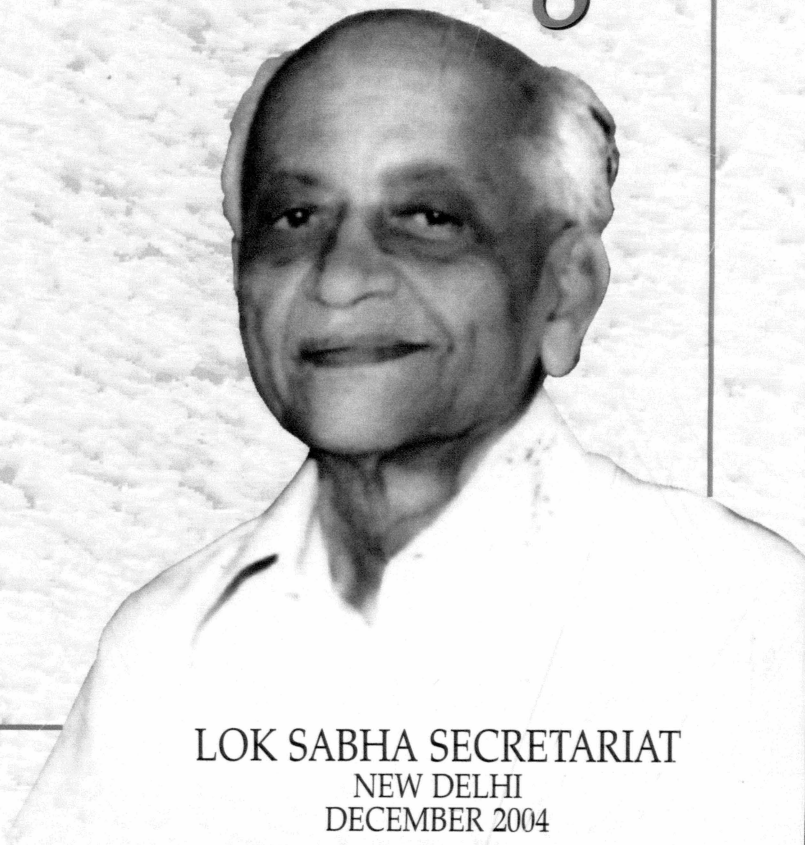


*Comrade
Shripad Amrit
Dange*



LOK SABHA SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI
DECEMBER 2004

COMRADE SHRIPAD AMRIT DANGE

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PREFACE

Among the galaxy of leaders who played a pioneering role in shaping and moulding the country's trade union movement and the Communist movement, the name of Comrade Shripad Amrit Dange shines like a pole star. A committed revolutionary, a great patriot, a dedicated labour leader, a brilliant orator, a great parliamentarian and above all an ardent scholar, Comrade Dange was indeed a multi-faceted personality.

A grateful nation honours the memory of Comrade Dange on 10 December 2004 when the Hon'ble Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh unveils his statue in Parliament House. We are deeply beholden to the Hon'ble Speaker, Shri Somnath Chatterjee for his inspiring guidance in organising this function. The statue, sculpted by eminent sculptor, Shri Vithoba Panchal is almost 9 feet high and is made of bronze. We are grateful to the Shramik Pratishthan, Mumbai, for donating the statue.

To mark the occasion, the Lok Sabha Secretariat is bringing out this booklet containing the profile of Comrade Dange and some select photographs. The profile is based on published sources relating to the life and times of Comrade Dange. This publication is a humble tribute to the memory of Comrade Dange, who dominated the Indian political firmament for many decades. We hope it will be found useful and informative by all.

NEW DELHI
December, 2004

G.C. MALHOTRA,
Secretary-General
Lok Sabha

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COMRADE SHRIPAD AMRIT DANGE

- A Profile -



Comrade Shripad Amrit Dange

Comrade Shripad Amrit Dange, one of the founding fathers of the Indian Communist Movement and the architect of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) dominated the Indian political scene and the working class movement for more than six decades. A legend in his own lifetime, Dange was more than an ordinary politician; he was an outstanding trade unionist and a great revolutionary patriot as well. He was equally an intellectual giant and philosopher of high calibre, a great scholar of Sanskrit and the *Vedas* and a champion of social justice. Throughout his long innings in public life, he remained loyal and devoted to the Communist ideology; he also showed great respect for Indian traditions, values and culture.

Early Life

Comrade Shripad Amrit Dange was born on 10 October 1899 in Nasik. His father was a clerk in a solicitor's firm. He was hardly one year old when his mother died. None to look after the small child, his father then allowed a Marathi lady who belonged to his uncle's family to adopt Dange who took the boy to her village. The political atmosphere of Maharashtra and particularly of Nasik in Dange's childhood was fully charged with the revolutionary activities of young political leaders which reverberated throughout the country. The echoes of boycott, *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj* did not fail to reach the village where Dange lived. All these developments contributed in moulding his mind at an impressionable age. He studied in the Nasik High School till the sixth standard. Thereafter, his family moved to Mumbai where his father put him up in the Bharda High School.

After finishing school, Dange joined the Wilson College in 1917. One of his first activities in the College was to start a monthly journal in English titled *The Young Collegiate*. He also organised the students to revolt against the compulsory teaching of Bible. He started a movement demanding that the College authorities should permit the establishment of a Marathi Language Literary Society and that Marathi should also be accepted for the

degree course on the same level as other languages like English, French, etc. He organised the first students' strike on this and other issues in Mumbai. The authorities finally conceded the demand and the first Marathi Literary Society was formed in the Wilson College. As Dange himself put it, "our conditioning in boyhood itself was national".

On the political front, Lokmanya Tilak, one of the doyens of the revolutionary stream within the freedom movement, greatly inspired the young, dedicated Dange. For the young and old alike, Tilak was the symbol of national aspiration because he lent his support not only to the revolutionary struggle all over the country but also worked untiringly for the organisation of the working class, the peasantry and all other toiling sections of the people. Also, Tilak's pioneering work *Geeta Rahasya* which extols the philosophy of *Karmayoga* had deeply influenced Dange. Tilak gave him the inspiration to undertake relief work in the mill areas of Mumbai city wherein the influenza epidemic of 1918 had taken a toll of lakhs of people. It was for the first time that Dange came in direct contact with the working class. Little did he know at that time that this was to be an association of his lifetime.

Dange's father died in 1920. Meanwhile, the Non-Cooperation Movement launched by Gandhiji had just begun to gather momentum. Responding to the clarion call of Gandhiji, he gave up studies and plunged into the freedom movement. From this time onward, he never ceased to take active interest in the struggle for freedom. In 1928, Dange married Ushatai, a widow, who shared and appreciated his political views. She used to carry forward Dange's trade union activities whenever he underwent imprisonment.

Rise of Socialism in India

Dange was hardly eighteen years old when the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia shook the entire world and laid the foundation of the socialist society. He was highly influenced by the socialist thought that human society can be created and sustained on the basis of equality and justice. And he was drawn to the career and achievements of the great Soviet leader, V.I. Lenin. He was at the

same time inspired by the political philosophy of Karl Marx. Along with nationalism, the philosophy of egalitarianism was simultaneously influencing Dange, giving him a markedly ideological and international orientation. He began to see, rather before many others, that India's political freedom would have no meaning if it were not to translate itself into economic freedom for its masses. In search of a new ideology, Dange wrote his first book *Gandhi vs. Lenin* in 1921. This book, for the first time, articulated Dange's social leanings. Lenin is believed to have read the book and saw in it "the sparks of the awakening Indian working class". It proved to be the turning point in Dange's life; he came to Communism *via* nationalism.

