to you for having mentioned me as one of his friends in the Central Assembly.

With best regards.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA

Sri Sri Prakash.

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RAJASTHAN - ITS JAIN TEMPLES AND CITIES

JAIPUR,
Government Guest House,
15th October, 1970.

My dear Bharati Devi,

As I write this from this upstairs, I see the leaves displaying different designs and figures of speech, in response to the movement of the Sun.

While we were at the Cenotoph of Jaipur, we looked at the City–down-below in the valley. The whole City was lit up, so brightly; there was that brilliant, glamourous flood light, painting the City with Gold. How I enjoyed that sight. I recollect how you were enchanted in 1950 by the lighted palace - fort, so riskily balanced on top of these Aravali hills when we used to come out of our tent at the Congress Session. How your face glowed and beamed with delight.

Did we not enjoy the highted Mysore, as it dazzled us, when we were looking at it from the Chamundi Hill ? Most Cities look beautiful, at night, when look at them from Plane or hill or a temple, Nowadays even our Vijayawada puts on an attractive look with the flood of electric lights on Durga Temple, Gandhi Hill, Krishna bridge.

In the same way, Vizag glistens and dons the millions of jewels of gold and silver, as the City lights go up at 7 P. M. and we are uplifted by a sense of happiness as we see from the ancient House that vast City, sprawling from the sea to the harbour, Port, oil refinery.

We were in Udaipur on the 18th night. We were entertained at dinner in the famous Lake Palace Hotel. The Palace itself is a romantic jewel of architecture in the midst of that broad, brilliant, smiling lake. It is beautiful during the day and more enchanting in this Sarat Ratri. Pity, it was not fully lighted.

During this morning (25th) the lake-full water is like a sheet of glass glowing under the mild sun in its maidenly manner.

Delwada Jain temples are a great wonder of the World. They are exquisite pieces of marble-carving. Men, women, animals, flowers, leaves-all gain a heavenly loveliness. The marble itself puts sun-light to shame, moon to be shy! How delicate are the damsels in their dance poses-three Bhangima. How soft, sweet are the garlands of Thirthankaras. Marble is soft to the touch. It proved to be butter, silver or soft wood in the hands of the sculptors have become world famous. These Jain Penchants, arches, garlands, alcoves doves, leaves, pillars with their rich engravings make us speechless with wonder, admiration and exclamation of loving awe! So delicate and delicious. I cannot find words for descriptions or comparisons to indicate even a part of the happiness with which I am filled at their sight. All these pieces of beauty were achieved in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They are encased in a series of humble-looking fully camouflaged roofs, looking like the extension of the hills.

Earlier we saw more interesting cluster of Jain temples with the Mahavir and his earlier incarnations - all installed them. Their richly adorned roofs are after the school of Abu Jain temple. The marble is poorer. But the sculpture, planning, Chiselling on marble, the Pendants and the variegated flowers, their petals, leaves, small damsels and stories are so inspiring and devotedly offered.

That Indian architects, artists and sculptors made a great study of birds and flowers is indicated so well in these sculptures of Jains. How alive are these beautiful flowers ! How many! With what delicacy their pollen, their inner petals, outer petals, leaves, surrounding water-fronts are chiselled and with what affection. Potanna, our Andhra Poet has lavished his poetic lexuriance in describing the beauty of our flowers and trees in his Gajendra Moksham and also in the Rasa Kreeda, when Gopies go on pleading with each tree in their loving manner to reveal the hiding place of Lord Krishna.

Your's affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

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ANDAMANS

RANGOON & PORT BLAIR,
26-10-1970.

My dear Bharati Devi,

Thirty one years ago, we were in this Burma. Then it was under the British, now though a free country, it is under the local military regime. In the North and in the far-South-East the Communists are in control. Thakin Nu, who believes in Parliamentarianism is in exile. Then we wondered who was being benefitted from the oil-riches? The British imperialists! The one big thing that has come the way of Burma is U Thant, who became the Secretary-General of United Nations.

Then there used to be 20 lakhs of Indians; now hardly 2 lakhs. Then Indians were rich, now so poor & helpless; all their wealth, lands and banks are taken over by the Burmese. Far in the distance - near the horizon

looms the hazy, white speck of the famous Golden Pagoda, at which we offered our prayers. Slowly, as our Plane moves towards Andamans, we see the Irravady river snaking its way-broader, quicker towards the sea. Atlast it merges in the Bay. So do all of us ultimately in the Eternal Being, (Devi's ashes were immersed on 28-3-1974 in confluence of three seas, the Bay, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean at Kanya Kumari which they both had visited in January 1959. Ed) The Bengali Pilot of our Plane explained how the Andamans can grow to be a veritable gold mine with its fine fish, lovely surf–riding, rich diving, lovelier landscape and honeymooning holiday prospects.

These are hundreds of islands-rising only a few hundreds of feet above the sea, spreading along a long-line of sea, emerald green and ever smiling ground and thick, rich growth of forests. Some of them look like green carpets spread over the water, fading into the blue fringes of weavers' magic.

At last by 2 P. M. we reached Port Blair. How fine is this harbour, seen from the air : It is a small town, like our hilly places, built along the slopes, on the side of the sea.

There are people from all parts of India, more cosmopolitan than Bombay, Calcutta or Delhi. Plenty of Telugus, Tamils, Malayalees, Bengalis, Hindiwallahs - all try to converse with each other in Hindi.

Once again after 1939, I enjoyed 3 days of the sea-voyage in and out of the sea; on the boat with heavy. heaving and frightful swings. Yet, I enjoyed it all, not like you being laid up with sea sickness. The Sea is lovely in its heavy blue, later light green : all so stormy for a while, so quiet for so long and with so much of the storm in its heart.

We went on Steamer over 17 hours to Nicobar Island, a lovelier place, with the Old Nicobaris all Christians,

under a powerful Bishop, with an uptodate Reading Room, Community Centre. They danced, played and laughed. Their young women are handsome, not so fat, well-shaped but short, intelligent, strong and self-reliant. Many are Burmese by descent. The hospital serves them well.

You should be in A & N Islands to realise how sweet, soft, yet heart-warming and skin-tintillating, this Bay's Sun can be on a rain-free day in October. Everything, leaves, multi-coloured flowers, luxuriant trees, smiling carpet-like grass is so pleasing to the eye, so uplifting to the heart.

Andamans are lovely; their forests are so thick, even animals cannot move so easily. Possibly because of this thick bushy foliage and thickets. there are no tigers or wild buffaloes, only deer abound in them. These tribal people are of more ancient stock than Negroid, & Austrolid people among our tribals. Some do not wear much clothing even now. Others live on coconut, banana, roots and locally brewed wine. They are however fairer in colour, stronger in the calves and broader in the chest like Nagas. But they are not so ferocious, though they are good arrow-shots.

It is so exciting for me to feel that India has stretched itself upto these islands with so much of the sea between us.

These islands are great Defence-outposts for us. We have to centre much of our Navy here. This is the nearest Centre from Vizag-600 miles. Their eastern-neck is only 600 miles, from Indonesia's western island. I love these islands. I am inspired by this quiet, life-giving, smiling morning Sun. But wait until the Cyclone raises it into a monster. Then this Sea becomes a devil to the sailors, monster to us on the East Coast and emits poisonous gases for our crops.

This morning (29th) of Deepavali, we visited the notorious Cellulor Prison of Andamans, the mention of which used to send terrors & tremours down the spine of prisoners and patriots. It was built on the hill, like a Castle and Prisoners who were condemned for life used to be sent to it in those decades, when it was infested with Malaria and when steamers used to reach in six or 3 months.

Veer Savarkar was kept in this horrible place for 11 years. It was a small cell, 10 ft. in width, 11 or 12 ft. in height and 10 feet in length; with only one aperture at the back, to give ventilation but no sunshine; since the sun-shade prevented that. In front of it there is strong iron-rod barrier. As if this was not enough, this cell was fenced off by another iron railing for that cell, keeping it separated from the rest of the verandha. Every day he used to be brought out only for 1½ hours for each morning and evening for airing. Hell it must have been. Why was he so much tortured and guarded ? Because he escaped from a ship, while being brought to India from England as Prisoner, swam through the sea over ½ mile and escaped into France in the beginning.

Why was he sentenced to transportation for life? He wrote that famous, inspiring book " INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE" and preached the cult of violent national revolution against British and tried to train youths to organise practical violent revolts. Not dissimilar to the 1948-49 C.P. latest Naxalite revolts. But while these rebels to destory wish our democracy, he wanted to destroy the British and liberate India.

In retribution as it were, Netaji turned Port Blair into the headquarters of the I.N.A. to wage war on British Imperialists.

Alas, by the the time Savarkar was released in 1936-37, India came to be under the great influence of Gandhiji,

and he could not reconcile himself to accepting the second place in our National Revolution's leadership. He started the Hindu Mahasabha, to fight Moslem Separatism and to rival with Congress. For 2 decades he could not succeed. But owing, to Pakistan's hostility and Moslem irreconciliability, Savarkar's cult is coming to the fore through RSS & JAN SANGH.

Another revolutionary was Bhai Parmanand from the Punjab. He too suffered for many years. He too lost political prominence. So he came to Central Assembly as the Hindu Nationalist. I liked him. Only one Andhra was brought here for a year, Bhayankaracharı. He was later with me in Vellore Jail and used to recite Bhaja Govindam.

This Port Blair can be very hot and uncomfortable between 11 A.M. - 4 P.M. But evenings are so pleasant. It is queer, there are not many birds, so no bird-music. There are also many Moslem Settlers' Colonies in the interior, who are the descendants of Moppila Prisoners of 1921-23 rebellion in Kerala.

The hills have no stones; they are full of thick, sticky mud. They get their few stones, from the bed of the sea. All the big houses are being built with wooden planks and beams as in Burma. If I am to recommend any plaec for 15 days honeymoon for our young people, I will choose these islands moving on steamers, eating a lot of fish, roaming about in the interior and staying in modern (costly) boarding houses and then dreaming about the future.

