

**TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA
A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH**

**Thesis submitted to the Alagappa University for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Commerce**

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Vivekananda College
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Supervisor

Dr. RM. Chidambaram

Professor and Head
Department of Bank Management
Alagappa University

**DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ALAGAPPA UNIVERSITY
KARAIKUDI
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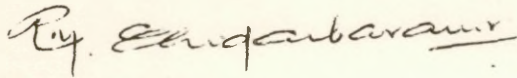
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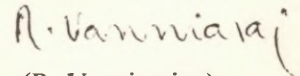
DECLARATION OF THE CANDIDATE

I hereby declare that the thesis titled “**TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA - A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH**”, submitted to Alagappa University, Karaikudi for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy is the original work done under the guidance and supervision of Dr.RM. Chidambaram, Professor and Head, Department of Bank Management, Alagappa University, Karaikudi and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or any other similar title of any University or Institution.



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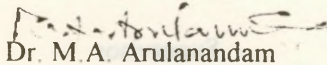
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ON THE THRESHOLD

All the students of Indian Labour Movement will be extremely happy to receive this thesis of Dr. Vanniarajan. The author has studied all the details of the Movement and presented the same in an objective manner. Critical analysis and evaluation of any subject under consideration seems to be special characteristic of Dr. Vanniarajan's thinking process. In a Seminar organised by him recently at Madurai on "Labourisation", this trait of his character impressed all the intellectuals participating in the Seminar. His guide, Dr. Subrahmaniam deserves all praise for his keen interest in the subject and able guidance furnished by him to the author from time to time from purely academic plane. His teacher Dr. M.P. Subrahmanian's encouragement and tips to him were also very valuable. Indian Trade Union Movement is grateful to all of them for their contribution to this cause.

Incidentally, this thesis places Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh in the right perspective in the total scheme of things, for which we are greatly thankful to Fr. Vanniarajan.

RAMAN G SHAH,
President,
Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh
New Delhi

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RAMAN G SHAN

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Dedicated to
Shri DATTOPANT BAPURAO THENGADI

Founder

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh

Bharatiya Kisan Sangh

Swadeshi Jagaran Manch

(RM. CHIDAMBARAM)

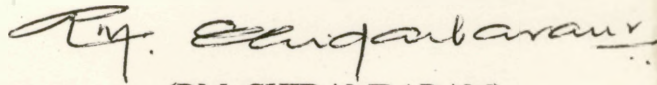
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled “**TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA - A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH**” is a bonafide record of the research work done for the Ph.D. Degree in Commerce by Mr. R. Vanniarajan during the period of the study under my guidance at Alagappa University, Karaikudi and it has not previously formed the basis for the award to the candidate of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or any other similar title in any University, Indian or foreign.

The thesis represents an independent work on the part of the candidate.



(RM. CHIDAMBARAM)

Guide and Supervisor

Date : 12.07.96 .

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R. Vanniarajan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACFTU	All China Federation of Trade Unions
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
AFL - CIO	American Federation of Labour - Congress of Industrial Organisation
APO	Asian Productivity Organisation
BMS	Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh
BIFR	Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction
CTUO	Central Trade Union Organisation
CITU	Centre of Indian Trade Unions
CLC (C)	Chief Labour Commissioner (Central)
ESOP	Employee Share/Stock Ownership Plan
EANPC	European Association of National Productivity Centres
HMKP	Hind Mazdoor Kamkar Panchayat
HMP	Hind Mazdoor Panchayat
HMS	Hind Mazdoor Sabha
IFFTU	Indian Federation of Free Trade Unions
IFL	Indian Federation of Labour
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
ICICI	Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India

IDBI	Industrial Development Bank of India
IFCI	Industrial Finance Corporation of India
IRBI	Industrial Reconstruction Bank of India
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
ILC	International Labour Conference
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KS Test	Kolmogorov - Smirnov Test
NCJM	New Central Jute Mill
NEP	New Economic Policy
NFITU	National Front of Indian Trade Unions
NLO	National Labour Organisation
NPC	National Productivity Council
NSC	National Steel Corporation
NTUF	National Trade Union Federation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
TLA	Textile Labour Association
TUCC	Trade Unions Coordination Centre
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UTUC	United Trade Union Congress

UTUC (LS) United Trade Union Congress (Lenin Sarani)

WFTU World Federation of Trade Unions

WTO World Trade Organisation

* The Role of Trade Unions
* The State of Trade Unions
in the World
* Trade Unions in India
* Business Hazardous
* Objectives
* Hypotheses
* Methodology
* Limitations
* Conclusion

INTRODUCTION

- * The Role of Trade Unions
- * The State of Trade Unions
in the World
- * Trade Unions in India
- * Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh
- * Objectives
- * Hypotheses
- * Methodology
- * Limitations
- * Chapterisation

There is a considerable debate on the purposes and role of trade unions. The predominant view, however, is that the concerns of trade unions extend beyond 'bread and butter' issues. Trade unions through industrial action (such as protests and strikes) and political action (influencing Government policy) establish minimum economic and legal conditions and restrain abuse of labour wherever the labour is organised. Trade unions are also seen as moral institutions which will uplift the weak and downtrodden and render them the place, the dignity and justice they deserve.⁵

The State of Trade Unions in the World

Public opinion is hostile to trade unions in most countries. The public is not against unionism in principle. It is against the way unions and union leaders function. The public image of union leaders is that they are autocratic, corrupt and indifferent to the public interest. 'Too much power, too little morality' sums up the public's assessment of unions

There have been many opinion surveys especially in the United States, which bring out the poor public image of trade unions. In surveys which rank the confidence of the American public in fourteen institutions (as for example the army, church, supreme court, stock market, legal profession, industrialists, newspapers etc.) trade unions have been consistently placed at the bottom of the list.⁶

There is a serious decline in union membership in most industrialized nations. There are two possible ways of looking at union membership figures. The first method is to simply add up all union members in a factory, office or country. This gives overall membership position. In the second method, the density of membership is calculated

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Trade union is an association of workers formed for the purpose of mainly protecting and promoting economic and social interests of its members through collective action. Trade unionism is the organised expression of the needs, aspirations and attitudes of the working class. It has traditionally ascribed to workers' organisations a particular philosophy and function - collective representation to protect and promote the interest of workers within a given socio-economic system.¹ The evolution of trade unions is the result of the attempts of working people to find ways of acting together, and so gaining the strength to obtain better wages and conditions of work.²

The Role of Trade Unions

Trade unions are unique organisations whose role is varioulsy interpreted and understood by different interest groups in the society. Traditionally trade unions role has been to protect jobs and real earnings, secure better conditions of work and life and fight against exploitation and arbitrariness to ensure fairness and equity in employment contexts.³ In the wake of a long history of union movement and accumulated benefits under collective agreements, a plethora of legislations and industrial jurisprudence, growing literacy and awareness among the employees and the spread of a variety of social institutions including consumer and public interest groups the protective role must have undergone a qualitative change. It can be said that the protective role of trade unions remains in form, but varies in substance.⁴

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Density is the percentage of union members in relation to total employment, for example, if unions have 50 members in a factory employing 100, the density is 50 percent. When the reference is to entire country, density is measured by comparing union members against total employment in all sectors. Density is generally accepted as a better indicator because it shows not only how many are members but also how many are not: "

Membership has dropped sharply in many European countries. In France, which is the worst hit, the density of union membership is now estimated to be a miserable 10 percent. In Holland, which is also badly affected, density is estimated at around 25 percent. In England the density of union membership is 44 percent. The picture is not very different outside Europe. In the United States, density has dropped to 16 percent. In Japan, it has dropped to 25 percent. In India, union density has been of a very low order i.e., 10 percent. There are, however, some exceptions to this depressing trend. Trade union density in Sweden, the highest in the world, stands at an extremely impressive 91 percent of the working population.⁷ Trade unions in Sweden are most respected. They seek social, political and economic democracy. They participate at all levels of decision making, national and local, and share in the administration of laws.⁸ The density in Denmark is 82 percent, and in Norway 63 percent, both very high by world standards.⁹

Trade Unions in India

The trade union movement in India is over a century old. It is useful to take stock to see whether the trade unions in India are at the centre stage or in periphery. In order to do that, one may peruse the following relevant, though selective, statistics.

The Indian workforce (314.79 million) constitutes 37.3 percent of the total population. Of the total workforce, 91.5 percent is accounted for by the informal sector,¹⁰

while the formal sector¹¹ accounts for 8.5 percent. Further, only about 30 million (i.e. 9.5 percent of the workforce) are employed on permanent basis, implying 90.5 percent being employed on casual basis. It has also been reported that by December 1991, the claimed membership of the Indian trade union movement was 30.5 million (i.e. 9.68 percent of the workforce) with 82.24 percent of the trade union membership being accounted for by the organised sector.¹² Thus the unorganised sector is meagrely represented.

The World Labour Report summarises the trade union situation in India.¹³ "Indian unions are too very fragmented. In many work places several trade unions compete for the loyalty of the same body of workers and their rivalry is usually bitter and sometimes violent. It is difficult to say how many trade unions operate at the national level since many are not affiliated to any all-India federation. The early splits in Indian trade unionism tended to be on ideological grounds each linked to a particular political party. Much of the recent fragmentation, however, has centered on personalities and occasionally on caste or regional considerations."

Apart from the low membership coverage and fragmentation of the trade unions, several studies point to a decline in membership¹⁴, growing alienation between trade unions and membership particularly due to changing characteristics of the new workforce¹⁵ and waning influence of national federations over the enterprise unions.¹⁶ New pattern of unionization points to a shift from organising workers in a region or industry to the emergence of independent unions at the enterprise level whose obsession is with enterprise level concerns with no fora to link them with national federations that could secure for them a voice at national policy making levels. Several studies also point to a shift in employment from the organised to the unorganised sector through subcontracting¹⁷ and emergence of a typical employment practice where those

work for the organisation do not have employment relationship, but a contractual relationship.¹⁸

Unfortunately trade unionism in India suffers from a variety of problems such as politicisation of the unions, multiplicity of unions, inter-union rivalry, uneconomic size, financial debility and dependence on outside leadership.

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh

There are twelve major Central Trade Union Organisations (CTUOs) in India.¹⁹ According to the latest survey conducted by the Indian Labour Ministry, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) has emerged as the first largest CTUO in the country. Further, BMS is the largest CTUO in key industries like Railways, Telecommunications and industries manufacturing arms and ammunitions.²⁰ Unlike other CTUOs, BMS is not affiliated to any political party in the country. Nikhil Chakravarti, editor of 'Mainstream' writes, "... Among the non-left forces in the Indian trade union movement Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh and Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) are the strongest."

BMS is a productivity oriented non-political CTUO. It rejects the idea of state controls, rather it views it as an evil to be restricted to inevitable sectors like defence, but stands firmly for the principle of public accountability for each industry and consequent enunciation of public discipline. It tries to bring consumers as the third and the most important party to industrial relations. For the furtherance and realisation of its aims and objects BMS applies all legitimate means consistent with the spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

In the Indian industrial field more and more units are declared sick in the recent past and closed down rendering thousands of workers jobless. This situation calls for a serious thinking to find ways and means to open the closed factories and provide employment to workers. BMS feels that the time has come to consider the employee ownership for running the industries successfully. Already the workers of New Central Jute Mills, a sick unit in West Bengal, are running the mills as a worker owned company. It is a commendable experiment of the BMS.

George Meany, the stalwart of the American labour movement points out the basic characteristics of a healthy trade union. They are :

- (1) A good union must be able to protect its members and win a reasonable measure of economic justice for them.
- (2) A good union must be run by the members and for the members.
- (3) A good union must be an honest union.
- (4) A good union must look beyond its own horizons. It must recognize and fulfil its proper role in the life of the nation and community in which it lives.

BMS serves as a role model for other CTUOs by fulfilling the above mentioned requisites of a healthy trade union organisation.

In the light of the above discussion the researcher has undertaken the present study with the following objectives.

Objectives of the Study

- (1) To explain the growth of trade union movement in India;
- (2) To highlight the distinct features of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh;

- (3) To discuss the modus operandi and significance of labourisation and to have a comparative view of international and Indian experiments in this regard;
- (4) To study the exemplary worked culture of BMS workers and its impact on productivity;
- (5) To examine the growth of BMS in relation to other Central Trade Union Organisations;
- (6) To analyse the opinions of members and activists of BMS ; and
- (7) To bring out the role played by BMS in the International Labour Organisation.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses have been formulated to analyse the opinions of members of BMS:

- (1) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'the BMS union is useful to workers.'
- (2) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'it makes little difference to me whether I remain a member of the BMS union or I leave it.'
- (3) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'the BMS union fulfills the interests of the leaders / activists and not the workers.'
- (4) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement , 'strike is the last weapon.'

- (5) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'the agitations are disciplined.'
- (6) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'union's money is used only for the organisation and not for personal gains.'
- (7) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement 'leaders/activists of BMS serve as role models by being good at their job.'
- (8) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'during talks/negotiations BMS never allow hatred to assume upperhand.'
- (9) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'the union is not like a political party but a family.'
- (10) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'filthy abusive language is not used at gate meetings or public meetings.'
- (11) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by respondents on the statement, 'BMS is a non-political organisation.'
- (12) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'suggestions and ideas coming from other organisations are considered with due respect.'

(13) There is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement, 'an ordinary member of BMS has a say in the organisation.'

The first three hypotheses are relating to union identification and the remaining ten are concerned with the specialities of BMS.

Methodology

This is an explanatory and exploratory study on BMS. For the present study, secondary data were collected from the text books, journals, publications of Labour Ministry, Government of India, National Productivity Council, International Labour Organisation and Bharatiya Labour Research Centre and annual reports of BMS. The study is comparative in nature while incorporating global and Indian experiments on labourisation. The researcher has adopted the case study technique to explain the experiment of BMS in labourising the New Central Jute Mill. Percentage analysis is adopted to analyse the growth of BMS in comparison with other CTUOs.

To gather opinions of members and office bearers of unions affiliated to BMS, the researcher has adopted the survey method. Separate questionnaires have been used for the members and office bearers.²¹

Non probability sampling method has been adopted to select 120 members and 120 office bearers of unions affiliated to BMS. There are 21 states and 4 union territories in which BMS has its membership. Industrywise there are 27 all-India federations of BMS.²² With the assistance of the Presidents and General Secretaries of all state level units of BMS and all BMS federations, the researcher selected the respondents. On an

average, 3 members representing each state/union territory and 2 members representing each federation were selected. Similarly, 3 office bearers representing each state/union territory and 2 office bearers representing each federation were selected. Thus sufficient care was taken in the selection of respondents representing all states/union territories (where BMS has its membership) and industries in India.

A simple five point ordinal scale has been used to measure the attitude of the members of BMS about the union identification and the specialities of BMS. Kolmogorov - Smirnov test(KS test) has been applied to test the hypotheses.

Limitations of the study

1. The available literature is largely confined to the origin and development of trade unionism in India in historical perspective.

2. There is paucity of studies on the concept of labourisation. Further, in India the concept has been experimented only in the sick industries.

3. The apprehension of the activists of the trade union organisations regarding the studies on productivity.

4. The hesitation of CTUOs in submitting the returns regarding membership to the Ministry of Labour has caused delay in completing the verification process. Consequently verified membership figures are available only upto 1989 as announced by the Ministry of Labour, Government of India in 1994.

5. The time and fund constraint in personally approaching the members and office bearers of unions affiliated to BMS throughout India.

Chapterisation

The present study is designed into nine chapters.

Chapter I - introduces the topic. It deals with the statement of problem, objectives of the study, formulation of hypotheses, methodology adopted, limitations and chapter design.

Chapter II - 'Growth of Trade Union Movement in India', provides an overview of the formation of various Central Trade Union Organisations and the growth of trade unions and their membership in India.

Chapter III - 'Distinct features of BMS' endeavours to explain the specialities of BMS such as the distinct philosophical background, non-political trade unionism, industrial family, national labour day, self-employment sector and guidelines of BMS regarding the future socio-economic order.

BMS views that workers' ownership of the industries is a remedy for most of the industrial maladies. Successful global and Indian cases of experiments on labourisation and particularly the experiment made by BMS in labourising the New Central Jute Mill are highlighted in the Chapter IV - 'Labourisation.'

Chapter V - 'BMS and Productivity' attempts to bring out the progress of productivity movement in India, recommendations of BMS in introducing the productivity schemes and instances of exemplary work culture of BMS workers.

Chapter VI - 'Growth of BMS vis-a-vis other CTUOs' analyses the growth of verified membership of BMS statewise and industrywise in comparison with other CTUOs. The growth of claimed membership of BMS is also analysed statewise.

The opinion of members on union identification, specialities of BMS are tested and analysed and the opinions of office bearers on motivational factors behind leadership, involvement in politics and their commitment are analysed in Chapter VII - 'Opinion Survey.'

Chapter VIII - 'International Labour Organisation and BMS' highlights the active participation of BMS in the ILO proceedings and the stand of BMS on the linking of social clause with world trade.

Chapter IX gives the summary of study.

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20. Refer Ch. VI.

21. Refer Appendix - II.

22. Refer Appendix - III.

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CHAPTER - II

GROWTH OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Many eminent writers on labour have written books on the history and growth of the Indian Labour Movement. With full respect to the scholarship, sincerity and efforts of these writers it has however to be said that the accounts which they have given on India's Labour Movement are not free from a partisan and political bias and as a result they do not give us a full and practical perspective of the movement. It is therefore considered necessary to take a brief critical resume of the recent past in a way that is necessary to appreciate the present position and formulate a policy for the future.

Before dwelling on this immediate period of the history of India's Labour Movement, it will be certainly be not here out of place, to state that India had a very glorious past in the field of human relations in industry. The enunciation of labour policy that we find notably in "Shukra Neeti"¹ and in various discourses in Mahabharata and other ancient literature have much which can count even today as very advanced and enlightened and bold from modern standards.

The Indian working class as an organised group appeared first in plantations then in mines, railways and factories.² The emergence of the Trade Union Movement in India had to await the evolution of modern factory production. Until the middle of the 19th century coal mining was the only industry in the modern sense. The course of Indian industrialization was controlled to suit interests of the British. India was a supplier of cheap raw materials and a market for British manufactured goods. The first cotton mill was established in Bombay in 1853. The decade between 1850 and 1860 witnessed the laying of railways and the establishment of jute mills. The major ports of Bombay,

Calcutta and Madras were linked to the hinterland by rail. In the course of next 50 years cotton textiles developed as a major industry, and several mills came up in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur and Kanpur. Till about the turn of the century, industrialization was confined to cotton textiles, railways and jute. These were the first industries to be unionized and still count as the major pillars of the trade union movement in India.

The First Strike

The origin of the movement can be traced to sporadic labour unrest dating back to 1877 when the workers at the Empress mills at Nagpur struck following a wage cut. In 1884, 5000 Bombay Textile Workers submitted a petition demanding regular payment of wages, a weekly holiday, and a mid-day recess of thirty minutes. It is estimated that there were 25 strikes between 1882 and 1890. These strikes were poorly organised and short lived and inevitably ended in failure. The oppression by employers was so severe that workers preferred to quit their jobs rather than go on strike. Ironically, it was to promote the interests of British industry that the conditions of workers were improved. Concerned about low labour costs which gave an unfair advantage to Indian factory made goods, the Lancashire and Manchester Chambers of Commerce agitated for an inquiry into the conditions of Indian Workers.

The First Factories Act

In 1875, the first committee appointed to inquire into the conditions of factory work favoured legal restriction in the form of factory laws. The first Factories Act was adopted in 1881. The Factory Commission was appointed in 1885. The researcher takes only one instance, the statement of a witness to the same commission on the ginning and processing factories of Khandesh: "The same set of hands, men and women, worked

continuously day and night for eight consecutive days. Those who went away for the night returned at three in the morning to make sure of being in time when the doors opened at 4 a.m., and for 18 hours' work, from 4 a.m. to 10 p.m., three or four annas was the wage. When the hands are absolutely tired out new hands are entertained. Those working these excessive hours frequently died".³ There was another Factories Act in 1891, and a Royal Commission on Labour was appointed in 1892. Restrictions on hours of work and on the employment of women were the chief gains of these investigations and legislation.

The First Workers' Organisation in India

Quite a large amount of pioneering work was done with remarkable perseverance by some eminent individuals notably by Narayan Lokhande who can be treated as the Father, of India's Modern Trade Union Movement.⁴ The Bombay Millhands' Association formed in 1890 under the leadership of Narayan Lokhande was the first workers' organisation in India. Essentially a welfare organisation to advance workers' interests, the Association had no members, rules and regulations or funds. Soon a number of other organisations of a similar nature came up, the chief among them being the Kamgar Hitvardhak Sabha and Social Service League. Organisations which may more properly be called trade unions came into existence at the turn of the century, notable among them being the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma, Unions of Printers in Calcutta. The first systematic attempt to form a trade union on permanent basis was done in 1906 in the Postal Offices at Bombay and Calcutta.⁵ By the early years of the 20th century, strikes had become quite common in all major industries. Even at this time, there were visible links between nationalist politics and labour movement. In 1908, mill workers in Bombay went on strike for a week to protest against the conviction of the nationalist leader Bala Gangadhar Tilak on charges of sedition. There was also an outcry

against the indenture system by which labour was recruited for the plantations, leading to the abolition of the system in 1922.

Madras Labour Union

The Madras Labour Union was founded in 1918. Although it was primarily, an association of textile workers in the European owned Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, it also included workers in many other trades. The Union was founded by Thiru. Vi. Ka. and B.P. Wadia, the nationalist leaders. The monthly membership fee of the union was one anna. The major grievances of workers at this time were the harsh treatment meted out to Indian labour by the British supervisors, and the unduly short mid-day recess. The union managed to obtain an extension of the recess from thirty to forty minutes. It also opened a cheap grain shop and library for its members and started some welfare activities.

There was a major confrontation between the union and the management over the demand for a wage increase, which eventually led to a strike and lock-out. The management filed a civil suit in the Madras High Court claiming that Wadia pay damages for inciting workers to breach their contract. As there was no legislation at this time to protect the trade union, the court ruled that the Madras Labour Union was an illegal conspiracy to hurt trading interests. An injunction was granted restraining the activities of the union. The suit was ultimately withdrawn as a result of a compromise whereby all victimised workers, with the exception of thirteen strike leaders, were reinstated and Wadia and other outside leaders severed their link with the union.⁶ Against this background N.M. Joshi introduced a bill for the rights of a Trade Union. But the then member for Industries, Commerce and Labour himself promised to bring legislation in the matter and the Trade Union Act of 1926 was enacted.

By this time many active trade union leaders notably N.M.Joshi, Zabwalla, solicitor Jinwalla, S.C.Joshi, V.G.Dalvi and Dr.Baptista, came on the scene and strong unions were organised specially in Port Trust, Dock staff, Bank employees (especially Imperial Bank and currency office), Customs, Income-Tax ministerial staff etc.

Textile Labour Association

About the same time as the Madras Labour Union was being organised, Anusuyaben Sarabhai had begun doing social work among mill workers in Ahmedabad, an activity which was eventually to lead to the founding of the famous Mazdoor Mahajan - Textile Labour Association, in 1920. Gandhi declared that the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, was his laboratory for experimenting with his ideas on industrial relations and a model labour union. He was duly satisfied with the success of the experiment and advised other trade unions to emulate it.⁷

There were a number of reasons for the spurt in unions in the twenties. Prices had soared following world war I, and wages had not kept pace with inflation. The other major factor was the growth of the nationalist Home Rule Movement following the war which nurtured the labour movement as part of its nationalist effort. At this time the workers had no conception of a trade union and needed the guidance of outside leaders. The outsiders were of many kinds. Some were philanthropists and social workers who were politicians who saw in labour a potential base for their political organisation. The politicians were of many persuasions including socialists, Gandhians who emphasized social work and the voluntary settlement of disputes, and communists.

Formation of AITUC

The year 1920 also marked the formation of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC). The main body of labour legislation and paradoxically enough even the formation of the AITUC owes virtually to the activities of the International Labour Organization (ILO). It was considered that the origin of the first world war was in the disparities between the developed and undeveloped countries. As a result the treaty of Versille established two bodies to cure this ill viz., the League of Nations and the ILO. India was recognized as a founder member of the latter. This is a Tripartite body on which each member state nominates its representatives. For the foundational conference of ILO held in 1919 the Government of India nominated N.M.Joshi as the labour member in consultation with the Social Service League which was then making the greatest contribution for the cause of workers. The ILO has a very exercising machinery to see that some action is taken by various Governments on its conventions and recommendations. All labour legislations in India owe a debt to these conventions and recommendations of ILO. The formation of India's first Central Labour Organisation was also wholly with a view to satisfy the credentials committee of ILO. It required that the labour member nominated by Government was in consultation with the most representative organisation of country's labour. The AITUC came into existence in 1920 with the principal reason to decide the labour representative for ILO's first annual conference. Thus the real fillip to the Trade union movement in India both in matters of legislation and formation of Central Labour Organisation came from an international body, viz., ILO and the Government's commitment to that body. Dependence on international political institution has thus been a birth malady of Indian Trade Union Movement and unfortunately it is not yet free from these defects.⁸

The AITUC claimed 64 affiliated unions with a membership of 1,40,854 in 1920.⁹ Lala Lajpat Rai, the president of the Indian National Congress became the first president of AITUC.

In 1924 there were 167 Trade unions with a quarter million members in India.¹⁰ The Indian Factories Act of 1922 enforced a ten hour day.

Trade Unions Act

The Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926 made it legal for any seven workers to combine in a Trade Union. It also removed the pursuit of legitimate trade union activity from the purview of civil and criminal proceedings. This is still the basic law governing trade unions in the country.

Ideological Dissension

Ideological dissension in the labour movement began within few years of the AITUC coming into being. There were three distinct ideological groups in the trade union organisation: communists led by M.N.Roy and Dange, nationalists led by Gandhi and Nehru, and moderates led by N.M.Joshi and V.V.Giri. There were serious differences between these three groups on such major issues as affiliation to international bodies, the attitude to be adopted towards British rule and the nature of the relationship between trade unions and the broader political movement. The communists wanted to affiliate the AITUC to such leftist international organisations as the League against Imperialism and the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

The moderates wanted affiliation with the ILO and the International Federation of Trade Unions based in Amsterdam. The nationalists argued that affiliation with the latter organisations would amount to the acceptance of perpetual dominion status for the country under British hegemony. Similarly, the three groups saw the purpose of the labour movement from entirely different points of view. The party ideology was supreme to the communists, who saw the unions only as instruments for furthering this ideology. For the nationalists, independence was the ultimate goal and they expected the trade unions to make this their priority as well. The moderates, unlike the first two, were trade unionists at heart. They wanted to pursue trade unionism in its own right and not subjugate it completely to broader political aims and interests.

Formation of NTUF

From the mid-twenties of the present century onwards the communists launched a major offensive to capture the AITUC. A part of their strategy was to start rival unions in opposition to those dominated by the nationalists. By 1928 they had become powerful enough to sponsor their own candidate for election to the office of the President of the AITUC in opposition to the nationalist candidate Nehru. Nehru managed to win the election by a narrow margin. In the 1929 session of the AITUC chaired by Nehru the communists mustered enough support to carry a resolution affiliating the federation to international communist fora. This resolution sparked the first split in the labour movement. The moderates, who were deeply opposed to the affiliation of the AITUC with the League against Imperialism and the Pan - Pacific Secretariat, walked out of the federation and eventually formed the National Trade Union Federation (NTUF). Within two years of this event the movement suffered a further split. On finding themselves a minority in the AITUC, the communists walked out of it in 1931 to form the Red Trade Union Congress. The dissociation of the communists from the AITUC was, however,

short-lived. They returned to the AITUC the moment the British banned the Red Trade Union Congress. The British were the most favourably disposed toward the moderate NTUF. N.M. Joshi, the moderate leader, was appointed a member of the Royal Commission.

The splintering away of the NTUF had cost the AITUC thirty affiliated unions with close on a hundred thousand members. However, the departure of the communists had not made much difference. In any case, the Red Trade Union Congress quickly fell apart, and the communists returned to the AITUC. During the next few years, there was a reconciliation between the AITUC and NTUF as well. The realisation dawned that the split had occurred on issues such as affiliation with international organisations, which were of no concern to the ordinary worker. By 1940 the NTUF had dissolved itself completely and merged with the AITUC. It was agreed that the AITUC would not affiliate itself with any international organisation, and further, that political questions would be decided only on the basis of a two-thirds majority.

On the whole the thirties were a depressing period for Indian labour. There were widespread attempts to introduce rationalisation schemes and effect wage cuts. The war time inflation also took its toll. While the militant elements on the labour movement fought for the redressal of workers' grievances, the movement itself was steeped in political dissent. The popular governments voted to power in the 1937 elections did not measure up to the workers' expectations although prominent labour leaders such as Nanda and Giri had taken over as labour ministers. They did pass some useful legislations, however a major piece of legislation was the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act of 1938 which attempted to eliminate inter union rivalries by introducing a system recognising the dominant union.

Formation of Indian Federation of Labour

In 1939, when India was unilaterally involved in world war II by the British, there was another wave of schisms in the labour movement. Congress governments voted to power in the 1937 elections resigned in protest against the country's involvement in an alien war, and the nationalists in the AITUC were naturally opposed to the war effort. But Roy and his supporters stood by the British. They founded a rival labour movement in 1941 called the Indian Federation of Labour (IFL). Initially the communists opposed the war effort and most of their leaders had in fact been jailed by British. But there was a dramatic volte-face in their position in 1942 when Soviet Russia joined the Allies.

In the same year the nationalists launched the Quit India movement under Gandhi's leadership. The British reacted to these developments by emptying the jails of communists and filling them up with nationalists. With the nationalists in jail, the AITUC was ripe for capture by the communists, and they made the most of the opportunity. By the end of the war there were four distinct groups of trade unionists, two in jail and two out of it. Among the nationalists who were in jail there had existed for some time a pressure group called the congress socialists. The two groups outside jail were the Royists and communists who had in common their support for the British war effort, but had maintained their separate identities. The stage was set for a formal division of the labour movement which would reflect the ideological differences.

At this juncture, the Government of India became quite active on the labour front and Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, the then Labour Member of the Executive Council to Viceroy with the assistance of S.C. Joshi was engaged and exercised to take action on all the

recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour. At their instance a fact-finding committee was appointed to study the then existing situation. During the period 1945-47 most of the present labour legislations were drafted and the conciliation and other machinery were also well conceived. In 1947 when the National Government was formed S.C. Joshi, the then Chief Labour Commissioner, was entrusted with the work of implementing the various provisions of labour law. The whole of the present set up owes a debt to the work that was done by him and V.V. Giri, the former president of India.

Formation of INTUC, HMS and UTUC

With the formation of National Government Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel advocated very strongly the cause of forming a new central organisation of labour. It was his view that the National Government must have the support of organised labour and for this purpose the AITUC cannot be relied upon since it was thriving on foreign support and used to change its colours according to the will of its foreign masters

So, on 3rd may 1947, the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) was formed. The number of unions represented in the inaugural meet was around 200 with a total membership of over 5,75,000.¹¹ There was now no doubt that the AITUC was the labour organisation of the communists, and the INTUC the labour organisation of the congress. This was further confirmed when the congress socialists, who had stayed behind in the AITUC, decided to walk out in 1948 and form the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat (HMP). The socialists hoped to draw into their fold all non-congress and non-communist trade unionists. This hope was partly realised when the Royist IFL merged with the HMP to form the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS). However, the inaugural session of the HMS witnessed yet another split in the labour movement. Revolutionary socialists and other non-communist marxist groups from West Bengal under the leadership of Mrinal Kanti

Bose, alleged that the HMS was dominated by socialists and decided to form the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC). The UTUC is formally committed to the pursuit of a classless society and non-political unionism. In practice, however, many of its members are supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

By the fifties the fragmentation of the labour movement on political lines had become a permanent fact. Disunity was costing the labour movement dearly. There were periodic attempts at unity, but nothing much came of them. The INTUC was firmly opposed to any alliance with the communists. The HMS was willing to consider a broad-based unity that would include all groups, but not for any arrangement with the AITUC alone. The major stumbling block to unity was the bitter experience to other groups had with the communists in the thirties. Even in specific industries such as railways where a merger between rival groups did take place, unity was short-lived. All that could be achieved between rival trade unions were purely local, ad-hoc arrangements.

Formation of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh

Before the rise of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh the Indian labour field was dominated by political unionism. The recognised CTUOs were the wings of different political parties or groups. This trend was bound to encourage multiplicity than workers' interests in the actual conduct of trade union affairs. This often made workers as the pawns in the power-game of different parties. The conscientious workers resented this political exploitation and relegation of their own interest to the background. They were awaiting the advent of a national centre based upon genuine trade unionism i.e., an organisation of the workers, for the workers, and by the workers. They were equally opposed to political unionism as well as 'sheer economism' i.e., bread-butter unionism. They were votaries of Nationalism. They sought protection and promotion of workers' interests within the framework of

national interests, since they were convinced that there was no incompatibility between the two. In fact, all parties to industrial relations were part and sectional interests were identical with those of the nation. They considered society as the third-and the more important-party to all industrial relations, and the consumers' interest as the nearest economic equivalent to national interest. To ensure highest measure of democracy in the country, various mass organisations representing different interest groups must be free from the hegemony of political parties, they believed. Some of them under the dedicated and dynamic leadership of Dattopant Thengadi met at Bhopal on July 23, 1955 (the Tilak Jayanthi Day), and announced the formation of a new National Trade Union Centre, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS).

Aims and objects

The aims and objects of BMS are¹²

- a) To establish ultimately the Bharatiya order of society in which there shall be secured among other things:
 - i) Complete utilisation of manpower and resources leading to full employment and maximum production;
 - ii) Replacement of profit motive by service motive and establishment of economic democracy resulting in equitable distribution of wealth to the best advantage of all individual citizens and of the nation as a whole;
 - iii) Development of autonomous industrial communities forming part and parcel of the nation, culminating in 'Labourisation of industry';
 - iv) Provision of work with living wage to every individual through maximum industrialisation of the nation.

- b) With a view to enable the workers to strive successfully for the ultimate realisation of the above objects and to strengthen them, in the meanwhile, to make their own contribution to the cause of protecting and promoting their interest consistent with those of the community:
- i) To assist workers in organising themselves in trade unions as a medium of service to the motherland irrespective of faiths and political affinities;
 - ii) To guide, direct, supervise and coordinate the activities of the affiliated unions;
 - iii) To assist the affiliated unions in the formation of state BMS units and Industrial Federations as constituent units of the BMS and
 - iv) To bring about unity in the trade union movement.
- c) To secure and preserve for the workers:
- i) The right to work, the right to security of service and to social security, the right to conduct trade union activities and the right to strike as a last resort after having exhausted other legitimate methods of trade unionism for redressal of grievances;
 - ii) Improvement in conditions of work, life and social and industrial status;
 - iii) A living wage consistent with a national minimum and due share in the profits in their respective industries as partners;
 - iv) Other appropriate amenities;
 - v) Expeditious enforcement and appropriate amendment of existing labour legislation in their interest and
 - vi) Enactment of new labour laws from time to time in consultation with the labour representatives.

- d) To inculcate in the minds of the workers the spirit of service, cooperation and dutifulness and develop in them a sense of responsibility towards the nation in general and industry in particular.
- e) To educate the labour by organising workers' training classes, study circles, guest lectures, seminars, symposia, excursions etc. in cooperation with institutions and organisations having similar aims and objects such as the Central Board of Worker's Education, Labour Research Centre, Universities etc., and also to maintain libraries.
- f) To publish or cause publication of journals, periodicals, pamphlets, pictures, books and any other type of literature mainly concerning labour and their interests and to purchase, sell, circulate literature concerning labour.
- g) To establish, encourage and organise Labour Research Centres and similar activities.
- h) Generally to take such other steps as may be necessary to ameliorate the social, economic, cultural, civic and general conditions of the workers.
- i) To render assistance or to establish cooperative societies, welfare institutions, clubs etc. for the overall welfare of the common man in general and the workers and their families in particular.

- j) To organise, co-ordinate, guide and supervise the activities of employees' organisations, associations or unions of self employed persons not covered under the Trade Unions Act, 1926.
- k) To do all such acts as are ancillary or conducive to achievement of the above objects.
- l) For the furtherance and realisation of the aims and objects mentioned above, the BMS shall employ all legitimate means, consistent with the spirit of nationalism.

Formation of CITU and UTUC (LS)

By 1965 a splinter group of socialists headed by George Fernandes formed a second Hind Mazdoor Panchayat. The split in the communist movement inevitably divided the AITUC, leading to the emergence of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU) in 1970. The UTUC was also split into two along ideological lines, the splinter group calling itself UTUC (Lenin Sarani) i.e., UTUC (LS). Regional Trade Union Organisations affiliated to regional political parties such as the DMK, AIADMK and MDMK in Tamilnadu and the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, have also emerged.

Central Trade Union Organisations in India

At present there are twelve Central Trade Union Organisations (CTUOs) in India. They are as follows:

1. All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)
2. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS)

3. Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU)
4. Hind Mazdoor Kamkar Panchayat (HMKP)
5. Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS)
6. Indian Federation of Free Trade Unions (IFFTU)
7. Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC)
8. National Front of Indian Trade Unions (NFITU)
9. National Labour Organisation (NLO)
10. Trade Unions Coordination Centre (TUCC)
11. United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) and
12. United Trade Union Congress - Lenin Sarani (UTUC - LS)

AITUC, HMS to Merge

In a significant development, two CTUOs, the AITUC and HMS, have decided to merge. The decision to merge in a time bound manner was taken at a joint meeting of the working committees of the trade union organisations held on March 24, 1996.¹³

Verified Membership of CTUOs

The Chief Labour Commissioner (Central) is the verifying authority of membership of CTUOs. The latest verification is on the basis of membership records for the year ending 31st December, 1989 and the Chief Labour Commissioner's report on CTUOs' membership verification was announced on July 16, 1994.¹⁴

The verified membership of both the industrial and agricultural workers of the CTUOs is given in Table 2.1. Only five of the CTUOs have qualified to be recognised as CTUO i.e. having a minimum membership of five lakh spread over four states and in four

TABLE 2.1**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CENTRAL TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS
AS ON 31.12.1989 (Provisional)**

S.No.	Name of the Organisation	Industrial Workers	Agricultural Workers	Total
1.	BMS	27,69,556	3,47,768	31,17,324
2.	INTUC	25,87,378	1,19,073	27,06,451
3.	CITU	17,68,044	30,049	17,98,093
4.	HMS	13,18,804	1,58,668	14,77,472
5.	AITUC	9,05,975	17,542	9,23,517
6.	UTUC (LS)	4,33,416	3,69,390	8,02,806
7.	UTUC	2,29,225	3,10,298	5,39,523
8.	NFITU	3,63,647	1,66,135	5,29,782
9.	TUCC	30,792	1,99,347	2,30,139
10.	NLO	1,36,413	2,464	1,38,877
11.	HMKP	3,516	-	3,516
12.	IFFTU	428	-	428

Source: Chief Labour Commissioner (Central), "Report on CTUOs' Membership Verification as announced on July 16, 1994",
Organiser, August 28, 1994, p.9.

industries.¹⁵ The BMS has emerged as the number one organisation with the largest number of members i.e. 3,117,324 on its rolls. BMS is followed by INTUC, CITU, HMS and AITUC.

