

## CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION

### I

The 32nd Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Bangalore (Karnataka) on 15—20 December 1983, condoles the death of the following prominent personalities abroad, leaders of freedom struggles and fighters against fascist dictatorships:

*L. I. Brezhnev*: Outstanding leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet state and the International Communist Movement.

*M. A. Suslov*: Veteran leader of the CPSU and of the International Communist Movement.

*Alexi Kosygin*: Prime Minister of the USSR and CPSU leader.

*Dr. Yusuf Dadoo*: Chairman of the Communist Party of South Africa and leader of the African National Congress.

*S. A. Vikramsinghe*: Veteran Communist leader of Sri Lanka.

*Arvid Pelse*: Veteran CPSU leader.

*Soong Ching-Ling (Madam Sun-yat Sen)*: Outstanding nationalist leader of China.

*Bobby Sands and 9 others*: Irish freedom fighters, died in prison as a result of hunger strike.

*Abe Feinglass*: Trade Union leader in the United States.

*Otto Kersten*: Secretary General of the ICFTU.

*Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Semeno Mosololi, Marcus Thabo Motaung*: Young South African freedom fighters hanged by the racist regime.

*Wilfred Burchett*: Progressive Journalist, famous for his anti-imperialist reporting.

### *Killings in Iran*

Some of the leaders and activists of the Tudeh Party and of Trade Unions were tortured to death in prison.

**Maurice Bishop** : Prime Minister of Grenada, killed in civil strife.  
**Santiago Hernandez**: General Secretary, El Salvador Trade Union Federation and member of WFTU General Council, brutally murdered by the US backed reactionary ruling junta of El Salvador.

## II

The 32nd session of the AITUC condoles the death of the following public personalities of India who passed away since the last session :

**Pundit Sundarlal**: Prominent freedom fighter and a prominent figure in the peace movement in the early period.

**K. D. Malaviya**: Played a prominent role as Union Minister in laying foundation of self reliance in Oil industry with Soviet help.

**Mir Abdul Majid**: One of the accused in Peshawar and Meerut conspiracy cases, he was associated with the AITUC in the early period.

**Shah Nawaz Khan**: INA hero.

**Ganesh Datt Bajpai**: Trade Union leader and former Labour-Minister of U.P.

**P. B. Gajendragadkar**: Prominent jurist, former Chief Justice of India, Staunch advocate of social justice, Chairman of the various commissions including the National Commission on Labour.

**Dr. Gangadhar Adhikari**: Veteran Communist leader and an accused in Meerut Conspiracy case.

**Jyotirmoy Basu**: Prominent Parliamentary leader of CPM.

**Major Jaipal Singh**: Veteran freedom fighter and CPM leader.

**J. B. Kripalini**: Prominent freedom fighter.

**Rajni Patel**: Veteran freedom fighter and prominent anti-imperialist.

**Sohan Singh Josh**: Veteran Communist leader and an accused in the Meerut Conspiracy case.

**Sheikh Abdullah**: Veteran leader of Jammu and Kashmir.

**Vinoba Bhave**: Prominent Gandhian leader.

**K. P. S. Menon**: Veteran diplomat and ardent champion of Indo-Soviet friendship

*Promode Das Gupta* : Prominent leader of CPM.

*Chalapati Rau* : Well-known journalist and founder President of Indian Federation of Working Journalists.

*P. C. Joshi* : Veteran Communist leader, an accused in the Meerut Conspiracy case.

*Bhupesh Gupta* : Veteran communist leader and outstanding Parliamentarian.

### III

The 32nd Session of the AITUC condoles the death of the following Indian Trade Union leaders who passed away during the period :

*Arjun Arora* : Veteran freedom fighter and Trade Union leader.

*S. Venkataram* : President of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

*Kedar Das* : Veteran Trade Union leader of Jamshedpur, former Vice-President of the AITUC, devoted life to the cause of working class since nineteen thirties.

*Prasanta Datta* : Port Workers' leader in Calcutta and member of AITUC General Council.

*M. V. N. Kaparde* : General Secretary, Andhra Pradesh State TUC, Member of AITUC Working Committee.

*Bal Dandavate* : HMS leader in Bombay, President of HMS.

*K. Komaraiah* : Prominent AITUC activist of Singareni Colliery workers in Andhra Pradesh, killed by naxalites.

*Sita Ram* : AITUC leader in Ludhiana killed in accident.

*Bihari Thakur* : AITUC leader of the Hindalco workers in Uttar Pradesh

*D. Rajagopal* : HMS leader of Karnataka, one of the Convenors of the Joint Action Front in Bangalore which led the long-drawn strike of Public Sector workers in 1980-81.

*P. Purushothaman* : Veteran Communist and T. U. leader of South Arcot district of Tamilnadu.

*Sibnath Banerjee* : Prominent Trade Union leader, President of the AITUC for two terms.

*S. S. Yusuf* : Veteran AITUC leader and leader of the Kanpur Textile Workers, former Vice-President of the AITUC.

- L. Khandkar*: Prominent Communist and Trade Union leader of Madhya Pradesh.
- N. S. Purav*: Prominent leader of the All-India Bank Employees' Association.
- C. S. Subramaniam*: Leader of the Canara Bank employees and of AIBEA.
- Maulana Abdul Baqi*: Veteran freedom fighter and leader of the handloom weavers of Uttar Pradesh.
- B. S. Shivankar*: Veteran Railway trade union leader of Bombay.
- Arthanari Vathiar*: A veteran working class leader in Selam district of Tamil Nadu, died in an accident.
- Dr. Charu Chandra Banerjee*: Former President of the AITUC.
- Lakshman Mahapatra*: Prominent TU and Communist leader of Orissa, brutally murdered by anti-social elements.
- K. R. Ramashamy*: AITUC and Cement workers' leader in Tamil Nadu.
- Dinakar Desai*: Prominent at one time in AITUC activities.
- S. C. Dutta*: AITUC leader in Dehradun.
- Ravindran*: Secretary, Kerala State AITUC.
- Jai Prakash*: HMS leader of Modinagar killed by anti-socials.
- Moses*: Vice-President, Madhya Pradesh State AITUC.
- Shyam Behari Singh*: Colliery Workers' leader in Asansol.
- Prakash Roy*: Prominent Communist and Trade Union leader of Madhya Pradesh, member of the AITUC General Council.
- Chanda Durgayya*: Activist of Singareni Colliery Workers' Union (AITUC), killed by naxalites.
- S. B. Prasad*: Communist and Trade Union leader of Gaya (Bihar).
- H. D. Mukherjee*: INTUC leader.
- Abdul Momin*: Veteran freedom fighter, General Secretary of Bengal AITUC for many years, until independence.
- Hrishi Banerjee*: Former General Council member of AITUC, CITU, leader in West Bengal.
- Nirode Chakravarthy*: Veteran Communist, for many years Treasurer of Bengal AITUC and then of West Bengal CITU.

- S. S. Bagaitkar*: Trade Union leader of Maharashtra and member of Rajya Sabha.
- P. Ramakotaiah*: Trade Union leader at Nellore (A. P.).
- Sarjoo Pandey*: President of Baidyanath Ayurved Workers' Union, Patna.
- Jagadish Gour*: Trade Union leader of Gorakhpur.

#### IV

The 32nd session of the AITUC mourns the death of workers, peasants, agricultural workers who were victims either of police firings, attacks of anti-social elements, landlord gangsters or as a result of mines disasters etc.



## WELCOME ADDRESS

By

M. C. NARASIMHAN

*Chairman, Reception Committee*

Comrade President and members of the presidium, Fraternal delegates from other countries, my dear delegates from all over India, distinguished guest Hon'ble Chief Minister, Government of Karnataka and other Ministers, Ladies and Gentlemen.

1. On this happy occasion of the 32nd Session of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), I extend a hearty welcome to you all. It is a great honour conferred on us and the Karnataka working class, that the AITUC, the premier organisation of the Indian working class has chosen to meet in a conference at Bangalore at a crucial moment in our history.

2. The venue of this conference, Lalbagh, has international connections. I cannot help recalling that it was nearly 30 years ago that comrade Bulganin, the then Prime Minister of USSR and Comrade Khrushchov, the Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, came here and planted two seedlings as a token of friendship and goodwill between the peoples of India and Soviet Union. You will see just across this hall that these two seedlings have grown into mighty trees; even so, the relationship between Soviet Union and India has grown into bulwark of International peace and struggle against imperialism. I welcome the leaders of the AUCCTU of the USSR.

3. To this conference have come delegates from the Socialist countries where the working class is in power. They have come from German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yemen, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Kampuchea & Cuba. To this conference have come delegates from the continents of America, Middle East, Europe, Asia & Africa. These delegates from the capitalist countries as we know have specific experiences in the struggle against the Re-armament, for peace and in defen-

ce of Democracy. Their participation will be most welcome at this crucial moment in world history. We welcome them all.

4. The conference is meeting in the background of the heightened preparation by the Reagan Administration for a nuclear war and assault on freedom. Even more determined are the movements of the workers and peoples for peace on an extended scale throughout the world including United States. At home in India, the workers have had to face the severe impact of the capitalist crisis, unemployment is on the increase, inflation is rampant. The life of unorganised workers is miserable. On the other hand divisive forces are threatening the very fabric of national unity built over the years. It is becoming clear that all this is the result of the capitalist path pursued by the central Government. True to salt, the Central Government is turning its guns against the working class through wage freeze, restrictions on Trade unions and trade union rights.

5. The working class of Bangalore has had to struggle hard in defence of their interest. The strike of public sector workers involving 1,25,000 workmen between December 1980 to March, 1981 followed by further actions was against the wage freeze policy of the Government of India, and is a landmark in our history. This struggle led to struggles in other public undertakings in the country and the Government of India was compelled to thinking in terms of a change in its former rigid stand on wage freeze. During this period, the peasants of Karnataka had to meet the violence of the then Congress (I) Government and the peasants marched from different parts of Karnataka to Bangalore. The working class, particularly under the AITUC's banner, came out in support of the peasantry and launched a powerful movement. These two popular movements of the toiling masses of Karnataka have contributed in no small measure to the political changes that have been brought about recently in the state. As is well known the Congress (I) Party with its anti-working class policies was defeated in the elections held to the Karnataka Assembly and we have a Janata Government headed by Sri Ramakrishna Hegde who is here to address us. I may also take this opportunity to mention that AITUC in Karnataka is the largest Trade Union organisation and commands considerable influence among the working class.

6. In our state we are facing a number of problems such as power shortage, closing down of undertakings, price rise and unemployment. Our trade Unions and the Students Federation had recently initiated a powerful movement to compel the Government of India to establish the Vijayanagar Steel plant for which the foundation stone was laid by Mrs. Gandhi in 1971. The State Government in the undemocratic federal structure is faced with serious financial constraints and we trust that the State Govt. will take steps in co-operation with the trade unions to solve the problems. It is becoming clear that unless there is a left-ward thrust and shift in policies, the problems of the working class and other toiling masses' problems created by the capitalist path cannot be solved.

7. We are proud that we belong to the AITUC. It is the oldest organisation. The most eminent leaders of the movement of the struggle for independence like Lala Lajpath Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Subash Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, V. V. Giri, N. M. Joshi etc., have been associated with the AITUC. The communists in the AITUC have had the experience of working along with the other political trends represented in the Trade Union movement despite splits in 1930's. AITUC has been able to establish itself as a United Organisation later, notwithstanding differences in political approaches. May I say it is only the AITUC that has this unique experience of forging unity of the working class in spite of differences. It is this wisdom and ripe experience of AITUC that finds expression in the National Campaign Committee. We are confident that this conference will evolve steps for consolidating the unity achieved among the Eight Central Trade Union organisations and would also develop it further.

8. This glass house and the surrounding beautiful garden has been made available to us by the courtesy of the Government of Karnataka, the Chief Minister Shri Ramakrishna Hegde and his Cabinet colleagues. We thank them for the help they have given.

9. I am happy to inform you that we have been able to arrange a cultural festival. Artists of the working class will exhibit their talents.

10. Friends, let me not stand any more in the way of deliberation of the conference.

11. We have made certain arrangements for the delegates to the best of our limited resources. But I do not claim that it will be perfect. I apologise in advance, to any inconvenience that may be caused. I hope this conference will be a success.

I again extend a warm welcome to you all.

### **ADDRESS BY N. K. KRISHNAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM**

Brother delegates from the World Federation of Trade Unions and Trade Union Organisations of Soviet Union, the other Socialist countries and other countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, fraternal delegates from sister Trade Union Centres of our country, other guests, visitors and delegate comrades, Com. Chairman and members of the Reception Committee, I rise to speak to you this evening on behalf of the Presidium, as our President Com. S. A. Dange could not arrive due to indifferent health that he has been keeping for some time.  
Comrades,

The thirty second session of our premier and mighty All-India Trade Union Congress is being held in this historic and beautiful city of Bangalore in the sixty fourth year of its birth and in the 37th year after our country has achieved freedom from the British Imperialist yoke.

We are meeting at a time when, thanks to the madly aggressive polices of the Reagan Administration and the military industrial complex of the USA, our earth has been brought to the brink of total annihilation. We have to take serious note of this phenomenon in our conference and move our multimillion forces to stay the killer's hands and save humanity.

Reagan has been indulging in day-dreaming of total annihilation of socialism on our planet and as we are meeting here the devastating pershing-II missiles are already being installed in West Germany and parts have arrived in the United Kingdom.

And this is in addition to the perishing-I and the British and French missiles that have already been installed.

These first nuclear strike weapons are trained at targets in USSR and are being installed in total defiance of over-whelming public opinion in West Europe and the whole world.

Socialism, the creation of the World Working Class, the most humane system humanity has ever witnessed in all its hoary history, is the first strike target of US Imperialism and its NATO allies.

Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact have made numerous proposals to extend the political detente achieved in the Helsinki accord into the military atmosphere, and put forth concrete and workable proposals for prohibiting and eliminating nuclear weapons, have gone to the extent of taking unilateral decisions of not to be the first to deploy nuclear weapons, not to use nuclear weapons against countries who do not have them on their soil. The USSR has offered to not only withdraw their SS missiles from western parts of their own country but even to destroy them.

And the response from US and NATO is a total indifference to the Soviet proposals and a total commitment to actual deployment of the devastating first strike perishing-II and Cruise missiles and change the military balance in their favour.

We have to mobilise the working people of our country urgently today against this danger; tomorrow may be too late.

World Capitalism has degenerated to an extent when human values have all been given a go by. In the countries of advanced capitalism, the crisis is so deep that one third of their industrial capacity is idle and about one sixth of labour force is unemployed.

And in the least developed under-developed countries almost a thousand million people are suffering from hunger and malnutrition, over one thousand million have no medical help, an equal number has no shelter and are totally illiterate. And the number of totally unemployed is about 350 million.

And yet Reagan proposes to spend 1,800,000 million dollars in five years only on arms and armaments including nuclear first

strike weapons. And this colossal diversion of funds for escalating the arms race has resulted in a record US budget deficit. This burden is passed on to US workers who face unemployment and disastrous cut in social services, to even the other capitalist countries through serious competition and resort to protectionism and above all to the developing countries. We of this third world are called upon to 'open' our market for their exploitation, allow our resources to be drained out and give up our demand for a New International Economic Order and accept the new Military Order sought to be imposed by the NATO and US.

To cite just one example of our own country, 85% to 90% of the leaf Tobacco trade of the world is controlled by just six transnational leaf buyers. And it is calculated that 80% to 90% of the value realised on the commodities that developing countries send to the Capitalist countries is appropriated by transnationals and other middle men.

The external debt of the developing countries of the "group of 77" (actually their number is 125) is soaring with their debt servicing burdens threatening to choke their national economies.

The US does not stop at that—it is a part of its global strategy, resorting to heavy supply of armaments, including most modern and sophisticated, to aggressive and dictatorial regimes like those of South Africa, Israel, Pakistan and other countries of Central and South America.

This has, naturally added to the defence expenditure of countries like ours, who can least afford it.

It is in this background, that we have to see South African aggressiveness against Angola and Namibia; the aggressive apartheid regime at home; the US-Israeli aggression on Lebanon, actual occupation of a portion of that country and aggressive acts against Syria, Nicaragua and Cuba.

The rapid deployment force in the gulf of Iran, further reinforced by the US mediterranean fleet; the setting up of the US Central Command, which extends to India's borders; the Diego Garcia base; the intrigues in Srilanka to secure Trincomalee; the big arms supply to dictator Zia of Pakistan; the presence of US forces in Baluchistan, have all to be seen in their totality to know the serious danger it involved for the countries in West and

South Asia including our own country, and new Peoples' Afghanistan.

Intrigues in South East Asia against countries like Kampuchea and Laos and socialist Vietnam are a part of this global strategy of US Imperialism directed against the very national independence of our countries.

US blatant aggression in Grenada on the so-called "invitation" of Grenada's neighbours, US stooges, brings to light a new dimension of US policy of aggression against freedom movements. The war against Nicaragua, the CIA intrigues in Central America, the ultimate and unconcealed aim of aggression against Socialist Cuba are all indicative of the height of madness the Reagan administration has reached.

One single "neighbour" of our country or of Afghanistan could create a "situation" and "invite" US forces against our countries.

Here I wish to emphasise that India's Trade Union movement has to launch a mighty and sustained struggle against these global strategies of US Imperialism, of war against Socialism and the independence of countries, of war to attain US world domination.

The struggle against the war mongers has to be combined with the war against the transnational loot and the struggle for social progress at home inside our own country.

As against this US all-round aggression, political, economic and armed, we see the relations that we have with the socialist world—the socialist countries and USSR in particular,—relations which are qualitatively different and help us to build an independent self-reliant economy. They also keep the wheels of our industry running and raise our employment potential.

The latest Indo-Soviet trade agreement makes the USSR India's largest trade partner with 20% of our exports going to that country. Our exports to USSR in 1984 will touch a record figure of 25% above that in 1983.

This is the type of a New International economic and monetary order that we seek.

Let us briefly examine the miseries of our working people

thanks to the path of adhering to the decadent capitalist system adopted by our rulers ever since independence, in contrast to the promises made of prospects to open up before our country after independence.

Today we find that the Consumer Price Index, despite Government promises to the contrary, is rising steadily and with 1960=100 it has gone up from 495 in January this year to 554 in September. Between September 1982 (489) and September this year the rise has been 13.3%.

And this in a country, where even according to Government's own admission, people below the poverty line number nearly 30 crores.

To this is added the mounting misery arising out of the closure and lock-out offensive of the Capitalists. It would be pertinent to note that in 1982 alone the man-days lost due to lock-outs far exceeded man-days lost due to strikes—And this in the much trumpeted “year of Productivity”.

“Sickness” of industrial units in growing. Total ‘sick’ units were 22,366 in 1979, 26,758 in 1981 and 28,360 in June ’82. An RBI survey of 100 big “sick” units in 1979 revealed that 52% units were rendered sick due to mismanagement and diversion of funds; 23% were sick due to recession in the market, 14% were sick due to the faulty planning and technical defects, 9% became sick due to power cut and 2% were sick due to the agitations of the much maligned working class. Huge amount of bank credit lies locked up in these units.

In contrast to this misery heaped on the working people, we find that just nine trans-national drug units operating in our country (not to speak of branches) have, with a total equity investment of Rs. 318.50 lakhs, run away with as high a remittance to their own country as Rs. 1363.72 lakhs in just three years 1978-79 to 1980-81. And their profits after tax in the same three years amounted to Rs. 5412.12 lakhs. The foreign loot of our resources continues unabated.

And coming to our own monopoly houses, the picture is equally agonising. According to a survey made by The Economic Times, the profits before tax of 220 giant Companies rose from

Rs. 922.4 crores in 1980-81 to Rs. 1058.4 crores in 1981-82. The assets of large houses are rising in a geometrical proportion.

The Government of India has gradually been reversing the economic and industrial relations policies as worked out between the formative years 1954-57. The Industrial Relations Policy today is no more that enunciated in 1957. Its pillars now are the Essential Services Maintenance Act and the National Security Act. Prohibition of strikes and freezing or restraint on wages, faulty compilation of Consumer Price Index and denial of full neutralisation of the rise in price, concessions to monopoly houses, revision of FERA and MRTP laws in favour of monopolies, twist in the economic and taxation policies in an elitist direction in favour of the rich, and the Public Sector concept being altered from one of gradually reaching the commanding heights of economy to slowly being turned into an infra-structure and feeding sector for national and trans-national monopolies. Bureaucratisation of Public Sector management and concentrating all decision making authority in the concerned Ministry under the over-all lordship of the Finance Ministry and the Bureau of Public Enterprises is quite in contrast to the promised Workers' Participation in Management and the demand for democratisation of the managerial structure.

It is in this situation that our organised Trade Union movement has been functioning and struggling. And in the three years since our last Conference at Visakhapatnam in 1980, we have a number of struggles and achievements to our credit. The BPE guide lines of the restraint on wage rise to a mere 10%, of low wages to new entrants, of denial of arrears and freezing the DA at Rs. 1.30 per point have had to be withdrawn—thanks to the struggles and in particular the glorious strikes of India's Coal workers. The struggle for a new DA formula it still going on in the bi-partite committee set up for the purpose.

Assembled at this conference, we have to look back at our achievements only to go ahead to face the new tasks in the new situation.

The heroic and the long drawn Bombay Textile strike has its own inspiring aspects and also the lessons. We have to be prepared for long drawn and determined struggles. We cannot leave

each section of workers to fight its own battles. We have to go in for active solidarity with every fighting section of our community, in fact with every victim of social injustice. We have to actively organise the agricultural workers and fight for their demands, I must put special emphasise on this in today's situation.

We have to take note of the agonising reality that out of 22 crore working people 11 crore, full 50%, belong to the category of sweated labour, the unorganised workers. Among them some are covered by the Minimum Wages statute, which is more observed in default and others, a vast section, is totally unprotected. They justifiably look to the organised Trade Union movement for help to pull them out of present misery.

This Session has to pay particular attention to their problems and chalk-out a course of action to bring relief to them.

We have the vast women force, presenting a picture of being thrown out of traditional employment and in Public Sector Units. We have to seriously think of taking up their problems, organising them and bring them into the main-stream of Trade Union and social struggles.

The Young worker and this is a vast section—a post independence generation has his own problems; he wants job satisfaction, and improved prospects. He is energetic but cannot be taken for granted. He is young and therefore looks forward. He has neither the benefit of the rich experience of old Trade Unionism nor does any defeat in the past weigh heavily on him to make him vacillate in action. He has to be won over to trade unionism and trained to man the movement that has acquired new dimensions.

The new dimensions of our Trade Union Movement can be properly grasped only when we know that our miseries arise from the utter failure of the Capitalist path of development, the fattening of national and trans-national monopolies, and a switch over by the ruling powers from social justice—growth oriented to an elitist oriented economic course, and a gradual revers-

al of even the policies framed during 1954-57, which we did take note of at our Ernakulam Session in 1957. We must realise that our economic struggles will win only partial victories that too when fought doggedly and even these achievements would be wiped out with rising prices.

Our struggles for Trade Union demands are reaching a qualitatively new stage of struggles directed against certain vital economic policies of the Government and demanding certain other alternative policies that will put our country on the path of uninterrupted development towards Socialism, a system rid of Capitalist chaos, crises and impoverishment.

It is this new turn that this Conference has to think of for advancing our movement. We have to advance in this direction also by warding off and opposing reactionary, communal, anti-social, regionalist and separatist movements engineered by reactionary vested interests backed up by foreign imperialist agencies. We have to fight these tendencies and fortify the unity of our class.

We can, at this Session, take a little pride in our contribution to the growing unity in action of the workers and unions belonging to other centres. The emergence of National Campaign Committee (NCC) is a positive phenomenon in advancing united action of workers. And the AITUC has played no small a role in developing this phenomenon and movement.

But unity in action and cooperation at the top must lead to eschewing of counter productive rivalries at the factory level and unity in the Union.

Special responsibility in this regard, rests on those who are actively interested in fighting imperialism abroad and monopoly at home and for launching the country on a course of development that has essentially to be anti-capitalist and socialist-oriented in short, those stand for peace and social progress and for an uncompromising struggle against capitalism must unite in a single Trade Union stream to give a new thrust to our trade union movement and impart new political vitality and vigour to the national-level combination like the N.C.C. The AITUC must pay special attention to this.

Comrades,

I have done. Let this 32nd Conference of the AITUC launch us on this new course for new successes in our efforts.

- \* LONG LIVE WORLD PEACE!
- \* DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM AND WAR!
- \* WITHDRAW THE PERSHING MISSILES AND RESUME THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS!
- \* LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF WORKING CLASS!
- \* LONG LIVE THE WFTU!
- \* LONG LIVE AITUC!





**MESSAGES RECEIVED**



## ALL-CHINA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

“On the occasion of the 32nd session of the All India Trade Union Congress, we would like to express our warm congratulations to you and extend our fraternal greetings to the Indian working class.

We sincerely wish the Indian workers new successes in their efforts to uphold national independence, develop national economy, safeguard workers' legitimate rights and interests and defend peace in Asia and the world.

There exists a traditional friendship between the Sino-Indian workers and peoples. To develop the neighbourliness between our two countries and strengthen the friendship between the Sino-Indian workers and peoples conforms with the interests of our two peoples and helps safeguard peace in Asia and the world.

Wishing your 32nd session a great success”.

## GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

*Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea*

“Warm congratulations and greetings to your Conference and its participants. Expressing support solidarity your struggle against imperialists' aggression war policy and for peace, Trade Union rights, workers' democratic freedom, their rights and interests.

We sincerely wish great success in Conference work.”

## NEW ZEALAND FEDERATION OF LABOUR

Might I on behalf of the officers and members of the National Executive of the New Zealand Federation of Labour, please acknowledge receipt of your kind invitation dated 2nd July, 1983, for the Federation of Labour to participate in the 32nd Session of your Congress to be held at the Bangalore from December 15-20 of this year.

Unfortunately, the Federation of Labour will not be able to participate in this important activity and I am requested to express the sincere appreciation of our organisation to you for your invitation.

I am further requested by our national executive, to ask you to convey warmest fraternal greetings to the Congress and to express the sincere hope that it will mark the further strengthening of the progressive forces in your country. That its deliberations will consolidate the effectiveness of the contribution being made by your organisation in the interests of the working people of your country. In asking you to convey our greeting to the Congress and participants, we would like to assure you of our continuing efforts in this part of the world to strengthen the forces for social progress, for peace, for improved living standards, for the preservation and extension of trade union rights and above all, for an end to the conditions which are responsible for continuing inflation, mounting unemployment and the rapid impoverishment of the workers' of our country and our region."

Ken Douglas  
*Secretary*

*From Michele Magno, Head of the International Department,*  
ITALIAN CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (CGIL)

Reaffirmed "friendship and Solidarity towards your struggles to ensure ever better living and working conditions for Indian workers Defend their rights..."

FROM INDIRA GANDHI, PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

"My good wishes for the 32nd Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress."

ALL INDIA RAILWAYMEN'S FEDERATION (AIRF)

*"Wishing every success"*

NATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION (NLO)

"All India Trade Union Congress is the oldest Central Trade Union Organisation in the country and very eminent trade union leaders have served the working class in the country through this

Organisation. All India Trade Union Congress is completely alive and aware of the national important problems which the working class is facing in this country and the deliberations at the Conference, therefore, will be fruitful and meaningful. We are also happy to note that the Congress will renew your Organisation determination to strengthen the world wide struggle for peace and disarmament and against the threat of nuclear war.

In view of our pre-occupation here, it will not be possible for us to attend the Conference. We wish the 32nd Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress a success”.

N. M. Barot  
*President*

#### ALL INDIA STATE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES’ FEDERATION

“We very much wish full success of the Conference and we do hope that this Session will further help in bringing about trade union unity in the country to fight the dangers facing before the working class”.

Sukomal Sen  
*General Secretary*

#### ALL INDIA DEFENCE EMPLOYEES’ FEDERATION

“I wish the Conference all success and am sure that the Conference will guide the workers in general and Central Government employees in particular for struggle against the retrograde labour laws, high prices, low wages and restricted service conditions”.

K. M. Mathew  
*General Secretary*

#### INDIAN NATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS (INTUC)

“On the occasion of the 32nd Congress of the All India Trade-Union Congress at Bangalore, on behalf of over four-million strong Indian National Trade Union Congress and on my own behalf, I convey our fraternal greetings to the delegates to the

Session and through them to the workers mobilised under the banner of the AITUC.

The 32nd Session of the AITUC is taking place at a very crucial period in the history of our country when the military build up around India has been greatly intensified. The arming of Pakistan with sophisticated weapons like F-16 planes and Harpoon missiles, while posing immediate danger to our country, has necessitated enormous increase in our defence budget by diverting the resources for the country's development to the purchase of matching weaponry since in the past all arms supplied to Pakistan have been used against India.

Added to these is the re-emergence of fissiparous, communal, regional and other divisive forces with their devil dance of destruction in full fury fanned by destabilising forces from within and from across the borders. It has become imperative to utilise the organised might of the working class to effectively meet the challenge from the forces of disintegration and promote and protect the unity of the country.

Another sphere where the trade union should pay particular attention is the public sector. The recent wage agreements concluded in the core sector industries like coal, steel, BHEL, fertilizers and Indian Oil, etc., have secured for the workers substantial increase in their emoluments and improvement in their amenities, thereby ensuring better standard of living. But the performance of the public sector as a whole has belied the expectations, for which the workers can in no way be blamed. Nevertheless, it is the responsibility of the trade unions to enlighten and enthuse the workers for improving production and productivity and thus enhance the capacities of their respective industries to strengthen the economic base of this country and its development.

It is time for all the country's workers to sink their differences of all views and hues and maintain their solidarity to safeguard the security and integrity of the country and be on the vanguard of its socio-economic transformation. I am confident that all these issues will be gone into in depth during the Session.

I wish the 32nd Congress all success".

N. K. Bhatt  
*President*

Messages wishing success of the Conference have also been received from:

- \* C. Rajeshwara Rao, General Secretary, Communist Party of India.
- \* E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary, Communist Party of India (Marxist).
- \* B. T. Ranadive, President, CITU.
- \* H. N. Bahuguna, Member of Parliament.
- \* Veerendra Patil, Union Minister of Labour & Rehabilitation.
- \* Nripen Chakraborty, Chief Minister of Tripura.
- \* Dr. Farooq Abdulah, Chief Minister, Jammu and Kashmir.
- \* S. R. Bommai, Minister for Industries, Karnataka.
- \* Hind Mazdoor Sabha.
- \* Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao.
- \* President, Rashtriya Mazdoor Congress.
- \* U.T.U.C. (Lenin Sarani)
- \* General Insurance Employees' All-India Association.
- \* All-India Kisan Sabha.
- \* All-India University & College Employees' Federation.

Most of these messages have been published in the souvenir brought out by the Reception Committee of the 32nd session.

“All India Newspaper Employees’ Federation” has conveyed warm greetings and good wishes to delegates of Thirty second session of the AITUC.



## **LIST OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM ABROAD**

### *World Federation of Trade Unions*

1. Ibrahim Zakaria, General Secretary
2. K. G. Sriwastava, Secretary
3. M. Atchuthan, Political Adviser.

### *International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions*

1. Mansur Al-Srari, International Relations Secretary
2. Mohamed Abdul Kerim Al-Halabi, Trade Union Officer

### *Afghanistan*

1. A. S. Purdeli, President, Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions
2. A. S. Nejrabi, Head, Department of International Relations, Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions

### *Australia*

John MacCarthy (Printing & Kindred Industries' Union, New South Wales) Representing Centre of International Trade Union Unity.