Love,

RANGA.

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CONVENTION FOR PROTECTION DEMOCRACY

Western Court,
NEW DELHI–1,
22–11–1970.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I would like to have a friendiy discussion with you on the burning question of Law and Order and the set-back in our democratic set-up in the country. Since you are equally concerned with the welfare of the country, I request you to have a Cup of Tea with me on the 25th November,–when we shall be able to discuss the matter and have the benefit of your advice.

Yours sincerely,
M. P. SINHA.

BOMBS THROWN INTO RANGA'S PATNA MEETING

This letter is in connection with the Campaign for Indian democracy that Shri Sinha and Ranga have been developing since the Save Democracy Convention held on 25–4–1970 in Patna. Rangaji inaugurated this Convention presided over by Shri Mahamaya Prasad Sinha, Ex-Chief Minister of Bihar as a prelude to their Campaign for strengthening democracy. Shri Sinha was a Member of the delegation led by Rangaji to Guelf Conference (Canada) of International Federation of Agriculturel Producers in 1949.

While the meeting was in progress, some miscreants threw five country-made bombs into the Convention, injuring a few persons and damaging some cars. One of the assailants was caught hold of, while he was trying to reach Rangaji from behind with a dagger.

Many leaders were aghast to learn that country bombs were thrown into the Convention. During the next few days messages were received from such distinguished leaders as Rajaji, Sarva Shri Charan Singh, Leader of Bharatiya Kranti Dal and Ex Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh who said "Glad that the enemies of Indian Kisans were foiled in their dastardly attempt on your life". G. V. Subbaiah, Hon. President of Andhra Kisan Sammelan, one of the leaders of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan; P. Rajagopala Naidu, M.L.C., President of Andhra Kisan Sammelan; Shri B. Ramachandra Reddi, President of Swatantra Party (Andhra); Dadubhai Amin of Ahmedabad, Vice-President of Rural Peoples Federation, Shri N.C.Z. Raola of Indore; and Sardar Basant Singh of Patiala, Punjab Kisan Leader, expressed the national sentiment of thanks-giving at the fortunate escape of Rangaji. Similarly Messrs. Khadilkar, Minister and P. K. Deo, M.P., voiced on 27-4-1970 in Lok Sabha their happiness at Rangaji's safe return to the House after outrage against him.

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PRIME MINISTER

NEW DELHI,
November 16, 1970.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I have your letter of November 12, 1970 regarding the claims of Srikakulam † for special assistance. I have asked for the planning Commission to look into the points you have raised.

Yours sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI.

† Srikakulam was made the special centre by Naxalites for their guerilla activities. Since then, there has been some development, including the sanction of Vamsadhara Project. (Ed.)

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D.O.No. PC/SW/34 (25) / 68

Dr. D. R. GADGIL

Deputy Chairman Planning Commission, NEW DELHI.

December 11, 1970.

Dear Prof. Ranga,

Kindly refer to your letter dated November 11, 1970 in which you had referred to the problems of Srikakulam district, the resulting discontent and the need for the economic development of the district. You will be glad to know that the Government of Andhra Pradesh has selected Srikakulam district for one of the projects for small farmers under the central sector scheme with an outlay of Rs. 150 lakhs. The scheme is under consideration and will soon be in operation. We will keep in view the various suggestions made by you.

Yours sincerely,
D. R. GADGIL.

Prof. N. G. RANGA, M. P.,
NEW DELHI.

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NEW DELHI.

December 12, 1970.

IN MEMORIUM TO ANDHRA KISAN LEADER G. V. SUBBAIAH

I am extremely sorry to learn that Shri G. V. Subbaiah, the President of the Andhra Kisan Sammelam

passed away two days back. He was popularly known as Kisan Gorrepati and was beloved of Peasants all over Andhra. He was the President of the State Andhra Kisan Sammelan for more than twenty years and led their campaigns against the war time controls Nehru's control - license Raj and also against the periodical enhancements of Land Revenue. He was the hero of many a Kisan Satyagraha campaigns and ably aided Sardar Latchanna during these struggles. He accompained me during our prolonged talks with Mahatma Gandhi in favour of the ideal of kisan. Mazdoor Praja Raj. He helped us in propagating that ideal during the 1952 and 1957 general elections in the name of the Krishikar Lok Party. When we left the Congress in protest against Nehruji's campaign for co-operative farming, so as to deprive peasants of their self-employment on their holdings, Venkata Subbayya was invited by us all to be the first President of the Swatantra Party. During our fights for protecting the Delta Ryots from floods and inundation caused by Kolleru, Budameru lakes or for persuading Government to accept the Tungabhadra Nandikonda and Vamsadhara projects and develop their irrigation belts and for the development of Krishna and Godavari barrages, for Land Revenue remissions whenever crops failed and for famine and cyclone relief when these calamities overtook our rural folk. Kisan Gorrepati rushed to the rescue of our people and his wise counsels and dynamic leadership were available to our Kisan Workers in their efforts to help the distressed people.

He led the Andhra Peasants in their fight against the 17th Amendment to the Constitution, initiated by Nehru. Every public movement, started during the past 40 years in Andhra calculated to promote the interests of Harijans, Backward Classes and rural people found a powerful champion in him.

He fought for national freedom and also kisans freedom from exploitation by Govornment as well as merchants.

He has been my right hand man during the last 40 years in all the kisan campaigns. He felt happy when the Swaraj Government implemented our demand for floor prices for paddy, wheat, and sugar cane. He encouraged Kisan leaders to play prominent role in the rural co-operative credit societies and central co-operative banks. When he was the Vice-President of the Krishna District Board he succeeded in improving the rural health and educational facilities and establishing Acharya Ranga High School in Goginenipalem. He stood for parity between rural and urban peoples. He organised a number of kisan and political schools to develop Kisan public workers.

He was born in Ghantasala, famous for its Buddhistic and Roman antiquities and was a life-long friend of Pandit Gorrepati, the famous author of biographies of National leaders.

His statue was installed beside those of Rangaji, Mahatma Gandhi and Kasturiba in Ghantasala, and his biography was written by Pandit Gorrapati and Ranga and was published on 7-11-1972.-(Ed).

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PRIME MINISTER

NEW DELHI,

No. 1330–PMO/70 14th December, 1970.

Defections

Dear Prof. Ranga,

I am writing to you in continuation of the discussions which I had with you and other leaders of the Oppo-

sition Parties in Parliament on the 10th December, regarding the draft Bill to amend the Constitution based on the recommendations of the Committee on Defections.

We are anxious to take steps to implement the recommendations of that Committee without any further delay. Perhaps you remember that the Committee had studied the problem in detail and in all its aspects and since there was difference of opinion, it decided on a broad-based consensus. This is provided by the recommendations of the Committee. On legal and practical considerations, the Committee had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to curb the attractions of ministerial or allied offices as inducements for defection. The proposals circulated to you were drafted so as to carry out the intention of the Committe.

At the meeting on the 10th you referred to the draft provisions of the proposed new article 104A and had pointed out that the wording of the draft was not strictly in accordance with the definition of "defector" recommended by the Committee. You drew attention to the proviso contained in the definition of "defector" recommended by the Committee and the absence of such a proviso in the proposed article 104A. The position in this regard has been explained in paragrapas 2 and 3 of the note enclosed. However, if you agree, our officers could meet you to explain the drafting difficulties in incorporating in the proposed new article the proviso as it stands. I shall have no objection if the proviso could be brought in without creating any legal or drafting difficulties.

The specific proposals of the Bill. namely, those relating to the limitation of the size of the Council of Ministers and the appointment of Prime Minister/Chief Minister from the Lower House were not commented upon by several Hon'ble Members who left before the end of the meeting. These are the proposals which, so far as I know,

had earlier been generally accepted by the Committee on Defections. Hence I presume that you are in agreement with these proposals.

As I said at the meeting, on such a complex matter it is hardly possible to give full satisfaction to all and if the entire subject is now reopened, we shall again get involved in lengthy arguments. I do feel that it is important to make a beginning on the basis of the recommendations of the Committee. I should be grateful if you would let me know whether your support will be forthcoming to the principles underlying the proposed legislation. When the Bill is brougnt before Parliament, we would be glad to consider any suggestions to improve the draft.

I also eonclose a note dealing with some of the points raised in the course of our discussions.

An early reply is requested.

Your Sincerely,
INDIRA GANDHI.

Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.P.,
NEW DELHI–11.

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MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(LOK SABHA)

Parliament House,
NEW DELHI
17th December,

Dear Prime Minister,

As you kuow the cotton situation has become extremely critical and has reached such acute proportions that several mills have been forced to curtail consumption by atleast 15% apart from paying sky rocketing prices that are now prevailing due to this shortage.

For quite some time, some of us have been pleading with the government on various occasions to arrange increased allocations for the development of Indian Cotton production but have failed unfortunately so far in this direction. It is a tragic situation whereby the country is compelled to import cotton and other fibres to the extent of Rs. 90 to 100 crores a year while an allocation of Rs. 10 crores per year for our farmers has not been found so far, You might know that the entire provision for the Fourth Plan is for Rs. 3.90 crores only which cannot improve the situation at all.

We, the following Members, therefore, would like this opportunity to bring to your personal attention that this resposible demand of Rs. 10 crores per year to raise the productivity and output of cotton in the country must be conceded without any further loss of time in the interest of farmers, industry and consumers.

The enclosed memorandum on cotton shortage also suggests some short-term and long-term remedies which may also be studied and examined.

With regards,

Yours sincerely.
N. G. Ranga.
Dahyabhai Patel
Sucheta Kripalani,
Piloo Mody
D. K. Kunte
Maddi Sudarsanam
Kanwarlal Gupta

Smt. Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister of India,
NEW DELHI.