Number of Trade Unions and their Membership

The growth of trade unions and their membership is shown in Table 2.2. This table brings home a disturbing aspect of trade unions, which, one may say, is the most fundamental characteristic of the Indian Labour Movement. While the number of registered unions increased more than ten-fold between 1952 and 1990, their average membership more or less remained the same without much difference i.e., from 781 to 795.

Thus, while the total number of unions and union members has risen impressively, the unions have been getting smaller. The figures in parentheses denote the percentage of unions submitting returns. There has been an alarming decrease in the number of unions filing returns with the Registrar of Trade Unions. In 1952, 55.3 percent of the registered unions filed returns, whereas by 1990 this figure had fallen to 17 percent.¹⁶ It would be reasonable to assume that a large number of trade unions do not file returns because they have very little to file. They exist merely on paper. Even the returns submitted by unions to the Registrar of Trade Unions usually contain exaggerated claims.¹⁷

TABLE 2.2

GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONS AND THEIR MEMBERSHIP

Year	Number of Unions		Membership	
	On Register	Submitting Returns	Total (000)	Average per Union
1952	4623	2556(55.3)	1996	781
1957	8554	4399(51.4)	2377	540
1962	11614	7087(61.0)	3977	561
1967	15314	7523(49.1)	4525	602
1971	21933	8248(37.6)	5228	634
1975	29438	9324(31.6)	6844	734
1979	33521	6735(20.1)	4681	695
1985	45067	7851(17.4)	6400	815
1987	49329	11063(22.4)	7959	719
1988	50548	8730(17.3)	7073	810
1989	52210	7490(14.3)	6845	914
1990	52016	8828(17.0)	7020	795

Source: i) Indian Labour Year Book, 1974, 1983, 1986 and 1987.

ii) Indian Labour Statistics, 1976.

iii) Ministry of Labour, Govt of India, Annual Report 1994-95, p.328.

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DISTINCT FEATURES OF BMS

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CHAPTER III

DISTINCT FEATURES OF BMS

Philosophical Background of BMS

The BMS has ideologically a distinct approach than the rest of the Central Trade Union Organisations in India. Bharatiya culture forms the ideological basis of the BMS. The word culture denotes a trend of impressions on the mind of a society which is peculiar to its own, and which again, is the cumulative effect of its passion, emotion, thought, speech and action throughout its life. Bharatiya culture looks upon life as an integrated whole. It has an integrated viewpoint. It admits that there is diversity and plurality in life, but always attempts to discover the unity in diversity. The diversity in life is merely an expression of the internal unity. The unity in seed finds expression in various forms - the roots, the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the flowers and the fruits of the tree. Unity in diversity and the expression of unity in various forms have remained the central thought of Bharatiya culture or "Integral Humanism".¹ If this truth is whole-heartedly accepted then there will not exist any cause for conflict among various powers. Conflict is not a sign of culture or nature. "Integral Humanism is the name given to the sum total of various features of Bharatiya culture- abiding, dynamic, synthesizing and sublime", Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya propounded. This is the ideal which determines the direction of BMS.

It would be wrong to presume that labour problems are related to one section of population only. Such an exclusive view would be very unrealistic. Deterioration of working and living conditions of labour cannot be a sectional problem of labour alone; it is a malady adversely affecting the health of the entire social organism. Labour has always

been regarded as the very foundation of the Bharatiya social structure. It is an integral and vital part of society. The character of its problems, therefore, is not sectional but national. To protect and promote its interests is, therefore, the natural responsibility of the entire nation. BMS is pledged to fulfil this fundamental national duty towards labour.

Marxists and socialists of every variety conduct their trade unions as instruments of intensifying class conflict with the ultimate goal of establishment of socialism. BMS is a votary of nationalism and integralism. Therefore, it rejects the class conflict theory. The class conflict, carried to its logical length, would result in disintegration of the nation. All the nationals are only so many limbs of the same body. Their interests cannot, therefore, be mutually conflicting. BMS is opposed to class struggle based on hatred and hostility, but it has always struggled against the evil forces of inequality, injustice and exploitation

With a view to achieving national prosperity and eradicating poverty, BMS is pledged to “maximum production and equitable distribution”, Capitalism over-emphasises the importance of production. Socialism over-emphasises the aspect of distribution. But BMS lays equal stress on both. Maximum production is the national duty of labour, but at the same time equitable distribution of the fruits of production is the legitimate right of workers. BMS has, therefore introduced in the labour field a new slogan based on patriotism: “We will work in the interest of the nation and will demand full wages”.²

Non-Political Trade Unionism

Politicisation of labour movement and affiliation of Central Trade Union Organisation with one or other political parties led to division of trade union movement in India. Affiliation to political parties results in inter-union rivalries. INTUC has links with Congress.³ It supported the policies of congress government. Even when it disagreed

with government's action it indulges in nothing more than a mere verbal protest. "....By virtue of the common source of inspiration and common leadership, the INTUC has the tradition of working almost as a wing of the congress party with unassailable commitment to the party's policies and programmes. Since inception many leaders of the INTUC have been contesting the parliament and assembly elections. Several of them have been given berths in the council of ministers at the central and state levels....".

AITUC adopts the policies and ideologies of communist party of India (CPI). CITU has affiliation with Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M). HMS follows the principles and policies of the Socialist Party.⁴ UTUC has close relationship with the Revolutionary Socialist Party and other splinter parties of the left.⁵

Non-political unionism has been held out as the only solution to the problems that beset trade unions. One of the most ardent advocates of this line was V.V.Giri, the veteran trade unionist and former President of India. "It is time that workers realize that party politics are completely out of place in trade unions, that they should not play the role of pawns in the game of party politics, and that their organisations are concerned first and last with their interest and welfare. Trade union leaders and party leaders should also take active steps to ensure that workers are weaned away from disruptive party leanings, so that genuine trade unionism may grow in the country"⁶

Excerpts from the speech of Sanjiva Reddy, President, INTUC at the 75th meeting of the General Council meeting of INTUC held at Calcutta in January, 1995.

Source : Viswakarma Sanket, April 1995, p.3.

The BMS has kept itself away from power-hungry politics from its inception. Trade union can ensure that powerful influence of workers on management and government policy only when the principle of non-political trade unionism is followed. Of course every worker is conscious of his rights and duties as a citizen and is free individually to join or not to join, and work or not to work, for a political party of his choice. But as union members collectively the workers must keep out of politics.

BMS is pledged to eradicate economic inequality and exploitation; but it is not 'Leftist'. It rejects the class conflict concept of Marx; but it is not 'Rightist'. It is purely nationalist and has accepted the principle of genuine trade unionism i.e. an organisation for the workers, by the workers and of the workers within the framework of national interest. In the XII World Trade Union Congress of World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) of Communist Countries, held in Moscow, in 1990, it was admitted by almost all delegates that the trade unions of labour must keep themselves away from the power and political parties. This again is an international recognition of the basic concept of BMS on non-political trade unionism.⁷

Motto of BMS

The BMS has coined the following three sparkling phrases to depict in brief its distinctive approach to the Trade Union Movement :

**“NATIONALISE THE LABOUR;
LABOURISE THE INDUSTRY AND
INDUSTRIALISE THE NATION”.**

The approach is based on the eternal values of Bharatiya culture. The researcher examines the salient features of this approach.

Nationalise the labour

BMS believes in raising the level of national consciousness of a common man as the prerequisite of national reconstruction. BMS is the first trade union centre to recognize the special importance of developing national consciousness in the minds of workers which is termed as "Nationalise the Labour". BMS has always considered trade union movement as an instrument of Nation building. As patriots, it is its conviction that if the Nation stands, the working class cannot fall, and if the Nation falls, nothing can save its working class. Similarly, if the working class stands, it will not allow the Nation to fall, and if the working class falls, no other section is capable enough to save the Nation. To bridge the gulf between sectional and the National interests, BMS was the first to introduce the slogan of "Bharat Mata Ki Jai" (victory to Mother India) in the labour field.

Labour in the Industry

"Labourisation" means workers' ownership of industries. The concept of labourisation is the distinctive characteristic of BMS.

According to Marx, surplus value of labour is appropriated by owners under capitalism and that constitutes exploitation. To end such exploitation, marxists declared nationalisation as the panacea by transferring ownership of means of production into the hands of the state. But the demerit of private industry does not automatically establish the merit of nationalisation. Factually, both lead to centralisation and monopolisation. So labour is neglected under both the isms. Hence, a system is essential in which human

values do not suffer and man's own initiative remains unobstructed. The objective can be fulfilled by labourisation

Labourisation shall accord the labour a proud position and status of ownership in industry instead of merely a factor of production. Also it will bring about revolutionary change in the minds of workmen and they will be emotionally attached and actively concerned with the progress of industry. It will generate an atmosphere and attitude of cooperation and mutual trust, ultimately leading to the evolution of industrial family. Surplus value of the labour will be directly managed and deployed by the labour and will lead to a social order, free from exploitation and domination by the employers or the state. The formulations of BMS (I, II & III) are the samples of its organisational thinking. They are self-explanatory.

The global and national experiments on labourisation are thoroughly discussed in Chapter - IV. However, it is pertinent to record at this juncture that the successful experiment of labourisation of the New Central Jute Mill in West Bengal (a sick industrial unit) has saved the jobs of 13,000 workers. The experiment could succeed only because of BMS.

FORMULATION OF BMS : I

DEPLOYMENT OF SURPLUS VALUE OF LABOUR

The surplus value of labour is managed and deployed by

Employers under **Capitalistic Order**

(Accountable to themselves)

State under **Communitic Order**

(Accountable to the party)

Workers under **Bharatiya Order**

(Accountable to the Nation)

Source : M. G. Bokare, Hindu Economics : Eternal Economic Order, Janaki Prakashan, New Delhi, 1993, p.xlv.

FORMULATION OF BMS : II
IDEAL INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE

The industrial structure in future would continue to be complex, with various patterns of ownership existing side by side. But greater stress will have to be laid on setting up industries which will be :

Financed	by	Commoners
Owned	by	Workers
Supervised	by	Financial Institutions
Decentralised	by	Technologists
Served	by	Experts
Coordinated	by	Planners
Disciplined	by	Parliament
Assisted	by	State
Utilised	by	Consumers
Governed	by	Dharma

Source : Ibid., pp.xlv - xlvi.

FORMULATION OF BMS : III
ONWARD MARCH OF LABOUR

From

The Master - Servant relationship

Through

A Better Deal

Joint Consultation

Joint Management

Auto - Management

Participation in ownership

To

Labourisation (Workers' Ownership)

Source : D.B. Thengadi, The Onward March of BMS, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh,
New Delhi, p.10.

Industrialise the Nation

To achieve the goal of national self-reliance, rapid industrialisation is the need of the hour. BMS stands for production by masses. Small scale mechanised industries that can be run and managed under individual, family or cooperative ownership should be the basis of industrialisation. It advises to develop indigenous technology with the help of locally available inputs and skills.

Dr. E.F. Schumacher, a well known western economist and the originator of the concept of Intermediate Technology for developing countries states, "...the modern world has been shaped by technology. It tumbles from crisis to crisis, on all sides there are prophecies of disaster and, indeed, visible signs of breakdown. If that which has been shaped by technology, and continues to be so shaped, looks sick, it might be wise to have a look at technology itself. If technology is felt to be becoming more and more inhuman, we might do well to consider whether it is possible to have something better- a technology with a human face" *

When we think of an alternative technology it is necessary to compare traditional sector with modern sector. In India, the entire modern economy was built on technology and ideas imported after 1950; we may call it 'the modern sector'. Whatever was developed earlier with traditional resources, traditional skills and improved with modern inputs, may be regarded as the 'traditional sector', which the economists refer to as the 'unorganised sector'. Handloom industries, small scale industries and Khadi & village industries form the traditional sector.

In 1994 the traditional sector contributed 70% of the national income. 70% of the employment is from this unorganised sector. Handloom industries employ 13 millions, small scale industries employ 13 millions, Khadi and village industries employ 5 millions, the total being 31 millions. In contrast, what is the employment in the modern sector i.e. in public and private sector undertakings? Just less than 10 millions. In public undertakings the employment is 23 lakhs where the country has invested Rs. 1,30,000 crores. The figure has remained unchanged from 1989 till today. In private sector from 1979 till today, the employment is 75 lakhs. Whatever employment rise is recorded since 1980, it is only in the traditional sector, especially small scale industries. The traditional sector has provided employment in villages and semi-urban areas where it is easier and less costly to maintain human being - the cost of maintaining a person in a village is 1/10th of the cost of maintaining him in a city. Nearly 80% of the Indian exports is from the traditional sector. In the year 1989 - 90, the Government of India's pre-budget survey says, "the direct exports of small scale sector is nine thousand crores out of the total export of thirty thousand crores". Thus the share of small scale sector in exports is 30%. The small scale industries contribute 40% of the national income according to the latest estimate.⁹ Thus development of small scale sector is imperative. BMS is of the view that for creating enough job opportunities agricultural development should get more attention as also agro-based and small and tiny industries.

Recently, the Government has admitted that the brain drain caused by migration of graduates from the various Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT) to the U.S.A and other countries was in the range of 40 to 60 percent, depending on the discipline. The IITs seem to be creating products largely for the United States market. We are importing technology often developed by our own IIT graduates living abroad. It is time for us to change this situation so that our engineers get the opportunity to develop, adapt and assimilate modern technology within the country.

For rural sector of our country, it is advisable to develop indigenous technology with the help of locally available inputs and skills. India must have its own technological, research and development base. There is a strong case for unification of research work that is being conducted by research cells under the planning commission and the various ministries, so as to eliminate duplication of work and promote efficiency. It is necessary to conduct research in modern as well as traditional, indigenous technology with a view to evolve a National Technological Policy to determine what portions of western technology are to be adopted, what others to be adapted, and what others to be rejected, and the areas in which evolution of indigenous technology is imperative.¹⁰

BMS is not opposed to technological upgradation. It wants discreet technological upgradation. "There are areas like defence, space research, oceanography, medicine, scientific research etc., where the full play of the most modern technology is not only necessary but inevitable. Let most modern technology, if it is made available to us, be welcome, in these spheres. Many other modern processes may have to be adapted to suit our conditions. Let our scientists work on these to modify them for our use. Still others may have to be rejected outright as those would spell disaster to our society, our economy. Most importantly our Research and Development should be geared up to develop indigenous technology for the benefit of our handicraftsmen and artisans".¹¹

Patterns of Ownership

By professing New Economic Policy (NEP), the Government has started a campaign for the annihilation of public sector on the ground that it is inefficient, loss making instead of profit earning and the like. BMS does not hold the public sector as holy

cow or that the entire public sector structure be disbanded. Public ownership too has a role to play in the development of our economy.

A report of the World Bank says : "Are the public sector units in India inefficient ? They are not, but the system in which they operate make them inefficient. It says that it would be inaccurate to conclude that the Indian Public Enterprises are inefficient. Their professional staff are known for their technical expertise. It is the incentive framework within which they operate, that has made efficient behaviour virtually impossible".¹²

In the NEP statement of July 1991, the then Finance Minister Dr. Man Mohan Singh said "it is time therefore that the Government adopt a new approach to public enterprises. There must be a greater commitment to the support of public enterprises which are essential for the operation of the industrial economy. Measures must be taken to make these enterprises more growth oriented and technically dynamic. Units which may be faltering at present but are potentially viable must be restructured and given a new lease of life".¹³

But Government's action is totally contrary to this statement. Even efficient units are deliberately made to starve of funds of orders etc. e.g. BHEL. Their products are not purchased by Government departments e.g. drugs and medicines produced by Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Ltd. Foreign companies are favoured as against our own e.g. Indian Railways deal with ABB for Electric Locomotives. Liberal import policy puts our industry into jeopardy e.g. reduction of duties on copper import, of which has affected the profit of Hindustan Copper. These are only a few glaring examples, which could be multiplied manifold.

Series of research papers published by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) including that of Prof. Lane Taylor reveal that "liberalisation and privatisation are not automatic recipes for growth".¹⁴

A former American diplomat Henry Grunwald says : "the private sector can be monstrously inefficient too, quite often owing to the very sins typical of Government bureaucracy and inflexibility".¹⁵

In India today the image of private sector is not that bright. Nearly 2 lakh private industrial units, big or small are sick, many of them closed for good. It is not only that workers have been deprived of their employment and/or of legitimate dues to which they are entitled on the closure of an enterprise, but even the loans and the interest thereon due to banks and financial institutions, which according to an estimate amounted to a colossal sum of Rs. 8684 crores at the end of Sep. 1989 have remained unrecovered.¹⁶ Failure of these units is mainly on account of mismanagement, misuse of funds and so on.

BMS recommends the following steps to revamp the public sector.

1. Public sector needs to be turned efficient, corruption and inefficiency has to be rooted out, productivity enhanced.
2. It has to be made answerable to the real owners, the people.
3. Ministerial and bureaucratic control has to be redefined.
4. Politicisation in its management has to be removed.

5. Its management has to be rested with more powers, more functional autonomy. It should be charged with more responsibility to pay dividend to Government's capital.

On the industrial plane our policy makers limit their thinking to public and private sector, as if there could be no other forms of ownership of entrepreneurial activity. This is incorrect.

BMS is of the view that there could be any number of other forms of ownerships like

1. Cooperativisation
2. Socialisation
3. Democratisation
4. Municipalisation
5. Labourisation
6. Self employment sector
7. Joint sector and so on.

Also there can be different permutations and combinations of these patterns.

BMS urges that this matter should be gone into depth by a National Commission and different types of ownership be recommended for different types of economic activity taking simultaneously into consideration the peculiar characteristics of each industry and the total requirements of the national economy.

It also recommends the constitution of an expert committee to determine the size, the location and the technology for different industries.

Industrial Family¹⁷

The originality of BMS is very prominently illustrated by its concept of 'Industrial Family'. According to this concept, it shall be the duty of all parties to Industrial Relations, to reconstitute themselves into an Industrial Family.

Towards this end, for each major industry and for minor industries or their trade groups, Industrial Councils comprising of the elected representatives of workers, managerial and technical cadres and capital be constituted on national and state levels respectively.

Such Industrial Councils, will have final authority, subject to the approval of the Parliament or State Assemblies, in determining the general policies of their industries, including those pertaining to the deployment of labour force, managerial and technical cadre and capital.

The entire labour force, the managerial and technical skill and the capital within the country shall be at the disposal of the National or State Industrial Councils for their own deployment as well as for the purposes of formulating and implementing certain decisions such as production and employment targets, level of technology, wage policy, import and export trade.

Each Industrial Council shall work for an objective target given to it by the Nation and coordinate its activities with similar councils of other industries following the

discipline laid down by the Nation. For this purpose it shall revise and suitably amend from time to time its constitution and reformulate the internal relationship of firms, units, groups, individuals etc., working within the industry.

They will follow a plan of income distribution adopted at national level to meet the needs of workers, technical skill, capital, consumers, research and development needs, plan priorities and dues of the state.

The Industrial Councils thus constituted shall be under an obligation to ensure that no worker is retrenched consequent upon mechanisation, rationalisation, modernisation or automation, unless an alternative employment is offered to him without loss of continuity of service, in the same industry, though may be in a different establishment.

Each Industrial Council shall take full care of each individual worker and members of his family and foster his full growth on natural lines never to throw him out of employment or in distress and privation for want of basic necessities of life. All those depending for their daily livelihood on the industry shall be treated as members of one large joint Industrial Family and the Family's social security cover will be extended to workers as well as their children, old people, the afflicted, the widows, the physically and mentally handicapped persons etc., that are the natural members of the Industrial Family.

It shall be the duty of the Industrial Family to absorb within the Industry the children of their member-workers unless they themselves opt differently.

The Industrial Family working on this discipline will thus give a material shelter to human-beings that are its constituents and afford to them suitable opportunities for their cultural and spiritual pursuits and fulfilment of life.

Symbol of BMS

BMS has introduced new national symbols in the labour field. It unfurled the saffron flag, which has been a traditional symbol of universal love, renunciation and self sacrifice. The human mind, the creator of all arts and crafts, in the form of a closed fist with a prominent opposable thumb, forms the core of the BMS insignia. No other trade union symbol has so far given a place to the human being. The traditional wheel and sheaf of corn representing industrialisation and agricultural prosperity constitute the other features.

National Labour Day

May Day is the symbol of class struggle. The communist parties observed the May Day as the International Labour Day. Even after independence, the Indian Labour Movement had not conceived of the National Labour Day. Even in the United States, which happens to be the birth place of the May Day¹⁸, the workers celebrate their own National Labour Day on the first Monday of every September. BMS has recognized 'Viswakarma Jayanthi' as the National Labour Day.

To recognize and propagate 'Viswakarma Day' as the National Labour Day has a unique, eternal significance. With Viswakarma, the first skilled craftsman, designer and fashioner of many tools, started in India a tradition of self-employed artisans that produced a variety and plenty of goods and articles that enriched the society. Recognizing, later, the great significance of this tradition, the people worshipped its founder, the first worker, Viswakarma, as God.

To the workers, therefore, the Viswakarma Day is a remembrance of the importance of work and tools of work and dedication to the spirit of skill in works. To the society, the Day signifies an occasion to honour the Divinity enshrined in works, to remember how work done as a worship becomes the harbinger of material prosperity.

The Day should also be appropriately celebrated as a day to take stock of progress of material science and technological development, and take decisions for its extended application and research. It is a day when man, the mental being, should pay his homage to matter, and invoke its secret laws and combinations that have potencies of abundance of production. The Viswakarma Day is Bharat's timeless national day of Divine Materialism which gives to worker his frontal importance in a National Worship whose fruit is abundant riches. The day falls on 17th September (corresponding to Kanya Sankranti).

The experience of the five member goodwill delegation of BMS which went to China on the invitation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU) and visited various places there from 3rd to 19th April, 1985 is noteworthy. The occasion was utilised by BMS leaders to reaffirm the age old cultural and spiritual ties existing between the two countries.

During the course of a talk with V.P. Chang, the Vice President of Gaungdong Province, the biggest ever labour strike of China in September, 1925 was referred to. Thengadi suggested that the day it was started could be adopted as the National Labour Day of China instead of the May Day. That would help develop patriotic spirit among the workers, he said. Chang welcomed the suggestion and said that the proposal would be placed before the ACFTU.¹⁹

Viswakarma Sector

BMS was the first trade union centre to recognize the special importance of 'self-employment sector'. Self-employment is the best status for men in society. Economic life without alienation is the life of ownership of one's own economic activity in agriculture, industry, trade and services. This is self-employment as a concept in economics.²⁰ Goldsmiths, blacksmiths, potters, tailors, engravers, barbers and washermen are self-employed. BMS rightly calls this self-employment sector as the Viswakarma sector. The western economics did not recognize this sector of self-employment which was neither a 'private sector' nor a 'public sector' but the 'people's sector'. Later on the Household Industries Act was passed by the erstwhile communist Soviet Union, and that communist China and Hungary also had made legal provisions for the self-employment sector, recognizing its importance.

BMS urges a separate department under the Ministry of Labour and Employment to assist the self-employed persons. Self-employed people cannot be exploited nor can they exploit others. There is neither class war nor take-over of the state. It is a peaceful transformation.²¹ Self-employment sector should get more encouragement than at present.

Functional Representation in the Elected Bodies²²

BMS calls for the introduction of functional representation in the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies. The territorial representation should be reduced numerically, each member being required to represent a larger electorate. In industrial sector, workers of each major industry and minor industries or their trade groups be given representation in

the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies. The organised labour be given representation on Local-Self Government bodies and university senates.

There should be de-limitation of industrial constituencies on the national, the state and the local level for the above purpose. On the national level, the number of representatives to be elected by the workers of every industry be directly proportionate to the extent of its contribution to the national income, BMS envisages.

Guidelines of the Future Socio-Economic Order

BMS is striving not only for the solution of immediate problems but also for the gradual evolution of the guidelines of the future socio-economic order. The memorandum on 'Labour Policy' submitted to the National Labour Commission on 22nd October, 1968, "the National Charter of Demands of Indian Labour - An Order of Duties and Disciplines" submitted to V.V. Giri, President of India on 17th November, 1969 and "the National Charter of Directives of Bharatiya Workers" submitted to Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, President of India on 20th April, 1993 are the documents of the collective thinking and the collective wisdom of BMS. These are also the guidelines to the architects of Indian Labour Policy for the 21st Century.

While opposing the New Economic Policy (NEP) and New Industrial Policy (NIP) BMS has suggested some positive alternatives. It has vigorously condemned the abject surrender to the conditionalities of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank as that would amount to giving up our sovereignty. BMS considers the present moment as an opportunity to build up Swadeshi Model of Economy. D.B. Thengadi's "Third way" offers the general guidelines of the new socio-economic order. The ideal national

paradigm of value-systems, institutional arrangements and parameters is given in the formulation of BMS-IV.

FORMULATION OF BMS - IV

WESTERN AND BHARATIYA PARADIGMS

These are the two entirely different paradigms with their entirely different value-systems, institutional arrangements and parameters.

WESTERN MODEL

BHARATIYA MODEL

Compartmentalised thinking	:	Integrated thinking
Man-a mere material being	:	Man-a physical - mental - intellectual - spiritual being
Society, a club of self-centred individuals	:	Society, a body with all individuals therein as its limbs
Happiness for oneself	:	Happiness for all
Acquisitiveness	:	Non Possession
Profit motive	:	Service motive
Consumerism	:	Restrained consumption
Exploitation	:	'Antyodaya' (unto the last)
Rights - oriented	:	Duty - oriented
Consciousness of others' duties	:	Consciousness of others' rights
Contrived scarcities	:	Abundance of production

Economy of rising prices	:	Economy of declining prices
Monopoly capitalism through various devices**	:	Free competition without manipulated markets
Economic theories centred round wage-employment	:	Economic theories centred round self-employment
An ever-increasing army of proletariat	:	The ever-growing sector of Viswakarma (self-employment)
Ever-widening disparities	:	Movement towards equitability and equality
The rape of nature	:	The milking of Mother nature
Constant conflict between an individual, the society and the nature	:	The complete harmony between and individual, the society and the nature

These are entirely different paradigms. Every society is free to choose its own model on "take all, or leave all" basis.

** Patents, brands, copyrights, tradenames, licences, quotas, protective tariff, kartels, pools, trusts, holding companies or intercorporate boards of directors, intercorporate investments, etc.

Source : M.G. Bokare, op.cit, pp.ii-1.

To-day the mankind is confronted with a number of basic and baffling problems.

For example :

How to reconcile -

Individual liberty with social discipline;

Incentive for individual development with urge for equality;

Economic growth with social justice;

Basic organic unity with apparent diversities;

State authority with industrial and civic self-governments;

System with spontaneity;

Social order with statelessness;

Self-restraint with self-unfoldment;

Rationalism with consciousness of the office and limitations of reason;

Specialisation with integrated view;

Material advance with spiritual elevation;

National self-reliance with international cooperation;

And, again, How to ensure -

Liberty without licentiousness;

Discipline without regimentation;

Status without privileges;

Unity without uniformity;

Stability without stagnation;

Dynamism without adventurism;

State authority without stateism;

Technological advance without loss of humaneness;

Material prosperity without crude 'materialism';

Vertical arrangement of societies without their horizontal division;

Humanism without homo-centricism.

On national plane too there are a number of urgent and challenging problems. For example :

How to reconcile -

Expansion of employment opportunities with up-to-date modern technology;

Decentralised processes of production with increase in productivity;

Nationalisation with public accountability;

Pace of urbanisation with cultural background;

Micro-planning at lower levels with macro-planning at national level;

Integration of various natural groups with the preservation of their distinct group characteristics;

Bharatiya values of life with the modern scientific and technological advance ;

Demands of the modern age with the sanatana ideals of Dharma*.

How to achieve -

Evolution of the world state enriched by the growth and contribution of different natural cultures; and

Evolution of Manava Dharma** enriched by the perfection of all the religions including 'materialism'.

Needless to add that this enumeration is illustrative, not exhaustive. Reconstruction and research go invariably together. Research - intensive as well as extensive - in all departments of national and international life.

BMS is convinced that these basic problems cannot be solved except on the basis of Bharatiya Model.²³

* Etymologically the word 'Dharma' is derived from the Samskrit root 'Dhru' which means to hold or sustain. Dharma is that which maintains and develops people.²⁴ 'Sanatana Dharma' means eternal universal laws.²⁵

** 'Manava Dharma' means universal laws applicable to the humanity as a whole.

Communism has failed and capitalism is on the way out. The search for "Third Way" is already on in the western countries including the United States. Peter F. Drucker, Paul A. Samuelson and others have foreseen the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism, though their public expressions are sufficiently guarded. Some elevated souls from the west are inclined to endorse the Bharatiya model as the "Third Way". For example, the French Savant Paul Martini Dubost proclaims : "After two thousand years, India is on the agenda. India belongs to everybody. The melody of the Indian soil is something which never ceases to move us".²⁶

Arnold Toynbee says, "...it is already becoming clear that a chapter which has a western beginning will have to have an Indian ending if it is not to end in the self-destruction of the human race... At this supremely dangerous moment in human history, the only way of salvation for mankind is an Indian way.

If India were even to fail to live upto this Indian ideal which is the finest, and therefore, the most exacting, legacy in your Indian heritage, it would be a poor look-out for mankind as a whole. So a great spiritual responsibility rests on India".²⁷

International Relations

INTUC and HMS are the affiliates of International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). AITUC is affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). BMS is not affiliated with any international confederation but maintains cordial relations with every such organisation. Instead of giving call for the workers of the world to unite, it has given a "call to the workers all over, to unite the world".

To put it in a nutshell, BMS has contributed quite a few new ideas which have virtually become 'trend setters'.

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LABOURISATION

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CHAPTER - IV

LABOURISATION

Ownership and control are the two important aspects of any business. Ownership refers to rights over capital while control refers to management or the power to take important decisions. In ancient India, most of the business was under self employment sector and those who owned a business also controlled it. As firms grew big, this began to change. In many of today's big companies, those who manage often do not own the capital.

A businessman, who wants to start a company, hires capital from a bank or from the public by issuing shares. He has also to put some of his own money, but this is usually a small part. The percentages of equity capital invested in the assets of the companies owned by seven top industrial houses of India are as follows:¹

Name of Group	Contribution to Equity in %
Tata	0.36
Birla	0.14
J.K.Singhania	0.65
Thapar	0.16
Mafatlal	0.99
Sri Ram	0.14
K.P. Goenka	0.25

It is clear that the investment of the big houses in their industries is practically less than one percent. Who gets the profit resulting from this business? For a long time it was

believed that profits go with capital. But that is not really true. Banks and members of the public do of course want a return on their investment, but the major share goes to those who control the firm. Many scholars have recently argued that profit - certainly a big share of it, goes to those who manage and control and not to those who own the capital. From this, the next argument naturally follows: 'If a businessman can hire capital and reap the profit, why cannot workers do the same?'²

'Labourisation' refers to workers' ownership of the industries. It is also termed as 'workers' financial participation'³, 'employee share ownership'⁴, 'workers' sector'⁵ and 'self management'.⁶ The credit for coining the term labourisation goes to BMS. It means that the value of human labour should be equally counted as capital in an industry. Labour is as essential a factor in the process of production in industry as the capital investment. Workers either with their own resources or with conditional association with private promoters or Government's financial institutions can successfully run an industry. BMS is of the opinion that labourisation is a remedy for most industrial maladies, if not for all.

Conceptual Framework

The term financial participation embraces all schemes which give workers, in addition to a fixed wage, a variable portion of income directly linked to profits, or some other measure of enterprise performance. There are three major ways in which employers can distribute the financial results of improved enterprise performance to their employees: gain sharing, profit sharing or workers' share ownership. Strictly speaking profit sharing and workers' share ownership constitute labourisation.

Gain sharing is a pay system which is designed to provide variable pay by rewarding the members of a group or organisation for improvements in organisational

performance. Gains are shared with all eligible employees, typically through the payment of cash bonuses. They may be limited to small groups.

In the case of profit sharing, part of an employee's remuneration is directly linked to profits or some other measure of enterprise performance. Unlike individual incentives, this involves a collective scheme which usually applies to all employees. The bonus is normally paid in addition to the basic fixed wage and provides a variable source of income. Profit sharing bonuses can take different forms. They can be distributed on a deferred basis, with the sums being invested in enterprise funds or frozen in special accounts for a specific period; this type of sharing arrangement is covered by the term 'deferred profit sharing'. Profit sharing bonuses can also be paid directly to the workers in cash and, in this case, are normally referred to as 'cash based profit sharing' arrangements.

Employee Share Ownership Plan

Workers' share ownership plan constitutes the major form of financial participation. It is technically called as Employee Share\Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP). The scheme gives the opportunity to employees to own shares in their own company. The concept of ESOP was originally developed in 1967 by Louis Kelso⁷, San Francisco lawyer and investment banker, and author of books titled 'The Capitalist Manifesto' and 'How to Turn Eighty Million Workers into Capitalists on Borrowed Money'. His objective was to turn workers into shareholders. Kelso argued that conventional capitalism is a closed loop financial system the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. People, he said, get rich not through wages and salaries but by owning shares in companies. With ESOP workers are able to get a share in this gain.

Modus Operandi of ESOP

When an employer adopts the ESOP, workers form a trust to buy and hold their shares. This trust then borrows money from a bank to buy some or all of the company's shares at fair market value. The trust hands over the money to the employer in return for shares. For his part, the employer guarantees the repayment of the borrowed money, and settles it over a period of time by making contributions to the Trust.

Why should any employer do this? In the USA the most important reason is that he gets major tax concessions. Contributions to the trust to pay off the loan are considered by law to be deferred wages. They can be deducted from the company's income, exactly as wages are, before computing tax. Further changes in the law in 1984 have made ESOPs even more attractive. Half the interest earned by banks from loans advanced to buy shares are free of tax. Companies can deduct as an expense dividends paid on shares held by ESOPs, yet another advantage to the employer is that ESOP protects his company from takeover by business rivals. Since shares are not owned directly by workers but indirectly through the trust, they cannot be sold freely in the stock market.

Because ESOPs are so attractive to employers, workers and banks, the movement has received an enormous boost in the USA. About 10,000 companies have adopted the plan since 1974. On an average, workers hold about 20 percent of the shares in ESOP firms. And there are at least a thousand firms where they hold majority shares.

The ESOP shares are not individual property which workers can freely sell. The decision to own the shares is also not an individual decision. The shares are owned by the trust. Loans to buy shares are taken by the trust. And it is through the trust that the

employer makes payments to clear the loan. ESOP shares are thus owned by all workers. Individual workers can sell their rights when they leave or retire, but the trust usually buys them back.

Arguments in Favour of Labourisation

In the first place, it is often considered to be a means of improving motivation and productivity. It leads to greater commitment, lower absenteeism and labour turnover, greater investment in firm-specific human capital and reduced intra-firm conflict. In contrast to individual incentives, financial participation is also likely to enhance teamwork and a cooperative spirit, thereby facilitating improvements in work organisation.

Labourisation : Global Experiences

Workers' financial participation in enterprise results is hardly a new idea. However, it has only recently captured the attention of economists and policy makers, not only in industrialised countries but also in economies in transition, particularly in Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, although financial participation has been widely discussed at the policy level, little is known about the application of financial participation schemes in practice.

A clear distinction is made between the experiences of the industrialised countries and those in Central and Eastern Europe. While companies in the industrialised countries are actively promoting financial participation schemes as an efficient and flexible payment system which can improve motivation and productivity, in Central Eastern Europe financial participation is mainly linked to the privatisation process.

The Importance of the Legislative Framework

Some countries have addressed the issues of financial participation in a more comprehensive manner than others. In France and the United Kingdom, the law envisages a variety of financial participation schemes, with different tax incentives, which have recently been extended. This support has attributed to the growth in the number of financial participation agreements in the two countries. In the USA a notable slow down in productivity growth after 1973 generated increased interest in worker participation. A number of tax incentives were, therefore, introduced mainly for deferred profit sharing and ESOPs.

Financial participation in Eastern European countries is closely linked to their privatisation processes, as illustrated by recent legislative developments and government statements in favour of share ownership schemes. In all these countries, the first stage of privatisation is the transformation of state enterprises into joint stock companies, in which workers' share ownership plays a central role. Hungary is a typical example which has implemented various forms of workers' share ownership. Government encouragement has promoted the rapid development of ESOPs in the privatisation process.

These schemes are more decentralised in Japan, where financial participation seems to be part of an overall management policy and is not, therefore, promoted by legislation or other public measures. It is implemented by the social partners, viz., employers, employees, unions and the management at the plant level and is often developed alongwith participation in decision making, work sharing and internal labour mobility.

The Japanese Experience

The development of workers' financial participation depends on a series of social, cultural and historical factors. This is confirmed by the Japanese experience, which is characterised by a notable development of ESOPs. In the absence of direct formal government support, this appears to be principally due to cultural, industrial relations and other institutional factors. ESOPs have been introduced by more than 90 percent of the firms listed on Japanese stock markets and by 60 percent of all corporations. The average stock held by each employee through an ESOP was estimated at US \$ 14,000 in 1988.⁸ In addition to ESOPs, cash based profit sharing bonuses account for an amount equivalent to about 25 percent of total pay, making Japan the country in which financial participation is most advanced. 97 percent of firms with 30 or more employees pay bonuses to their regular staff twice a year. In addition, more than 90 percent of Japanese firms operate a deferred profit sharing scheme.⁹ The success of ESOPs and other forms of financial participation in Japan can be understood on the basis of a number of factors. Unique features of the Japanese Industrial Relations System are:¹⁰

- a) the Lifetime Employment System,
- b) the Seniority Wage System,
- c) the Enterprise Union; and
- d) the Bonus System

The first three characteristics are called the 'Three Sacred Emblems' of Japanese labour policy.

Lifetime employment is a unique feature of the working of large Japanese firms. It accounts for the exceptionally dynamic functioning of a large section of Japanese industry.

The system presupposes that it is the employees that ultimately make the firm productive, creative and respectable. To Japanese management, guarantee of lifetime employment to its staff is a sacred obligation. Lifetime employment means employment till the employee attains the age of retirement which is normally 55 years but it is now being extended to 58 or 60 years. Top level executives have, however, no mandatory retirement age.

Lifetime employment is not a legal or contractual obligation. And it is open to the employee to leave the firm which, however, is rare. There is no legal restriction on the right of the employer to discharge or dismiss an employee which is rarely resorted to. This system is adopted mainly by large firms and about 30-35 percent of the total labour force is covered by this system. But these employees may be described as Japan's standing industrial army-the backbone of her economy. Under this system, employment has emotional and moral implications. Not only the employee but his family also develops an attachment for the firm and the employee tries to serve the company to the best of his abilities. The tangible advantages of the system are now well recognised. Lifetime employment involves lifetime training as well which facilitates innovation and which strengthens the urge for excellence in work. Lifetime employment is described as one of the corner stones of the industrial relations system in Japan.