### *Bangladesh*

1. Shah Alam, Secretary, Bangladesh Trade Union Kendra
2. Rafiquddin Ahmed, Asstt. Secretary, Jatio Shramik League

### *Bulgaria*

1. Georgi Karaulanov, Secretary, Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions
2. Atanas Todorov, Instructor, International Department, Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions

### *Cuba*

1. Perez Rosquete Jose Manuel, Director of Foreign Relations, Department of Cuban Central Committee of Trade Unions
2. Morales Cartaya Alfredo, Assistant Director of Foreign Relations, Department of Central Committee of Cuban Trade Unions

### *Cyprus*

Pavlos Dinglis, Deputy Secretary-General, Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEO) of Cyprus

### *Czechoslovakia*

1. Miroslav Spaniel, Secretary, Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions.

2. Emil Grochol, Head of the International Department of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions

3. Eva Strupova, Member, International Department of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions.

### *France*

1. Rene Lomet, Secretary, Confederation General du Travail (CGT)

2. Jacqueline Bailly, Member, International Department, CGT

### *German Democratic Republic*

1. Harald Buhl, Member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee and Secretary of the Executive Committee of the FDGB

2. Axel Kummerow, Member, International Department, FDGB

3. Doris Lehmann, Member of the Delegation

### *Hungary*

1. Judit Czehak, Secretary, Central Council of Trade Unions of Hungary (SZOT)

2. Jozsef Danesch, Member, International Department of SZOT

### *Kampuchea*

1. Chhum Choun, Deputy Chairman, Kampuchean Federation of Trade Unions

2. Sok Sath, Member of the delegation

### *Malaysia*

1. S. Jalaluddin, General Secretary, Food Industry Workers' Union (Malaysian Trade Union Congress)

*Mangolia*

1. Nerengiin Myagmar, Member, Presidium of Central Council of Mangolian Trade Unions
2. R. Baasan, Member

*Philippines*

1. Virginia A. Suyao, Administrative Staff Member, Trade Unions of the Philippines & Allied Services (TUPAS)

*Srilanka*

1. M. G. Mendis, President, Ceylon Trade Union Federation.

*Syria*

1. Omar Kanaan, General Secretary for Social Services and Member, Executive Bureau, General Federation of Syrian Trade Union.

*USSR*

1. Valentine Makeyev, Secretary, All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU).
2. Konstantin Tuzikov, Officer, International Dept. (AUCCTU).

*Vietnam*

1. Nguyen Thuyet, Member, Executive Committee, Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions.

*Thailand*

1. Snan Vongsuthee, President, The National Congress of Thai Labour, Bangkok (Thailand).

*ILO*

1. S. Sankar Narayanan, Director, ILO Regional Office, New Delhi.



**SPEECHES  
OF  
FRATERNAL DELEGATES**



**IBRAHIM ZAKARIA**  
**GENERAL SECRETARY, WORLD**  
**FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (WFTU)**

It is always a great pleasure and a source of inspiration for representatives of the WFTU to be present amongst fighting trade union leaders especially among those, as you are, who belong to a strong pillar of our organisation. The AITUC, in a true spirit of internationalism and solidarity, is not only a founding member of the WFTU but it has contributed in a most valuable manner to its development, to its class purity and to the correctness of its orientation. Thus helping the development of international solidarity and at the same time gaining support to the struggles of the Indian workers.

We are attending this 32nd session to share with you some of our main concerns and to see how far together we could rally still greater forces to meet the challenges before our trade union movement in the Eighties as defined by the 10th World Trade Union Congress.

Outstanding among these challenges is the task of averting the danger of war, the stopping of the arms race and the embarkation on a meaningful programme for disarmament. This challenge now poses itself in the most acute manner.

The Reagan Administration and its allies in the NATO have decided to ignore the will of the overwhelming majority of the workers and peoples of Europe and that of progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world and have begun to install their medium-range missiles in Britain, Federal Republic of Germany and Italy thus bringing the world closer to the danger of a nuclear catastrophe than ever before and opening a new page in the already voluminous register of the arms race.

These missiles are directed at and are in the range of just few minutes from Moscow, Berlin, Prague, Warsaw, Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia and other capitals of the socialist countries. They are in the hands of those who stubbornly refuse to declare that they will

not be the first to launch a nuclear attack as the Soviet Union did. They are in the hands of those who refuse to sign a document that outlaws the use of nuclear weapons. Therefore these new firststrike nuclear missiles can never be taken as just decoration. They are there to be used. And when we remember that those who would push the button or who would authorise pushing it have their hands already stained with the blood of innocent people in different parts of the world, we can realise the extreme gravity of the present situation.

We are told that the United States which is pushing proposals for a record high arms budget next fiscal year, spending more than 1,000 dollars per head for every man, woman and child in the USA—or in terms of Indian currency of about 10,000 rupees per capita, is doing that to assure the security of the United States. But whose security and who is, in fact, threatening that security?

Definitely this is not the security of those who produce the enormous wealth in that country because already 20 million of them are out of work and the working and living conditions of those who are lucky to be working are under constant attack.

The security of the people of the United States can only be assured in conditions of relaxation of tension, in conditions of normal relation with other nations based on equality and mutual benefit and the removal of the weapons that can destroy life on earth.

But as we understand, what is at stake as far as Reagan is concerned, is the security or better say the huge profits that the military industrial complex is making out of arms production and the maintenance or further increasing the present world tension. What is at stake is the imperialist drive for domination through the threat and actual use of the ultra-modern weapons to intervene in the affairs of other nations and peoples and subject them to the continued robbery of transnational corporations. What is at stake is the fate of the hated pro-imperialist dictatorial regimes.

Otherwise how can one argue that a tiny island like Grenada with only a little more than 100,000 people threatens the security of the United States? Or the struggle for democratic freedoms in a country like Pakistan threatens the security of the United States to the extent that the Pakistani dictator be armed to the teeth to stop that process and help, or better say organise attacks against

Afghanistan? How can the people here in India and other peoples in the Indian Ocean threaten the security of the USA, to justify the turning of Diego Garcia into a United States' offensive military base with nuclear striking force? The blood bath in which Lebanon was kept for the past few years, they say, is to preserve the security of the USA! Israel must continue in her aggression and expansionist policy denying a whole people, the Palestinian people, the right to live in their homeland and decide on their own destiny because only that will assure the security of the United States! That the apartheid regime in South Africa should continue to commit crimes against humanity, Korea should be kept divided and the puppet regime in South-Korea should for that purpose receive not only the economic, military and moral support of the USA but the blessing of Reagan through a personal visit? Or that the Central American region should be destabilized and the threat of military invasion to Nicaragua should continue to hang over the people of that country.... Are all these to defend the security of the United States? The list is really very long.

But fortunately enough the peoples of the world now know that logic of imperialism. This includes the people of the United States itself. They strongly reject this logic and they demand in increasing numbers, and in a more militant manner, an end to domination and oppression, an end to exploitation and robbery and, above all, an end to the arms race. They demand the transfer of the huge sums spent today on armaments to social projects to serve peaceful purposes.

In this struggle, we in the trade union movement have a particular responsibility. Your present session has correctly pointed this out.

To bear this responsibility and accomplish the tasks that the millions of workers have entrusted us with, we need to work in unity and coordination. Whether on the national, regional and more particularly on the international level, the trade union organisations are called upon today, more than ever before, to put their forces together so as to make their actions as real and effective contributions to the solution of the problems facing mankind today.

There is no better occasion nor an appropriate place for the

WFTU to address once again its call for unity and united action of the entire world trade union movement than at the platform of your session. Yours is an organisation that is full of devotion and commitment to change the face of India, to turn it to a place where everyone of her 670 million inhabitants could make their lives worth living. We address our appeal for unity without any precondition. We again express our readiness to work hand in hand with all those who do not want to see our planet destroyed by a nuclear catastrophe, with all those who want to assure full employment and for the creation of new jobs, with all these who want the present unjust international economic order dominated by capitalists and transnational companies destroyed and who want to install in its place a new order based on justice and mutual benefit, with all those who want to see an end to domination, oppression and violation of human rights.

The trade union movement is a gigantic force in the world today. It commands an army of nearly 500 million organised workers. This is an army that can play a decisive role in the battle of humanity provided that its ranks are united and its actions are coordinated.

We are happy that the draft documents of your Congress have rightly put the problem of unity in its proper perspective and we are sure that your deliberations and decisions will immensely strengthen the forces of unity and united action at the national, regional and international levels.

With these words, we wish your Congress all success.

V. MAKEYEV, SECRETARY AUCCTU  
*Leader of the Soviet Trade Union Delegation*

On behalf of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and of all Soviet workers, I bring you warm fraternal greetings and best wishes.

I would also like to extend our heartfelt thanks to the All-India Trade Union Congress for the kind invitation to attend your Thirty Second Conference and for the heart-warming hospi-

talities given to our delegation. I wish this highly representative gathering of Indian workers every success in its deliberations.

It was with a feeling of great satisfaction that we received your invitation which we regard as an expression of feelings of friendship toward the whole of the Soviet people.

It has been over 60 years now since your glorious organisation, the All-India Trade Union Congress, came to be founded. The AITUC has contributed many a chapter to the history of the Indian working class struggle for national liberation and economic and political interests of the working people.

It is with a feeling of profound satisfaction that we hail the solid and friendly ties between the working people of India and the Soviet Union. These ties have gone from strength to strength throughout the whole period of India's existence as an independent state. These ties have been further strengthened with the signing, on August 9, 1971, of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, a treaty whose signatories are the world's first socialist state and the world's largest peace-loving country.

The Message of Greetings to the Indian leadership from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of India's independence emphasized that:

“The Soviet Union sets great store by its good relations with India and stands for strengthening its friendship with her. These relations are based on the fruitful foundations of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, meet the fundamental interests of the peoples of both countries and serve the cause of consolidating peace and stability in Asia and in the whole world.”

The Soviet people take great interest in India and not only in its centuries-old history and ancient culture but also in its contemporary life and present-day realities. They follow, with keen interest, the Indian people's march along the path of economic independence, overcoming the inheritance of the colonial past.

We highly appreciate the many-sided and fruitful cooperation between India and the Soviet Union their long-standing tradition of friendship. The Soviet people as a true friend of the

Indian people render it assistance to its capacity in the further development of the economy.

There are, in India today, over 70 modern projects—completed or under construction—in different sectors of industry, a considerable contribution to the country's economic potential, to the establishment and consolidation of the public sector of the national economy.

It gives me great joy to note that our trade union ties have steadily grown and strengthened along with the consolidation of the political and economic relations between India and the Soviet Union. We have particularly warm relations with the All-Indian Trade Union Congress. We take joy in this and will continue our efforts to expand and consolidate the ties of friendship and cooperation between the trade unions of India and the USSR.

Comrades,

A short while ago all progressive-minded people throughout the world celebrated the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Today it is opportune to recall the significance that was attached to this Revolution by one of the most prominent people in the Indian national liberation movement. Mahatma Gandhi wrote the following:

“There can be no doubt whatsoever that, standing behind the Bolshevik ideal, is the noble self-sacrifice of countless men and women who have given their everything for it. The ideal to which the giant spirits like Lenin have devoted themselves, cannot be a fruitless one. The noble example of their self-sacrifice will be extolled in the centuries to come and will make that ideal still more pure and beautiful”.

Now I would like to tell briefly what working people in our country are doing now. We have greeted the 66th anniversary of the Revolution with good results. We have considerably increased the pace of our industrial development and raised productivity. And despite the rather unfavourable weather conditions, we have taken in a pretty good harvest, exceeding last year's harvest of potatoes, sugar beets, vegetables, fruit and cattle fodder. Workers in the agro-industrial complex are making a steady pro-

gress in implementing the National Food Programme. Solving the problem is a very complicated task. Over 2/3 of the sown land are in the zone of risky agriculture. The climate of our country is severe, very often we have to salvage crops, it involves extra expenses.

The recent few years have seen a continued growth in people's incomes, welfare and social benefits, while construction of housing for the working people has continued at a high pace.

The 66 year old policy of steadily raising the people's living standards will continue as before. Speaking to the full session of the CPSU Central Committee in November 1982, Party General Secretary and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade Yuri Andropov said:

"To ensure a steady economic growth and greater well-being of the people is both our duty to the Soviet people and our international duty".

The trade unions have an important role to play in the vast programmes of economic and social development currently underway in the Soviet Union. Theirs is the dual task to promote a growing social production while ensuring adequate working and living conditions of the working people, defending their rights and raising their economic prosperity.

The strength of the Soviet Trade Unions lies in their vastness and size of membership. One hundred and thirty-two million Soviet people are affiliated to the trade union movement described by Lenin as "the school of management, school of administration, school of communism."

The Soviet trade unions and, especially, factory-level trade union organisations have seen their rights and powers considerably extended with the passing of a new Soviet "Law on Work Collectives and Granting Them Greater Powers in the Running of Factories, Offices and Organisations", the Law which had been drafted with full trade union participation, the unions in the USSR having the right of submitting new legislation. The new Law has greatly increased the role and responsibilities of local trade union organisations in decisions on all matters of concern to a work collective.

The Soviet trade unions enjoy an extremely wide range of

**powers. The unions have large powers in monitoring management's compliance with labour laws and in overseeing the application of occupational safety and health standards and regulations. The unions have a statutory participating right in decisions on the essential matters of pay-rates, working hours and the like. Management must consult and get the trade union approval on the following matters: termination of labour contract, allocation of material incentive funds, social and recreation funds, and new housing, allocation of bonus pay, and decisions concerning overtime work. The factory trade union committee has a right to demand punishment or expulsion of management officials violating national labour laws.**

On the international level, our trade unions are making persistent efforts to strengthen friendship and solidarity with the workers throughout the world and to fight against imperialism and for peace, international security and social progress.

“The issue of peace is a burning and painful issue of the present day.” It was with these words that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin opened his history-making speech on peace at the Second All-Russia Congress of the Soviets which established the Soviet Government.

Today in this world, no public issue has greater urgency than that of preserving world peace, averting the threat of world nuclear holocaust and ensuring the security of all nations of the world.

The Soviet Union and other socialist community countries, all the people of good-will, are espousing tirelessly and consistently the cause of world peace and counter the imperialist war-mongering policies with a consistent and constructive policy of promoting world peace, international security and detente.

The Soviet government's determined efforts at strengthening the universal peace have assumed a particular significance today when the more aggressive imperialist circles are trying to tip the global strategic balance and secure themselves military superiority so as to be able to control, at their discretion, the course of world developments in all parts of the globe.

The criminal aggression against Grenada, interference in the internal affairs of Central American and Arab countries, aggra-

vation of tensions in the Indian Ocean region—all testify to the growing aggressiveness and adventurism of the US imperialism.

Given the present international situation, it is imperative to work for a closer unity of all anti-imperialist forces and give an early rebuff to the reactionary scheming. The Soviet Union counters the adventurous imperialist policies with a clear and realistic programme for safeguarding world peace. The USSR has, in the past, and will continue to do its utmost to bring about the easing of international tensions.

Recently, the international community has resounded to the authoritative and weighty new statement made by the Soviet leader Yuri Andropov. It has, once again, confirmed the Soviet Union's adherence to the Leninist peaceful foreign policy and its principled line of curbing the arms race, especially, the nuclear arms race, and of lessening and, finally, eliminating, once and for all, the threat of nuclear war.

The statement contains an appeal to the US and Western European leaders to weigh very carefully all the possible consequences to their own nations and to the rest of mankind of their militaristic course and the planned deployment in Europe of new American missiles.

The Soviet working people give their full and unqualified support to the measures currently being taken by the Soviet Union to ensure to avert nuclear catastrophe for saving life on the earth.

I would like to tell you with satisfaction that just a few days ago during an enlarged session of the AUCCTU Presidium, the highest leading body of the Soviet trade unions its participants expressed their full support to the measures to ensure the security of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries as spelt out in Comrade Andropov's statement. The participants in the meeting stressed that, given the present international situation, the trade unions are facing an important challenge to rally the Soviet workers to even more challenging tasks in increased productivity to further strengthen the nation's economic and defence capability. On behalf of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the meeting adopted an appropriate statement.

The present anti-war movement is characterized by a growing trade union involvement. The Soviet trade unions have always

regarded and continue to regard struggle against war as their highest priority.

In the USSR, the trade union rely, among others, on such anti-war struggle methods as mass rallies and public statements condemning the aggressive imperialist policies. Soviet trade unions take an active part in the various international anti-war meetings and conferences. Trade union contribution to the struggle for world peace was the central theme of the Tenth World Trade Union Congress held in Havana (Cuba) in February 1982. The Congress called on the workers of the world to observe September 1st as International Day of Trade Union Action for Peace to be marked, every year, with anti-war rallies, demonstrations for peace and other trade union action. Following that appeal, twice—in 1982 and 1983—September 1st has been observed throughout the world as a genuine manifestation of mass anti-war protest. We are informed that, in India, too, the day of September 1st has been largely observed by the trade unions and various other social organisations.

Dear Comrades,

In conclusion, I would like to convey to your Congress our warmest best wishes from the workers in the Soviet Union. From the bottom of our hearts, we wish the Indian workers and this trade union centre every success in their struggle for economic and social progress, for peace, friendship and cooperation between the nations.

We are confident that the relations of fraternal friendship and all-round co-operation between the Soviet and Indian trade unions will grow and strengthen to the benefit of workers in India and USSR and for the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the whole world.

Thank you.

## SPEECH OF THE CUBAN DELEGATION

Comrades,

We are bearers of a warm greeting from the Workers' Central Union of Cuba and its trade national unions to the participants to the 32nd Session of the All India Trade Union Congress. At

the same time, we would like to express our sincere gratefulness to the comrades of the AITUC which has honoured us with the invitation to this Congress and all the kindness offered to our delegation.

Let us avail this rostrum to send a fraternal embrace to all workers of India, to whom join us close links of friendship and Companionship appeared and forged in the warmth of our common struggle against the imperialism and all ways of oppression and exploitation.

Our trade union organisation has recommended us to make clear in this important meeting, to all Indian workers and particularly to the AITUC leadership, its deepest recognition because whenever has there been a threat of aggression of the US imperialism against the Cuban people, it has counted on with its decided and combative solidarity.

This Congress is holding in times in which the international situation is more dangerous and complex day by day as a result of the nefarious warmongering policy of the present US Administration, aim to a global confrontation, and to the escalate out of limit the arms race, the creation of aggressive military bases, the intervention of troops in several countries and its demential insistence in the installation of middle rank nuclear missiles in West Europe, at the same time it increases its support and aid to the most reactionary and repressive regimes.

The incalculable military expenses incurred by imperialism in the massive production of armaments, make more acute the economic crisis that suffers the capitalist system, whose negative effects fall over the world economy, with major intensity over the workers and large masses of the undeveloped countries.

In this time, more than ever, it is necessary to reach to the most close unity of all revolutionary and democratic forces for facing, with common actions, the irrational imperialist policy that endanger the world peace and threaten the mankind with a nuclear confrontation of incalculable consequences.

In this context, the Cuban workers hail the peace activities carried out by the Soviet Union, in spite of the stubbornness of United States and its allies.

We express our recognition to the victories obtained by the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea in the national reconstruction, despite the attacks and sabotages, and the ideological diversionism carried out by the expansionists of Peking which are agree with the US imperialism and others reactionary people that play its role in the area.

We support the Afghan people and the revolutionary process they develop in their country.

We support the happy initiative that is carrying out to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

We solidarize ourselves with the Korean people, which make efforts to rejoin peacefully their motherland, without foreign interference.

We solidarize ourselves with the struggle of the heroic people of Palestine, for the recognition of its legitimate rights, including the right of the creation of their own independent State.

We consider that it is necessary to carry out all possible efforts to preserve and strengthen the unity within the PLO.

We support the progressive forces that in Lebanon are facing the zionist occupation and the imperialist interference.

We support the struggle of the Saharaoui people for their independence and self-determination.

We support the struggle of the South African people, under the leadership of the ANC against the racist government which oppress them with the practice of the hateful system of Apartheid.

We want to send our solidarity to the Namibian people who, under the direction of the SWAPO, fight for their independence.

We condemn the aggressions of the South Africa government against the Front Line countries, especially, against Angola and Mozambique.

We energetically denounce all the attempts for trying to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola, which constitute an affair of sovereignty between Angola and Cuba.

In Latin America and the Carribean, the tensions have increased because of the exploitation, repression, economical pressures, interference and aggression of the US imperialism against the

peoples who are fighting for their real independence, their right to selfdetermination.

Recently, violating all the regulations of International Right and defying once more the world public opinion, the US imperialism invaded the small island of Grenada, carrying out another treacherous crime against sovereignty and territorial integrity of peoples. The criminal attack of the imperialists had the high cost of lives of thousands of Grenadians and 24 Cuban workers who were collaborating in the brother country, in the construction of the civil airport.

One of the biggest condemnation and repudiation has emerged all around the world against the vandalic imperialist action. But the US imperialism dangerously persists in its attempt of bending peoples that has chosen and try to choose their own destiny.

Nicaragua is the target of several and repeated aggressions and threats; it is surrounded by military bases, troops and north American vessels, and is attacked across the borders of neighbour countries, whose governments are sold to the United States interests.

The Salvadoran brother people fight heroically and victoriously under the direction of the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation and the Democratic Revolutionary Front, against the genocide government that receive the support and the increased north American military aid.

The peoples of Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Honduras, Haiti, and others are fighting against the oppression and the exploitation of reactionary and bloody dictatorships.

The Porto Rican people are trying to reach the liberation from the United States colonial yoke.

In the First American Free Territory, we, workers, are preparing ourselves to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Triumph of the Revolution, next January 1st. Our people is the owner of his wealth and future; we successfully go ahead in the construction of socialism; several are the gains obtained in the economical, political and social spheres. We also are working hard in the preparation of the XV Congress of the Workers' Central Union of Cuba, that will be held from February 20 to 24, 1984. We are trying to accomplish the different tasks, especially those re-

lated with production and defense. Production, to make higher the standard of living of our people. Defence, to be prepared if the US imperialism dare to attack us, make them pay the highest price they have ever paid in their history because, as Comrade Fidel Castro said in the funeral of the Cuban comrades who died in Grenada: "Our country could be swept off from the face of the earth, but never could be conquered or submitted."

We must point out that in these 25 years, each time our people has have to face the aggressions, intrigues and blockade of the US imperialism, besides us we have found the solidarity and the support of the progressive forces of the world, of the socialist countries and, fundamentally, the support and aid of the fraternal Soviet Union.

Comrades,

On behalf of our working people, educated by the Communist Party of Cuba and its First Secretary, Comrade Fidel Castro, in the principles of proletarian internationalism, principles which we shall not renounce or negotiate over, we express our strong and militant solidarity with the international working class, the national liberation movements and all other revolutionary and progressive forces that fight against the imperialism, the colonialism, the neo-colonialism, the racism, the zionism, the Apartheid, the arms race, and for the creation of a New International Economic Order, the social progress, the well-being of peoples and peace.

To all comrades delegates to the 32nd Congress of All India Trade Union Congress we desire the biggest success in this important event, fundamentally in the exercise of those agreements which will contribute to the benefit of the workers and the people of India.

**LONG LIVE THE 32ND CONGRESS OF AITUC!**

**LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP AMONG THE CUBAN AND THE INDIAN WORKERS!**

**LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!  
MOTHERLAND OR DEATH,**

**WE SHALL WIN!**

## OMAR KANARI,

*Member, Executive-Council of Syrian Trade Union Federation*

Allow me to thank you very much for your inviting us to attend this important congress and to convey to you the fraternal greetings of the Syrian working class and trade unions, wishing every success for this congress. We are very pleased to see the good development of the relations of cooperation between the Syrian and Indian trade union movements within the framework of the continuous consolidation of the common struggle front against imperialism, zionism and reactionary forces and for peace, progress and socialism.

The participation of a delegation of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Syria in this congress which is of a very great importance in the life and activities of the Indian working class is a clear-cut manifestation of the good relations existing between India and Syria which are ever developing at a high scale through visits and meetings that have highlighted the necessity for multi-cooperation between our two countries and our two peoples in a deep-rooted spirit of friendship within our common aspirations to head along the road of progress and social and economic liberation.

Today we may safely say that our mutual relations have full dimensions at all levels and our participation in the proceedings of your congress is a clear manifestation of the close cooperation and friendship that links our two peoples.

Dear Comrades,

We would assert that the Syrian working class under the leadership of the General Federation of Trade Unions followed and are following with great interest the important success achieved by the Indian people in their struggle for the realization of the economic and social transformations in the interest of all workers and highly appreciate the great efforts you exert in your struggle within the non-aligned movement that holds in the face of the forces of world imperialism and zionism, backs the struggle and causes of the Arab Nation, and, in the first place, the cause of Palestine, and supports the struggle of our country and stands up for the inalienable right of all nations to self-determi-

nation and to live in just peace, creative work and social progress.

Dear President,

Dear Congress Members,

It is certain for all in our homeland and outside that the USA administration is acting jointly with Israel within the same expansionist aggressive plan. The strategic cooperation agreement recently made between the United States of America and the Zionist entity is intended in the first place to take a military action against Syria, the Lebanese national forces and the Palestine Revolution, and, then, to expand the imperialist hegemony in our region.

The US policy is behind Israel's refusal to submit to UN resolutions relating to Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and to withdraw from Lebanon. Reagan's administration declared through USA Secretary for Defence that it would object to Israel withdrawal from Lebanon before the realization of certain goals, and, in the first place, acceptance of the agreement signed on 17th May by Israel and the Lebanese government, i.e. the contract d'adhesion, as a matter-of-fact, and then the unconditional withdrawal of the Syrian and Palestinian forces.

The results of the recent visit of Shamir and Arenz to Washington categorically confirms that it is wrong to believe that the USA works for peace in our region. On the contrary the USA intensifies aggression on our Arab Nation, especially on Syria that stands fast against the imperialist-Zionist challenges and builds up the society of progress and socialism under the leadership of the Baath Arab-Socialist Party and the Party's Secretary General, militant Comrade Hafez Al-Assad.

Dear Comrades,

As to what is going on in the ranks of the Palestinians, especially within Fatah, Syria stated more than once that it is necessary to settle the Palestinian problems within Fatah movement through democratic dialogue which is the right step in the right direction, for it is supposed to save the Palestinian blood and to open the way for political dialogue which is, in turn, supposed

to settle peacefully the problems within Fatah Movement on the basis of commitment to the national character and the Palestinian organisations' resolutions and programme of struggle, and to blockade the road ahead of the hostile forces that attempted to exploit the Palestinian difference to pass off their suspicious plans within and without the region.

Syria, as it is clearly understood, exerted great and continuous efforts to stop the bleeding of both the Lebanese and Palestinian blood and to assist in settling the disputes through fraternal positive dialogue. Syria is always ready and willing to offer further sacrifices so as to keep the Palestinian flag flying high. Further, Syria is always ready to confront all conspiracies aimed at liquidating the Palestinian cause, for Syria considers the Palestinian cause the pivot and core of the national liberation struggle of the Arab Nation.

Dear Comrades,

Following Camp David accords the United States of America managed to have a footstand for its aggressive forces on the Lebanese soil under the slogan of peace and the multinational forces. The USA is working now to develop this presence and to make it a bridge head to cross to the Arab area, which case confirms that the American-Israeli invasion of Lebanon is a link in a global aggressive plan to start with Camp David and to unfold its dimensions and links through the daily events and aggressive practices as well as through the cries of the hysterical war that assert that the circles of aggression in Washington and Tel Aviv imagine that the fascist colonialist force could suppress the will of the Arab Nation. The militant leader Hafez Al-Assad stressed on more than one occasion that the American language of threat and intimidation does not scare Syria and that Syria will on line of commitment to the patriotic and national principles and objectives continue to confront the enemy plans to defend the whole Arab existence. No force, no matter how powerful, can deviate Syria from its principled firm stand. This fact is known to the Arab masses throughout the Arab homeland. In taking this stand, Syria has the initiative, is backed by the Arab masses and is supported by the forces of freedom and progress in the world headed by the friendly Soviet Union.

**Dear Comrades,**

Once more I seize this opportunity to refer to the continuous friendly cooperation between our two trade union organisations and to underline our strong belief that this cooperation will continue and will develop in the interest of our two friendly countries. By unifying our efforts we shall be in a good position to contribute to the consolidation of just peace and promotion of progress and building of socialism.

We highly appreciate the noble role assumed by the militant world trade union movement headed by the WFTU in strengthening world solidarity with the causes of national liberation and with the struggle of peoples fighting for freedom, progress and peace. In Syria we attach a great weight to this world solidarity and trust that this solidarity will always be strengthened, will put the weight of the world working class all over the world to the side of the cause of peace and will act as a solid fortress in the face of the horrible plans worked out by US imperialism and its allies to threaten the world civilization and to expose the world to the danger of a global nuclear disaster.

Finally, I greet the Indian working class struggle for the realization of their objectives.

Greetings to all national liberation movements in Africa and Latin America and throughout the world.

Greetings to all forces of liberation and progress in the world headed by the Soviet Union, the friend of peoples.

**RAFIQUDDIN AHMED,**

*Assistant Secretary of Jatio Sramik League Bangladesh*

**Mr. Chairman,**

**Delegates and Friends,**

It is a great pleasure for me to have the opportunity to attend the 32nd session of the congress of AITUC. I am extremely grateful to the comrades of AITUC for the hospitality and warm reception extended to me. I on behalf of Jatio Sramik League, convey my heartfelt greetings and good wishes to the organisers of this important congress.

The latest political situation of the country is very much known to you. On the basis of certain demands including lifting of the Martial Law there was an alliance of the political parties. On 1st November, these alliance made a call for the general strike throughout the country and it was a big success. The spontaneous general strike was observed and the normal life was paralysed on that day. The people of the country expressed their dissatisfaction against the Martial Law. The alliance again called a peaceful sit down strike on 28th November in front of the secretariat building to voice their demands. But the Government oppression came down on the participants of the sit down strike. Some people were killed and several people were seriously wounded by the police firing and hundreds were arrested. All the political activities were again declared banned by the Martial Law Authority. In the meantime, some political leaders were arrested and warrant of arrest was issued against few leaders.

Although the trade union activities were not banned, the trade union organisations have to work within the framework of the Government policy. The Industrial Relations Ordinance (IRO) declared by the present Government imposed restrictions on the free activities of the trade union organisations. The basic rights, I mean the right of strikes, the right of assembly of the working class were forbidden by law. Even in holding of the committee meeting of any organisation, the permission from the Martial Law Authority is needed.

Of course, the trade union organisations are not sitting idle. The eleven national trade union centres of the country are united in a platform and submitted five point demands on behalf of the workers of the country. Immediate lifting of the Martial Law, to get back the full trade union and democratic rights, increase the salary and other benefits of the workers are among the five point demands. These eleven centres have been struggling on the basis of their demands. On 25th November this year, a big meeting of the working class was held under the sponsors of the eleven nation centres and after the meeting there was a big procession in which workers participation was spontaneous. The eleven trade union centres have also declared their support and solidarity to the struggle launched by the political parties. Among

the eleven centres, three organisations are the WFTU affiliate including our organisation Jatio Sramik League.

The financial conditions of the working class are being worsened day by day. The poor becomes the poorer and the rich becomes richer at the present system. The unemployment problem is acute. According to the Government report nearly 80 per cent people of the country are living below the standard level. The workers are low paid in comparison to the present price level. As a result, they are to face numerous problems including food and shelter. The progressive steps taken by our great leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's regime for the **mic** benefit and welfare of the common people are being foiled.

The nationalised mills and factories are being handed over to the private sector. Private banks are established just to encourage the foreign investment. The job security of the workers and employees of those mills are threatened which are already disinvested. In the meantime, a good number of workers have lost their jobs in the mills which are disinvested. The foreign capital investments are being welcomed. Just to satisfy the **capitalist block**, the working class are also dissatisfied with present economic and social system. The present system cannot provide the solutions of the problems of the working class. Experiences and event in the present world have proved beyond doubt, that only socialism can provide the lasting solution to the problems of the working class.

**Comrades,**

The world peace is now endangered by the American imperialism. The arms race by Reagan administration threatens to destroy all human life on the planet. The deployment of US cruise and pershing nuclear missiles in Western Europe by NATO is a dangerous escalation of the arms race with the intent to wage nuclear war. In this great congress, we renew our determination to strengthen the struggle for world peace and disarmament and to intensify the united trade union action through out the world to stop the arms race and to bring about disarmament.

In this context, we condemn the American military intervention in Grenada, American air raid in the Syrian position in

Lebanon, provocation against Cuba and Nicaragua. We condemn the unilateral declaration by the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community of creating a so-called independent Turkish state in northern Cyprus. It is a clear obstruction to the peaceful and democratic unification of Cyprus. We condemn the rapid deployment forces in the Indian ocean area. We renew our support to declare Indian ocean a free zone.

We again remember with respect the help, assistance and co-operation of the Government and the people of India during the time of our liberation war and their help and assistance after war to rebuild our ravaged economy. We sincerely believe that the existing friendly relations between AITUC and Jatio Sramik League will be strengthened in the near future for the benefit and welfare of the working people of our two countries.

We again express our solidarity with the working class of the world. LONG LIVE THE WORKING CLASS, LONG LIVE THE WORLD PEACE.