The book *Gandhi vs. Lenin* also attracted the attention of Shri R.B. Lotwalla, a close colleague of Tilak, who offered Dange his library of all the classics of Marxism-Leninism. He also influenced Vithalbhai Patel to appoint Dange as his Secretary. Although this gave Dange an opportunity to study this new philosophy, he soon felt a strong desire to disseminate the new ideas of socialism among the people. He joined *Indu Prakash*, a well known Marathi daily of those days, and boldly advocated the principles of socialism through its columns. However, working in a Marathi daily did not satisfy Dange and soon he felt the need for an English paper of his own to freely propagate his ideas and programmes of socialism. In August 1922, he launched *The Socialist*. It was the first Communist journal in the country which Dange started by selling the household belongings which his father had left. Through this journal, Dange mooted the idea and the necessity of forming a mass political party of the working class based on the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. The journal acquired an instant stature among radicals throughout the country. Dange's reputation grew by leaps and bounds and very soon he was known all over the country as an intrepid nationalist and an equally intrepid socialist. Intellectuals such as M.N. Roy as well as humble factory workers in Mumbai and Kanpur came to admire and respect him equally.

In the 16 September 1922 issue of *The Socialist*, Dange announced the formation of the Indian Socialist Party within the Indian National Congress. Presumably, he wanted that Indian

Communists should work as a distinct group within the Congress. The journal reached M.N. Roy who deputed Charles Ashleigh, a British Communist, to meet Dange and take him to Soviet Russia to attend the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. Ashleigh managed to meet Dange but his mission proved abortive because of the intervention of the Mumbai police.

Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case

The British authorities were closely following the activities of revolutionaries all over the country. The open preaching of socialism coupled with active interest in working class struggle was alarming them. So, they tried to nip in the bud the rise of the ideology of socialism in the national movement. A conspiracy case was thus framed against Dange and he was arrested on 3 March 1924 along with Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta and Shaukat Usmani on the charge of trying to overthrow the British Government and was sentenced to four years imprisonment. This case, which later came to be known as the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, was the first attack against the rights of the Indian working class to co-operate with their brother workers in other countries in the cause of national and social liberation. Dange openly stood for such co-operation and was arraigned for it. This trial was historic in the sense that it led to the formation of the Communist Party of India on the Indian soil in December 1925 at Kanpur.

His Struggle for the Working Class

Dange was released on 24 May 1927, 356 days earlier than the full course of the term of four years because of his having earned remission for the special work he did in the jail hospital. By 1926-27, the working class movement initiated by the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was spreading widely in many provinces. Dange had been closely associated with the AITUC as a volunteer since its formation in 1920. As soon as he was released from jail in 1927, he took up the trade union work in Mumbai, the centre of India's cotton-textile industry. Moved by the pathetic condition of the textile workers, who were exploited ruthlessly by

the textile magnates, Dange organised them and fought for their rights. Simultaneously through the Marathi weekly *Kranti*, he kindled awareness among the working class with unique success. A new awakening was evident among the working class—an awakening of a class ideology and international outlook consistently spread by the Communists. Also, the national upsurge had touched a new height. With *Kranti* as its base, Dange launched massive political strikes and demonstrations of the working class which climaxed in the historical general strike of 1928. Dange, along with S.V. Ghate, S.S. Mirajkar, K.N. Joglekar and R.S. Nimbkar led the six-month strike of the textile workers against “rationalization” and 7½ per cent cut in their wages. The strike was perhaps the biggest and the longest in the history of the labour movement in which as many as six lakh workers participated. The Girni Kamgar Union, led by Dange, also took part in the strike. It had a record membership of about 84,000 workers and was the biggest Union in Asia at that time. For six months, the Union fed the striking workers with foodgrains collected from national and international trade unions and the public. The British Government finally had to retreat and the strike ended successfully. The Government restored the 7½ per cent wage cut and appointed a Commission to inquire into the other demands of the workers.

The success of the strike dealt a blow to the influence of the old moderate leadership which tied the working class to economism. It marked a new turn in the trade union movement marking the emergence of the working class as a political force and Dange as their unchallenged leader. With this new political awakening, the workers began to participate directly in anti-imperialist activities. The emergence of this powerful organisation of the working class created panic for the capitalists as well for the Government. Infuriated, the Government tried to divide the class solidarity by inciting Hindu-Muslim communal riots. But with tactical and skilful efforts of Dange and his colleagues, the riots were successfully suppressed.

On 20 March 1929, the Government arrested Dange along with thirty other Communists in the Meerut conspiracy case, charging them with efforts at over-throwing the British

Government. The trial proceeded for four years amidst storm and tumult. The Communists used the court itself to broadcast the message of revolution and national liberation and to expose British imperialism. Dange admitted before the court that he was a Communist and submitted a voluminous statement defending and explaining Marxism-Leninism and the right of the Indian people to work for liberation and socialism. He said: "My aim as a Communist is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of Communism." Dange was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment. When the case went in appeal to the High Court, the judge was constrained to remark that the whole fabrication was a "fountain pen conspiracy" and there was no evidence of arms in what had been played up as a conspiracy to undermine the British Government. The judge declared: "Perhaps the deeper gravity was the hold acquired over the Bombay workers illustrated by the 1928 strike and the revolutionary policy of the Girni Kamgar Union." The sentence was consequently reduced to three years. Dange spent his time in jail reading Marxist literature. When he came out of the jail in 1935, he had become a committed Communist who worked ceaselessly for the cause of socialism.

Pioneer of the Trade Union Movement

Dange's role in building the trade union movement in India was momentous and unmatched. Beginning his association with the AITUC as a volunteer, he rose to become its General Secretary and later the President for several decades. He was privileged to preside over the AITUC sessions in pre-and post-Independence days and played a crucial role in integrating the AITUC as a major central trade union organisation and skilfully giving a new orientation to the working class movement. Dange was also the founder Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) which embraced the entire working class movement and at one stage was the most powerful factor in the progressive movements the world over. As its Vice-President consecutively for nine terms, Dange's association with the WFTU was long and eventful. He was the accredited spokesman of the Third World countries at the WFTU Sessions.

Dange's entire life was a saga dedicated to the cause of the working class. He was perhaps the first to realise the importance

and significance of the role of the working class in the struggle for freedom and for social transformation. He envisaged the trade union movement as the vehicle to achieve this goal. It was in fact with this motive that he started the Girni Kamgar Union which later became the pioneer of the trade union movement in the country. To him, trade unionism was an article of faith, not an intellectual exercise. He realised, as no one else, the value of unity in the trade union movement. He knew that no action of the working class would succeed if it lacked the sanction of its united strength. He worked for unity in action where complete organisational unity was not possible. In his inimitable style, he would advise: "Let us march separately but let us strike together."

The trade union movement touched a new qualitative height under Dange's able leadership and guidance. He ceaselessly tried to ensure that trade union activities maintained an anti-imperial character, not allowing it to be isolated from the national struggle and at the same time protecting the immediate interests of the workers. But he did not restrict the growth of the trade union movement to economic demands and the living conditions of workers. He linked it with the national movement for freedom. Under his leadership, the working class participated in innumerable strikes and demonstrations. He fought every strike as a part of the political battle against the capitalist order. His speech in every strike rally was in the nature of a political education for the workers. To the British Government's charge that he had been indulging in 'undesirable' educational activities among the mill-hands during the period of the famous 1928 strike in Mumbai, Dange said:

The strike period is the only period when the cultural level of the workers can be raised on a mass scale. The very low wages and long hours of work leave no margin of leisure to the workers to pay attention to their cultural equipment... During the strike period, a will to acquire some power, to win the strike, agitate and awaken mental powers are elements that urge the workers to acquire knowledge and rise superior to their conditions, though the increased pressure of starvation cripples much of this awakened activity... Therefore, it is during the strike period that mass education can be carried on effectively and on a large scale.

Nobody before Dange had quite looked upon a period of strike as an opportunity for self-education. The teacher in him made see this aspect of strike.

In the tripartite meetings with the Government, employers and labour representatives, Dange used to dominate the proceedings with his skilful arguments, eloquent presentations and clever repartees and replies. His analysis, replete with facts and figures, provided a rare insight into the living conditions and thoughts of the working class. His expertise was unmasked before the Fawcett Inquiry Commission set up after the general strike of 1928 to inquire into the various demands of the workers where Dange successfully pleaded the workers' case. No one could understand the pulse of the workers as remarkably as Dange. He was their friend, philosopher and guide. The working class found in him a stalwart champion of their cause.