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RE-DEDICATION TO GANDHIAN SOCIALISM

Extract from Rangaji's Special Article * to Swarajya Annual of 1970

My participation in this Gandhi Centenary Celebration in India and abroad has enriched my experiences also and helped me to re-examine my ideological moorings in present-day politics of the world. I, therefore, re-dedicated myself to Gandhian Socialism and Gandhaian Way; as is indicated, in part, in my latest tribute to him namely "BAPU BLESSES".

I have exhorted the General Council of the Swatantra Party on 16th November 1969 to march along the Gandhian way and should no longer hesitate to avow its faith in Gandhian Socialism, and free itself from its decade long fear of such profession lending any undeserved strength to Nehru's Statism or State Socialism.

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* In that article, he has given a brief account of the World's celebrations of Gandhiji's centenary and homage paid to the Mahatma.

Rangaji took part in 1969 September in the World Symposium held by the UNESCO (Paris) under the auspicies of the United Nations. Thereafter, he publicly avowed Gandhian Socialism as his political approach, and expressed the hope that the Swatantra Party would also re-orient its own social approach. Thus he gave fair warning to Rajaji and other Collegues that he would no longer subscribe willingly to any of their political moves which would go against that Gandhian approch. His memories of Gandhi and his talks with his Master were published in 1970 and thus

it was only a matter of time when he would dissociate himself with the non-socialist aspects of the Swatantra Party. (Ed.)

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RANGAJI FAVOURS Dr. AMBEDKAR

Rangaji rendered a service to the democratic functioning of the Constituent Assembly by insisting successfully that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the leader of Harijans should be invited to be a member of one of its very important Committees which was to study the realations between States and Centre. This Catalyc move of Rangaji made the national leaders invite Dr. Ambedkar into closest consultations, which paved the way for his becoming the principal sponsor of our democratic constitution. (Ed.)

The following extracts from the biography of B. R. Ambedkar and his politics of Emancipation by Dr. A. M. Rajasekhariah of Karnatak University (1971) pp 241-242 are very revealing in this context.

" The Committee was constituted with Jawaharlal Nehru as the Chairman, Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Govind Vallabh Pant, Jairamdas Daulatram, Biswanath Das, N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Bakshi Sir Tek Chand, Sir Alladi, D. P. Khaitan, M. R. Masani, and K. M. Munshi as Members. The non-inclusion of Ambedkar on this important Committee was pointed out by Jaipal Singh and others. On the other hand, the consensus of the House was not a Committee on which communal representation was necessary. The only plausible explanation to such a reaction in the House could be that Ambedkar's name had come to be so inseparably and intimately associated with the minority problem only. But the members were committing a fundamental mistake in associating his

name with such problems alone. Mr. Jaipal Singh's plea for the inclusion of Ambedkar was not as a minority leader, but as an expert constitutionalist and a specialist on the financial problems. It should be recalled here that his study of the provincial finances of British India was his significants contribution in the field of federal finances. This contention was further justifiable as Mr. Jaipal Singh mentioned the names of Dr. Jayakar and Dr. Deshmukh along with Dr. Ambedkar's. Prof. N. G. Ranga, an economist himself, suggested that Dr. Ambedkar's name should be included in the list, and "I appeal to one of the Members whose names are suggested to offer to withdraw in this favour."

Constituent Assembly Debates Vol II. p358.

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Lilac Cottage,
Seavington, St. Mary,
Ilminister, SOMERSET,
15-6-1971

A. G. Stock,

Dear Ranga,

If Indira Gandhi is going to fight poverty well, good luck to her! She would not conquer it but I do not see how any decent human being can do less than make it a priority.

Events in East Pakistan have moved me deeply, as you may well imagine. Among the victims are the men of Dacca and Rajashahi University who were myColleagues students and first friends when I came from U. K. in 1947. And what splendid friends they were. Some dead, some vanished, some destitute refugees in India. Oh, the Pity of it, Iago the pity of it.

As you know, I was there for the first few years of Pakistan's existence and it was plain from the very begi-

nning that East and West were incapable of running in double harness. So, when you, who have no prior partiality between the two of them are so positive that Bangla Desh will survive, I am a little heartened and I think it need be no bad thing for India-provided you remember that Bengal is Bengal East or West and there is an electric current between the two.

It divided itself on the illusion of 1947 that religion was the basis of nationality or could be made. East Bengal I think knows better now but there is no unmaking history.

Your's affectionately,

DINAH

Subsequently her book "Memories of Dacca University" was published. She worked again as Professor of English in Dacca between 1972-74. (Ed.)

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Minister of Planning
Science & Technology
INDIA
NEW DELHI
October, 1971.

Dear Prof. N. G. Ranga,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st October enclosing a brochure on the Self-Employed Masses by Shri P. Kotaiah, MLA.

I shall get this examined in the Commission.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ C. SUBRAMANIAM

* Planning Commission to hail Self-Employment Sector,

Iniroducing Shri Pragada Kotaiah's scheme for protecting and developing the Self-Employed Sector as an essential part of the Planned Economy, Rangaji made the following observations on 24-4-1971.

"What better and more constructive weapon is there to carry on war on Poverty than to recognise the creative role that self-employment can play and encourage the crores of people engaged in self-employment sector of peasants, artisans, weavers, potters, leather workers, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, tappers etc.

Guild Socialists hail self-employment as one of the two major solutions to wage-slavery and ask the State only to buttress it through service-co-operatives and other welfare and credit services.

It is only in spheres where self-employment is not available or practicable that Yugoslavia's Socialists have organised self-governing workshops to save workers from Wage Slavery.

Is it an approach to Socialisation of any brand or Social Justice to deprive self-employed crores of their employment and economic independence built into it and pursue the Plans, sedulous policy of providing high cost employment in factories and offices merely for a few lakhs of people, all at the expense of the State?

MORE THAN 10 years ago, he published his small book on "Self-Employment Sector". Kotaiah has been the General Secretary of All India Handloom Weavers Congress, founded by Rangaji. He is now General Secetary of Andhra Provincial Congress. (Ed.)

THE MASTER AND THE DESCIPLE

"Bapu Blesses" - "Swarajya" Review (16–10–1971)

This book is a faithfull and interesting record of conversations, Prof. N. G. Ranga had with Mahatma Gandhi on matters both personal and political. It presents the picture of the disciple anxious to learn and earn the approbation of the Master for all his actions and of the Master giving the disciple kind guidance through revealing and affectionate talk. The Professor who spent years in Oxford found, on return, that he could have no better Master than Bapu and aspired to become his disciple. The time was opportune and the mass awakening in the country, for which Bapu was mainly responsible, drew him into Bapu's expanding fold of men who were content to live a simple life and felt the urge to serve the masses.

Prof. Ranga's thesis on Khadi (1926 would have served to attract Bapu, who, for his part, wanted Khadi to get the seal of approval from recognized economists. When Gandhiji was first met by the Professor, he was told about the ambitious constructive programme which had been widely publicized. For his part the disciple showed great interest in handling the problems of the kisans and workers. Bapu gave sufficient encouragement to all initiative shown by any person hard working and conscientious, big or small and far from throwing a damper on such initiative allowed it to be followed up. The book reveals the affectionate Master now and then cautioning the disciple against over-doing it by starting parallel organizations like the kisan Congress. As often as the Professor met Bapu, the latter gently questioned him as to why he was running counter to Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal, Ranga was kept informed as to how others viewed his activities.

Being a leaders' leader Gandhiji insisted on all, of whatever stature, working without hitch in the true spirit

of co-operation. While laziness and letharzy came in for sharp condemnation at the hands of this hard task-master, he would not allow hectic activity running headlong. Ranga should have felt happy for all the encouragement given to him, coupled with advice as to how not to run across the path of co-workers in the same field. In more than one interview Prof. Ranga is seen in animated conversation trying to convince Bapu that his path was totally different from that of the Communists.

Besides Politics, personal matters also figure in the conversation. Prayer and spiritulal guidance were some of the topics covered. Prof. Ranga gave willing adherence to Bapu's path of prayer in his own sphere of activity. Faith in God which Bapu exhibited on all occasions was indeed infectious and swayed most of his co-workers. Like all others Ranga found that Bapu's affection was deep and abiding. The touch of Bapu ennobled Ranga as it did many others. Truly blessed indeed are those who served Bapu and endeared themselves to him.

–N. S. VARADACHARI *

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* Shri Varadachari is a distinguished disciple of Gandhiji and life-long champion of his Constructive Programme, especially Khadi, as labour-intensive solution to unemployment. Besides being a well-known scholar and writer, he was also an Adviser to the Planning Commission. . .(Ed.)

Citizen's Central Council

Chairman :
SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI
Rashtrapati Bhavan,
NEW DELHI–4

SHRI GULZARILAL NANDA
Vice Chairman

October 17, 1974

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I am thankful for your letter of the 30th September 1971. I am glad that you have evinced so much interest in the work that has been assigned to me in connection with the Citizens' Council. There is a wide scope for the co-operation of the people in support of our defence effort both in normal times and in periods of crises. I agree with you that this activity should be conducted on a broad national footing and should draw into its fold all sections of the Indian People. I may express again my gratitude for your kind offer of whole-hearted co-operation.

Your message has a special value because this was the first response from prominent leader of the country, which I received after undertaking my new responsibilities.

With kind regards.

Your Sincerely,
G. L. NANDA

496

NIDUBROLU,
15-11-1071

My dear Rajaji,

Greetings

I admire your latest declaration made to the Dear Reader in this Week's Swarajya that you would continue to be in the vanguard in our fight against "the cants, the hypocrasies, and the general fall in moral sense at the highest levels down to the unfortunate poor".

I pray for your good health and good cheer.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA

REPLY

C. Rajagopalachari

Naoroji Road,
Chetput
MADRAS-31
16th November 71

My dear Ranga,

I am sincerely grateful for your letter dated November 15 which I look upon as a blessing.