Jay Bangla  
(*Victory of Bangladesh*)

### MIROSLAV SPANIEL

*Secretary, Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions*

Dear Comrades,

Dear Friends,

At the beginning I wish to thank most cordially the All-India Trade Union Congress for the invitation for a delegation of Czechoslovak Trade Unions to participate in your 32nd Congress. We convey to you, on behalf of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, of over seven million members of our Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and on behalf of all Czechoslovak Workers, our warm sincere greetings and wishes for every success in your Congress proceedings as well as in your further work.

Dear Comrades,

Led by deep feelings of international solidarity, our workers have always sided with people struggling for freedom and a really

independent political and economic development. In the past as well as at present they have observed with a great attention the development in your country and highly appreciated the determination and principled attitude with which the AITUC has always been at the head of great class struggles aimed at the permanent intrigues of the world imperialism and reaction and for the vital rights and interests of the working people.

Taking this opportunity, we express once more the full solidarity of Czechoslovak trade unionists with your struggle for the unity of action of the workers and trade union movement consequently realizing the deep transformations to the benefit of your workers, for democracy and social progress, for the lasting peace. In this regard, we also appreciate the important role played by the AITUC, as a member-founder of the WFTU, in the international trade union movement.

Dear Comrades,

Faithful to principles of proletarian internationalism, the Czechoslovak workers have always been advocates of relations based on the principles of full equality, sovereignty and mutual advantage realized in peaceful conditions, in an atmosphere of confidence and understanding.

Therefore, we take this opportunity to express from the tribune of your congress our full support for and solidarity with the struggle of all revolutionary and democratic forces all over the world against the world imperialism, against colonialism and neocolonialism, against the South Africa racism and apartheid, fascist dictatorships, zionism and all forms of exploitation of man by man.

We also express our deep concern over the growing threat to peace and security in the world caused by the warlike course of the most reactionary circles of the world imperialism, especially of the USA, which internationally create dangerous hotbeds of international tension making every effort to gain military supremacy and dictate their will to the other people. Evidence for this is, for example, putting all possible obstacles to the observance of the UN declaration on the transformation of the Indian Ocean into peace zone of 1971, modernization of military bases

and continuous increase of dangerous concentration of military troops directed by the US command post for the South Western Asia and Indian Ocean and aim of which is to struggle decisively the national liberation movements in underdeveloped and non-aligned countries in this area. For these reasons, we consider the struggle for the preservation of peace, for the stop to the more and more costly and senseless armament and full disarmament to be one of the most urgent tasks of the present day. We especially condemn the deployment of US nuclear missiles which has been already started inspite of a series of mass protests of their workers—we consider this fact a violation of balance in medium-range missiles in Europe in favour of the USA and the NATO which as a consequence brings the world to the very brink of a nuclear holocaust.

Therefore, we express our full support for the consequent peace programme and constructive peace initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries as well as support for the peace actions of the movement of non-aligned countries and all progressive forces striving for the stop to the arms race, preservation of peace and continuation of the detente.

In this regard, we attach great importance to the role played by the World Federation of Trade Unions, with a highly active AITUC participation, through their initiatives towards other international trade union organisations. We especially appreciate the conclusions adopted by the trade union meeting within the World Assembly for peace and life, against nuclear war held in Prague in June this year and the international peace dialogue, peace and trade unions held in Sofia in October this year at which the trade unionists from the whole world underlined the necessity of further strengthening the unity of action of the mass movement for peace and disarmament.

Dear Comrades,

We are sure that your Congress too, which represents a significant milestone in the struggle of Indian workers for a better future, will contribute to further strengthening the united front of all progressive forces for the preservation of peace in the world, for democracy and social progress.

Long live the AITUC!

Long live and deepen the friendship and co-operation between the people of Czechoslovakia and India!

May grow on the unity of action of the international workers' and trade union movement in the struggle for freedom and independence of peoples, for democracy, social progress and peace all over the world!

GEORGI KARAUANOV,

*Secretary, Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions*

Dear Comrades,

I am especially pleased to convey to the delegates and participants of the 32nd Session of the All India Trade Union Congress, and through you to the members of your organisation, the ardent fraternal congratulations of the working people of the people's Republic of Bulgaria.

The peoples of India and Bulgaria are bound by long-standing friendly relations which are developing along ascending lines. The just concluded visit of the Bulgarian state delegation headed by the first party and state leader of our country Todor Zhivkov has once again confirmed the excellent relations between India and Bulgaria and has further consolidated the friendship and mutual respect between our two states and peoples. Regardless of our geographical remoteness, our economic co-operation has been developing favourably and our cultural exchanges have been increasing tangibly. Developing in the spirit of this fraternal friendship and co-operation are also the relations between the Bulgarian Trade Unions and the trade unions of India including the AITUC.

The working people and the trade unions in our country highly value the AITUC as a vanguard of the world progressive trade union movement, as an active factor in the region and the world for consolidating the international workers' solidarity and for the unity of action of the workers of all countries in the struggle for peace and social progress. True to the principles of prole-

arian internationalism the Bulgarian Trade Unions have been, and henceforth will stand by, the struggle of the working class and the people of India in their struggle against the advance of the monopolies and reaction, for improving the economic and social living conditions.

The Bulgarian Trade Unions assess positively and ascribe a great significance to the co-operation between our trade union organisations. We are also bound by our common activities in the WFTO, where in the future as well we will exert efforts for the strengthening of its authority and influence among the international trade union movement, for consolidating the unity of the trade unions with different orientation and adherence.

For four decades now the People's Republic of Bulgaria has confidently been advancing along the road of construction of the new socialist society in our motherland. Such phenomena as unemployment, misery or poverty are unknown to us. Despite the complicated international situation, despite the energy and raw material crisis, the real income of the working people has increased during the last 10 years by 50 per cent, and the public funds have grown almost two and a half times.

Large and ever-increasing is the role of the Bulgarian Trade Unions in the dynamic and stable development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. After their Ninth Congress they are actively working with increased rights and responsibilities.

Comrades,

Today, we are living in complicated and disturbing times. The world is faced by the threat of a destructive nuclear conflict. The most reactionary and warmongering imperialist circles are to blame for this state. Our Indian comrades know that in the end of October the International Trade Union Meeting-Dialogue on the peace and Trade Unions was held in Sofia. In the course of three days, the envoys of 108 trade union organisations and amalgamations from all continents had an open, honest dialogue. Their appeal to the Trade Unions and the working people the world over says that 'there are no loftier and more responsible goals for the trade unions today than the struggle for safeguarding peace and preventing a destructive nuclear catastrophe. And

we could achieve these goals only if we are united, if there is unity of action. Our weapon is the united trade union front of peace. A united front placed above political differences, above prejudice, above distrust and the disagreements on secondary issues. A united front which has PEACE for its platform, for its goal, and for its flag.'

Now the European continent is in the centre of events with the deployment of the American cruise and Pershing-2 missiles, which was begun against the will of the European peoples. But American Imperialism does not limit itself only to that. It is increasing its conventional and nuclear power in the Indian Ocean, which is causing the just concern of the peoples of this region.

The socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, are pursuing a policy aimed at slowing down the arms race, at detente in the international relations, at preserving peace and security on earth. The People's Republic of Bulgaria for its part is conducting a consistent policy of good neighbourliness, for transforming the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. That is why the working people of the motherland of the remarkable activist of the international workers' movement and great fighter against fascism and war Georgi Dimitrov highly assess and fully support the declaration of Yuri Andropov of November 24 which reflects the Leninist peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union. We believe that reason will prevail and that the world will be liberated from the nuclear holocaust.

**LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE BTU & THE AITUC!**

**LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' SOLIDARITY!**

**LONG LIVE PEACE, THE LOFTIEST BOON OF MANKIND!**

**SHAH ALAM,**

*Secretary, Bangladesh Trade Union Kendra*

Dear Comrade President and Comrades and Delegates,

First of all, please allow me to convey my heartiest fraternal

greetings to you on behalf of working class of Bangladesh and BTUK.

You know the whole situation now prevailing in Bangladesh. There is no democratic and trade union rights for the workers and the people of the country. The Martial Law Government has adopted the policy of selling all nationalised establishment, mills and factories at a nominal price to private owners with a view to building up a capitalist economy in the country. And as a result the working class are the main targets of the present rule. The working class are very much oppressed by the Martial Law Government.

In these circumstances and inspite of heavy repressions and oppressions, we the 10 (Ten) National Big Trade Union Organisations have already formed an action programme by uniting ourselves and also adopted 5 (five) points of charter of demands. We will surely realise our five points including Trade Union and Democratic rights by vigorous movement. No power can stop the workers in reaching their goals.

Dear friends,

In the meantime, some of our colleague Trade Union leaders have been arrested by the Government and put them under Security Act with repression. Most of the Trade Union leaders are working with risk though they are wanted by the police.

Dear brothers,

Perhaps, you have heard that on 25th November 1983, we have arranged a big workers' demonstration on five points demands and on 28th November '83 all the important Democratic and Progressive Political Leaders also have arranged demonstration and 'Dharna' at the secretariat building at Dhaka.

Now the situation in my country is that due to pressure and active participation of the working class in the programme of action and democratic movement, the military Government having no alternative to remain in power illegally has banned all Trade Unions and political activities in the country and imposed curfew.

Dear brothers & sisters,

Finally, I will conclude my speech with shouting some popular slogans in my country.

1. DOWN DOWN—WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM
2. UNITE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD
3. WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT—ZINDABAD, ZINDABAD
4. SOCIALISM—ZINDABAD, ZINDABAD
5. FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN AITUC & BTUC—LONG LIVE, LONG LIVE
6. AITUC MEMBERS & SUPPORTERS—ZINDABAD, ZINDABAD.

Thanking you again for your hospitality and warm reception.

NGUYEN THUYET,

*Member of the Executive Committee and Head of the  
International Department of the Vietnam Federation  
of Trade Unions*

On behalf of the workers and trade unions of Vietnam, I would like to extend to you my warm greetings, and I wish the 32nd AITUC Congress fine success.

The Vietnamese working class and trade unions have followed with deep sympathy the continual activities of AITUC in the struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism, against all forms of oppression and exploitation, for the legitimate interest of the working people, for national security, independence and integration, freedom and democracy, social development and prosperity of the Indian people, for the solidarity and unity of actions among trade union organisations in the country and in the world, and for peace and justice on earth.

The trade union organisations of India especially AITUC, have reserved their valuable support for the workers and the entire people of Vietnam in their long struggle against the French

colonialists and the U.S. imperialists in the past, and against the Chinese expansionist aggressors at present. Nowadays, in Vietnam, the sentence, which the Indian people have used to express the friendship between the Vietnamese and Indian people, "Your name and my name are Vietnam", has become familiar with the working class and people of Vietnam.

From this forum of your Congress, on behalf of the workers and trade unions of Vietnam, I, once again, sincerely thank the Indian working class and people and trade unions, especially AITUC, for their valuable support and fine sentiments towards the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese working class and people and trade unions have highly valued India's great role and rising prestige in the non-aligned movement as well as India's active contributions to the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia and elsewhere in the world. We note with pleasure that the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and India are developing satisfactorily in the interests of the two peoples.

The Vietnamese working class and people and trade unions sincerely wish the Republic of India rapid growth and prosperity! We wish AITUC many successes in the noble struggle for the interests of the working people, for democracy and social progress, and for peace in Asia and the world!

Dear comrades and friends,

During the past nearly 40 years since the Second World War, the Vietnamese people have had to fight against three aggressive wars, and now, though living in peace we are still having to cope with a multi-form war of sabotage of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collusion with the U.S. imperialists. At the same time, we have to get ready to cope with the possibility of large-scale war of aggression plotted by the enemy. That is why, to live in peace for national construction is the common ardent aspiration of the entire Vietnamese people. As you know, the Chinese expansionists continue to cause armed conflicts along the Vietnamese-Chinese border area and intensify psycho-war activities against Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries. They continue to nurture the Pol Pot murderers and oppose the revival of the Kampuchean people. They have rigged up the so-

called "coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea" headed by Sihanouk in the hope of covering up Pol Pot's murderous nature, which has been despised by all progressive mankind. At the same time, they continue to make use of the Kampuchean issue to maintain tension and cause confrontation between the ASEAN and Indo-Chinese countries.

In face of such a situation, the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the three Indo-Chinese countries as a whole cannot help heightening their vigilance and enhancing their militant solidarity and special relationship in the spirit of the statement of the Summit Conference of the three Indo-Chinese countries held in Vientiane in February 1983, a factor guaranteeing the victory of socialist construction and the defence of national independence and freedom in each country.

The working class, the entire people and the trade unions of Vietnam fully support the peace-advocating foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the People's Republic of Kampuchea as demonstrated in their preparedness to sign with China a treaty of non-aggression and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, and of peaceful co-existence, and to conduct a dialogue between the ASEAN and Indo-Chinese countries aimed at making South-east Asia a region of peace, friendship and cooperation. We have always treasured our solidarity and friendship with the working class and people of China and support all endeavours of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to normalize the relations between the two countries in the interests of the two peoples and of peace in Asia and the world as a whole.

We are deeply convinced that with their tradition of militant solidarity, with the great and effective assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, with the sympathy and support of the working class and other progressive people throughout the world, including the working class, the people and the Government of the Republic of India, the Vietnamese people will successfully defend their national independence and freedom, and obtain new and still bigger achievements in building and developing the economy, building a new life, and successfully realizing their socio-economic objectives for the eighties.

Together with the whole progressive mankind, the working people and trade unions of Vietnam warmly acclaim the consecutive peace initiatives put forth recently by the Soviet Government, especially the statement made on November 24, 1983 by Mr. Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which exposed the Reagan administration's dangerous plots and moves, sternly warned the United States and its clients forces against carrying out the plan of deploying medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. These initiatives are aimed at ensuring the strategic military equilibrium in Europe and warding off an extermination nuclear war in the world.

The working people and trade unions of Vietnam fully support the struggle of the working people in Asia, Africa, and Latin-America against the policy of aggression and intervention pursued by imperialism and support the growing movement of the people in capitalist countries for peace and disarmament for jobs, and for democracy and social progress. Especially, we would like to express our solidarity with the working class and people of Grenada, Nicaragua, Cuba, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Angola, Namibia, Afghanistan, Korea, etc... who are fighting against the odious plots and moves of aggression and interference by imperialism.

Finally, once again, I wish the 32nd AITUC Congress brilliant success.

May the solidarity and friendship between the working classes and peoples of Vietnam and India further consolidate and develop!

RANE COMET,

*Secretary of the French Confederation of Labour (CGT) France*

First of all, I want to thank the AITUC leadership for their invitation to the CGT and to stress how we appreciate the fact to be here present among you.

Allow me to extend my fraternal greetings to you and all the workers you represent.

We are particularly interested in learning about your struggle, your hopes, and the actions you are waging against low wages, unemployment, and for your rights and liberties.

In France, as in India there are several trade union organisations and obviously, your rich experience in the field of United trade union action, in particular through the NCC, of something which can also be useful for us, in our own fight. As you know, since May 1981, the left wing is in power in France. The Government includes a majority of socialist ministers and some communist ministers

During this period of two years and a half, major changes have taken place. Most banks and credit institutions, plus seven big companies representing more than 3000 enterprises have been nationalised. Some important reforms have been adopted:

- retirement at 60
- 5 weeks holiday per year
- 39 hours working week
- 100% increase of family allowances.

Moreover, through legislation, more than 200 new rights have been granted to trade unions and workers.

But the right wing has started an offensive and is trying by every means to destabilise the left wing Government. The employers refuse to implement the new reforms. They go on firing workers and closing down factories. They refuse to invest in France.

International pressure is also very strong, in particular from the multinationals. The United States and other western powers are doing their best to destabilise the French currency.

In our country a huge class battle is developing between reactionary and progressive forces. In this context, CGT is mobilising workers to oppose the right wing and employers' offensive, to go forward and to ensure the success of the reforms.

However, CGT remains independent that is to say it supports the positive initiative of the Government, but criticizes the hesitations and the weaknesses, and fights against measures it dis-

approves. In fact, we know that everything depends on our capacity to mobilize workers to defend the gains already registered and to guarantee the success of the left-wing policy.

For CGT, as well as for AITUC, the problem of peace is of major importance. The Reagan policy is a danger for the whole world.

The location of perishing II Missiles in Western Europe and the aggressive US policy, in particular in the Middle-East, in South-East Asia and in Latin America, are for us a subject of serious preoccupations. To safeguard peace has become to-day a major objective. Therefore, side by side with other peace loving people in our country, we organize and participate in powerful demonstrations against the display of new nuclear missiles and for negotiated reductions in armaments. Nothing is more important to-day than safeguarding peace.

Finally, I would like to say how we appreciate your congress of a large demonstration of international solidarity. As the AITUC, CGT supports peoples struggling to conquer their independence and their political and economic freedom. As the AITUC, CGT is taking active steps in favour of those peoples.

Therefore, we feel here in Bangalore, that we are among friends, I wish full success to the AITUC Congress.

Long live friendship between Indian and French peoples and workers!

Long live AITUC and CGT!

Long live international solidarity!

### HERALD BUHL

*Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the FDGB National Executive, Head of FDGB Delegation*

We bring you the fraternal and militant greetings of the more than 9 million members of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions.

It is with pleasure that we have followed your kind invitation because our two trade union organisations are linked by tradi-

tional relations of friendship and cooperation which date back many years.

Dear Comrades,

Some days ago the 94th anniversary of the great son of the Indian people, Jawaharlal Nehru, was celebrated. The people of the German Democratic Republic pay tribute to a fearless and consistent fighter for freedom and social justice, against colonial exploitation and oppression.

We are united by the struggle to achieve Nehru's great objective, to fulfil the dream of the overwhelming majority of mankind, that is to say, a life in peace, freedom and social justice, without exploitation and war. But all of us are well aware that this ideal, that the existence of mankind is severely threatened.

Whether in Europe, in Asia, in the Middle East, in Latin America, everywhere the danger of a war is increasing and peace becomes more insecure. And everywhere imperialism and its lackeys threaten extremely peace and security by their reckless policy of arms build-up and confrontation. They try by all means to turn back the wheel of history and to stop the irresistible advance of the forces of socialism, of peace and progress.

How terribly the USA must be afraid of the people's social progress and freedom if suddenly the very little island of Grenada threatens the national security of the USA and was therefore occupied brutally when it tried to build up a new and progressive society.

We strongly condemn the aggressive act and demand the immediate withdrawal of all intervention troops.

The further armament of the US troops and their allies in the region of the Indian Ocean, the extension of the bases around Diego Garcia and the deployment of US missiles just started in Europe jeopardize at the same time the life of the peoples in Asia and Europe and push mankind to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe.

The World has seen untold sorrows that two world wars have brought to mankind. The sorrows of a third world war would not be seen by anybody because mankind would not exist any

more. Who can imagine our earth as a dead planet, as a globe with a burned and contaminated skin, without people and grass, without trees and bushes, without flowers and birds.

But the peoples of the world have stood up and joined their ranks in order to oppose the imminent danger. Everywhere, even in the imperialist states, there is an increasing opposition against the imperialist war policy.

The peoples of our countries and their class-based organisations, the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, also join this common front of millions of working people in the struggle for peace, disarmament and security.

We consider the consistent attitude of the Indian people and of AITUC towards peace to be an important contribution to achieving this great objective and agree with you that it is necessary to make still more powerful efforts in order to protect peace all over the world.

The Confederation of Free German Trade Unions considers it to be its most important trade union concern and supports therefore the numerous proposals of the Soviet Union for disarmament as a real basis for an effective disarmament and for the preservation of peace.

On behalf of millions of FDGB members we demand:

- stop the imperialist policy of armament and confrontation in the Indian Ocean and all over the world;
- renounce the deployment of new NATO missiles in Western Europe;
- make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

Dear Comrades,

Despite all attempts of exploitation and oppression made by imperialism and reaction the Indian people have set-up a free and independent India that essentially contributes today by its well-balanced and progressive policy within the non-aligned movement to the stabilisation of the international situation and enjoys the respect of the peoples of the world.

It is with great sympathy and attention that the working people of our Republic follow the struggle of the Indian fraternal

people for democracy and social progress, against backwardness, exploitation, unemployment and underemployment.

During the more than 60 years of its existence the All-India Trade Union Congress has proved to be the real class-based organisation of the Indian working people by its consistent commitment for the improvement of the living and working conditions and for basic trade union rights.

Dear Comrades,

Our experiences teach us that the unity of the working class is a fundamental condition in the struggle for the power of the people.

In 1933 when the German working class was divided, German fascism brought untold sorrows and misery to the peoples. We have drawn our lessons from these bitter experiences and overcame the division of the working class by the foundation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

In our state the working class is in power and in close alliance with the farmers and the intellectuals they develop their socialist country. The policy of the party and the government aimed at the well-being of the working people and at the preservation of peace, enjoys the full support of the entire people.

The working man with all his concerns and problems is in the centre of the social development in our Republic. Our workers know very well from their every day life that they, who strengthen their socialist state, work at the same time for their individual interests and needs. The close relations between the human beings and their socialist state make socialism invincible.

The road to building up a socialist society is not easy, and this demands the strength and cooperation of all people. The hard and devoted work of the millions of workers of the factories and in the fields was and is the most decisive source for our successful development.

For the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, the most significant mass organisation of our country, it is important to meet at all time its responsibility to defend the interests of the workers and to participate in the social development.

Dear Comrades,

The most important challenge of our time is the extremely important struggle for the preservation of peace in the world. We fight side by side and we will win.

We wish a successful proceeding to your congress and are convinced that its decisions will be of great importance for the further struggle of the Indian working people.

Also in future time the FDGB will side with you.

We would like to assure you, dear Indian comrades, that the FDGB will furthermore do everything to deepen these unshakable links of friendship existing between the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions.

May peace and security prevail on our earth!

Long live the All-India Trade Union Congress!

Long live the militant alliance between the working people of India and the GDR and between their trade union centres

AITUC and FDGB!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

J. McCARTHY,

*International Trade Union Unity Committee of Australia*

In Australia, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) is the single national trade union centre to which the majority of Australian trade unions are affiliated (this includes all Blue collar, Government and professional workers).

This means that all the political and industrial trends are contained within the one single national body and policy is obtained either by the process of consensus (agreement) or by hammering out the issues, then a decision by ballot of all affiliated organisations.

The ACTU Congress this year was said by the union movement and other observers to be a Unity Congress, obtaining wide areas of agreement on the main issues.

Within the total policy of the ACTU Congress are many positive decisions dealing with the economic and social aspects of the Australian people's life.

This years Congress gave its main attention to the economic problems arising from the present capitalist crisis.

Unanimous agreement was established on comprehensive policies covering Wages and Salaries—Working conditions—Social Welfare—Trade Union Legislation and Trade Union Rights.

The mainstay of these policies has been adopted by the Australian Labour Government and the Industrial Arbitration Court. A Central Wage Fixing System has been adopted that fully adjusts wages to account for periodical price increases, and such adjustments are made at six monthly intervals. (Last adjustment 43% rise in salaries in September, 1983).

The Economic and Social Policy, calls for a restructure of the taxation system—which aims to push the burden onto the wealthy; and tax avoidance schemes by big business and calls for curbs and controls on Multi-nationals and controls on foreign investments in Australia.

The ACTU Congress policy on International questions is very advanced and progressive in character.

The main plank of the policy is the declaration that the attainment of the aims and objectives of the trade union movement are unobtainable unless the world is able to achieve a peaceful world.

The Policy also declares that—**ALL PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION—FREEDOM OF SPEECH—RELIGIOUS FREEDOM—FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION OF TRADE UNIONS—RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE, WITHOUT FEAR OF AGGRESSION OR SUBVERSION BY A FOREIGN POWER, BY MILITARY OR OTHER MEANS.**

The International Affairs Policy establishes general principles of the following main topic **PEACE & DISARMAMENT**. It demands that the pursuit of peace should have priority over all political objectives and rejects the use of force to resolve political and economic problems. The ACTU is also one of the major convenors of the Pacific Trade Union Forum which has met twice with Pacific Trade Unions and has as its objectives—a Nuclear Free Pacific, Trade Union Solidarity and cooperation and national liberation.

The ACTU Congress policy commits us to promoting Detente between East and West, and the resolution of conflicts through negotiations and agreements.

It condemns the reliance on Nuclear Weapons and the Arms Race, and demands immediate cessation of nuclear weapons production and testing and the effective National and International control of the Arms Trade.

The Policy calls for the immediate resumption of negotiations leading to general disarmament—for the withdrawal of Nuclear Missiles from the European scene—and declares its willingness to join with workers of ALL countries in working for the abolition of the threat of Nuclear War, and of the use of weapons of mass destruction, and for the FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF U.N. DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS.

The policy supports the U. N. and Commonwealth of Nations for the achievement of basic human rights and the outright rejection and abhorance to any form of discrimination on the grounds of RACE, COLOUR, SEX, AGE, RELIGION, POLITICAL OPINION, NATIONAL EXTRACTION or SOCIAL ORIGIN.

The policy declares solidarity towards ALL WORKING PEOPLE—WHO ARE FIGHTING FORMS OF REPRESSION AGAINST THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONISM AND FOR THEIR STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION.

There are specific solidarity actions concerning South Africa, in which the trade union movement is in strong opposition to all forms of racism and condemns the practice of Apartheid in South Africa.

The Australian Trade Union Movement supports the National Liberation struggle in Namibia, Southern Africa, South America and Asia.

Militant trade unions of Australia have through many years of their history engaged in solidarity actions of peoples struggling against the colonial and imperialist forces, and at the present time have bans imposed against South Africa and Chile regimes in support of the struggles for National Liberation of those people.

The Committee of International Trade Union Unity which is the organisation that I am representing at this Congress, was

formed following the 9th World Trade Union Congress—held in Prague Czechoslovakia almost 10 years ago.

The unions which constitute CITTU are left-wing, progressive oriented organisations that are actively engaged in the struggles of the progressive forces both inside and outside of Australia.

The Committee has strong links with the WFTU and the majority of national trade union bodies in the South East Asia and South Pacific regions.

The Committee has been responsible for initiating a number of important Seminars and Conferences in the South East Asian and South Pacific regions concerning the development of trade union solidarity, the unity and defence of trade union rights against the activities of the Multi-nationals and for the promotion of trade union activity in support for Disarmament and the establishment of peace in our region.

These trade unions that I speak of are very active in the work of the Australian Peace Movement and in fact formed the strong base of the Australian Peace Committee and its activities.

Besides campaigning against Nuclear War and for Disarmament and World Peace—the main emphasis is being placed on the establishment of Nuclear Free Zones in the Indian ocean and the South Pacific ocean and for the removal of all foreign bases on Australian soil—(for they are seen as foreign bases capable of waging nuclear war).

These same Unions fully support and are prepared to participate in the highest forms possible within the circumstances of their own activities, of joining together with other trade union movements, such as your own, to establish world peace, workers rights and development of trade union solidarity.

We in the Trade Unions must struggle for development and by that I mean the struggle for the transferring of the enormous economic and material wealth of the world towards finding the solutions to ending the massive social economic problems confronting the developing world.

We are in full support of the policy enunciated by the U.N. for the development of a New International Economic Order and pledge our support for all trade union struggles aimed in the direction of achieving this programme and policy.

In conclusion I wish the congress success in your determinations to strengthen the world wide struggle for peace and disarmament and the development of the united trade union action against inflation and unemployment, for the defence of the interests, livelihood and democratic rights of the Indian Workers.

A. S. PURDELLI

*President of Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions*

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions to convey to you participants of this glorious Congress and through you to the honourable working class of the friendly country, India, the warm greetings of all workers and toilers of the revolutionary Afghanistan, and to express our gratu- tudes to the All-India Trade Union Congress for the invitation extended to us to participate in this congress.

Comrades,

The peoples of Afghanistan and India have historical relations which dates prior to the establishment of the East-West commercial route and the journey of Marco Polo. The peoples of Afghanistan and India have courageously fought against the British colonialists and have defeated their enemy. The national personalities of our countries have even actively struggled side by side for the salvation of mankind. Our countries, Afghanistan and India, are from the founders of the non-alignment movement and are most actively fulfilling their role today.

Dear friends,

The national democratic April revolution which triumphed under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and as consequence of the wishes of our people, permanently ended the rule of oppressors and parasites, is hostilely tar- getted by the internal, regional and Arab reaction, imperialism on top the USA imperialism and Chinese hegemonism. And they have waged an undeclared war against our country. The reac- tionary and imperialist forces use the territory of Pakistan as a

jumping board of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The military rulers of Pakistan have established more than 90 military camps for training these mercenaries. After receiving training they are being sent to our country for conducting subversive activities, terror, arsoning of mosques, harvests, destruction of bridges, schools and public establishments. The counter-revolution who has the so-called compassion of Reagans and Thatchers administration with him, until now has destroyed or arsoned more than 1800 educational centres of our country.

Dear delegates,

With all this, the process of the maturity of our revolution is continuing and deep innovations in the interest of workers and toilers are being implemented. As an example we can name the following:

- Construction of workers villages,
- Establishment of workers recreation centres,
- Establishment and expansion of consuming goods magazines for workers,
- Raising of workers wages upto 50%,
- Establishing of health centres,
- Recreation of thousands of children belonging to workers families in the recreation centres within the country and in our friendly country, the U.S.S.R.,
- Implementation of land reform with the participation and in the interest of workers.

Dear friends,

Our country, like India, has historical and traditional relations with the great U.S.S.R., which dates from the victory of the October Revolution. The Soviet Union was the first country who recognized our independence in 1919. And the first time in the history of our Government signed an agreement with a great country in 1921 with equal rights. Now there are tens of large industrial and agricultural projects constructed in our country with the taintless and fraternal assistance of the U.S.S.R.

After the victory of the April revolution when the imperialistic, hegemonistic and reactionary forces of the region designed their

plans for the dividing of Afghanistan, and serious aggression from abroad started against our territorial integrity, our state in accordance with the agreement of friendship, good neighbourhood and cooperation signed in 1978, and few days ago we celebrated its fifth anniversary, requested military assistance from the great Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union responded positively to this request of our people, our state and finally of the working class of Afghanistan. After arrival of this assistance, all imperialistic and reactionary forces, all in a single head and tongue aggravated their poisonous propaganda against our people.

Dear friends,

I am declaring with explicitness from this workers glorious tribune in the friendly country India that our people requested assistance from the Soviet Union. If such need arises in future, we again and again will request such assistances from the Soviet Union. Let the eyes of our enemies to go blind. It is the people of Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and our revolution which decides from whom to request assistance. Not Washington, or London, or Paris or Islamabad, or Teheran or Peking, and we do not authorize others to do so. As our dear leader Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA has said in regard to these assistances, I quote: Years will pass. The people of Afghanistan will build the new society, but they will never forget the taintless assistances of the Soviet Union.

Comrades,

Our revolutionary government is in favour of improvement of relations with the neighbouring countries and is willing for peaceful co-existence on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. In this respect the May 14, 1980 and August 24, 1981 declarations of the Government of DRA are well clarified and the Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions fully support these declarations

Indian brothers and friends,

We are grateful to you, to the General Council of All-India Trade Union Congress, for your unsparing support to our revolu-

tion and the working class of Afghanistan Also grateful for declaring May first 1980 as the day of solidarity with the working class of Afghanistan and for transmitting hundreds of solidarity telegrams to us. With the assistance of Socialist camp on top the Soviet Union, International working class movement, liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the honourable working class of India, we certainly are victorious. The relations between our Organizations have also been very good, and these relations have been further consolidated after the visit of dear comrade Indrajit Gupta from your country.

Comrades and friends,

Under the military aid of 3.2 billion dollars from the USA, the military regime of Pakistan have received various types of weapons including F-16 aircraft, helicopters, armoured vehicles and complicated electronic equipments for espionage purposes, and import of such weapons are still continuing. Under this aid, not only the territory of Pakistan have been changed to a weapon store, but in addition, the construction, expansion and equipping of military bases in Peshawar, Guader, Sargoda etc are also underway. Against which countries will these weapons be used by Pakistan? The reply is vivid, and the history also witnesses that the territory of Pakistan is used and will be used in future too, as a jumping board of aggression for these weapons against the peace-loving countries of Afghanistan and India. While the foreign policy of Afghanistan and India are well specified and are based deeply on the golden principles of peaceful co-existence and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. Therefore what is the need for the supply of all these weapons?

It is here that, for the preservation of peace and security of Asia, the need arises for the convening of a trade union conference of Asian countries, for creating unity of action against the war-monger and aggressive forces, and to act with common understanding for preservation of peace and security of the Asian Continent, which always have been targetted hostilely by imperialism, hegemonism and reaction. The peace-loving Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, this cradle of the April Revolution is ready to host this conference.