The reverence that Dange commanded from the workers was reflected in the moving words of Papa Miya, one of the leading workers of the Girni Kamgar Union, when he received his execution order after false implication in a murder case following the historic strike of 1928: "Give our salute to the Union, continue the struggle, we are deeply indebted to Dange Saheb." Even today, Dange's name evokes strong feelings of reverence and pride amongst the workers. Dange no doubt sacrificed a good deal of his time for raising the living standards and working conditions of millions of workers but this was the mission of his life.

The Architect of Indian Communism

Dange, the high priest of Indian Communism and the founder of the Communist Party of India, lighted the torch of Communism when uttering the word "Communism" was considered to be a crime. From those days till his last breath, Dange lived under the banner of Communism which was the foundation of his thinking and his being. He was attracted towards Marxism in his quest for seeking a correct path for Indian revolution, the corner-stone of which was the unity of all progressive and patriotic forces in the country. Strongly supporting his ideology, he said:

The fundamental proposition of Marxism applies to every social group wherever it exists. Thus when I follow Marxism,

Leninism or Communism, I am not following a method of this country or that but the method of reconstruction of society which is proved historically to be necessary and correct.

And though he was convinced of basic Marxian ideology, Dange was temperamentally disinclined to obsessively follow any orchestrated political line. His interpretation of Marxian thoughts and policies were largely his own as he wanted to enrich it with the historical and cultural tenors of the Indian realities. In evaluating political events and trying to discover new vistas of future political developments, he always preferred to exercise his own option. This trend of free-willed thinking and actions, he imbibed perhaps partly from his early nationalist Guru, Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak and partly from his erudition in Sanskrit classics and Indian philosophy.

A striking feature of Dange's perception of the Indian road to Communism was that the working class unity could not be achieved without Hindu-Muslim unity. In fact, his political baptism took place in the struggle for Hindu-Muslim unity and the unity of the working class. In a series of articles in *The Socialist*, he brought into sharp focus the fact that Hindu-Muslim unity should be regarded as the principal pillar on which the future *Swaraj* of India was going to be built. Dange stood in the front rank in the fight against communalism and this remained his supreme conviction throughout his life and at every turning point in the history of the national movement and that of Independent India.

In the post-Independence era, Dange got more deeply involved with the Communist movement and the trade union movement. On the one hand, he consistently endeavoured to strengthen the Communist movement in the country and contributed decisively in carving out a position for the Communist Party on India's political landscape. On the other, as a strong votary of the working class, he continued to represent their interests and welfare by further consolidating the trade union movement. The AITUC under Dange's stewardship no longer remained a gathering of trade union leaders. It flowered into an organisation which took keen interest in the development of the national economy. Dange was also closely and actively associated with the Goa Liberation Movement, the

Samyukta Maharashtra Movement, the Adivasi Satyagraha in Nasik District and the 'Land to the Tiller' Movement in Uttar Pradesh.

In his long political career spread over six decades, Dange was constantly aware of the fundamental changes needed in the thinking and practice of the Communist movement in India. This led him to constantly innovate and assess the movement critically and reach for new political ways to overcome the movement's weaknesses. He despised dogmatism and found it neither wrong nor shameful to admit mistakes. At every major turn in national life—1929-30, 1936-37, 1942 and 1946-47—he made an attempt to come to terms with the political reality.

Dange found no contradiction in being a nationalist as well as a Communist. His independent line of thought and forthright expression of views often clashed with his own political fraternity. But that did not deter him from promoting the idea that the "progressives inside the Congress and leftists outside it" should join hands for pro-people, liberal development of Indian politics and its socio-economic system. This political line of Dange was evident in his decision to remain with the CPI when it split in 1964. But, neither seventeen years of suffering in prisons nor the heat and bitterness of political strife or age robbed Dange of his zeal for socialist ideas. He continued his struggle for the causes he held dear even against the wishes of his own party colleagues. He never hesitated to look at issues and events with an open and independent mind. The doyen of the Communist movement in the country eventually formed a new Communist Party—the United Community Party of India in 1988—when he was 89 years old.

Dange was steadfast and uncompromising in his loyalty to his philosophy and principles of Communism all his life, a quality which endeared him to all his admirers and even critics. His special strength was that he was able to enjoy an equation with the intelligentsia as well as the common people of the country. Despite his open adherence to Marxism, he did not lose either the confidence or the friendship of other political persons or groups. Even those with whom he had parted ways politically continued to respect his sincerity and devotion to the causes he held dear.

Dange, the Parliamentarian

Dange's legislative career started in 1946 when he was elected as the first Communist member of the Mumbai Assembly. He carried forward his fight for the cause of the workers' rights into the Assembly. Participating in the discussion on the Anti-Strike Bill, he said: "the right to strike is the most powerful, potent and today the only weapon in the hands of the working class in order to get concessions from the employer, as also to get legislation enacted in his favour". In the Legislative Assembly, his talents as a legislator were widely admired.

Dange's stint in the Parliament began in 1957 when he was elected to the Second Lok Sabha from Mumbai. Despite being a first-timer, he used to actively participate in the proceedings. His initial speeches, true to his nature, were like those of a trade union leader. But the style of speeches and manner of participation in the parliamentary debates needed different skills and tactics. Dange promptly adopted new parliamentary techniques in giving voice to the aspirations of the working class and the peasantry on the floor of the House. His speeches on the imposition of President's rule in Kerala after dismissing the Communist Ministry, on Tibet and on the India-China border situation reflected the revolt against injustice with which he had started his career. His way of speaking was very lucid and vibrantly persuasive.

Dange and the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru were on the opposite sides in the Lok Sabha with diametrically opposing views on major issues. The Prime Minister believed in the concept of a mixed economy, while Dange was a committed Marxist. He kept challenging the Prime Minister to move more and more towards the left and the Prime Minister kept advising Dange to be more and more understanding of the middle path. And yet there was in both, a mutual respect for each other's sincerity.

Dange returned to the Lok Sabha again in 1967. In his speeches, Dange urged the ruling party to reckon with the new political realities of the times and to work for strengthening the democratic institutions in the country. He used the parliamentary forum not only to raise the grievances of the toiling millions but also to reflect the voice of the mass movement. While upholding national unity and its cause, he laid stress on giving more

autonomy to the States, adequate protection and avenues for the development of ethnic and religious cultures, arts, etc.

A Great Visionary

Dange had an amazing capacity to analyse every small and big event in history and interpret it in its social, political or economic perspective. His deep insight into characters, be they from mythology, history, literature or his own contemporary world, his study of the world religions and drawing from it bold and at times unpalatable conclusions to substantiate his Marxist viewpoint and stand by them courageously during his interaction with his Party, individuals or groups of people in national or international arena, was exemplary.

His Literary Pursuits

Dange won reputation in the party as a practical leader of the working class rather than as a theorist; at the same time, he diligently studied economics, politics and literature and published several books and pamphlets in English and Marathi on political and economic issues. A well-versed scholar in Sanskrit and the *Vedas*, Dange had his own contribution in the realm of ideology. He spoke with equal ease and authority on Kalidas, Tukaram, Kabir and Shakespeare as he spoke of Faiz and Makhdoom.

As the pioneer of trade unionism in India, Dange became conscious early in life of the value of journalism. So he mastered the profession and edited a few weeklies to propagate his trade union activities. As discussed earlier, he started the first socialist weekly in India—*The Socialist* in 1922. He was also instrumental in starting *Kranti* and published a number of pamphlets of his speeches delivered at the AITUC and WFTU Sessions and in the Mumbai Legislative Assembly.

As mentioned earlier, Dange was barely 22, when his first book *Gandhi vs. Lenin* was published in 1921. The book served its political purpose in introducing a new philosophy and ideology into the mainstream of the Indian political struggle for freedom and Independence. Ten years later, in 1931, Dange did not hesitate to confess that “...in the book, I have compared Gandhism and Leninism and have shown preference in favour of the latter...I would not subscribe to that book today and it is of no use today

in the service of Communism, though, in those days I think, it was the first of its kind to appear in India and break through the web of lies that were being circulated about the Russian Revolution and Lenin by the imperialist bourgeois Press.”