Yours affectionately,
C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

497

AFTER VICTORY OF BANGLA DESH

Rashtrapati Bhavan,
NEW DELHI-4
December 20, 1971

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I thank you and Shrimati Bharati Devi for your telegram and letter of 17th conveying your congratulations to the Prime Minister on our victory and appreciating her role during the conflict with Pakistan. I greatly appreciate your support to the Government.

Yours affectionately,
V. V. GIRI

Prof. N. G. RANGA,
'Gobhumi'
NIDUBROLU,
Andhra Pradesh.

498

December 20, 1971

Dear Prof. Ranga,

We finally received news from you.

Now, your country has gone through some very difficult days and it seems that Indira Gandhi had no other choice than to make an alliance with the USSR and go to war. India was not responsible for the mess. The Western world did not act correctly with regard to India's difficulties.

Let us hope that victorious India will act correctly to merit the respect of the whole civilized world.

In thinking about Mrs. Gandhi's policy, I came to a conclusion (which I am not exactly sure is correct) ; that Nehru and his daughter are guiding India through difficult paths to democratic socialism in order to save the country from communism. It is a difficult task and much depends on the future international situation.

I distributed your letter among our friends who appreciate your views and news and wish you the best results in your newline and meritorious work for the advancement of your peasantry.

Cordially yours,
ROBERT B. SOUMAR
(Secretary, International Peasant Union)

499

N. C. Z. RAW.

BADA RAWLA,
INDORE CITY 4
D. 11th January 1972.

My dear Acharya Ranga,

Many thanks for yours. I agree with your political analysis.

Revered Rajaji's comment in last week's "Swarajya" was surprising. I do not agree with him. I am convinced that you can never be a Bolshevist.

If we want to enter the Congress let us do so completely.

I have not joined any political party after my resignation from the Swatantra.

Agrarian interests cannot be safeguarded without a powerful lobby.

With affectionate regards from Sou. Vandana and myself to Sou. Bharati Devi and your good self.

I am
Your affectionately,
N. C. Z. RAW.

To
Acharya Ranga, Nidubrolu.

500

Servants of India Society, Sapru House,

Barakhamba Road.
NEW DELHI.
January 31, 1972.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I regret the delay in writing so you about the article which you so kindly wrote about me in the Swarajya of December 4, 1971. I am grateful to you for your appreciation of the little I have been able to do in the service of the country.

There are two statements in your article which require a little modification. I did not actually receive any invitation from the viceroy to join his council. But it was believed by important persons interested in Indian affairs that I would soon receive such an invitation I was mentally unwilling to become a member of the Viceroy's Council because of the policy followed by Lord Linlithgow. Shri Girija Shankar Bajpai who knew my mind and did not want. that I should become an Executive Councillor, asked me one day whether he should tell the Viceroy that I was not prepared to join his Council. As I had no objection to it, he must have mentioned this to the Viceroy. The Viceroy did not therefore invite me to become a member of his Council.

Yours sincerely,
H. N. KUNJRU.

501

Ministry of Railways, India.

No. 72-TT (II)/60/AD. NEW DELHI.

February 17, 1972.

My dear Prof. Ranga garu,

Please refer to your letter dated 5-2-1972, regarding coal shortage for tobacco growers in Andhra Pradesh.

Against 6134 wagons of coal for tobacco-curing carried last season upto March, 1971, South Central Railway have already transporated 5593 wagons this season upto the first 10 days of February.

Necessary instructions have, however, been issued to South Central Railway to allot one train of coal (50 wagons) per day for tobacco curing during the balance of days of February.

Yours sincerely,
K. HANUMANTHAYYA,

Prof. N. G. Ranga.
Vahini,
Ranganagar, Vijayawada-10.

502

J. B. KRIPALANI

AHMEDABAD,
24-3-1972.

My dear Rangaji,

We Sucheta and myself thank you for your kind enquiries about her health.

What are your activities these days? What do you think of the political situation now? I do not know if you came across a Copy of my articles in the INDIAN EXPRESS on 'DEMORACY OR AUTOCRACY' and another a couple of weeks before in the ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA entitled CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP.

Sucheta sends you her greetings and best wishes.

LOVE. DADA.

Please convey our thanks to your wife for her kind enquiries.

503

B. P. PAL

P 11, Hauz Khas Enclave,
NEW DELHI-16,
3rd May, 1972.

My dear Professor,

I write to express to you my deep gratitude for the kind letter of Congratulations and good wishes. I regard my election to the Royal Society as a recognition of the advance made by Indian Agricultural Science: a process in which many have co-operated.

The warm suppport and good will I have always received from you have been a source of encouragement to me. The fact that a national leader like you has written to me I regard as a privilege.

With warmest regards,
Yours,
B. P. PAL.

Prof. N. g. Ranga,

Rangaji felicitated the distinguished Agricultural Scientist when he was elected F. R. S. (England). Later Dr. Swaminathan was also congratulated on becoming on F. R. S (Ed.)

504

EXTRACTS FROM LETTER TO KRIPALANIJI

NIDUBROLU,
4–5–1972.

My dear Dada,

Thank you for your reassuring letter about Suchetaji's health.

I have formally resigned from the Swatantra Party in the First Week of April 1972 though I have kept myself aloof from its activities since March 1971.

I told Rajaji that the people are too impatient with the Swatantra Party's insistent approach on Production First and Distribution Next and Priority for incentives to those engaged in organising production. So I pleaded that we should recommend to the Partymen to give up this Party and accept the mandate of the people in favour of implementing Directive Principles, if need be, through agreeing to necessary readjustments in the priority accorded to Fundamental Principle for property. He did not agree.

looked upon that 1971 March Election's mandate as a March Revolutionary Mandate for Peaceful Revolution. So I want it to be preferred to a bloody revolution. Rajaji did not agree.

I feel that the decision of the 1972 March Assembly Elections is confirmation of that mandate and it will be unwise to refuse any longer to accept its revolutionary significance.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA.

Rajaji observed in the Swarajya of 8-1-1972 :-

"I am grieved that instead of standing up for the just and carefully framed Constitution we have, Shri N. G. Ranga has accepted the doctrine of Bolshevism feeling that the bloodless revolution supposed to be planned by Smt. Indira Gandhi is preferable to a revolution through bloodshed, which he thinks would be otherwise inescapable"

505

17-5-1972.

My dear Dadubhaijee,

I pray for your good health.

I hope you have read in the Newspapers that I have resigned from the Swatantra Party.

I told Rajaji many months back that people want to go along the path of social progress and social service, indicated by Indiraji. He did not agree.

I told him also that if we are not wise and we fail to accept peaceful reforms and social reconstruction,

violent revolution will come through Communists, as in Russia and China. He did not agree.

I warned Swatantra leaders of Bombay that Kheduts, Khet - Mazdoors and backward Classes and Harijans have decided to go with Indiraji and we should respect their wishes. They did not agree.

The 1972 Assembly election results have confirmed my reading of the lessons of 1971 elections.

I am now concentrating on the Kisan Sammelan, Hand-Loom Weavers Congress and Rural Peoples Federation; dealing with the Self Employeed peoples problems.

I hope you will continue to be with me and ask your dear sons and friends and followers to join me in developing these Organisations.

We have to accept the Ceilings, we have also to ask for Ceilings on Town-People, Professional Classes and Government and Company Officers, only when we demand such an equal treatment between all classes in towns and Villages, our Kheduts can get just treatment.

Indiraji is quite sincere about her programmes and professions. She wants peaceful revolution. It is no longer the time for mere reforms. She is the best protection for Indian standards of culture.

Best regards from Bharati Devi and myself to yourself and your wife.

I hope Indulal Yagnik will recover from his illness. We issued a statement, praying for his recovery.

Yours affectionately,

N. G. RANGA.

Shri Dadubhai Amin,
Vice President,
Bharati Kisan Sammelan,
Ellis Bridge, AHMEDABAD.

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A-4, Sarvodaya Enclave,
NEW DELHI-17.
25th May, 1972.

My dear Rangaji,

Thanks very much for your kind letter addressed to Kripalaniji. I am very much better now, but I am still keeping myself confined to the house because once I start going out there will be no end to it. Thanks ever so much for the kind sentiments you have expressed about both of us, and for enquiring about me so aften during my illness.

We were interested to learn that you have left the Swatantra Party and will now be functioning as an Independent. I hope you will find greater satisfaction in this role. At the moment, politics in India has taken such a turn that it would appear that we are heading towards totalitarianism. However, if that brings us economic welfare there would be perhaps some compensation. But so far we do not see any great sign of that.

When do you propose to come to Delhi next? I hope we shall have a chance to meet when you come.

With best regards to yourself and Mrs. Ranga from Kripalaniji and myself.

Yours sincerely,
SUCHETA KRIPALANI.

507

ENTRANCE STORY OF THE KAKATIYAS

Book Review Kakatiya Nayaks Swarajya dated 2-6-'72

(Prof. N. G. RANGA) By N. S. VARADACHRI

The Kakatiya dynasty is truly the pride of Andhra. One of the brightest chapters of the medieval history of

South India, is the entrancing story of the Kakatiya's holding up of Muslim thrusts into the South from their firmly established stronghold in North India. In the name of Hindu Dharma, the people rallied to combat the ruthless attacks of foriegn invaders and defend the great culture of the region. (1300-1370.)

Prof. Ranga, being an Andhra himself and belonging to the cultivating class from which the Kakatiya class were drawn, has, in this book, as if by right, chosen to elaborate on the history of Andhra Pradesh under Kakatiya rulers. (1200-1370)

Prof. Ranga has made a laborious study of all documents and inscriptions and accounts of foreign visitors of the time and produced a learned treatise on the achievements of the Nayaks.