Dear friends,

The US imperialism, by their militarist activities, are impudently aggravating the deterioration of the world situation. Installation of Pershing II and Cruise mass destructive missiles in some countries of western Europe, brazen invasion of the independent and sovereign Grenada, aggression and provocations against Nicaragua, Cuba, Lebanon, occupation of the territories of Palestine, Syrian Arab Republic and Lebanon by Israel, are all feverish attempts of the US imperialism in aggravating of arms race and deterioration of the world situation. We condemn all these acts.

The Central Council of Afghanistan Trade Unions are declaring full support to the November 24, 1983 declaration made by the party and state leader of the Soviet Union, Yuri Andropov.

The presence of USA Naval forces in the Indian Ocean is contrary to the United Nations resolutions in changing the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, and in contradiction to the will of the nations surrounding the Indian Ocean have been many fold, and they have filled the Diego Garcia island of the Mauritius with mass killing weapons. We strongly are in favour of changing the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

Comrades,

While we declare our full support to all national liberation movements and people's struggles of national independence, social progress, peace, and detente all over the world, we express our indignation against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, zionism and all types of social oppression, and condemn acts of these fiendish forces on top the USA imperialism.

Comrades,

Allow me to cordially wish successes of the work of your 32nd Congress and to express gratitudes for your reception and warm hospitalities.

- LONG LIVE FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERHOOD  
BETWEEN PEOPLES OF AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA
- LONG LIVE FRATERNAL RELATIONS BETWEEN  
THE CCATU AND AITUC
- LONG LIVE PEACE ALL OVER THE WORLD!

M. G. MENDIS

*President, The Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions*

On behalf of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions and in the name of the workers of Sri Lanka, I convey to you and, through you, to the workers of the great Indian Republic our warm fraternal greetings and our heartfelt good wishes for the success of your deliberations.

The links between our two neighbouring peoples are both long and strong. Your struggles for independence from British rule inspired the anti-imperialist struggles in Sri Lanka as well. The struggles of India's working class for its vital interests and social emancipation have, over the past decades, exerted a powerful influence on the formation and development of the militant trade union movement in our country. The great struggles led by the All India Trade Union Congress played a memorable part in all this.

In addition, as you know, a big proportion of the working class in Sri Lanka were, in the formative days of our movement, indentured workers from Tamilnadu and Kerala whom the British colonisers brought to our country to work, under appalling conditions, in their factories and plantations. Many of these workers brought with them something of the experience and the militancy of the trade union movement in India. The part they played in the formation of the early trade union movement in our country will never be forgotten. Even today several lakhs of their descendants continue to form the bulwork of the labour force on our plantations, contributing in a major way to our country's economic fortunes but to our shame receiving the lowest pay and in the case of the majority, still stateless.

Needless to say, our Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions has always urged that all such workers who wish to become citizens of Sri Lanka should be allowed to do so, without restriction.

From the inception of the CFTU over 45 years ago, we have retained the closest and most fraternal relations with the AITUC. We have frequently exchanged delegations and gained from the study of your experience. All this makes attendance at your 32nd Session a matter of great interest and importance to us.

The trade unions of Sri Lanka now conduct their work under very difficult and complicated conditions. We have to reckon both with vindictive repression by the reactionary United National Party of President J. R. Jayawardene and ruthless exploitation by the transnational corporations, foreign banks and other institutions of international capitalism that are flooding into our country as a result of the so-called "open economy" policies followed by the government on the insistence of the World Bank.

This so-called "open economy" is the model that the World Bank prescribes for sick Third World economies. But it is only a neocolonial variant of the policy of attempted development on capitalist lines, which has brought crisis and disaster to so many newly free countries.

The past six years of trying to apply the World Bank's "open economy" remedy to Sri Lanka has proved that, as far as the working class and the mass of the people are concerned, this medicine is not merely bitter but deadly. For these policies have deepened Sri Lanka's dependence on the imperialist powers and led to major concessions to them in both foreign and domestic affairs. Our country's traditional nonaligned policies have been seriously undermined.

Democratic rights and institutions have been ruthlessly attacked. Hard won social benefits like food subsidies and free education and health care have been cut to the bone. The expanded public sector of the economy is being destroyed. Communal tensions have sharpened, as witnessed by four major outbreaks of racist violence in these six years. The so-called economic "development" that has taken place has been distorted and irrational and has mainly benefitted the foreign capitalists and the local super-rich. It has made no impact on Sri Lanka's basic problem of poverty, but only aggravated social inequalities and discriminations.

Anyone who wants to learn a lesson from this experience will not have anything to do with the policies advocated by the World Bank and its imperialist sponsors for the Third World countries.

The workers and trade unions of Sri Lanka have been at the receiving end of all this. Attacks on the trade unions and their rights, decapitation of their leaderships, systematic erosion and

withdrawal of hard-won benefits, a virtual wage freeze in the midst of runaway inflation, have become necessary ingredients in creating the so-called "open economy". The workers by hand and brain are being asked to pay for the growing and already astronomical deficits in successive budgets, in the balances of trade and payments, and for the foreign "debt trap" in which the country has been enmeshed. All attempts by the workers to resist these attacks have been met with savage repression. 100,000 workers who took part in the general strike in 1980 were arbitrarily dismissed, and although the bulk of them have now been reinstated as a result of almost three years of international and domestic agitation, nearly one-fifth, including the militant trade union leaderships at all levels are still without work.

None of this repression has, however, daunted the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions or prevented our systematic efforts to meet this challenge by building the widest unity of the working class and the trade union movement to resist it. We are glad to inform you that our sustained effort to build trade union unity, especially unity in action around common demands, has begun to bear fruit. As a result of the bitter experiences of the recent past, especially during and after the racist violence of July 1983, the need for unity is being realised once again and forms of united action have started to emerge out of the fragmentation of the past. Realisation of the need for unity of the trade union movement is now so widespread that even the Ceylon Workers' Congress, one of the biggest organisations of the plantation workers, has been taking part in united discussions, despite its ICFTU affiliations and the fact that its president, Mr. S. Thondaman, is a Minister of the Jayawardene Government. We will continue to do all we can to intensify and spread this process of building trade union unity.

Our Federation regards unity of the trade union movement in Sri Lanka as essential and urgent not merely to defend and extend the rights and vital interests of the workers, but also to safeguard peace in our region and in the world, which we regard as the paramount task before all people today.

The Reagan administration's sabotage of the Geneva talks by starting the deployment of its new Euro-missiles has brought about an extremely dangerous turn in world relations which can

escalate a new spiral in the nuclear arms race and push humanity to the brink of a nuclear holocaust. The full responsibility for this dangerous development rests with the US Government, which has rejected out of hand the repeated and constructive proposals for nuclear and general disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union and allied powers of the Warsaw Treaty alliance and turned a deaf ear to the insistent demands of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, and the great peace demonstrations sweeping the world.

Not content with this, the US Government has sanctioned trillions of dollars for new weapons of mass destruction, pursues a reckless policy of confrontation in all continents and oceans, has invaded Grenada, and pursues armed aggressive aims in Central America, in Lebanon and other parts of the West Asia and Africa, and in other areas. Especially dangerous to the peoples of our region is the frantic US attempt, in defiance of the expressed wish of the UN, the non-aligned movement and the peoples and states of the region, to militarise and, for the first time, to nuclearise the Indian Ocean.

All patriotic and progressive forces in Sri Lanka strongly oppose the insistent attempts of US imperialism to make use of the economic difficulties that our country has experienced under the "open economy" to gain a military presence in Sri Lanka from which it can pursue these evil designs. The Reagan administration has still not been able to obtain facilities at Trincomalee for its Seventh Fleet, although these attempts have in no way been abandoned. Attempts to use the racist violence of July 1983 to bring in US troops to Sri Lanka, allegedly to protect us from an imaginary "Soviet threat" and an "Indian invasion", were fortunately nipped in the bud and Sri Lanka was spared being turned into another Lebanon. But an agreement with the Voice of America to install new and powerful radio transmitters in Sri Lanka to augment its naval communications in the Indian Ocean and to conduct a propaganda war against other countries of the region has just been signed. We in the CFTU regard the fight to prevent all this as essential to our work as the fight for the political, economic and social interests of the workers.

We are also deeply disturbed by the attempts of US imperialism to involve Sri Lanka in its attempts to encircle India, whose

independent and peaceful policy in world and regional affairs is an obstacle to its designs, with hostile states which will follow confrontationist policies towards her. We will fight against all such attempts, for we regard friendly and good neighbourly relations with India as an integral part of the fight for peace, stability and cooperation in our region.

Comrade delegates,

Allow me in conclusion today a few words about the racist violence that engulfed our country last July and which could easily have imposed big strains on the relations between our two countries.

Our CFTU has condemned this racist violence, which is the worst Sri Lanka has experienced in its recent history. It was by no means a spontaneous eruption of long-festering inter-communal discords, as official propaganda tries to make out. There is more than enough evidence to show that these events were an organised effort of a reactionary section of the capitalist class, with powerful supporters within the Government itself, to destroy the property and social positions of their competitors among the Tamil capitalist class, and of the pro-American circles in Sri Lanka who wished to use these events to obtain a US military presence in our country and push Sri Lanka on to an aggressive anti-Soviet and anti-Indian course.

In this context, we see the July attacks against the Tamil minority, including the plantation workers of Indian origin as part of the overall attack of the UNP Government and its imperialist supporters against democracy in our country. It is no accident that the same hoodlum forces organised by a section of the UNP which attacked and murdered strikers, assaulted distinguished academicians and intimidated judges should also be those who spear-headed the racist attacks on the Tamil minority in 1981 and 1983. It is no accident that these disturbances were used to attempt to break Sri Lanka's diplomatic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries, to proscribe the Communist Party and other Left parties on false and preposterous charges, and to provoke anti-Indian confrontations. It is no accident that, even today, the tensions engendered by these events are being used by the Government and the capitalist class as a means to distract the

attention of the workers and the masses from the increasing economic difficulties they experience. We of the CFTU have always taken the position that the problems between the different communities in Sri Lanka must be solved through political discussion and not through repression, military means, or state or individual terrorism. This is why we welcome and support the attempts now being made to work out even partial settlements through the processes of an All-Parties Conference. The efforts of anti-racist forces in Sri Lanka, and the support they have received through the good offices of the Government of India, as well as from the democratic and left forces of your country, have produced some positive results in this direction. But the racist forces are still strong and active, and they are doing all they can to prevent a settlement.

Allow me from this rostrum to thank your organisation, as well as other trade unions in India and in other countries, for the solidarity and support they showed for us in these difficult times, and especially for their campaign for the release of Comrade L.W. Panditha, General Secretary of the CFTU, and other working class leaders and militants. Some of these leaders have now been released especially those connected with the Communist Party which has also been deproscribed. But a large number of political detainees are still imprisoned without any charge, while two Left parties continue to be proscribed. We would therefore ask you to continue your campaign for the rectification of this situation.

Dear Comrades,

Once again, let me thank you for the opportunity given us to attend your sessions and wish you still greater successes in the future. May the unity of our two organisations, the workers of the whole world, flourish in the fight for peace, national liberation and social progress.

Thanking you for your attention.

1

N. MYAGMAR,

*Presidium member of the Central Council  
of the Mongolian Trade Unions*

Esteemed delegates,

Dear comrades,

Allow me on behalf of the Central Council of the MTU, all the workers of the Mongolian People's Republic to convey sincere heartfelt greetings to you, delegates and guests of the 32nd Session of the All-India Congress of Trade Unions, a session which is an important event in the life of the working people of friendly India.

The working people of Mongolia cherish feelings of friendship and respect towards the Indian people. We know well the peace-loving foreign policy of India, the principled positions she holds in the Non-aligned Movement, the sincere efforts she makes for turning Asia into a continent of peace, for peace the world over.

We state with satisfaction the successful development of friendly relations with the largest and prestigious organisation of India's working people—the All-Indian Congress of Trade Unions. People in our country know well about the consistent work done by the AITUC in the interest of the vital needs of the Indian working people, for the realization of progressive socio-economic transformations in the country, for the cementing of the unity of Asian and world TU movement on anti-imperialist, class basis. We highly appreciate the fact that your TU centre makes its contribution to the cause of uniting the WFTU ranks, of ensuring unitary actions of trade unions in the name of peace and disarmament. The Mongolian Trade Unions highly assess the consistency of your efforts aimed at turning Asia into a continent of peace and co-operation.

Dear comrades,

62 years have elapsed since a people's revolution won in the most backward country of the Orient, opening up for the much-suffering Mongolian people a road to the radiant future. The Mongolian people are always proud to point out that the

most important what we have achieved during the period is the practical realization of the transition from feudalism to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of social development. As a result our country has evolved from a backward country to one with developed agriculture and modern industry.

Today our working people are devoting their energy to the implementation of large-scale economic and social programmes of the 7th five-year plan of economic and cultural development of the Mongolian People's Republic. In 1981-1982 8 billion tugriks were invested to strengthen the material and technical foundations of the national economy. In those two years alone the volume of the national income increased by 17.5 per cent and the productivity of social labour rose by 14 per cent. Such a high growth of social production and a successful fulfilment of the planned economic tasks create favourable conditions for a steady improvement of the material and cultural standards of our working people. In 1982 the per capita real income was up by 5.1 per cent and the public consumption funds by 9.6 per cent as against 1980. In our country, where 60 years ago practically the whole of the population was illiterate, today one in every four is studying at some kind of educational institution.

All their successes and achievements the Mongolian people have always linked with the wise leadership of their militant vanguard—the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), with the fraternal friendship and fruitful co-operation with the working class and the working people of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist community.

With the deepening of the process of socialist construction and steady development of socialist democracy the role, rights and competence of the Mongolian trade unions enjoy further expansion. Our trade unions facilitate practically successful development of socialist economy and culture, raising of the wellbeing of the people. They draw masses in the management of production and public affairs. It is mainly through the trade unions that our working people partake in the planning of the tasks of a state-scale. The Mongolian trade unions center their attention on the questions concerning the improvement of living and working conditions of our workers, they take everyday care of protecting workers' labour and health, of organizing at the utmost workers'

and employees' rest and recreation and exercise control over observance and fulfillment of the labour legislature. In other words, not a single question bearing on labour, life, rest and recreation of our working people is solved today without the trade unions' participation.

Dear comrades,

Today all of us are living in the conditions of an extremely deteriorated international situation. The world is facing a direct threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe through the fault of the militarist policy pursued by the present US Administration and its allies. Trampling upon man's basic right to life and seeking military superiority, the Reagan Administration doggedly ignores the peace initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and peace-loving states. Having started the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, thousands of miles away from the USA, the White House is heating up to a critical point the already tense situation in the world. Under these circumstances the working people and the trade unions of Mongolia wholly share the honest and frank words said by Soviet Party and State leader Yuri Andropov in his statement of November 24. This statement gives a precise and sound assessment of today's critically dangerous situation in the world and we regard it as a really fitting and well-substantiated answer to the militarist ambitions and adventuristic policy of the US Administration and its allies

As an Asian country the MPR is vitally interested in ensuring peace and overall security on our continent. Extremely dangerous seats of tension in Asia are being created by the intrigues and direct participation of the USA. An ominous tripartite alliance Washington-Tokyo-Seoul, an Asian analogue of NATO, is being knocked together and the economies of some Asian countries are undergoing intensified militarization. We should never forget that precisely Asia, the world's most densely populated continent, was the first to learn the horrors and the horrendous consequences of the atomic catastrophe.

Distinctly perceiving the scale of the danger that is looming large over the world many sections of the world, including Asian

trade union movement are today energetically joining in the common struggle for peace and disarmament.

In the face of a real danger of an outbreak of a nuclear catastrophe we ought to close our ranks still tighter and act in monolith unity, from the common position, in the spirit of profound mutual understanding and trust, regardless of differences in our political orientation. We must make a definite contribution to the cause of peace, to the cause of the triumph of reason over nuclear madness and we believe we have potential possibilities. After all the Asian TU movement numbers today millions of people. It is a great and real force. And everything depends only on how successful we are in promoting trust and complete understanding among us, in ensuring concerted and united actions, in carrying through definite and effective measures both at national and international level.

Our trade unions, loyal to their internationalist duty, are always aspiring to contribute to the cause of peace and security of peoples. The 12th MTU Congress, held in 1982, appealed to the working people and trade unions of Asia and the Pacific to step up the movement for peace and security in Asia, to come out in support of the proposal of the MPR Government to conclude a Convention on Mutual Non-Aggression and Non-Use of Force in Relations Among the States of Asia and the Pacific. The Mongolian Trade Unions is in full agreement with the call to unite and intensify the efforts of all states and peoples of peace-loving forces of Asia. In this connection we are of the opinion that this task could be facilitated by the convening in the nearest future of an authoritative international conference with the participation of representatives of the widest circles of Asian public. It is our firm conviction that such a big peace-loving country as India could play a very important role in this matter. The Mongolian trade unions believe that the realisation of this proposal will serve the cause of removing the seats of tension and creating favourable conditions for a peaceful co-operation on our continent for the sake of the vital needs of the working people.

We continue to receive from the friendly Asian TU centres responses to our Appeal. These responses express their readiness to co-operate with us in the struggle for preserving and consoli-

dating peace in Asia and throughout the world. We are confident that the Appeal of the Mongolian trade unions shall meet with understanding and support on the part of Asian TU centres with various ideologies.

In conclusion I would like to express profound gratitude to the AITUC leadership for the cordial invitation to take part in the current session, for hospitality and wish you, the delegates and guests of this forum, and in your person to the working people of the friendly India great successes in the struggle for the righteous cause of the working class, for peace and social progress.

S. SANKAR NARAYANAN

*Director, ILO Office for Bhutan, India,  
Maldives and Sri Lanka, in New Delhi*

Mr. President, Mr. General Secretary, Distinguished Guests,  
Delegates, Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen: :

First of all, let me thank the AITUC for inviting the ILO to this important session and for giving this opportunity of sharing your thoughts vis-a-vis concerns during this Inaugural Function. I bring to you the ILO's greetings and best wishes for the success of your deliberations.

I have noted with immense interest that this meeting will be focussing its attention, among others, on subjects like unemployment, threats of lockouts and industrial relations, right to work and employment, problems of women workers, the unorganised workers and the trade union rights. These issues in fact constitute the core and priority areas of concern to the ILO since its inception more than 60 years ago.

Coming as it does, the mankind at the present juncture is confronted with serious problems like the energy crisis, stagflation, mass poverty, increasing unemployment and under employment, and the consequent threat of social tensions.

According to provisional ILO estimates, the industrialised countries, between now and until the end of the current decade,

will have to create more than 60 million jobs to eliminate existing unemployment and to absorb new entrants to the labour market. On the other hand, the developing world will need more than 600 million new jobs to give each member of the workforce an income adequate to meet his own minimum basic needs and those of his family. In Asia alone, about 100 million new entrants are expected to swell the ranks of the decade's labour force with the four populous countries of Bangladesh, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, accounting for almost 75 per cent of these new entrants.

The achievement of minimal levels of development to meet this alarming situation would, among others, depend a good deal on the role of workers and employers. Though Governments are in the main responsible for planning and promoting national development, it is through the efforts of workers and employers that these become a reality.

The ILO is fully conscious of its role towards these challenging tasks and is already considering policies and programmes to solve these foreseen problems. The ILO's efforts always aim at eliminating poverty and promoting employment in the rural areas and the urban informal sectors through the development and upgrading of skills, by promoting greater awareness for maintaining quality of life and work, by ensuring safe and healthy conditions of work, and by establishing an appropriate framework of labour administration and industrial relations in order to sustain cooperation between the social partners.

Talking about the informal urban sector, you will be pleased to know that ILO has carried out a number of city case studies in the Asian Countries. Recently we have completed a study which aimed to improve the employment and income levels of the slums dwellers in Bombay. This study called the URBAN DEAD END? was formally released on 7 December 1983 by the Union Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation, Mr. Veerendra Patil, and some of you might have read in the news papers. This slum based study has demonstrated ample scope for harnessing training, credit, management and institutional resources to an integrated development effort, capable of improving the lot of people who are very much a part of the employment scene but earn too little to provide for their basic needs.

Similarly, in the rural sector we have been having a series of consultations with the workers' organisations and non-governmental organisations' in India which would enable the ILO to formulate its programmes and policies with a view to ameliorate the poverty of the rural poor. A number of ILO research studies are underway.

In regard to promoting sound industrial relations systems, keeping in line with its general principles including the furtherance of the trade union rights, the ILO has been continually making concerted efforts at the various levels. The right to freedom of association is built into the constitution of the ILO. If it had not been, it is doubtful whether the ILO would have been supported by the workers. In many countries, the ILO is known as the organisation which protects trade union rights. Two of its Conventions namely the "Freedom of Association and Right to Organise" (87) and the "Right to Organise and the Collective Bargaining" (98), provide that workers shall have the right freely to establish and join organisations of their own choosing, that workers shall be protected against anti-union discrimination and that workers' organisations shall have the right freely to engage in collective bargaining with employers' organisations. This shows how deeply the ILO is engaging its attentions for the trade union rights of the workers.

Special emphasis is laid on the problems of women workers, their training and skill development. We have carried out many research studies with a view to assess their needs both in urban and rural areas. A five-year project assisted by SIDA is going to complete on 31 December 1983. Under this project, we have assisted the authorities in the establishment of an apex institute National Vocational Training Institute for Women in New Delhi and two satellite Regional Vocational Training Institute for women one in Bombay and other in this beautiful city of Bangalore. Under this project we have completed a cross country survey to assess the training needs of women in the rural areas. The findings are now under consideration for a possible action in the near future.

Under its technical cooperation, the ILO has always been fielding advisory missions to help solve specific labour or social problems. The ILO also maintains at the regional level teams

of technical specialists which are available for short-term technical advisory services at no cost to the requesting authorities or organisations. For the Asian Region, there are about 30 such specialists based mostly at the Regional Office in Bangkok. The technical cooperation activities of the ILO in India not only include specific areas mentioned earlier but also lay special emphasis on workers' education and rural development. One important direction which these efforts have taken has been through the national trade union organisations and other non-government organisations. You will be glad to know that two Regional Advisers are now stationed in New Delhi to provide technical assistance under our Workers' Education Programme.

In addition to above services, the ILO undertakes research work which intended to throw new light on labour problems, to suggest new ways of solving them and to indicate means by which these solutions can be put into practical effect. To disseminate the results of these efforts, the ILO maintains a publication programme with over 200 titles, including periodical publications.

Mr. President, at the ILO, our centre of préoccupation is the working man and woman, their training and development, employment and well-being. Much of effort lies in preparing people for work and at the same time in trying to change the nature of work from a necessity to an enjoyable and rewarding activity. We feel that we need not only adapt the human head to work but we can also adapt work to the human being. In this process, our activities need to be looked at as part of a continuous effort for life-long development of the individual in improving himself and herself and in influencing work environment. These efforts are possible because the ILO, unlike other international organisations, is a tripartite organisation where governments, employers and workers share a common platform to share views and to find out acceptable solutions.

Please permit me to make it clear that it is not the role of the ILO to give lectures or advise to the trade union organisations on the decisions they have to take at the national or at the international levels. The responsibility for such decisions has to be yours. However, we in the ILO believe that we may be able to assist you through our research studies and tripartite meetings to get a broader factual basis for your decisions.

Mr. President, I have tried to expose some general policy lines which the ILO has been trying to follow. Your conference here, in my view, is particularly well placed to put behind our common concerns the full weight of the free trade unions efforts to get the difficult situations moving and to put the interests of the workers first, both at the national and state levels. However, there is a great need for more information and mutual understanding.

Lastly, let me express the hope that this important meeting will contribute to common objectives and I can assure you that ILO stands ready to play its role together with you.

Thank you once again.

TARA REDDY,

*National Federation of Indian Women*

It is a great honour for me to greet the 32nd Session of AITUC. I feel highly honoured for bringing fraternal greetings on behalf of National Federation of Indian Women as ours being a Women's Organisation and we women form almost fifty per cent of the population.

We women have a grievance and to redress this grievance we seek sympathy and help and cooperation from AITUC which the AITUC has always extended in the past and is giving it now as well.

Justice demands that we women should be fifty per cent in the gainful employment of the world. However except the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries, where women have been given every opportunity to learn and earn on an equal footing with men, in every sphere of life without any discrimination and where they really account for almost 50% among the working force of their countries which have a capitalist type of social system, the number of women workers is on the decline.

Especially in our country the number of employed women has fast decreased.

Even after 36 years of independence we are being systematically driven out of employment.

In 1911 the number of the working women was 4 crores 18 lakhs.

In 1971 it came down to 3 crores 12 lakhs.

In 1911 the percentage of working women in the total labour force was 34.44.

In 1971 it is reduced to 17.35%.

We feel that this declining trend is a very grave situation.

Because the women workers and the trade unions fought for their rights as women and mothers and successfully achieved such acts as maternity benefits and provisions of creches, the employers are taking revenge on women. They think that women cannot be exploited as a source of cheap labour now.

Every rationalization and machanization brings victimization of women workers.

Some 40 years ago, there were nearly 30 to 40 thousand women among the 1 and half lakh textile workers of Bombay alone. On the eve of the great glorious strike of the Bombay Textile workers their number was systematically reduced to a mere 5000. And now, after the strike only half of them have been taken back. That means they are hardly 1 per cent among the 2 and half lakh workers.

Only 6% women are in the organized sector while 94% are in the unorganised sector and 84% of them are agricultural labourers.

We have therefore been demanding for a long time that if a certain percentage is not statutorily reserved for women in jobs and training no employer, not even the Government will show any interest in employing more women.

A few days ago there was a newspaper report that the Andhra Pradesh Government was going to issue an ordinance for 30% reservation for women in the public sector. If the report is true then they will be the first to do it in the country perhaps.

Comrades, our NFIW demands that everybody's right to work should be recognized and women's right to work should also be guaranteed.

We need atleast 25% reservation in jobs and in technical and technological training, equal wage for equal work to be strictly implemented, a vast network of creches in urban and rural areas and other so many facilities to overcome a thousand year's gap of backwardness, social injustice and exploitation.

Women's unemployment is also increasing with alarming velocity. This is a very dangerous situation not only for women alone, but for the working class itself and for the social health of the society and of the country as well.

I would also like to say that the trade unions help us to wipe out the social evils against women, such as dowry system, woman's inferior status, atrocities against women especially etc. We want a social revolution and we appeal to trade unions to help us in this respect.

Women never lagged behind in any struggle. They were participants in the struggle of national independence. They were always found in the forefront in every strike struggle. They have even courted arrests and have gone to jails with little babies in their hands. You will certainly agree with me that women are fighters.

Some time back we had given a call for Jail Bharo against rising prices and other democratic demands and women went to jail in a surprisingly great number.

May be they think that their house is a small jail after all the social and economic system of the country has become a big jail for the toiling masses, so why not go to the actual, real jail? I mean to say that the toiling women masses are very much restless and are ready to participate in militant actions with great courage, determination, and tenacity.

In this session, there is going to be special commission to discuss the problems of working women. We are very happy about it. When your General Secretary discussed these problems while placing his report he got big clapping. I am sure the clapping was not to his oratory but to his arguments.

We women have always fought shoulder to shoulder with men for social, political and economic justice.

And I assure you on behalf of our organization that we shall be always with the working masses to fight not only for women's rights but for the rights of the working class itself, and for its unity, for social justice, for our country's independent development and that also for socialism, for peace in the world so that our children will have a happy, joyful future.

NFIW wishes you all the success.

Thank You very much.

G. YALLAMANDA REDDY,

*President, Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union*

Respected Presidium and delegates, comrades and friends,

On behalf of Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union (All India Agricultural Workers' Union) and millions of agricultural workers in the country I bring warm fraternal and heartfelt greetings to the 32nd Congress of the All India Trade Union Congress and I wish great success in your deliberations.

AITUC is a great militant pioneer organisation of millions of workers in the country. It has fought many battles heroically and achieved great successes. Since the Visakhapatnam Congress, the AITUC has played a tremendous role in defending the rights and for achieving the demands of the working class throughout the country, independently and also unitedly with other organisations.

The creditable role played by the AITUC in unity with other trade union organisations on the call of the National Campaign Committee, in the march to Parliament on November 23rd, 1981 the historical all India General Strike on January 19th 1982, which is the first of its kind in Indian trade union movement against the national security Act and Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance and for other demands and a number of strikes that have been conducted against the attacks of the Congress-I government on the working class and to protect their rights, really gives us inspiration and enthusiasm, among the millions of toiling people.

Comrades and friends, I congratulate you wholeheartedly for your great struggles and achievements.

Dear presidium and delegates, allow me to declare that the central executive committee of the BKMU has decided to register under Trade Union laws and affiliate to the AITUC. I wish to state that this is a great privilege and honour for us to get affiliated to this great organisation of AITUC.

The National bourgeoisie after securing State power curbed the worst form of feudal exploitation and at the same time started building capitalism in agriculture, transferring the feudal and semi-feudal landlords into capitalist landlords, and rich peasants.

The Congress-I Government failed to implement radical land reforms and give land to agricultural workers and poor peasants. They claim to have distributed only 20.05 lakh acres of surplus land upto 1983, less than 10 per cent of the potential surplus land of 215 lakh acres as estimated by the Planning Commission. They also failed to distribute fallow lands of 60 million acres to the rural poor.

Small and marginal farmers having only less than 2 hectares each, constitute 72.6 per cent and only operate 23.5 per cent of total area, whereas those having over 10 hectares constitute only 3.0 per cent but operate on 26.3 per cent of total area of cultivable land.

The lowest 30% hold only 2.5% of rural assets in 1961 and decreased to 2.0% in 1971, whereas the top 30% held 79.0% of rural assets in 1961 and increased to 81.9% in 1971.

The number of landless agricultural workers (work force) increased from 315 lakhs in 1961 to 554 lakhs in 1981. Agricultural workers are living below poverty line.

Out of about 300 millions who live below poverty line in the country about 240 millions live in rural areas, and out of 21 millions unemployed 16 millions live in villages.

Agricultural workers have work only for about 200 days in a year. They are paid very low wages. They are forced to work on low wages. Even the minimum wages notified by the Government are not being implemented. Their real wages are falling.

The ever rising prices of essential commodities of life hit the rural poor very much. Those who produce food and cotton to the nation have no food and cloth to satisfy their needs.

Majority of agricultural workers are from Harijans, Adivasis and other backward sections. They are socially oppressed by landlords in the name of caste and religion. Whenever they ask for better wages, and land they are brutally attacked by the landlords, they are humiliated killed, shot dead, burnt alive and their houses are burnt to ashes.

In this background BKMU has got the programme of three basic issues for radical land-reforms; wage increase; and for social equality, against atrocities. It also takes up number of other issues concerned to the agricultural workers.

Since the establishment of the BKMU in 1968, the first of its kind in the country, it has conducted many militant struggles of agricultural workers. Some of them which are landmarks in its history are: The biggest countrywide 'campaign' and struggles in 1978, against atrocities and for social justice of Harijans, adivasis, rural poor and other agricultural workers, in which twenty lakhs participated; the historic March of five lakh agricultural workers and presenting a charter of demands to Parliament projecting as an independent, and rising class and highlighting its political importance in the country; countrywide land struggle of 1980, in which thousands were arrested and 12 persons lost their lives; one day general strike of two million agricultural workers in 1982, demanding a comprehensive central legislation.

BKMU along with other agricultural workers union organised one day general strike simultaneously on the same day on July 15th 1983 in which more than twenty lakhs participated demanding a comprehensive central legislation which shall include:

- 1) trade union rights,
- 2) employment guarantee and un-employment wages,
- 3) payment of pension,
- 4) equal wage for women, payment of maternity allowance,
- 5) a separate Labour Department, for agricultural workers.

But the Central Government dropped the very proposal under the pretext that the State Governments have not given consent, only exhibiting its pro-landlord attitude.

To protest against the decision of the Central Government and demand the Central legislation, the Central Coordination Committee consisting of the Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union, All India Agricultural Workers Union, Indian National Rural and Allied Workers Federation and Hind Khet Mazdoor Panchayat in its meeting held on 22nd November 1983 in Delhi decided to launch a joint campaign and struggle.

There will be Joint Dharnas, demonstrations before Collectors' Offices and public meetings on 20th January. It has also been decided to hold a national united convention of agricultural workers on Central legislation on 20th February 1984 in Delhi to finalise the next stage of the joint struggle for the central legislation.