While undergoing imprisonment in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case, Dange had the opportunity to closely study the conditions of the prisoners in the British prison, which he vividly described in his second book *Hell Found*. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant referred to the book on the floor of the Uttar Pradesh Assembly as a vivid indictment of British rule. As a result, the Government was forced to take measures to ameliorate the conditions of the prisoners.

His major works *India : From Primitive Communism to Slavery* and *Literature and People* reflect the many facets of his personality as a writer, a poet, a historian, a humanist and above all an ardent revolutionary in the cause of the liberation of the oppressed humanity, all finely blending into his personality as an outstanding leader and scholar of the Indian working class and its philosophy.

Dange was honoured with several national and international awards during his long years of public activity. A great admirer of Tilak, Dange was conferred the Lokmanya Tilak Award in August 1986 by the then Governor of Maharashtra, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma. He was the recipient of the highest honour of the Soviet Union “Order of Lenin” in 1974 for his active participation in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress and for his great contributions to the development and strengthening of friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union. Dange was also conferred the Dimitrov Laureate Prize by the President of the State Council of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria.

The Last Journey

Towards the later years of his life, Dange had withdrawn into himself and led a secluded life. He was rarely seen in public. Once he casually remarked that he would decide his hour of departure from this world, “the choice would be mine. That’s our tradition”, he had declared. Dange passed away on 22 May 1991 at the age of 91 after a prolonged illness.

Paying his rich tributes, the then President, Shri R.Venkataraman said: "Dange was an intrepid freedom fighter and a champion of social justice... He will be remembered in the annals of modern Indian history as one of the pioneers of the trade union movement whose name became synonymous with the aspirations of the working class and the underprivileged."

The then Vice-President, Dr. S.D. Sharma, in his condolence message, said that "the country had lost an invaluable link with our glorious struggle for freedom. Dange's fearless commitment to the cause of the working class, the toiling masses and for freedom and justice would always be remembered." Paying glowing tributes to Dange, the then Prime Minister, Shri Chandra Shekhar described him as a man of vision, determination and enormous courage who stood firm for the principles he cherished.

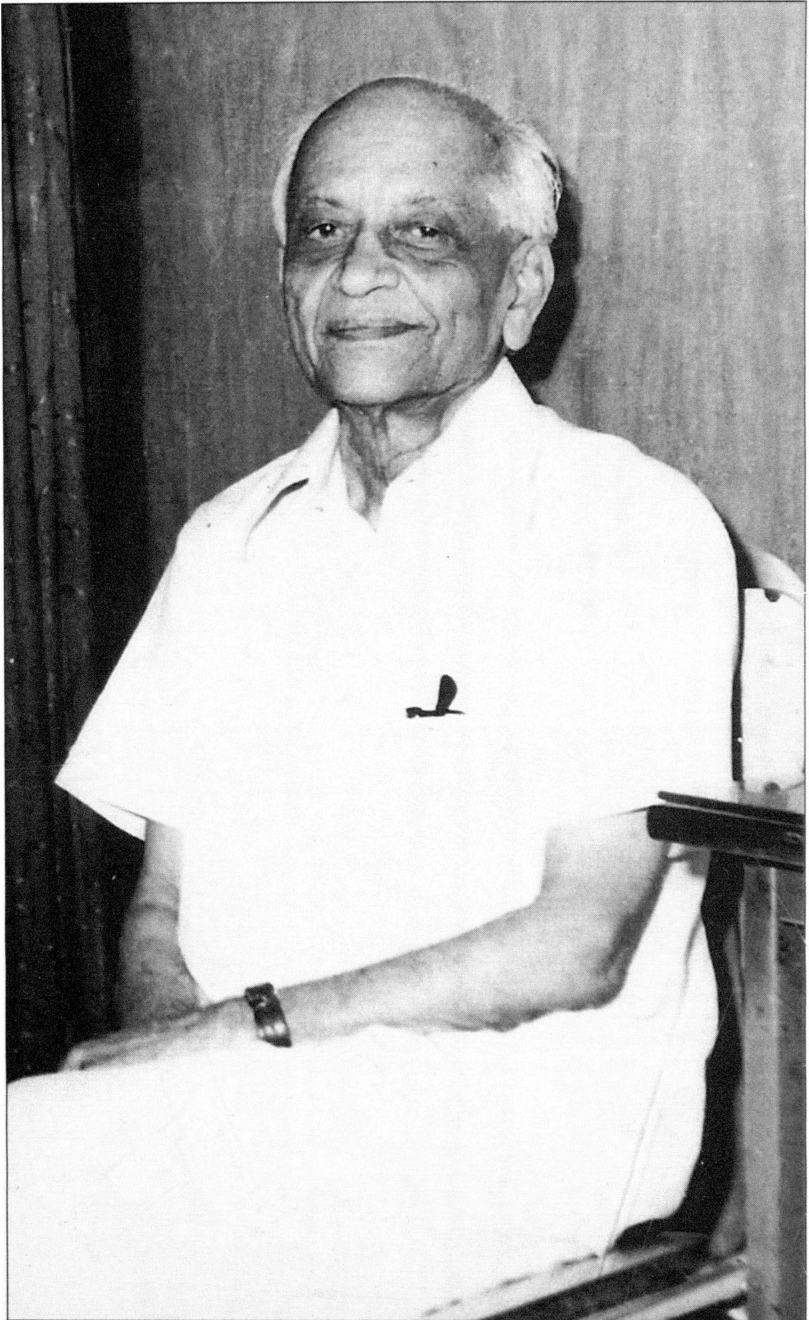
Recalling the services of Dange as a parliamentarian, the then Lok Sabha Speaker, Shri Rabi Ray described him as one of the leading lights of the Communist movement in India.

The death of Dange marked the end of a whole era of Indian politics. As witness to and participant in six decades of political life, Dange came to represent more than a mere ideology, creed or school of thought. His life and work spanned developments of epochal significance: from the stirrings of modern radicalism in this country in the twenties, through the movement for Independence, the split of the Communist movement in the sixties, to the specific achievements and tribulations of the Left Front in the seventies and eighties.

It would be worth recalling the words of the then President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman at a public function to honour the *Bhishma Pitamaha* of the Indian labour movement, which was organised by the Government of Maharashtra to commemorate Dange's 90th birthday celebrations. Shri Venkataraman noted: "In honouring him, we are, in fact, honouring one of the most important attributes of the Indian renaissance, namely the creative mutuality between India's liberation movement and India's labour movement. Shri Dange personifies that mutuality".