Japanese firms like Sony are introducing lifetime employment in their factories even in the USA with great success. For instance, the rate of absenteeism in the Sony factory in America is only 0.1 percent. American workers in Japanese factories in the USA take interest in their work and make valuable suggestions for improving productivity and quality. Japanese management is equally effective in a totally different American Culture.

The second salient feature of Japanese industrial relations system is the seniority wage system. The system guarantees that wages and other benefits increase steadily from the time of appointment. This is generally restricted to lifetime employees.

The enterprise union system of Japan is found to be very useful in strengthening the individual worker's ties to his firm. In Japan every enterprise would have its own independent union. It ensures better mutual understanding between union official and management.

The Japanese firms pay their employees bonuses twice in a year. The payment is based on the financial achievements of the firm and not linked with the productivity of the workers. The system has three great advantages: (a) The workers become aware of the vital importance of the successful functioning of their firm. (b) The Japanese workers tend to live within their monthly regular earnings and the bonuses are mostly saved. This is one of the main reasons why Japanese households save on an average 17 percent to 19 percent of their annual income. (c) The bonuses represent a form of deferred payment which enables the firm to generate additional working capital.

Apart from the congenial and harmonious industrial relations climate, there has been indirect public support for workers' financial participation in Japan, as a means of preventing foreign takeovers of Japanese firms.

Attitudes of the Social Partners towards Workers' Financial Participation

Attitude of Employers' Associations

Employers' associations have usually supported enterprise level schemes introduced on a voluntary basis, with the design of the scheme being left to the discretion

of the enterprise. They oppose any binding arrangement. Employers usually consider financial participation as an important element of human resource management for the purposes of improving employee motivation and commitment. They have argued for the introduction of tax incentives.

Attitude of Trade Unions

The attitudes adopted by employers' associations and trade unions to financial participation have been divergent. Trade unions have traditionally opposed financial participation schemes. They often emphasise that such schemes could increase income inequality between different categories of workers and that they entail a redistribution of risk. Opposition from trade unions is also explained by their fear of losing their bargaining role. They have argued that financial participation might enable management simply to bypass the unions. There is no willingness among trade unions to share the responsibility and results of ineffective management.

Nevertheless, the present position of most trade unions in the industrialised west, as well as in Central and Eastern Europe, seems to have become more pragmatic as financial participation has become more widespread. In France and Belgium, despite the rejection of these schemes by some central trade unions at the national level, local unions started to play an active role in their implementation at the enterprise level. In the United Kingdom 70 percent of employees view financial participation schemes, in general, as being an excellent idea, although the trade unions remain opposed to their development. This gap between trade unions at the central and enterprise levels, and between trade unions and employees, emphasises the need for trade unions to review their strategy with regard to financial participation and to adopt a more coherent policy in this area.

In most Central and East European Countries, the unions are now playing more of a balancing role, with a view to promote employees' interests throughout the privatisation process. There are several reasons behind the recent emergence of trade union support for financial participation. The foremost reason is that these schemes are seen as a good way of limiting the participation of foreign capital. In Hungary, the ESOP has recently been supported by the trade unions as an alternative to foreign investment.

Attitude of Workers

The position of workers has always been more ambivalent. Although financial participation leads to greater identification of employees with the interests of their enterprise, they have always considered the greater level of income variability to be a serious obstacle to the further development of such schemes. Workers, who are normally risk-shy, tend to prefer a fixed sum of money to a profit sharing formula. It is argued that workers prefer short term investments and to sell their shares at a good price. In an unstable economic environment, workers have little confidence in shares which offer an uncertain dividend and redistribute risk between owners and employees. However job preservation is perceived by workers as the most important benefit of employee shares.

Management's Attitude

Management opposes worker's financial participation. Although managers buy a significant number of shares, they are not always in favour of worker's share ownership schemes. They often prefer to secure private credits than to implement an ESOP. They usually favour an external solution consisting of creating a joint venture with a foreign firm, which provides immediate capital and access to new technologies. In their view, foreign investment is lowered by significant employee ownership.

Enhancing Productivity

There is an impressive wide ranging body of evidence for a positive association between workers' financial participation and productivity gains in the industrialised countries. In their survey of empirical results, Weitzman and Kruse, in the most comprehensive book on this issue, edited by Blinder find a degree of consensus which is most unusual in empirical research. The authors, from their survey of a wide variety of case studies and attitudinal surveys conclude that profit sharing schemes have a positive and significant effect on productivity.¹¹ Studies on European countries, recently surveyed in the Pepper report, also concur in pointing to a positive association between financial participation and productivity.¹² This report led the Commission of the European Communities to propose its recommendation on financial participation.

In Belgium, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America it is found that financial participation schemes tend to have been introduced and grown particularly in large profitable export oriented enterprises. In Japan it is found that the probability of a firm introducing financial participation schemes is higher in companies in which human resources are a more important factor in their success. The results of a survey carried out among 140 Belgian enterprises also emphasise the positive effects of financial participation on workers' motivation.¹³ In Italy, a survey carried out on a sample of 179 enterprises suggests that enterprises with financial participation experienced a substantial (12 percent) increase in production following the introduction of these schemes.¹⁴ Surveys undertaken in the United Kingdom show that financial participation has made employees more profit conscious and increased their sense of commitment to the company. According to a survey undertaken in the former Czechoslovakia¹⁵, the impact

of financial participation differs according to the type of enterprise and category of worker. Workers' share ownership appears to have a much greater effect on motivation in small firms. Workers in small units can observe and evaluate the effects of their efforts on the profits of their company. Technicians and other skilled employees show greater interest in financial participation schemes and are more prepared to work for lower wages for a certain period in order to contribute to the future prosperity of their firm.

Workers' Participation in Decision Making, A Catalyst

A greater level of concern by workers for the success of their enterprise, as a direct result of their financial participation, can have the effect of reducing conflict in the work place, increasing the identification of workers with the enterprise and lengthening their time horizon. This can be strengthened by measures to facilitate workers' participation in decision making. Several examples of the companies from industrialised countries suggest that workers' financial participation schemes succeed more often when they are combined with some kind of workers' participation in management. Combination of financial participation and increased employee responsibility has contributed to Japanese economic miracle.

The global experiences of labourisation suggest that the different forms and paths taken by financial participation depend largely on national systems of industrial relations and the attitudes and bargaining powers of the social partners.

Few Commendable Examples of Labourisation Abroad

The Mondragon Cooperatives

The Mondragon Cooperatives in Spain are famous throughout the world as the most successful worker owned firms. The Mondragon has over a hundred cooperatives with 20,000 members, producing refrigerators, washing machines, computerised machine tools, electronic components and automobile parts. The uniqueness of Mondragon lies in its ability to combine democratic control with business efficiency.¹⁶ It ensures continuous employment to its members. 45 percent of the profit is credited to the capital accounts of individual employees, which can be claimed only on retirement. One of the secrets of Mondragon's success is that no firm is allowed to grow too big. When the size of the individual firm is kept small, there is greater scope for interaction and effective participation by ordinary workers.¹⁷

Omak Wood Products¹⁸

Omak Wood Products, Washington is a successful employee owned company under ESOP. The employees have borrowed \$ 50 million to pay for the buy out of business and to provide for working capital. They decided to set aside 10 percent of their wages until the debt is repaid. The company is performing well.

National Steel Corporation¹⁹

The National Steel Corporation (NSC) of the USA was a sick unit. While buying shares in NSC the workers entered into an agreement with the company, which provided for the workers' participation in management. The representatives of the workers and

management of NSC meet monthly once regularly, to share information in the decision making process. As a result, NSC, once a losing company has become a producer of cheap and best quality steel products and prompt supplier in the market. Thus, the employees have saved their own fortune and also the fortune of the factory.

Tower Colliery²⁰

There was large scale closing down of coal mines owned by government in England and thousands of miners were retrenched. In the course of privatisation process. Tower Colliery, a prominent coal mine in England was taken over by its retrenched workers. 239 workers contributed \$ 8000 each out of their retrenchment compensation and successfully bid reworking the mine again. The amount contributed by the workers was the lion's share of the total amount needed. The mine is functioning remarkably well. The colliery has signed a \$ 70 million contract to supply coal for another five years.

Precision Tool Production Ltd.²¹

Videoton, the largest Hungarian electronic telecommunications State enterprise employing nearly 20,000 employees, was divided into 21 companies in the privatisation process. Precision Tool Production Ltd. is one among them. Its employees have contributed nearly 85 percent of the capital, from their savings and loans. After the transformation of the company, the employees spent their evenings or weekends working in the factory to meet the demand. Within one year, the employees not only paid back their loans but also were able to purchase the land and buildings and machinery, which were still owned by the state enterprise.

International Freight Transport Company²²

An international freight transport company of Hungary, formed under privatisation process, struggled to survive. So, the employees decided to start a new company. They contributed 50 percent of the initial capital and the remaining amount was contributed by the parent company. The employees participating in this plan were particularly motivated to preserve their jobs and improve the performance of the company. Their expectations and hard work were crowned with success; they were able to broaden their market share in spite of tough competition and general recession. Within one year, 90 percent of the shares were owned by its employees.

Chyne Agricultural Cooperative²³

This agricultural cooperative in Czech Republic has successfully been transformed into a joint stock company with 49 percent of its assets offered to employees in the form of shares. This made it possible to preserve the participatory principles of the cooperatives and motivate the workers.

Agrokombinat Slusovice²⁴

In the privatisation process, the cooperative Agrokombinat Slusovice was transformed into a series of small and medium sized firms with workers' share ownership and profit sharing. It led to improved efficiency and diversification of the bio technological and microelectronic production to meet the challenge of international competition. As a result, the firm has managed to attract most of the highly qualified workers.

Silesian Factory Kable²⁵

Silesian Factory Kable is a Polish firm. Its decision to sell the shares to the employees at a 50 percent discount was quite successful, with 76 percent of the workers taking advantage of this opportunity. According to the management, this has improved the social climate within the firm as well as industrial relations in general, despite a slump in the Polish electrochemical industry, which used to absorb Kable's production.

As a conclusion to this section, illustrative data are provided on the scope and nature of financial participation in three Japanese companies in different sectors.

Hitachi (Electronics)²⁶

The company introduced an ESOP in November 1974. In August 1985, 34.8 percent of employees were participating in the plan. The average stake of participants is JPY 1.2 million. In 1984, the company paid the average employee JPY 0.517 million (2.65 months' regular pay) as a summer bonus, and another JPY 0.548 (2.72 months' regular pay) as a year-end bonus.

Hoya (Precision Engineering)²⁷

The company introduced an ESOP in October 1970. In March 1985, 47 percent of employees were participating in the plan. The average stake of participants is JPY 2.55 million. In 1974, the company (currently one of the top manufacturers of optical instruments in the world) introduced a profit sharing plan with the explicit objective of increasing productivity. Around 40-45 percent of the annual bonus is linked to profits.

The bonus represents 6-7 months' regular pay and is clearly above the industry average both in terms of cash and months of regular pay. Unions support the plan, and there is a very thorough Joint Consultation Committee, which meets once a month and has many ad hoc sub committees. Quarterly profit reports are provided to the Joint Consultation Committee.

Mitsui Bank²⁸

The company introduced an ESOP in August 1969. In 1985, 67.6 percent of all employees were participating in the plan. The average stake of participants is JPY 2.36 million. In 1984 the bank paid the average employee JPY 0.915 million (3.25 months' regular pay) as a summer bonus, and JPY 0.973 million (3.40 months' regular pay) as a year end bonus.

Labourisation in India

Worker owned firms are not as common in India as in Europe. There have been several cases, in India, of workers of sick companies forming cooperatives to save their jobs. Many of these cooperatives have an impressive record of performance. Kamani Tubes in Bombay, New Central Jute Mills in West Bengal and Jaipur Metals and Electricals in Rajasthan have all been working successfully. While there are also some cases of failure, the general experience is positive. With the right leadership and financial support, workers have shown that they can take over sinking firms and make them profitable.

Indian achievements regarding employee ownership are small compared to developments on many European countries referred earlier. A feature of worker

ownership in India is the indifference, and sometimes even hostility, of the trade unions. When the firm runs into problems, the natural response of trade unionists is to demand nationalisation. While this was an effective strategy some years ago, the government now appears unwilling to take over sick firms. The government has no clear policy on worker ownership. The CTUOs except BMS have no faith in it. The indifference of unions and the government is mainly responsible for the present condition in India.²⁹

Labourisation in India - Cases of Success

Kamani Tubes³⁰

Kamani Tubes is a worker owned company located in Bombay. Before it was owned by the Kamanis, a well known business family. The company which makes brass rods and tubes for use in refrigeration and sugar production was established in 1959. It was a leading firm till the middle of 1970s, controlling 60 percent of the market. By 1985, the trouble started due to misunderstanding among the members of kamani family and financial difficulties. Kamani family abandoned the factory as the quantum of loss was uncontrollable.

When the owners abandoned, the independent union consisting 600 workers approached banks, financial institutions and the state government to help revival. None of them responded positively. The union then formed a cooperative to take over the firm. Claiming that workers could raise the share capital from their provident fund, wage arrears and loans, the union filed a civil petition in the Supreme Court. The court asked the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR) to examine the union's proposal. The BIFR gave a favourable report, but by now the Kamanis had returned to claim the company. In spite of the legal hurdles they created, the Supreme court upheld

the workers' action. By the end of 1988 the shares were transferred to the cooperative. In addition to workers' contribution, the state government sanctioned a sizeable grant.

Since revival, the company has made good progress. Production, wages and profit have gone up. The worker owned company pays annually around Rs.3 crore as excise duty.³¹ Thus reviving the company has been beneficial to the government too.

Cooperative of Slag-Pickers³²

The Tata Iron and Steel Company in Jamshedpur dumps its slag in low-lying areas to level the land and reclaim it for use. The slag contains bits of iron which can be collected and sold as scrap. At one time, the job was given to contractors who employed slag pickers at miserable wages.

In 1979, the State government formed a cooperative of slag-pickers, with the sub-divisional officer as the chairman. The cooperative was given the monopoly to pick slag. In the very first year the cooperative achieved a turnover of Rs.3 crore. This staggering amount was beyond anybody's expectations. Wages have gone up substantially. The cooperative has taken up lot of welfare work with its own funds. It continues to run smoothly.

Cooperatives of Iron Ore Miners³³

The Open Cast Iron Ore mines of Dalli - Rajhera in Madhya Pradesh also have successful cooperatives. These mines supply iron ore to the Bhilai Steel Plant. About 7500 workers organised in seven cooperatives are engaged in this task. Most of the workers have moved from the nearby Bailadilla mines which have been running out of ore.

The government has encouraged the formation of cooperatives to rehabilitate these displaced workers. The cooperatives have been running successfully inspite of competition from contractors who also operate in this area. It has generated handsome surpluses for distribution among members and funding welfare facilities. The best free primary school in the town is run by this cooperative.

Although the cooperatives have shown that they can operate successfully, there is not enough support for them from the trade unions. A trade union well known for its militancy has organised the contract labourers in this area. The members of the cooperative are also members of this union. Instead of encouraging the formation of more cooperatives, the union has been demanding that the Bhilai Steel Plant should take over all the mines in the area, including those managed by workers.

Labourisation of New Central Jute Mill : An Outstanding Experiment of BMS A Case Study

New Central Jute Mill (NCJM) is a large unit having a work force of 8000 at present. There are 12 unions in the mill but surprisingly all these unions got together to labourise the sick company. The initiative was taken by BMS. The company has been running well despite there being a slump in the jute industry. It has modernised its machinery and has diversified its products. It is concentrating on the manufacture of enhanced quality products which have a good market abroad. The success of this venture shows that workers' initiatives can overcome the problems faced by traditional industries. While other jute mills are languishing, NCJM has improved its production and the quality of its products.³⁴ NCJM stands as a model worker owned company and glorifies the achievements of BMS.

The NCJM was incorporated in 1915. It is a large jute mill situated at Budge Budge in South 24 Parganas District of West Bengal having 810 hessian and 452 sacking looms besides 26 other looms and 189 spinning frames. In 1955 two other jute mills viz., Albion Jute mill and Lothian Jute mill were amalgamated with the NCJM. In 1974-75 the company set up its own Machinery Manufacturing Division inside its own premises. The company employed about 9735 persons in Jute Division and 342 persons in Machinery Manufacturing Division on permanent basis besides temporary workers. The total number would be about 13,000.

In September 1982, the company approached Industrial Reconstruction Bank of India (IRBI) for financial assistance for its modernisation - cum - renovation scheme at a cost of Rs.244 lakh. It was agreed that promoters would contribute Rs.49 lakh and remaining Rs.195 lakh would be shared by different financial institutions such as IRBI, Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI), Industrial Finance Corporation of India (IFCI), and Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India (ICICI). The IRBI disbursed a sum of Rs.64 lakh against its commitment of Rs.95 lakh against first mortgage debentures and personal guarantee of A.K.Jain (Promoter) but other financial institutions cancelled their share on one or another plea.

Gradually promoters became indifferent in investing further money in the company and as a result due to fund constraint and for some other reasons the company started becoming sick and as such it had to face lock out for four times during 1982-87. Repeated lock-outs, reluctant promoter to inject money and continued losses of the company made such a sombre situation that almost all concerns of the mills became hopeless. The suffering of workers increased and most of them faced starvation.

The workers approached the left front communist led State government several times and requested to nationalise the mill. The government remained a passive onlooker. There are 12 unions of workers and 2 unions of Head office staff. All the unions, except BMS, belonging to different political parties tried their best for re-opening of the mills through their political leaders but the Government at the centre and the State government of West Bengal expressed their inability to do anything. The promoters, management and government had no solution.

Initiative of BMS

At this juncture, the New Central Jute Mill Shramik Sangh, the union affiliated to BMS launched a campaign for running the mill on the basis of labourisation. None of the other unions believed in the concept of labourisation. They could not think of running a sick mill by workers, by acquiring shares of the company. But due to persistent and continuous campaign, starving workers came forward with BMS union and a pressure was mounted upon all the unions to run the mill in the line of labourisation. As a result, on joint demand made by all the unions and workers, a meeting was held with all unions and D.Gupta, Managing Director of the mill in November, 1986. In that meeting the Managing Director made it categorically clear that the old promoter, the financial institutions and the government were not ready to invest further in the sick company. However, after hearing the views of BMS union, he agreed that if workers come forward to participate in the equity shares of the company and ready for other sacrifices then an attempt could be made.

A historic bi-partite agreement of labour participation in the equity shares was signed on 31st January, 1987. The terms of settlement were as follows:³⁵

1. All employees of all units/establishments of the company agree to contribute toward enhancement of the capital funds of the company in the following manner:

i) Permanent and special badli(casual) employees agree to contribute to the additional equity of the company in the following manner.

a) Convert the outstanding bonus for the years 1984-'85 and 1985-'86 to equity.

b) Convert to equity the increase in all components of wage due to D.A. escalations (except for P.F. and E.S.I. components) as from April, 1986 base for two years from the reopening of the mills.

c) Such amount out of (b) above may, however, be given as term loan to the company as may be advised by the IRBI in the scheme of reconstruction.

d) The employees (permanent and special badli) agree to form an industrial cooperative to acquire and hold the equity in the company on behalf of the employees.

ii) All badli employees will also provide contribution in similar way but the said contribution will be in the form of loan to the company as stated in clause i(i) (c) herein above. However, the possibility of their participation in equity would be considered in due course.

iii) Other than the category of employees covered in category (i) and (ii) herein above all other categories of employees will also agree to contribute toward enhancement

of capital funds of the company on the lines of those applicable for permanent and special badli as in category (i) (a) herein above and by and large to the extent of per capital contribution to equity for the workmen categories.

2) The company will agree to accept such additional equity and complete all necessary formalities under related sections of the Companies Act and also formalities for reduction of existing capital to the extent as may be directed by the IRBI in its scheme of reconstruction in such manner as required.

3) The employees of the company will agree to retain with the company such sums of money as may be progressively collected in terms of 1(i) (b) and (c), for conversion to equity.

However, in case the company does not receive sanction for enhancement of equity or is restrained for any reason whatsoever to issue equity to the employees, then such funds as are to be collected shall be treated as a loan on such terms as may be specified in the scheme of reconstruction, and the matter would be reviewed once again by all parties.

4) The company will accept such number of nominees representing employee shareholders as may be decided in the scheme of reconstruction to be finalised by the IRBI.

Agreement with Pressing Creditors

The agreement with workers was not quite enough to run the mill. Still there were two big hurdles to overcome, one from creditors and other for working capital.

Creditors had no confidence in the labour participation in equity shares of the company. They started demanding their money. They were raising very reasonable questions such as, who is the guarantor for their money? How will the company pay back their money? Detailed discussions were held with them. They were made to convince that if the company fails they would have to lose either their entire money due or a major portion of the same.

In case of liquidation too, they could never get their entire money back. The only way of getting back their entire money is to allow the company to run on the aforesaid basis and the only guarantee for their money is the running of the mill. They were also convinced that they should not only allow the company to run but also to support this new scheme. They should continue to supply all the necessary inputs (such as raw jute, stores requirements) so that factory should run to generate the money. So far as security of their money is concerned an arrangement might be made to provide them finished goods at market price in lieu of their old liabilities and also against price for supply of present inputs for smooth operation of the mill. The idea of getting finished goods and or getting back the money by sale of finished goods attracted them. As such an agreement was also made with them of which following three points were remarkable:

a) All the big creditors such as raw jute suppliers, stores suppliers and others would continue to supply all the necessary inputs on 2 months credit basis at a simple interest of 2% p.a.

b) Those who would be interested in trading of finished goods could get the same on market price.

c) The company would deduct the salary, wages and other necessary expenses for running the mill and the balance would be paid to creditors on instalment basis.

Thus this agreement was significant for the entire operation of the scheme. This agreement not only made the creditors to remain silent and assist but also generated necessary working capital in the form of materials.

The other creditors like financial institutions were also convinced about the scheme. The dissenting creditors were assured for payment of their money with top priority.

Reopening of the Mill

With the help of all such arrangements the mill was reopened on March 7, 1987 in a phased manner and started full operation from April, 1987. Workers agreed to contribute Rs.40 per week per worker till it reached Rs.3,000 each in order to purchase equity shares of the company. Minds were full of doubts but the hearts were full of confidence. All agreed to work with team spirit. Unions forgot their separate identity and different flags for the time being. All were committed to one purpose, that is to run the mill with all their abilities. Workers were ready for any sacrifice, unions for any hard task, management for any trouble and all for any challenge. And in this way the stand-still wheel of mill again set in motion with all its traditional and musical tones.

Only operation of the mill was not enough to rehabilitate the company. So, an enquiry was felt necessary regarding the inner position of the company. On enquiry it was found that all the promoters and directors, except the Managing Director and Wholetime Director, had resigned from the Board on March 31, 1986. The liabilities were around

Rs.24 crore and loss had accumulated to nearly Rs.31 crore as on March 31, 1987. However, it was observed that NCJM was a sick company in the eye of law and could get relief and concessions under the Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provisions) Act, 1985 and the most heartening feature was that the finished goods had market value and the company could be revived if it continued to give better production.

Reference to BIFR

So the very first task was making reference to the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR) under the Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provisions) Act, 1985 in order to be declared as sick industrial company under Section 3(1) of the said Act and get sanction of its revival scheme.

The case was referred to BIFR which came up for hearing before Bench I on January 12, 1988. After hearing and making necessary enquiries the Bench declared it as a sick industrial company. After being satisfied, it also appointed IRBI as its operating agent and directed it for preparing a scheme for Rehabilitation / Revival in consultation with trade creditors, shareholders, State Government, Banks and labour and after obtaining their consent submit its report by 10th April, 1988.

Accordingly IRBI held separate meeting with employees on February 22, 1988 and enquired about their participation in equity shares. Workers agreed that they would take Equity Shares of Rs.3 crore through their own contribution and also adjusting their arrear bonus of Rs.1.5 crore. As such they agreed to contribute Rs.40 per week per worker from their weekly wages.

Similarly separate discussions were held with State Bank of India (SBI) and other financial institutions. They were very much reluctant to accept the workers' participation in Equity shares of the company. SBI was vehemently opposed to this idea. Following vital questions were raised by almost all of them:

- a) Who would be the guarantor on behalf of the workers for the funds to be given by financial institutions to the company?
- b) Whether old promoters are ready to give up their shares in favour of workers?
- c) In case promoters released their shares, how they could be released from personal guarantorship for the old liabilities, specially A.K. Jain who was personal guarantor for the loan from SBI.

These questions were not only puzzling but created such an atmosphere as if the whole efforts would be vitiated. Several discussions were held.

In spite of such great hurdles, unions did not lose their heart. Government of West Bengal was approached and convinced. The determination of employees and management made its own way and at last Govt. of India and Govt. of West Bengal agreed to take keen interest. Govt. of India promised for all support for such a historical attempt of workers and Govt. of West Bengal not only agreed to take equity share by way of investing their arrear sales tax and through contribution, amounting to Rs.4 crore but also agreed to become guarantor on behalf of workers. Of course the pressure of workers and special advantage of NCJM being situated in Chief Minister's constituency played vital roles in convincing State Government. Again Sahu Jain group the existing

promoter/entrepreneur agreed to step down from the management and release their share in favour of workers provided they would be released from their old personal guarantees. These developments crushed the bottleneck and made way again for the workers.

Finally a meeting with all financial institutions was held on February 26, 1988. Based on the discussion a draft scheme was drawn up keeping in view of the following points:

- i) Normal relief/concession as per Reserve Bank of India's(RBI) guidelines and as per State government's conditions for sick unit under Jute Modernisation Fund Scheme;
- ii) Relief/concession as agreed by the parties and
- iii) Relief/concession as granted by various agencies.

But these hurdles put extra burden on the workers. As per this scheme, workers had to take equity shares of Rs.5 crore instead of Rs.3 crore as agreed upon earlier. As such workers agreed to contribute Rs.5000 each through their weekly contribution of Rs.40 per worker per week and by way of converting arrear bonus of Rs.1.5 crore into equity.

The draft scheme was prepared with the cut off date of June 30, 1988 and was placed before BIFR. As per draft scheme, the share capital of NCJM was restructured as follows:

Contributories	Equity share capital (Rs.in lakh)	% to total	Preference share capital (Rs.in lakh)	% to total
State Govt., West Bengal	400.00	41.95	-	-
Employees	500.00	52.43	-	-
Bank/Financial Institution/Public Institutions	2.18	0.23	3.42	41.45
IRBI	28.00	2.94	-	-
Others	14.55	1.52	3.91	47.40
Promoters	8.87	0.93	0.92	11.15
Total	953.60	100.00	8.25	100.00

Source : Baij Nath Rai, Story of NCJM,
Bharatiya Labour Research Centre, Pune, p.11.

It was also proposed to reconstitute the Board of Directors in the following manner:

- i) Chairman : A professional with adequate commercial and industrial background.
- ii) Managing Director : A professional with adequate background and experience in jute industry.

- iii) Three directors, nominated by the bank/financial institutions.
- iv) Two directors, nominated by the State Government of West Bengal.
- v) Three directors, nominated by the employees.

Formation of Cooperative

In the aforesaid bi-partite agreement between management and unions it was agreed that an industrial cooperative would be formed. As such efforts were made to form a cooperative, it was observed that formation of industrial cooperative for such a sick and old mill was difficult. A long process would have to be adopted for the formation of such industrial cooperative. Amendment in the State Cooperative Societies Act itself would be very much necessary to form a cooperative for such an old mill. The minister for cooperation and the Secretariat were approached, but none of them agreed for such amendment in the Act for the sake of a single mill like NCJM.

Under these circumstances, it was thought desirable to use the old cooperative credit society of the mill which has been working since last several years. On enquiry, it was found that some minor amendments in the byelaws would empower the credit society, to receive the progressive contribution of employees on a separate account and again to reinvest the said amount for purchasing equity shares of the company in favour of individual employees. It was the only easiest possible way in such a situation.

Therefore it was agreed that all collections of employees would be deposited to "New Central Cooperative Credit Society Ltd". This society would purchase the Equity Shares on behalf of individual employees and it would be the shareholder and it would nominate any person as workers-nominee on the Board of Directors of the company as per the scheme.

It was merely a chance that such credit society was existing in the mill and had good performance background since last several years and most of the employees were its members. Accordingly necessary amendment was made in the bye-laws of the society and another big hurdle was resolved, with the help of all concerned.

Central Govt. Assistance

Jute mills come under the purview of Textile Ministry of Govt. of India. As such Textile Ministry was approached. They were made to know the struggle of workers for their survival on their own feet. The Ministry was convinced that this was an unique effort. The then Textile Secretary was very much convinced for the following reasons:

- i) All the 12 unions of mill and 2 unions of Head Office were united.
- ii) Management and unions were struggling hard for the survival of the company on their own honest, sincere and unique approach.

As such he came forward for assisting such significant approach of workers. Therefore Govt. of India also agreed to allocate Rs.3 crore for such scheme of workers as an interest free loan and also promised to provide all sorts of moral support.

Delay in Getting Sanction of the Scheme

Inspite of all these efforts the scheme could not get sanction from the BIFR.

State Bank of India and Allahabad Bank were the Bankers of the company. These bankers specially SBI and other financial institutions continued to raise repeated

objections on several points of the scheme. Accordingly scheme had to be changed several times. But then also the scheme could not get through.

This delay affected badly the whole scheme and also the morale of the employees in the following manner.

a) Due to delay in getting sanction of the scheme, neither Bank, nor financial institutions provided any monetary assistance. As such the interest on the old liabilities continuously increased and thus total liabilities also increased.

b) Default in the payment of old liabilities caused many litigations.

c) The case was never treated as a special one. It had to face all such objections which normally a private promoter had to face. In some cases it had to face more problems than the normal one because such scheme was not going to oblige the vested interests of some bureaucrats.

d) The delay caused frustration. Some of the employees began to mistrust the whole efforts. They came out from their unions and formed a new union in the name of Shramik Samiti. The union began to get popular support due to its negative approach. It started spreading false propaganda and rumours. They began to say that there was no labour participation scheme for purchasing Equity Shares in the company and all the unions and management are befooling the working class etc.

e) A dilemma evolved. The company was not getting monetary help from any corner and workers had already contributed more than Rs.5000 each by way of progressive contribution. It was difficult to continue further the contribution of Rs.40 per worker per week and similarly it was very difficult to run the mill without continuing the said contribution. Because any stoppage of it was going to increase wage-load. Thus a very critical situation arose.

BMS again took the lead. It tried to expedite the matter by taking up the issue with all concerned such as Governments and BIFR. BMS suggested to proceed in the following manner:

a) All unions should be present in the hearing of BIFR. Hon'ble Bench members be requested to meet all the unions separately and clarify the position for delay. The said Shramik Samiti should also participate in the proceeding of BIFR with a view to verify the scheme for participation in Equity shares by the employees and also to know the reasons for delay.

b) Textile Ministry and other State and Central Govt.'s officials should be repeatedly approached for expediting the matter.

The bench members of BIFR took a very positive role. They hold separate discussions with unions and all other parties. Sometime they rebuked the financial institutions openly for their indifference. Both the Governments again provided their moral support and directed their officials to cooperate and assist with unions and see that the scheme could get sanction at the earliest.

Sanction of the Scheme

In this way due to continuous efforts of BMS and long struggle, the scheme after much modifications could get sanction only on 20th September 1990. The employees, union, and management were jubilant. The sanctioned scheme is shown in Appendix VI.

West Bengal government has already contributed Rs.137 lakh. Balance Rs. 263 lakh shall be contributed after 30.06.1990. But unwarranted delay put following burden on the company and the workers:

i) Workers have to take entire equity shares of the promoters. Thus they have to take shares of Rs. 510.25 lakh in the place of Rs. 300 lakh as originally agreed.

ii) The delay compelled the workers to continue their progressive collection which reached Rs. 900 lakh as on the day of sanction of the scheme in order to keep operation of the mill.

iii) It increased liabilities on the company which ultimately came on the shoulders of workers for no fault of theirs.

iv) The contribution of the workers has to remain vague till the financial institutions disbursed their agreed amount as per sanctioned scheme.

Delay in Disbursement of Sanctioned Amount

The struggle did not stop here. The financial institutions did not keep their word. They delayed the disbursement on one or another plea.

And again for the same reasons workers had to continue their progressive collection of Rs.40 each per week. There was no way out to stop the collection in order to keep the operation of mill running. This again became subject of criticism. However it was agreed that the collected amount, which would be beyond the amount of agreed equity shares would be treated as interest free loan to the company to be paid back in future.

The continuous delay in disbursement was again causing much worry and difficulties. The members of BIFR were again approached. The members of BIFR held a special meeting on 26th June 1991 at Calcutta with all parties and finally warned the financial institutions that if they would not disburse this agreed amount as per sanctioned

scheme within 15th July, 1991 the Bench might take strong action against them even to the extent of putting them behind the bar.

It is on this threat that the financial institutions disbursed atleast half of their agreed amount and then only the workers' contributions were stopped.

Result of the Delay

The delay was held in two parts, one for getting sanction of the scheme i.e. from 1987 to 20th September 1990 and other for getting disbursement of agreed amount by the participating agencies i.e., from 20th September, 1990 to the first week of July, 1991.

This delay resulted in increasing the burden on the company and the employees:

a) From the date of drawing of the scheme till the date of sanctioning scheme i.e. from 1987 to 20.09.1990 the company suffered losses amounting to (including interest component alone Rs. 752 lakh) Rs. 1,627 lakh

b) On account of increase in interest and others due to delay in disbursement of agreed amount by the agencies : Rs. 354 lakh

c) Workers had to contribute extra than their equity share : Rs. 567 lakh

Thus these delays caused extra burden on the company to the tune of Rs.26 crore approximately. Should workers who came together for a noble cause and created history

in the survival of the company be allowed to shoulder the said extra liabilities of Rs. 26 crore approximately for their no fault.

The NCJM had old liabilities around Rs.24 crore and its accumulated loss was Rs.31 crore as on March 31, 1987, i.e., prior to labourisation. The BMS strived to convince the Government of India to write off all the old liabilities. So far, the Govt. of India has not written off the past liabilities of NCJM in spite of their positive policy statement on the issue.

Huge past liabilities are a stumbling block jeopardising all the best efforts towards labourisation of NCJM. Annual interest on the past liabilities ranges from Rs.4 crore to Rs.5 crore per year and it is always increasing due to compound rate of interest. Consequently, irrespective of operational profit of NCJM ranging from Rs.3 crore to Rs.4 crore per year, the total past liabilities have reached Rs.54.79 crore³⁶ as on March 31, 1996. Similarly accumulated loss has increased to Rs.49.89 crore³⁷ as on that date, mainly due to interest on past liabilities and sudden increase on raw jute prices.

Remarkable Achievements of NCJM due to Labourisation.

1. There are 12 unions of workers and 2 unions of Head Office, affiliated to different political parties (except BMS). All the unions are working with team spirit.
2. These unions have nominated unanimously 3 worker-nominees to the Board of Directors. They are Baij Nath Rai (BMS), Khitish Bhushan Ray Barman (CITU) and Subrata Mukherjee (INTUC).

3. There is no strike in the NCJM since labourisation. In the industrywise strike, the mill worked without interruption on the ground that it is a worker owned company.
4. The workers who reached superannuation age accepted retirement even without receiving gratuity. The remaining workers have accepted the excess workload of superannuated workers. Higher workload was accepted by remaining workers only because of labourisation. It is a great sacrifice on the part of retired and remaining workers. It is a significant achievement.
5. Rationalisation was done without unrest.
6. Wasteful practices have been eliminated.
7. A number of diversification programmes have been initiated in order to earn more profit.
8. While many other jute mills facing similar problems of past liabilities and shortage of working capital went under repeated lockout and cessation of work, the NCJM was continuously functioning. So, the workers of NCJM got the benefits of continuous employment.
9. The company which was sick and a losing concern has not only received but started giving operational profit ranging from Rs.3 crore to Rs.4 crore per year.

10. The spinning efficiency of the workers of NCJM is remarkably good. Spinning efficiency refers to the percentage of actual output on budgeted output. There are two varieties of Jute yarn viz., fine and coarse. The spinning efficiency of the NCJM is presented in Table 4.1. It is self explanatory.

11. The labour productivity, in NCJM is shown in Table 4.2. The labour productivity (output per man year) is commendable. The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of output per man year, by considering 1989-90 as the base year. The downfall in production is due to decrease in the supply of raw materials and other inputs because of acute shortage of working capital.³⁸ The average employment (per day) has decreased because of retirement of workers, who reached superannuation age.³⁹

12. Table 4.3 depicts the figures of sales turnover of NCJM. The table is self explanatory. It is heartening to note that the sales turnover of labourised NCJM has increased continuously. Figures in parentheses represent the percentage of sales turnover, by considering 1989-'90 as the base year. The increase in the sales turnover is due to diversification of its products and the production of enhanced quality products which have a good market abroad.

After a careful diagnostic study of labourisation of NCJM, the researcher discerns that it is imperative on the part of the Government of India to assist for the reduction of old liabilities so that the NCJM, a model worker owned company of India, will stand as a beacon light guiding the workers and management of sick units in the turnaround management.

TABLE 4.1

LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY INDEX PER MAN YEAR IN NCJM

TABLE 4.1

SPINNING EFFICIENCY OF WORKERS IN NCJM

Year	Spinning efficiency in %	
	Fine	Coarse
1989-90	76.2	71.2
1990-91	74.7	73.4
1991-92	76.3	75.0

Source : Baij Nath Rai, Story of NCJM (A Worker Owned Company),
Bharatiya Labour Research Centre, Pune, 1992, p. 23.

TABLE 4.2**LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY (OUTPUT PER MAN YEAR) IN NCJM**

	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95
Production (in MT)	48363	52028	52779	49793	50196	43887
Average employment (per day)	9464	9304	9246	9214	8835	7968
Output per man year (in MT)	5.110	5.592	5.708	5.404	5.681	5.508
	(100.00)	(109.43)	(111.70)	(105.75)	(111.17)	(107.79)

Source : 1. Ibid.

2. Bajj Nath Rai, Worker-Director's Report on the Performance of NCJM, April 1996, p.2.

TABLE 4.3

SALES TURNOVER OF NCJM

Year	Rs. in Crore
1989-90	61.79 (100.00)
1990-91	77.36 (125.20)
1991-92	82.56 (133.61)

Source : Bajj Nath Rai, Story of NCJM, op.cit., p.23.