We are also preparing for countrywide land struggle in the coming season. We have to defend the agricultural workers and rouse them against atrocities by landlords.

In all our struggles the trade unions specially the AITUC have stood with us and expressed their solidarity tremendously. They not only supported, expressed solidarity and helped in other ways like financial help, sending volunteers to help our marches, and campaigns. We see forward for guidance, greater help and solidarity from AITUC and its unions in the coming days.

The BKMU is consistently expressing its solidarity with the working class and supporting their demands.

The bourgeoisie facing tremendous resistance and struggles of the working class, want to divide the working class and the crores of the agricultural workers and other rural poor by propagating that the organised working class demands to increase their wages more and more while the agricultural workers are not getting even Rs. 2/- a day. When Railway Workers and Bank Employees were on strike the government and bourgeoisie press carried on this malicious propaganda against the struggles and wanted to provoke the rural poor against the working class. The

**Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union stoutly condemned the tactics of the bourgeoisie and exposed their real face that it was they and their government who are responsible to exploit the agricultural workers and keep them the poorest of the poor. The BKMU supported both the strikes. But still this propaganda will be carried on day by day until the working class organises, helps the unorganised rural poor and lead a joint struggle against the monoeuvres and exploitation by the bourgeoisie and landlords.**

The Historic March of the working class to parliament on 23rd November 1981, was fully supported and owned by the BKMU. Lakhs of agricultural workers actively participated in the march.

Above all BKMU supported and participated in the All India General Strike of workers and employees on January 19th, 1982. Lakhs of agricultural workers participated in the strike. The attacks on the agricultural workers in Tanjavur district, Tamilnadu by the armed Police are brutal. They opened fire against agricultural workers killing two and injuring many for their participation in the 19th general strike. More than 4,000 people mostly agricultural workers were arrested, and involved in a number of cases, some of which are there pending in the courts even today. There were inhuman lathi-charges in 50 villages, police firings in two centres. The armed police unleashed terror, against agricultural workers in Pondicherry, shooting at the people and beating men, women, and children for participation in the strike.

Lakhs of agricultural workers participated in Kisan Khet Mazdoor March in 1982 mostly in support the demands of peasants, and in the March to Delhi in defence of peace conducted by six parties and other mass organisations.

Let me assure you comrades, the BKMU will support your campaign and struggles against inflation, price rise, unemployment, lockouts, closures and retrenchment and against increasing attacks on the workers' wages, bonus, dearness allowance on trade union rights by the monopolies and the policies of the Congress-I Government.

The BKMU will March hand in hand with you, mobilise people and organise united struggle to defend World Peace and against atomic War danger by War mongers headed by American Imperialism.

Let me also assure that the BKMU will be a worthy affiliated union of AITUC and the representatives will be their in good number in the next Congress of the AITUC.

Let me express my heartfelt thanks for inviting BKMU to this congress:

LONG LIVE A.I.T.U.C. !

LONG LIVE B.K.M.U.!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF AITUC AND BKMU!

**PRABHAT KAR,**

*President of AIBEA*

Members of the Presidium, Fraternal delegates from abroad, delegates to the 32nd Session of All India Trade Union Congress,

On behalf of All India Bank Employees Association and its half-a-million membership, I have the honour to convey revolutionary greetings to this Congress of the pioneers and militant trade union centre of our country. The relationship between our organisation and AITUC dates back to the very inception of our movement. I recall with a sense of gratefulness that the birth of AIBEA in mid-forties was in no small measures due to the efforts on the part of AITUC. Ever since then, in the process of our growth, in all our struggles, moments of stresses and strains, AITUC and its units all over the country, right from biggest of towns to the smallest of villages, have unfailingly extended its fraternal helping hand to our movement. AITUC is therefore looked upon by all bankmen as their closest ally and elder brother.

Comrades, as rightly pointed out in the General Secretary's report the working class in our country is facing multitudes of attacks and problems ranging from erosion of real wages due to

spiralling prices to lay-off, victimisations etc. resulting from Government's economic policies, an escalation of the nuclear war has been advanced during the last few months and a positive awareness amongst the working class in India has become essential to awaken the people of India and raise the united voice against the war.

During the last decade or so, the Banking industry has undergone vast changes, unparalleled in any other part of the globe. Consequent upon nationalisation of 14 major Indian Banks, as a sequel to the sharp developments in this very Glass House 14 years ago, tremendous expansion has taken place in the spheres of spread, coverage, deposits, credits, banking operations and number of employees. As against about 8500 bank offices with less than Rs. 4,500/- crores deposits in 1969, by the end of this month bank offices will stand around 43000 with a deposit of more than Rs. sixty thousand crores. Bank credit today stands at more than Rs. 32,000 crores. Number of bankmen including officers in commercial banking sector, keeping aside those in co-operative, grameen banks, Reserve Bank, have gone up from 2 lakhs in 1969 to more than 7 lakhs today. It may interest you to know that about 80% of the existing banking staff have less than 10 years service to their credit.

If I may make a brief reference to the performance of the banking industry, while it must be admitted that since nationalisation banks have vigorously moved in the rural areas and have extended credit to hitherto neglected sectors like agriculture, small-scale industry etc, these and some other steps taken by nationalised banking sector are commendable indeed. But the fact remains that monopolies, industrialists, trade and commerce have still the lion's share of bank credit, thanks to their relationship with the ruling authorities, bureaucracy and top managerial hierarchy of the banks. The phenomenal growth of monopoly houses during the last decade speaks eloquently about the role of nationalised banking sector, which stands today ridden with huge portfolio of bad and doubtful debts, unrecovered overdues, politicising of bank credit, questionable advances, target-oriented publicity gimmicks, wasteful and extravagant expenditure. The declared aims and objectives of Bank nationalisation stand thus frustrated and benefits of nationalisation have hardly reached the

impoverished rural masses. The increasing figures of rural people below 'poverty line' is a telling indictment on performance of banking in rural areas of our country.

The foreign banks are being allowed to play their rapacious role. In fact, during the last 3 to 4 years a few more trans-national banks, in tune with Government policy towards multi-nationals, have been allowed to open offices in our country. Some private sector Indian Banks are allowed to flourish. When today about 92% of banking is in state sector, there is no reason as to why some foreign and Indian banks accounting for balance of 8% should not be immediately nationalised? Our Organisation has been demanding for this and I am sure the organised trade union movement led by AITUC would lend powerful support thereto.

Ours is a comparatively young movement. Yet during the last 3½ decades of our existence, we have fought many a glorious battles not only for protection and promotion of our members wages and service conditions but also on common issues confronting the working class, shoulder to shoulder with other fraternal trade union centres and independent trade federations. With a sense of pardonable pride, I can state that by dint of their united militant struggles, bankmen's movement has carved out for itself a position of eminence in the trade union movement of our country.

In the recent past, on 11.3.1981 in support of public sector workers continuous struggle, against legislative attacks on LIC employees Bonus, DA and other rights and also on 19.1.1982, at the call of NCC for countrywide Industrial strike action on basic demands of working class, bankmen's participation was total and unique. Similarly, participation by our organisation in two NCC Conventions, 23rd November worker's March to the Parliament, 4th October Peace March last year was significant.

In the overall context of Government's anti-working class policy, bankmen have been made special targets of attacks. On the one hand, a calculated campaign of slanders has been let loose as bankmen being 'high-wage islanders', inefficient, discourteous in customers service, indisciplined and what not by

powers that be, the Press and Managements, on the other, offensives have been mounted to disrupt our organisation through induction of prominent ruling party Trade Union Leaders as 'Directors' under the garb of 'social workers' and open abuse of Governmental and management machinery to boost up ruling party's trade union wing in banks. I am happy to tell you that these repetitive attempts of the Government ever since 1956 have been successfully foiled by the vigilant bankmen's movement. While this right-wing attack from the ruling class is there, our organisation and movement have had to face, regrettably enough, another splitting attempt from another quarter with leftist professions and slogans. And this happened at a time when there is a general realisation in all trade union circles about the need for unity and united actions on the part of all trade unions, irrespective of ideological affiliations to thwart off the attacks on the working class, their jobs, wages, trade union rights, etc.

The problem of unity in ranks is also facing us. In our view, all those who have left the parent organisation should come back to its fold and play their due and desired role according to the universal norms of trade union democracy.

At this moment, we are engaged in wage revision talks, consequent upon expiry of our wage agreement on 31.8.1982. Some months back, we have signed an industry-level agreement on the much-debated issue of mechanisation restricting the use of computers only in some limited spheres of jobs, coupled with restrictions in the number of the mini computers and also a guarantee that recruitment rate in the industry would be continued commensurate with expansion of Banking Industry.

In the event of our wage negotiations being frustrated due to the intransigent anti-employee policy of the Government and bank Management, we shall be left with no alternative but to resort to agitational methods. We are confident as in the past, we shall receive from AITUC and all other trade union organisations all-out support and assistance.

On behalf of AIBEA, I take this opportunity to donate as a token of our appreciation and gratitude of AITUC's role, a Facit

typewriter, a Godrej Secretariat Table and Chair to AITUC headquarters. These will be delivered by us at AITUC Office in Delhi shortly.

Once again, I convey our fraternal greetings to this congress and wish it all success.

SAMAR MUKHERJEE, M.P.,

*General Secretary, Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU)*

Comrades Presidium, Fraternal guests and delegates,

On behalf of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, I warmly greet you all who have assembled here to discuss serious international and national questions and to take appropriate decisions to meet them. I wish your Conference a big success.

You are meeting here at a time when the humanity has been faced with a grim threat of thermo-nuclear war causing total annihilation due to the desperate bid of the imperialists under the Reagan administration of USA to gain military superiority to revert the process of growth of socialist forces and establish their own domination throughout the world. Most reasonable and repeated proposals of Soviet Union for peace and disarmaments have been turned down. Massive protest actions and opposition of the people of Europe, America and other countries have been ignored. The deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in West Germany, England etc. which are targeted against Soviet Union and socialist countries have not stopped. This has come as a very big challenge not only to the people of Europe and America but to the people of the whole world particularly to the world working class.

A few weeks before all these issues were discussed in an international conference of Trade Unions held at Sofia where an appeal was issued to the working people and trade unions in all countries to unite and act. When the Conference was in session the news of invasion of Grenada by US forces reached the delegates. The appeal issued by Sofia Conference mentioned that

“more than ever before the world is faced by a tangible threat of universal doom. . . .the fanning of hot beds of war at various points of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Near East, in Caribbean, poses a threat to world peace, halts the political, social, economic and cultural advance of the newly liberated and developing countries.”

I am confident that your Conference will consider this appeal and take appropriate steps so that in India the working class can play its effective role in defence of peace through united mass actions. No doubt the task is difficult because still the major sections of the workers of India are not alive to the real danger. Though our government is now leading the non-align movement and opposing war efforts thereby objectively helping the peace movement but when they declare that the two super-powers are responsible for the present situation equating Soviet Union with America, the real culprit is not exposed. It is the responsibility of the Indian working class to clearly demarcate between the ugly character of the imperialist war maniacs of USA and the noble peace efforts of the Soviet Union. The CITU extends its full co-operation to AITUC in mobilising the working class through joint actions.

Coming to the national situation we find that the living conditions of the working class and people are worsening day-by-day due to the policies pursued by the government to defend and strengthen the Capitalist System resulting in continuous rise in prices of essential commodities, increasing burden of indirect taxations and deficit financing, increasing dependence on foreign loans acceptance of conditionalities of I.M.F., heavy tax concessions to monopoly houses, impact of world capitalist recession, import of foreign technology etc. All these have created a situation when the gap between income and cost of living of the workers, employees and common men is increasing constantly. The peasantry is not getting fair prices for their crops. Large number of factories are being closed and the employers are resorting to large-scale lock-outs and lay-offs to maintain their profits by imposing heavy work-load and wage freeze on the workers.

Side by side the attack on the democratic and trade union

rights have started on a big way. Draconian acts have been passed by the Government of India like National Security Act, Essential Services Maintenance Act, Industrial Disputes Amendment Act, Payment of Wages Amendment Act etc. Some more Acts are in the offing. Various strikes struggles of the working class have been suppressed by using some of these Acts and by brutal repressive measures. One glaring example is the suppression of the public sector employees of Bangalore in 1981, when they were forced to go into agitation to get an agreement implemented.

The workers and employees who faced suppressions and attacks of the employers and Authorities have drawn appropriate lessons and have formed a platform of joint action in the National Campaign Committee uniting eight Central Trade Unions except INTUC and more than forty Federations. This has raised the level of the trade union movement in India by organising the biggest joint protest rally before parliament on 23rd November 1981 and an all India General Strike on 19th January participated by more than 12 million workers despite repressions.

There have been some positive achievements in the settlement of revised wages and other demands for the public sector employees through joint struggles under the initiative of the National Campaign Committee. In the second phase of programme adopted in the second All-India Convention of National Campaign Committee held on 21st August, which was much broader than the first one, steps have been taken to develop a powerful united struggle to stop closures, lock-outs and lay-offs of the factories for which a Special Convention is to be held on January 20th next where details will be worked out, a programme of another mammoth rally before the Parliament during the budget session to highlight this and other issues like high price, growing unemployment, draconian black laws etc. to put alternate demand before the masses. This programme will be followed by other mass actions. The crisis is so deep and it is hitting the masses so hard and the discontent among the masses is so wide spread that unless the working class come forward as the defender and champion of all sections of the neglected and down-trodden unorganised masses and unemployed millions belonging to various languages and religious communities by fight-

ing for the changes of the policies of the government, the danger of communal, regional, caste and parochial forces which have already raised their heads will sway them into riots, divisive and secessionist channels leading to the danger to integrity and unity of the country. The working class should be made constantly conscious about this danger as the hands of American imperialism behind de-stabilisation is quite clear.

The National Campaign Committee in which the AITUC and the CITU are important components, have already drawn the attention of the working class towards this aspect but far more bigger and sustained efforts are necessary to give a real turn of the united movements of the working class to this direction. It is also the need of the situation that the unity achieved through joint actions under National Campaign Committee should be further broadened and consolidated to increase the bargaining power of the working class and its greater impact on the policies of the government.

The proposal of a Confederation raised by the CITU first in its Conference at Madras in 1979 and again in its Conference this year at Kanpur has the above perspective in view. It is linked with the question of unity of the entire working class and projecting an alternative blue print against the policies of the government. This will materialise on the basis of common experiences and free exchange of views. This proposal is placed in keeping in mind the supreme responsibility which has been placed on the working class.

I hope that your Conference will be a momentous event to give a correct lead to the working class to deal with the grave problems faced by them.





## RESOLUTIONS



## ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN

The thirty second session of the All India Trade Union Congress extends its militant solidarity with the people and the Government of New Afghanistan that has emerged after the Saur Revolution in 1978.

Afghanistan that has been a constant prey of Imperialist brigandage and loot even from our soil in the past, has overthrown the yoke of decadent feudalism and imperialism and launched on a path of peace and social progress. Age old landlordism has been abolished and the actual tiller of the soil now owns the land he tills. Usury has been abolished and the peasant has been relieved of the back-breaking burden of debts.

The worker of Afghanistan enjoys for the first time trade union rights and liberties.

Education is spreading and the Government of D.R.A. headed by President Babrak Karmal has launched on a programme of economic development. All this is to the total discomfiture of world imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, reaction in and around Afghanistan.

Imperialism has adopted the traditional role of helping counter revolution. What they did in Russia after the Russian Revolution to cite just one example, they are doing against the Saur Revolution of Afghanistan, albeit, not directly, but indirectly through the reactionary dictatorial regime of Zia-ul-Huq in Pakistan.

Millions of dollars are flowing to arm the so-called "Mujahideens" living in Pakistan camps to carry out counter-revolutionary raids from Pakistan territory. Schools and even mosques, are special targets of the bandit raids.

Those mercenaries who have been arrested have revealed the harrowing tales of their doings at the instance of Pak-US combine.

Faced with this external threat the Government of D.R.A. has invited a limited force of Soviet Army. Reaction all over the world is making a hue and cry over the presence of Soviet forces

in Afghanistan and is ignoring the repeated declarations of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan that the moment international guarantees are assured against intervention in Afghanistan, the limited contingent of Soviet forces would leave Afghanistan.

But the U.S. is determined to pursue its own course. This must be seen in the background of U.S. military assistance to aggressive and reactionary regimes like South Africa, Israel and Pakistan and Chile etc. that has shot up from 9,400 million dollars in 1969 to 27,000 million dollars in 1982. During 1973-83, the U.S. has exported arms worth 90,000 million dollars.

And when foreign ministers of 24 reactionary regimes claiming to be those of Muslim countries, meeting in Dacca have demanded withdrawal of Soviet forces and in the same breath extended all support to the counter-revolutionary bandits, their intentions have become abundantly clear. They pose a threat to Afghanistan, the Saur Revolution and the peace and stability of this region.

Now that the Reagan Administration has developed a qualitatively new aggressive policy of sending armies to a small country like Grenada, on the "invitation" of a neighbouring country and with the declared intention to put down any government of socialist orientation, the dangers to Afghanistan are too obvious to be concealed or ignored.

Pakistan could well, "invite" the U.S. to invade Afghanistan to overthrow its socialist-oriented regime and make a Grenada or a Chile of that country. After all the rapid deployment force in the gulf of Iran, the nuclear armed base of Diego Garcia and the bases in Baluchistan are only meant to pad up Zia regime and create serious threats to the countries in this region, including our own.

India has vital stake in saving Afghanistan from this imperialist threat, in its own interest as well.

The AITUC calls upon India's trade union movement and for that matter all the patriotic, democratic and peace loving forces to rally in defence of Afghanistan against these designs of U.S. imperialism and its stooges.

## ON WEST ASIAN SITUATION

The 32nd Session of AITUC notes with grave concern the most dangerous situation which has arisen in West Asia. On the one

side, US imperialists and Israeli Zionists are ceaselessly carrying out attacks on the Lebanese people and on Syrian positions. This has come after the brutal genocide Israel carried out last year in South Lebanon and Beirut, and perpetrated the massacre of Palestinian Refugees in Shabra and Shatilla. The U.S.—Israel are now all set for a major offensive, in Grenada style on the sovereignty and independence of these two countries.

On the other hand, US forces present in Beirut are openly aiding the rightwing Christian Phalangists. South Lebanon is occupied by Israel in defiance of UN security council resolution and Amin Gamayel's government in Lebanon has become totally subservient to the USA following its agreement with Israel, and Israel's latest agreement with USA entitling it to stay on in Lebanon until the Syrian forces, present there at formal invitation of previous Lebanese government and as per the Arab League instruction, do not leave Lebanon. It is known that the Syrian missile batteries in Bekaa valley and in North Lebanon are till now acting as restraint on the US-Israeli military assaults.

On yet another front, the mutually destructive war between Iran and Iraq is continuing causing untold hardship to peoples of both the countries and damage to national property.

These mutually damaging conflicts between Iran and Iraq, within the PLO and also among the various sections of Lebanese people besides harming their own causes, provide grist to the Imperialist mill and facilitate US-Israeli aggressive designs in West Asia. They weaken the Anti-imperialist struggle of the working people, of the liberation fighters and injure the cause of Palestinian homeland and the just aspirations of the Lebanese people for their national unity and salvation.

The 32nd Session of the AITUC therefore warns all peoples to be on guard against US-Israeli designs; urges halt to all internal conflicts and mutual killings within the P.L.O; appeals for immediate discontinuation of Iran-Iraq hostilities and to arrive at a mutual agreement. It is urgently necessary to defeat the U.S. imperialist design for a permanent stay in Lebanon of its forces along with the Israelis. The AITUC wishes success to the efforts of the NAM mission to help bring about an end to mutual conflicts among the various contingents of the non-aligned movement.

The 32nd AITUC session appeals to the people of West Asia to

consolidate their ranks and not to allow US-Israel to foist on them the framework of the Camp David agreement and its subsequent addition. What is at stake is not only defeat of progressive Arab cause of freedom and national liberation but also a firm base of anti-imperialist solidarity of all peoples. The strife in Lebanon can only help USA to get a permanent station for its aggressive designs against not only the Arab countries but also the Soviet Union as well as the countries of South Asia. The AITUC calls on the Indian Trade Union Movement to further intensify its support and solidarity to the PLO, to the peoples of Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria and assure them all assistance in their time of crisis.

### ON REPRESSION IN TURKEY

This thirty second session of the All-India Trade Union Congress severely condemns the leonine repression let loose by the illegal fascist terror regime of Turkey—a member of the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

The Turkish regime has been resorting to arrest, torture, frame ups and harsh sentences ranging from 8 to 20 years against that country's trade unionists, famous writers and outstanding leaders and activists of democratic parties. A number of leaders of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) are facing trial and prison life.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has been playing a very active role in organising the defence of Turkey's Trade Unionists and mobilising World opinion against this oppression.

Turkey's terror regime, fully protected by the US-NATO umbrella, has gone to the extent of first sending its troops into the Sovereign island state of Cyprus and then declaring the "occupied" Turkish majority area of Cyprus as an "independent state"—of course dependent on its guns. Turkey is not only carrying out repression at home but also acting as a NATO gendarme in the area.

The AITUC fully supports the valiant people of Turkey in their struggle to end the fascist regime and immediate restoration of Democracy in that Country.

The AITUC demands immediate withdrawal of all cases against Trade Union and other political leaders and activists,

their immediate release and recognition of DISK and all its affiliated Unions.

The AITUC demands withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus and respect for the unity, sovereignty and integrity of Cyprus.

## ON GRENADA

The thirty second session of the AITUC strongly condemns the totally unprovoked and most shameless aggression by the United States against the tiny state of Grenada.

The naked and brutal aggression by the World's most powerful imperialist power against a peaceful and defenceless neighbour, which by no stretch of imagination, could pose any threat to the USA or neighbouring Caribbean states, once again exposes the cynical hypocrisy of the Reagan Administration which call the invasion and occupation of Grenada an act to defend Peace and security in Caribbean Region.

The American aggression against Grenada has been denounced by whole world barring a few satellites. In the United Nations, the Reagan Administration was completely isolated with only Israef and the few Caribbean countries involved in the invasion, siding with it.

The U.S. Government is now refusing to withdraw its armed forces from Grenada. It is engaged in converting it into a military base aimed against the people of Central America. U.S. Warships with 25,000 soldiers aboard are staying in that area. Socalled ho'd-ing of elections in Grenada, under the threat of American bayonets or those of other occupation troops can be nothing but a farce.

The AITUC therefore demands that U.S. and other troops should forthwith quit Grenada, and allow its much suffering people to take to the path of free, democratic and progressive development, without any interference from outside.

**"NO! TO DEPLOYMENT OF AMERICAN MISSILES."**

The 32nd Session of the AITUC vehemently condemns the highly dangerous and provocative action of U.S. Imperialists and

NATO countries of deploying first strike Cruise and Pershing-II missiles in some countries of Western Europe.

Even as the Geneva talks were on, and despite several initiatives on the part of the Soviet Union to ward off such a threatening development, the Reagan Administration has gone ahead with its mad aggressive plans. This has brought the world to brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe. Millions of common people men and women young and old, in Europe and other parts of the World including USA itself have come out in unprecedented mass actions and manifestations, to protest against the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe. In the face of this strong opposition, which has assumed the form of a popular upsurge, the British and West German Governments have given the green signal to the actual deployment of U.S. missiles thereby scuttling the Geneva talks.

The AITUC session calls upon the people of India, in particular the working class, to say No! to the deployment of American missiles in Europe.

The 32nd session of the AITUC appeals to all Trade Union centres and mass organisations to join in this action, and extends its full support to the call of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society to observe December 30th, as "anti-U.S. Missiles Day" throughout India.

#### SUPPORT TO STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS

The 32nd session of the All-India Trade Union Congress conveys its full support to the struggle of the working class and the people of Cyprus against the illegal and unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish-Cypriot assembly in north Cyprus at the instance of imperialism. It expresses solidarity with the Cypriot people who have been the victims of imperialist policy of partition since their independence in 1960. Our country which too was divided by imperialism knows the price it has to pay on this account.

This session expresses its satisfaction at the fact that the fight put up by the President of Cyprus at the recently held meeting of Commonwealth heads of government in Delhi led to its calling for not giving recognition to the illegal government of north Cyprus. This is a set back for the imperialists who organised the

overthrow of the Makarios Government in 1974 as also helped the Turkish invasion of the island at the same time.

The AITUC and the Indian working people reassure the Panyprrian Federation of Labour as also the people of Cyprus that together with the working people of other lands, especially the non-aligned countries, we shall fight back the game of imperialism and defeat it.

We shall struggle, in solidarity with the people of Cyprus, for the reversal of the declaration of the Turkish-Cypriot state, for the repeal of its recognition by Turkey, against its recognition by any other state.

We are in solidarity with the struggle of the people of Cyprus for the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and of all foreign troops from Cyprus, for a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem, in the interest of the whole population of the island, based on UNO resolutions and on the Agreements between Makarios-Denkash and Kyprianou-Denkash. We are definitely for the reunification of Cyprus.

#### IN SUPPORT OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE

The 32nd Session of the AITUC reiterates its support to the issue of Korean reunification and to the proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It also extends support to the people of South Korea who are struggling for democracy and elementary human rights that are brutally suppressed by the South Korean dictatorial regime under the protection of 40,000 American troops stationed in South Korea. The US has placed even nuclear arms in South Korea and made it one of the main bases from where it can launch its aggression into South East Asia. The AITUC reaffirms its support to Korean people's struggle and demands immediate withdrawal of US troops from South Korea.

#### ON KAMPUCHEA

The thirty second session of the AITUC notes with satisfaction, the considerable progress that has been made by the people of Kampuchea during the last few years under the leadership of their popular and democratic Government headed by comrade Heng

Samrin and with the friendly assistance of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries having friendly relation with Kampuchea.

The people of Kampuchea fought heroically and made great sacrifices in their struggle against the French and later U.S. imperialists in the common cause for their liberation, along with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos. But, after the foreign imperialists were finally defeated and driven out, the Kampuchea people suffered a serious misfortune as an anti-people and reactionary clique headed by Pol Pot managed to capture power and imposed a genocidal and barbarous regime on the country. The people once again rose in revolt and overthrown the hated regime of Pol Pot. A popular and democratic Government was formed. The new Government has been successfully restoring the political, economic and cultural life of the country and has been at the same time fighting the armed attacks of the Pol Pot gang which has now found shelter in the neighbouring country of Thailand and enjoys the support of all the imperialist powers and also of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

This session welcomes the policy of the Government of India towards the new regime in Kampuchea. India has established friendly relations with the Kampuchea Government, and actively supports the right of the new Government to represent Kampuchea in the UNO and other international forums where the seat of Kampuchea is still being occupied illegally by the nominees of the Pol Pot gang.

This session expresses its solidarity with the people of Kampuchea and demands that their new popular Government be seated in the United Nations, without delay.

## ON SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN BANGLA DESH

General Ershad of Bangla Desh wants to perpetuate his own Presidential Rule with the army playing a keyrole in the country's administration and the country playing the U.S. game in this part of Asia.

In his recent visit to Washington he has assured his servility to Reagan Administration and at home he is facing a growing move-

ment for restoration of democracy and elections to the Parliament.

General Ershad has already taken the country back to pre-Mujib economic scene by denationalising all the nationalised industries and by negating all the reforms undertaken by the Mujib regime after liberation of Bangla Desh.

The All India Trade Union Congress expresses its deep solidarity with the working class, and the working people of Bangla Desh, and for those who are fighting for restoration of democracy, social progress, friendly relations with all neighbours, including our country.

The AITUC calls for establishment of trade union rights, and ratification and implementation of ILO Conventions. The Session urges upon the Bangla Desh Government to release all political prisoners, and trade union leaders.

#### **ON YOUNG WORKERS**

This 32nd Session of the AITUC, seriously notes the growth in the numerical strength of the working class drawing into its fold mass of young workers.

Particularly in the new and the state sector industries we see mostly young workers drawn from the middle and the rich strata, both urban and rural. Bulk of them are first generation workers and have no knowledge and experience of trade union action in defence of service conditions nor the heritage of the movement.

They have their own problems. They want job satisfaction, a job that will satisfy their acquired talents. They seek accelerated promotion and quick improvement in their prospects.

They have, at least some of them, a yearning for sports and other cultural activity.

They have not yet acquired a serious attitude towards the union and some of them would not mind going from one union to the other in search of easy benefits. They are also prone to extremist ideologies of either right or left varieties. They may succumb to casteism and communalism or go in for anarchism or youthful anarcho-syndicalism. However, they have access to knowledge, and enthusiasm.

The AITUC unions must attach special importance to work among the young workers, and utilise their energies and capacities

to build a strong trade union organisation and movement. A mechanism has to be developed to specially contact for work in the unions.

They must unionised and proletarianised and made conscious of their role as a class pitted against the capitalist system, for bringing about a new socialist order.

Unions and District and State TU bodies should arrange sports and cultural activities to attract and utilise the young talents in these fields.

Young workers' demands should be carefully studied and screened. Some demands like accelerated promotion may appear to clash with the demand of promotion by seniority. A proper balance has to be struck to create united sanctions behind the demand.

The AITUC centre, State and District Councils and unions should constantly pursue the task of properly harnessing the young workers for the working class cause.

## ON THE DEMANDS OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

This Thirty Second Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress deploras the appalling condition of the vast agricultural labour population of our country, who constitute one fourth of our country's labour population.

They are covered by the Minimum Wages Act of 1948 which makes it obligatory on the part of the concerned Government to fix, periodically revise and enforce minimum wages for them. The Act provides for even a cost of living allowance to compensate the rise in prices. The Act empowers the collector to collect the wages due as arrears of land revenue.

Only the left-led Governments of Kerala and West Bengal and Tripura can claim a measure of achievement with regard to improving the wages and working conditions of these workers. Kerala had introduced even a social security measure by introducing Provident Fund for them.

But taking the country as a whole, those who swear by the weaker sections have miserably failed to either fix reasonable minimum wages, or enforce them. Where this has been attempted

in some States, officers have been assaulted by the landlords and their goondas, and driven away.

Agricultural workers are doubly oppressed and exploited. In addition to economic exploitation, they are socially ostracised and subjected to humiliation because they come from the most oppressed and segregated community.

However, they are now rising up and building their organisations. They are standing up to landlord tyranny, demanding human treatment and reasonably tolerable living conditions. Landlords are replying by assaults on harijans, burning down of their huts, killing them and molesting and raping their women folk. The organised working class cannot and shall not tolerate this outrage.

The Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union and its sister organisations have been demanding a central law for Agricultural workers, an effective machinery for enforcement of minimum wages, guaranteeing reasonable working and living conditions and deterrent punishment to the defaulting land owners. They have conducted a big countrywide campaign including strikes on these demands.

The AITUC fully supports the BKMU, in its demands and calls upon all unions to rally in support of the agricultural workers. The AITUC notes with satisfaction that the NCC supported the demand of Agricultural workers for a minimum wage and a Central law providing for Agricultural workers' wages and job security.

## WITHDRAW THE ANTI-LABOUR BILLS AND LAWS

The 32nd session of the AITUC reiterates the demand for withdrawal of the anti-labour Bills that are still pending in Parliament viz., the trade union (Amendment) Bill, 1982 and the Hospitals and other Institutions (Settlement of Dispute) Bill 1982.

The overwhelming majority of the trade union organisations have already made known to the Government their opposition to these Bills as well as to the recommendations of the Sanat Mehta Committee which are equally anti-working class.

The AITUC and other central trade union organisations have already explained to the Government that these Bills including the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill already passed by the Parliament last year, seek to impose more and more curbs on

the workers and their trade unions, on trade union and democratic rights.

These Bills which were introduced without any prior consultations with the trade union organisations coupled with the National Security Act and the Essential Services Maintenance Act (ESMA), are designed to throttle the trade union movement in the country and rob workers of their basic trade union rights including the right to strike.

The 32nd session of the AITUC is therefore of the considered view that it will be ill-advised to proceed with the pending Bills and also with further similar amendments reported to be under contemplation, in the teeth of opposition of majority of the trade unions which the Government is well aware of.

Even the ESMA to prohibit strike in so-called essential services and the NSA which is also being used against trade union activists, have failed to deter the workers to go in for mass actions including strikes and prolonged strikes at times. The AITUC Session demands repeal of the ESMA and NSA.

The 32nd session of the AITUC therefore urges the Government not to further embitter its relations with the organised working class, but to evolve a democratic industrial relations system on the basis of consultations with the trade unions.