The book begins with the description of the reign of PRATAPA RUDRA DEVA, a name to conjure with in Andhra and one that has even passed into legend. The proud old City of Warrangal which was later laid waste by uncivilized hordes, contained the fortress of Pratapa Rudra and his ancestors and became the centre of heroic resistance. It was also the birth-place of Andhra culture and art whose fame spread far and wide. The rulers of Warrangal repulsed this invading enemy Allauddin and his successors several times and protected not only the limited region of the Kakatiyas but the entire southern peninsula. Prof. Ranga writes with great emotion about the fall of this monarch and the barbarous destruction of his city by fanatical and frenzied invaders. What heightened the tragedy was that the defeat was brought about by internal dissensions and treachery and not for want of courage so characteristic of Pratapa Rudra and his loyal followers. That Pratapa Rudra committed suicide in the sacred Narbada river while being escorted as a war priosner and as a trophy to be

shown to the Emperor of Delhi served to show that he preferred death to shameful surrender.

Sad as is the ending of the chapter of Pratapa Rudra in Kakatiya History, it is more than overshadowed by the later history of the Nayak confederacy led by the valiant chieftains. Prolaya, Kapaya and Vinayak Dev, to name only the primery figures of the period. Forgetting caste rivalries and making it up with all brethern who were anxious to uphold Hindu Dharma, they made a solid wall as it were of defence from the banks of the Godavari to resist senseless and repeatebly cruel aggression. The trials and tribulations through which these good rulers passed in succession are elaborately set out in two revealing chapters. The Nayak confederacy also met its end after some decades of struggle but its contribution to the defence of South laid the foundation for the great Vijayanagar Empire which for atleast two centuries held the Muslims at bay and ushered in a period of peace and prosperity in the South making it possible for the splendour of southern architecture and learned arts to display their wide ranging coverage

In the second part of the book, Prof. Ranga has adopted the ingenious method of imaginary dialogue and conversation to draw before the reader the picture of popular consultation that prevailed among the principalities of the time. Call it what you will, it was consultative democracy all the time. The crises that confronted the people was brought to their notice by the rulers and their advisers' the co-operation was sought to meet crisis and evolve a solution. If it was war, it was with the people's voice behind it If it was internal reform, even then the people's verdic was sought. Such was the rule of the Nayaks, not absolution as is usually misrepresented. Prof. Ranga has not written a mere prosaic narrative of events as they occurred, important as they were, but he has chosen to drive deep and dwell on the kind of democratic structure

and social order that prevailed, the basis of such structure and order being the Dharma of the land. To borrow the author's own language; he has used "historic facts as bricks, contemplative descriptions of social elements and forces as cement and political thoughts and moves as foundation for this temple of words to consecrate one of the noblest and most inspiring social revolutionary movements in India's long chequered history."

The Nayak confederacy was truly the precursor of the great Vijayanagar Empire which protected the honour of the South from endless molestation. The rich legacy left by the Kakatiya rulers which included "devotion to Indian faiths and passion for the Independence of the country and traditional freedom were displayed in a cumulative and disciplined manner" endured for ages beyond, which witnessed the blossoming and rejuvenation of an oppressed people, making it possible for them to live in peace and enjoy with pride the heritage of their beloved Dharma. We are indeed indebted to Prof. Ranga for placing before us the hidden treasures of Kakatiya glory.

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1) For Garibi Hatao
2) Marching with Resurgent Masses,
3) Rangaji's statement (Ed.)

July, 1972,

When we founded the Swatantra Party, I for one gave the highest priority for the protection of Peasant Proprietorship and self-employment of Peasantry and artisans. Bombay friends were more keen on the protection of private enterprise. Rajaji was specially bent upon developing Parliamentary Opposition and preventing totalitarianism from gaining a stranglehold on our nascent democracy. As we continued to develop our Comradeship, all of us

managed to weave these three objectives into the political fabric of the Party; even while each of us continued to lay special emphasis on our varying favourite themes, making concessions to our respective special interests and themes.

Such indeed is the general body-politic of any party which aims at being a national platform of a cross section of any society.

That my present decision to join forces with Indira is not at all a violent change of front can be appreciated if it is remembered that I had broken with Jawaharlal on his insistence upon imposing Ceilings on agriculturists alone and his refusal to extend the Ceilings to non-agricultural interests also, whereas the present Congress has obtained sanction from the electorate to impose ceilings on all classes. Certainly, the pre-election decision made in such haste by Swatantra, Jan Sangh and S.S.P. and Old Congress to come into a Joint Front without any common programme just for the momentary purpose of defeating the New Congress was not a heart-warming get-together of personalities nor could it hope to herald a healthy phase of democratic liberties and decencies what with the notoriety of Old Congress administrations

I have always been a man of the masses. Every Campaign I have joined in Indian Politics, whether it be for the abolition of Zamindari System or the Rule and Regime of princes in the States or the monopolist activities of merchants in markets for agricultural products or consumers' bazaars, control regime which benefitted only monoplists of licences quotas and permits was intended preeminently to protect broad masses. I advised the class Organisations of Kisans, Artisans, Agricultural Workers to join forces with the Congress High Command, and work unitedly with local congress leaders in the Pre-Swaraj decade because I felt assured that the interests of Peasants

and artisans and rural workers would be safe in their keeping, especially after Gandhiji's assurances of 1944.

We of the Krishikar Lok Party of 1951-56 enabled Prakasam to head the Andhra Ministry in Kurnool, when Congress needed our support in 1953 and thus sustained the nascent Andhra democracy. Again in 1955, when Communists bade fair to capture majority in Andhra Assombly, we joined Congress and helped it to gain majority.

I asked once one of the top Socialist leaders could any other democratic Party claim to have made greater and more heroic sacrifices, almost to the negation of its partisan interests, in the interests of democracy? Indeed it is because of my overwhelming love of democracy, that I over-came my long-time opposition to the claims of private enterpreneurs.

I am not unaware of the lurking threats to democracy and peoples' liberties and freedoms, that are the marrow of democracy, within and without our political parties and legislatures, ministries and opposition.

If we wish to serve the toiling masses, by protecting their self-employment and the resulting modicum of economic freedom and independence, we should also work for ensuring economic progress of workers towards social securities living wages and industrial democracy. Peasants have no special vested interest to safeguard. They only want to increase the area of their self-employment, which is what ultimately any Socialist society has to achieve. Such of them who have more land than is permitted by ceiling legislation have to be treated in the same way as all other non-agricultural enterpreneurs, in a humane and affectionate manner in democratic justice in the light of tneir contribution to social well-being. So I felt that consistently with my faith in democracy and Gandhian Socialism based on non-violence,

and self-employment, I should range myself in achieving garibi hateo on the side of masses.

(Extracts from National Herald, New Delhi 12-8-1972. Ed.)

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Prof. N. G. RANGA

Ranganagar,
VIJAYAWADA–10
31-8-1972

My dear Shri Uma Shankarji,

I am told, as I have been visiting some of the newly built Harijan Colonies and agricultural labour in the wake of the 1969 Cyclone in Guntur District that Government has decided to reduce the house - site to be allotted to each family from five Cents (20 Per Acre) to Two Cents (50 per Acre).

If this is correct information, this decision is not based either on the present and future needs of these poor agricultural workers or on the hopes and expectations of their growing children. There is need for 100 Square Yards site for the One to Two-roomed shed for living quarters, 25 to 50 Square Yards for stalling a She-buffalo or a few sheep or goats, 50 to 75 Square Yards to raise a small garden; with one or two coconuts or a bunch of banana plants or a couple of Bean-stalks and surely there must be some place 25 to 50 Square Yards for the family to put up a miniature, slanting verandah in the front to lounge or sleep in open air during Summer and other 25 to 50 Yards at the back for women and children to bathe or keep heaps of rubbish or sweepings. In short there is need for 250 Square Yards for each Cottage,

So, the least that Government can offer as a house-site to serve not only to-day's attenuated bare-needs but also approach towards to-morrow's rising hopes and expectations is 250 Square Yards and not 100 Square Yards. I request

you therefore to give a careful re-think about this most important matter and quickly decide in favour of atleast 250 Square Yards.

Yours affectionately,
N. G. RANGA

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Miniser of Works & Housing and Health & Family Planning India

NEW DELHI,
September 6, 1972.

My dear Prof. Ranga,

I thank you for your undated letter which was received yesterday in which you have suggested that the size of house-sites to be given to Harijans and landless agricultural labour should be 250 sq. Yards per family instead of 100 Sq. Yards as is the pattern approved by the majority of the States.

I shall examine the matter again but I would like to point out that for intensely practical reasons the view is not unanimous on the point raised by you. Every sensible Indian would like the landless families to have a house-site of a reasonable area which when built upon meets the family's minimum necessary requirements. From that view-point the requirements detailed by you are unexceptionable.

While the area of such sites can vary according to the different conditions prevailing in the various States so that larger sites can be made available in States where such a policy is feasible, it would hardly be possible to enforce a uniform policy in the States where the Choice lies invevitably between providing large number of homeless people with smaller sized plots and a smaller number with a large-sized and more satisfying plots.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,
UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT.

511

Pnesident's Camp, India

Bolarum,
SECUNDERABAD,
September 7, 1972.

My dear Prof. Range,

I am very happy to receive your affectionate communication. I am glad you are touring the drought affected areas and I know your presistant efforts to help these poor people who suffered under this calamity. I shall communicate your views regarding drought etc. to the Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
V. V. GIRI.

Prof. N. G. Ranga,

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VINAYASHRAM, KAVUR

Bharatidevi's Homage to Founders - 17–9–1972.

Bharati Deviji expressed her admiration for the sincere and life-long patriotic services rendered by the late Basavayya on the day of Shraddhanjali. She said, 'In these Post-Swaraj times which witness the melancholy spectacle of corruption creeping into the ranks of Ministers; M.P's, M.L.A's and Public Workers and people being forced to grease the palms of almost all officers and so-called political workers hovering round people in power, it is indeed wonderful how such noble souls as Basavaiah, Durgamba Sitaramji have not only sacrificed all their possessions but also managed this great Ashram with its multifarious developmental activities so scrupulously and without being soi-

led by the foul administrative and political atmosphere. Let our ministers be humble enough to learn from their noble example".