Views of Major CTUOs on Labourisation

The consensus among all the CTUOs of India is that workers' participation in equity should be optional.⁴⁰ AITUC is of the opinion that labourisation does not give any additional right to workers in the management of industry. The UTUC is also of the same view. It further observes that workers' participation can be enhanced only through involvement of workers in control over planning, production, finance etc. The HMS views that equity participation by workers must not abridge their rights of collective bargaining. It also notes that the workers who buy shares should be given incentives. The INTUC is also of the opinion that workers' equity participation must provide for concessions. It adds that if workers hold more than a predetermined percentage of equity then accordingly they should be given representation on the board of the organisation. The CITU is more concerned with state ownership of public enterprises than individual ownership. The organisation vehemently points out that workers' money must not be wasted on supporting private sector capital. BMS's stand on workers' equity participation is self evident. Its commitment to labourisation has been already discussed by the researcher. The All India President of the BMS views that the Government is a big employer owning around 1000 undertakings in India (300 undertakings are owned by the Central Government and 700 undertakings are owned by State Governments). The Government should take the initiative and make the ball rolling, by offering equity participation to workers in the public sector undertakings, thus setting an ideal to be emulated by the private employers.

In all the cases referred, labourisation had been tried only as a last resort. It does not mean that cooperation (financial participation by both) should begin only after a crisis. Labourisation is not only suitable for turning around sick units, but to have healthy and

viable units in India. It is hightime that labourisation has to be attempted at every level for the promotion of productivity.

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4. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
5. Stuart K. Brown, *Worker Cooperatives: An Alternative Strategy for Industrial Growth*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, New Delhi, 1991, p. 47.
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7. Sachin Dey, op. cit., pp. 42-6.
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9. *Ibid.*
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BMS AND PRODUCTIVITY

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CHAPTER V

BMS AND PRODUCTIVITY

Productivity consciousness has acquired world-wide momentum. Higher productivity is necessary for the survival of any nation. It stands for proper utilisation of available resources to achieve the best results with minimum cost. Improvement in productivity is the only answer to the problems in the industrial sphere and it is the only path to national prosperity. In India it assumes special significance owing to the resource gap. In order to overcome the hurdle of shortfall in resources, stepping up of productivity is a must.

During the last 40 years productivity measurement has emerged as a distinct and separate branch of study in management. A number of studies employing highly sophisticated mathematical and statistical techniques and tools of analysis, have been conducted to measure productivity. Specialised agencies of the United Nations (UN) like the International Labour Organisation (ILO), affiliated agencies of regional organisation like European Association of National Productivity Centres (EANPC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) have been published comprehensive, detailed and elaborate manuals explaining the concepts, methodologies, data requirements etc. for the measurement of plant level and overall measurement of productivity of various factors and inputs. Regional, national and local productivity organisations / associations / agencies / councils were organised and established to stimulate productivity consciousness. In India the National Productivity Council (NPC) was established in 1958. The Asian Productivity Organisation (APO) with headquarters in Tokyo was established in 1961 and all countries who are members of APO established national and local productivity councils-centres / bureaus in their respective countries.

Concepts of Productivity

Frederick W. Taylor in his "Task Study" said, "Human work can be made infinitely more productive not by 'working harder' but by 'working smarter'".¹

Productivity means the economic yield from:

- Each factor of production (land, labour, capital and organisation)
- Each input (raw materials, fuels, time and knowledge)
- An overall yield of the joint factors and resources enumerated above in combination.²

Productivity denotes the efficiency with which the various inputs are converted into goods and services. However, it is a multi-faceted concept; no single definition can fully describe it. Technically, it signifies the ratio between the input and output. Productivity is said to be high when more output is derived from the same input, or the same output is obtained from a less input.³

It is well understood as the ratio of output to input with respect to given resources.⁴

When more is produced with the same expenditure of resources it may be termed as effectiveness; when the same amount is produced at less cost it may be termed as efficiency. The word productivity is broad enough to cover both.⁵

It should be recognised that the long term productivity improvements can be achieved by the human factor through positive and innovative attitudes. In this sense productivity is an 'attitude of mind' which is intolerant of waste of every kind and in any form.⁶

Productivity does not refer merely to work systems but to the development of right attitudes and a strong concern for efficiency.⁷

Efficiency, maximum output, economy, quality, elimination of waste and satisfaction of human beings through increased employment, income and better standard of living are some of the objectives of productivity movement in our country or for that purpose in any other country.⁸

There are several concepts of productivity. Two of them are of relevance here; labour productivity and total factor productivity. Labour productivity is the ratio of the output produced by a firm, industry or nation to the number of worker-hours employed in producing this output.⁹

Total factor productivity is the ratio of the output to the total input needed for its production, including not only worker-hours and capital, but also any other input that may be involved.¹⁰ This might be the investment made in human beings to raise the quality of labour or that made to improve productive knowledge through research and development, or by the introduction of organisational, managerial and social innovations.

Total factor productivity is clearly a more accurate indicator of the economic efficiency of a firm, industry or nation than labour productivity. However, mainly because

of the difficulties involved in quantifying various intangible inputs to total factor productivity, labour productivity is far more widely used. It is important to bear in mind that labour productivity, is affected not only by capital input, but also by other factors which affect the efficient use of both capital and hours of work. These other factors consist not only of investment for education, training, research and development, but also of unquantifiable factors such as the labour relations climate and worker and management attitudes towards productive efficiency and competitiveness.

Productivity and Production

The term productivity must not be confused with production. Productivity is a ratio while production relates to a volume.¹¹ Increased production does not necessarily mean increase in productivity. If the input of resources goes up in direct proportion to the increase in output, the productivity will remain the same. And if input increases by a greater percentage than output, higher production will be achieved at the expense of a reduction in productivity.¹²

International Perspective

Table 5.1 shows labour productivity in select Asian countries in 1990.¹³ The per capita GDP of Japan was the highest with US \$ 28,875. Industrial harmony has played a decisive role in the miraculous economic development of Japan. A nation which was almost totally devastated in the last world war and which is almost devoid of important natural resources, with exception of water, is now dominating the world economy. The extent of Japan's prosperity will be clear from the following facts. The world's ten largest banks are now all Japanese banks. Japan is now financing nearly one third of the USA government's budget deficit.¹⁴ India's per capita GDP was US \$ 848 with an annual

TABLE 5.1

LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY (GDP/PERSON) IN SELECT ASIAN COUNTRIES

Countries	Economically active population (in millions)		GDP (in 1985 US \$ millions)		GDP/Person (in 1985 US \$)		Rate of growth (in % p.a.)
	1981	1990	1981	1990	1981	1990	
Bangladesh	23.6	28.3	11331	16301	480	576	2.00
India	237.6	299.6	156460	253969	659	848	2.87
Japan	56.3	61.5	1191659	1775624	21173	28875	3.51
Republic of Korea	13.7	16.8	66223	150872	4818	8957	8.59
Pakistan	22.6	28.7	21842	36475	965	1271	3.12
Philippines	15.5	22.0	39312	45426	2535	2064	-1.85
Srilanka	5.0	5.6	4833	6760	963	1201	2.47
Thailand	24.6	33.4	30154	60958	1224	1826	4.92
Hongkong	2.4	2.7	26784	47005	11109	17149	5.43
Singapore	1.1	1.3	14364	25914	12908	19562	5.15
Taipei, China	6.7	8.3	47626	94486	7138	11407	5.98
Indonesia	54.1	75.9	73450	118507	1357	1562	1.51
Malaysia	5.0	6.6	25717	42766	5116	6460	2.63

Source : Ministry of Labour, Government of India, Annual Report 1994 - 95, p. 52.

growth rate of 2.87 percent, which is lower than all other Asian countries except Bangladesh. It is a matter of serious concern. Though India is the third largest in the category of technically qualified persons in the world with Indians commanding premium in most countries the world over, it is not so in terms of the products they make or the services they render.¹⁵ Being at one time, the second most industrialised nation in Asia, India has now been relegated to the bottom of top ten.¹⁶

Labour Productivity in Indian Economy

The figures in Table 5.2 present labour productivity in various sectors of Indian economy at 1980-81 prices.¹⁷ Labour productivity in agriculture has gone up from Rs.2,305 in 1950-51 to only Rs.3,157 in 1989-90. The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of labour productivity in each sector by taking 1980-81 as the base year. Inter - sectoral comparison shows that labour productivity in agriculture was the lowest while the mining, manufacturing and service sector seem to have registered significantly higher growth rate.

India has a paradox of having cheap labour with high labour cost due to low productivity levels. This offsets other cost effective measures. Some of the reasons for low productivity are: lower skill levels, obsolete technology, loss of man days on account of industrial unrest and absence of proper work culture¹⁸.

Productivity Movement in India

About the progress of productivity movement in India, BMS has two pertinent observations to make. Firstly it is its serious contention that the managements in both public and private sector have not yet taken up the productivity movement seriously.¹⁹

TABLE 5.2
LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY IN INDIAN ECONOMY
(Rs./Worker at 1980 - 81 Prices)

Sectors	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	2305 (83.2)	2499 (90.2)	2498 (90.2)	2749 (99.3)	2794 (100.9)	2683 (96.9)	2506 (90.5)	2927 (105.7)	3157 (114.0)
Mining and Quarrying	5214 (46.7)	6357 (56.9)	7753 (69.4)	10170 (91.1)	12386 (110.1)	10887 (97.5)	10258 (91.9)	14771 (132.3)	13417 (120.1)
Manufacturing	3671 (51.2)	4086 (57.0)	4761 (66.4)	8643 (92.7)	7443 (103.8)	7292 (101.7)	7540 (105.2)	8991 (125.4)	11099 (154.8)
Electricity, Gas & Water supply	-	-	-	10559 (129.6)	10980 (134.8)	8957 (109.9)	9411 (115.5)	11234 (137.9)	14608 (179.3)
Construction	9182 (61.4)	8741 (58.5)	9412 (62.9)	-	-	13430 (89.8)	13839 (92.6)	14950 (100.0)	16110 (107.8)
Trade and Commerce	4942 (50.4)	5672 (57.8)	7160 (73.0)	9418 (96.0)	10252 (104.5)	9689 (98.8)	9805 (100.0)	11086 (113.0)	13136 (133.9)
Communication	3495 (59.6)	3625 (61.8)	4250 (72.5)	4384 (74.7)	4475 (78.3)	4933 (84.1)	5687 (97.0)	7384 (125.9)	8761 (149.4)
Other Services	4418 (42.7)	4777 (46.1)	5459 (52.7)	-	-	9185 (88.7)	10344 (99.9)	11896 (114.9)	14625 (141.3)
Total	2898 (81.3)	3156 (88.6)	3390 (95.1)	4068 (85.9)	4430 (93.5)	4396 (92.8)	4563 (96.3)	5341 (112.8)	6169 (130.2)

Source : Productivity, NPC, Vol.34 No.7, July-September 1993, pp.352-3.

The top executives and senior officers have not yet given their whole hearted backing to ideas on productivity and the businessmen and politicians who own or control the industrial activity have almost no grounding in the subject. India has the third largest scientific community in the world. In spite of huge expenditure on Research and Development (R&D) in India, its impact on economic growth is negligible. It has not contributed either to an improvement in quality of product or reduction in cost and prices.

Secondly too much emphasis is given for labour productivity ignoring productivity of land and capital.²⁰ The productivity of labour is a function that may be useful in distribution of wealth. But under the Indian conditions, the productivity of land and capital is most urgent since it can influence the growth of national income at maximum speed. Of these two again the productivity of capital is very crucial, since capital is very scarce in India.

Viewpoint of BMS on Computerisation

In general, computerisation is advocated as a means of enhancing productivity. But BMS stands for the selective use of computers. For instance, in all such spheres of defence activities, where computerisation makes a difference between victory or defeat and heavy loss, it is justified. Similarly computers will make land a more consistent and bountiful producer, by designing irrigation systems, speeding up crop forecasting, controlling the rotation, scheduling of planting and helping weather forecasting. BMS urges that such a selective and prudent use of computers will increase the national income and output and allow economy to give higher real wages to workers.

The World Bank's latest report evaluates India as one of the poor countries. More than 30 percent of Indian population remain below poverty line and number of

unemployed in the country is swelling to perhaps unfathomable level. The applicants on live registers of Employment Exchanges were 36.29 million in January, 1994. The number has gone upto 36.73 million in January, 1995.²¹ Over 40 percent of the educated are unemployed in India.²² To the extent to which the employment opportunities are curtailed owing to the process of avoidable computerisation, the burden of supporting the army of unemployed increases. When we think in terms of the frustration of the unemployed younger generation of India, the price to pay for computerisation appears to be very heavy.

BMS emphasises that India has to adopt a technology which can provide employment to all those who are willing to be employed. Every country has to adopt such technique of production as it would permit it to make the maximum use of its abundant factors and economise the use of scarce ones. India has an abundant supply of labour, hence it has to go in for labour intensive and low capital investment techniques wherever possible without loss of efficiency. The developed western countries with an acute shortage of labour and also high cost of labour can afford to go in for computerisation even in non-essential sectors, but India cannot.

Recommendations of BMS in Introducing Productivity Schemes

In introducing all schemes relating to productivity, such as, system of payment by results, individual and group incentive schemes, norms of staffing and workload, changes in organisation and methods, rationalisation, mechanisation etc., the following considerations should be respected:²³

- i) All such schemes should be introduced as a result of agreement with concerned unions.

ii) Each such scheme must provide for a minimum of a fall-back wage which has no relation to productivity.

iii) Complete safeguards must be provided for protection against fatigue and undue speed up.

iv) The management must carry out a continuous appraisal of factors affecting productivity, such as methods and work-study, continuous supply of good material, quality of tools, machine-breakdowns, lay-out, quality control, physical, perceptual and mental loads, environmental factors, such as, lighting, ventilation, temperature, noise, cleanliness etc. and share these studies with labour and make all revisions only on the basis of joint studies and agreement.

v) All measurements of work should be done jointly and must provide for factors like needs of safety, rest and relaxation, interruptions, delays, etc. The same should apply to valuation of physical product where such valuation forms the basis of incentive payments.

Indices of land productivity, capital productivity and labour productivity should be separately compiled and used respectively for planning, rate of economic growth and distribution of income.

The gains of productivity should be distributed between shareholders, workers, consumers and plough-back effect. The NPC has evolved a formula to allocate the gains of productivity between the shareholders and others. V.M.Dandekar, Former Director, Gokhale School of Economics and Politics, Pune has amended the NPC formula to the

effect that the plough back of 30 percent should be given to workers in the form of shares and make them coowners. The two formulae stand as under:²⁴

Head of Allocation of Productivity Gains	NPC Formula	Dandekar's Formula
Reduction in price	20%	20%
To Labour	30%	30%
Plough back	30%	-
Plough back (shares to workers)	-	30%
To Shareholders	20%	20%

Both the formulae require further technical working such as mode of determining the gains of productivity and basis of allocation of gains to different categories. Labourisation in the form of employee share ownership will give a strong incentive to the workers to increase productivity.

Role of Trade Unions in the Productivity Improvement

The trade unions should not look upon their role as one of permanent opposition to management. Ultimately, the interests of workers e.g., wages, welfare facilities and security of employment depend upon the prosperity of the nation and the firm. What hampers productivity ultimately harms the workers themselves. Therefore, a strong trade union should presuppose an efficient and affluent firm. The trade unions should attach great importance to harmony, efficiency and order. The unions should be aware of the fact that ultimately the prosperity of India depends upon her productivity and her

competitive position in the world market. Therefore, the unions should accept the need for smart work, higher productivity, pride in skill and high quality of goods.

The BMS has not ruled out employing the weapon of strike for securing the legitimate rights of the employees. However, in line with its basic concept of industrial family, it has always believed that this weapon should be used as the very last resort.²⁵ BMS never encourages participation in any politically inspired strike. BMS also views that the trade unions will have to be specially careful that no agitation is ever planned which will result in work slow tactics,²⁶ because it spoils the habits of discipline in a firm and ultimately it causes damage to productivity.

Work Culture of BMS Workers

Work culture it is, when the crude work of subhuman level is refined in performance and ennobled in purpose. The 'how' and 'what for' of work determine the work culture of people.²⁷ Thus the two aspects of work culture are efficiency in action and nobility of purpose. The crudeness on one hand and crookedness along with self centredness on the other hand will have to be overcome to be cultured at work. The former can be eliminated through training and practice and the latter through love and service. Then work is workship.

The concept of Rights Vs Duties requires to be analysed from Indian context. While the westerners clamour for rights, Indian culture insists that when all the sections of society perform their duties perfectly they also get their rights.²⁸ For e.g. a mother does her duty towards her children, that is the right of the children. The children on their part pay their respects and help their mother. Their duty ensures the rights of the mother. When a teacher discharges his duties properly, students get their rights fulfilled. Similarly

when the students behave as they should the teacher gets his rights fulfilled. An employer's duty protects the rights of the employees. The duty of the employees protects the rights of the employer. Thus concept of duties and rights is complementary to each other. Social unrest, exploitation and anarchy set in when people demand their rights and do not discharge their responsibilities. The concept of work culture in India must be viewed from this angle. If every one carries out the duties assigned to him in the most perfect manner, the society will be prosperous and peaceful.

Improving Work Culture

BMS observes that "all patriotic forces wherever they be, in the Government, in bureaucracy, in top and middle management, supervisors, staff and workmen should bring about a responsible change in their work style which should be the broader objective of achieving excellence in production, quality, productivity, elimination of all sorts of wastes, bottlenecks in procedures and maintaining strict fiscal discipline and cordial relations. In any case, the workers should, if the situation demands, exhibit exemplary presence of mind and become model to other sections in improving the work culture in the interest of the industry and the nation".²⁹ The BMS cadre and rank and file have risen to the new challenges in this regard.

In India, the relationship of labour and their union has degenerated into that of a patient and his physician. The workers would contact the union only as and when relief in any dispute was required. The longer the dispute continues, the longer would be the relationship. But the worker would forget the union as soon as his problem was over. The situation has come to such a pass that the period of protecting the workmen or winning new rights for them is over. It is exactly now the attention of the workers has to be drawn to the other side of the coin, not just to the rights but to the responsibilities.³⁰

They have to be made aware not only about the interest of their union or family, but also of the society, industry and nation. With the winds of change, while the industry faces global competition from the giant multinationals, the difficult duty of awakening the workmen to the needs of productivity and quality must be discharged by the trade unions.

The trade unions should serve the national interest by following the precepts of : 'Indiscipline be damned' and 'no clemency for inefficiency'. The labour has a right to be happy after his tears are wiped; but he should not become selfish or unruly. Eventhough it appears to be bitter at first the truth has to be told to the workers that not only their own good, but the interest of the industry and the nation has to be given a prior importance. A medicine need not always be sweet, a dose of bitter pills may also be required for the health of the industry and the nation.

If the trade unions concentrate attention creating patriotic citizens and responsible workmen over and above being worried about their own strength and membership, they would be able to create an honest, efficient and proud society dedicated to the nation, removing the vices of corruption, dishonesty, inefficiency and selfishness. Then morality would enjoy the first rank in all walks of life, the trade union would become a parental home of the workers in real sense and such change will spread into all sectors of social life. The workman has the capacity of lifting the nation from its present morass if he is provided with proper and timely guidance.³¹

Instances of Exemplary Work Ethic of BMS

The BMS emphasises on achieving excellence in performance, quality, productivity, discipline and industrial harmony. Every activist of BMS strives his best to set himself as an ideal to other fellow workers, by his model behaviour at work. The

researcher brings out some of the sparkling instances highlighting the exemplary work ethic of BMS.

Courage and Patriotism Evinced by BMS in Punjab during Indo-Pak War in 1971³²

The BMS union of State Government employees in Punjab decided to go on strike on December 16, 1970, when its demand for interim relief in the pattern of Central Government was not accepted by the Government. They also announced Punjab bandh on the same date. The state executive of BMS met on November 30, 1970 to review the entire position in the light of labour unrest and national situation. It bifurcated the two issues of bandh and strike, gave all out support to strike and as a leading central labour organisation of a border state, vehemently opposed Punjab bandh. The Govt. employees union followed the decision of BMS.

In the month of September 1971, well before the declaration of war with Pakistan, the BMS state executive resolved to give up entirely all agitational approach and help the soldiers and assist the war efforts. As soon as the war started, the BMS workers came out in large number to donate their blood to wounded soldiers, one day's salary for war funds and increased the tempo of production to unusual heights.

Since the fighting on the western front was at its peak the BMS union rose to the occasion to meet all types of requirements on the border. The ordinance employees union and MES workers union, Pathankot, affiliates of the BMS, resolved to work round the clock to handle receipts and despatches of all ordinance stores. They worked on Sundays and holidays and besides working hours without overtime allowance or any other compensation. At Ludhiana and Jullunder Railway Stations the BMS union played a vital role in rehabilitating the civilian population coming from border areas. The State BMS

President, as a member of the Rehabilitation Committee toured Punjab during war to see the rehabilitation work. The PWD Labour union of BMS played a very vital role in maintenance of border roads and regularity of water supply. They all kept a strict watch on all the canals. At Gobindgarh the BMS union opened a free workshop to help in repairing the army vehicles. In Gurdaspur, Pathankot, Batala and Dhariwal the BMS held huge rallies to boost up the morale of people in crucial times.

Trade Union Work and Social Reforms³³

Trade Union Work and social reform on individual/group must go hand in hand, according to BMS.

In Karnataka, a power corporation employee of Class-IV category was suspended by the management on the charge of drunkenness while on duty. He approached the BMS union secretary for help. The secretary informed him that the union's policy was not to help those who misbehaved at work. The employee pleaded and assured the union that he would henceforth give up the habit of drinking. The secretary observed him for about a month and when it was confirmed that he had actually stopped drinking, vouchsafed by his family members, his case was taken up and his suspension order got revoked.

Promotion of Discipline³⁴

HAL is a big Public Sector undertaking employing thousands of workmen. Every year workers get a set of uniforms. Crores of rupees are spent on it. But workers were not wearing it. In its Hyderabad unit, the BMS union viz., HAL Karmik Sangh became the recognised union on the basis of its strength. In 1994, BMS activists wanted to bring about discipline in the factory. They requested the workers to come to the factory

wearing uniform. The initial grumbling of workers vanished. Today every one wears uniform and promotes discipline.

Customer Satisfaction³⁵

Employees of Sangli Urban Cooperative Bank in Maharashtra went on strike in 1986 just few days before Deepavali festival. The strike prolonged as the management was rigid in its approach. Teachers of Government schools had their accounts with that bank and their pay was disbursed through this bank. The strike did not allow teachers to withdraw money to meet their requirements in the eve of Deepavali. Fortunately there was settlement between the striking employees and their management just a day prior to festival, but by that time the business hours were over. Will the counters of the bank be opened after the closing time? 'Perhaps not' they thought. The Sahakari Bank Karmachari Sangh is the Union affiliated to BMS and its members, the employees of the bank worked late in the evening to facilitate withdrawals without claiming overtime allowance. Customer satisfaction was their prime motive.

'Safety' Workers' Priority³⁶

In the Indian Petro-Chemicals Ltd., (IPCL), Vadodara, Gujarat, in January 1991, there was a dispute. As there was no settlement, all of a sudden the two unions involved went on a wild cat strike and walked out of the factory in the night. They deliberately kept all the processes in action. The management got panicky as some mishap occurred, not only the factory but a part of the city itself could blow off. A few BMS workers of IPCL Employee's Association who were in the shift offered their cooperation to the officers to shutdown the processes. BMS workers from their residences in the colony

were summoned by their colleagues. All of them joined in shutting out the plants to prevent any accident. To them priority is safety.

Productivity and Responsibility of BMS Workers³⁷

The Kozhikode Jilla Motor and Engineering Mazdoor Sangh, affiliated to BMS, gave a strike call in the Kerala Transport Company in 1975. The union instructed the drivers not to halt the trucks at way side points but to bring the lorries to the company garage and park them there on jacks. When asked, the striking employees replied, “we do not want the tyres to get spoiled because that will be a loss to ‘our’ company. Who knows how long the strike will continue? When the strike ends we can without loss of time move the lorries out”. The management was all praise for their loyalty and settled the demands soon. Workers of BMS union consider productivity and responsibility as their two hands.

The Dakshina Kannada Gerubeeja Shramik Sangh, affiliated to BMS, organised a strike in the cashewnut processing factory, in Mangalore in 1965. In that factory out of 1000 employees 950 were illiterate women. The processing normally require one full week to complete. So if all the workers struck work simultaneously, the material under process, i.e., cashew kernels, would get spoiled. So the strike was staggered by this said union departmentwise to save the cashew kernals from spoiling.³⁸

Concern for Social Good³⁹

Concern for the social good at times of adversities has been a special feature of BMS. For instance, when a worker died in an accident in Jam Mill in Bombay, the BMS affiliated union decided not to stop work in the factory, but to donate half-a-day's

earnings to the bereaved family. Impressed by this the management also offered matching grant to the family of the deceased. It was so arranged that the funeral procession would reach the factory gate during shift-change to enable workers to offer their homage to their departed colleague.

Duty Consciousness of BMS

There are a number of instances where the cooperation of BMS unions have helped the management to get over their troubles and run their industry efficiently.

In Rajasthan, the Road Transport Corporation⁴⁰ had always been in the red. Frequent strikes by the workers led by the AITUC union, corruption on the part of the officers and other factors had landed the corporation in a heavy loss. When the BMS union established itself among the employees, it succeeded in rousing the duty consciousness among the workers. It also helped the authorities to run the services efficiently and prevent corruption. As a result, within three years, the corporation began earning profits. In 1986, for the first time, the employees secured 10% bonus, a little more than the statutory minimum, because of the overall progress.

BMS Stands for Industrial Harmony

BMS helps to eliminate the attitude of confrontation between the employer and the employee and paves way for mutual agreement and improved productivity. Excel Industries⁴¹ in Bombay, for example, has been free from strikes for a record period of 37 years. The BMS union and the management together see to it that all the demands and disputes are settled amicably. Labourisation principle which combines self interest and

national interest, will result in fewer strikes, greater discipline among workers and higher productivity.⁴²

Excellence in Performance⁴³

In line with its emphasis on duty consciousness the BMS encourages excellence in performance both in production and in rendering service. Towards this end, some of the unions affiliated to BMS give away trophies or awards on recognition of good work. In the Hardwar plant of BHEL, a rolling shield is awarded to the department whose performance is adjudged the best. Similarly, in Diesel Loco Works at Varanasi, the BMS union distributes prizes to individual workers every year on the Visva karma Jayanti Day, for good performance.

To conclude, productivity is more a function of attitudes and cultivation of a scientific temper and esprit-de-corps rather than a mere adjustment of life less machines and paper procedures and in this lively action on the productivity front the psychology of labour and quality and strength of trade union movement have a supreme role to play as evidenced by the experiments of BMS referred earlier.

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GROWTH OF BMS VIS-A-VIS

OTHER CTUOs

- * Verification of Membership of Trade Unions
- * Phenomenal Growth of BMS
- * Statewise Verified Membership of CTUOs
- * Statewise Claimed Membership of BMS
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CHAPTER - VI

GROWTH OF BMS VIS-A-VIS OTHER CTUOs

AITUC was formed on 31st October, 1920 under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai, an eminent leader. On the very first day, it enjoyed the support of 64 existing trade unions with 140,584 members.¹ INTUC was established on 3rd May, 1947 under the presidentship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the iron man of India, and with the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi. On the very first day, it enjoyed the support of 200 unions with a membership of 575,000 workers.² HMS was formed in December 1948 under the General Secretaryship of Ashok Mehta, a great public figure, and on the foundation day, it had 119 unions and 1,03,798 members. Similarly UTUC, formed in April 1949, had 254 unions and 331,991³ members on the very first day. The same was the case with all other national trade union centres, which were groupings or re-groupings of the already existing and functioning trade unions. None of them was required to begin from the scratch.

But BMS had to start from the scratch. The BMS structure was evolved from the bottom to the top, and not imposed from above, -as is generally the case. To begin with, small unions were formed at the local level. Their formation was followed by the organisation of bigger unions, state-level industrial federations, state-level BMS units and national industrial federations. And, after full twelve years, the first All India convention was held in Delhi on August 12-13, 1967.⁴ In that conference, the national executive of BMS was elected for the first time. All these years, the BMS was functioning without national executive or all India office bearers. This experiment of building up an organisation from the grass roots has been unique, -the only one of its kind in the public life of India. Dr.S.D. Punekar, a renowned authority on Labour Economics, in his speech

at the 3rd All India session of BMS at Bombay in 1972 pointed out this distinct feature: "This type of development-formation of constitutional body after 12 years of its continued growth is a unique example in the history of the labour movement of the world".⁵

Verification of Membership of Trade Unions

The Chief Labour Commissioner (Central) [CLC(C)], Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India, undertakes general verification of membership of trade unions affiliated to CTUOs from time to time for giving representation to workers' organisations in the international and national conferences, committees, councils, wage boards, etc. After the verification as on 31.12.1968, Government had initiated verification of membership as on 31.12.1970, 31.12.1972, 31.12.1974, 31.12.1977, 31.12.1979 but could not complete the same because of the absence of consensus amongst the CTUOs.⁶ Then the CLC (C) asked the CTUOs to furnish their claims as on 31.12.1980. All the CTUOs except AITUC and CITU submitted their claims as they obviously did not want their real membership exposed.⁷ The particulars of AITUC and CITU were collected and compiled from the records of the Registrars of Trade Unions. The final verified results of membership as on 31.12.1980 were published on 30.08.1984.⁸ The results of the latest verification of membership as on 31.12.1989 were published by the CLC(C) on 16.7.1994.⁹ The researcher analyses the growth of BMS vis-a-vis other CTUOs, statewise and industrywise based on the results of verified membership published by CLC(C) in August 1984 and July, 1994.

The claimed membership refers to the number of members based on the claims submitted by the CTUOs to the CLC(C), Ministry of Labour, Government of India. The researcher also analyses the growth pattern of BMS in terms of unions and claimed membership, statewise. This analysis is based on the reports of General Secretary of BMS

submitted in the All India conferences, which are generally organised once in three years, and in the national executive meets, which are held every year.

Phenomenal growth of BMS

The BMS was started in 1955. After 12 years, in 1967, BMS had 246,902 members.¹⁰ In 1984, BMS was declared by the Government of India as the second largest CTUO in India with 12,11,355 members¹¹, next to INTUC. In 1994, it was declared as the first largest CTUO with 31,17,324 members.¹² The claimed membership of BMS as on 31st December, 1994 was 45,12,600.¹³ The increase in the membership of BMS works out in between 1 lakh and 1.25 lakh every year.¹⁴

The verified membership figures of all the twelve CTUOs as on 31.12.80 and 31.12.89 are presented in Table 6.1.1. There is significant growth in the membership of BMS vis-a-vis other CTUOs. The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of verified membership of each CTUO to total verified membership of all CTUOs. The percentage of change refers to the percentage of increase or decrease in the membership. BMS has one fourth of total membership of all CTUOs as per the latest verification.

When compared to 1980, its membership has increased by 157.34 percent. The INTUC stands second with 22.06 percent of total verified membership. It has gained 21.03 percent when compared to 1980. CITU occupies the third position with 14.66 percent verified membership. Its membership has increased by 443.18 percent. HMS occupies fourth place with 12.04 percent of the total. It has gained membership by 93.67 percent. AITUC is in the fifth position. It has gained 167.88 percent. Except NLO (which has lost membership by 43.67 percent) all other CTUOs have gained membership. The percentages of increase in the membership of BMS, UTUC, NFITU, AITUC and

TABLE 6.1.1

VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN INDIA

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	2,236,128 (36.50)	2,706,451 (22.06)	21.03
BMS	1,211,345 (19.77)	3,117,324 (25.41)	157.34
HMS	762,882 (12.45)	1,477,472 (12.04)	93.67
UTUC (LS)	621,359 (10.14)	802,806 (6.54)	29.20
NLO	246,540 (4.03)	138,877 (1.13)	-43.67
UTUC	165,614 (2.70)	539,523 (4.40)	225.77
TUCC	123,048 (2.01)	230,139 (1.88)	87.03
NFITU	84,123 (1.37)	529,782 (4.32)	530.01
AITUC	344,746 (5.63)	923,517 (7.53)	167.88
CITU	331,031 (5.40)	1,798,093 (14.66)	443.18
IFFTU	0	428 (0)	
HMKP	0	3,516 (0.03)	
TOTAL	6,126,816 (100.00)	12,267,928 (100.00)	100.23

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India.

CITU are more than the percentage of increase in the total membership of all CTUOs (100.23 percent).

Statewise Verified Membership of CTUOs

The consolidated statement, showing the statewise verified membership of CTUOs as on 31.12.80 and 31.12.89, is presented in Appendix VIII. Maharashtra, West Bengal, Tamilnadu, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana are the seven major industrial states.¹⁵ The researcher undertakes an analysis of verified membership for these major industrial states and states like Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan, where trade unions are active. 97.2 percent (11,924,734) of total verified membership of all CTUOs in 1989 belong to these 15 states. The figures of verified membership of these 15 states are presented in Table 6.1.2 - 6.1.16. The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of verified membership of each CTUO to total verified membership in the state. The percentage of change refers to the increase or decrease in the membership over 1980 figures.

Table 6.1.2 shows the verified membership of CTUOs in Andhra Pradesh (AP). BMS occupies the premier position in the state. It has 52.51 percent of total verified membership in AP. The membership has commendably increased by 4310 percent. AP accounts for more than one fifth of the total membership of BMS. AITUC occupies the second position. Its membership has increased by 180.65 percent. INTUC stands in the third place with 14.62 percent. The membership of INTUC has increased by 55.17 percent. HMS has increased its membership by 75.18 percent. It stands next to INTUC.

TABLE 6.1.2**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	115,277 (40.30)	178,876 (14.62)	55.17
BMS	14,565 (5.09)	642,371 (52.51)	4310.37
HMS	59,940 (20.95)	105,003 (8.58)	75.18
UTUC (LS)	0	0	
NLO	0	0	
UTUC	0	0	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	80,504 (28.14)	225,937 (18.47)	180.65
CITU	15,789 (5.52)	71,259 (5.82)	351.32
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	286,075 (100.00)	1,223,446 (100.00)	327.66

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

Table 6.1.3 depicts the verified membership of CTUOs in Assam. INTUC stands first in Assam with 57.83 percent. The total membership of all CTUOs has increased by 45.26 percent over a period of 9 years. INTUC's membership has increased by 7.84 percent. BMS is placed in the second position with 18.50 percent of the verified membership. Its membership has increased by 52.35 percent. HMS is in the third position. There is 700.96 percent increase in its membership. CITU stands next to HMS with 7.46 percent. Its membership has increased by 768.37 percent. AITUC occupies the fifth place with 3.92 percent of verified membership in Assam.

Table 6.1.4 shows the verified membership of CTUOs in Bihar. BMS stands first with 30.85 percent of total verified membership of the state. Its membership has increased by 106.35 percent over a period of 9 years. The overall membership of all CTUOs in Bihar has increased by 100.48 percent. INTUC is placed in the second position with 20.82 percent. Its membership has decreased by 0.34 percent. HMS occupies the third place in Bihar with 20.49 percent of verified membership. Its membership has increased by 631.02 percent. AITUC is in the fourth position with 11.24 percent. NFITU occupies the fifth place with a share of 6.91 percent in the verified membership.

BMS in the first position in Delhi having 54.26 percent of verified membership. Its membership has increased by 306.53 percent. The growth of BMS in Delhi (34.06 percent p.a) is significant as the growth rate of membership of all CTUOs put together is only 22.14 p.a. INTUC occupies the second place with 21.82 percent. Its membership has increased by 178.95 percent. HMS is placed in the third position. Its membership has increased by 44.75 percent. CITU is in the fourth position with 2.43 percent of verified membership. NFITU is in the fifth place in the state. The data on verified membership of CTUOs in Delhi are presented in 6.1.5.

TABLE 6.1.3
VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN ASSAM

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	217,641 (77.90)	234,713 (57.83)	7.84
BMS	49,280 (17.64)	75,080 (18.50)	52.35
HMS	6,031 (2.16)	48,306 (11.90)	700.96
UTUC (LS)	813 (0.29)	247 (0.06)	-69.62
NLO	0	0	
UTUC	0	1,346 (0.33)	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	2,142 (0.76)	15,901 (3.92)	642.34
CITU	3,485 (1.25)	30,263 (7.46)	786.37
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	279,392 (100.00)	405,856 (100.00)	45.26

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.4

VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN BIHAR

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	223,363 (41.89)	222,609 (20.82)	-0.34
BMS	159,843 (29.98)	329,830 (30.85)	106.35
HMS	29,960 (5.62)	219,014 (20.49)	631.02
UTUC (LS)	89,585 (16.80)	50,986 (4.77)	-43.08
NLO	0	0	
UTUC	3,497 (0.66)	12,241 (1.15)	250.04
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	73,889 (6.91)	
AITUC	19,918 (3.73)	120,117 (11.24)	503.06
CITU	7,048 (1.32)	40,337 (3.77)	472.32
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	533,214 (100.00)	1,069,023 (100.00)	100.48

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.5
VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN DELHI

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	70,874 (23.41)	197,700 (21.82)	178.95
BMS	120,937 (39.94)	491,648 (54.26)	306.53
HMS	98,132 (32.41)	142,049 (15.68)	44.75
UTUC (LS)	0	4,327 (0.48)	
NLO	300 (0.10)	0	
UTUC	3,678 (1.21)	9,071 (1.00)	146.63
TUCC	0	1,317 (0.14)	
NFITU	0	20,907 (2.31)	
AITUC	7,932 (2.62)	17,085 (1.88)	115.39
CITU	936 (0.31)	22,007 (2.43)	2251.18
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	302,789 (100.00)	906,111 (100.00)	199.25

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

Table 6.1.6 gives the figures of verified membership of CTUOs in Gujarat. NLO occupies the first position. It has 35.29 percent of the total verified membership in the state. However, it has suffered a loss of 72.57 percent of its membership. It is pertinent to note that the overall membership of CTUOs in Gujarat has also decreased (47.51 percent). INTUC is in the second position possessing 25.67 percentage of membership. It has suffered a set back losing 35.99 percent of its members. BMS is in the third place with 12.80 percent of verified membership in the state. Its membership has increased by 117.93 percent. AITUC stands next to BMS with 12.05 percent. Its membership has increased by 67.13 percent. HMS is in the fifth position in Gujarat with 8.03 percent

The data on verified membership in Haryana are shown in Table 6.1.7. BMS retains the first position with 58.51 percent of verified membership. It has gained 84.97 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs in Haryana has increased by 59.26 percent. HMS is placed in the second position. It has 14.18 percent of the verified membership. The membership of HMS has increased by 60.84 percent. INTUC is in the third place with 11.26 percent. It has suffered a loss of 6.65 percent of its membership. CITU stands next to HMS with 11.13 percent. Its membership has increased by 150.41 percent. AITUC is in the fifth position having 4.92 percent of the verified membership.

Table 6.1.8 gives the figures on verified membership of Kerala. In Kerala CITU has the first position with 58.88 percent of verified membership. There is significant growth in its membership (1407.68). The overall membership of CTUOs in Kerala has increased by 433.66 percent. AITUC stands second with 14.23 percentage of members. Its membership has increased by 194.49 percent. UTUC is in the third place with 12.78 percent. INTUC stands next to UTUC with 7.40 percent of verified membership. Its membership has decreased by 11.94 percent. BMS is in the fifth position in Kerala with 4.28 percent. Its membership has increased by 773.56 percent.