COMRADE SHRIPAD AMRIT DANGE

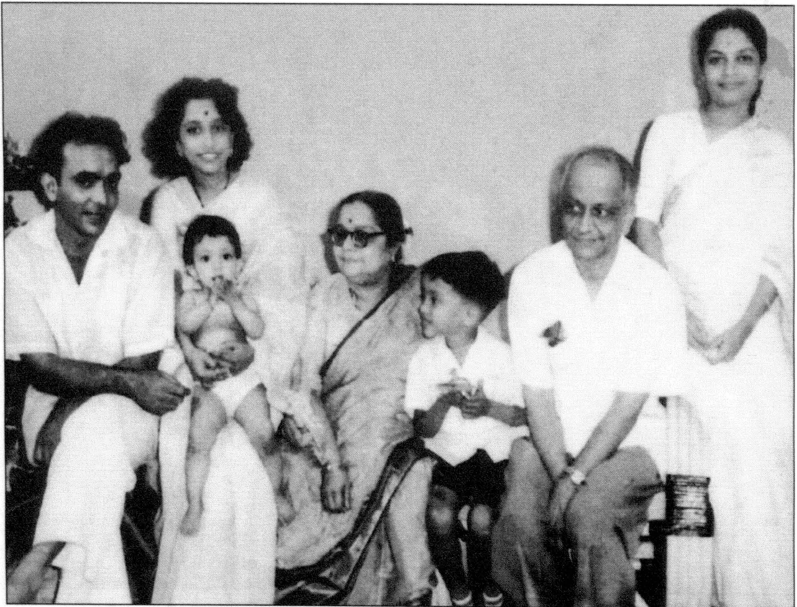
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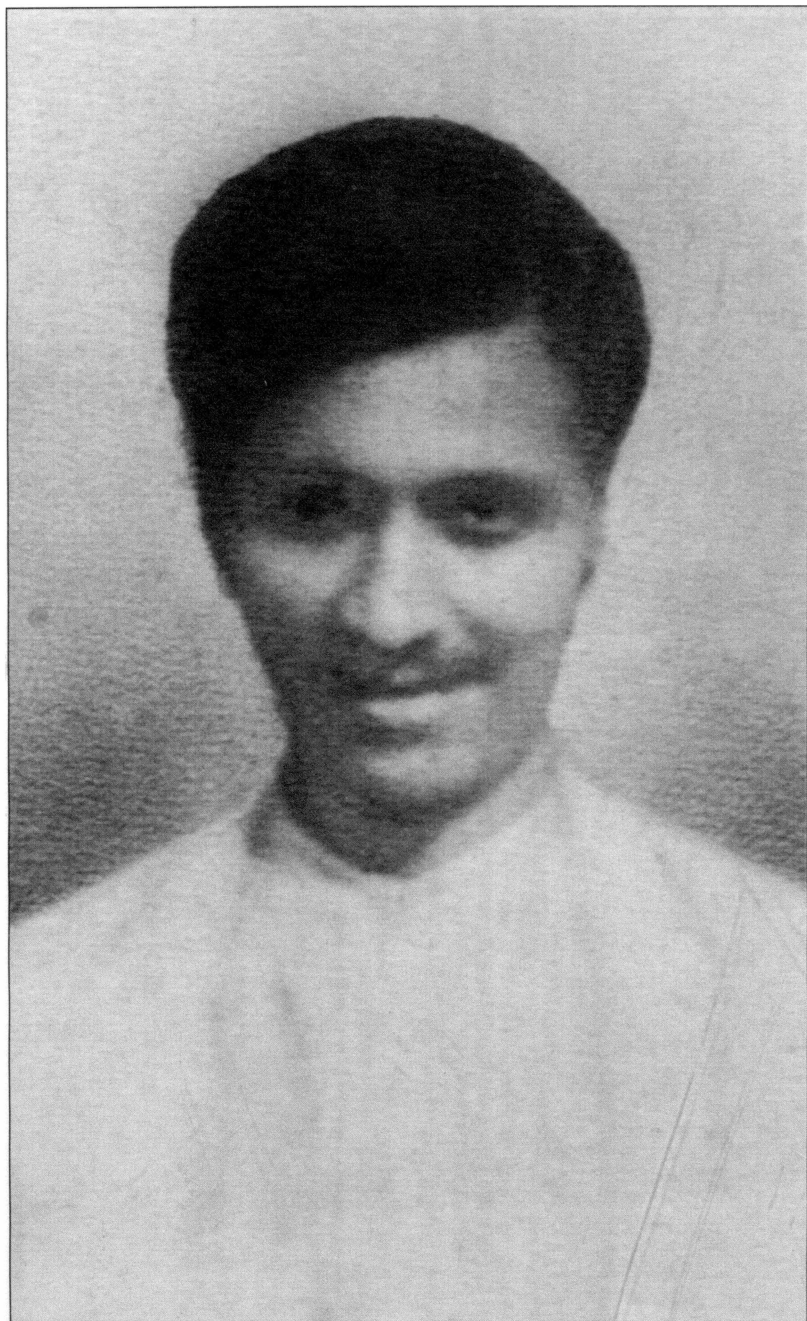
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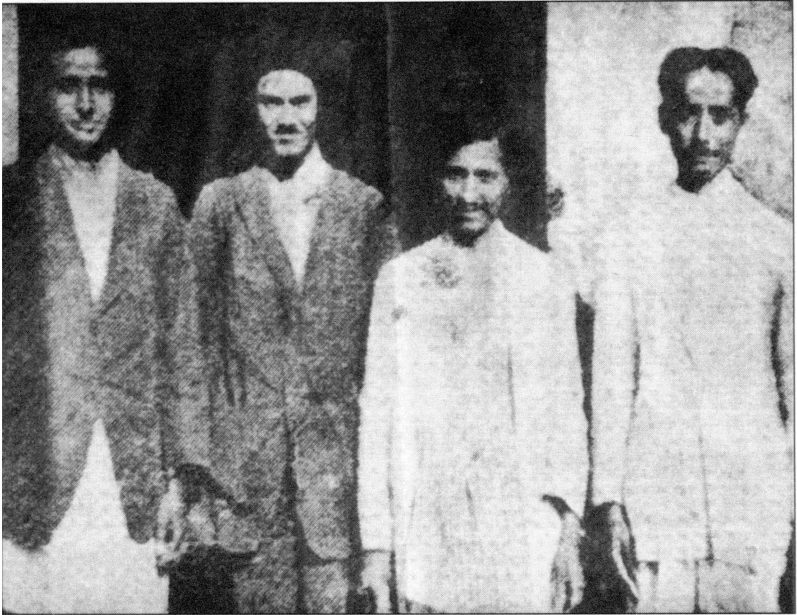
Dange with his wife Ushatai



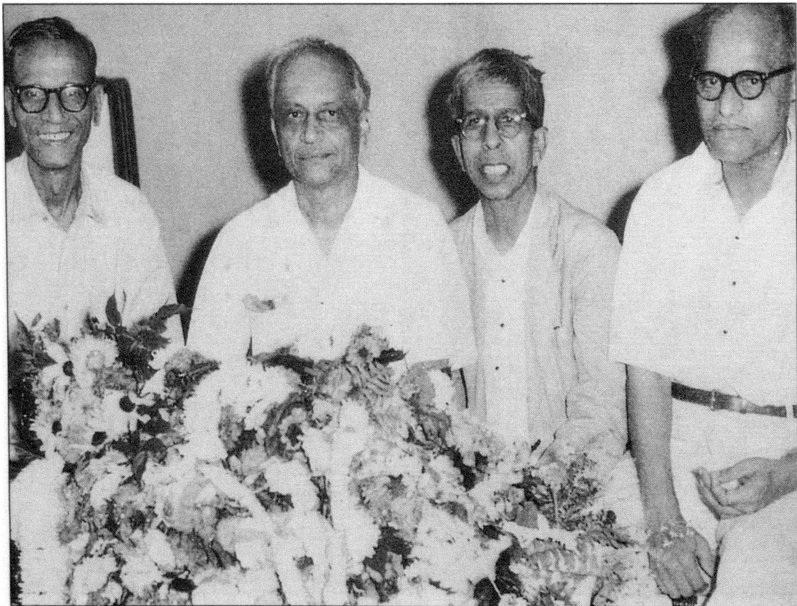
Dange with family members



Dange at the time of his arrest in the Kanpur Bolshevik
Conspiracy Case, 1924



Dange with the prisoners of Kanpur Bolshevick Conspiracy Case



Dange with the founders of the Communist Party—
S.S. Mirajkar, S.V. Ghate and K.N. Joglekar