Reminiscing over her Gandhian Partnership with this great couple in 1931-33 Satyagraha Campaigns, Bharati Devi said "We three used to tour these villages of Repalle, Tenali, Bapatla Taluks and meet thousands of peasants, especially their women. The Police were after us. So we moved at nights, in bullock-carts or by walk from one hamlet to another. Mahatma made a special appeal to women to break away from age-long domestic seclusion, Purdah and to join the national struggle for freedom. We conveyed his message, not in public meetings, because we were not willing to be arrested and sent away to jails without reaching maximum number of places and recruiting many women Satyagrahis. We spoke to small gatherings. We went into Purdah-ridden homes. We induced young and old women to break out of their customs and face men and women in our gatherings, embrace untouchables, and realise need for equality between men and women, between People of all castes; all for the sake of Swaraj, according to behests of the Mahatma. To my pleasant surprise, I found even old orthodox Rajus, Kammas, Reddis, Brahmins coming forward to accept our appeals, expressed so shyly by Durgamba and myself, as if they were words of divine wisdom. I realised that it was all due to their devotion to Gandhiji and affection for this brave, humble and sincere couple who were accompanying me. Possibly they were somewhat pleased with me and Rangaji because we have turned out backs upon western ways and careerism and embraced Gandhiji's mission. Thus we were able to recruit hundreds of women as Satyagrahis. We helped them to quietly reach Repalle, Tenali, Bapatla and even Guntur towns, offer Satyagraha, defying police and welcoming arrests imprisonment. For months, the police were at their wits' end to find out the main force behind this extraordinary, undreamt of up-

surge among rural women, because Durgamba was such an unassuming Kisan lady and myself so far unrecognisable in my new rural clothing and Basavaiah, such a typical non-political peasant. It was during those inspiring, if arduous weeks that I discovered how great was their saintly devotion to our national cause.

I am not at all well. Yet, I have thought it my duty to come to-day along with Rangaji to pay my homage to these noble leaders the late Swami Sitaram, Basavaiah and our sister Durgamba. I appeal to our educated sisters to work among the masses of illiterate, somnambulent women to get their daughters educated. Let out girl-students learn to follow the good example of Durgamba and Basavaiah as they had presented themselves to me during those precious weeks and as they have lived since then. If at least one in a hundred of our people would try to emulate their example of honest, sincere, self-sacrifice and humanitarian service, I can continue to cherish hopes for the freedom, progress and humanism of our masses. We had such great women as Sarojini Devi and Vijayalaxmi. We also had a number of ministers. We had two women Chief Ministers Suchetaji and Satpatiji. We have now Indiraji as Prime Minister. That has not been enough to rouse our vast womenfolk. We must aim at helping our women to play as active, enlightened and noble a role as our men in all our national activities. We are grateful to Mahatmaji for having awakened some of us. We have to complete his mission by uplifting, educating and honouring our mothers and sisters in the same way. Some of us conducted special schools (political) for women workers in 1945, 1947 and 1959, in addition to training many women in the peasant Institute. There is greate need for such centres. We have to develop anti-illiteracy adult education movements. Our country's helpless women among Adibasis, Harijans, agricultural workers and Peasants need thousands of good and noble Gandhians like Basavaiah and Durgamba. If our

youths respond to this call, I would feel happy, so would Basavayya's soul".

This proved to be her last speech in her Public career of more than 40 years, because she was struck-down by heart-attack on 21st and she finally breathed her last on 27th noon (September 1972) by heart-failure.

It is indeed a fitting finale for her great public career that her last speech was about this noble couple and the Gandhian ideals of humanism, and Gandhiji's clarion call for awakening and emancipation of Women, Harijans and Rural People.

It was also typical of her that she should have gone to that meeting, even while her heart was giving last of its warnings, just to reiterate her inspiring message to our people to rise to the heights of Gandhian purity, austerity, service and sacrifice. Basavaiah did indeed receive a fitting homage from his 40 years long comrades (Ed)

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WILLOWDALE
ONTARIO.
D. 26- 0-1972.

My dear Professor Ranga,

Your beautiful tribute to Mrs. Ranga moved me deeply.

I took the liberty of making photostat copies of your letter to send to Alita and Peter Batty Pratt and Irene Karras, and also to Lotta Dempsey and Prof. Marshall McLuhan.

What a wonderful partnership! How seldom in our World does one see anything to compare with it!

May you be comforted greatly in the months to follow, when the pain of loss begins to bite. Work and success in your work will spur you on - but my heart aches for you, truly it does.

My husband joins us in sending his deep sympathy.

Lovingly

ELIZABETH CERA

---

* Rena Sera, a French-born artist,architect, recipient of Legion of Henour from French Government settled down in Canada since 1928. He married Elizabeth, art-teacher and poetes and editor in M. D. H. S. of TORONTO. They sent a special painting to Rangaji to indicate their idea of his contribution to the betterment of the world, as their tribute to him. (Ed).

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WHICH WAY THEN SHALL WE GO ?

(Extracts from Position Paper by Shri Mahadevan for a symposium of Gandhi Marg, New Delhi. 5-6-1973)

Ever since independence, India has been riding two horses at one and the same time - Democracy and Socialism.

By and large, however, it is the democratic horse that had stolen the show, earning for us the not too enviable reputation of being the "largest democracy in the world. The Socialist horse, with its torso relatively ill-defined, limped behind.

It is now the democratic horse that is limping behind. Rudely awakened from 25 years of lotus eating, we panic at the sight.

The moral is clear.

Democracy and Socialism are incompatibles ... however much we may juggle with catch-phrases like "democratic socialism" and "Social democracy".

If we want full-blooded socialism - any other socialism is a hoax anyway - we must be willing to make deep compromises with our democratic inheritance. On the other hand, if we want to keep our democracy unsullied-indeed, make it much more of a living thing we must be willing

to give up our socialist experiment. We just cannot bestride both the horses without sooner or later falling off our perch and exposing ourselves to universal ridicule.

Gandhi perceived this dilemma long ago when he put forward the trans-ideological alternative. He was a man who swore neither by democracy nor by socialism, being at best, a half-hearted democrat and a reluctant socialist.

Which way then shall India steer her ship of state? Towards Socialism ? Towards democracy ?

5 June 1973. T. K. MAHADEVAN

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DEMOCRACY - SOCIALISM

Both can be Comrades-in-arms. Ranga's Answers

Contributed to Gandhi Marg 1973 July.

The Indian masses gave their reply, in their agony over the failure of our democracy, which "had stolen the show" as per Shri Mahadevan (Editor "Gandhian Marg") during the past 25 years and ecstacy over Indiraj's bold slogan of "Garibi Hatao" to the present question "which way then shall we go".

It is wrong to assume that there is an irreconcilable contradiction or dichotomy between democracy and Socialism. Is there no democracy in Sweden's Socialist society ? Is not Great Britain growing into a full-fledged Socialist society through her mature democracy ? Indeed, is not the American so-called free-enterprise, tycoon-led democracy moving into Socialism despite her resonent protestations ? What about Italy, France, even West Germany ? Are they merely content with democracy ?

True, Soviet Russia and Peoples' China have rushed into the soul-killing embraces of dictatorship though of the so-called proletariat, in their impatient march towards Socialism. Does that mean that it is impossible for them to try to recover democratic freedoms. human rights and elbow room for individuals, initiative. incentive, privacy and poetic flights into space-world of unfettered thoughts and imaginative musings ? The heroic exploits in the realm of thoughts, poetry and irreversible and unsilenceable literary

currents, ignited by writers led by Pasternak, Solczynetsyn indicate that even Communist dictatorship cannot be so air-tight and the urge for democracy is eternal and cannot be smothered. In fact, Kruschev's historic thesis at the 20th (CP) Congress of USSR is the confession made to the conscience of Communist World that dictatorship has found it essential to welcome democracy however shyly:

Stalin came to be negatived so violently by USSR Congress through his seasoned and fostered disciples just because he did not welcome and strengthen Tito's Yugoslavian efforts to soften Communist controls through democratic freedoms and humane self-governing institutions. In the same way, we of the Grand Alliance who were so much horrified at the practice and prospects of ever rising tempo of controls over the unfettered democratic Fundamental Rights andConstitutional safeguards were negatived by more than two thirds of newly elected M. Ps. who swore their allegiance to Indiraji's slogan of Garibi Hatao. Russians are being taunted but in an unhistoric manner by Mao's Chinese for yielding to democracy. Are those of us, among democratic Gandhians to be similarly taunted, irrespective of teachings of history, for our acceptance of the direction of 1971 March revolution towards Socialism ? I say "No".

While the Communist-minded masses and intellectuals of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and even of Poland have been heralding their passion for democracy, within their over all Socialist social set-up, why should we not welcome democratic choice made through ballot box by our long-suffering, ill-fed, ill cloatched andsuppressed masses ?

It is unGandhian to assume that Gandhiji would cavil at the choice made by our masses in 1971 and 1972 democratic elections for Lok Sabha and State Assemblies respectively because he was a democrat par excellence.

It is possible for Gandhians to go on quoting several Gandhian sayings against equally authentic Gandhian sayings but none can quote anything from Gandhi, against the greatest priority he gave to the feeding, clothing, housing, educating and humanising the Daridra Naram. Indiraji is now bent upon persuading our democracy and its almost unmanageable administration to suspend, condition or soften as per Portia's plea for mercy some

of the powers, and freedoms, so long enjoyed by the few in order to help the masses in their long deferred efforts to raise their "Human values" and march in level with atleast the last of the stragglers of the privileged people. I am convinced Gandhiji would be most willing to wish her success. It is because of that conviction, so many of us, who have been championing the self-employed masses of peasants and artisans and who have hoped but in vain that the privileged classes in our democracy would so raise the material equipment, and wealth and help our submerged masses to be freed from their sub-human living and undemocratic disabilities, have decided boldly and sincerely to help Indiraji to fit Socialism into Indian democracy. Gandhians ought to help our democracy to raise its vision and revolutionise its institutions and humanise the political approaches of its leaders and thus metamorphose itself into Socialist Democracy, which can meet the world-wide and irresistible challenge, that brooks no delay of the Daridranarayanan.