TABLE 6.1.6**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN GUJARAT**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	71,272 (21.05)	45,618 (25.67)	-35.99
BMS	10,436 (3.08)	22,743 (12.80)	117.93
HMS	13,296 (3.93)	14,274 (8.03)	7.35
UTUC (LS)	0	0	
NLO	228,687 (67.54)	62,715 (35.29)	-72.57
UTUC	0	0	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	12,815 (3.79)	21,418 (12.05)	67.13
CITU	2,078 (0.61)	8,440 (4.75)	306.16
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	2,515 (1.41)	
TOTAL	338,584 (100.00)	177,723 (100.00)	-47.51

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.7**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN HARYANA**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	10,533 (19.22)	9,832 (11.26)	-6.65
BMS	27,606 (50.38)	51,064 (58.51)	84.97
HMS	7,696 (14.04)	12,378 (14.18)	60.84
UTUC (LS)	1,745 (3.18)	0	
NLO	0	0	
UTUC	0	0	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	3,343 (6.10)	4,294 (4.92)	28.45
CITU	3,878 (7.08)	9,711 (11.13)	150.41
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	54,801 (100.00)	87,279 (100.00)	59.26

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.8**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN KERALA**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	56,186 (44.84)	49,476 (7.40)	-11.94
BMS	3,276 (2.61)	28,618 (4.28)	773.56
HMS	1,381 (1.10)	5,647 (0.84)	308.91
UTUC (LS)	98 (0.08)	10,633 (1.59)	
NLO	0	7 (0)	
UTUC	5,951 (4.75)	85,470 (12.78)	1336.23
TUCC	0	11 (0)	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	32,310 (25.78)	95,149 (14.23)	194.49
CITU	26,118 (20.84)	393,776 (58.88)	1407.68
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	125,320 (100.00)	668,787 (100.00)	433.66

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

Table 6.1.9 shows the verified membership of CTUOs in Madhya Pradesh. INTUC retains the first place with 43.10 percent of the verified membership. Its membership has increased by 96.52 percent. The total membership of all CTUOs in the state has increased by 111.76 percent. BMS occupies the second place with a share of 31.35 percent in the verified membership. It has gained membership by 148.87 percent. NLO stands next to BMS with 9.01 percent of verified membership. HMS occupies the fourth position with 7.61 percent. AITUC is in the fifth place with 5.18 percent of verified membership. It has lost 41.23 percent of its membership.

The data on verified membership of CTUOs in Maharashtra are presented in Table 6.1.10. INTUC is in the forefront with 38.65 percent of verified membership. Its membership has decreased by 0.42 percent. HMS stands next to INTUC with 33.54 percent. Its membership has increased by 34.64 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs in the state has increased by 24.98 percent. BMS is in the third position with 21.61 percent. It has gained 42.40 percent of its membership. AITUC is in the fourth place with 3.39 percent of verified membership. CITU stands next to AITUC.

Table 6.1.11 gives the verified membership in Orissa. HMS occupies the first place with 51.55 percent of verified membership. It has gained membership by 506.82 percent. The membership of all CTUOs in Orissa has increased by 153.94 percent. INTUC is in the second place with 16.94 percent. Its membership has increased by 23.51 percent. CITU has secured 14.69 percent of verified membership. Its membership has increased by 404.51 percent. AITUC is placed in the fourth position with 8.75 percent. Its membership has increased by 269.55 percent. UTUC(LS) occupies the fifth position with 5.73 percent. BMS has 2.34 percent of verified membership. This is the only state where the membership of BMS has decreased by 18 percent.

TABLE 6.1.9**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN MADHYA PRADESH**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	118,061 (46.44)	232,019 (43.10)	96.52
BMS	67,810 (26.67)	168,759 (31.35)	148.87
HMS	9,393 (3.70)	40,961 (7.61)	336.08
UTUC (LS)	0	20 (0)	
NLO	3,946 (1.55)	48,517 (9.01)	1129.52
UTUC	972 (0.38)	1,955 (0.36)	101.13
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	47,451 (18.67)	27,885 (5.18)	-41.23
CITU	6,595 (2.59)	17,578 (3.27)	166.53
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	650 (0.12)	
TOTAL	254,228 (100.00)	538,344 (100.00)	111.76

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.10

VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN MAHARASHTRA

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	451,665 (48.52)	449,766 (38.65)	-0.42
BMS	176,554 (18.97)	251,423 (21.61)	42.40
HMS	289,837 (31.13)	390,243 (33.54)	34.64
UTUC (LS)	0	0	
NLO	0	0	
UTUC	1,344 (0.14)	1,643 (0.14)	22.25
TUCC	0	3,400 (0.29)	
NFITU	205 (0.02)	0	
AITUC	9,059 (0.97)	39,479 (3.39)	335.80
CITU	2,324 (0.25)	27,632 (2.38)	1088.98
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	930,988 (100.00)	1,163,586 (100.00)	24.98

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.11**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN ORISSA**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	36,515 (34.82)	45,101 (16.94)	23.51
BMS	7,583 (7.23)	6,218 (2.34)	-18.00
HMS	22,619 (21.57)	137,256 (51.55)	506.82
UTUC (LS)	7,576 (7.23)	15,273 (5.73)	101.60
NLO	0	0	
UTUC	0	0	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	16,503 (15.74)	0	
AITUC	6,305 (6.01)	23,300 (8.75)	269.55
CITU	7,754 (7.40)	39,120 (14.69)	404.51
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	104,855 (100.00)	266,268 (100.00)	153.94

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

The figures on verified membership in Punjab are shown in Table 6.1.12. BMS retains the first position with 46.18 percent. Its membership has increased by 81.97 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has increased by 174.20 percent. CITU is in the second place with 21.16 percent. Its membership has increased by 546.15 percent. AITUC is in the third position with 11.90 percent. INTUC stands next to AITUC with 11.37 percent. Its membership has increased by 112.96 percent. HMS is in the fifth place with 9.34 percent of verified membership.

The growth of BMS in Rajasthan is impressive. It occupies the premier position in Rajasthan with 82.30 percent of verified membership. Its membership has increased by 163.39 percent. The total membership of all CTUOs in the state has increased by 95.89 percent. INTUC has secured 10.29 percent of verified membership. Its membership has decreased by 21.39 percent. CITU is in the third place with 4.45 percent. Its membership has increased by 28.14 percent. AITUC is in the fourth position with 1.63 percent of verified membership. Table 6.1.13 shows the verified membership in Rajasthan.

Table 6.1.14 gives the data on verified membership in Tamilnadu. INTUC retains its first position. Its membership has increased by 17.45 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has increased by 39.82 percent. CITU occupies the second place in the state with 29.26 percent. Its membership has increased by 284.90 percent. AITUC is in the third position with 11.11 percent. HMS and NLO have secured 6.57 percent and 6.04 percent respectively. BMS has secured 5.84 percent of verified membership in Tamilnadu. Its membership has increased by 364.83 percent.

In Uttar Pradesh, BMS has consolidated its position tremendously. It occupies the first place with 70.18 percent of verified membership in the state. Its membership has increased by 72.74 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs in Uttar Pradesh has

TABLE 6.1.12

VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN PUNJAB

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	13,844 (14.63)	29,482 (11.37)	112.96
BMS	65,835 (69.59)	119,797 (46.18)	81.97
HMS	2,515 (2.66)	24,229 (9.34)	863.38
UTUC (LS)	0	0	
NLO	0	140 (0.05)	
UTUC	0	0	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	3,918 (4.14)	30,866 (11.90)	687.80
CITU	8,496 (8.98)	54,897 (21.16)	546.15
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	94,608 (100.00)	259,411 (100.00)	174.20

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.13**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN RAJASTHAN**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	36,447 (25.66)	28,650 (10.29)	-21.39
BMS	86,958 (61.21)	229,036 (82.30)	163.39
HMS	1,626 (1.14)	2,908 (1.04)	78.84
UTUC (LS)	0	800 (0.29)	
NLO	0	0	
UTUC	0	0	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	7,379 (5.19)	4,531 (1.63)	-38.60
CITU	9,658 (6.80)	12,376 (4.45)	28.14
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	142,068 (100.00)	278,301 (100.00)	95.89

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.14**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN TAMILNADU**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	157,808 (48.50)	185,341 (40.74)	17.45
BMS	5,710 (1.75)	26,542 (5.84)	364.83
HMS	94,183 (28.95)	29,865 (6.57)	-68.29
UTUC (LS)	0	1,669 (0.37)	
NLO	3,512 (1.08)	27,498 (6.04)	682.97
UTUC	2,596 (0.80)	113 (0.02)	-95.65
TUCC	106 (0.03)	0	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	26,867 (8.26)	50,561 (11.11)	88.19
CITU	34,588 (10.63)	133,128 (29.26)	284.90
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	226 (0.05)	
TOTAL	325,370 (100.00)	454,943 (100.00)	39.82

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

increased by 41.59 percent. INTUC is in the second position with 11.18 percent. It has suffered a loss of 26.96 percent of verified membership. HMS is in the third position with 8.03 percent. Its membership has increased by 107.46 percent. AITUC stands next to HMS with 6.96 percent. CITU is in the fifth position with 2.16 percent. The figures on verified membership of CTUOs in Uttar Pradesh are presented in Table 6.1.15.

Table 6.1.16 gives the data on verified membership of CTUOs in West Bengal. CITU is in the forefront in the state with 22.58 percent of verified membership. Its membership has increased by 422.06 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs in West Bengal has increased by 128.57 percent. UTUC(LS) has 18.65 percent of the verified membership and secures second position. INTUC is in the third place with 16.99 percent. NFITU and UTUC have secured 11.29 percent and 11.00 percent and ranks fourth and fifth respectively. BMS has secured 3.67 percent of verified membership in the state.

Thus, BMS has emerged as the largest CTUO in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. It is placed in the second position in Assam, Chandigarh, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. In Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Pondicherry, BMS has secured the third place. In Goa, Kerala, Tamilnadu and West Bengal, BMS is progressing gradually. According to the general verification results of membership of CLC(C), in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, CITU alone has verified membership. In Manipur except INTUC and HMS, other CTUOs do not have verified membership. In Meghalaya and Nagaland, INTUC alone has verified membership. In Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim, the CTUOs do not have verified membership. In all these states and Tripura, BMS does not have verified membership.

Another important highlight is that the BMS and INTUC have a good spread in all the states whereas seventy percent of the membership of CITU emanates only from two

TABLE 6.1.15

VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN UTTAR PRADESH

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	98,288 (21.66)	71,786 (11.18)	-26.96
BMS	260,984 (57.53)	450,826 (70.18)	72.74
HMS	24,860 (5.48)	51,575 (8.03)	107.46
UTUC (LS)	0	0	
NLO	9,806 (2.16)	0	
UTUC	9,737 (2.15)	3,629 (0.56)	-62.73
TUCC	8,366 (1.84)	5,982 (0.93)	-28.50
NFITU	4,000 (0.88)	0	
AITUC	18,282 (4.03)	44,742 (6.96)	144.73
CITU	19,358 (4.27)	13,848 (2.16)	-28.46
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	453,681 (100.00)	642,388 (100.00)	41.59

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.1.16

VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs IN WEST BENGAL

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	472,853 (28.04)	654,747 (16.99)	38.47
BMS	90,987 (5.40)	141,521 (3.67)	55.54
HMS	85,076 (5.05)	229,979 (5.97)	170.32
UTUC (LS)	521,542 (30.93)	718,851 (18.65)	37.83
NLO	0	0	
UTUC	137,839 (8.17)	424,055 (11.00)	207.65
TUCC	114,576 (6.79)	219,233 (5.69)	91.34
NFITU	63,415 (3.76)	434,986 (11.29)	585.94
AITUC	33,265 (1.97)	160,137 (4.15)	381.40
CITU	166,700 (9.89)	870,271 (22.58)	422.06
IFFTU	0	428 (0.01)	
HMKP	0	125 (0)	
TOTAL	1,686,253 (100.00)	3,854,333 (100.00)	128.57

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

states, viz., West Bengal (870,271) and Kerala (393,776); nearly ninety percent of the membership of UTUC(LS) originates from West Bengal (718,851); ninety four percent of the verified membership of UTUC comes from West Bengal (424,055) and Kerala (85,470) and ninety five percent of the membership of TUCC comes from West Bengal (434,986).

Statewise Claimed Membership of BMS

The consolidated statement showing the data on statewise number of unions affiliated with BMS and claimed membership is presented in Appendix IX. Tables 6.2.1. - 6.2.25 show the number of unions and claimed membership of each state separately. The figures are presented for 1967 - 1994. The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of membership by considering 1980 as the base year. The researcher has taken 1980 as the base year, since BMS was adjudged as the second largest CTUO on the basis of the verification results of membership in that year. It is pertinent to analyse the growth of BMS from 1980 to 1994. However, for the states like Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Nagaland, Pondicherry and Tripura, where the BMS union was started on a later year, 1989 is considered as the base year to avoid extreme conclusions.

According to 1994 report of the General Secretary of BMS, there are three states with a claimed membership of 5 lakh and above, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. Bihar, Maharashtra and Rajasthan have a claimed membership ranging from 2.5 to 5 lakh. The claimed membership of Assam, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Vidarbha and West Bengal ranges from 1 to 2.5 lakh. Haryana, Karnataka and Orissa have a claimed membership ranging from 0.5 to 1 lakh. All the other states have less than 0.5 lakh. Thus, the claimed membership of BMS is fairly distributed throughout India.

In Andhra Pradesh, the claimed membership has progressed tremendously by 12.5 times from 1980 to 1994. In Rajasthan, the claimed membership of BMS has trebled in that period. The claimed membership has increased by more than 100 percent in Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. In Delhi, the membership has nearly doubled. In all other states also, BMS has an onward march. Tables 6.2.1 - 6.2.25 are self explanatory.

Industrywise Verified Membership of CTUOs

The consolidated statement, showing the industrywise verified membership of CTUOs as on 31.12.80 and 31.12.89, is presented in Appendix X. The Labour Ministry of Government of India has grouped the industries under 46 heads for the purpose of verification of membership. Textiles, iron and steel, engineering, electricity, gas and power, transport, plantations, mining, building construction and public works and tobacco are the major categories of industries. The groups like sugar, chemicals, local bodies, food and drinks, salaried employees, postal and telecommunication, financial institutions and defence services have considerable verified membership. 85.52 percent (9,020,625) of total verified membership of all CTUOs in 1989 belong to these industrial groupings. The researcher analyses the growth of BMS vis-a-vis other CTUOs, in these groups of industries. Certain industries have been regrouped to facilitate comparison of figures with that of 1980. Textile, clothing and jute have been grouped together. All engineering industries have been grouped together. Similarly, all modes of transport, all types of plantations, coal mining and mining of other minerals and tobacco and beedi have been regrouped. The data on the verified membership of these industries are given in Tables 6.3.1 - 6.3.17. The verified membership of agricultural and rural workers is shown in Table 6.3.18. The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of verified membership

TABLE 6.2.1

**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	10	12,000 (22.55)
1970	31	30,000 (56.38)
1977	75	47,000 (88.33)
1980	74	53,212 (100.00)
1982	150	110,500 (207.66)
1985	275	125,000 (234.91)
1986	235	249,294 (468.49)
1989	275	574,017 (1078.74)
1993	331	650,275 (1222.05)
1994	346	669,256 (1257.72)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.2**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN ASSAM**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	1	2,000 (2.85)
1970	6	5,000 (7.13)
1977	10	45,252 (64.54)
1980	12	70,112 (100.00)
1982	16	71,254 (101.43)
1985	16	175,256 (249.96)
1986	20	104,585 (149.17)
1989	18	111,356 (158.83)
1993	24	125,440 (178.91)
1994	26	127,140 (181.34)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.3**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	0	0
1970	0	0
1977	0	0
1980	0	0
1982	0	0
1985	0	0
1986	0	0
1989	1	175 (100.00)
1993	1	175 (100.00)
1994	1	175 (100.00)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.4**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN BIHAR**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	21	25,000 (13.28)
1970	32	42,000 (22.31)
1977	66	90,325 (47.97)
1980	81	188,284 (100.00)
1982	101	221,241 (117.50)
1985	150	357,576 (189.91)
1986	152	422,848 (224.58)
1989	166	456,832 (242.63)
1993	174	459,970 (244.30)
1994	182	466,570 (247.80)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.5

NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN CHANDIGARH

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	6	850 (21.87)
1970	8	1,500 (38.59)
1977	20	4,430 (113.97)
1980	17	3,887 (100.00)
1982	17	3,900 (100.33)
1985	17	4,000 (102.91)
1986	21	4,000 (102.91)
1989	15	5,000 (128.63)
1993	13	5,000 (128.63)
1994	13	5,000 (128.63)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.6

NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN DELHI

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	40	45,143 (10.77)
1970	55	60,000 (14.31)
1977	76	107,230 (25.58)
1980	115	419,206 (100.00)
1982	101	412,983 (98.52)
1985	92	630,835 (150.48)
1986	91	655,215 (156.30)
1989	98	800,761 (191.02)
1993	103	801,450 (191.18)
1994	107	801,700 (191.24)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN GOA**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	0	0
1970	0	0
1977	0	0
1980	0	0
1982	1	168 (5.55)
1985	2	300 (9.90)
1986	1	300 (9.90)
1989	6	3,029 (100.00)
1993	7	9,820 (324.20)
1994	8	9,876 (326.05)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.8**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN GUJARAT**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	13	1,000 (5.55)
1970	14	5,000 (27.78)
1977	28	15,500 (86.11)
1980	37	18,000 (100.00)
1982	38	20,000 (111.11)
1985	58	20,000 (111.11)
1986	66	24,762 (137.56)
1989	80	20,216 (112.31)
1993	110	30,000 (166.66)
1994	113	31,130 (172.94)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.9**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP IN HARYANA**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	25	6,000 (16.52)
1970	30	11,500 (31.67)
1977	62	42,000 (115.67)
1980	73	36,310 (100.00)
1982	86	43,508 (119.82)
1985	113	43,800 (120.63)
1986	108	69,103 (190.31)
1989	132	69,113 (190.34)
1993	150	82,000 (225.83)
1994	157	83,390 (229.66)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.10**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN HIMACHAL PRADESH**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	0	0
1970	6	1,000 (5.50)
1977	18	10,000 (54.99)
1980	19	18,186 (100.00)
1982	26	20,000 (109.97)
1985	37	22,500 (123.72)
1986	46	30,159 (165.83)
1989	48	40,131 (220.67)
1993	50	40,000 (219.95)
1994	54	40,280 (221.49)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.11**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN JAMMU & KASHMIR**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	0	0
1970	1	100 (1.73)
1977	7	1,500 (25.97)
1980	17	5,775 (100.00)
1982	18	6,142 (106.35)
1985	22	11,942 (206.79)
1986	23	16,064 (278.16)
1989	30	16,342 (282.98)
1993	39	19,045 (329.78)
1994	42	19,226 (332.92)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.12**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN KARNATAKA**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	20	6,000 (14.24)
1970	31	10,000 (23.74)
1977	63	26,000 (61.72)
1980	81	42,128 (100.00)
1982	92	50,000 (118.69)
1985	114	56,000 (132.93)
1986	108	90,030 (213.71)
1989	118	92,178 (218.80)
1993	125	95,000 (225.50)
1994	132	97,110 (230.51)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.13**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN KERALA**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	1	50 (0.66)
1970	10	1,000 (13.33)
1977	50	5,525 (73.66)
1980	36	7,500 (100.00)
1982	45	8,734 (116.45)
1985	100	18,507 (246.76)
1986	123	29,616 (394.88)
1989	152	43,449 (579.32)
1993	177	100,000 (1333.33)
1994	182	101,938 (1359.17)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.14**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN MADHYA PRADESH**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	32	8,757 (8.89)
1970	105	35,000 (35.55)
1977	144	75,000 (76.19)
1980	177	98,440 (100.00)
1982	155	122,000 (123.93)
1985	169	163,622 (166.21)
1986	164	167,790 (170.45)
1989	191	172,950 (175.69)
1993	220	230,510 (234.16)
1994	236	237,903 (241.67)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.15**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN MAHARASHTRA**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	68	51,143 (37.69)
1970	111	91,000 (67.07)
1977	123	113,074 (83.33)
1980	154	135,685 (100.00)
1982	160	149,300 (110.03)
1985	161	158,569 (116.86)
1986	175	215,564 (158.87)
1989	166	203,000 (149.61)
1993	238	289,290 (213.21)
1994	255	299,243 (220.54)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.16

NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP IN NAGALAND

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	0	0
1970	0	0
1977	0	0
1980	1	115 (46.00)
1982	1	115 (46.00)
1985	1	350 (140.00)
1986	1	350 (140.00)
1989	1	250 (100.00)
1993	1	250 (100.00)
1994	1	250 (100.00)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.17**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN ORISSA**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	1	800 (9.67)
1970	4	3,500 (42.32)
1977	11	3,000 (36.27)
1980	17	8,271 (100.00)
1982	14	11,549 (139.63)
1985	13	12,495 (151.07)
1986	15	15,987 (193.29)
1989	24	15,739 (190.29)
1993	65	51,280 (620.00)
1994	67	51,340 (620.72)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.18**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN PONDICHERRY**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	0	0
1970	0	0
1977	0	0
1980	0	0
1982	0	0
1985	1	33 (31.73)
1986	2	104 (100.00)
1989	2	104 (100.00)
1993	2	800 (769.23)
1994	2	800 (769.23)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.19**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN PUNJAB**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	40	10,759 (11.32)
1970	120	30,000 (31.58)
1977	142	90,000 (94.74)
1980	168	95,000 (100.00)
1982	167	110,000 (115.79)
1985	183	111,800 (117.68)
1986	184	130,204 (137.06)
1989	190	125,000 (131.58)
1993	210	154,000 (162.11)
1994	216	157,880 (166.19)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.20

**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN RAJASTHAN**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	43	23,100 (19.05)
1970	66	40,000 (33.00)
1977	205	190,000 (156.73)
1980	150	121,229 (100.00)
1982	224	136,160 (112.32)
1985	158	165,150 (136.23)
1986	155	230,956 (190.51)
1989	245	286,565 (236.38)
1993	419	345,785 (285.23)
1994	433	365,509 (301.50)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.21

NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP IN TRIPURA

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	0	0
1970	0	0
1977	0	0
1980	1	2,000 (444.44)
1982	1	2,000 (444.44)
1985	1	1,000 (222.22)
1986	1	800 (177.77)
1989	1	450 (100.00)
1993	1	450 (100.00)
1994	1	450 (100.00)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.22**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN TAMILNADU**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	5	500 (1.59)
1970	5	2,000 (6.38)
1977	2	26,500 (84.60)
1980	8	31,325 (100.00)
1982	7	12,600 (40.22)
1985	16	29,985 (95.72)
1986	16	31,335 (100.03)
1989	26	30,071 (96.00)
1993	56	42,310 (135.07)
1994	57	42,340 (135.16)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.23**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN UTTAR PRADESH**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	149	43,000 (15.77)
1970	174	63,000 (23.11)
1977	292	140,000 (51.34)
1980	352	272,665 (100.00)
1982	384	345,000 (126.53)
1985	384	405,000 (148.53)
1986	416	542,984 (199.14)
1989	467	550,310 (201.82)
1993	558	600,000 (220.05)
1994	573	619,306 (227.13)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

TABLE 6.2.24
NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN VIDARABHA*

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	54	9,500 (12.42)
1970	54	15,000 (19.62)
1977	45	13,043 (17.06)
1980	47	76,450 (100.00)
1982	68	82,786 (108.29)
1985	68	112,293 (146.88)
1986	82	105,758 (138.33)
1989	69	110,330 (144.32)
1993	104	105,300 (137.74)
1994	108	105,608 (138.14)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

* For the sake of organisational convenience of BMS Nagpur and nearby districts put together is called as Vidarbha.

TABLE 6.2.25**NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND CLAIMED
MEMBERSHIP IN WEST BENGAL**

Year	Unions	Membership
1967	14	1,300 (1.27)
1970	36	10,000 (9.79)
1977	116	38,109 (37.31)
1980	138	102,130 (100.00)
1982	135	113,781 (111.41)
1985	145	135,405 (132.58)
1986	148	158,751 (155.44)
1989	156	162,138 (158.76)
1993	189	173,490 (169.87)
1994	195	179,180 (175.44)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

of each CTUO to total verified membership in the industry concerned. The percentage of change refers to the increase or decrease in the membership over 1980 figures.

Table 6.3.1 shows the verified membership of CTUOs in textile, clothing and jute industries. INTUC retains the first position with 29.38 percent of total verified membership in this sector. However, it has suffered a loss of 24.17 percent, when compared to 1980 figures. CITU has secured 23.97 percent and placed in the second position. It has gained membership by 779.63 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has increased by 22.20 percent in the sector. BMS is in the third position with 21.63 percent of verified membership. It has gained by 83.93 percent. In the clothing industry BMS occupies the premier position. AITUC is in the next place with a gain of 46.86 percent. NFITU is in the fifth position. It has gained membership by 27 times.

The verified membership in the iron and steel industry is given in Table 6.3.2. With 34.88 percent of verified membership in the industry, INTUC is in the first position. Its verified membership has increased by 15.32 percent. The total membership of all CTUOs has increased by 68.74 percent in this industry. BMS has secured 17.29 percent and placed in the second position. CITU is ranked in the third place with 16.70 percent. Its membership has increased by 1137.67 percent. AITUC and HMS have secured 12.13 percent and 10.41 percent and placed in the fourth and fifth positions respectively.

In the engineering industry, CITU has secured the first place with 25.72 percent of verified membership. INTUC occupies the second position with 24.08 percent. BMS is in the third place in this sector. It has secured 22.13 percent. Its membership has increased by 11.16 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has increased by 28.16 percent. AITUC, with 11.73 percent of verified membership has secured the next place. It has gained membership by 215.27 percent. HMS is placed in the fifth position with 6.62

TABLE 6.3.1

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
TEXTILE, CLOTHING AND JUTE**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	395,570 (47.35)	299,951 (29.38)	-24.17
BMS	120,056 (14.37)	220,822 (21.63)	83.93
HMS	38,831 (4.65)	31,885 (3.12)	-17.89
UTUC (LS)	23,941 (2.87)	37,303 (3.66)	55.81
NLO	176,169 (21.09)	47,497 (4.65)	-73.04
UTUC	3,937 (0.47)	9,510 (0.93)	141.55
TUCC	4,081 (0.49)	3,838 (0.38)	-5.95
NFITU	2,182 (0.26)	62,402 (6.11)	2759.85
AITUC	42,814 (5.12)	62,876 (6.16)	46.86
CITU	27,815 (3.33)	244,669 (23.97)	779.63
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	66 (00.01)	
TOTAL	835,396 (100.00)	1,020,819 (100.00)	22.20

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.2

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
IRON AND STEEL**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	101,378 (51.05)	116,905 (34.88)	15.32
BMS	51,585 (25.97)	57,939 (17.29)	12.32
HMS	18,116 (9.12)	34,901 (10.41)	32.54
UTUC (LS)	19,316 (9.73)	27,982 (8.35)	44.86
NLO	200 (0.10)	0	
UTUC	0	297 (0.09)	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	175 (0.08)	499 (0.15)	185.14
AITUC	3,313 (1.67)	40,650 (12.13)	1126.98
CITU	4,521 (2.28)	55,995 (16.70)	1137.67
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	198,604 (100.00)	335,128 (100.00)	68.74

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

percent. It has suffered a loss of 17.57 percent of membership. The figures on the verified membership of engineering industry are presented in Table 6.3.3.

The data on the verified membership of CTUOs in electricity, gas and power supply undertakings are given in Table 6.3.4. With 35.45 percent of verified membership, INTUC is placed in the first position. It has gained 243.46 percent. BMS is in the second place with 34.80 percent. It has gained 120.39 percent of membership. The verified membership of all CTUOs in this sector has increased by 201.20 percent during the period under consideration. CITU occupies the next position with 13.97 percent. Its membership has increased by 609.88 percent. AITUC is in the fourth place. It has secured 7.45 percent. HMS is in the fifth position with 4.13 percent.

Table 6.3.5. shows the verified membership in the transport sector. INTUC has retained the first position with 33.59 percent. It has gained 65.49 percent of verified membership. The total membership of all CTUOs in this sector has increased by 97.70 percent. HMS is in the second place with 28.23 percent. It has gained 117.04 percent of verified membership. BMS has secured first position in the road transport. In the transport sector as a whole, BMS is in the third place with 26.72 percent. It has gained 79.38 percent. CITU is in the next position with 6.21 percent of verified membership. UTUC(LS) has secured 2.49 percent and placed in the fifth position in this sector.

The verified membership of CTUOs in the plantations is given in Table 6.3.6. INTUC retains the first position in the sector with 42.93 percent. It has gained 10.69 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs in this sector has increased by 22.53 percent. CITU occupies the second position with 21 percent of verified membership. Its membership has increased by more than 22 times. BMS is in the third place with 11.78

TABLE 6.3.3**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
MECHANICAL, ELECTRICAL AND ELECTRONICS ENGINEERING**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	137,590 (28.56)	148,651 (24.08)	8.04
BMS	122,895 (25.51)	136,614 (22.13)	11.16
HMS	49,610 (10.30)	40,892 (6.62)	-17.57
UTUC (LS)	31,377 (6.51)	8,994 (1.46)	-71.34
NLO	7,202 (1.50)	3,048 (0.49)	-57.68
UTUC	17,389 (3.60)	6,219 (1.00)	-64.24
TUCC	2,603 (0.54)	1,640 (0.27)	-37.00
NFITU	19,094 (3.96)	40,130 (6.50)	110.17
AITUC	22,973 (4.77)	72,428 (11.73)	215.27
CTIU	71,039 (14.75)	158,816 (25.72)	123.56
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	481,772 (100.00)	617,432 (100.00)	28.16

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.4

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
ELECTRICITY, GAS AND POWER**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	49,407 (31.08)	169,694 (35.45)	243.46
BMS	75,597 (47.56)	166,609 (34.80)	120.39
HMS	1,167 (0.73)	19,761 (4.13)	1593.32
UTUC (LS)	1,309 (0.82)	4,535 (0.95)	246.45
NLO	3,568 (2.25)	2,038 (0.42)	-42.88
UTUC	0	13,347 (2.79)	
TUCC	314 (0.20)	0	
NFITU	15,217 (9.58)	0	
AITUC	2,939 (1.85)	35,671 (7.45)	1113.71
CITU	9,425 (5.93)	66,906 (13.97)	609.88
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	181 (0.04)	
TOTAL	158,943 (100.00)	478,742 (100.00)	201.20

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.5

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
RAIL, WATER, ROAD AND AIR TRANSPORT**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	485,467 (40.12)	803,422 (33.50)	65.49
BMS	356,335 (29.45)	639,183 (26.72)	79.38
HMS	311,128 (25.71)	675,280 (28.23)	117.04
UTUC (LS)	4,940 (0.41)	59,647 (2.49)	1107.43
NLO	15,046 (1.24)	16,517 (0.69)	9.78
UTUC	1,821 (0.15)	3,673 (0.15)	101.70
TUCC	561 (0.05)	218 (0.01)	-61.14
NFITU	250 (0.02)	12,235 (0.51)	4794.00
AITUC	10,328 (0.85)	33,196 (1.39)	221.42
CITU	24,177 (2.00)	148,595 (6.21)	514.61
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	311 (0.01)	
TOTAL	1,210,053 (100.00)	2,392,277 (100.00)	97.70

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.6

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
TEA, RUBBER AND OTHER PLANTATIONS**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	315,640 (58.91)	281,883 (42.93)	10.69
BMS	34,798 (6.49)	77,321 (11.78)	122.20
HMS	50,516 (9.43)	24,008 (3.66)	-52.47
UTUC (LS)	8,417 (1.57)	13,997 (2.13)	66.29
NLO	0	1,323 (0.20)	
UTUC	92,733 (17.31)	66,225 (10.09)	-28.59
TUCC	0	245 (0.04)	
NFITU	0	0	
AITUC	27,852 (5.20)	53,673 (8.17)	92.71
CITU	5,847 (1.09)	137,871 (21.00)	2257.98
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	535,803 (100.00)	656,546 (100.00)	22.53

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

percent. It has gained 122.20 percent of verified membership in this sector. UTUC has secured the fourth position with 10.09 percent. However, it has suffered a loss of 28.59 percent. AITUC occupies the next place with 8.17 percent.

Table 6.3.7 depicts verified membership in the mining industry. INTUC is ranked first in this sector with 26.60 percent. It has gained 31.19 percent of verified membership. The total membership of all CTUOs has increased by 129.15 percent in the mining industry. AITUC occupies the second position with 18.74 percent. It has gained 232.04 percent of verified membership. BMS has secured 13.38 percent and placed in the third position. It has gained by 128.12 percent. HMS stands next to BMS with 12.78 percent. It has gained by 199.38 percent. CITU is in the fifth position with 10.70 percent.

In the sugar industry, INTUC has secured 40.12 percent of verified membership and retained the first place. It has suffered a loss of 22.28 percent of its membership. BMS is in the second position with 36.67 percent. Its verified membership in the sugar industry has increased by 57.94 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has decreased by 9.53 percent. HMS is ranked third with 14.12 percent. It has lost 40.27 percent of its verified membership. Next comes CITU with 4.66 percent of verified membership. AITUC occupies the fifth position. It is pertinent to note that, except BMS and CITU, in the case of major CTUOs, there is a decrease in the verified membership. The figures on the verified membership of sugar industry are presented in 6.3.8.

Table 6.3.9. shows the verified membership of CTUOs in the chemical sector. BMS is in the forefront in this industry. It has secured 21.55 percent of verified membership. It has gained 104.58 percent. The total verified membership of all CTUOs has increased by 45.96 percent in this sector. INTUC is in the second place with 20.81 percent. It has a setback of losing 34.94 percent of its membership. AITUC and CITU

TABLE 6.3.7

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
MINING OF COAL AND OTHER MINERALS**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	233,778 (46.47)	306,684 (26.60)	31.19
BMS	67,617 (13.44)	154,249 (13.38)	128.12
HMS	49,198 (9.78)	147,287 (12.78)	199.38
UTUC (LS)	66,885 (13.30)	52,076 (4.52)	-22.14
NLO	3,996 (0.80)	48,717 (4.23)	1119.14
UTUC	2,074 (0.41)	12,687 (1.10)	511.72
TUCC	0	7,094 (0.61)	
NFITU	1,970 (0.39)	84,568 (7.34)	4192.79
AITUC	65,061 (12.93)	216,030 (18.74)	232.04
CITU	12,484 (2.48)	123,387 (10.70)	888.36
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	503,063 (100.00)	1,152,779 (100.00)	129.15

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.8**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
SUGAR**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	71,723 (46.70)	55,740 (40.12)	-22.28
BMS	32,253 (21.00)	50,942 (36.67)	57.94
HMS	32,853 (21.39)	19,623 (14.12)	-40.27
UTUC (LS)	0	172 (0.12)	
NLO	661 (0.43)	165 (0.12)	-75.04
UTUC	2,116 (1.38)	1,822 (1.31)	-13.89
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	52 (0.04)	
AITUC	8,160 (5.31)	3,949 (2.84)	-51.61
CITU	5,812 (3.79)	6,474 (4.66)	11.39
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	153,578 (100.00)	138,939 (100.00)	-9.53

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.9**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs****CHEMICALS**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	49,793 (46.68)	32,397 (20.81)	-34.94
BMS	16,399 (15.37)	33,549 (21.55)	104.58
HMS	6,348 (5.95)	18,194 (11.69)	186.61
UTUC (LS)	1,145 (1.07)	1,395 (0.90)	21.83
NLO	5,948 (5.58)	2,805 (1.80)	-52.84
UTUC	1,205 (1.13)	2,439 (1.57)	102.41
TUCC	652 (0.61)	95 (0.06)	-85.43
NFITU	1,094 (1.03)	5,903 (3.79)	439.58
AITUC	7,409 (6.95)	29,404 (18.89)	296.87
CITU	16,667 (15.63)	29,396 (18.88)	76.37
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	102 (0.06)	
TOTAL	106,660 (100.00)	155,679 (100.00)	45.96

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

have secured more or less the same position (18.9%) and placed in the next position. HMS is in the next place with 11.69 percent of verified membership. It has gained 186.61 percent of verified membership in this industry.

The figures on verified membership in the building construction and public works sector are given in Table 6.3.10. BMS occupies the first position in this sector with 30.76 percent of verified membership. Its membership has increased by 135.55 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has increased by 221.08 percent in this sector. CITU is placed in the second position with 18.81 percent. It has gained membership by more than 12 times. AITUC and INTUC are in the third and fourth positions with 13.10 percent and 11.13 percent respectively. UTUC has secured 9.37 percent and placed in the fifth position in this industry.

CITU stands first in the food and drinks sector. It has got 30.94 percent of verified membership in the industry. It has gained by 374.05 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has increased by 149.39 percent. BMS occupied the second place with 24.04 percent. It has gained 534.14 percent during the period under consideration. NFITU has secured 12.67 percent of verified membership and gained 3015.15 percent. It is placed in the third position. AITUC occupies the fourth place with 11.94 percent. INTUC has lost 56.97 percent of its membership and placed in the fifth position. Table 6.3.11 gives the verified membership in food and drinks sector.

Table 6.3.12 depicts the verified membership in local bodies. BMS is in the premier position with 41.22 percent of verified membership. It has gained 188.96 percent. The membership of all CTUOs has increased by 130.32 percent in this sector. CITU occupies the second place. It has secured 23.69 percent. Its membership has increased by 593.77 percent. INTUC is in the third place with 13.42 percent of verified membership.