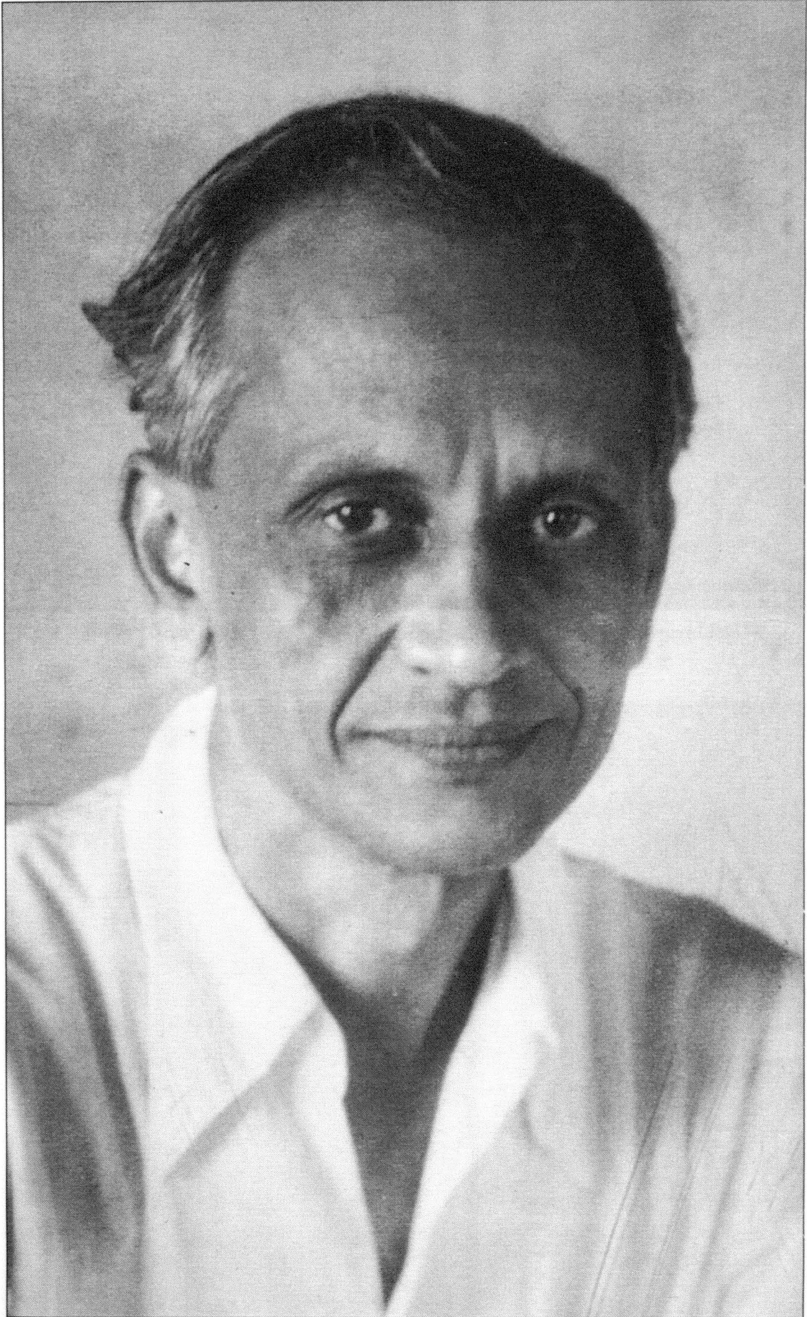
Dange with the prisoners of the Meerut Conspiracy Case



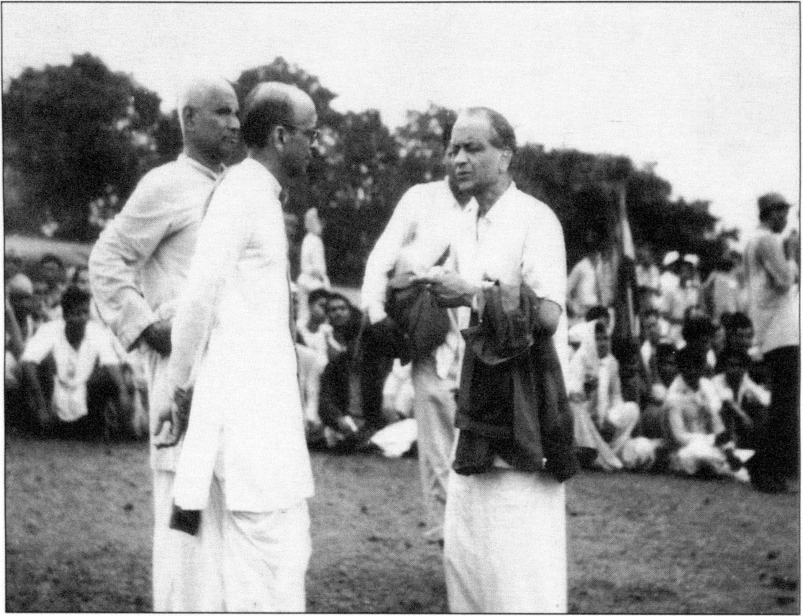
The Chawl in Mumbai where Dange lived and where he was arrested from in the Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1929



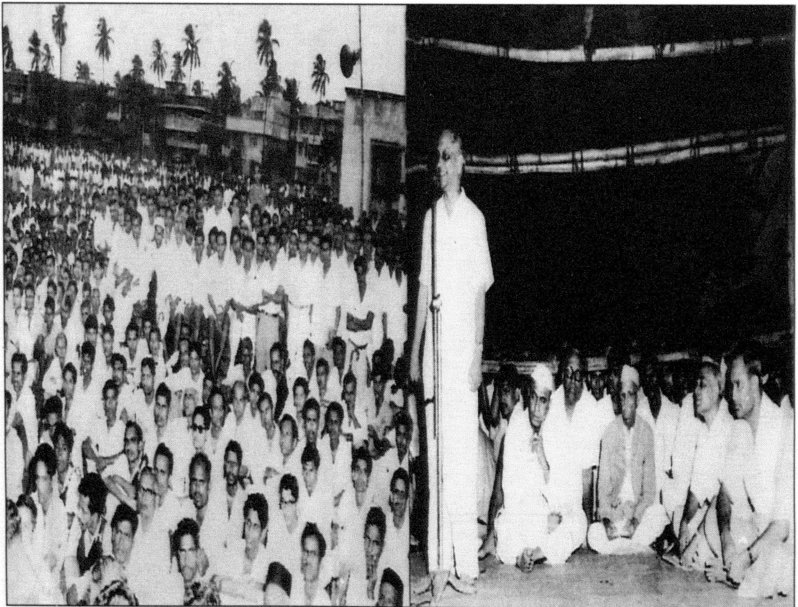
Dange leading the General Strike of 1928



Dange, the member of the Mumbai Vidhan Sabha



Dange leading the Goa Liberation Movement in 1955



Dange addressing the meeting of the
Samyukta Maharashtra Movement, 1956



Dange with Adivasi Satyagrahies in Dindoshi in Nashik District



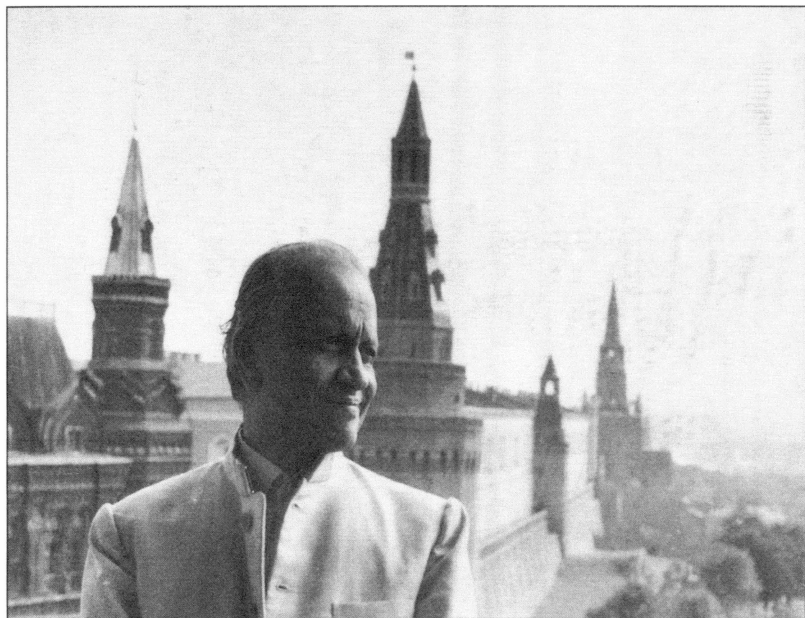
Dange leading a march during the "Land to the Tiller" Movement in Uttar Pradesh, 1970