### **ON BONUS**

The 32nd session of the AITUC is of opinion that the Bonus law and the formula for arriving at the available surplus has been thoroughly eroded and rendered out of date and irrelevant.

As a result of amendment brought about during the Emergency the clause providing for collective bargaining was abrogated and not restored since then.

Meanwhile, a new item as investment allowance has been introduced which is deductible from the gross profit and thus eroding to that extent the available surplus. Moreover, the increase in the depreciation allowance to an extent of 50% from 10 to 15 per cent has rendered the bonus formula and its structure completely irrelevant and useless.

The 32nd session of the AITUC demands:

\* Minimum Bonus to all salary and wages earners without any discrimination and restriction.

\* Bonus above the minimum quantum as well as the basis, should be left to be determined through the process of collective bargaining and the Income tax Act, if need be, be amended.

\* All salary restrictions and ceilings be abrogated.

## ON NATIONALISING THE IRON ORE INDUSTRY

The 32rd session of the AITUC expresses concern that the Iron ore mining industry continues to be largely in private hands in Goa and certain other areas. It is surprising that even after the Portuguese rule was overthrown in 1961 in Goa by the popular struggle and Indian armed forces, the Government of India continued to permit the old mining concession to be in force. Apart from the wanton exploitation of the workers, the new drive at unwarranted high-level of mechanisation and automation of mining is causing immense harm to economy and loss to national wealth. This is being done in the name of export of the ore to Japan which is financing the mechanisation drive. Japan takes only ore above 60% iron content. The result is that ores below 60% are just dumped around and during rains Iron sediments seep into arable land around. Also mining is done with an eye to high-content ore damaging or putting over burden on other low grade ore areas.

The AITUC session therefore calls upon the Government of India to immediately nationalise the Iron ore mining industry and set up State Mining Corporation to run all the mining concessions, including such mines that are either partially run or closed, the entire Iron ore export should be nationalised and brought under the MMTC

The Government of India should place an immediate embargo on any further mechanisation and automation in the Mining industry in Goa.

## NATIONALISATION OF TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The Textile Industry is again affected with 'Sickness'. Several units in Gujarat, one each in Pondicherry and Orissa, the Hope Textiles in Indore are closed, and their productive capacity lying idle. Thirteen Mills in Bombay refused to open after the strike pleading 'financial difficulties'.

The Session is firmly of the opinion that the main cause of this

sickness is mismanagement-in several cases even fraudulent practices. Instances of the funds of the mill siphoned off to more lucrative spheres and spiriting away of the resources are only too common and have been proved to the hilt in the several enquiries conducted by the Government in the affairs of the closed units. Even the Bipartite National Industrial Committee that examined the cases of closures and enquired in depth into the causes of sickness in the Industry in 1976 was led to observe that in atleast 80 per cent of the cases mismanagement was found to be either the prime or contributory cause of the closure. The findings of the recent study of the Reserve Bank of India in the cases of 100 industrial closures are no different.

Like all big enterprises the Textile Industry today is running mainly on finances provided by Banks and other Government financial agencies. But the mismanagement is leading to frittering away of valuable resources provided by these agencies with the industry permanently pressing for more assistance and more concessions.

The Session therefore is of the opinion that the only cure for this chronic sickness is the immediate nationalisation of the entire Textile Industry and running it with the participation of workers, technicians and honest officers. Only such a democratic reorganisation of the industry can enable it to fulfil its objective of clothing the millions. This would also help ensure a fair price to the cotton-growers, a fair wage and service conditions to the workers and a reasonable price to the consumers. The Government was already led to nationalise 105 mills in 1974 which were ruined by their owners. Recently it had to nationalise the 13 mills in Bombay that would not reopen after the strike. Such patchwork however is no solution to the problem posed by the neverending closures, and the only solution is the one mentioned above.

The Session therefore demands immediate nationalisation of the entire Cotton Textile Industry, its democratic reorganisation under an All-India Textile Board and an integrated textile policy to coordinate planned development on a democratic basis of the different sectors of the Industry.

The Session calls on all the textile workers and its organisations, and particularly its affiliates to launch an immediate campaign

with the support of other democratic forces with this in view and build a mighty movement that would make the call irresistible.

### AGAINST THE RACIST REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA AND IN SUPPORT OF NAMIBIA

The 32nd Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress reiterates its full support and solidarity with the struggle of the people of South Africa led by the African National Congress against the racist regime, for democracy and human rights. It also reaffirms its complete backing to the national liberation struggle of Namibia led by SWAPO against the South African regime which continues to occupy Namibia. The Session condemns the US, British and other imperialist Governments for protecting and strengthening in all respects the racist regime flouting the UN sanctions.

The racist regime is carrying on brutal oppression and terror against the Black majority and has imprisoned thousands of patriots including the well known leader Nelson Mandela, and hanged many of the freedom fighters. The 32nd AITUC Session demands the release of Nelson Mandela and all those imprisoned patriots. It also demands withdrawal of South African troops occupying parts of Angola, the support being given to UNITA counter-revolutionaries and bombing raids on other frontline states.

The 32nd AITUC Session calls on the Indian trade union movement to step up the campaign against the South African racist regime and lend further and full-throated support to the freedom struggle in southern Africa led by the ANC and SWAPO.

### ON RAILWAYMEN AND OTHER CENTRAL GOVT. EMPLOYEES

This 32nd Session of AITUC fully supports the Railwaymen's demand for treating them as industrial workers for all purposes including the right to collective bargaining and statutory minimum Bonus of 8.33% like other industrial workers.

This Session strongly condemns the attacks on the Trade Union and democratic rights of Railwaymen and notes with concern that thousands of Railwaymen have been removed from service under Rule (14-ii) of the Railway Servants' Discipline Appeal Rules and are facing other penal actions like Break-in-service, interdivisional

transfers etc. for Trade Union activities and raising voice against the wrong policies of the Government and Railway administration. This Session demands that all the Railwaymen removed from service under Rule 14(ii) etc. should be reinstated, all penal actions taken against Railwaymen should be withdrawn forthwith and there should be no further victimisation of Railwaymen.

This Session also notes that the Government have imposed the IVth Central Pay Commission on the Railwaymen and other Central Government employees inspite of the unanimous opposition of all the Organisation of Central Government employees, whether in the Joint Consultative Machinery or out of it. This is a negation of the right of collective bargaining, a device to further delay the acceptance of the just demand of all Central Government employees for wage parity with Public Sector workers, pending grant of need-based minimum wage as per norms laid down by the 15th I.L.C.

The unity achieved earlier has enabled the Organisations represented in the Joint Consultative Machinery to present a united stand before the IV Pay Commission. However, broadbased, united and sustained movement of all streams of the Central Government employees, particularly of Railwaymen, will ensure mass sanction behind the demands being put up before the Pay Commission.

The Session appeals to all the Organisations of the Central Government employees to close their ranks and establish broad-based unity and conduct a sustained campaign to achieve their demands, including the most important demand of wage parity with Public Sector workers.

The formation of the National Campaign Committee of Railwaymen is a good beginning for broadbased unity amongst Railwaymen and the 32nd Session of AITUC hopes that the Railwaymen and other Central Government employees will seriously move for a more broadbased united platform to achieve their demands and to protect their Trade Union and democratic rights.

#### ON COMMISSIONING THE VIJAYNAGAR STEEL PLANT

As far back as 1971, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had laid the foundation stone of the Vijayanagar Steel Project, following

preliminary surveys, and clearance of the Project by Government. Necessary land was acquired, the Narihalla project for drinking water was completed, and all other infrastructural requirements were also fulfilled.

Since then, the Govt. of India has been postponing work on the Project under one pretext or the other. Earlier, under the Janata regime, the plea of non-availability of coking coal was put forward. But after this was overcome, the new Govt. of Smt. Indira Gandhi has been putting forward the plea of power shortage. This too is a lame plea, for the reason that the thermal plant at Raichur, is midway towards completion.

The demand for commissioning this steel plant has the full backing of the people and will contribute to the development of that backward region. People are in no mood to listen to further alibis. The Chief Minister of Karnataka has assured the people that the matter would be taken up with the Govt. of India, through an all-party delegation. And failing this, the State Govt. would join with the people in a State Bundh.

The 32nd Session of the AITUC extends its full support to the people of Karnataka in their demand, and the agitation connected with it. It urges upon the Govt. of India to concede this just demand.

## ON SAFETY IN MINES

The Conference of the AITUC expresses its deep concern over the rise in fatal accidents in coal and non-coal mines throughout the country. This increase is noted in both underground and open-cast mines, in mechanised and non-mechanised mines. Disaster after disaster is taking place in mine after mine, the last being in Huralodih in B.C.C.L. where 19 workmen were drowned, preceded by two other disasters, in Topa and Sarubera in CCL as a result of massive roof-fall. In 1982 there were 147 fatalities in the mines of Coal India Ltd. alone against 142 in 1981. The fatality rate per million tonne of output was 1.31 in 1982 as against 1.28 in 1981.

The various investigations by the D.G.M.S. and series of Courts of Inquiry have clearly pointed out that these accidents are due to open and flagrant violations of Safety Regulations by the managements. The unanimous Recommendations of the Five-

Safety Conferences have not been implemented so far and remained on paper. The scant regard with which reports of investigations of the DGMS are usually treated is evident from the fact that in most of the cases those held responsible for fatal accidents have been promoted.

The entire inspecting machinery under the DGMS to enforce the Mines Act and Regulations, to inspect the mines, to detect violations and take effective measures has been deliberately kept weak and understaffed and is in a pathetic state. The specific recommendations of Chasnala and recent Topa Court of Enquiries and J. G. Mumaramangalam Committee to strengthen the DGMS organisation have been ignored and kept in cold storage. The Rescue Stations which are few and far between have either collapsed or are on the verge of collapse. All kinds of deadly occupational diseases like pneuconomosis, asbestosis etc. are rampant and there is not a single clinic in the entire mining area to either diagnose or treat them. So the lives of nearly one million miners both in coal and non-coal mines continue to be unsafe and insecure due to criminal negligence of the Government and management, both public and private.

The position has further deteriorated following the decision of the CIL management to force the coal miners to work continuously for 7 days in a week without any rest day in naked violation of Section 28 of the Mines Act which prohibits employment of workers for more than 6 days in any week without any rest day. This practice is going on for past several years and is now being extended to various coal fields more ruthlessly in total defiance of the direction of the Union Labour Ministry and specific assurance of the Union Labour Minister in the Parliament that this practice will not be allowed. Even after this solemn assurance, there have been cases of mass scale victimisation of workers for refusing to work on Sunday.

This conference of the AITUC takes serious view of these developments and urges on the Government to immediately implement (i) All the Unanimous Recommendations of the 5 Safety Conferences and Courts of Enquiry and Circulars of DGMS, (ii) strengthen the DGMS organisation as per the Recommendation of Kumaramangalam Committee, (iii) Stop violation of Section 28

of the Mines Act, (iv) Immediate full implementation of the Mines Act (Amendment) Bill, 1983 in consultation with the unions and (v) take drastic and firm action against those who are held responsible for fatal accidents. It calls upon workers to build a powerful united militant movement on these issues and compel the Government and management to accept them.

## ON DE-NOTIFICATION OF INDUSTRIAL UNITS

The 32nd session of the AITUC strongly condemns the reported decision of the Central Government to denotify a large number of companies and units which have been already taken over under the Industrial (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951 and return them to erstwhile owners or sell them to private big business houses. Already some have been denotified, namely, Carter Pooler & Co., M/s. Containers & Closures Ltd., M/s. Indian Rubber Manufacturers Ltd. and M/s. Motor and Machinery Manufacturers Ltd. The only argument advanced for denotification by the Union Minister in Parliament was that the cabinet considered proposals from the administrative Ministries regarding final disposition of these industrial undertakings. Based on them the Government took the decision to denotify them.

The people, and even Parliament have been kept in darkness as to the specific reasons for denotification. The Central Government did not bother to consult either the State Governments or Trade Unions. As a matter of fact, denotification was done against the strong opposition of the West Bengal Government.

Now the Centre has announced its decision to denotify other concerns employing nearly 50,000 workers which will mean immediate liquidation, and or sale to big business and monopoly houses. Despite denial by the Government, it is reported talks have already taken place with the Birlas for sale of the Bengal Potteries Ltd.

One of the excuses advanced is continuous losses of these concerns. The AITUC most emphatically refutes the malicious propaganda by Union Government and bourgeoisie press that sick units which have been taken over will never be viable, can never be nursed back to health and further assistance and investment in these concerns by the Government will be a sheer waste of resources. The continued losses of some of these concerns is due

to utter mismanagement by bureaucrats who are placed at the helm of affairs, rampant corruption, lack of proper planning and capital, and adhocism. The workers employed in these concerns and the trade unions functioning there are totally ignored and all their suggestions for cooperation to improve the performance have been brushed aside. There has been no attempt to involve the workers in running these plants.

Any in-depth probe as demanded by trade unions would prove that the mills incur losses because of mismanagement. As a matter of fact one such investigation by the IRCI into the affairs of the Bengal Potteries Ltd. has brought out glaring instances of corruption and misuse of Government money but the Union Government have not taken any action against the persons responsible for these lapses.

This Conference demands immediate nationalisation of these taken-over concerns, end of this process of denotification. It calls upon the working class to launch a mighty offensive and determined united and militant struggle against this sinister move of denotification.

#### AGAINST LIC SPLIT UP

The 32nd session of the AITUC urges upon the Government of India to withdraw the Bill pending in the Parliament seeking the split-up of the Life Insurance Corporation of India. This split up as has been pointed out by the LIC Employees Organisations is neither in the interest of the policy holders nor of the national economy. The split-up will rather introduce imbalances in the investments and working of the LIC and is likely to accentuate regionalism to the detriment of national unity. Any weaknesses and shortcomings in the existing set up can be rectified and improved in consultation with the LIC Employees' Organisations. The AITUC apprehends that as a result of the split-up the LIC employees' conditions of service will be seriously affected which are already under attack by abrogation of the right of the employees to collective bargaining.

The 32nd session of the AITUC extends all support to the LIC Employees' Federation and other organisations in their struggle against the Bill for splitting up of LIC.

## ON DEARNESS ALLOWANCE AND CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

The 32nd session of the AITUC, having discussed the state of the Indian economy and the impact of the growing economic crisis on the workers has come to the conclusion that as a result of rampant inflation the living condition of the working class has deteriorated during the last few years. The unprecedented rise in prices has led to steady erosion in the real wages of the workers despite the increase in money wages secured by the trade unions in various organised industries. The condition of workers in the unorganised sector has become desperate, on account of the absence of dearness allowance and the extremely low wages.

Thus the worsening living conditions of the working class as a whole has become a standing feature of the national economy.

During the ten months of 1983 the rate of inflation has been of the order of 12.5%. The All India Consumer Price Index (Base 1960) which stood at 495 in January 1983 has shot up to 558 points during October '83 which is an increase of 63 points in just ten months.

While prices have risen  $5\frac{1}{2}$  times since 1960, the real wages have generally lagged very much behind and the standard of living of the workers has been adversely affected.

The actual position is much worse than what is disclosed by the official index figures. Everyone knows that the compilation of the cost of living indices is defective and in some cases even fraudulent. The real prices paid by the consumers are not taken into account and persistent demand for rectification of the indices has been ignored. The report of the Rath Committee in this matter and its recommendations have not been implemented by the Government.

It has been the persistent policy of the Government of India, through the Bureau of Public Enterprises of the Ministry of Finance to impose a flat rate of D.A. of Rs. 1.30 per point of 1960 based All India Consumer Price Index on all Public sector workers in various industries irrespective of Basic Pay and skill differentials. More beneficial D.A. schemes have either been withdrawn or sought

to be withdrawn from workers in a number of Public Sector Corporations and institutions.

The Public Sector workers and trade unions have carried on a prolonged struggle against this anti-labour policy of the BPE. There have been a number of strikes on this issue and the National Campaign Committee of the Central Trade Union Organisations finally gave a call for a oneday protest strike of all Public Sector workers against the policies of the BPE. This strike call was withdrawn when the Union Finance Minister agreed to appoint a Tripartite Committee to recommend a revision of the rate of D.A. above Rs. 1.30 per point for Public Sector workers covered by the BPE scheme of D.A. This committee has yet to make its recommendations.

The employees in the private sector have not lagged behind the Public Sector in mounting a sustained offensive for increase in the Dearness Allowance in various industries. While their assets have multiplied many fold and record profits have been reaped, the Indian Capitalists as well as the multi-nationals have been trying in one way or the other to curtail the payment of D.A. to their workers. Their favourite method is to impose a ceiling on D.A.

The ceiling on D.A. has already been imposed in a number of well known companies such as Voltas, I.C.I., Indian Explosives, ACCI, Remington Typewriters, Killick Nixon, Larsen and Toubro, Dunlop and several other companies.

Even the judiciary has fallen a prey to this clamour of the employers and a bench of the Supreme Court upheld the principle of ceiling on D.A., in the Killick Nixon Case. Some economists also join this anti-working class chorus and recommend various curbs on D.A. as an anti-inflationary step.

The AITUC and its affiliates must resolutely fight this pernicious anti-working class trend and demand a scheme of D.A. which must fully protect the wages of workers against erosion of their purchasing power. This is particularly important in the minimum wages and sweated sector where generally there is no D.A. scheme and no protection against inflation.

<sup>27th</sup>  
<sup>21st</sup>  
<sup>1940</sup>  
The 32nd session of the AITUC demands that for all workers there must be a D.A. formula which gives 100 per cent neutralisation of the rise in the cost of living.

It also demands that the Government must take urgent steps to rectify the defects in the compilation of cost of living indices so that they correctly reflect the changes in the Cost of Living of the workers including such elements as the tremendously increased house rents, transport expenses etc.

## ON THE PRICE RISE AND REMEDIAL ACTION

The 32nd session of the AITUC expresses alarm at the escalating prices of all essential commodities.

Where the wages of vast sections of workers are extremely low, a number of small scale sector workers and sweated labour are either denied any dearness allowance or are paid a measly D.A., when many undertakings pay at the rate of Rs. 1.30 per point rise in index and a vast section of our toiling people get no dearness allowance at all. The continued rise in prices is causing serious erosion of the workers' earnings and making life miserable for the common man.

The annual average consumer Price Index (Base: 1960=100) has risen from 390 in 1980, to 441 in 1981, and 475 in 1982. The index for September 1982 was 489 and that for September 1983 was 554.

Viewed in the background of mounting unemployment, this price rise is catastrophic.

While struggling for cushioning the workers' wages against the price rise by compensatory Dearness Allowance to fully neutralise the rise, the Trade Union Movement has been agitating for an alternative policy course to stem the rise in prices.

The prices are like a pair of scissors in the hands of the capitalists for earning super profits by denying remunerative prices to the farmers and even to semi-manufacturers, and fleecing the consumers.

What is necessary therefore is a strong public distributive system working under strict vigilance of popular committees.

For the success of such a policy in controlling prices, the AITUC and the conscious working class in general, demand that—

- The public distributive system, should supply food articles, drugs, cloth, soap and edible oils and other essentials

to the common people in cities and in the countryside, fertiliser and other agricultural inputs to the cultivator, yarn, dyestuffs and bleaching powder to the handloom weavers, and essential raw materials to the small scale industries.

- Its working should be supervised by popular committees at all levels.
- The retail trader in towns and villages should be integrated with Government depots within this system.
- To guarantee supplies the Government should resort to monopoly purchase from the peasants on guaranteed remunerative prices and nationalise all essential consumer industries like cotton textiles, jute, sugar, vanaspati and drugs.

The AITUC welcomes the decision of the second Delhi Convention of the NCC held in August this year, to conduct a campaign against price rise demanding that public distributive system be made effective by taking over the "Wholesale trade in food grains and other necessities of daily consumption" and nationalisation of such industries like jute, tea, sugar, drugs and textiles.

Though certain sections of the trade union movement, and right-wing political circles are opposed to nationalisation and take over of wholesale trade in foodgrains etc., the working masses want it.

The AITUC calls upon all trade unions, the left led unions in particular, to mobilise the working class in a mighty movement to make this demand irresistible.

ON COM. S. A. DANGE

The 32nd Session of the AITUC places on record its appreciation of Com. S. A. Dange's long and pioneering services to the Indian Trade Union movement and the AITUC, as well as his contribution to the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We wish him good health at his advanced age and many years of fruitful life.

**COMMISSIONS:  
REPORTS AND RESOLUTIONS**



At the AITUC session held in Bangalore on 15-20 December 1983, Six Commissions were appointed for an in-depth study and to submit report and resolution to the plenary session on six important issues viz., Trade Unions in the struggle for Peace and against War; on social security; on the problems of working women; on lockouts, closures, industrial "sickness" etc.; On Trade Union Unity and on the unorganised sector workers.

## ON SOCIAL SECURITY

I. The 32nd Session of the AITUC warmly welcomes the Charter on Social Security adopted in the Tenth World Trade Union Congress held at Havana in 1982 and endorses the fundamental and general principles of Social Security, e.g.:

- every person who lives by his or her labour and who is temporarily or permanently unable to find work or is incapable of working, and also every dependant member of the said person's family must be legally guaranteed the right to social security.
- The social security benefits be extended to all working people whether they work in Industry, Mines, Agriculture, Offices, Shop and commercial establishments etc.
- Social security schemes should mainly be financed by employers through deduction in their profits and by the State.
- The social security benefits should cover all risks such as illness, maternity, disability, old age, death, upbringing and education of children, industrial accidents, occupational diseases, unemployment etc.
- Social security must be run in a democratic way under the control of representative trade union organisation.

II. The session of the AITUC is of the firm opinion that the existing social security schemes in this country are wholly inadequate when tested on the basis of the above mentioned prin-

principles in all spheres, i.e. coverage, financing, benefit and administration.

What to say of millions of agricultural workers and other sections of the working people, vast sections of industrial workers are not covered. The social security schemes in this country are mainly financed by the workers and the employers. Very little is contributed by the State. The benefits are minimal. There is no old age, survivors and invalidity pension, no unemployment allowance, no family allowances etc. The social security schemes are administered in a most bureaucratic manner and there is lot of red tape and corruption.

III. This session of the AITUC welcomes the following positive developments in the field of social security in the last three years:

- The recommendation made by the Central Board of Trustees of the E.P.F. at the initiative of AITUC representative to evolve an old age, survivors and disability pension by combining Family Pension Scheme, Employees Deposit Linked Scheme. Pensionary benefits under the Employees State Insurance Scheme and by a small rise in the rate of contribution.
- Liberalisation of Family Pension Scheme as regards the amount of pension, adhoc relief to existing pensioners and annual adhoc increase in future, reduction of the condition of service from two to one year to avail of benefits under this scheme, dispensing of entry age factor etc.
- Liberalisation of House Building advance from the Provident Fund to include 75% of employer's share.
- Stricter control over the functioning of Exempted Establishments which were continuously neglected by the E.P.F. organisation for the last 30 years again at the instance of AITUC representatives.
- Extension of coverage of E.S.I. to workmen working in hotels, restaurants, shops, road, motor transport, cinemas, theatres and newspaper establishments employing 20 or more workmen and in some other centres.

IV. This session of the AITUC strongly condemns the following negative developments in the last 3 years:

- The scheme of so-called decentralisation as put forward by the Ramanujam Committee according to which a new category of exempted establishments is sought to be created compulsorily in which the administration of the E.P.F. scheme is to be handed over to the employers in all establishments having 500 or more workmen.
- The decision of the Central Govt. again at the instance of Ramanujam Committee to reduce penal damages in case of Provident Fund arrears from upto 100% of the amount in arrears to upto 25% penal interest on such amounts as also the further proposal of the Govt. to reduce it to 12½% in case of small scale sector and in case of sick establishments.
- Proposal for reduction of sickness benefit from 91 days to 56 days under the E.S.I. Scheme.
- Proposal to stop sickness benefits during strikes, lockout, closures and weekly offs.
- Reduction in representation of the AITUC in the Central Board of Trustees of the E.P.F. from two to one and exclusion of AITUC from the Regional Committees of West Bengal, Maharashtra and Haryana.

V. This session of the AITUC makes the following demands in the various spheres of Social Security:—

- Coverage* : The coverage of Social Security Schemes should be extended to all working people whether working in Industry or Agriculture. However, immediately all conditions of infancy period, minimum service, wage limit should be removed. The E.P.F. Act should be extended to cover all establishments having 10 or more workmen. Under the E.S.I. Scheme full hospitalisation facilities be extended to the family members in all states.
- Financing* : All the Social Security Schemes be financed by the employers from their profits and the State. However immediately—

The Central Govt. must make substantial contribution to the E.S.I. Scheme to cover the deficit between the income and expenditure under this scheme as originally envisaged by the framers of this scheme. Similarly the contribution by the State Govt. should be enhanced.

Rate of contribution in E.P.F. & the C.M.P.F. should be increased to 10% in all industries.

The proposal to reduce E.D.L.I. contribution should be dropped.

In respect of mounting arrears which amount to Rs. 92.82 crores in case of E.P.F. and Rs. 41 crores in case of E.S.I. (total being nearly Rs. 140 crores):

(i) The social security legislation should be included in the 9th Schedule of the Constitution of India to bar the Court, from interference in implementing this legislation.

(ii) The E.P.F., C.M.P.F. and the E.S.I. should have a joint but independent recovery machinery just as the Income Tax Department has.

(iii) The penal provision for default in contributions should be made more stringent. Old penal damages provision should be restored.

(iv) In case of N.T.C. Mills and other nationalised sector, such as Coal, the Govt. must deposit the pre-take over arrears.

*Benefits:* (i) The old age, survivors and disability pension scheme must be evolved at the earliest.

(ii) There must be sharp liberalisation of E.D.L.I. benefits.

(iii) The rates of compensation under the Workmen Compensation Act should be increased by 100%.

(iv) Full wages must be paid under the E.S.I. Scheme as sickness benefit and the two days waiting period be abolished.

(v) Under the Gratuity Act the amount of gratuity should be increased to one month's wages per year of service. The condition of 5 years service as well as 75% attendance for seasonal workers should be abolished. Suitable amendments be made to offset the decisions of the Supreme Court

and High Court of Punjab and Haryana regarding non-payment of gratuity for the year in which attendance is less than 240 days and no payment of gratuity on resignation.

(vi) Invalidity Benefit should be introduced immediately on the lines of the scheme prepared by the E.S.I. Corporation.

*Administration* : The Central Board of Trustees in E.P.F. and C.M.P.F. as well as the E.S.I. Corporation should be made autonomous bodies under a non-official Chairman.

Immediately the representation of workers must be made equal to that of the Govt. and the employers.

VI. The session of AITUC again reiterates its demand for a comprehensive and integrated social security scheme instead of piece meal legislation.

VII. The session appeals to all the Trade Unions of India as well as to the working class of India to unitedly fight for above mentioned demands in the sphere of social security as the benefits under the social security schemes are for the benefit of all the workers whether they are organised or are unorganised, whether they work in big industry or in small scale industry, whether they work in industry or in agriculture without any discrimination of religion, caste, region or sex etc.

#### ON THE PROBLEMS OF WORKING WOMEN

The 32nd session of the AITUC notes with concern that through the years, number of women in employment has been steadily decreasing. Discrimination against women workers in various ways also continues unabated despite different enactments. In many industries where they were traditionally employed in large numbers, they are being steadily eliminated. Women employment in mining, plantations as well as factories show a declining trend compared to total employment in these sectors. In the tobacco industry for instance tens of thousands of women face unemployment due to import of automated machines. Barring a few exceptions of women employment in modern industries with sophisticated technologies, the vast majority of the working women are confined to the lowest paid categories, low technology areas and sweated industries.

The Equal Remuneration Act is far from being implemented in all areas of employment. Under various pretexts and interpretations, women workers continue to be paid lesser wage rates than men. The special requirements of working women such as creches, kindergartens, aftercare centres and hostels for working girls are either far from satisfactory or totally absent. On the other hand, in order to avoid such statutory obligations the employers have to a great extent succeeded in denuding women labour, if not eliminating them altogether, in different industries.

The first victims of any change in the process of production or technology or work organisation are the women who are not given any opportunity to upgrade their skills or to acquire new skills commensurate with the new job requirements. Feudal and semi-feudal attitudes towards women are widespread which also results in a lack of seriousness in the matter of taking up the special problems of women workers or in involving them in trade union activities. In some cases these attitudes existing in our society act as positive obstacles to women participating in day-to-day activities of the trade unions.

The 32nd session welcomes the decision of the NCC convention to hold an All-India convention of women workers in February 1984 and calls upon all AITUC unions to mobilise the women workers in support of the convention.

The AITUC calls upon women workers to come forward to organise themselves to join trade unions and calls on all unions to make conscious efforts to involve them in trade union activities, including them in decision making bodies. The position of women workers having to shoulder dual responsibility, of household work as well as responsibility of earning money, should be appreciated and the manner of their participation should accordingly be worked out. The AITUC calls upon all unions to organise protest actions in all cases of oppression on women workers, harassments, etc.

The 32nd session of the AITUC demands that:

- \* Special implementation machinery should be set up to guarantee implementation of the equal remuneration act, where it has not already been done.

- \* Security of employment of women workers should be ensured.
- \* Women should in practice get equality of opportunity in employment in all fields and sectors, and discrimination in promotions should go.
- \* Arrangements for in-job training of women workers to enable them to acquire higher skills, special I.T.I. for technical training of women.
- \* All iniquitous and onerous practices should end.
- \* Protection must be ensured to women workers from all kinds of harassments, particularly at their place of work.
- \* Ways and means should be found out to reduce the working hours of women workers.
- \* Full social security benefits to women workers.

The active participation of working women in trade union work, in struggles and in all activities of the unions are the surest guarantee of achieving their special demands.

The session recommends to the working committee to evolve a suitable programme of action to achieve these demands.

## REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON TRADE UNION UNITY

1. This Commission met on December 18, from 10 AM to 1 PM and then again from 4 PM to 6.30 PM. The Commission was well attended, and 43 Delegates from all States, spoke on the subject.

2. The Commission took the sections on "The National Campaign Committee", and "AITUC's Unity Proposal", and the Appendix-II: "AITUC Letter to CITU", from the Report of the General-Secretary, as the basic document for its deliberations.

3. Every participant in the Commission took keen interest in the discussion, and the speakers spoke with emotion on the subject. This is evidence of the fact that the question of Trade Union Unity has become the central and most vital issue in the trade union movement of our country, and that AITUC unions

and cadres are, and desire to be the champions and standard bearers of this cause.

4. The situation within the trade union movement in different States and even regions differ. The level of organisation and consciousness among workers and their trade union functionaries vary from one place to another. The correlation of strength among the unions affiliated to different central trade union organisations is not the same everywhere, and this is also true of the subjective approach of the leaders and cadres of the different unions. Even State Government policies—which have an impact, albeit indirect on this issue, vary. Therefore, the debate inevitably revealed a wide spectrum of experiences, ranging from positive to negative, and from achievements to set backs, in this struggle for trade union unity, and undertaking of united action on issues affecting the workers and the common people. Nevertheless, there was unanimous agreement on carrying forward the struggle for trade union unity, with determination and patience.

5. The broad consensus, on the path to be followed in this advance towards trade union unity, as has emerged from the deliberations is as follows:

(a) The question of trade union unity has assumed topmost priority, particularly in the context of the present grave international and national developments, which have been analysed in depth in the Report of the General Secretary. It cannot be looked upon either as a routine slogan repeated as a matter of ritual, or a 'tactical manoeuvre'.

(b) Effective national-level movements, which can move a major section of the class, on the issues of anti-imperialism and peace, or against the anti-people, anti-worker and anti-democratic policies of government, cannot be built up, nor can alternative policies be projected, without broad trade union unity on the one hand, and closer organisational unity of left-oriented unions on the other. Experience has shown that the unity in action of different trade unions and their centres, gives the necessary confidence to the mass of workers whose numbers have multiplied in recent years, for going into militant and prolonged struggles. On the contrary, absence of such unity,

either reduces the workers into meek submission and thereby intensifies their exploitation, or drives them suddenly into the arms of adventurers.

(c) However, forging trade union unity is neither that simple nor is it a one-way traffic. One cannot close one's eyes to the complications that beset it. As mentioned in the Report, and as narrated by several speakers, too often 'talks' about unity indulged in by leaders of some central organisations are accompanied by actual 'acts' of disruption; unity achieved at the top level is accompanied by intense rivalry, bitter hostility and actual disruption at the plant and local levels. Even in common actions, attempts are not infrequent to undercut each other. Therefore AITUC unions and cadres, have to exercise utmost vigilance, and ward off all attempts at disruption from whichever quarter they may emanate. In doing so, they must at the same time keep the objective of forging unity, in the centre of their attention and efforts, and do everything to overcome negative features, so that the over-all situation changes in favour of unity and united action. In every case, as found by experience, the degree of advance and success, depends on the initiative of the AITUC cadres, and the flexibility displayed by them. The forging of trade union unity is thus, a process.