TABLE 6.3.10

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
BUILDING, CIVIL ENGINEERING AND PUBLIC WORKS**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	27,377 (27.84)	35,134 (11.13)	28.33
BMS	41,241 (41.94)	97,142 (30.76)	135.55
HMS	3,810 (3.87)	23,924 (7.58)	527.93
UTUC (LS)	727 (0.74)	21,605 (6.84)	2871.80
NLO	269 (0.27)	85 (0.03)	-68.40
UTUC	1,010 (1.03)	29,589 (9.37)	2829.60
TUCC	0	3,435 (1.09)	
NFITU	0	4,080 (1.29)	
AITUC	19,554 (19.88)	41,376 (13.10)	111.60
CITU	4,355 (4.43)	59,391 (18.81)	1263.74
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	98,343 (100.00)	315,761 (100.00)	221.08

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.11

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
FOOD AND DRINKS**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	36,111 (37.77)	15,540 (6.52)	-56.97
BMS	9,040 (9.46)	57,326 (24.04)	534.14
HMS	2,307 (2.41)	2,270 (0.95)	-1.60
UTUC (LS)	7,125 (7.45)	9,753 (4.09)	36.88
NLO	6,549 (6.85)	2,563 (1.08)	-60.86
UTUC	4,037 (4.22)	18,487 (7.75)	357.94
FUCC	1,897 (1.98)	38 (0.02)	-98.00
NFITU	970 (1.01)	30,217 (12.67)	3015.15
AITUC	12,013 (12.57)	28,477 (11.94)	137.05
CITU	15,563 (16.28)	73,776 (30.94)	374.05
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	95,612 (100.00)	238,447 (100.00)	149.39

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.12

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
LOCAL BODIES**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	24,254 (30.70)	24,412 (13.42)	0.65
BMS	25,952 (32.85)	74,992 (41.22)	188.96
HMS	4,967 (6.29)	7,283 (4.00)	46.63
UTUC (LS)	4,948 (6.26)	8,355 (4.59)	68.86
NLO	5,028 (6.37)	3,676 (2.02)	-26.89
UTUC	1,575 (1.99)	2,180 (1.20)	38.41
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	0	524 (0.29)	
AITUC	6,059 (7.67)	16,730 (9.20)	176.12
CITU	6,214 (7.87)	43,111 (23.69)	593.77
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	681 (0.37)	
TOTAL	78,997 (100.00)	181,944 (100.00)	130.32

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

AITUC is placed in the fourth position. It has secured 9.20 percent. UTUC (LS) is in the fifth position with 4.59 percent. It has gained 68.86 percent during the period 1980-89.

The data on verified membership of CTUOs in salaried employees group are presented in Table 6.3.13. BMS ranks first in this sector. It has secured 53.53 percent of verified membership and gained by 280.44 percent. The total membership of CTUOs has increased by 124.81 percent. CITU stands next to BMS with 19.81 percent. It has gained by 800.80 percent. INTUC has lost heavily in this sector (58.15 percent). It is in the third place. AITUC has secured 6.62 percent and occupied the fifth position. HMS is in the fifth place with 5.44 percent of verified membership in the salaried employees sector.

BMS is in a predominant position in organising postal and telecommunication workers. Table 6.3.14 gives the verified membership in postal and telecommunication sector. BMS has 99.52 percent of verified membership. All other CTUOs, viz., INTUC, HMKP and CITU have insignificant membership. The verification figures for 1980 are not separately available for comparison.

BMS has also strengthened its position in banks and other financial institutions. It has 70.52 percent of verified membership. Its membership has increased by 152.61 percent. INTUC stands second with 24.91 percent share. Its membership has increased by 70.42 percent. CITU stands next to INTUC with 4.17 percent of verified membership. HMS, NLO and UTUC(LS) have insignificant membership in this sector. Table 6.3.15 shows the verified membership in banks and other financial institutions.

Table 6.3.16 gives data on verified membership in tobacco and beedi industry. UTUC(LS) has retained its first position with 27.66 percent of verified membership. It has gained by 56.59 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has increased by 229.29

TABLE 6.3.13

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
SALARIED EMPLOYEES**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	87,119 (50.10)	36,462 (9.33)	-58.15
BMS	55,005 (31.63)	209,259 (53.53)	280.44
HMS	7,601 (4.37)	21,279 (5.44)	179.95
UTUC (LS)	3,646 (2.10)	1,863 (0.48)	-48.90
NLO	2,074 (1.19)	653 (0.17)	-68.51
UTUC	2,019 (1.16)	5,146 (1.32)	154.88
TUCC	0	13 (0)	
NFITU	31 (0.02)	12,924 (3.30)	
AITUC	7,804 (4.49)	25,883 (6.62)	255.21
CITU	8,598 (4.94)	77,451 (19.81)	800.80
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	173,897 (100.00)	390,933 (100.00)	124.81

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.14

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
POSTAL AND TELECOMMUNICATION WORKERS**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	N.A.	957 (0.43)	
BMS	N.A.	219,835 (99.52)	
HMS	N.A.	0	
UTUC (LS)	N.A.	0	
NLO	N.A.	0	
UTUC	N.A.	0	
TUCC	N.A.	0	
NFITU	N.A.	0	
AITUC	N.A.	0	
CITU	N.A.	19 (0.01)	
IFFTU	N.A.	0	
HMKP	N.A.	78 (0.04)	
TOTAL	N.A.	220,889 (100.00)	

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.15

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
BANKS AND OTHER FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	19,278 (31.35)	32,853 (24.91)	70.42
BMS	36,816 (59.87)	93,001 (70.52)	152.61
HMS	0	340 (0.26)	
UTUC (LS)	30 (0.05)	70 (0.05)	133.33
NLO	0	111 (0.09)	
UTUC	0	0	
TUCC	0	0	
NFITU	4,000 (6.51)	0	
AITUC	32 (0.05)	0	
CITU	1,335 (2.17)	5,498 (4.17)	311.84
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	61,491 (100.00)	131,873 (100.00)	114.46

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.16**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
TOBACCO AND BEEDI**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	6,153 (4.15)	9,822 (2.01)	59.63
BMS	14,500 (9.79)	43,643 (8.94)	200.99
HMS	3,946 (2.66)	105,073 (21.53)	2562.77
UTUC (LS)	86,176 (58.16)	134,947 (27.66)	56.59
NLO	199 (0.13)	0	
UTUC	79 (0.05)	9,241 (1.89)	11597.47
TUCC	250 (0.17)	978 (0.20)	291.20
NFITU	169 (0.12)	40,327 (8.27)	23762.13
AITUC	24,802 (16.74)	61,852 (12.68)	149.38
CITU	11,904 (8.03)	82,054 (16.82)	589.30
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	148,178 (100.00)	487,937 (100.00)	229.29

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

percent. HMS has the second place. It has got 21.53 percent and gained by 2562.77 percent. CITU occupies the third place with 16.82 percent. Its membership has increased by 589.30 percent. AITUC stands next to CITU with 12.68 percent. It has gained by 149.38 percent. BMS is in the fifth position in the tobacco and beedi sector with 8.94 percent. Its membership has increased by 200.99 percent, when compared to 1980 figures.

BMS is in the premier position in organising civilian employees of the defence establishments. It has secured 52.90 percent of verified membership in this sector. 1980 verification figures are not available for comparison. INTUC stands second with 38.03 percent. HMS has secured the third place. TUCC stands next to HMS. NLO and CITU have insignificant membership in the defence establishments. Table 6.3.17 presents the verified membership of CTUOs in defence services (civilian employees).

The figures on verified membership of CTUOs in the agricultural and rural sector are shown in Table 6.3.18. UTUC (LS) retains the first position in this sector with 21.47 percent. Its membership has increased by 11.18 percent. The overall membership of CTUOs has increased by 203.72 percent. BMS occupies the second place with 20.21 percent. It has gained by 680.06 percent. UTUC has secured the third place with 18.03 percent of verified membership. The growth of UTUC in this sector is remarkable (164, 168 percent p.a). TUCC stands next to UTUC. It has secured 11.59 percent. It has gained by 94.53 percent. NFITU occupies the fifth position with 9.65 percent of verified membership.

BMS has secured the premier position in fifteen industries, viz., clothing, electronics engineering, road transport, chemicals, building construction, local bodies,

TABLE 6.3.17

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
DEFENCE SERVICES (CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES)**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	N.A.	39,740 (38.03)	
BMS	N.A.	55,276 (52.90)	
HMS	N.A.	6,816 (6.52)	
UTUC (LS)	N.A.	0	
NLO	N.A.	314 (0.30)	
UTUC	N.A.	0	
TUCC	N.A.	2,153 (2.06)	
NFITU	N.A.	0	
AITUC	N.A.	0	
CITU	N.A.	201 (0.19)	
IFFTU	N.A.	0	
HMKP	N.A.	0	
TOTAL	N.A.	104,500 (100.00)	

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

TABLE 6.3.18

**VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs
AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL WORKERS**

CTUO	Verified Membership		Percentage of Change
	1980	1989	
INTUC	26,271 (4.64)	119,073 (6.92)	353.25
BMS	44,582 (7.87)	347,768 (20.21)	680.06
HMS	10,785 (1.90)	158,668 (9.22)	1371.19
UTUC (LS)	332,248 (58.64)	369,390 (21.47)	11.18
NLO	3,529 (0.62)	2,464 (0.14)	-30.18
UTUC	21 (0.01)	310,298 (18.03)	1477509.52
TUCC	102,478 (18.09)	199,347 (11.59)	94.53
NFITU	34,895 (6.16)	166,135 (9.65)	376.10
AITUC	9,478 (1.67)	17,542 (1.02)	85.08
CITU	2,272 (0.40)	30,049 (1.75)	1222.58
IFFTU	0	0	
HMKP	0	0	
TOTAL	566,559 (100.00)	1,720,734 (100.00)	203.72

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of
Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour,
Government of India.

salaried employees, postal and telecommunication, hotel, banks and financial institutions, pencil, soap, self-employed, tea plantations and defence establishments. It has got second place in seven industries, viz., electricity, gas and power, sugar, cement, food and drinks, tanneries, petroleum and bricks and kilns. In textile, jute, iron and steel, metals, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, rail transport, water transport, mining, paper, printing, glass, personal services, wood products and rubber products, BMS is in the third position. This feature highlights that BMS is fairly spread in all industries in India. According to 1989 verification figures, BMS has verified membership in all industries except rubber plantation and air transport. Contacts have been established in this field and it is expected that soon these sectors also would be covered.¹⁶

Finally, to highlight the steady and systematic growth of BMS, the data on the number of unions and claimed membership from 1967-95 are presented in Table 6.4. The researcher has taken 1980 as the base year. The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of unions and membership for the year concerned by considering 1980 as the base year. Since 1980 the number of unions has increased by 111.04 percent and the claimed membership has increased by 154.72 percent, when compared with 1995 figures.

Year	Number of Unions	Claimed Membership
1967	166,132 (100)	34,892 (100)
1970	17,342 (10.44)	4,978 (14.29)
1980	30,049 (18.1)	12,372 (35.5)
1985	0	0
1995	0	0
TOTAL	1,720,734 (100%)	268,779 (100%)

Source: C.I.C. (C) General Verification Results of Membership of CIOU, Ministry of Labour, Government of India

TABLE 6.4**UNIONS AND CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP OF BMS IN INDIA**

Year	No. of Unions	Claimed Membership
1967	543 (30.59)	246,902 (13.67)
1970	899 (50.65)	456,600 (25.28)
1972	1,211 (68.22)	600,000 (33.22)
1975	1,313 (73.97)	840,000 (46.51)
1977	1,515 (87.60)	1,083,488 (59.99)
1980	1,775 (100.00)	1,805,910 (100.00)
1982	2,007 (113.07)	2,053,721 (113.72)
1985	2,296 (129.35)	2,761,418 (152.91)
1986	2,353 (132.56)	3,296,559 (182.54)
1989	2,677 (150.82)	3,889,506 (215.37)
1993	3,367 (189.69)	4,411,640 (244.29)
1994	3,507 (197.58)	4,512,600 (249.88)
1995	3,746 (211.04)	4,600,000 (254.72)

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS.

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OPINION SURVEY

- * Members' Opinion
- * Opinions regarding Union Identification
- * Opinions regarding Specialities of BMS
- * Opinions of Union Office Bearers
- * Opinions on Motivational Factors
- * Involvement of Office Bearers of BMS in
Politics
- * Commitment of Office Bearers of BMS

CHAPTER VII

OPINION SURVEY

The researcher analyses the opinions of members and office bearers of unions affiliated to BMS. The opinions of the members on union identification and specialities of BMS are analysed first. Then the opinions of the office bearers on motivational factors, their involvement in politics and commitment to the organisation are analysed.

Members' Opinion

For the purpose of analyses, whether there is any difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on various statements, the hypotheses have been formulated (vide Ch.I). The formulated hypotheses have been tested by the researcher with the help of Kolmogorav - Smirnov test (hereafter, known as KS test).

$$\text{Formula : } D = O - E$$

- D refers to calculated value,
- O refers to cumulative observed proportion and
- E refers to cumulative expected proportion.

Cumulative observed proportion is calculated on the basis of observed frequency i.e., observed number. The total number of respondents is 120. For example, 94 respondents have given their opinion for gradation 'strongly agree' in the case of first statement. The observed proportion is calculated by dividing 94 by total respondents i.e., 120. The resultant value (0.78) is the observed proportion. For all gradations, the same

method of calculation is followed. On the basis of observed proportion, cumulative observed proportion is calculated.

Cumulative expected proportion is calculated on the basis of expected proportion. Since there are five gradations, for each gradation 0.20 (i.e. $1.00/5$) is assigned as expected proportion. On the basis of expected proportion, cumulative expected proportion is calculated.

For each gradation, the difference between cumulative observed proportion and cumulative expected proportion is calculated. The largest difference will be taken as calculated value. The calculated value is compared with the table value (vide Appendix XI)

If the calculated value is greater than the table value, the null hypothesis is rejected. On the otherhand if the calculated value is less than the table value, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Table 7.1.1 shows the data on the opinion of the respondents regarding the usefulness of the BMS union to the workers and the results of KS test.

TABLE 7.1.1
RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT - 'BMS UNION IS USEFUL TO WORKERS' (KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	94	0.78	0.78	0.20	0.20	0.58
2.	Agree	17	0.14	0.92	0.20	0.40	0.52
3.	Not Sure	6	0.05	0.97	0.20	0.60	0.37
4.	Disagree	3	0.03	1.00	0.20	0.80	0.20
5.	Strongly Disagree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D value : 0.58 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table value at 95% confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.58) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis "there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement- the BMS union is useful to workers" is rejected. As such, there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents.

Table 7.1.2 presents the data on the opinion of the respondents regarding the statement 'it makes little difference to me whether I remain a member of the BMS union

or leave it' and data concerning the application of KS test. It is to be noted that as the statement is negative, for the purpose of testing of hypotheses, the gradations are reversed

TABLE 7.1.2

RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT 'IT MAKES LITTLE DIFFERENCE TO ME WHETHER I REMAIN A MEMBER OF THE BMS UNION OR LEAVE IT' (KS TEST)

S No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Disagree	73	0.61	0.61	0.20	0.20	0.41
2.	Disagree	32	0.27	0.88	0.20	0.40	0.48
3.	Not Sure	3	0.02	0.90	0.20	0.60	0.30
4.	Agree	12	0.10	1.00	0.20	0.80	0.20
5.	Strongly Agree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.48 (i.e. the largest difference)

Table value at 95%

Confidence level : $1.36/\sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.48) exceeds the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis, "there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - it makes little difference to me whether I remain a member of the BMS

union or leave it", is rejected. As such there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents.

The data on the opinion of the respondents about the fulfilment of the interests of the workers and data relating to the application of KS test are given in Table 7.1.3. As the statement is negative, the gradations are reversed for the purpose of analysis.

TABLE 7.1.3
RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT 'THE BMS UNION
FULFILLS THE INTERESTS OF THE LEADERS AND NOT THE WORKERS'
(KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Disagree	79	0.66	0.66	0.20	0.20	0.46
2.	Disagree	35	0.29	0.95	0.20	0.40	0.55
3.	Not Sure	3	0.03	0.98	0.20	0.60	0.38
4.	Agree	0	0.00	0.98	0.20	0.80	0.18
5.	Strongly Agree	3	0.02	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.55 (i.e. the largest difference)

Table value at 95%

Confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.55) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis “there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - the BMS union fulfills the interests of the leaders / activists and not the workers” is rejected. As such, there is difference in the ratings given by the respondents.

Table 7.1.4 shows the data on the opinion of the respondents on the statement - strike is the last weapon’ and the results of KS test.

TABLE 7.1.4
RESPONDENTS’ OPINION TO THE STATEMENT ‘STRIKE IS THE LAST WEAPON’ (KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	88	0.73	0.73	0.20	0.20	0.53
2.	Agree	20	0.17	0.90	0.20	0.40	0.50
3.	Not Sure	0	0.00	0.90	0.20	0.60	0.30
4.	Disagree	3	0.03	0.93	0.20	0.80	0.13
5.	Strongly Disagree	9	0.07	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.53 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95% confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.53) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis “there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - strike is the last weapon” is rejected. As such, it is concluded that there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents.

The data on the opinion of the respondents on the statement the agitations of BMS are disciplined and the results of KS test are presented in Table 7.1.5.

TABLE 7.1.5
RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT
'THE AGITATIONS ARE DISCIPLINED' (KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	70	0.58	0.58	0.20	0.20	0.38
2.	Agree	38	0.32	0.90	0.20	0.40	0.50
3.	Not Sure	9	0.08	0.98	0.20	0.60	0.38
4.	Disagree	0	0.00	0.98	0.20	0.80	0.18
5.	Strongly Disagree	3	0.02	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.50 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95% confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.50) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis “there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - the agitations of BMS are disciplined” is rejected. As such, it can be stated that there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents.

Table 7.1.6 depicts the data on the opinion of the respondents on the statement - union’s money is used for the organisation and not for personal gains and the results of KS test.

TABLE 7.1.6
RESPONDENTS’ OPINION TO THE STATEMENT ‘UNION’S MONEY IS USED FOR THE ORGANISATION AND NOT FOR PERSONAL GAINS’ (KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	97	0.80	0.80	0.20	0.20	0.60
2.	Agree	18	0.15	0.95	0.20	0.40	0.55
3.	Not Sure	3	0.03	0.98	0.20	0.60	0.38
4.	Disagree	0	0.00	0.98	0.20	0.80	0.18
5.	Strongly Disagree	2	0.02	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.60 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95% confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.60) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis “there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - union’s money is used for the organisation and not for personal gains”, is rejected. As such it is concluded that there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents.

Table 7.1.7 shows the data on the opinion of the respondents regarding the statement - leaders/activists serve as role models by being good at their job and the results of KS test.

TABLE 7.1.7
RESPONDENTS’ OPINION TO THE STATEMENT ‘LEADERS/ACTIVISTS OF
BMS SERVE AS ROLE MODELS BY BEING GOOD AT THEIR JOB’
(KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	94	0.78	0.78	0.20	0.20	0.58
2.	Agree	23	0.19	0.97	0.20	0.40	0.57
3.	Not Sure	0	0.00	0.97	0.20	0.60	0.37
4.	Disagree	3	0.03	1.00	0.20	0.80	0.20
5.	Strongly Disagree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value 0.58 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95%
confidence level $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.58) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis "there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - leaders/activists of BMS serve as role models by being good at their job" is rejected. As such, there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents.

The data on the opinion of the respondents regarding the statement - during talks/negotiations BMS never allow hatred to assume upper hand and the data relating to KS test are presented in Table 7.1.8.

TABLE 7.1.8

RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT 'DURING TALKS/NEGOTIATIONS BMS NEVER ALLOW HATRED TO ASSUME UPPER HAND' (KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	82	0.68	0.68	0.20	0.20	0.48
2.	Agree	32	0.26	0.94	0.20	0.40	0.54
3.	Not Sure	3	0.03	0.97	0.20	0.60	0.37
4.	Disagree	0	0.00	0.97	0.20	0.80	0.17
5.	Strongly Disagree	3	0.03	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.54 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95% confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.54) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis, “there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - during talks/negotiations BMS never allow hatred to assume an upper hand” is rejected. As such, it can be stated that there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents.

Table 7.1.9 gives the data on the opinion of the respondents regarding the statement - the union is not like a political party but a family and the results of KS test.

TABLE 7.1.9
RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT 'THE BMS UNION IS NOT LIKE A POLITICAL PARTY, BUT A FAMILY' (KS TEST)

S.No	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	97	0.81	0.81	0.20	0.20	0.61
2.	Agree	18	0.15	0.96	0.20	0.40	0.56
3.	Not Sure	3	0.02	0.98	0.20	0.60	0.38
4.	Disagree	2	0.02	1.00	0.20	0.80	0.20
5.	Strongly Disagree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.61 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95% confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.61) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis "there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - the union is not like a political party but a family" is rejected. As such, there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement.

Table 7.1.10. shows the data on the opinion of the respondents on the statement - filthy abusive language is not used at gate meetings or public meetings and the data relating to the application of KS test.

TABLE 7.1.10
RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT 'FILTHY ABUSIVE
LANGUAGE IS NOT USED AT GATE MEETINGS OR PUBLIC MEETINGS'
(KS TEST)

S.No	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	67	0.56	0.56	0.20	0.20	0.36
2.	Agree	41	0.34	0.90	0.20	0.40	0.50
3.	Not Sure	9	0.07	0.97	0.20	0.60	0.37
4.	Disagree	0	0.00	0.97	0.20	0.80	0.17
5.	Strongly Disagree	3	0.03	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.50 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95%
confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.50) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12) the null hypothesis “there is no difference on the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - filthy abusive language is not used at gate meetings or public meetings” is rejected. As such, it may be concluded that there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement.

The data on the opinion of the respondents regarding the statement - BMS is a non-political organisation and the data concerning the application of KS test are presented in Table 7.1.11.

TABLE 7.1.11
RESPONDENTS’ OPINION TO THE STATEMENT ‘BMS IS A
NON-POLITICAL ORGANISATION’ (KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	97	0.81	0.81	0.20	0.20	0.61
2.	Agree	20	0.17	0.98	0.20	0.40	0.58
3.	Not Sure	3	0.02	1.00	0.20	0.60	0.40
4.	Disagree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	0.80	0.20
5.	Strongly Disagree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.61 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95% confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.61) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis "there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - BMS is a non-political organisation" is rejected. As such, there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on this statement.

Table 7.1.12 shows the data on the opinion of the respondents regarding the statement - suggestions and ideas coming from other organisations are considered with due respect and the results of KS test.

TABLE 7.1.12
RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT 'SUGGESTIONS AND
IDEAS COMING FROM OTHER ORGANISATIONS ARE CONSIDERED WITH
DUE RESPECT' (KS TEST)

S.No.	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1.	Strongly Agree	79	0.66	0.66	0.20	0.20	0.46
2.	Agree	41	0.34	1.00	0.20	0.40	0.60
3.	Not Sure	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	0.60	0.40
4.	Disagree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	0.80	0.20
5.	Strongly Disagree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.60 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95%
confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.60) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis—"there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - suggestions and ideas coming from other organisations are considered with due respect" is rejected. As such, it is concluded that there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement.

Table 7.1.13 gives the data on the opinion of the respondents on the statement - an ordinary member of BMS has a say in the organisation and the data relating to the application of KS test.

TABLE 7.1.13
RESPONDENTS' OPINION TO THE STATEMENT 'AN ORDINARY MEMBER OF BMS HAS A SAY IN THE ORGANISATION' (KS TEST)

S No	Opinion	Observed Number	Observed Proportion	Cumulative Observed Proportion O	Expected Proportion	Cumulative Expected Proportion E	O-E
1	Strongly Agree	85	0.71	0.71	0.20	0.20	0.51
2	Agree	32	0.27	0.98	0.20	0.40	0.58
3	Not Sure	0	0.00	0.98	0.20	0.60	0.38
4	Disagree	3	0.02	1.00	0.20	0.80	0.20
5	Strongly Disagree	0	0.00	1.00	0.20	1.00	0.00

Source : Primary Data

Calculated D Value : 0.58 (i.e., the largest difference)

Table Value at 95% confidence level : $1.36 / \sqrt{120} = 0.124$

As the calculated value (i.e. 0.58) is greater than the table value (i.e. 0.12), the null hypothesis "there is no difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement - an ordinary member of BMS has a say in the organisation" is rejected. As such, it can be concluded that there is difference in the importance ratings given by the respondents on the statement.

The foregoing analysis shows that all the hypotheses have been rejected. It shows that the respondents have shown a clear difference in giving their importance to the statements. Thus, each statement has positive attitude of the respondents according to their importance ratings.

Opinions regarding Union Identification

Union identification refers to the workers' attitude towards the union. If he feels close to the union, his identification is said to be higher.¹ Table 7.2 presents the data on the opinion of the members of unions affiliated to BMS on the statements regarding union identification. It shows the different intensities of favourability and unfavourability and their respective scores on the statements.

Regarding the first statement, out of 120 respondents, 111 (92%) have given a positive opinion, 6(5%) are neutral and 4(3%) have given a negative opinion. Thus majority of the respondents are of the view that BMS union is useful to workers.

As regards the second statement, out of 120 respondents, 105 (88%) have negative feelings towards the negative statement, 3(2%) are neutral and 12(10%) have positive feelings over the negative statement. Thus majority of the respondents are of the opinion that the membership in BMS union matters much.

TABLE 7.2
OPINION ON UNION IDENTIFICATION

S No.	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Intensity Value
		* +2	+1	0	-1	-2	
		** -2	-1	0	+1	+2	
1.	The BMS union is useful to workers	94	17	6	3	0	+202
2.	It makes little difference to me whether I remain a member of the BMS union or leave it	0	12	3	32	73	+166
3.	The BMS union fulfills the interests of the leaders/activists and not the workers	3	0	3	35	79	+187

Source : Primary Data

* For Positive statements
** For Negative statements

With regard to the third statement, out of 120 respondents, 114 (95%) have negative outlook towards the negative statement, 3(3%) are neutral and 3(2%) have positive outlook towards the negative statement. Thus majority of the respondents opine that the BMS union fulfills the interests of the workers.

The forgoing analysis makes it very clear that the workers' identification with the unions affiliated to BMS is high.

Opinions regarding specialities of BMS

Table 7.3 shows the data on the opinion of the members of unions affiliated to BMS on the statements regarding the specialities of BMS. It gives the different intensities of favourability and unfavourability and their respective scores on the statements.

As far as the first statement is concerned, out of 120 respondents, 108(90%) have given positive opinion, while 12 (10%) have given negative opinion, keeping the statement at the 8th position. The intensity value is +175. Thus according to the majority of the respondents, strike is the last weapon.

Considering the second statement, out of 120 respondents, 108(90%) have a positive attitude while 3(2%) have a negative attitude. 9 respondents (8%) are at the neutral position. The intensity value is +172. Thus majority of the respondents are of the view that the agitations are disciplined. The statement is ranked ninth.

With regard to the third statement, out of 120 respondents, 115(95%) have positive outlook towards the statement, while 2(2%) have a negative outlook over the statement. 3 respondents (3%) are at the neutral position. Thus majority of the

TABLE 7.3
OPINION ON SPECIALITIES OF BMS

S.No.	Statement	Strongly Agree +2	Agree +1	Not Sure 0	Disagree -1	Strongly Disagree -2	Intensity Value	Rank
1.	Strike is the last weapon	88	20	0	3	9	+175	8
2.	The agitations are disciplined	70	38	9	0	3	+172	9
3.	Union's money is used only for the organisation and not for personal gains	97	18	3	0	2	+208	3
4.	Leaders/Activists serve as role models by being good at their job	94	23	0	3	0	+208	3
5.	During talks/negotiations BMS never allow hatred to assume upper hand	82	32	3	0	3	+190	7
6.	The union is not like a political party but a family	97	18	3	2	0	+210	2
7.	Filthy abusive language is not used at gate meetings or public meetings	67	41	9	0	3	+169	10
8.	BMS is a non-political organisation	97	20	3	0	0	+214	1
9.	Suggestions and ideas coming from other organisations are considered with due respect	79	41	0	0	0	+199	5
10.	An ordinary member of BMS has a say in the organisation	85	32	0	3	0	+199	5

Source : Primary Data

respondents are of the opinion that the union's money is used for the organisation and not for personal gains. The intensity value of this statement is +208. This statement is ranked third

As regards the fourth statement, out of 120 respondents, 117 (97%) have given positive opinion, while 3(3%) have given negative opinion. The intensity value of this statement is also +208. This statement is also ranked third. Thus majority of the respondents feel that the leaders/activists of BMS serve as role models, by being good at their job.

About the fifth statement, out of 120 respondents, 114(94%) have a positive opinion, while 3(3%) have a negative opinion. 3 respondents (3%) are neutral. The intensity value is +190. This statement is ranked seventh. Thus majority of the respondents feel that during talks/negotiations BMS never allow hatred to assume an upper hand.

Regarding the sixth statement, out of 120 respondents, 115(96%) have a positive outlook, while 2(2%) have a negative outlook. 3 respondents are neutral. The intensity value of this statement is +210. The statement is ranked second. Thus majority of the respondents are of the view that the union is not like a political party but a family.

Out of 120 respondents, 108(90%) have a positive attitude towards the seventh statement, while 3(3%) have a negative attitude. 9 respondents (7%) are at the neutral position. This statement has the intensity value of +169. It is ranked tenth. Thus majority of the respondents are of the opinion that filthy abusive language is not used at gate meetings or public meetings.

On the eighth statement, out of 120 respondents, 117(98%) have given a positive opinion, while 3(2%) are neutral. This statement has secured the highest intensity value (+214) and ranked first. Thus majority of the respondents view BMS as a non-political organisation.

With regard to the ninth statement, all the 120 respondents(100%) have a positive attitude. The intensity value of this statement is +199. It has secured the fifth rank. Thus all the respondents feel that suggestions and ideas coming from other organisations are considered with due respect by BMS.

About the tenth statement, out of 120 respondents, 117(98%) have given a positive opinion, while 3(2%) have given a negative opinion. The intensity value is +199. This statement is also ranked fifth. Thus majority of the respondents feel that an ordinary member of BMS has a say in the organisation.

Opinions of Union Office Bearers

Opinions on Motivational Factors

It is generally perceived that there can be five motivational factors behind union leadership viz., desire to serve others², desire to fight against exploitation of workers, desire to spread BMS ideology among the workers, desire to spread nationalistic spirit among the workers and desire to instil discipline among the workers. In order to identify the preference of the office bearers over the motivational factors for assuming leadership in the union, they were asked to rank the factors according to their preference in the order of 1,2,3,4 and 5. The factor, which was chosen first by the office bearer was given 5 scores, the factor which was considered second was given 4 scores and so on. The scores

assigned to each factor were summed up separately. On the basis of the final summed up scores, the factors have been ranked first, second and so on.

The data on the ranking given by the office bearers to the motivational factors behind their leadership are presented in Table 7.4.

It is observed from Table 7.4 that the desire to serve others is the prominent motivational factor behind leadership in unions affiliated to BMS. Out of 120 office bearers, 66(55%) have given first rank to this factor. This factor has secured first rank with a final score of 464. Desire to fight against the exploitation of workers is the motivational factor ranked second, with a final score of 399. The next motivational factor behind BMS leadership is the desire to spread BMS ideology among the workers. This factor has got third rank with a final score of 390. The desire to spread nationalistic spirit among the workers is the next motivational factor. It is ranked fourth with a final score of 375. Desire to instil discipline among the workers is the factor placed in the fifth position with a final score of 171.

Involvement of Office Bearers of BMS in Politics

All the 120 respondents (100%) observe that they have nothing to do with the day-to-day politics. The members have also preferred BMS mainly because it is a non-political organisation (please refer Table 7.3). Thus the non-political character of BMS is vindicated.

Commitment of Office Bearers of BMS

The commitment of office bearers is measured by their frequency of visit to BMS office for organisational work. Out of 120 respondents, 69 (57.5%) visit daily, while

TABLE 7.4
RANKING OF MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS BY THE OFFICE BEARERS

Sl. No.	Factor	No. of Office Bearers					Summed up Scores	Rank
		Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5		
		1.	Desire to serve others	66	14	6		
2.	Desire to fight against the exploitation of workers	20	48	26	3	23	399	2
3.	Desire to spread BMS ideology among the workers	11	37	46	23	3	390	3
4.	Desire to spread nationalistic spirit among the workers	23	20	26	51	0	375	4
5.	Desire to instil discipline among the workers	0	0	17	17	86	171	5

Source : Primary Data

29(24%) visit once or twice a week. Thus the commitment of majority of the office bearers of unions affiliated to BMS is commendable. Regarding the remaining office bearers 14(12%) visit BMS office several times a month, 3(2.5%) visit monthly once and 5(4%) visit BMS office occasionally.

TABLE 24
RANKING OF MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS BY THE OFFICE BEARERS

Rank	Summ. up	No. of Office Bearers					Factor
		Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	
1	464	66	14	8	26	8	Desire to serve others
2	399	20	18	26	3	23	Desire to fight against the exploitation of workers
3	300	11	17	46	23	3	Desire to spread BMS ideology among the workers
4	272	23	20	26	31	11	Desire to spread nationalistic spirit among the workers
5	171	0	0	17	17	36	Desire to send discipline among the workers

Source: Primary Data

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INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AND BMS

- * Structure of the ILO
- * Aims and Objects of ILO
- * Philadelphia Charter
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CHAPTER VIII

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION AND BMS

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) is the first international body which is not expressly concerned with political questions but its role is limited to the problems of industry and with the conditions under which ordinary men throughout the world work and live.¹ The ILO came into existence on 11th April, 1919. The first International Labour Conference held in Berlin in 1890, the first conference of the International Association for Labour Legislation held in 1890, the Conferences convened in 1905 and 1906 in Berne by the Swiss Government were all precursors of the ILO.² The forty two original members of the ILO included India, along with Iran, Japan, China and Thailand from Asia.³ In 1994 the ILO had 171 member countries.⁴

Structure of the ILO

Unlike other International Organisations, the structure of the ILO is unique as its composition is tripartite. At every level in the Organisation, Governments are associated with their social partners viz., the workers and employers. All the three groups are represented on almost all the deliberative organs of the ILO and share responsibility in conducting its work. The three principal organs of the ILO are viz., the International Labour Conference, the Governing Body and the International Labour Office. The Conference is the supreme policy making and legislative organ; the Governing Body the executive council; and the Office the Secretariat, operational headquarters and information centre. The work of the Conference and the Governing Body is supplemented by that of Regional Conferences and Committees, Industrial Committees and Analogous Bodies,

Committee of Experts, Panels of Consultants, and other special conferences held from time to time.

Aims and Objects of the ILO

The aims and purposes of the ILO can be understood from the text of the peace treaty of 1919. It provided that ILO is being established for 'the well being, physical and intellectual, of industrial wage earners'. This was being done not as a matter of charity to labour but as a matter of 'supreme international importance'. However, it was recognised that "differences of climate, habits and customs of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labour difficult of immediate attainment... that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce...".⁵ Thus, from international point of view the welfare of the wage-earners is the principal aim of the ILO. The objectives of the ILO are clearly enumerated in the preamble of its constitution supplemented by Article 427 of the Peace Treaty of Versailles which has been further supplemented by the Philadelphia Declaration of 1944.

These fundamental instruments set out the main ideology of the ILO in the following terms:

"Whereas universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice".

"And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large number of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled..."

“Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries...”⁶

Philadelphia Charter 1944

The utility of the ILO as a vehicle for social action and economic reforms was greatly felt during the dark days of the world war II by all of the three elements composing it, government, employers and workers.⁷ A conference convened in Philadelphia on April 20, 1944 marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the ILO. The delegations of forty-one states met together to consider the future role, policy and programmes of the ILO. Out of the deliberations of the conference emerged a document on the redefinition of the ILO’s aims and purposes and a wider conception of its responsibilities. This was the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944⁸ which had been incorporated into the ILO’s constitution.

Article I of the Declaration reaffirmed the fundamental principles on which the organisation is based and in particular, that:

- a) Labour is not commodity;
- b) Freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;
- c) Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere.

Article II of the Declaration reiterates that central aim of national and international policy should be the attainment of social justice. In the words of the Declaration social justice meant “all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue

both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity”.

Article III sets forth ten specific objectives which the ILO is to further and promote among the nations of the world:

- a) Full employment and the raising of standards of living;
- b) The employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;
- c) The provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labour, including migration for employment and settlement;
- d) Policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to ensure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of protection;
- e) The effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the cooperation of management and labour in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in social and economic measures.
- f) The extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;
- g) Adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;
- h) Provision for child welfare and maternity protection;
- i) The provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture.
- j) The assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

The way to achieve these goals, the Declaration affirms, is by effective international and national action and the ILO pledges full cooperation to other international bodies which share the responsibility of pursuing the above goals.

Significance of ILO

The ILO is the only international body where governments, trade unions and employers' organisations co-operate on a basis of equality. Its mission is to contribute to balanced economic and social progress in each nation, and to the well being and fulfilment of the individual. The working world is in a constant state of flux: each day brings new problems which call for urgent solutions. And when injustice and poverty have been rooted out, constant vigilance is needed to prevent their re-emergence.⁹

ILO activities benefit both highly industrialised and developing countries. First, because the social problems inherent in technical process are universal. Every country can profit from the experience of others in humanising work, providing up-to-date training facilities, protecting the safety and health of the worker, collective bargaining, and from the participation of the individual in collective responsibility.

Second, every country has certain groups of workers whose situation is particularly vulnerable. International action is an encouragement and a guarantee for the protection of these groups, whether they be women or young people, agricultural or industrial workers, migrant workers or the handicapped.

And finally, all countries profit from action that prevents the gap between the poverty of some and the wealth of others from widening; if the gap were to widen further,

social inequalities would become grimmer and the danger to peace more menacing. Thus, every country has a vital stake in the struggle for justice and a durable peace.

ILO and India

India has been one of the founder members of the ILO. Though India was not independent it was admitted within the fold of the organisation. However, its membership of the League of Nations and the ILO had not gone unchallenged for it had been argued that it would give an additional vote to the United Kingdom. The British India was 'democratically administered' and upon this India along with China, Iran, Japan and Thailand were the few Asian countries to be admitted to the ILO membership. Of the 24 states out of 42 states represented, India was one which sent a full delegation to the first session of the International Labour Conference held at Washington in 1919. The Indian delegation comprised of Government representatives, Sir Atul Chatterjee and Sir Louis Kershaw; Employers' delegate Sir Alexander Murray and Workers' delegate Shri N.M. Joshi. It is said that British Government was motivated by her selfish interest when she struggled for India's membership of the ILO and her nomination as one of the eight countries of 'chief industrial importance', for this would secure the collateral support of India for Britain in her struggle for leadership at Geneva.¹⁰ It can be said that irrespective of the motives of Britain, India's membership of the ILO proved of a very great advantage to her in establishing a liaison and a forum for non-governmental delegates from India with their European counterparts for exchanging information on socio-economic conditions. India became a permanent member of the Governing Body on September 30, 1922. Since then India continues to enjoy this position. This status conferred upon Indians, representing workers and employers in the ILO, a position of prestige and influence and got an opportunity to expose the anti-labour and economic British policies in India.

The AITUC owes its immediate origin to the ILO.¹¹ There was dissatisfaction among the trade union leaders over the nomination of workers' delegate to the International Labour Conference and the said nomination was alleged to be unconstitutional. This was countered by the Government that in the absence of a truly representative workers' organisation in the country the Government of India was justified in nominating workers' delegate without consulting trade union leaders. In these circumstances the AITUC came into existence on October 31, 1920 with Lala Lajpat Rai, the then president of Indian National Congress, as its president.

As one of the founder members of the ILO and also as a country of chief industrial importance, India has a prestigious role to play in the activities of the ILO. As an important country among the developing nations, its voice is heard with respect. The ILO has made its impact on the policies of the Government of India in enacting progressive labour legislations. So also the persuasive arguments of the Indian delegates in the IL conference for projecting the views of the developing and the least developed countries, in the formulation of International Labour Standards are having its effect in relaxing the rigidity of the standards. Ultimately the standards are more acceptable to a large number of member countries.