Dange addressing the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union in 1963



Dange addressing the First Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Paris, 1945



Dange in Kremlin in 1955



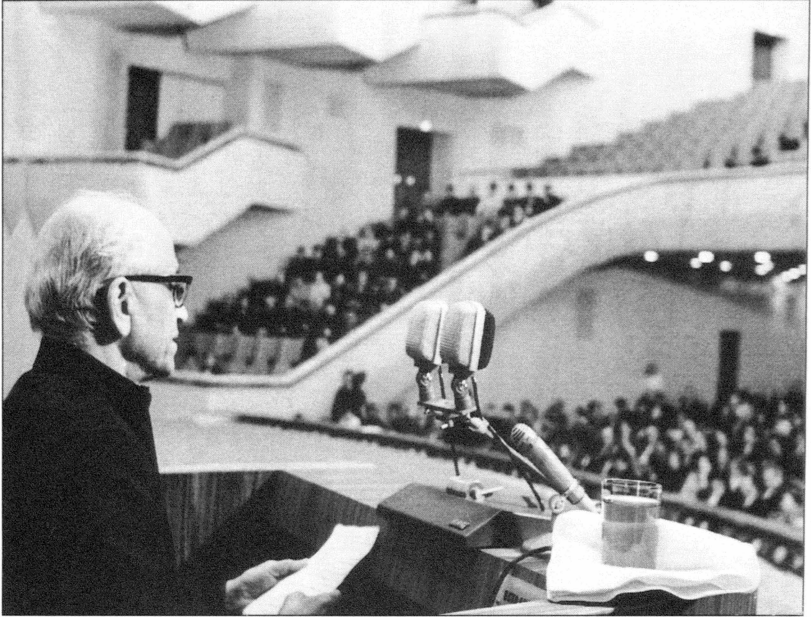
Dange at the World Federation of Trade Unions
Executive Committee Meeting, Beijing, 1956



Dange at the Third World Communist and Workers' Parties Conference, Moscow, 1969



Dange addressing Soviet Workers in Moscow in 1970



Dange speaking at the Lenin Centenary Meeting in U.S.S.R. in 1970



Dange with Bangladesh President, Mujibur Rehman

ORDER OF LENIN for Com. S. A. DANGE on his 75th Birthday

THE CITATION SAYS THAT THE AWARD IS BEING CONFERRED ON S. A. DANGE.

"FOR HIS ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS AND HIS GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION".

THE MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM CC CPSU TO S. A. DANGE ON HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY SAYS : THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU SENDS TO YOU, A PROMINENT LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST, WORKING-CLASS AND NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, WARM FRATERNAL

U.S.S.R. President, Com. Podgorny awarding the Order of Lenin to Com. Dange.



GREETINGS AND CORDIAL FELICITATIONS ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR 75TH BIRTHDAY.

"WE WISH YOU, DEAR COMRADE SHRIPAD AMRIT DANGE GOOD HEALTH AND SUCCESS IN YOUR STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM".

PRESIDIUM
OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE
U.S.S.R.

Dange being conferred the "Order of Lenin" by the U.S.S.R. President, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev on his 75th Birthday



Dange being presented the Lokmanya Tilak Award by the then Governor of Maharashtra, Dr. Shanker Dayal Sharma in 1986



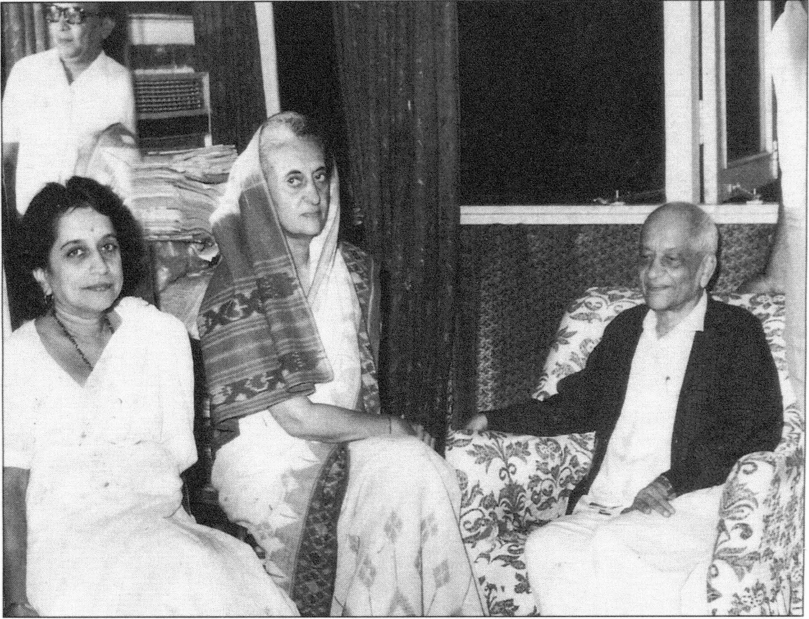
Dange speaking after receiving the Lokmanya Tilak Award



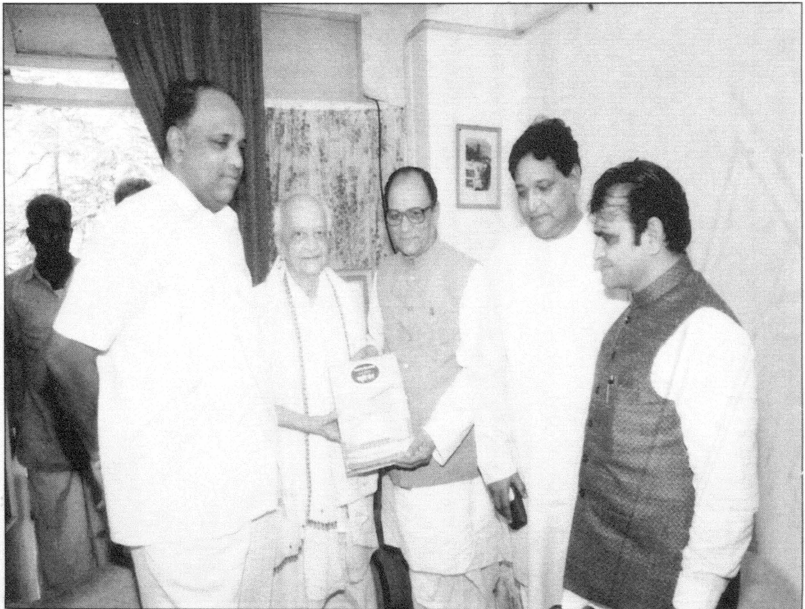
Dange addressing the Convention "Defend the Country Develop the Country" organised by the All India Communist Party in 1986



Dange with the President of India, Shri V.V. Giri on his 75th Birthday Celebrations in Mumbai in 1974