If this means, the acceptance of some controls, let them be democratically controlled. If it means the disciplining so many people to achieve quicker results and bigger production, let that be of Gandhian type of discipline. If it demands sacrifices from the 'haves' to lessen the rigours of the 'have nots' or shedding some millennium-old social privileges and religious prejudices, let them be offered, in the same Satyagrahic manner as untouchability and princely orders were dropped by our democracy.

Let us remember that this democratic Socialism was also outlined by young Socialist League of U.K. in their publication "Twentieth Century Socialism". If Bapu were with us to-day and I could continue my dialogue with him after the fashion of my talks embodied in "Bapu Blesses" (1970) I am sure, he would hail the present-day national commitment to Democratic Socialism.

See also the book "The Turning-point of Socialism" by the well-known. French Communist author Roger Garandy, especially the fourth chapter Alternative Models of Socialism. (Ed.)

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PEASANTS OF THE WORLD UNITE

I read with interest the article entitled "can mankind" overcome starvation?" by lev voskresensky in the "Soviet land" of May 1974.

I am glad to note that "a meeting was held of delegates to the Congress of World Peace held in Moscow in October-November 1973 representing Peasant Parties and peasant Organisations of 40 countries" and that they "supported the idea of setting up an international center uniting the peasants of the world similar to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

Taking my cue from Marx's inspiring exclamation "Workers of the World, Unite", I have been pleading for "Peasants of the World, Unite, ever since 1931.

For too long a time, Socialists of the Communists-orientation have looked askance at peasants and neglected in India right upto 1935 the development of the organisational aspects of peasants needs. At long last Communists are coming to follow our line. When I said in 1930 that Peasants could not be liquidated; no effort ought to be made to proletarianise them and they ought to be treated to be as good a progressive class as proletariat, Communists protested vehemently. Right upto 1935 they did not care to organise peasants and castigated my efforts as non-progressive. They joined Kisan movement only when they found it becoming too powerful and that too, only to enter it and subvert our ranks and disable peasants from ever becoming an effective social-revolutionary force. They succeeded in splitting the All India Kisan movement and weakening the Kisan cadres and organisations.

Even when the East European Peasant Parties and Unions formed their "Green International", they treated it as

their opponent, instead of welcoming it as an ally in the Social democratic development, leoding to Socialist Construction. So many of us have been obliged to develop such international platforms as the International Federation of Agricultural Producers (1946) in order to protect and promote international interests' of peasants such as to overcome the evil effects of unfavourable terms of trade imposed upon agriculture, and peasants, ensure fair and remunerative prices for their produce and adequate supplies of inputs and prevent invisible transference of the wealth of agricultural peoples and of developing and underdeveloped countries to industrially and commercially developed peoples and countries.

I am glad to learn that organisers of Peasants hailing from the countries which have taken part in the world Congress of Peace have at long last decided to develop their world Organisation of Peasants in the hope that their efforts would reinforce the work of the I. F. A. P. and other international peasant organisations and thus weaken the stranglehold that industrially cum commercially developed countries and powers have come to hold over World Peasantry through unfavorable terms of trade etc.,

Thus Peasants in the Communist sphere of influence are asserting themselves, even while being Communists and socialists, as a distinct class in their Communist sphere of the World. They are, therefore, thinking of organising their own International Peasant organisation. This is certainly a happy development and vindication of our thesis and claim raised so long ago as 1936

I proved in the "Credo of World Peasantry" that both Capitalists and Communists failed to liquidate peasantry. This latest Communist move is an indirect acknowledgement of its correctness.

This move being an oblique approach to realism, is welcome withdrawal from the impractical and unhistorical

Century-long effort of Western Socialists to proletarianise peasantry and liquidate peasants and convert all toilers into proletariat. Such of us as are Gandhian champions of self-employed peasantry below ceiling would be glad if the Peasants employed in State and Collective and Co-operative farms and engaged in their small kitchen gardens or small-holdings and all those kisan-born Workers in Co-operatives besides self employed peasant come to be recognised to be as good and constructive elements in Socialist society as workers employed in factories and intellctual and secretarial functions. It would be doubly welcome if they are also provided with a world level organisation.

So far, the Socialist countries and non-socialist part of the world have failed to liberate peasants from the scissors of adverse terms of trade and the UNCTAD and other international agencies under the aegis of UN and outside have failed to stop the exploitation of agricultural classes and countries. Such an international organisation of peasants as is envisaged by this Communist group can serve a revolutionary and constructive purpose only if the national parties and organisations, sponsoring the new move are sincerely convinced of the historically progressive role that the more than 300 millions of self-employed peasants can play in the modern world, in addition to the peasants engaged in collectives and State farms in Soviet-oriented Countries. Let us hope that with the advent of the proposed international peasants platform from the Socialistic sections and Countries of the World as an additional international champion of peasants. agriculturists would come to have a better deal all over the world.

As I feel that the cause of Kisans, Kalakars, Mazdoors and Buddhijeevis in the ambit of non-exploitation society can be promoted if peasants come to be recognised as a progressive element by such a powerful political force as Communistic socialists, I welcome this new move of theirs as an additional protective armour for peasants, including

non-exploitative, self-employed agricultural producers of holdings below Ceilings.

It is good that at long last our thesis regarding the progressive role of peasants is being vindicated by these re-orientations being made even by communists who have hither to been their strongest world-wide opponents on the ideological and politico-organisational planes.

Reproduced from "Rural India"

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EDITORIAL PLEA

For National Democratic Front for Garibi Hatao

15-8-74

Rangaji began to suggest to Rajaji as early as 1968-69 the liquidation of S.P. (SwatantraParty) when Rajaji's oft repeated plea for the merger of all democratic non-Congress parties into one united democratic front was found to be unacceptable to the leaders of Jana Sangh, B. K. D., S. P. and Socialists who met for exploring possibilities for such a consummation and failed to reach any agreement. Further it became evident, when none of the Chief Ministers hailing from the S.V.D. Ministries were willing to join the Swatantra Party, even though it had the active support of the premier Gandhian Rajaji. They were as badly power - oriented as Congress leaders and neither Swatantra nor Socialist nor Jana Sangh could offer prospects of attaining power, He concluded that a viable united democratic opposition couldnot be evolved from out of non-Communists. So he repeated his suggestion more forcibly, after the socalled united democratic opposition suffered its disastrous defeat in 1971 election, that no constructive role could be played by

Gandhians through Swantatra Party. He argued that in view of the decision made by the broad masses in favour of revolutionary move towards Garibi Hatao, the best that genuine democrats who are wedded to Gandhian Socialism or social approach could do would be to give up their various political parties, with social priorities, which are not in harmony with Garibi Hatao.

Unfortunately for themselves, these opposition parties have failed either to accept his analysis and suggestion or to develop any more strength for genuine progressive democratic opposition. On the other hand, some of them have been obliged to liquidate themselves, through sheer force of political alienation from the masses and create yet a new B. L. D. (Bharatiya Lok Dal) leaving behind them a train of their splinters to further confuse and weaken democratic front.

The middle classes on whom Indiraji has so far relied for providing the major portion of leaders in legislative and administrative spheres have been so short-sighted and suicidal minded as to ignore the significance of the recurring decisions made by the masses in favour of Garibi Hatao and the characteristically adriot choice made by C. P. I. to buttress that popular choice. So they have so far been engaged in their habitual factious and castewise politics thereby frustrating Indiraji's policies and plans to curb curruption, black marketing and minimise exploitation of the masses.

They have pursued negative roles in Andhra, Guzerat, Bihar, just like the organised proletariat during the Railway Strike, etc.

They ought to realise that it is only because of their failure to play fair with the masses, wile enjoying the political power and prestige, garnered by Indiraji, Jaiprakash Narain has been obliged to throw all caution to the winds, in his exasperation with the suffocating atmosphere of amorality of the ruling Party politics and irresponsible and

corrupt administation (which are manned by the middle classes) and offer to make common cause even with Maoists and Communists of all hues and Communalists from all directions with the sole purpose of unseating the legislators and legislatures which were chosen by the suffering masses for moving towards Garibi Hatao.

It is because of this suicidal indulgence of middle classes and intellectuals in finding ways and means of frustrating the wishes of the masses that Indira, Jaiprakash Narain, Jan Sangh and Muslim League have begun to invite the co-operation of one of the other wing of Communists for their own purposes.

If they fail the nation and the masses at this juncture by being obsessed with their sectional or cast or partisan interests the people with all their cultural heritage and attachments and the nation would be plunged into "No Man's Land" of dictatorship of either the Left or the Right. It would then be a long dark day without any freedoms and even a glimpse of humanism, of good-bye to all freedomes and humanism.

The cultural values and heritage of the middle classes self employment of the peasants and working classes and human rights and democratic freedoms of all the people would then be unavailable. So we join Rangaji in hailing the peaceful and democratically demonstrated wish and determination of the masses for a Social revolution and appeal to middle classes and intellectuals to play their helpful role honourably.

The political developments of 1972-74 have further exemplified the correctness of Rangaji's analysis and his call to all progressive democratic elements to accept the national objective of Garibi Hatao and achieve national front of all democratic Socialists.