(d) Building strong unions, which function democratically,—in the sense of involving more and more sections of workers in trade union activity, etc., and strengthening the AITUC, is essential for advancing the cause of trade union unity. There is no question of counterposing 'independent actions' to 'joint actions', or of counterposing the task of 'strengthening the AITUC' to that of 'forging unity' among different trade union centres. These tasks are interrelated and have to be integrated.

(e) The Commission agrees with the Report of the General Secretary, about the positive significance and achievements of the trade union movement under the banner of the NCC, despite its obvious limitations. It is also of the view, that the declarations of the NCC and the actions undertaken by it, provide a basis for undertaking mass activities on urgent issues of the people, which transcend the bounds of purely workers' demands or labour policy of government, and enable the working class to play its role in championing the causes of other sections of the

people. Such for instance, are the issues of combating price rise through a public distributive system based on take-over of wholesale trade in foodgrains and nationalisation of sugar, textile, drugs, vanaspati and other industries; the issues of remunerative prices to farmers and higher minimum wages to agricultural workers, etc. How far this can be developed in the coming days, depends on the joint initiative of the AITUC, CITU and other left-oriented trade union centres. Strengthening the NCC and developing its activities, is thus an important element, in advancing towards trade union unity.

(f) It has to be remembered, that the NCC which combined various trade union centres of different hues, does not curb or put constraints on undertaking independent activity of the AITUC, nor the joint activity of like-minded trade unions, on such issues as combating the pro-imperialist and reactionary or communal-disruptive activities of the BMS, the BJP-RSS, as also other communal forces, like the Jamaat-e-Islami, etc. at a time when the forces of communalism, casteism and chauvinism are raising their ugly heads. This is an important task of the AITUC, and contributes to forging unity, since it prevents the disruption of the working class, and of brother killing and attacking his class-brother. Thus, *joint-action* on common issues under the banner of the NCC, has also to be accompanied by *independent or united campaign* against communalism, etc. along with all such forces who are anti-communal. This is an example of flexible tactics which have to be pursued, aimed towards the same goal.

(g) To pursue the cause of trade union unity, we should also try and constitute local or regional coordination committees, and continue our talks with the CITU, and other 'left-minded unions. While doing so, the NCC calls should also be fully implemented, and where specific issues so demand and make this both possible and necessary, even broader unity and joint action with forces outside, including with INTUC, should be forged.

(h) Intense efforts should be made at federation levels, to bring in unions, which may not be affiliated to the AITUC, and even to effect merger at federation levels, on the slogan: "One National Federation for one Industry". This reflects the urge

among workers within one industry, who are faced with common problems.

(i) The slogan of 'One Union in One Undertaking' should be popularised as the ultimate goal of trade union unity. This may not appear to be immediately realisable. But, the fact remains, that workers in general are fed up with multiple unions existing in each undertaking.

(j) The Unity proposal put forward in the General Secretary's Report, calling upon all socially progressive and left-oriented unions, first and foremost the AITUC and the CITU, to sink their differences, arrive at a clear-cut agreement on aims and object as well as on the modalities of eliminating rivalries, and the FOUR PRINCIPLES spelt out for this purpose, together constitute a major initiative, for *paving the way* for organisational unity and eventual merger. A 'Code of Conduct' to be followed by all unions which will pave the way, should also be evolved. They correctly reflect the mood of the mass of the workers, and answer the needs of the time. As stated in the Report, the AITUC is prepared to sit down and discuss other concrete suggestions in a fraternal spirit, with other like-minded forces.

(k) The Commission considers that an intensive campaign should be undertaken by the AITUC unions and cadres, on the above Proposal and the Four Principles, among the mass of workers. so as to educate them, and enlist their enthusiasm and support for the same.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL "SICKNESS", LOCKOUTS, CLOSURES

Com. Durga Mahanty presided over the Commission which was attended by 91 delegates, 42 delegates participated in the discussion. In the discussion several aspects of the problems were focussed and on the basis of the discussion the draft placed before the Commission has been amended as under:

The 32nd session of the AITUC expresses grave concern at the alarming increase in the incidence of lockouts and closures in the recent period causing loss of jobs for lakhs of workers besides loss of production.

Today nearly 500 medium and big industries with a capital investment of more than a crore in each one have been closed down. This has led to further closures of the ancillaries. Large number of small industries with huge capital investment have also been closed. The closure of Industries has become a *profitable business for the industrialists* and also the officials of the Public financial institutions. The I.R.C.I., I.C.C.I., I.F.C. and the IDBI have invested rupees three to four thousand crore in sick industries and have already lost over a thousand crore. Apart from this the Banks have Rs. 2000 crores in this so called sick industries which is almost 10% of the Banks' total investment in industry. To crown it all the *persons responsible* for the mismanagement leading to sickness and closures are again nominated on the boards of management after take over and some of these gentries are also nominated on the boards of the financial institutions.

Apart from this the so-called sick units have swallowed rupees 42 crores of the workers Provident Fund.

It is now well established and admitted that the phenomenon of Industrial "sickness" is mainly the result of mismanagement, fraud and malpractices, infighting, diversion of fund etc. Even the Government report admits that only 2 percent of the closures are due to labour trouble.

Shortage of power and raw materials has led to closures specially in the small scale sector.

The *liberalised import policy* has led to non-utilisation of internal production capacity especially in Chemicals, Rayon, Electrical equipment etc.

Similarly the export oriented economy has led to difficulties because of the protectionist policy adopted by America and reduction in purchases by Japan and other countries.

The country's economy is linked with the capitalist market and in the country itself capitalist system is being developed and hence the crisis of capitalism leads to these closures.

There are certain additional causes. Goods are imported from other countries and exported to socialist countries while the units as at Ghaziabad remain closed because such a course is more profitable.

The left and democratic front Government of Kerala used to give a subsidy of rupees 5 crores to the small scale industry which is now withdrawn. The policy of take over of industries, encouragement of co-operatives and purchase policy of the Government followed by the earlier Government in Kerala has been revised with the result that 80,000 persons have been rendered unemployed.

During the last two years mandays losses on account of lock-outs have doubled while in West Bengal the losses have increased three times. The number of lockouts is also steadily increasing and in some cases, as in jute mills in West Bengal, are prolonged for months together. During the last two years mandays losses on account of lockouts have out-stripped those on account of strikes.

The employers in different industries are often unscrupulously using lockouts and temporary closures to build pressure on the workers, to blackmail them, to force them to accept increased work-loads, rationalisation, new processes of work and other harsher conditions of service, and also as a means to extract more concessions from the Government in the shape of tax relief, subsidies, higher prices etc.

Industrial sickness has also become for employers indulging in fraud and malpractices, a profitable business to secure various concessions and finances and of depriving workers of their dues and those of all creditors. It is not therefore surprising that the number of industrial units becoming "sick" are steadily increasing including units run by the monopolists.

The Government and the financial institutions have failed to take any effective step to stem this rot and stop this continued robbing of huge amount of public money.

Thus, the policies pursued by the Government and its active collaboration in the fraudulent practices of the big business are directly responsible for the so called "sickness" of Industries. It is really the sickness of the capitalist system itself.

On the contrary, the Central and some of the state Governments have adopted a policy of denationalisation of the Public Sector Industries which were taken over, funds pumped and management improved. Some state sector undertakings are clos-

ed in Andhra Pradesh, workers rendered unemployed and benefit accrues to the contractors.

The 32nd Session of the AITUC demands a thorough probe into the affairs of such "sick" units and deterrent punishments of the managements indulging in fraudulent practices and also demands that all dues of the workers of such units must be treated as first charge, and the other property of those responsible for mismanagement should be confiscated. The relevant laws be amended and workers dues be realised. The Government should set up a permanent monitoring machinery to check this malaise in time.

The 32nd session of the AITUC expresses concern at the delay in nationalising many units in various states, the managements of which have been taken over by the Government and demands that no unit taken over by the Government be returned to the private management, nor should any state undertaking be closed or sold to private management.

In the context of increasing incidence of lockouts and closures, the 32nd session of the AITUC demands banning of lockouts and closures as the existing conditions for preventing lockouts and closures are flouted by the employers with impunity.

Where the employers fail to run the factories the Government should take it over and run it with the democratic control of the workers.

The 32nd session of the AITUC demands that the skilled workers working on projects should be absorbed in new projects while unskilled workers may be recruited locally.

Certain products should be reserved for the small scale sector as was the practice earlier.

The Government should compensate 50% of the wages in condition of layoff due to shortage of power.

The proposed factories should immediately be established and all the closed factories should be taken over and run to protect employment of workers.

The workers in employment should come forward and participate in the struggle against closures and lockouts as increase

in the army of unemployed will be utilised to pressurise and attack the rights of the workers in employment.

The 32nd session calls upon all the Unions to participate in the All India Conference against lockouts, closures etc. convened by the National Campaign Committee which will be held in Delhi on 20th January 1984.

## THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND AGAINST THE GROWING THREAT OF A NUCLEAR WORLD WAR

The Thirty Second Session of the AITUC is taking place at a very critical time in the history of mankind. The international situation has never been so explosive. For the third time within a span of just about 70 years, the most powerful imperialist power is recklessly pushing the world towards another global war. The US imperialists and their NATO partners are threatening to plunge humanity into a Nuclear War. A qualitatively new situation in the arms race has been created due to the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise Missiles in FRG & Great Britain.

The first world war took a toll of one crore human lives. Nearly 6 crores lost their lives in the Second World War. Now the entire humanity is faced with the greatest threat to its very existence if the reckless adventurism of President Reagan and the diabolical plans of the Pentagon and NATO are not checked and defeated in time by the peace loving forces of the world. We see today the greatest peace movement that has ever been, and can therefore say optimistically, that imperialism's adventure will be stopped.

Humanity must be saved. The war mongers have to be stopped from gambling with the fate of humanity through their mad arms race and insane theories that a nuclear conflict is inevitable, that it is possible to win a "limited" nuclear war and survive it, that "there are things more important than peace", that the growing armament industry helps to create new jobs etc. etc., or lull the people by talks about "nuclear deterrence". The argument of the imperialist circles that armament industry creates new jobs and helps to solve the unemployment problem is a myth and has been thoroughly exposed by the trade unions. The heavy military

spending has drastically reduced the social welfare programmes in America as well as other NATO countries and also curtailed employment. Unemployment is constantly growing. It has reached the figure of 11 million in the U.S.A. and 12 million in the European Common Market. In fact, if the arms race is halted and substantial part of the world arms budget of 660 billion dollars is diverted to meet the social needs of the people, the civilian industries that will grow, will create many more jobs than the manufacture of deadly weapons.

Regional conflicts deliberately instigated by US imperialists compel developing countries like ours to divert their meagre resources to defence and other unproductive purposes in order to protect our sovereignty.

In the present nuclear age, war can no longer be considered as a political instrument to resolve any differences between countries belonging to different social systems. Peaceful co-existence of nations having different social systems which has always been the bedrock of the peaceful policy of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries has become a historic necessity today to save the world from a nuclear holocaust.

The USSR has consistently followed a policy of peace and detente and has made many constructive proposals to eliminate the arms race and reduce international tension and confrontation. It has made a solemn declaration that it will not be the first to use any nuclear weapon against any country. The U.S.A. and other nuclear powers like Britain and France have so far refused to make any such commitment. Rather the U.S. imperialists in co-operation with British, West German and Italian Governments have started deployment of additional 572 American nuclear missiles in Western Europe to be used as first strike weapons against the USSR and other socialist countries of Eastern Europe. This is being done flouting the opinion of the majority of peoples in west European countries which is reflected in various ways, including anti-missile marches, demonstrations, human chains around missile sites, etc. on a scale so massive as has never been witnessed before. The working class and its trade unions are in the vanguard of the popular mass movement in Europe against the NATO deployment plan of US Pershing-2 and Cruise missiles on the territory of West Europe.

The USSR had solemnly warned that the installation of new U. S. missiles in Europe would jeopardise the Geneva disarmament talk and would compel Warsaw Pact countries to take counter-measures to defend their security and to restore the balance of arms at the disposal of the two sides.

The U.S. Government representatives in the Geneva Disarmament talks had been systematically blocking any progress in the negotiations. The NATO decision to go ahead with the installation of new additional missiles in Europe finally led to a collapse of the negotiations. The U.S. imperialists are seriously aggravating the tension not only in Europe, but on a global scale. The desperation of US imperialists is basically the result of the economic, financial and social crisis in which it finds itself. Their aggression against Grenada and the threat of military intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador, sending U.S. marines to Honduras, economic blockade and threats to Cuba, direct participation of American forces in attacks on Lebanon and Syria, help to Israel in its aggressive activities in the Middle East, arming of Pakistan, supply of arms to the counter-revolutionaries fighting against Afghanistan and Kampuchea, remilitarisation of Japan, the building up of U.S. military bases in many parts of the world including Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, attempts to take lease of a naval base in Sri Lanka and aiding the racist regime in South Africa in its aggression against Angola and occupation of Namibia—these are all parts of the U.S. strategy aimed not only against the socialist countries but also against those developing countries which follow an independent, non-aligned foreign policy and are struggling for a New International Economic Order for their country's economic development and progress.

India, because of its independent foreign policy of peace and non-alignment is a particular target of U.S. imperialism. India today is militarily encircled with massive and sophisticated US arms to Pakistan, with nuclear air-craft carriers and nuclear and other bases in the Indian Ocean and by hostile forces supported by US imperialism. The US Central Command covering 19 countries is targetted against India and countries which stand for a non-alignment, peace and self-reliance. The CIA carries subversive activities in its attempts to destabilise the Indian State.

Only recently, such CIA spying on our sensitive Air-force has been brought to light. The U.S. imperialists and their allies engage not only in spying activities against India, but give every kind of moral and material help to the forces of communalism, disruption and separatism operating in various parts of India, particularly in the North Western and North Eastern regions of the country.

Presistent efforts to push the neo-colonialist policies can be seen in dictates of International Monetary Fund, penetration of World Bank finance, Multi-national Corporations etc.

During the current year (1983) a world wide anti-war campaign has been going on. It has become a mass movement in many parts of the world in which the international working class has played a significant role along with other sections of the World Peace Movement. In rousing and mobilising the international working class movement against the growing threat of a new World War, the World Federation of Trade Unions and its affiliated organisations in the socialist, capitalist and developing countries have been in the fore-front of the struggle. The call of the WFTU Congress held in Havana in 1982 to observe September 1st as an International Day of Peace and Against War received a wide response in the ranks of the World Trade Union Movement. The observance of the day, which has now been taken up by other sections of the Peace Movement also, was done on a very wide scale on 1st September, 1983.

The International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament popularly known as the Dublin Committee has also made an important contribution to the development of the anti-war struggle by bringing together trade union representatives of different orientations. The Committee's plan to hold a meeting in New York in May, 1983 was sabotaged by the Reagan Administration which refused to issue visas to the participants.

In India the AITUC along with some other trade union centres observed the Peace Day in 1983 by holding demonstrations and meetings in Delhi and all the State capitals and industrial towns.

Although the anti-war movement has reached great heights and spread in all the continents, the U.S. war mongers and their NATO allies are going ahead with their nefarious plans. The

movement, therefore, has to be stepped up further and more and more people have to be drawn into it. Today the most important and the most noble task before the trade union movement is to save mankind by helping to defeat the war plans of U.S. imperialists and their accomplices.

Today, in India, as in all parts of the world, the struggle for peace and against the arms race has become closely interlinked with the struggle to safeguard our country's security and sovereignty and with the struggle for better living conditions and development.

The 32nd Session of the AITUC calls upon all patriots and democratic forces and trade unions in particular, to reboucle their efforts in the cause of Peace and build the broadest unity of the working class against imperialist plans for a nuclear war.

Recently, the leaders of the four trade union centres of India, namely the AITUC, INTUC, CITU and HMS took part in an international conference on Peace and Trade Unions held in Sofia, the capital of Socialist Bulgaria from 25th to 27th October 1983. This momentous Conference of the International Trade Unions on the vital question of Peace and War unanimously adopted the following proposals and demands for world-wide campaigning by the trade unions:

“We are well aware of the great responsibility of trade unions to protect the future of the humanity and we call for workers and trade unions in all countries to act together:

- against the deployment of new nuclear missiles on the European continent and for a negotiated, radical reduction of existing nuclear arsenals, on the basis of equality and mutual security;
- for a nuclear freeze, progressive reduction and destruction of nuclear weapons throughout the world;
- for the establishment of nuclear weapon free zones;
- for a peaceful and total solution (with cooperation of the United Nations) to military conflicts in the regions where they exist;
- for general and complete disarmament;

- for banning of the militarization of outer space and the use of force in space and from space against earth;
- for an end to the arms race; for the conversion over to the civilian sector of the means and resources at present spent on arms. This would allow the vital needs of the working masses to be met, and contribute to the economic and social development of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.”

The 32nd Session of the AITUC appeals to all trade unions in India to take up these demands and build a powerful united mass movement to fight every aspect of imperialist policies in India and against the threat of a new world war and make this task a part of their day to day activities.

### REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON UNORGANISED WORKERS

The Commission on Unorganised Workers met in two sessions on 18.12.1983. The morning session met from 10 AM to 1 PM and was presided over by Com. Chaturan Mishra, Vice-President of the AITUC. The afternoon session met from 3.30 PM to 6 PM and was presided over by Com. B. S. Dhume.

278 members attended the Commission with three (Chaturan Mishra, K. A. Rajan and Raj Bahadur Gour) from the AITUC Centre.

49 delegates and two fraternal delegates from BKMU spoke in the Commission.

Com. Raj Bahadur Gour made a preliminary report on the issues to be discussed and the discussion followed.

Here are the unanimous conclusions of the Commission:

This unorganised workers' sector is a very vast, neglected and most exploited Sector of workers numbering over 11 crores, 50% of total work force in our country. And among them nearly half constitute the Agricultural workers.

In the countryside to this Sector belong Agricultural workers, Forest workers, Fisheries workers, rural artisans like handloom weavers and others.

In urban and semi-urban areas, to this Sector belong the head-load workers, construction workers, Stone crushers and quarries workers, workers in small shops and establishments, Bidi workers, Daily wage earners of various descriptions, Rikshaw-pullers, vegetable and fruit vendors and such others.

Then there is the growing number of contract workers and casual workers.

Some of these workers are covered by the Minimum Wages Act of 1948 and the Employments mentioned in the Schedule attached to this Act.

The Commission noted with a sense of agony that this vast section was paid very low wages, and had no security of service and no social security laws applied to them.

The Minimum Wages law also applied to only a few employments, and was not implemented properly.

In this context the Commission recommends that a movement should be launched for ratification of ILO Convention 131 which makes it obligatory that a national minimum wage is fixed for the entire country, below which no employee will get.

The criteria for Minimum Wages determination should be:

1. Needs of three consumption units per earner, excluding the earnings of women and children, and
2. Food providing not less than 2,800 calories in view of the labour intensive character of the employment.
3. Minimum clothing of 72 yards as suggested by ILO for a family of four.
4. Prevailing House Rent.
5. 20% of total minimum wage to meet the expenses for fuel, lighting and other essential items.

The Commission rejected the official thinking of Povertyline wages as the Minimum based on a low calory value food.

The Commission rejected the official proposal of taking "Capacity" and the need for incentive to invest to justify low minimum wages.

In fact, the Commission felt that a guaranteed minimum wage will expand the internal market and keep our consumer industry active and growing.

Paying capacity cannot be taken as a stagnant concept in a developing economy and it depends on good management and a proper economic policy on the part of the Government.

The Commission felt the need to include more employments to the Schedule of the Act and wanted the State Committees of the AITUC to identify the employments in their State that ought to be included in the Schedule.

The Commission felt that there should be three levels of wages. First should be the national minimum according to ILO Convention 131. The AITUC centre should propose Rs. 600/- for such a minimum to the constituents of NCC for finalisation at the proposed national convention of unorganised-workers.

The Second level of wages should be the statutory minimum wages for scheduled employments.

The third level should be the negotiated higher wages to be secured by unions in better off units of the scheduled employments.

First wage fixation should be by a Tripartite Committee as proposed by the law.

All subsequent revision should be by Notification method after every 50 points rise in Consumer Price Index or two years whichever is earlier.

The cost of living Allowance as provided for in Section 4 of the Minimum Wages Act is paid only in some States like Kerala, West Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and U.P. But this is neither uniform nor is it adequate specially in Bihar, Punjab and U.P.

Adequate cost of living Allowance linked with Consumer Price Index should be guaranteed for employments covered by the law.

The Commission deplored the lack of proper and effective implementation machinery and suggested that District level Tripartite implementation Committees should be constituted for the purpose. Such a machinery involving the Collector could persuade the employers, force the recalcitrant ones, punish the defaulters and in cases of employers facing genuine difficulties the Collector could be held responsible for moving the Government.

Labour Welfare Fund should be constituted for these workers on the lines of the one provided to the Bidi workers.

Provident Fund and Gratuity laws should be extended to all.

In the case of other unorganised, the State Old-age Pension Scheme should be enforced.

Housing should be provided by the State or Local Bodies through Slum Clearance and low income Housing Schemes.

The Commission discussed the agonising phenomenon of growing resort to handing over work to Contractors by even Public-Sector Undertakings, who are even engaging Casual Workers.

The Commission proposed that no work of permanent nature should be given on Contract nor should Casual Labour be employed for it.

All such workers should be regularised and made permanent.

In the case of Contracts of temporary nature, the Principal employer should be made responsible for payment of Wages and provision of safety measures and minimum amenities.

The Commission fully supported the BKMU demand for a Central Law for Agricultural workers providing for Trade Union rights, employment guarantee, Pension, equal remuneration for men and women for the same work, maternity benefit, and a separate administrative machinery for enforcement of the law and the Minimum wages, and a lower rate of membership fee for the purpose of registration under the Trade Unions Act.

The Commission demanded the strengthening of enforcement machinery in Centre and States, which is inadequate, inefficient and has no powers. Inspectors must be accompanied by a representative of complaining Union.

The Commission demanded a separate comprehensive law for construction workers providing for Payment of Wages, amenities and compensation in case of accidents etc.

The Commission wanted that ways should be found to prevent the employers from going in for litigation in the matter of minimum wages. It must be examined whether inclusion of Minimum Wages Act in the 9th Schedule of the Constitution could afford protection against employers' resorting to litigation.

The Commission congratulated the AITUC for taking initiative in regard to carrying relief to this most down trodden Sector of our workers and supported that 1984 should be declared for

the AITUC and its State organisations as an year "to organise the unorganised and the working women".

The AITUC centre should allot a Secretary for this Sector and evolve a machinery for the purpose.

The State Committees of the AITUC should put up similar mechanism to pursue the question.

The Commission wanted that in the first quarter of 1984, District and State Conferences of unorganised workers must be organised. District machinery and District Trade Union Councils should become the focus for extending Trade Union work in this sector and organising the unorganised.

The Commission recommended that the first week of May 1984 should be observed all over the country by organising demonstrations, Dharnas opposite collectorates and if the State so decides, at State capitals also.



## REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The 32nd session of the AITUC elected a Credentials Committee of the following comrades:

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Parvathi Krishnan  | 7. Kamlapati Roy   |
| 2. Madanlal Didi      | 8. K. Srinivas Rao |
| 3. G. V. Chitnis      | 9. C. R. Bakshi    |
| 4. Barin Chaudhry     | 10. Ramendra Kumar |
| 5. K. T. K. Tangamani | 11. M. M. Deshkar  |
| 6. Raghbir Singh      |                    |

The Committee held three meetings and having finalised the credentials form collected the data.

We have noted that at this 32nd session there are delegates representing unions in almost all industries and, for the first time, a good representation of rural labour. The number of delegates in the twenties and thirties is considerably higher than at previous sessions indicative of greater involvement in the session of younger delegates, but the number of women delegates is regrettably low.

In terms of employed workers participating more actively in the work of the unions, they outnumber the wholetime functionaries considerably and illustrates that active members of trade unions are now coming forward in large numbers to shoulder the work of running their unions. This healthy trend should be further encouraged.

An examination of the education and technical qualification of the delegates reveals a higher standard of education than formerly. The AITUC should study this phenomenon and draw proper conclusions for their training and meet their cultural requirements. A feature to be is that in some states steps have been taken to form District-wise industrial unions where possible and thus improve the work so that the number of small unions is less and work is better coordinated.

The credentials committee is happy to inform the delegates that the membership of the AITUC since the last session has marked an increase and this 32nd session has been attended by 2801 delegates representing 3229 unions with a total membership of 3,026,030. The membership state-wise is as follows:

Andhra Pradesh: 413,000; Assam: 38,007; Bihar: 312,422; Delhi: 94582; Goa: 16,308; Gujarat: 82,385; Haryana: 36,698; Himachal Pradesh: 18,612; Karnataka: 152,380; Kerala: 191,678; Madhya Pradesh: 170,356; Maharashtra: 231,330; Manipur: 9,056; Meghalaya: 1,283; Orissa: 104,798; Punjab: 115,732; Rajasthan: 61,000; Tamil Nadu: 323,104; Uttar Pradesh: 268,301; West Bengal: 385,000.

Apart from the W.F.T.U., Fraternal Delegates from 18 countries were present and 15 fraternal organisations.

We append to this report the detailed information in respect of the delegates. We hope that the information will be of interest and use to all delegates and functionaries.

*Convenor:* Parvathi Krishnan

*Members:* Madanlal Didi

G. V. Chitnis

Barin Choudhury

K. T. K. Tangamani

#### DETAILS OF INFORMATION IN RESPECT OF DELEGATES

- |                                       |                        |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Number of Delegates Attended: 2801 | a) Number of men: 2745 |
|                                       | b) Number of women: 56 |
| 2. Age Group : Upto 30 years : 623    |                        |
| " 40 years : 1080                     |                        |
| " 50 years : 677                      |                        |
| " 60 years : 371                      |                        |
| Above 60 years : 50                   |                        |
| 3. Education: a) Below Matric : 841   |                        |
| b) Matric : 1046                      |                        |
| c) Graduates : 482                    |                        |
| d) Diploma Holders : 432              |                        |

4. Number who have been  
victimised : 124
5. Number of Whole-timers : 675
6. Number of Part-timers : 1398
7. Number holding offices in  
the Trade Union: 1582
8. Years of experience in the Trade Union Movement:
- |                |   |     |
|----------------|---|-----|
| Upto 5 years   | : | 629 |
| " 10 years     | : | 717 |
| " 20 years     | : | 811 |
| " 30 years     | : | 570 |
| Above 30 years | : | 74  |
9. Industry-wise break up of composition of Delegates:
- |                      |   |     |                 |   |     |                        |   |     |
|----------------------|---|-----|-----------------|---|-----|------------------------|---|-----|
| Textile              | : | 353 | Electricity     | : | 90  | Engineering            | : | 355 |
| Transport            | : | 159 | Railways        | : | 60  | Mining                 | : | 270 |
| Plantation           | : | 94  | Sugar           | : | 19  | Cement                 | : | 31  |
| Printing &<br>Press  | : | 45  | Food &<br>Drink | : | 105 | Tobacco                | : | 130 |
| Local Bodies         | : | 87  | Leather         | : | 88  | Agriculture            | : | 182 |
| Building             | : | 65  | Port & Dock     | : | 39  | Salaried<br>Employees  | : | 132 |
| Personal<br>Services | : | 233 | Oil             | : | 24  | Aluminium              | : | 22  |
| Steel                | : | 106 | Paper           | : | 23  | Heavy Ele-<br>ctricals | : | 11  |
| Cashew               | : | 14  | Coir            | : | 13  | Wood                   | : | 39  |
| Electronics          | : | 7   | Rubber          | : | 5   |                        |   |     |
10. No. representing AITUC in Tripartite Committees : 79



**LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL  
ELECTED AT THE 32ND SESSION**

- |                               |                              |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Raj Bahadur Gour           | 32. P. Nageswara Rao         |
| 2. M. V. Bhadram              | 33. Salem Shahadi            |
| 3. J. Sathyanarayana          | 34. N. A. Gopala Rao         |
| 4. K. L. Mahendra             | 35. M. Krishna Murthy        |
| 5. Amila Ram                  | 36. C. Prabhakar             |
| 6. K. Srinivasa Rao           | 37. Abdul Khader             |
| 7. K. V. Raghavulu            | 38. J. S. R. Anjaneya Sastri |
| 8. V. V. Rama Rao             | 39. Promode Gogoi            |
| 9. C. Prabhakara<br>Chowdhury | 40. Barin Chowdhury          |
| 10. Padala Rama Rao           | 41. Jyotirmoy Biswas         |
| 11. M. Narasimha Rao          | 42. Atul Hazarika            |
| 12. M. Sripathi               | 43. Ananta Mohan Burman      |
| 13. M. V. Bhaskara Rao        | 44. Chaturanan Mishra        |
| 14. V. Subba Rao              | 45. Gaya Singh               |
| 15. K. Nagaiah                | 46. Raj Kishore Singh        |
| 16. G. V. Krishna Rao         | 47. Shafique Khan            |
| 17. G. Suryam                 | 48. Ramendra Kumar           |
| 18. V. Koteswara Rao          | 49. Sheonandan Jha           |
| 19. B. Lakshmaiah             | 50. T. N. Jha                |
| 20. B. Tulasendra             | 51. S. K. Rai                |
| 21. K. Subbanna               | 52. S. D. Sharma             |
| 22. C. Krishna Murthy         | 53. Surendra Singh           |
| 23. M. Komaraiah              | 54. Anirudh                  |
| 24. B. Gangaram               | 55. A. K. Ahmed              |
| 25. M. Bhaskara Rao           | 56. Deokinandan Singh        |
| 26. J. Kumaraswamy            | 57. Suraj Narain Singh       |
| 27. R. P. Ranga Rao           | 58. C. M. Singh              |
| 28. A. Ramulu                 | 59. Umakant Jha              |
| 29. Andrew Joseph             | 60. Ramavtar Sastri          |
| 30. C. Desinga Raju           | 61. Ram Balak Singh          |
| 31. G. Ramachandar            | 62. P. K. Ganguly            |
|                               | 63. Abdul Jabar              |

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| 64. Shambu Nath Banerjee  | 103. Darshan Singh           |
| 65. Omilal Azad           | 104. Abhai Singh             |
| 66. Krishan Mohan Shastri | 105. Man Singh               |
| 67. Chakradhar Singh      | 106. P. K. Thumphy           |
| 68. M. Prasad             | 107. R. A. Gupta             |
| 69. Jamuna Verma          | 108. D. R. Nirdoshi          |
| 70. B. N. Thakur          | 109. R. L. Dogra             |
| 71. Jitendra Singh        | 110. Karnail Singh           |
| 72. Gobardhan Jukee       | 111. Naresh Ghai             |
| 73. Gangaram Jha          | 112. M. S. Krishnan          |
| 74. Laro Zonko            | 113. M. C. Narasimhan        |
| 75. Satyanarain Thakur    | 114. H. V. Anantha Subba Rao |
| 76. K. Gopalan            |                              |
| 77. Lakshmeshwar Yadav    | 115. H. Mahadevan            |
| 78. K. N. Pandit          | 116. Babu Mathew             |
| 79. Basukhi Singh         | 117. K. N. Syamsunder        |
| 80. Y. D. Sharma          | 118. Mohan Wuli              |
| 81. B. D. Joshi           | 119. Jumnal                  |
| 82. N. N. Manna           | 120. A. J. Mudhol            |
| 83. M. M. Gope            | 121. Pampapathi              |
| 84. Shakeel Ahmed         | 122. V. R. Ananda Thirtha    |
| 85. Narain Prasad         | 123. Umanath Nayak           |
| 86. Ishar Singh           | 124. H. Narendra Prasad      |
| 87. J. P. Khare           | 125. Arvind Malebennur       |
| 88. S. Chandra            | 126. Vijay Kumar             |
| 89. D. L. Sachdeva        | 127. Vacant                  |
| 90. Badri Prasad          | 128. K. A. Rajan             |
| 91. Kailash Patra         | 129. J. Chittaranjan         |
| 92. Shish Pal             | 130. Kallat Krishnan         |
| 93. George Vaz            | 131. P. Bhaskaran            |
| 94. Christopher Fonseca   | 132. K. C. Mathew            |
| 95. Bhalchandra Trivedi   | 133. C. A. Kurien            |
| 96. P. D. Gandhi          | 134. P. P. Mukundan          |
| 97. Narayan Prasad Bhatt  | 135. K. K. Annand            |
| 98. Bhupendra Thakar      | 136. C. K. Sali              |
| 99. Kishor Bhatt          | 137. P. Sankar               |
| 100. Rajkumar Singh       | 138. P. K. Kumaran           |
| 101. Noor Mohamad Rayma   | 139. T. N. Prabhakaran       |
| 102. Raghubir Singh       | 140. Ramankutty Warriar      |