ILO and BMS

Being one of the most representative organisations of labour, BMS has a place in the Indian delegation to the annual International Labour conference held at Geneva. It works in close association with the office of the ILO in Delhi, participating in all its national and regional level seminars/workshops.

BMS has evinced keen interest in the activities of the ILO since its very inception. In its memorandum submitted to the National Labour Commission in 1967-68, BMS has approvingly quoted certain reports of the ILO on employment, man power utilisation, productivity, workers' education and especially with regard to the safety and health aspects. In 1969, BMS submitted a National Charter of Demands to the then President of India in the form of "Order of Duties and Disciplines". In it "to highlight and streamline the part played by India in the ILO and the part played by ILO in India" is referred to as the duty of the Indian Government towards ILO.¹² Further it has called upon India to utilise the forum of ILO to materialise the ideal of "workers, unite the world" an ideal which is so near and dear to BMS.¹³

D.B. Thengadi, founder of BMS observed in the seminar on International Labour Standards jointly organised by ILO and BMS at New Delhi on May 5-7, 1986, "ILO seems to have been caught between power blocks. It should free itself from their pressures and continue to remain independent and non-political because the workers of the world expect a lot from it. It has a very important role to play. There is more of trade union consciousness among the workers of developed countries. But they have lot of money too which is corrupting the trade union leaders of developing countries. There should be separate forum within the ILO where trade unionists of developing countries can come together and express their views. This is very essential to achieve real integration".¹⁴

BMS on Social Clause and World Trade

As a part of the liberalisation and globalisation of the world economy, there is a mounting pressure on third world countries to accept social clause (including labour standards) along with the multilateral trade. This social clause may be in the form of

human rights, environment, child labour, flammability of clothings and so on. And on such grounds developed countries may try to restrict the trade with the developing countries. The developing countries apprehend the following difficulties:

1. This introduced restrictive clause in trade which is against the spirit of free trade.
2. This will put undue pressure on weak and developing countries about issues that are not directly connected with trade.
3. This would also amount to an unnecessary and aggressive interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It would amount to bullying the weak by the strong.
4. This would be the thin end of the wedge of the economic blockade.

The central theme of the deliberations of 81st session of ILO in 1994 at Geneva was linking of Social clause with World Trade.

Mr. Charles Gray, Director of the International Affairs Department of the United States' Trade Union Centre, the AFL-CIO was the President of the conference. In his presidential address he said, "we note the rise of international economic regimes, such as the Brettonwoods frame work, the GATT and now the even more powerful World Trade Organisation (WTO). Since the global economy is based as much on the work and workers as it is upon capital and investment flows, it is both natural and positive that there is a growing acceptance that workers' rights should be linked to trade and credit relationships by a social clause".¹⁵

After the collapse of communism and the USSR, International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICFTU) is playing a role as the sole authority and representative of all

trade unions. ICFTU is under the control of Trade Unions of rich countries. Two Central Labour Organisations of India Viz., INTUC and HMS are the affiliates of ICFTU. ICFTU has declared, "Social clause be linked with world trade and ILO should take help of WTO to project the workers' rights".¹⁶

Mr. P.A.Sangma, the then Labour Minister frankly expressed the policy of the Indian Government, "We do not want social clause to be included in trade agreement". However, the INTUC had to take stand against the policy of the Indian Government because of its affiliation with and consequent pressure from ICFTU. HMS was officially opposing GATT agreement. However, it had to remain silent when there was discussion on the linking of social clause with multilateral trade due to its affiliation to ICFTU.

In a regular meeting of the workers' group on 11th June, 1994, the strategy was being discussed. Out of 502 delegates from workers' group none spoke except the All India Organising Secretary, BMS. He emphatically said "many trade unions in the world oppose linkage between workers' rights and world trade. These unions are in favour of protecting the workers' rights, i.e., freedom of association, collective bargaining, elimination of child labour etc. But at the same time, they do not want interference of WTO".¹⁷

Immediately after the group meeting many trade union leaders from different countries congratulated the bold stand taken by BMS. It can be said that at the bottom of the heart of the trade union leaders of developing countries, there is a similar reaction on social clause. This was revealed in the annual meeting of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC) which was held on 12th June, 1994. In this meeting also the All India Organising Secretary of BMS spoke. He said, "we are here to protect the workers' rights. We are on committees of implementation of standards. We and ILO both do not

want WTO, to work as a policeman to protect workers' rights".¹⁸ In this meeting after his speech, the workers' representative from Pakistan spoke. He strongly supported the stand of the BMS on this issue. Other delegates also expressed the same view.

As a result there was only discussion of linking of social clause with world trade in the 81st Annual session of IL conference and no decision was taken. The positive side of this conference was that trade unionists in developing countries were awakened by BMS. Thus the stand of BMS on non-affiliation to any International Confederation is vindicated.

In 1995 at the 82nd annual session of ILO, BMS submitted a joint memorandum to the Director General of World Trade Organisation, signed by the INTUC, BMS, HMS, AITUC, CITU from India and some of the trade union representatives attending the International Labour Conference at Geneva from third World Countries such as Sudan, Iran, Malaysia and Pakistan registering their opposition to linking international trade and labour and social standards. WTO promptly assured BMS in its reply that atleast as on date there was no such proposal demanding linkage of trade and social standards on the WTO's agenda. The full text of both the memorandum and the reply from the WTO are given in Appendix XII - XIII.

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CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

CHAPTER I

1.1 Chapter I introduces the topic

1.2 Trade union is an association of workers formed for the purpose of protecting and promoting their economic and social interests through collective action

1.3 The concerns of trade unions extend beyond 'bread and butter' issues. They restrain the abuse of labour. They are also considered as moral institutions which will uplift the weak and downtrodden.

SUMMARY

1.2.1 Though the public is not against trade unions in principle, the public opinion is hostile to trade unions in most countries. The opinion surveys in the US bring out the poor public image of trade unions.

1.2.2 There is a serious decline in the density of membership in most of the countries except Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

1.3.1 The Indian Workforce constitutes 7.3 percent of the total population. Of the total workforce, the organised sector accounts for 8.2 percent. 82.34 percent of the trade union membership is accounted for by the organised sector. Thus, the unorganised sector is meagrely represented.

1.3.2 Trade unionism in India suffers from a variety of problems such as politicisation

CHAPTER IX

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CHAPTER I

- 1.1.1 Chapter I introduces the topic.
- 1.1.2 Trade union is an association of workers formed for the purpose of protecting and promoting their economic and social interests through collective action.
- 1.1.3 The concerns of trade unions extend beyond 'bread and butter' issues. They restrain the abuse of labour. They are also considered as moral institutions which will uplift the weak and downtrodden.
- 1.2.1 Though the public is not against trade unionism in principle, the public opinion is hostile to trade unions in most countries. The opinion surveys in the US bring out the poor public image of trade unions.
- 1.2.2 There is a serious decline in the density of membership in most of the countries except Sweden, Denmark and Norway.
- 1.3.1 The Indian Workforce constitutes 37.3 percent of the total population. Of the total workforce, the organised sector accounts for 8.5 percent. 82.24 percent of the trade union membership is accounted for by the organised sector. Thus, the unorganised sector is meagrely represented.
- 1.3.2 Trade unionism in India suffers from a variety of problems such as politicisation

of the unions, multiplicity of unions, inter-union rivalry, uneconomic size, financial debility and dependence on outside leadership.

- 1.4.1 According to the latest survey conducted by the Indian Labour Ministry, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh has emerged as the first largest CTUO in the country out of 12 major CTUOs.
- 1.4.2 BMS is a productivity oriented non-political CTUO. It applies all legitimate means consistent with the spirit of nationalism and patriotism to achieve its aims.
- 1.4.3 BMS envisages that the time has come to consider the employee ownership for running the industries successfully.
- 1.4.4 BMS serves as a role model for other CTUOs by fulfilling the requisites of a healthy trade union organisation.
- 1.4.5 In the light of the above discussion the researcher has undertaken the present study on BMS.
- 1.5.1 The researcher has formulated hypotheses to analyse the opinions of members of BMS. The first three hypotheses are related to union identification and the remaining ten are concerned with the specialities of BMS.
- 1.5.2 The present study is an explanatory and exploratory study on BMS. The study is comparative while incorporating global and Indian experiments on labourisation. Case study technique has been adopted to explain the experiment of BMS in labourising the New Central Jute Mill. Separate questionnaires

have been used for the members and office bearers to gather their opinions. Non probability sampling method has been adopted to select the respondents. Sufficient care was taken in the selection of respondents representing all states, where BMS has its membership, and industries in India. A simple five point ordinal scale has been used to measure the attitude of the members of BMS. KS test has been applied to test the hypotheses.

1.6.1 Paucity of relevant literature on trade unionism and labourisation; apprehension of the activists concerning the studies on productivity; hesitation of CTUOs in submitting membership returns and the time and fund constraint in personally approaching the members and activists are the major limitations of the present study.

1.7.1 The researcher has designed the present study into nine chapters.

CHAPTER II

2.1.1 Chapter II presents a brief critical resume of the growth of trade union movement in India.

2.1.2 India had a very glorious past in the field of human relations. Labour policy as enunciated in 'Shukra Neeti' (Please refer Appendix IV) is very advanced from modern standards.

2.2.1 Cotton textiles, railways and jute were the first industries to be unionised and still count as major pillars of the trade union movement in India.

- 2.2.2 The origin of the trade union movement dates back to 1877 when the workers of the Empress mills at Nagpur struck.
- 2.2.3 The first Factories Act in India was adopted in 1881. The first Factory Commission was appointed in 1885. The second Factories Act was passed in 1891. The Royal Commission on Labour was appointed in 1892. Restrictions on hours of work and on the employment of women were the chief gains of these investigations and legislation.
- 2.2.4 The Bombay Millhands' Association, formed in 1890, was the first workers' organisation in India. It was founded by Narayan Lokhande, father of India's Trade Union movement.
- 2.2.5 The Madras Labour Union was founded by Thiru. Vi. Ka. and B.P. Wadia in 1918.
- 2.2.6 The Textile Labour Association, the laboratory for experimenting Gandhi's ideas on industrial relations, was formed in 1920.
- 2.2.7 The All India Trade Union Congress came into existence in 1920 with the main purpose to decide the labour representation to the ILO's first annual conference.
- 2.2.8 The Trade Unions Act, 1926 was enacted to safeguard the interests of the trade unions.

- 2.3.1 The ideological dissension began. Party ideology was supreme to the communists. They wanted to affiliate the AITUC to the leftist international organisations. This sparked the first split in the labour movement. The moderates formed the National Trade Union Federation in 1929.
- 2.3.2 In 1931 the communists formed the Red Trade Union Congress. It was short-lived.
- 2.3.3 The NTUF was dissolved and merged with the AITUC in 1940.
- 2.3.4 In 1942, when the nationalists were in jail for participating in Quit India movement, the AITUC was captured by the communists.
- 2.3.5 Most of the present labour legislations were drafted during 1945-47.
- 2.4.1 Since Independence, the Indian National Trade Union Congress was formed by Congress to have the support of organised labour.
- 2.4.2 The congress socialists walked out of AITUC and founded the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat in 1948. Royist IFL was merged with the HMP to form the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.
- 2.4.3 The revolutionary socialists formed the United Trade Union Congress. Thus the Indian labour field was dominated by political unionism.

- 2 4 4 BMS,aCentral Trade Union Organisation, based on genuine trade unionism was formed in 1955. It employs all legitimate means, consistent with the spirit of nationalism to achieve its objects.
- 2 4 5 The split of the communist party in 1970 led to the formation of Centre of Indian Trade Unions. The UTUC was also split into two due to ideological dissension. The UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was formed.
- 2 5 1 At present there are 12 CTUOs in India.
- 2 5 2 BMS is ranked first as per the verification figures of membership (Table 2.1) of the CTUOs for the year 1989, announced by the Indian Labour Ministry in 1994. It is followed by INTUC, CITU, HMS and AITUC.
- 2 6 1 The number of trade unions in India has increased more than ten fold between 1952 and 1990 while the average membership remained more or less the same (Table 2.2.).
- 2 6 2 There has been an alarming decrease in the number of unions filing returns with the Registrar of Trade Unions (Table 2.2). Even the unions which submit returns make exaggerated claims.

CHAPTER III

- 3 1 1 The distinct features of BMS are elucidated in this Chapter. BMS has contributed quite a few new ideas which have virtually become 'trend setters'.

- 3.1.2 Unity in diversity and the expression of unity in various forms have remained the central thought of Bharatiya culture. 'Integral Humanism' is the name given to the sum total of salient features of Bharatiya culture. This is the ideal which determined the direction of BMS.
- 3.1.3 BMS proclaims that the protection and promotion of the interest of the labour is the natural responsibility of the entire nation.
- 3.1.4 BMS rejects the class conflict theory. As all the nationals are so many limbs of the same body, their interests cannot be mutually conflicting.
- 3.1.5 BMS lays equal stress on maximum production and equitable distribution.
- 3.2.1 Affiliation of CTUOs with one or other political parties led to division of trade union movement in India. Non-political unionism has been held out as the only solution to the problems that beset trade unions. BMS has kept itself away from power-hungry politics from its inception.
- 3.2.2 BMS adheres to the principle of genuine trade unionism i.e. an organisation for the workers, by the workers and of the workers within the framework of national interest.
- 3.3.1 BMS has coined three sparkling phrases to depict its distinctive approach:

“NATIONALISE THE LABOUR ;
LABOURISE THE INDUSTRY AND
INDUSTRIALISE THE NATION”.

- 3.3.2 BMS believes in raising the level of national consciousness of a common man as the prerequisite of national reconstruction. It has always considered trade union movement as an instrument of nation building.
- 3.3.3 The concept of labourisation is another distinct feature of BMS. Labourisation means workers' ownership of industries. It will bring about revolutionary change in the minds of workmen and they will be emotionally attached and actively concerned with the progress of industry. The successful experiment of labourisation of the New Central Jute Mill in West Bengal has saved the jobs of 13000 workers.
- 3.3.4 BMS stands for production by masses while Industrialising the economy. It advises to develop indigenous technology with the help of locally available inputs and skills. It wants discreet technological upgradation. The share of small scale sector in exports is 30 percent and it contributes 40 percent of the national income. So, BMS lays stress on the development of the small scale sector.
- 3.4.1 Liberalisation and privatisation are not automatic recipes for growth.
- 3.4.2 BMS is of the view that there could be other patterns of ownership like cooperativisation, socialisation, democratisation, municipalisation, labourisation, self employment sector, household sector, joint sector and so on.
- 3.5.1 The originality of BMS is prominently illustrated by its concept of 'Industrial Family'. All those depending for their daily livelihood on the industry shall be treated as members of one large joint Industrial Family.

- 3.5.2 Industrial Councils comprising of the elected representatives of workers, managerial and technical cadres and capital shall be constituted on national and state levels. Such councils will have final authority in determining the general policies of their industries.
- 3.6.1 The human mind, the creator of all arts and crafts, in the form of a closed fist with a prominent opposable thumb, the traditional wheel and sheaf of corn representing industrialisation and agricultural prosperity are the features of BMS insignia.
- 3.6.2 May Day is the symbol of class struggle. BMS has recognised Viswakarma Jayanthi (17th September) as the National Labour Day.
- 3.7.1 BMS was the first trade union centre to recognize the special importance of self-employment sector.
- 3.7.2 Self employed people cannot be exploited nor can they exploit others. There is neither class war nor take-over of the State. BMS urges a separate department under the Ministry of Labour and Employment to assist the self-employed persons.
- 3.8.1 BMS calls for the introduction of functional representation in the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies. On the national level, the number of representatives to be elected by the members of every industry be directly proportionate to the extent of its contribution to the national income.

- 3.8.2 BMS is striving for the gradual evolution of the guidelines of the future socio-economic order. The ideal national paradigm, of value-systems, institutional arrangements and parameters is given by BMS (Please refer Formulations of BMS I-IV).
- 3.9.1 BMS is not affiliated with any international confederation. Instead of giving call for the workers of the world to unite, it has given a call to the workers all over to unite the world.

CHAPTER IV

- 4.1.1 A thorough discussion on the concept of labourisation, illustrated by global and Indian experiments, is given in Chapter IV.
- 4.1.2 Workers' share ownership constitutes labourisation. It is also termed as workers' financial participation.
- 4.1.3 Employee Share Ownership Plan gives the opportunity to employees to own shares in their own company. Workers form a trust to buy and hold their shares.
- 4.1.4 Labourisation is a means of improving motivation and productivity. It leads to greater commitment and lower labour turnover. It enhances teamwork.
- 4.2.1 While companies in the industrialised countries are promoting labourisation to improve motivation and productivity, in Eastern European countries it is closely linked to their privatisation processes.

- 4.2.2 In Japan, ESOPs have been introduced by more than 90 percent of the firms listed on stock markets. The success of ESOPs is due to the unique features of Japanese industrial relations system.
- 4.2.3 Employers' associations have favoured enterprise level labourisation schemes introduced on a voluntary basis. Trade unions oppose labourisation because they are afraid of losing their bargaining role. Job preservation is perceived by workers as the most important benefit of employee shares. Managers oppose workers' financial participation. In their view, foreign investment is lowered by employee ownership.
- 4.2.4 Several examples of industrialised countries suggest that workers' financial participation schemes succeed when they are combined with workers' participation in management.
- 4.2.5 The researcher presents few commendable examples of labourisation abroad.
- 4.3.1 Worker owned firms are not as common in India as in Europe.
- 4.3.2 In India, workers of sick companies have formed cooperatives to turn around and save their jobs.
- 4.3.3 The researcher presents the cases of successful labourisation in India.
- 4.4.1 The case study of an outstanding experiment of BMS, labourisation of New Central Jute Mill, is given in detail.

4.4.2 The following are the remarkable achievements of NCJM due to labourisation:

- a) 12 unions of workers and 2 unions of Head Office are working with team spirit.
- b) There is no strike in the NCJM since labourisation.
- c) The workers who received superannuation age accepted retirement even without receiving gratuity. The remaining workers have accepted the excess workload.
- d) Rationalisation was done without unrest.
- e) While many other jute mills facing similar problems went on repeated lock out and cessation of work, the NCJM is continuously functioning.
- f) The company which was sick and a losing concern has not only revived but started giving operational profit.
- g) The spinning efficiency, labour productivity and sales turnover of NCJM has improved (Tables 4.1 - 4.3).

4.5.1 The consensus among all the CTUOs of India is that workers' participation in equity should be optional.

4.5.2 The All India President of BMS views that the Government of India should take the initiative by offering equity participation to workers in the public sector undertakings, thus setting an ideal to be emulated by the private employers.

4.5.3 Labourisation is not only suitable for turning around sick units, but to have healthy and viable units in India.

CHAPTER V

5.1.1 Chapter V highlights the progress of productivity movement in India and instances of exemplary work culture of BMS workers.

5.1.2 Productivity is the ratio of output to input with respect to given resources. It is said to be high when more output is derived from the same input.

5.1.3 Productivity does not refer merely to work systems but to the development of right attitudes and a strong concern for efficiency.

5.2.1 The labour productivity of Japan is the highest whereas India's labour productivity is lower than all other Asian countries except Bangladesh (Table 5.1.)

5.2.2 In India, the inter-sectoral comparison shows that labour productivity in agriculture is the lowest while the mining, manufacturing and service sector seem to have registered significantly higher growth rate (Table 5.2).

5.2.3 India has a paradox of having cheap labour with high labour cost due to low productivity levels.

5.3.1 Generally, computerisation is advocated as a means of enhancing productivity. But BMS stands for the selective and prudent use of computers.

- 5.3.2 BMS emphasises that the gains of productivity should be distributed between shareholders, workers, consumers and plough back effect.
- 5.3.3 BMS insists that the trade unions should attach great importance to harmony, smart work, higher productivity, pride in skill and high quality of goods.
- 5.3.4 In line with the concept of industrial family, BMS has always believed that strike should be used as the very last resort.
- 5.4.1 Efficiency in action and nobility of purpose are the two aspects of work culture.
- 5.4.2 BMS observes that the workers should exhibit exemplary presence of mind and become role models in improving the work culture in the interest of the industry and the nation.
- 5.4.3 The researcher brings out some of the sparkling instances concerned with work culture of BMS workers highlighting courage and patriotism, social reform, discipline, customer satisfaction, safety, responsible behaviour, concern for social good, duty consciousness, industrial harmony and excellence in performance.

CHAPTER VI

- 6.1.1 The analysis of growth of BMS in comparison with other CTUOs is presented in Chapter VI.

- 6.1.2 Unlike all other CTUOs BMS had a start from the scratch. The building up of this organisation from the grassroots has been a unique example in the history of the labour movement of the world.
- 6.1.3 The researcher analyses the growth of BMS vis-a-vis other CTUOs, statewide and industrywise based on the results of verified membership published by CLC(C) in August, 1984 and July, 1994.
- 6.1.4 The researcher also analyses the growth pattern of BMS in terms of unions and claimed membership, statewide.
- 6.2.1 BMS was declared by the Government of India as the second largest CTUO next to INTUC in 1984. In 1994, BMS was declared as the first largest CTUO. It is followed by INTUC, CITU, HMS and AITUC (Table 6.1.1.).
- 6.2.2 BMS has emerged as the largest CTUO in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. It is placed on the second position in Assam, Chandigarh, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. In Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Pondicherry BMS is ranked third (Tables 6.1.2 - 6.1.16).
- 6.2.3 BMS and INTUC have a good spread in all the states whereas 70 percent of the verified membership of CITU emanates only from West Bengal and Kerala; 90 percent of the membership of INTUC(LS) originates from West Bengal and 94 percent of the membership of INTUC emanates from West Bengal.

- 6.3.1 BMS has a claimed membership of 5 lakh and above in Andhra Pradesh, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. In Bihar, Maharashtra and Rajasthan it has a claimed membership ranging from 2.5 to 5 lakh. In Assam, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Vidarbha and West Bengal it ranges from 1 to 2.5 lakh. In all states, the BMS has an onward march (Tables 6.2.1 - 6.2.25).
- 6.4.1 BMS is fairly spread in all industries in India. It has secured the premier position in fifteen industries viz., clothing, electronics engineering, road transport, chemicals, building construction, local bodies, salaried employees, postal and telecommunication, hotels, banks and financial institutions, pencil, soap, self-employed, tea plantations and defence establishments. It has got second place in electricity, gas and power, sugar, cement, food and drinks, tanneries, petroleum and bricks and kilns (Tables 6.3.1 - 6.3.17).
- 6.5.1 Since 1980 the number of unions affiliated to BMS has increased by 111.04 percent and the claimed membership has increased by 154.72 percent, when compared with 1995 figures (Table 6.4).

CHAPTER VII

- 7.1.1 The researcher analyses the opinions of members and activists of unions affiliated to BMS in Chapter VII.
- 7.1.2 The hypotheses regarding the opinions of members on union identification and specialities of BMS have been tested by applying KS test. All the hypotheses have been rejected. Thus each statement has positive attitude of the respondents according to their importance ratings (Tables 7.1.1 - 7.1.13).

- 7.2.1 The analysis makes it very clear that the workers' identification with the unions affiliated to BMS is high (Table 7.2).
- 7.2.2 98 percent of the respondents view BMS as a non-political organisation. This statement is ranked first. 96 percent of the respondents are of the opinion that the union is not like a political party but a family. This statement is ranked second (Table 7.3).
- 7.3.1 The desire to serve others is the prominent motivational factor behind leadership in unions affiliated to BMS. This factor has secured first rank. Desire to fight against the exploitation of workers is the motivational factor ranked second by the respondents (Table 7.4).
- 7.3.2 All the respondents observe that they have nothing to do with the day-to-day politics. Thus, the non-political character of BMS is vindicated.
- 7.3.3 The commitment of activists of BMS is measured by their frequency of visit to BMS office for organisational work. The commitment of majority of the activists of BMS is commendable.

CHAPTER VIII

- 8.1.1 Chapter VIII brings out the active role played by BMS in the proceedings of International Labour Organisation.

- 8.1.2 The ILO is the only international body where governments, trade unions and employers' organisations cooperate on a basis of equality.
- 8.1.3 ILO activities benefit both highly industrialised and developing countries since the social problems inherent in technical process are universal and every country can benefit from the experience of others.
- 8.2.1 India has been one of the founder members of ILO. As an important country among the developing nations, its voice is heard with respect.
- 8.3.1 BMS has evinced keen interest in the activities of the ILO since its inception. It has a place in the Indian delegation to the annual International Labour Conference held at Geneva.
- 8.3.2 As a part of the liberalisation and globalisation of the world economy, there is a mounting pressure on third world countries to accept social clause along with the multilateral trade.
- 8.3.3 The central theme of the deliberations of 81st session of ILO in 1994 at Geneva was linking of social clause with world trade.
- 8.3.4 The trade unionists in developing countries were awakened by BMS by opposing the linkage of workers' rights and world trade. The INTUC and HMS had to remain silent due to their affiliation to ICFTU. Thus, the stand of BMS on non-affiliation to any international confederation is vindicated.

8.3.5 BMS submitted a joint memorandum to the Director General of WTO signed by the representatives of CTUOs in India and trade union representatives from third world countries in 1995 at the 82nd annual session of ILO. BMS got the prompt assurance from WTO that linkage of trade and social standards was not on the WTO's agenda for the time being.

CONCLUSION

The labour movement has been in the midst of a serious crisis all over the country. The picture is not at all promising for trade unions. Where have the unions gone wrong? As a Committee appointed by the American Labour Movement put it, "Unions find themselves behind the pace of change. They have been too rigid, too slow, too insensitive, and not quite willing to face facts".

The trade unions must revise their agenda if they are to survive into the 21st century. Some hundred years ago the aspirations of workers found expression in the ancient trinity of wages, hours and working conditions. Today workers want more-to have a say in the how, why and wherefore of their work. Working people increasingly do wish to have a greater say over what happens to them on the job. The countries where labour is involved in a participative relationship (e.g. Germany and Sweden), the trade unions have survived the crisis.

BMS, the CTUO under present study, stands for an ideal form of workers' financial participation in Indian industries. The shift from collective bargaining to a participation will not solve all the problems of trade unionism. But it could constitute an important beginning.

There is a vast tract of unexplored land in trade union research. The researcher observes that there is abundant scope and urgency for further research on labourisation. An attitudinal survey of employees, trade unions, employers' associations and management towards employee share ownership in Indian industries is the need of the hour and will be very much useful to all the constituents of industrial relations system in India in designing their future policies and programmes of action.

POSTSCRIPT

It is heartening to note that in a radical new plan for public sector restructuring and more transparent disinvestment, the Indian Industry Ministry has proposed workers' shareholding and mass ownership of public sector undertakings (PSUs). The Ministry's note seeks commitment of trade unions in this regard while assuring that measures would be implemented to protect their interests. The Department of Public Enterprises (DPE) has suggested that the disinvestment strategy should aim at offering 'substantial' number of shares to workers who will have the freedom to exercise their option. The workers could make small initial down payments, receive their shares and pay the balance over an extended period in instalments.

Source : Amitav Ranjan, 'Move to make PSUs Public - Owned', The Indian Express, June 28, 1996, p 1.

APPENDICES

- I Organised and Unorganised Sector
- II Questionnaires to Members and Office Bearers of BMS
- III All India Federations of BMS
- IV Shukra Neeti
- V Slogans of BMS
- VI Order and Sanction Scheme of BIFR regarding NCJM
- VII List of All India Conferences of BMS
- VIII Statewise Verified Membership of CTUOs
- IX Statewise Number of Unions affiliated with BMS and Claimed Membership.
- X Industrywise Verified Membership of CTUOs
- XI Percentiles of the D(n) distribution for KS Test
- XII Letter to WTO
- XIII Reply of WTO

APPENDIX - I

ORGANISED AND UNORGANISED SECTOR

Organised Sector

This term is used to refer to :

All establishments in the public sector, central, state, quasi-governmental establishments and local bodies , and

Non-agricultural establishments including plantation in the private sector employing 10 or more persons.

This sector is also termed as Formal Sector.

Unorganised Sector

This is a vast sector in which workers are protected neither by legislation nor by trade union organisation. Although the ILO prefers the term Informal sector, Unorganised is more commonly used in India because of their unprotected status.

This sector includes

Non-agricultural establishments in the private sector employing less than 10 persons;

All kinds of self employed people engaged in income generating activities; and agriculture.

Source : K.V. Easwara Prasad, 'Trends in Employment', E.A.Ramaswamy (Ed.),
CountDown: Essays for Trade Unionists, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, New Delhi, 1994, p.10.

APPENDIX - II

QUESTIONNAIRE TO TRADE UNION MEMBERS

- 1 Bio - Data :
- i. Name and Address :
 - ii. Age :
 - iii. Academic Qualification :
 - iv. Details about employment :
 - a. Name of the industry in which you are employed :
 - b. Your designation in the industry :
 - c. Number of years of your service in the industry : - v. Number of years of your association with BMS :
- 2 Union Identification : Please put a tick mark
- 2.1 The BMS union is useful to workers
- Strongly Agree Agree Not Sure
- Disagree Strongly Disagree
- 2.2 It makes little difference to me whether I remain a member of the union or leave it.
- Strongly Agree Agree Not Sure
- Disagree Strongly Disagree

2.3. The union fulfills the interests of the leaders and not the workers

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3. Specialities of BMS : Please put a tick mark

3.1. Strike is the last weapon

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3.2. The agitations are disciplined

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3.3. Union's money is used only for the organisation and not for personal gains

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3.4. Leaders/Activists serve as role models by being good at their job

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3.5. During talks/negotiations BMS never allow hatred to assume upper hand

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3.6. The union is not like a political party but a family.

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3.7. Filthy abusive language is not used at gate meetings or public meetings

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3.8. BMS is a non-political organisation

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

3.9. Suggestions and ideas coming from other organisations are considered with due respect.

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

4.0 An ordinary member of BMS has a say in the Organisation

Strongly agree Agree Not Sure

Disagree Strongly Disagree

QUESTIONNAIRE TO TRADE UNION OFFICE BEARERS

I Bio - Data

- i. Name and Address :
- ii. Age :
- iii. Academic Qualification :
- iv. Details about employment :
 - a. Name of the Industry in which you are employed :
 - b. Your designation in the industry :
 - c. Number of years of your service in the industry :
- v. Details about your association with BMS:
 - a. Your responsibility in BMS :
 - b. Number of years of your association with BMS :

2. Motivational Factors behind Union leadership:

Please assign the ranks 1,2,3 and 4 and so on to the following factors according to your preference

- a) Desire to serve others
- b) Desire to fight against the exploitation of the Workers
- c) Desire to spread BMS ideology among the workers
- d) Desire to spread nationalistic spirit among the workers

e) Desire to instil discipline among the workers

3. Involvement in political parties:

Are you an active member of any political party? Please put a tick mark:

Yes

No

4. Frequency of Visit to BMS Office :

Daily

Once or twice a week

Several times a month

Monthly once

Occasionally

APPENDIX - III
LIST OF ALL INDIA FEDERATIONS OF BMS

S.No.	Federation	Industry
1.	Bharatiya Vastra Udyog Karmachari Mahasangh	Textile
2.	Bharatiya Jute Mazdoor Sangh	Jute
3.	Akhil Bharatiya Ispat Mazdoor Sangh	Iron & Steel
4.	Bharatiya Engineering Mazdoor Sangh	Engineering
5.	Bharatiya Parivahan Mazdoor Sangh	Road Transport
6.	Bharatiya Port Dock Mazdoor Sangh	Port
7.	Akhil Bharatiya Khadan Mazdoor Sangh	Coal Mines
8.	Akhil Bharatiya Khanij Dhatu Mazdoor Sangh	Non-Coal Mines
9.	Akhil Bharatiya Krishi Mazdoor Sangh	Agricultural Labourers
10.	Akhil Bharatiya Sugar Mill Mazdoor Sangh	Sugar
11.	Bharatiya Pulp, Paper & Straw Board Mazdoor Sangh	Paper
12.	Bharatiya Cement Mazdoor Sangh	Cement
13.	Akhil Bharatiya Bidi Mazdoor Sangh	Bidi
14.	Bharatiya Swayattashasi Karmachari Sangh	Local bodies
15.	Akhil Bharatiya Anganwadi Karmachari Mahasangh	Child care Women Workers
16.	National Organisation of Insurance Workers	Insurance
17.	National Organisation of Bank Workers	Bank
18.	National Organisation of Bank Officers	Bank
19.	Akhil Bharatiya Vidyut Mazdoor Sangh	Electricity

APPENDIX - IV

SHUKRA NEETI

20.	Akhil Bharatiya Kendriya Sarvajanik Pratishthan Mazdoor Sangh	Central Public Sector undertakings
21.	Akhil Bharatiya Kendriya Sarvajanik Pratishthan Adhikari Evam Paryavekshak	Central Public Sector undertakings
22.	Bharatiya Postal Employees' Federation	Postal
23.	Bharatiya Telecom Employees' Federation	Tele Communication
24.	Bharatiya Railway Mazdoor Sangh	Railway
25.	Bharatiya Pratiraksha Mazdoor Sangh	Defence Establishments
26.	Rashtriya Rajya Karmachari Maha Sangh	State Govt. Employees
27.	Kendriya Karmachari Sangh	Central Govt. Employees

APPENDIX - IV

SHUKRA NEETI

Shukra Neeti is a veritable mine of secular ideals in the realms of civics, economics and politics. It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of Shukra Neeti. It gives valuable ideas on industrial relations. The English translation of relevant Samskrit verses on industrial relations is presented.

Ideal Relations

An ideal employee is one who does not desert his employer when the latter is in adversity and an ideal employer is one who is prepared even to embrace death for the preservation and promotion of the interests of his employees.

Types of Wages

Wages should be paid according to piece rate, or time rate or time cum piece rate.

Periods for Payment

There are three measurements of time - the solar, the lunar and the savana. The solar is to be followed in respect of the payment of salaries; the lunar for the calculation of interest; and the savana for the payment of daily wages.

Types of Employees

There are three types of employees: (i) those who are perfectly loyal; (ii) those hankering after higher wages only; and (iii) those who betray their employers even after receiving decent wages.

Grades of Employees

There are three grades of employees : the unskilled, the semi-skilled and skilled; there wages should be determined according to merit.

Gradation of Wages

Wages are termed as 'ordinary' if they are adequate to procure necessities of life; 'high', if they can provide more than enough of food and clothing; and 'low', if they are sufficient only to maintain one person on subsistence level. The wages should be linked with the skill of qualification of an employee. This is in the interest of the state also.

Fair Wages

Necessaries of life are to be purchased from the amount of wages. The wages of an employee should, therefore, be so determined as to enable him to procure all the necessities.

Payment of Wages

Wages should never be forfeited, nor their payment be withheld or postponed. (The payment must be made when it become due).

Industrial Disputes

Low wages, harsh treatment, insults and abuses, and imposition of heavy fines or severe punishment are the causes of industrial unrest.

Satisfied with adequate wages, promoted honourably, and consoled or cheered up by soft words, the employees would never desert their employer.

Industrial disputes should be settled taking into account the evidence of witnesses, documents and acquisitions.

An expert in any one branch of knowledge is not competent to settle any dispute. This work should, therefore, be entrusted to one who is proficient in various sciences.

In any dispute five factors are responsible for partiality in judgement. They are: favouritism, greed, fear, rivalry and in-camara proceedings.

Leave Rules

Provision for sufficient leisure during the day and the night and for holidays with pay on all festivals, unless the nature of the job is emergent - in which case also the holidays with pay should be granted on the Shraddha day.

Annual Leave with Pay

Employees should be granted fifteen days' annual leave with pay.

Sickness Benefit

In cases of prolonged illness, employees who have put in more than five years of service, are entitled to receive three-fourths of their wages for a period of three months; but after a period of six months, the employer is under no obligation to pay sickness benefit.

No deduction should be made from the wages if an employee is sick for one week.

An employee who is permanently ill should be replaced by his own nominee. A highly qualified employee should be paid half the wages for the entire period of his illness.

Provident Fund in Principle

One-sixth or one-fourth of the wages of an employee should be deducted and he should be paid back half or the full amount so deducted after two or three years.

Pension and Family Allowance

An employee who has served for forty years should be paid a pension equal to half his wages, throughout his life.

And after his death a family allowance equal to half the amount of his pension, i.e., one-fourth of his original wages, should be paid to his wife or daughter, so long as his son is minor.

Priority in service

The son of an employee who dies in harness becomes automatically entitled to the wages (i.e. the employment) of his deceased father ; on his attaining majority, his wages should be determined according to his qualifications.

Bonus and Efficiency Bonus

Every year an employee should be granted one-eighth of his earnings as bonus. If he does his work efficiently, he should be granted one-eighth of the piece-rate earnings, i.e., his remuneration for that work as efficiency bonus.

In this context, it will be interesting to read the following description of the virtues that ideal servants should possess. This is an extract from the Kadambari of Banabhatta (7th Century A.D).

Ideal servants are those who serve their master with greater devotion in adversity than in prosperity. When they are raised to a higher position (by their master), they bend down all the more. If the master makes them talk, they do not do so, on the same level as his equals would do. When they are being praised, they do not get puffed up. If they are slighted, they do not take it ill. When spoken to, they do not reply in contradictory words. When consulted, they give pleasant and beneficial suggestions. They act before being ordered. Having acted, they do not talk about their actions. Having done brave deeds, they do not boast of them. Even when they are spoken of highly, they feel shy. On occasions of great battles, they stand ahead of all. On occasions of distributing gifts, they run away and hide themselves at the backside. They value affection more than monetary gains.

- Source :
1. M. Kathiresa Chettiar, Shukra Neeti, Sanmarga Sabha, Melai Sivapuri, 1982.
 2. D.B. Thengadi, Why Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, Hindustan Sahitya, Pune, 1959. pp.22-30.
 3. R.G.Rajwade, Labour Management, (W.G. Khasgiwale-Ed.), Nalini R. Rajwade, Bombay, 1984, pp.201-6.

APPENDIX V

SLOGANS OF BMS

1. "We will work in country's interest and will demand full wages".
2. "In the new era to come he who earns will feed".
3. "What is the badge of BMS? Suffering, sacrifice and martyrdom"
4. "Workers : Unite the World"
5. "Bharat Mata Ki Jai" (Victory to Mother India).

APPENDIX - VI

Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction Case No.80/87 Re. New Central Jute Mills Ltd.