The political developments of 1972-74 have further justified the correctness of Rangaji's analysis and his call to all

progressive democratic elements to accept the national objective of Garibi Hatao and achieve national front of all democratic Socialists. The terrible ever growing malaise of political and administrative corruption, inflation, black-marketing, hoarding and suicidal transference of the economic resources of the masses into the pockets of the rich and industrial and commercial sections and the impoverishment of self-employed masses can be effectively tackled only if all Gandhian Socialists and democrats make common cause with the political leadership chosen by the masses in 1971 and 1972 and 1973 general elections for Parlament and Assembles. We give here-in-below Rangaji's statement of 15-8-72 (Ed.)

RANGA HAILES MARCH REVOLUTION of 1971-1972

Revolution is generally considered as the upshot of a violent overthrow of an existing system of social gradations and economic productive and distributive arrangements and disposition of political power of socio-economic forces vis-a-vis political powers – that be. It is rarely that a revolution gets initiated or emerges with all the cataclysm of a radical upset of the status-quo in a peaceful manner.

When such a revolution does take place, it is not so easy for all to recognise it as having come about, since it is not as unmistakeable, demonstrative, and irrevocable as a violent revolution. Hence the failure of even statesmen of high wisdom, erudition and political perspicacity to agree among themselves that a fundamentally new approach has to be made and if so, how rapid, great and co-operative approach is needed to help society to make the fullest constructive use of such a revolution

I am convinced such a revolution has come to be initiated by the verdict of the Indian masses during the

1971 March General Election to Parliament and it was further sustained and effectively reaffirmed by crores of our voters during the general elections held in March 1972 for most of the Legislative Assemblies of the States. During all the previous elections held for Parliament and Assemblies, the great majority of rural labour as well as urban labour, depressed classes, Harijans and Girijans were content to be led in the pattern of their voting by others and followed the educationally, economically and traditionally advanced sections and Castes, They were being slowly awakened by the increasing numbers of their own educated youths and spurred into a growing sense of dissatisfaction and disgust with the social system and values which their elders were content to accept and groan under.

The Gandhians, Socialists and Communists and others were also awakening some of them to the need to fight against their growing poverty and unrelieved misery caused by unemployment, semi-starvation and homelessnes and traditional insecurities and new disabilities caused by the Post-Swaraj development. But they did not feel courageous or confident enough to move, enmasse, in favour of any Party with the hope of breaking through the vicious circle of hopelessness and iron-chains of social custom and ever-recurring political domination of the upper classes.

During all these twenty five years, those of us who are devoted democrats and sincere Gandhians, working among the masses found our political work and social debate among the politically approachable castes, and classes so absorbing and almost beyond our capacity to manage that we did not find it sufficiently compulsive and politically necessary to work with patience and vigour among these socially under-privileged and economically suppressed and politically somnambulent and ineffective masses; So we were unable to realise how like winter wheat, the political consciousness and social awakening of these vast humanity was reaching the germinating point.

The Political crisis in the ruling Congress Party paved the way for the emergence of Indiraji as the determined advocate and champion of the submerged classes, depressed Castes and long suffering masses. She made the fullest use of her position as Prime Minister. She pressed the Radio into service to enable her and her ministerial and organisational colleagues to reach large sections of the illiterate masses in villages and cities and their slums. She conveyed to them her passionate determination to put life into the mass-wise aspects of the Gandhian and Nehruen teachings. Her brave stand against all the stalwarts of Congress and United Opposition Front made a special appeal to the innate spirit of Indian womanhood, who cherish the epic heroism of Draupadi, Rudrama Devi, Jhansi Laxmibai.

Unfortunately for the democratic opposition we were so much observed with our ideological approaches, practical aspects of economic and social programmes, Organisational failures of Governmental schemes and corruption in administrative and political leadership and political hypocrisies in the controversy between Congress factions that we failed to realise the revolutionary upheaval, that her speeches and stances were conjuring up.

Even the wisest and keenest intellectuals and scholars among her opponents did not realise that the broad toiling masses have had neither awarenoss of nor interest in our constitutional foundations of fundamental rights and political mechanism of rival parties in power and opposition keeping vigil over people's interests and rights and its special gifts of Habeas Corpus and rule of law.

Only a few of us, who have kept our ears, eyes and hearts a little closer to the pulse of the submerged masses, over the decades and wondering when, how and in what tempo those broad masses would assert themselves were

able to understand in the wake of those 1971 March results; that the long awaited, much delayed revolutionary fiat of the masses has taken place and the political crust, so long maintained by iron-laws of social practices and dogmas was broken up and the lava of mass voting has flowed into ballot boxes and raised the banner of Indiraji, into her battle-cry of Garibi Hatao,

That only emphasizes the truth, though so often ignored, that a revolution, when it takes place, comes as surprisingly and with as stunning an impact to both its votaries and its opponents.

I have come to the conclusion that the 1971 election result registered the advent of a revolutionary epoch. It has brought that 40 to 50% of the almost illiterate, submerged and hitherto non-political sections of our voters into our political arena as an active, political force demanding answers to their hitherto unexpressed demands, for which Indiraji has provided words, sequence of thoughts and fiery momentum of political feelings. These were the social strata whom many of us have wished and tried to awaken and organise for effective progress from out of their socio-political depression. But we could not succeed, beyond carrying on the Gandhian fight against untouchability and spread of education and opening the gates for administrative services and some social amenities such as schools, land-holdings, drinking water facilities, house-sites, higher-wages and charities. Only the D. M. K. led the way for Indira Congress and Annadurai anticipaed Indiraji by decades through their 30 years long revolutionary Self-respect movement among the sub-merged masses.

Communists too wanted to achieve this revolution but their approach repelled even the lower-middle classes and lacked the authority of Governmental power. So what did not come in the way of either Gandhians or Communists and what could not be comprehended or sympathetically

welcomed by the liberals of Anglo-American democratic tradition came to be achieved by Indiraji, thanks to her emergence from out of the cocoon of the Congress establishment, albeit all the dreadful birth-pangs. Her strident call to the masses led most of them towards the peaceful, social revolution of 1971 and 1972.

Rajaji thinks that my plea for accepting that 'March Mandate' smacks of "Bolshevist Creed of total submission to the demand of majority". I submit that if we believe in democracy, then we should not defy the mandate of more than 2/3 majority with in Parliament which Indiraji was sustained as against all that was said by the combined opposition of democratic parties.

I plead that these repeated verdicts of the masses during 1971 and 1972 (both taking place in March-April) are as valid as if a referendum had been held. The Constitution has demanded that it could be amended by a 2/3 majority and the 1971 election results have given such a majority to Indiraji. The Opposition warned voters that if she were returned to power, she would amend the Constitution and weaken the Fundamental Right to property. She demanded just that right. The people gave her the needed electroral majority to exercise that right. How can any democrat refuse to recognise this glaring and unmistakeable authority given to her?

This revolution has only begun. Its achievements are more imponderable and symbolic than specific legislative acts and administrative decisions. For instance, the depressed classes have begun to feel less fated to be depressed and breathe an atmosphere of hope and progress. The agricultural workers hope to rise rapidly to the status of self-employed peasants with or without land-ownership. The pall of fate-ordained inferiority in the presence of so-called upper-castes is going. Just as the Non-brahmins rose

to contest with Brahmins in Services and legislatures in 1920-40 so also the suppressed crores of masses are now rapidly seeping into all walks of life, not in an apologetic manner but to claim their right and assert their human dignity.

A veritable social revolution is afoot, in a quiet but irresistible, peaceful but vibrant manner. It has reached a higher tempo in political arena in Tamilnad, thanks to the D. M. K. and it is spreading, like morning sunshine, (Sandhya) over the whole social panorama of Indian humanity. Indiraji has been forthright and dynamic in helping this social revolution to find vantage in political sphere, by introducing to a significant degree, more and more representatives of backward classes, Harijans and Girijans into the State Ministries and Central Cabinet.

I have sincerely felt for a long time, as Gunnar Myrdal has put it in his latest book "Challenge of World's Poverty" "Is there a limit to the misery human being can bear without revolting" ? and I have realised from the cataclysmic manner in which the vast masses of voters have voted their support with the "oceanic upswing for Indiraji's political posers for "Gharibi Hatao" that the large masses of the poor will have no "patience to wait until we develop the necessary will to break away from so many vicious circles of caste, communal, regional, ideological road blocks.

Many of us maintained that Fundamental Rights should be treated as permanent. Yet, everyone of them was hedged in by the Fathers of the Constitution by several qualifications. Even the property right came to be conditioned by the abolition of Zamindari System and by the 17th Amendment.

Some good friends put the question if I would reconcile myself to the jeopardising of all the other Fundamental Rights, for which even the slowly emerging spirit of freedom in the Communit Countries is yearning. My answer

is that I am as sincerely passionate for their protection as any one else, but their continuance might be jeopardised, if we persist in resisting the overwhelming will of the electorate in placing the right of property under the suzereignty of the Directive Principles of 31 B and C. Moreover, the right to property of even Peasants was allowed to be curtailed by the Golaknath Jadgement of the Supreme Court. All the amendments passed upto that time, including the drastic 17th Amendment and imposing of Ceilings etc. upon agricultural properties were upheld. The 25th Amendment only seeks to empower States to eliminate the discrimination between rural and urban, professional incomes and (properties and extend the same treatment to all other properties and incomes,, How can we now object to such an effort ? Therefore my contention is that every genuine democrat who believes in adult franchise, humanism and rule by majority should accept wholeheartedly the mandate of 2/3 majority, expressed so freely in such a well-contested general election as that of Marco 1971.

It is some consolation that Rajaji has explained in his inimitably succint manner my general political position, that I have felt "that the bloodless revolution supposed to be planned by Smt. Indira Gandhi is preferable to a revolution through bloodshed which he thinks would be inescapable".

Extracts From Rangaji's article to the
National Herald, New Delhi. 1972.

We are providing two sets of Index. 1 Subjectwise is printed in the beginning. 2. The Namewise is printed at the end of the letters.

This is done to fesilitates easy references.

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