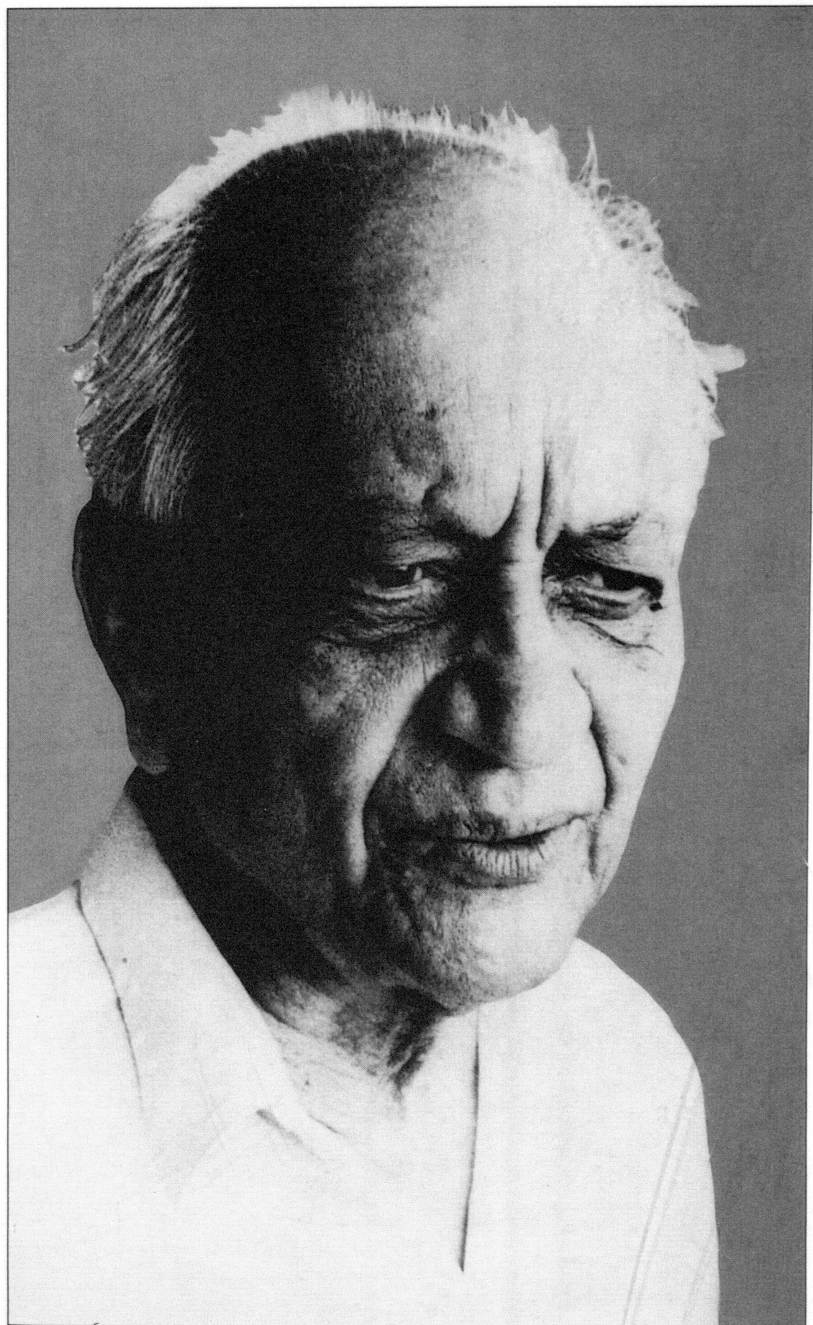
Dange with Smt. Indira Gandhi, Roza Deshpande and Bani Deshpande



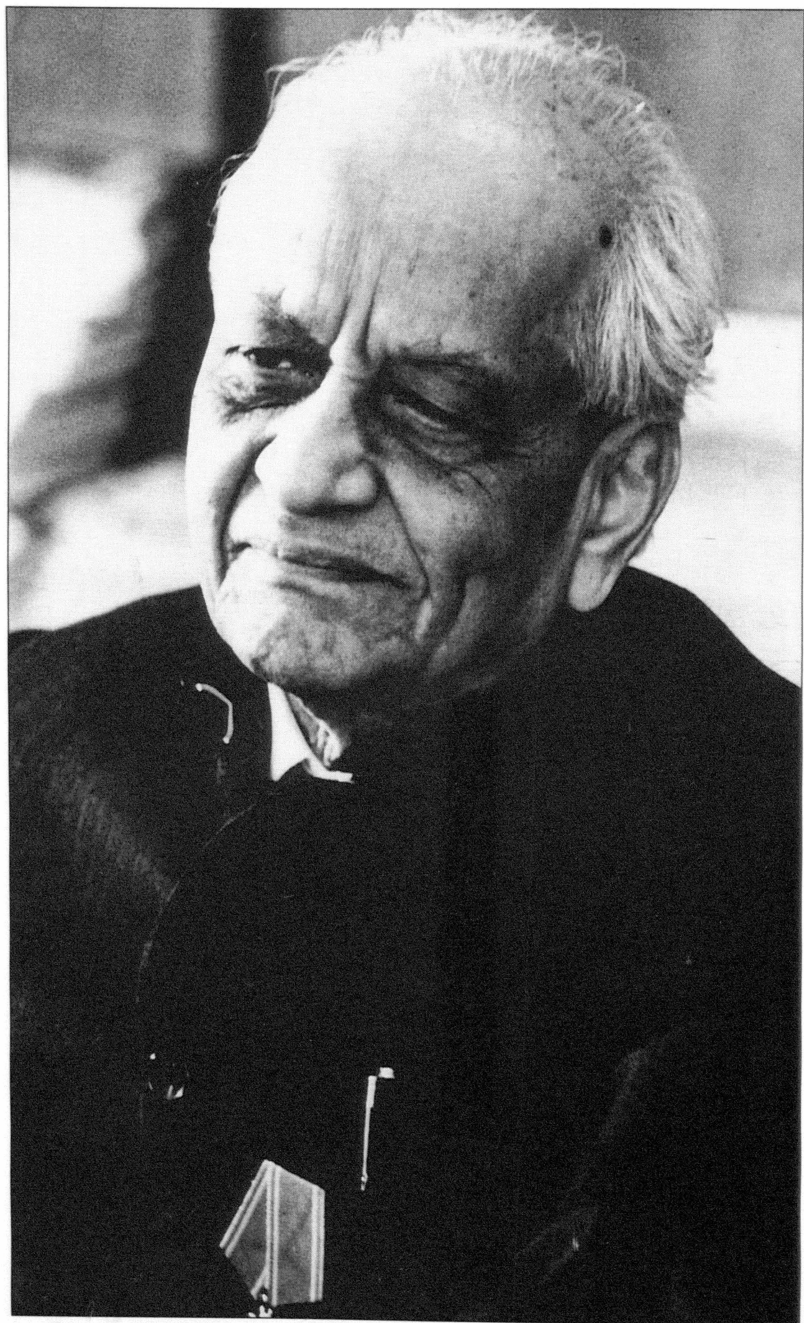
Dange being presented memento on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly



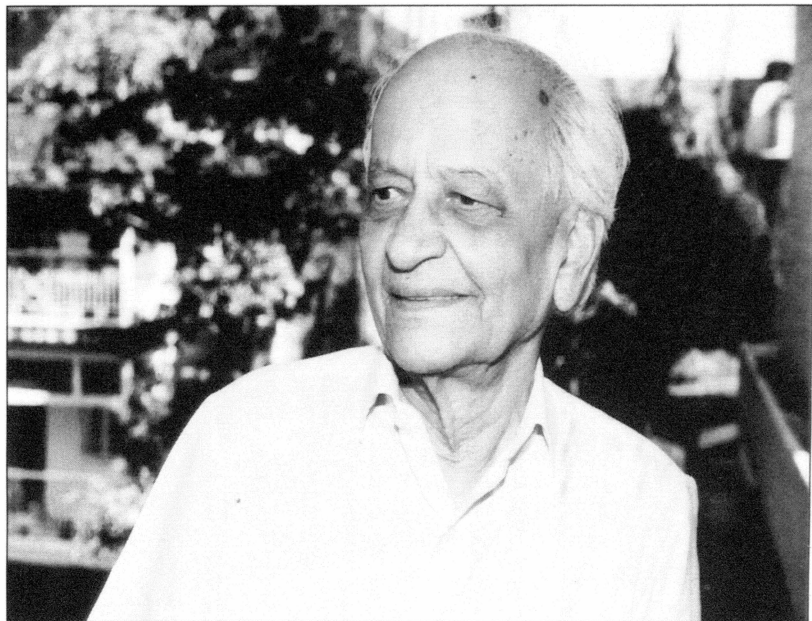
Dange with daughter Roza Deshpande
when she was elected to the Lok Sabha



Comrade S.A. Dange



Comrade S.A. Dange



Comrade S.A. Dange



Comrade S.A. Dange