ORDER

This case was first heard on the 12th January, 1988 when the IRBI was appointed the Operating Agency under section 17(3) of the Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provisions) Act, 1985 to prepare a package for the rehabilitation of the company. The report of the IRBI was submitted to the Board and discussed at a hearing on the 18th of November, 1988. Arising out of this, the Operating Agency was directed to modify the report in some respects. This modified report of the IRBI was discussed at a hearing on the 23rd August 1989. At that time the State Bank of India was not prepared to accept some of the aspects relating to it in the draft published scheme. Further, the State Government's guarantee regarding working capital was also very vague. The Bench reserved orders till these two matters were clarified and asked the Operating Agency to revise this scheme changing the 'cut off' date to 31.10.89. This revised scheme was submitted by the Operating Agency and discussed at a hearing on the 30th of March this year. Matters could not come to a conclusion even at this hearing. The company wanted to change their projections and the SBI insisted on guarantee from the State Government in respect of future working capital. The last hearing of this case was on the 23rd August, 1990 where the further revised report of the Operating Agency was discussed. The enclosed scheme is sanctioned on the basis of these discussions and subsequent developments.

Sd.
(RR GUPTA)
MEMBER

Sd.
(MS NARAYANAN)
MEMBER

SANCTIONED SCHEME

CAPITAL STRUCTURE AND SHAREHOLDING PATTERN

The authorised capital of NCJM is Rs.500 Lakh divided into 2 Lakh Preference Shares of Rs.100/- each and 30 Lakh Equity Shares of Rs.10 each. The issued and paid up capital of NCJM as on 31.3.1990 was as under:

	(Rs. in Lakh)
25,60,000 Equity Shares of Rs.10 each fully paid up	256
33,000 7% Cumulative Pref. Shares of Rs.100 each fully paid up	33
	289

2. Pattern of Shareholdings:

	No. of shares	Value	%
A. Equity Shares			
i) Promoters Group			
1. Dharmayug Inv.	1,85,000	18,50,000	7.23
2. Ashoka Marketing Ltd.	1,50,000	15,00,000	5.86
3. Industrial Investors Ltd.	1,40,000	14,00,000	5.47
4. Mahavir Finance Ltd.	1,05,000	10,50,000	4.10
5. Caravan Commercial Co.Ltd.	1,60,000	16,00,000	6.25

6.	Ashoka Holdings Ltd.	2,15,000	21,58,000	8.43
7.	Ashoka Viniyog Ltd.	68,931	6,89,310	2.69
		-----	-----	-----
		10,24,731	1,02,47,310	40.03
ii)	Banks	42,842	4,28,420	1.67
iii)	Financial Institution: LIC	31,500	3,15,000	1.23
iv)	Others	14,60,927	1,46,09,270	57.07
		-----	-----	-----
		25,60,000	2,56,00,000	100.00
		-----	-----	-----

B. Preference Shares:

	No. of shares	Value (Rs.)	%
i) Promoter Group:			
Dharmayug Inv. Ltd.	3,685	3,68,500	11.17
ii) Banks	3,094	3,09,400	9.37
iii) LIC	10,481	10,48,100	31.76
iv) GIC and subsidiaries	105	10,500	0.32
v) Others	15,635	15,63,500	47.38
	-----	-----	-----
	33,000	33,00,000	100.00
	-----	-----	-----

3. It is proposed that 90% of the Equity share capital and 75% of the Preference Share capital is to be written off. At the extra ordinary General meeting held on 28th November, 1988, the consent of the shareholders in principle, to such reduction of capital and to forego arrear dividend on Preference Shares has already been obtained. Shares of the erstwhile promoter group shall be transferred to the employees and to the Government of West Bengal, to the extent to which they have not already been transferred. Employees are investing Rs.510.29 lakh by way of Equity and the Govt. of West Bengal is investing Rs.400 lakh by way of Equity. The remaining shares of the erstwhile promoter group

(both Preference shares and Equity shares) shall be transferred to the workers at Re.1 per share. After the transfer, the shareholding position as on 31.3.92 shall be as under:

	Equity Value Rs.in Lakh	%	Pref. Value Rs.in Lakh	%
i) Govt. of W.B.	400.00	41.17	-	-
ii) Employees	500.25	52.51	0.04	12.12
iii) Bank/Financial Institutions	0.74	0.08	0.14	42.43
iv) IRBI	46.00	4.74	-	-
v) Others	14.61	1.50	0.15	45.45
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Total	971.60	100.00	0.33	100.00
	-----	-----	-----	-----

4	Cost of the Project:	Rs.in Lakh
A)	Cost of Capital Expenditure for Modernisation	264
B)	Payment to Pressing Creditors:	
	i) Arrear Gratuity/Wages/Salary (for already retired)	180
	ii) Gratuity (Superannuated to be retired)	85
	iii) Payment to Employees' Co-op. Credit Society	60
	iv) Misc. Taxes & Other dues	20
	v) CESC	32
	vi) Jute & Other creditors	129

		506

C)	Secured and Unsecured Loans of Bodies Corporate		41
D)	Payment of Statutory dues:		
	i) 20% of PF dues upto 30.6.90	246	
	ii) 20% of ESI dues upto 30.6.90	63	
		-----	309
E)	Margin money for working capital		68
			<hr/>
			1188
			<hr/>

5. Means of Finance:

(Rs. in Lakh)

		Employees	W.B. Govt.	Bank	Other Financial Institution	Total	
i)	Equity Participation	-	263	-	-	263	
ii)	Loans from Bank and Financial Institutions	-	-	4	270	274	
iii)	Special Loan						
	a. Under JMFS	-	-	-	42	42	
	b. Under JDFS	-	-	-	309	309	
iv)	Special interest free Loan from Govt. of W.B.	-	300	-	-	300	
	Total		<hr/>	563	4	621	1188
						<hr/>	

The employees would be providing by 30.6.1990 a sum of Rs.9 crore to the company (including outstanding bonus of Re.150 lakh). Out of this, Rs.5 crore will be adjusted towards Equity and Rs.2 crore will be paid @ Rs.20 lakh per annum and balance Rs.2 crore shall be continued as interest - free loan repayable from accumulated surpluses, after servicing the debts, on a year to year basis. In addition, as mentioned above, the remaining Preference and Equity shares of the erstwhile promoter group will also be transferred to the employees at the rate of Re.1 per share.

Source: Bajj Nath Rai, Story of New Central Jute Mill, Bharatiya Labour Research Centre, Pune, 1992, pp.15-20.

APPENDIX VII

LIST OF ALL INDIA CONFERENCES OF BMS

S.No.	Place	Date
1.	Delhi	August 12-13, 1967
2.	Kanpur	April 11-12, 1970
3.	Bombay	May 22-23, 1972
4.	Amritsar	April 19-20, 1975
5.	Jaipur	April 21-23, 1978
6.	Calcutta	March 07-08, 1981
7.	Hyderabad	January 09-11, 1984
8.	Bangalore	December 26-28, 1987
9.	Baroda	February 21-22, 1991
10.	Dhanbad	March 18-20, 1994

APPENDIX - VIII

STATEWISE VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs

STATE	INTUC		BMS	
	1980	1989	1980	1989
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR	165	0	0	0
ANDHRA	115,277	178,876	14,565	642,371
ARUNACHAL	0	0	0	0
ASSAM	217,641	243,713	49,280	75,080
BIHAR	223,363	222,609	159,843	329,830
CHANDIGARH	1,324	682	2,746	2,433
DELHI	70,874	197,700	120,937	491,648
GOA	8,512	2,310	0	1,475
GUJARAT	71,272	45,618	10,436	22,743
HARYANA	10,533	9,832	27,606	51,064
HIMACHAL	11,535	45,824	18,174	38,890
JAMMU & KASHMIR	249	105	4,364	10,861
KARNATAKA	55,960	15,218	37,697	28,085
KERALA	56,186	49,476	3,276	28,618
MADHYA PRADESH	118,061	232,019	67,810	168,759
MAHARASHTRA	451,665	449,766	176,554	251,423
MANIPUR	453	1,167	0	0

STATE	HMS		UTUC(LS)		NLO	
	1980	1989	1980	1989	1980	1989
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR	0	0	0	0	0	0
ANDHRA	59,940	105,003	0	0	0	0
ARUNACHAL	0	0	0	0	0	0
ASSAM	6,031	48,306	813	247	0	0
BIHAR	29,960	219,014	89,585	50,986	0	0
CHANDIGARH	1,255	11,888	0	0	0	0
DELHI	98,132	142,049	0	4,327	300	0
GOA	1,560	5,191	0	0	0	0
GUJARAT	13,296	14,274	0	0	228,687	62,715
HARYANA	7,696	12,378	1,745	0	0	0
HIMACHAL	0	0	0	0	0	0
JAMMU & KASHMIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
KARNATAKA	13,522	6,504	0	0	289	0
KERALA	1,381	5,647	98	10,633	0	7
MADHYA PRADESH	9,393	40,961	0	20	3,946	48,517
MAHARASHTRA	289,837	390,243	0	0	0	0
MANIPUR	0	202	0	0	0	0
MEGHALAYA	0	0	0	0	0	0
NAGALAND	0	0	0	0	0	0
ORISSA	22,619	137,256	7,576	15,273	0	0
PONDICHERRY	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUNJAB	2,515	24,229	0	0	0	140
RAJASTHAN	1,626	2,908	0	800	0	0

MEGHALAYA	789	3,161	0	0	
NAGALAND	0	578	0	0	
ORISSA	36,515	45,101	7,583	6,218	
PONDICHERRY	888	0	0	104	
PUNJAB	13,844	29,842	65,835	119,797	0
RAJASTHAN	36,447	28,650	86,958	229,036	140
SIKKIM	0	0	0	0	0
TAMILNADU	157,808	185,341	5,710	26,542	9
TRIPURA	5,626	1,690	0	0	0
UTTAR PRADESH	98,288	71,786	260,984	450,826	0
WEST BENGAL	472,853	654,747	90,987	141,521	0
TOTAL	2,236,128	2,706,451	1,211,345	3,117,324	140

STATE	UTUC		TUCC		NFITU	
	1980	1989	1980	1989	1980	1989
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR	0	0	0	0	0	0
ANDHRA	0	0	0	0	0	0
ARUNACHAL	0	0	0	0	0	0
ASSAM	0	1,346	0	0	0	0
BIHAR	3,497	12,241	0	0	0	73,889
CHANDIGARH	0	0	0	0	0	0
DELHI	3,678	9,071	0	1,317	0	20,907
GOA	0	0	0	0	0	0
GUJARAT	0	0	0	0	0	0
HARYANA	0	0	0	0	0	0
HIMACHAL	0	0	0	0	0	0
JAMMU & KASHMIR	0	0	0	0	0	0
KARNATAKA	0	0	0	0	0	0
KERALA	5,951	85,470	0	11	0	0
MADHYA PRADESH	972	1,955	0	0	0	0
MAHARASHTRA	1,344	1,643	0	3,400	205	0
MANIPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEGHALAYA	0	0	0	0	0	0
NAGALAND	0	0	0	0	0	0
ORISSA	0	0	0	0	16,503	0
PONDICHERRY	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUNJAB	0	0	0	0	0	0
RAJASTHAN	0	0	0	0	0	0

SIKKIM	0	0	0	0	0	0
TAMILNADU	94,183	29,865	0	1,669	3,512	27,498
TRIPURA	0	0	0	0	0	0
UTTAR PRADESH	24,860	51,575	0	0	9,806	0
WEST BENGAL	85,076	229,979	521,542	718,851	0	0
TOTAL	762,882	1,477,472	621,359	802,806	246,540	138,877

1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985
 2171E 2171C 2171D 2171E 2171F

STATE	AITUC		CITU		IFFTU	
	1980	1989	1980	1989	1980	1989
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR	0	0	0	2,111	0	0
ANDHRA	80,504	225,937	15,789	71,259	0	0
ARUNACHAL	0	0	0	0	0	0
ASSAM	2,142	15,901	3,485	30,263	0	0
BIHAR	19,918	120,117	7,048	40,337	0	0
CHANDIGARH	805	0	665	0	0	0
DELHI	7,932	17,085	936	22,007	0	0
GOA	2,857	10,003	573	0	0	0
GUJARAT	12,815	21,418	2,078	8,440	0	0
HARYANA	3,343	4,294	3,878	9,711	0	0
HIMACHAL	638	1,146	452	472	0	0
JAMMU & KASHMIR	173	0	0	0	0	0
KARNATAKA	27,251	30,444	9,194	35,711	0	0
KERALA	32,310	95,149	26,118	393,776	0	0
MADHYA PRADESH	47,451	27,885	6,595	17,578	0	0
MAHARASHTRA	9,059	39,479	2,324	27,632	0	0
MANIPUR	422	0	0	0	0	0
MEGHALAYA	350	0	0	0	0	0
NAGALAND	0	0	0	0	0	0
ORISSA	6,305	23,300	7,754	39,120	0	0
PONDICHERRY	760	402	1,249	1,172	0	0
PUNJAB	3,918	30,866	8,496	54,897	0	0
RAJASTHAN	7,379	4,531	9,658	12,376	0	0

SIKKIM	0	0	0	0	0	0
TAMILNADU	2,596	113	106	0	0	0
TRIPURA	0	0	0	196	0	0
UTTAR PRADESH	9,737	3,629	8,366	5,982	4,000	0
WEST BENGAL	137,839	424,055	114,576	219,233	63,415	4,34,986
TOTAL	165,614	539,523	123,048	230,139	84,123	529,782

ANDHRA PRADESH	0	0	0	0	0	0
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	0	0	0	0	0	0
ASSAM	0	0	0	0	0	0
BHARAT	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHHATTISGARH	0	0	0	0	0	0
GUJARAT	0	0	0	0	0	0
HARYANA	0	0	0	0	0	0
JHARKHAND	0	0	0	0	0	0
KARNATAKA	0	0	0	0	0	0
KERALA	0	0	0	0	0	0
MAHARASHTRA	0	0	0	0	0	0
MIZORAM	0	0	0	0	0	0
NAGALAND	0	0	0	0	0	0
ODISHA	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUNJAB	0	0	0	0	0	0
RAJASTHAN	0	0	0	0	0	0
TAMILNADU	0	0	0	0	0	0
TELANGANA	0	0	0	0	0	0
TRIPURA	0	0	0	0	0	0
UTTAR PRADESH	0	0	0	0	0	0
WEST BENGAL	0	0	0	0	0	0

1980 1980 1980 1980 1980 1980

STATE	HMKP		TOTAL	
	1980	1989	1980	1989
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR	0	0	165	2,111
ANDHRA	0	0	286,075	1,153,086
ARUNACHAL	0	0	0	70,360
ASSAM	0	0	279,392	405,586
BIHAR	0	0	533,214	1,069,023
CHANDIGARH	0	0	6,795	15,003
DELHI	0	0	302,789	906,111
GOA	0	0	13,502	18,979
GUJARAT	0	2,515	338,584	177,723
HARYANA	0	0	54,801	87,279
HIMACHAL	0	0	30,799	86,332
JAMMU & KASHMIR	0	0	4,786	10,966
KARNATAKA	0	0	143,913	115,962
KERALA	0	0	125,320	668,780
MADHYA PRADESH	0	650	254,228	538,344
MAHARASHTRA	0	0	930,988	1,163,586
MANIPUR	0	0	875	1,369
MEGHALAYA	0	0	1,139	3,161
NAGALAND	0	0	0	578
ORISSA	0	0	104,855	266,268
PONDICHERRY	0	0	2,897	1,678
PUNJAB	0	0	94,608	259,411
RAJASTHAN	0	0	142,068	278,301

SIKKIM	0	0	0	0	0	0
TAMILNADU	26,867	50,561	34,588	133,128	0	0
TRIPURA	0	1,296	4,093	12,808	0	0
UTTAR PRADESH	18,282	44,742	19,358	13,848	0	0
WEST BENGAL	33,265	160,137	166,700	870,271	0	428

TOTAL	344,746	923,517	331,031	1,798,093	0	428
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ANDHRA PRADESH	0	0	0	0	0	0
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	0	0	0	0	0	0
ASSAM	0	0	0	0	0	0
BHARAT	0	0	0	0	0	0
CHHATTISGARH	0	0	0	0	0	0
GUJARAT	0	0	0	0	0	0
HARYANA	0	0	0	0	0	0
KARNATAKA	0	0	0	0	0	0
KERALA	0	0	0	0	0	0
MAHARASHTRA	0	0	0	0	0	0
MIZORAM	0	0	0	0	0	0
NAGALAND	0	0	0	0	0	0
ODISHA	0	0	0	0	0	0
PUNJAB	0	0	0	0	0	0
RAJASTHAN	0	0	0	0	0	0
TAMILNADU	0	0	0	0	0	0
TELANGANA	0	0	0	0	0	0
TRIPURA	0	0	0	0	0	0
UTTAR PRADESH	0	0	0	0	0	0
WEST BENGAL	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX - IX
STATEWISE NUMBER OF UNIONS AFFILIATED WITH BMS AND
CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP

STATE	1967		1970		1977		1980		1982	
	UNION	MEMBERSHIP	UNION	MEMBERSHIP	UNION	MEMBERSHIP	UNION	MEMBERSHIP	UNION	MEMBERSHIP
ANDHRA	10	12,000	31	30,000	75	47,000	74	53,212	150	110,500
ASSAM	1	2,000	6	5,000	10	45,252	12	70,112	16	71,254
ARUNACHAL										
BIHAR	21	25,000	32	42,000	66	90,325	81	188,284	101	221,241
CHANDIGARH	6	850	8	1,500	20	4,430	17	3,887	17	3,900
DELHI	40	45,143	55	60,000	76	107,230	115	419,206	101	412,983
GOA									1	168
GUJARAT	13	1,000	14	5,000	28	15,500	37	18,000	38	20,000
HARYANA	25	6,000	30	11,500	62	42,000	73	36,310	86	43,508
HIMACHAL			6	1,000	18	10,000	19	18,186	26	20,000
J & K			1	100	7	1,500	17	5,775	18	6,142
KARNATAKA	20	6,000	31	10,000	63	26,000	81	42,128	92	50,000
KERALA	1	50	10	1,000	50	5,525	36	7,500	45	8,734
MADHYA										
PRADESH	32	8,757	105	35,000	144	75,000	177	98,440	155	122,000
MAHARASHTRA	68	51,143	111	91,000	123	113,074	154	135,685	160	149,300
NAGALAND							1	115	1	115
ORISSA	1	800	4	3,500	11	3,000	17	8,271	14	11,549
PONDICHERY										
PUNJAB	40	10,759	120	30,000	142	90,000	168	95,000	167	110,000
RAJASTHAN	43	23,100	66	40,000	205	190,000	150	121,229	224	136,160

SIKKIM	0	0	0	0
TAMILNADU	0	226	325,370	454,943
TRIPURA	0	0	9,719	15,990
UTTAR PRADESH	0	0	453,681	642,388
WEST BENGAL	0	125	1,686,253	3,853,905
TOTAL	0	3,516	6,126,816	12,267,928

Source : CLC(C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs, Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

STATE WISE MEMBERSHIP DATA FOR THE YEAR 2011-12

STATEWISE MEMBERSHIP

STATEWISE NUMBER OF UNIONS VERIFIED WITH BMS AND

STATE	1985		1986		1989		1993		1994	
	UNION	MEMBERSHIP	UNION	MEMBERSHIP	UNION	MEMBERSHIP	UNION	MEMBERSHIP	UNION	MEMBERSHIP
ANDHRA	275	125,000	235	249,294	275	574,017	331	650,275	346	669,256
ASSAM	16	175,256	20	104,585	18	111,356	24	125,440	26	127,140
ARUNACHAL					1	175	1	175	1	175
BIHAR	150	357,576	152	422,848	166	456,832	174	459,970	182	466,570
CHANDIGARH	17	4,000	21	4,000	15	5,000	13	5,000	13	5,000
DELHI	92	630,835	91	655,215	98	800,761	103	801,450	107	801,700
GOA	2	300	1	300	6	3,029	7	9,820	8	9,876
GUJARAT	58	20,000	66	24,762	80	20,216	110	30,000	113	31,130
HARYANA	113	43,800	108	69,103	132	69,113	150	82,000	157	83,390
HIMACHAL	37	22,500	46	30,159	48	40,131	50	40,000	54	40,280
JAMMU &										
KASHMIR	22	11,942	23	16,064	30	16,342	39	19,045	42	19,226
KARNATAKA	114	56,000	108	90,030	118	92,178	125	95,000	132	97,110
KERALA	100	18,507	123	29,616	152	43,449	177	100,000	182	101,938
MADHYA										
PRADESH	169	163,622	164	167,790	191	172,950	220	230,510	236	237,903
MAHARASHTRA	161	158,569	175	215,564	166	203,000	238	289,290	255	299,243
NAGALAND	1	350	1	350	1	250	1	250	1	250
ORISSA	13	12,495	15	15,987	24	15,739	65	51,280	67	51,340
PONDICHERRY	1	33	2	104	2	104	2	800	2	800
PUNJAB	183	111,800	184	130,204	190	125,000	210	154,000	216	157,880
RAJASTHAN	158	165,150	155	230,956	245	286,565	419	345,785	433	365,509
TRIPURA	1	1,100	1	800	1	450	1	450	1	450
TAMILNADU	16	29,985	16	31,335	26	30,071	56	42,310	57	42,340

TRIPURA						1	2,000	1	2,000	
TAMILNADU	5	500	5	2,000	2	26,500	8	31,325	7	12,600
UTTAR										
PRADESH	149	43,000	174	63,000	292	140,000	352	272,665	384	345,000
VIDARBHIA	54	9,500	54	15,000	45	13,043	47	76,450	68	82,786
WEST BENGAL	14	1,300	36	10,000	116	38,109	138	102,130	135	113,781
TOTAL	543	246,902	899	456,600	1555	1,083,488	1775	1,805,910	2007	2,053,721

ANDHRA PRADESH	1	32	3	100	2	100	2	800	2	800
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	12	12,000	12	12,000	24	24,000	48	48,000	48	48,000
ASSAM	1	200	1	200	1	200	1	200	1	200
BHARAT	101	101,000	101	101,000	101	101,000	101	101,000	101	101,000
CHHATTISGARH	100	100,000	100	100,000	101	101,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
GUJARAT	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
KARNATAKA	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
KERALA	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
MADHYA PRADESH	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
MAHARASHTRA	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
MIZORAM	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
NAGALAND	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
ODISHA	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
PUNJAB	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
RAJASTHAN	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
TAMILNADU	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
TELANGANA	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
UPPRAJ	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000
WEST BENGAL	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000	100	100,000

TABLE SHOWING THE STATE WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL INVESTMENT IN THE SECTOR OF...

APPENDIX - X

INDUSTRYWISE VERIFIED MEMBERSHIP OF CTUOs

INDUSTRY	INTUC		BMS	
	1980	1989	1980	1989
TEXTILES	395,570	208,022	120,05	100,354
C LOTHING	0	1,969	0	75,063
JUTE	0	89,960	0	45,405
IRON & STEEL	101,378	116,905	51,585	57,939
METALS	12,279	13,655	7,003	6,306
ENGG (MECHANICAL)	137,590	124,124	122,895	101,326
ENGG (ELECTRICALS)	0	24,527	0	31,577
ENGG (ELECTRONICS)	0	0	0	3,711
ENGG (OTHERS)	0	0	0	0
ELEC. GAS & POWER	49,407	169,694	75,597	166,609
TRANSPORT (RAILWAYS)	485,467	661,532	356,335	493,001
WATER TPT/WATER WAYS	0	280	0	609
ROADWAYS	0	137,083	0	145,573
AIR TRANSPORT	0	4,527	0	0
PLANTATIONS	315,640	108,842	34,798	3,963
COAL MINING	233,778	257,082	67,617	132,138
MINING OF MINERALS	0	49,602	0	22,111
QUARRYING	0	12,595	0	963
SUGAR	71,723	55,740	32,253	50,942
CEMENT	27,042	22,838	6,056	11,931
CHEMICALS	49,793	32,397	16,399	33,549
BLDG.CONSTRUCTIONS	27,377	35,134	41,241	97,142
FOOD AND DRINKS	36,111	15,540	9,040	57,326

UTTAR

PRADESH	384	405,000	416	542,984	467	550,310	558	600,000	573	619,306
VIDARBHA	68	112,293	82	105,758	69	110,330	104	105,300	108	105,608
WEST BENGAL	145	135,405	148	158,751	156	162,138	189	173,490	195	179,180
TOTAL	2296	2,761,418	2353	3,296,559	2677	3,889,506	3367	4,411,640	3507	4,512,600

Source : Reports of General Secretary, BMS

INDUSTRIAL	1980	1986	1991	1996
INDUSTRIAL	1980	1986	1991	1996

INDUSTRIAL / MEMBERSHIP OF C.I.O.P.

INDUSTRY	HMS		UTUC(LS)		NLO		UTUC
	1980	1989	1980	1989	1980	1989	1980
TEXTILES	38,831	29,922	23,941	2,681	176,169	47,497	3,937
CLOTHING	0	0	0	1,447	0	0	0
JUTE	0	1,963	0	33,175	0	0	0
IRON & STEEL	18,116	34,901	19,316	27,982	200	0	0
METALS	3,970	3,057	88	747	0	0	175
ENGG (MECHANICAL)	49,610	39,404	31,377	0	7,202	32	17,389
ENGG (ELECTRICALS)	0	280	0	8,994	0	3,016	0
ENGG (ELECTRONICS)	0	1,208	0	0	0	0	0
ENGG (OTHERS)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ELEC. GAS & POWER	1,167	19,761	1,309	4,535	3,568	2,038	0
TRANSPORT (RAILWAYS)	311,128	623,189	4,940	51,530	15,046	0	1,821
WATER TPT/WATERWAYS	0	4,026	0	0	0	0	0
ROADWAYS	0	47,830	0	8,117	0	16,517	0
AIR TRANSPORT	0	235	0	0	0	0	0
PLANTATIONS	50,516	3,026	8,417	2,461	0	1,323	92,733
COAL MINING	49,198	145,947	66,885	44,846	3,996	48,517	2,074
MINING OF MINERALS	0	1,340	0	7,230	0	200	0
QUARRYING	1,005	0	2,097	6,387	0	0	0
SUGAR	32,853	19,623	0	172	661	165	2,116
CEMENT	6,973	9,910	6,685	0	674	470	0
CHEMICALS	6,348	18,194	1,145	1,395	5,948	2,805	1,205
BLDG.CONSTRUCTIONS	3,810	23,924	727	21,605	269	85	1,010
FOOD AND DRINKS	2,307	2,270	7,125	9,753	6,549	2,563	4,037
TOBACCO	3,946	95,326	86,176	0	199	0	79
TANNERIES & LEATHER GOODS	0	0	667	190	1,350	0	200
PAPER & PAPER PRODUCTS	1,144	734	0	1,230	39	0	125
PRINTING & PUBLISHING	0	3,629	0	14,554	33	167	1,291

TOBACCO	6,153	2,660	14,500	328
TANNERIES & LEATHER GOODS	669	1,919	2,679	4,079
PAPER & PAPER PRODUCTS	18,430	11,945	4,169	10,663
PRINTING & PUBLISHING	0	7,698	0	11,962
LOCAL BODIES	24,254	24,412	25,952	74,992
GLASS & POTTERY	13,447	7,390	3,813	6,978
PETROLEUM	15,735	15,970	15	2,207
SALARIED EMPLOYEES	87,119	36,462	55,005	209,259
P & T WORKERS	0	957	0	219,835
HOTEL, RESTAURANT CAFES	0	2,536	0	45,725
PERSONAL SERVICES	8,423	2,990	20,090	25,602
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS	19,278	32,853	36,816	93,001
PORTS, DOCKS & MARITIME	51,341	41,142	3,248	8,239
COIR	1,026	90	0	110
BRICK, KILNS, TILES MFG	240	503	0	52,136
PLYWOOD, WOOD PRODUCTS	733	874	1,823	3,677
RUBBER PRODUCTS	9,694	5,796	1,501	6,319
PENCIL INDUSTRY	0	0	50	22
SOAPS & DETERGENTS	0	92	0	700
SELF-EMPLOYED	0	763	0	15,232
MISCELLANEOUS	10,160	28,335	56,227	169,003
TOBACCO (BEEDI)	0	7,162	0	43,315
PLANTATION (TEA)	0	173,041	0	73,358
PLANTATION (RUBBER)	0	0	0	0
DEFENCE SERVICES	0	39,740	0	55,276
TOTAL (INDUSTRIAL)	2,209,857	2,587,378	1,166,763	2,769,556
AGRICULTURE & RURAL	26,271	119,073	44,582	347,768
TOTAL	2,236,128	2,706,451	1,211,345	3,117,324

INDUSTRY	UTUC		TUCC		NFITU		AITUC	
	1989	1980	1989	1980	1989	1980	1989	
TEXTILES	6,636	4,081	252	2,182	62,402	42,814	62,080	
CLOTHING	1,182	0	0	0	0	0	0	
JUTE	1,692	3,586	0	0	0	0	796	
IRON & STEEL	297	0	0	175	499	3,313	40,650	
METALS	3,259	503	130	359	236	4,363	5,749	
ENGG (MECHANICAL)	335	2,603	0	19,094	3,408	22,973	6,277	
ENGG (ELECTRICALS)	5,884	0	1,640	0	36,722	0	66,151	
ENGG (ELECTRONICS)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ENGG (OTHERS)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
ELEC. GAS & POWER	13,347	314	0	15,217	0	2,939	35,671	
TRANSPORT (RAILWAYS)	0	561	0	250	0	10,328	0	
WATER TPT/WATER WAYS	545	0	0	0	0	0	317	
ROADWAYS	3,128	0	218	0	12,235	0	32,879	
AIR TRANSPORT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
PLANTATIONS	826	0	245	0	0	27,852	36,753	
COAL MINING	10,488	0	7,094	1,970	62,617	65,061	191,349	
MINING OF MINERALS	2,199	0	0	0	21,951	0	24,681	
QUARRYING	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
SUGAR	1,822	0	0	0	52	8,160	3,949	
CEMENT	0	0	0	0	0	2,676	6,463	
CHEMICALS	2,439	652	95	1,094	5,903	7,409	29,404	
BLDG.CONSTRUCTIONS	29,589	0	3,435	0	4,080	19,554	41,376	
FOOD AMD DRINKS	18,487	1,897	38	970	30,217	12,013	28,477	
TOBACCO	0	250	0	169	0	24,802	6,568	
TANNERIES & LEATHER GOODS	0	0	0	0	3,000	1,237	19,944	
PAPER & PAPER PRODUCTS	331	140	0	0	8,600	4,894	1,865	
PRINTING & PUBLISHING	26,822	374	0	21	746	3,814	6,972	
LOCAL BODIES	2,180	0	0	0	524	6,059	16,730	

LOCAL BODIES	4,967	7,283	4,948	8,355	5,028	3,676	1,575
GLASS & POTTERY	4,090	4,125	5,569	2,966	945	156	790
PETROLEUM	3,662	0	0	0	0	0	218
SALARIED EMPLOYEES	7,601	21,279	3,646	1,863	2,074	653	2,019
P & T WORKERS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HOTEL, RESTAURANT CAFES	0	989	0	75	0	0	0
PERSONAL SERVICES	4,187	5,775	394	2,572	515	150	3,079
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS	0	340	30	70	0	111	0
PORTS, DOCKS & MARITIME	98,234	91,748	0	43	217	73	1,446
COIR	97	93	0	2,934	0	0	0
BRICK, KILNS, TILES MFG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PLYWOOD, WOOD PRODUCTS	807	505	0	295	100	0	0
RUBBER PRODUCTS	0	795	0	15,658	2,220	0	26
PENCIL INDUSTRY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOAPS & DETERGENTS	0	48	0	0	0	0	0
SELF-EMPLOYED	0	0	0	243	0	0	0
MISCELLANEOUS	47,530	18,580	13,629	2,828	10,009	5,885	8,248
TOBACCO (BEEDI)	0	9,747	0	134,947	0	0	0
PLANTATION (TEA)	0	20,982	0	11,536	0	0	0
PLANTATION (RUBBER)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DEFENCE SERVICES	0	6,816	0	0	0	314	0
TOTAL (INDUSTRIAL)	752,097	1,318,804	289,111	433,416	243,011	136,413	165,593
AGRICULTURE & RURAL	10,785	158,668	332,248	369,390	3,529	2,464	21
TOTAL	762,882	1,477,472	621,359	802,806	246,540	138,877	165,614

GLASS & POTTERY	738	0	3,367	239	0	1,150	3,959
PETROLEUM	0	0	0	0	0	4,789	0
SALARIED EMPLOYEES	5,146	0	13	31	12,924	7,804	25,883
P & T WORKERS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HOTEL, RESTAURANT CAFES	694	0	30	0	32	0	0
PERSONAL SERVICES	2,992	0	0	0	0	2,236	53,709
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS	0	0	0	4,000	0	32	0
PORTS, DOCKS & MARITIME	432	0	0	618	3,919	14,630	21,233
COIR	232	0	0	242	248	824	2,603
BRICK, KILNS, TILES MFG	719	0	0	0	0	2,125	458
PLYWOOD, WOOD PRODUCTS	2,301	174	245	0	5,396	2,847	3,073
RUBBER PRODUCTS	162	58	0	77	275	1,229	1,755
PENCIL INDUSTRY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SOAPS & DETERGENTS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SELF-EMPLOYED	160	0	0	0	0	0	0
MISCELLANEOUS	9,521	8,963	7,273	2,520	47,334	27,341	55,997
TOBACCO (BEEDI)	9,241	0	978	0	40,327	0	55,284
PLANTATION (TEA)	65,399	0	0	0	0	0	8,721
PLANTATION (RUBBER)	0	0	0	0	0	0	8,199
DEFENCE SERVICES	0	0	2,153	0	0	0	0
TOTAL (INDUSTRIAL)	229,225	20,570	30,792	49,228	363,647	335,268	905,975
AGRICULTURE & RURAL	310,298	102,478	199,347	34,895	166,135	9,478	17,542
TOTAL	539,523	123,048	230,139	84,123	529,782	344,746	923,517

PAPER & PAPER PRODUCTS	4,854	11,270	0	174	0	0	33,795	46,812
PRINTING & PUBLISHING	5,839	7,185	0	184	0	0	31,372	79,919
LOCAL BODIES	6,214	43,111	0	0	0	681	78,997	181,944
GLASS & POTTERY	7,988	8,119	0	0	0	0	38,031	37,798
PETROLEUM	473	889	0	0	0	1,628	24,892	20,694
SALARIED EMPLOYEES	8,598	77,451	0	0	0	0	173,897	390,933
P & T WORKERS	0	19	0	0	0	78	0	220,889
HOTEL, RESTAURANT CAFES	0	9,626	0	0	0	0	0	59,707
PERSONAL SERVICES	9,568	126,748	0	0	0	0	48,492	220,538
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS	1,335	5,498	0	0	0	0	61,491	131,873
PORTS, DOCKS & MARITIME	14,520	38,116	0	0	0	0	184,254	204,945
COIR	2,285	27,281	0	0	0	0	4,474	33,591
BRICK, KILNS, TILES MFG	3,362	72,198	0	0	0	0	5,727	126,014
PLYWOOD, WOOD	3,677	10,330	0	0	0	0	10,161	26,696
PRODUCTS								
RUBBER PRODUCTS	6,522	12,299	0	0	0	0	21,327	43,059
PENCIL INDUSTRY	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	22
SOAPS & DETERGENTS	0	187	0	0	0	0	0	1,027
SELF-EMPLOYED	0	225	0	0	0	0	0	16,623
MISCELLANEOUS	31,080	100,484	0	70	0	229	215,707	445,539
TOBACCO (BEEDI)	0	78,312	0	0	0	0	0	379,313
PLANTATION (TEA)	0	36,308	0	0	0	0	0	389,345
PLANTATION (RUBBER)	0	1,723	0	0	0	0	0	9,922
DEFENCE SERVICES	0	201	0	0	0	0	0	104,500
TOTAL (INDUSTRIAL	328,759	1,768,044	0	428	0	3,516	5,560,257	10,547,194
AGRICULTURE & RURAL	2,272	30,049	0	0	0	0	566,559	1,720,734
TOTAL	331,031	1,798,093	0	428	0	3,516	6,126,816	12,267,928

Source : CLC (C), General Verification Results of Membership of CTUOs,
Ministry of Labour, Government of India.

APPENDIX - XI

PERCENTILES OF THE D(n) DISTRIBUTION

n	0.90	0.95	0.99
5	0.51	0.56	0.67
10	0.37	0.41	0.49
15	0.30	0.34	0.40
20	0.26	0.29	0.35
25	0.24	0.26	0.32
30	0.22	0.24	0.29
35	0.20	0.22	0.27
40	0.19	0.21	0.25
45	0.18	0.20	0.24
50	0.17	0.19	0.23
n > 50	$1.22/\sqrt{n}$	$1.36/\sqrt{n}$	$1.63/\sqrt{n}$

Source : John Neter, William Wasserman and G.A. Whitmore,
 Applied Statistics, quoted in Library of Congress
 Cataloging in Publication data, Second Edition, p.739.

APPENDIX - XII
LETTER TO THE WTO

July 7, 1995

To

Mr. Renato Ruggiero,
Director General,
World Trade Organisation,
Geneva.

Sir,

We, the representatives of workers of our respective countries congratulate you on your assumption of office as the Head of the WTO and desire to apprise you of our serious concerns on certain issues before the WTO which may have adverse impact on the interests of our people, particularly the attempt to link social policy concerns with trade policy and thereby make market access in international trade conditional on the application of labour standards through the inclusion of a social clause in WTO's charter.

During a recent visit to some of Asian countries like Phillipines, Singapore and India, you have, as reported in the national newspapers rightly emphasised that trade is an activity of mutual interest. To quote "industrialised countries will not grow sufficiently unless they open their borders to the products from developing countries and vice versa".

Now this obvious aspect of trade makes it mutually beneficial per se. It certainly is not a favour done by one country to another especially by the industrialised developed country to the not so-rich developing country. Hence there is no room, no logic, to link

other factors which are not directly concerning trade to be linked with it. Hence we urge upon you not to allow such a linkage.

USA, has already used its clause 'Special 301 and Super 501' of its Trade Act to stop imports of carpets from several Asian countries on the ground the child labour is being used on its manufacture. We certainly are not votaries of child labour and would like to see it eliminated at the earliest. But to stop the trade in carpet on that specious ground, is to put an unfair pressure which tantamounts to "bullying" the weak by the strong to use the words of criticism on this aspect of Trade Act by eminent citizens of the United States itself. No self respecting country can tolerate such pressure.

We the workers' representatives have been urging our governments to adopt the labour standards set by ILO with varying degrees of this issue. ILO as a specialised body has been doing whatever in its powers to see that its conventions are applied by member states. Hence we feel that there is no need for another world body to be concerned about it. If felt necessary, ILO might be provided more powers of supervision in this regard.

You are aware, sir, that several developing countries at a conference held in New Delhi in January, 1995, have opposed the linkage of labour standards with International Trade.

Sir, you are reported to have advised the developing countries not to link the issue of movement of natural persons with that of liberalisation of financial services, though the linkage is part of the agreement of Uruguay Round, as we understand. Whereas, the linkage with trade is not a part of the WTO agenda as yet. For this additional reason also this issue cannot become an item of the agenda for WTO meetings.



BMS

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