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| 141. Vijayan Kunissery    | 180. Bhagwan Thorat        |
| 142. K. C. Prabhakaran    | 181. Sitaram Jagtap        |
| 143. C. K. Kesavan        | 182. Mohandas Naidu        |
| 144. K. V. Kocheria       | 183. Bal Aloney            |
| 145. S. Ravindran         | 184. R. K. Ganguly         |
| 146. Aravindan            | 185. Sukumar Damle         |
| 147. G. Balakrishnan Nair | 186. E. R. Gangadharan     |
| 148. M. T. Chandrasenan   | 187. P. R. Rao             |
| 149. Vacant               | 188. Narayan Maisur        |
| 150. Vacant               | 189. Bhalchandra Songo     |
| 151. Homi Daji            | 190. T. G. Sonawane        |
| 152. Sudhir Mukherjee     | 191. Rajaram Gujrathi      |
| 153. P. K. Thakur         | 192. Sony Ghone            |
| 154. C. R. Bakshi         | 193. Madhav Palkar         |
| 155. Ram Chandra Sarvate  | 194. .Suryakant Kshirsagar |
| 156. D. K. Rao            | 195. Madhav Mokashi        |
| 157. Krishna Swami        | 196. Daniel Suryabanshi    |
| 158. Pritam Choukse       | 197. L. Jnanendra Singh    |
| 159. K. R. N. Nair        | 198. Sharda Prasad Gupta   |
| 160. Mushtaque Hussain    | 199. Vacant                |
| 161. Inderjit Singh       | 200. Vacant                |
| 162. Krishna Modi         | 201. D. C. Mohanty         |
| 163. D. D. Sharma         | 202. P. K. Panda           |
| 164. M. L. Jain           | 203. Prabir Palit          |
| 165. R. S. Tripathi       | 204. D. K. Panda           |
| 166. T. K. Roy            | 205. Mohammed Zakirullah   |
| 167. M. C. Soni           | 206. Haribandhu Behera     |
| 168. Ajit Jain            | 207. Bhikani Das           |
| 169. A. B. Bardhan        | 208. Dibakar Roy           |
| 170. G. V. Chitnis        | 209. Prahlad Sethi         |
| 171. B. S. Dhume          | 210. Kartar Singh Baba     |
| 172. Roza Deshpande       | 211. Madanlal Didi         |
| 173. S. K. Sanyal         | 212. Piara Singh Deosi     |
| 174. V. D. Deshpande      | 213. Parduman Singh        |
| 175. Govind Pansare       | 214. Om Parkash Mehta Loh  |
| 176. Ram Ratnakar         | 215. Sunehri Lal           |
| 177. T. N. Rama Rao       | 216. Lachman Singh         |
| 178. Manohar Deshkar      | 217. Mukhwant Singh        |
| 179. R. N. Mishra         | 218. K. Viswanathan        |

219. Shrikrishna  
 220. P. S. Parmar  
 221. M. L. Yadav  
 222. Vacant  
 223. Vacant  
 224. N. K. Krishnan  
 225. Parvathi Krishnan  
 226. M. Kalyanasundaram  
 227. V. Subbiah  
 228. K. T. K. Tangamani  
 229. A. M. Gopu  
 230. K. M. Sundaram  
 231. S. C. Krishnan  
 232. Dr. G. Kannabiran  
 233. A. Govindaswamy  
 234. S. Karuppuswami  
 235. W. A. Dayaratna  
 236. K. S. Ramaswami  
 (alias Somu)  
 237. R. Dakshinamoorthy  
 238. K. Gopinathan  
 239. P. M. Ramaswami  
 240. N. Santhanam  
 241. K. A. Venugopal  
 242. P. T. Narayanan  
 243. S. Ramaswamy  
 244. S. S. Thiagarajan  
 245. R. Ganesan  
 246. P. K. Srinivasan  
 247. Mrs. S. Meenal  
 248. P. Utharapathy  
 249. K. G. Sriwastava  
 250. Harish Tiwary  
 251. D. K. Yadav  
 252. Ghanshyam Saran Sinha  
 253. Basudeo Pande  
 254. Ramakant Bajpai  
 255. Bisheswar Mukherjee  
 256. Dwarika Singh  
 257. Ramnarayan Upadhyaya  
 258. Lallan Rai  
 259. Sadruddin Rana  
 260. K. K. Singh  
 261. Dharmendra Kumar  
 262. R. K. Garg  
 263. A. C. Kulshrestha  
 264. Jagdish  
 265. Om Dutta Shastri  
 266. Sukhbir Tyagi  
 267. Balwant Singh  
 268. C. K. Verma  
 269. Om Prakash  
 270. D. P. Paul  
 271. Indrajit Gupta  
 272. T. N. Siddhanta  
 273. Mohammad Elias  
 274. Bhowani Roy  
 Chowdhury  
 275. Arun Sen  
 276. Kalyan Roy  
 277. Nihar Mukherjee  
 278. Kamalapati Roy  
 279. Ram Sen  
 280. Tarun Moitra  
 281. Nandadulal Srimani  
 282. Narayan Chaubey  
 283. Safiuddin Ahmed  
 284. Rohini Mondal  
 285. Tahir Hussain  
 286. B. N. Tiwari  
 287. Sunil Sen  
 288. Jadugopal Sen  
 289. Gobin Karar  
 290. Sushil Chakraborty  
 291. N. C. Roy Choudhuri  
 292. Ramesh Das  
 293. Nandagopal  
 Bhattacharya

294. Gholam Modiuddin  
 295. Gour Goswami  
 296. Nemaï Roy  
 297. Girija Mukherjee  
 298. Nemaï Rauth  
 299. Jahar Chatterjee  
 300. Kuber Singh

301. Nitis Sett  
 302. Rameshwar Banerjee  
 303. Purnendu Sen  
 304. Sunil Mohinta  
 305. Saral Sen  
 306. Shankarsan Roy  
 Choudhury

*Co-opted Members :*

- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. N. C. Dutta            | 10. P. P. Patil        |
| 2. Prabhat Kar            | 11. K. S. B. Pillai    |
| 3. Tarakeswar Chakraborty | 12. S. Madhusudhan     |
| 4. M. Atchuthan           | 13. G. L. Dhar         |
| 5. Debkumar Ganguli       | 14. Bulu Roy Choudhury |
| 6. O. P. Gupta            | 15. Usha Narasimhan    |
| 7. P. K. Kodyian          | 16. Ram Narasimha Rao  |
| 8. S. M. Banerji          | 17. Vithal Chaudhuri   |
| 9. Umalal Sinha           | 18. Abani Boral        |

LIST OF OFFICE-BEARERS ELECTED

*President :*

Chaturanán Mishra

*General Secretary :*

Indrajit Gupta

*Vice-Presidents :*

N. K. Krishnan  
 K. G. Sriwastava  
 B. D. Joshi  
 M. S. Krishnan  
 Homi Daji  
 J. Chittaranjan  
 Mohammed Elias  
 M. Kalyanasundaram  
 Bhagwan Thorat

*Secretaries :*

Parvathi Krishnan  
 T. N. Siddhanta  
 Raj Bahadur Gour  
 Y. D. Sharma  
 K. A. Rajan  
 A. B. Bardhan  
 S. K. Sanyal

*Treasurer :*

Harish Tiwary

MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE ELECTED:

K. L. Mahendra  
M. V. Bhadram  
A. Ramulu  
Barin Chowdhury  
Raj Kishore Singh  
Gaya Singh  
Shafique Khan  
N. N. Manna  
George Vaz  
Bhalchandra Trivedi  
Raghubir Singh  
R. L. Dogra  
M. C. Narasimhan  
Pampapathi  
H. V. Anantha Subba Rao  
K. C. Mathew  
P. K. Thakur  
Sudhir Mukherjee  
G. V. Chitnis  
B. S. Dhume  
M. M. Deshkar  
D. C. Mohanty  
Baba Kartar Singh  
Madanlal Didi  
K. Vişwanathan  
A. M. Gupta

K. T. K. Tangamani  
D. K. Yadav  
Bhowani Roy Chowdhry  
Kalyan Roy  
Nihar Mukherjee  
Arun Sen  
Kamlapati Roy  
Roza Deshpande  
N. C. Dutta

*Permanent Invitees to the  
Working Committee :*

M. Komaraiah  
C. A. Kurien  
K. M. Sundaram  
- Piara Singh Deosi  
Dwarika Singh  
Shrikrishna

*Ex-Officio Members to the  
General Council and Working  
Committee :*

S. A. Dange  
Dr. Ranen Sen



**32ND SESSION**  
**ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS**

**General Secretary's  
Report**

**BANGALORE**  
**DECEMBER 15-20, 1983**

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## **Report of the General Secretary**

Comrades of the Presidium, esteemed fraternal delegates and guests, and comrade delegates,

The 32nd Congress of the AITUC, to which I warmly welcome all of you, is meeting in the midst of a grave international situation. The situation is far more serious than it was at the time of our last Congress in October 1980. Since all of us are common inhabitants of a single planet, the world crisis and the aggravation of the imperialist war danger must necessarily be our first and foremost concern. It is a question of the survival or destruction of mankind.

### **Escalation of Nuclear War Danger**

The escalation of the nuclear war danger has been advancing rapidly during the past few months, with the US Government's decision to deploy new medium-range missiles in 5 countries of Western Europe. These are first-strike weapons of mass destruction, deliberately aimed at targets in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries of Europe. Their deployment is meant to upset the balance in nuclear arms in favour of the NATO, and the inevitable consequence is for the Warsaw Pact powers to take corresponding military measures in the interests of their own security and the defence of their own peoples. In other words, this development will trigger off a new round of arms build up, with all the terrifying possibilities of a holocaust which may even be ignited by human error. The consequences are too horrible to imagine.

The reckless adventurism of President Reagan is in striking contrast to the repeated constructive proposals for a nuclear freeze and step-by-step disarmament put forward by Com. Yuri Andropov on behalf of the Soviet Government

in an effort to reach agreement at the dead-locked Geneva talks, We, along with all peace-loving peoples, support these proposals as further evidence of the Soviet Union's humane concern for the peace of the world and the fate of its peoples. At the same time, in the event of the US continuing along its frenzied path of confrontation, no one can deny the right of the Warsaw Pact countries to take urgent steps in their own security. They are already bound by Com. Andropov's noble pledge that the USSR will never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

At the time of preparing this Report, it is not possible to foresee the fate of the Geneva talks or that of Reagan's threatened date-line, viz: December 1983. At the moment, a titanic struggle is going on between the forces of war and those of peace—millions of people are on the march to avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, while the warmongers are resorting to one provocation after another to poison the atmosphere of detente and to rouse anti-Soviet hysteria. Reagan has not even hesitated to attack and slander the Non-aligned movement because it opposes his war plans.

Meanwhile further colossal sums of money are being poured into the arms race, and the skills of thousands of workers and scientists are being diverted to produce more and more sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, at a time when we of the under-developed countries lack the bare resources to overcome malnutrition, disease, unemployment and illiteracy of our masses.

#### DESPARATION OF IMPERIALISTS LED BY U.S. IMPERIALISM

The danger in the present situation lies precisely in Imperialism's desparation—basically the result of the economic, financial and social crisis in which it finds itself. Overproduction in relation to shrinking markets; inflation combined with recession; intense competition between the USA, the EEC and Japan; the need to maintain super profits for the MNCs; the energy crisis; the compulsions of enormous arms expenditure, resulting in drastic cuts in social services; and failure to cripple the economies of the socia-

cialist world by means of trade embargoes—are some of the factors driving the engines of aggressive US designs against the USSR, other socialist countries, as well as the underdeveloped world represented by the NAM.

This explains the global character of US military bases, interventions and conspiracies. Hardly any corner of the world is left untouched—massive rearming of Pakistan, attempts to secure naval bases in Sri Lanka, the extension and modernisation of the Diego Garcia base, stepping up of activities of the Rapid Deployment Force in the Indian Ocean, direct participation of US battleships and marines in the fighting in Lebanon and the threat to Syria, incitement of the counter-revolutionary forces against Kampuchea and Vietnam, remilitarisation of Japan, provocations on the borders between North and South Korea, the establishment of the Central command to dominate West Asia, increased aid to South Africa for armed attacks on Angola and other frontline States, despatch of US marines to Honduras, naval and air blockade and threat to invade Nicaragua, brutal military aggression and occupation of Grenada, continuing economic blockade and threats to Cuba, all these and many other criminal activities are links in the chain of US imperialist aggression against the free peoples of the world.

### MASS ACTIONS FOR PEACE

These grave developments have unleashed a mighty peace movement of the peoples with which the US rulers have to reckon at home also. The danger to the security and national independence of our country has also intensified as a result. That is why the trade unions and all other peace-loving forces the world over have to unleash more united and effective mass actions against deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe, for conclusion of a treaty for universal disarmament and all-round de-escalation of the arms race, the establishment of nuclear-free zones in all sensitive areas of the five continents, and the dismantling of foreign military bases. This has become the most urgent life and death question today for entire mankind.

## **AITUC and the Struggle for Peace**

Everyone of us present at this Congress today understands the supreme task of averting the threat of a nuclear war and of defending peace against the threats and conspiracies of Imperialism.

However, to develop a powerful peace movement among the toiling masses of under-developed countries like India is a complex task, which the AITUC has been grappling with for several years.

The horrors of a nuclear conflict do not always appear very real to millions of people who have never had direct experience of war and its effects. There is also the tendency, in a "non-aligned" country with traditions of peace and non-violence, to hold both the "Super Powers" as equally responsible for the present crisis. There is also the impact of a subconscious psychology which thinks the job of defending peace and opposing imperialism can be left to the Prime Minister of our country. Of course, all these inhibitions reflect the inadequacy of the mass propaganda and explanatory campaigns of our trade unions.

### **BATTLE FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT INTERLINKED**

However, there has been a visible sharpening of consciousness since the 10th World Trade Union Congress at Havana, February 1982. Not only due to the visible aggravation of the war danger, but also due to great clarity regarding perspectives of the movement.

At Havana, Com. Fidel Castro, in his memorable inaugural speech, said:

"We are certain that at present, the most urgent and unpostponable task is the struggle for peace and safeguarding mankind from destruction caused by a nuclear holocaust. But . . . . . this battle is inseparably linked to the problems of development and to the efforts of the exploited peoples and workers in favour of more just and equitable living conditions. Neither can we be schematic and

ignore the inequalities posed by situations prevailing in different countries.. Workers are not only interested in living; they are also deeply concerned about the conditions they will live in. It is logical for workers throughout the world to express interest in the battle for peace and international detente. But, in large areas of the earth, there are huge masses of workers for whom life is so uncertain, subsistence so harsh and prospects so discouraging, that the slogans of struggle for peace as such do not have a direct meaning. Thus...if we wish to develop a true world-wide mass movement, the banners of the struggle for peace and the banners of the urgent and immediate claims the workers make must march closely united ..... It is necessary to multiply actions for peace and simultaneously double actions in favour of the economic and social demands raised by the workers against those who exploit and oppress them”.

This brilliant analysis is fully supported by us, and applies realistically to the conditions in our country. More than a year after the Havana Congress, Com. Fidel, in his report on “The World Economic and Social Crisis” to the 7th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at New-Delhi, again reminded us:

“While in many developed countries greater attention is being paid to the growing incidence of diseases related to overeating, and hundreds of millions of dollars are spent on feeding pets, in India alone, according to FAO, there are 201 million seriously under-nourished human beings”. That is about 60 million more than the combined figure of under-nourished people in Indonesia, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Philippines, Afghanistan, Colombia and Thailand.

To make the anti-war struggle meaningful to hungry and unemployed people, and to rouse them for the defence of peace, obviously cannot be done without explaining how problems of mass poverty, disease, illiteracy etc. can only be solved if the arms race is halted and if even a

fraction of the world arms budget of 660 billion dollars per year is diverted to meet the urgent social needs of the people of the developing countries. The cost of one modern tank, one bomber aircraft, one battleship, or one missile could feed, clothe and educate a few million children in these countries.

The AITUC has been striving, along with other mass organisations and the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation, to deepen the understanding of our workers and to show the essential connection between their day to day struggle for immediate demands and the worldwide peace movement. These efforts are still far from adequate. But they have been helped by an awareness of the worsening of India's own security environment.

### **GREATER AWARENESS IN INDIA**

More and more workers are reacting to the US imperialist pressures and conspiracies against our country's sovereignty and security — the frenzied arming of Pakistan's military regime with the most modern offensive weapons, the strengthening of the Diego Garcia nuclear base, the stepped-up deployment of the nuclear-armed vessels of the 7th Fleet in the Indian Ocean, the hush-hush attempts to secure naval base facilities in Sri Lanka, and the reported renewal of Sino-US negotiations for modern arms supplies to China.

Against the background of these ominous developments nearer home, our workers find it easier to understand the diabolical US game of planting Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Western Europe, aimed for a first strike against targets in the Soviet Union.

After many years, a qualitatively higher level of activity has been visible by the AITUC's unions in 1982 and 1983, centring around the WFTU's call for observing September 1st as an International Day of Peace and Against War.

## TRADE UNION ACTIONS FOR PEACE

Last year, the New Delhi International Conference on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace (co-sponsored by the WFTU and others) took place in April, and several trade unions besides the AITUC participated in it. Throughout the month of September, a broad anti-war campaign was carried on by our unions in various states and industrial centres through conventions and meetings. The results were seen in the one-million strong Peace March which converged on Delhi from all parts of the country on October 4th — one of the biggest demonstrations held anywhere in the world. This March, though organised by a number of political parties and mass organisations, was notable for the massive trade union participation in it which included the agricultural workers under the BKMU banner.

This year, too, September 1st, coming on the heels of the Prague World Assembly, was observed as part of an Anti-War Week through not less than 5,000 rallies and demonstrations throughout the country. The AITUC and three other non-WFTU centres jointly set up preparatory committees which organised demonstrations and meetings in Delhi, all the 22 State Capitals, various district towns and large industrial centres. A large number of posters, leaflets, and other propaganda materials in various languages was brought out.

Experience shows that powerful anti-imperialist and patriotic sentiments can be roused by exposing the dual role of imperialism as the arch-exploiter of the developing and former colonial countries on the one hand, and as the nuclear war-incendiary and instigator of local wars on the other. This consciousness was given a big impetus in March of this year by the declarations and decisions of the New Delhi Non-Aligned Summit of Heads of States, in which India played a leading role.

We are now confident that the struggle for Peace can become an integral part of the day to day work of our trade unions.

# **State of the Economy and Impact on Workers' Conditions**

## **DEEPENING WORLD CAPITALIST CRISIS**

The national economic scene has to be viewed against the background of the deepening crisis of the world capitalist economy.

Astronomical sums are being allotted in the US, and by its principal allies for military expenditure, with consequential cuts in allotments for housing, education, health and other social purposes.

Galloping inflation is leading to severe recessionary conditions in the domestic markets of the USA and the European Economic Community (EEC). Contradictions and competition within the capitalist world, including Japan, are intensifying. There is greater resort to protectionist measures against each other, and against the developing countries.

The domination of the multinational corporations (MNCs) goes hand in hand with the enhanced role of the international financial organisations—the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc.

Disparity and contradictions between the interests of the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries are getting sharper. The North vs South conflict in the spheres of trade, finance, developmental aid, etc. is sharply expressed in the declarations of the Non-aligned Movement and the Group of 77 and in the confrontations at UNCTAD-VI, the UN and other forums.

Unemployment is reaching new heights in the developed countries—10 million in USA, 12 million in the EEC. Thousands of families go hungry, while unsold mountains of butter, cheese, milk and grain lie in stocks in USA. These are features reminiscent of the days of the 1929-30 Depression.

## IMPACT ON OUR ECONOMY

So long as our country continues to follow the capitalist path of development, it cannot escape the impact of the deepening world crisis.

Our economy is staggering under the combined weight of several crippling financial burdens, e.g.

- \* A recurring annual Budget deficit — amounting, for the year 1983-84, to Rs. 1,555 crores.
- \* An ever increasing Defence outlay — at present, over Rs. 5,000 crores for 1983-84.
- \* A foreign trade deficit, estimated at Rs. 20,489 crores for the 6th plan period, 1980-85.
- \* A total foreign debt obligation of over Rs. 17,000 crores.

Three years of the 6th Five-Year Plan are over. They have been marked by stagnation in the growth rate — the *Economic Survey*, 1982-83, reveals a decline in production, from 5.5% growth rate to 3% in agriculture, and 8.6 to 4.5% in the manufacturing sector; unabated price-rise in 1983-84 with the consumer price index going above 500 points; registered unemployed around 20 million; heavy erosion of the real value of the plan outlays due to inflation; an anticipated 282 million people living below the poverty line; production index showing a slight recovery only in some public sector units; and agricultural output of about 127 million tons (1982-83), necessitating substantial imports of rice and wheat for maintaining stocks. The shortfall in Plan resources is estimated at between Rs. 17 to 18,000 crores. The only Plan target achieved is in oil production, which is no doubt a welcome achievement.

## DEBT REPAYMENT BURDEN

Debt repayment obligations are mounting while foreign exchange reserves and private remittances from abroad

are dwindling. The conditionalities of the Rs. 5000 crores IMF loan are bearing their evil fruit. The pressure on India to concentrate on export-oriented production and to allow liberalisation of imports, will actually aggravate the already huge adverse balance of trade, hitting several domestic industries. In order to repay hard-currency loans, India is compelled to step up her export drive to Western countries, at a time when their own crisis and recession makes them erect protectionist walls against entry of our goods! In fact, the value of Indian exports to USA, Japan, the OPEC and EEC countries and Singapore is going down while imports from them are going up.

Since 1979, the Rupee is devalued to the extent of 15% against the Dollar. US bank rates were raised by 0.5% from August 8, 1983 — this seemingly modest increase will add, it has been calculated, 8 billion dollars to the debts of the developing countries!

## INDO-SOVIET TRADE

The reverse process has been visible for some time in Indo-Soviet trade. Indian exports to the USSR keep on going up, while the Soviet side has been complaining of inadequate imports from USSR by the Indian private sector, which apparently prefers to make its purchases from the West. And this despite the tremendous advantage of Rupee trade between India and USSR.

A few months ago there was a hullabaloo in business circles about the appearance of "recession" in some sectors. However, this appeared to be essentially the pressure of the capitalists, who still enjoy a largely protected market, to extract more concessions from the Government. But we should study how and why some of the older industries (Jute, Coir, Cashew, Rubber, Textiles, Iron ore etc.) have really been facing serious difficulties and how far these are due to factors like the liberalised import policy, dumping of foreign goods, loss of export markets, resources restraints, shifts in the pattern of demand, etc.

## RESULTS OF "MIXED ECONOMY"

Severe distortions in the Indian economy are inevitable due to the so-called "mixed economy", which only helps Indian monopoly capital to boost its profits, add crores in assets, generate black money, extract for itself huge loans from the nationalised banks and financial institutions, concentrate more wealth in its hands despite Art. 39 (c) of the Directive Principles of the Constitution, evade taxes, and render many units "sick" leading to their closures or lock-outs.

## MASSIVE CONCESSIONS TO MONOPOLIES AND MNCs

The Government of India has radically amended the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, with the aim of giving the Big Business houses massive concessions and incentives in the name of stimulating "production" and "exports", though the actual results are disappointing indeed.

The large houses have been allowed to expand outside the Appendix I industries, and even into many areas so long reserved for the small-scale sector.

Some industries have been totally exempted from the provisions of the MRTP Act. Unlicensed capacities are being regularised. Production for exports has been excluded from licensed capacity. So-called "priority" industries will be allowed to retain 51% foreign equity holding instead of 40% as hitherto. It means the virtual end of the MRTP Act and FERA—the two statutory provisions which were meant to "control" the monopoly houses.

Further major concessions announced in last year's Budget proposals include a 5 % age points hike in depreciation allowance and reduction of the Bank rate by 0.5%. This in spite of the astounding revelation that several of the largest companies, with bigger profits and dividends than ever before, have shown a "Zero" tax liability! Generally, there is an alarming shortfall in collections of direct taxes while crores of excise duty liabilities are blocked by Court injunctions. Through the MNC's and the Indian monopoly houses, nearly

1,800 foreign collaboration agreements were concluded in 1977-81 with firms in USA, UK, FRG, Japan, France, Italy, etc. And foreign private collaboration is growing in the public sector also. Thus, the entry of MNC's into the Indian economy is quite extensive and varied, but our trade union movement is not yet sufficiently conscious of their role as the vehicles of neo-colonialism.

## INDO-SOVIET COOPERATION

As against this, Indo-Soviet economic cooperation is also consistently on the rise, thanks to the excellent relations of friendship and mutual cooperation existing between the two countries. In fact, the protocol signed during Indira Gandhi's visit to the USSR in 1982 records a new high. Trade is to increase 1.5 to 2 times by 1986—and this is a tremendous boon for Indian exports which are hard pressed to find markets elsewhere. Massive Soviet assistance in key industries like mining and oil-exploration, in science and high technology areas, including nuclear production and defence equipments, is a factor without which the economic situation would have been far more critical than it is.

However, Socialist aid by itself cannot overcome the basic crisis and contradictions of the Indian economy, wedded as it is to capitalist path of development. The public sector in India, despite massive investment and Socialist aid, cannot discharge its true role as builder of self-reliance because of the Government's wrong economic policies, poorer implementation, bureaucratism leading to huge losses and corruption, reluctance to use and develop indigenously available technology and failure to motivate the workers. This is the complexity of the situation.

## THE PUBLIC SECTOR AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Of course, this does not and cannot justify any negative or irresponsible attitude by the trade unions towards the public sector. Though it is not a socialist sector but a State

capitalist sector, it has an anti-imperialist potential and can become an effective weapon for developing self-reliance. This is particularly so in the spheres of heavy and basic industries, many of which have been constructed with the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Hence, the role of our trade unions must be more informed, positive and responsible so as to enable them to intervene effectively and concretely. No doubt the task of the unions is made more difficult by the anti-labour attitude of many public sector managements, and the Government's failure to introduce, as promised, a really meaningful system of workers' participation in management.

But we must not forget the huge public funds which have been invested in the public sector, for which the people have ultimately to pay. And public sector units which give a poor account of themselves only help to activate the anti-public sector lobby and to forfeit the people's confidence. One glaring example of this is the Power sector.

Recently, there has been some improvement in the performance of some public sector undertakings, measured in terms of value of output, but this can at least partly be due to pricing policies in a period of inflation. The basic maladies of non-utilisation of capacity, sluggish demand and delays in project targets continue.

At the same time, the AITUC stands by its "second-pillar" policy, viz: that any attack on the rights and legitimate interests of the public sector workers must be unhesitatingly resisted. It is a pity that such attacks are still a more regular feature than any serious attempt by the Government to secure the workers' cooperation by evolving a democratic industrial relations system and democratic methods of management in association with the workers' representatives.

## **IMPACT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS ON THE WORKING CLASS**

The worsening economic situation of the working class as a whole has become a standing feature of the national economy.

The organised industrial labour force in India, taking public and private sectors together, in manufacturing, mining, construction and transport, etc. numbers approximately 20 million. This does not include millions of self-employed, partly employed, and unrecorded and unregistered workers employed through contractors or termed as casual, temporary, sanctioned, substitute, seasonal, etc. who are living and working in sub-human conditions.

Yet, contrary to facts, Government and employers' propaganda is always trying to show that the working class is a "privileged" section of society. The current President of the FICCI Shri Ashok Jain, and the Labour Minister, Shri Veerendra Patil have spoken in the same voice, castigating the trade unions for "catering to the needs of the organised working class only" and helping the latter to secure "a larger share for their members from the national product". This is by now a familiar tune to which we have become accustomed, with Government and employers posing as the champions of unorganised and rural workers.

They are of course, deliberately silent on the wide income disparities in our society. According to the Government's own admission, "the assets of the large industrial houses in the country increased by 45% during the three years ending 1980". While "depreciation in the value of the Rupee brought down the real wages of Government employees ranging from 7% to 46% during the period January 1973 to September 1981, depending on pay scales". (Replies in Parliament).

## WORKERS DENIED THEIR DUE

As for the workers getting away with a disproportionately large share of the national product, the *Indian Labour Journal*, February 1982, admits that while the National Income rose, at 1970-71 constant prices, by 30.4% during the decade 1970-71 to 1979-80, real wages in the same period rose by only 1.2%. Another official source says that "real wages of labour have gone down by over 30% in a 2 year period up to 1975". Things have turned for the worse in the last 2 years, due to the steep rise in retail prices of

essential commodities and despite the wage increases won recently in some public sector agreements.

A study on the purchasing power of Indian wage earners, published by the International Metal Workers' Federation relating to the engineering, mechanical, ship building and steel industries shows that for buying a group of 10 food articles, the Indian worker is much worse off (i.e. he has to work for a larger number of hours) than his counterparts in countries like Indonesia, S. Korea, or Mauritius.

### **INHUMAN EXPLOITATION OF UNORGANISED 'SECTOR WORKERS**

The wages/purchasing power situation of workers in the unorganised sector of course, beggars description. Sweated labour comprises about 50% of the total work-force in the country, and the bulk of it is supposed to be covered under the scheduled employments of the Minimum Wages Act. However, the minimum wages applicable to them are fixed in relation to the "poverty line" and not to the actual needs of the workers and his dependants. There is no floor, no national minimum below which no worker will be paid, and the Government of India deliberately refuses to ratify ILO Convention No : 131 on this point.

It is not merely that inhumanly low wages are being paid in this sector (revised rates in a number of industries are based on a minimum of between Rs. 7/- and 8/- per day), and that their real value is declining sharply at a time when the Working Class Consumer Price Index has crossed 500 points; the worst feature is that even the notified rates are not actually received by the workers. Contractor's labour are the worst off in this regard, as the Supreme Court had occasion to find in the case of the construction workers engaged during 1981-82 on the prestigious Asiad Games projects in New Delhi. Additionally, such workers are not provided with any housing, medical care, social security or trade union rights.

The official machinery of inspection and enforcement

under the Act is hopelessly ineffective and inadequate. Defaulting employers get away with token or no punishment. Often, they physically shift their establishments to neighbouring states or regions to avoid payment of higher rates. They maintain no records of appointment, payments or termination. The small-scale sector of industry sometimes takes shelter behind the plea that it is being elbowed out and discriminated against by the monopoly houses—which is, of course, the end-result of lags in the Government's own industrial policy.

It must be admitted that the trade union movement has tended in the past to pay less attention to the unorganised, sweated sector than to the large-scale organised sector. But this lag is consciously being sought to be overcome recently by the AITUC. The regional convention held in Hyderabad and Gaya, and the all-India conference successfully organised at Baroda on August 27-28 this year are important new steps forward. Struggles for implementation of notified minimum wages and for other statutory benefits are growing even among the agricultural workers. These sectors, being the most exploited, have a vast potential for militant and united mass actions, if organised.

### **CREEPING CANCER OF MASS UNEMPLOYMENT**

Apart from the perpetual battle to maintain the value of real wages in the face of uncontrolled price rise, the other major crisis for the workers consists of the creeping cancer of mass unemployment. The number of registered job-seekers at the Employment Exchanges throughout the country is hovering around the 20-million mark, but there are at least twice that number who remain unregistered, particularly in the rural or semi-urban areas. But the problem is not simply to create a faster rate of new job opportunities to absorb the millions being added annually to the labour market—a task which obviously cannot be fulfilled within the existing socio-economic system. According to the Government's own calculations, the 6th Five-Year Plan (1980-85) would end with about 46.26 million people looking for

employment. And this would be after the Plan itself had generated (hopefully!) employment for 34.28 million people.

### **INDUSTRIAL "SICKNESS"— PROBLEM OF JOB PROTECTION**

An equally pressing problem has become to protect the jobs of those already in employment. A wave of industrial "sickness" is sweeping like a scourge across the industrial scene. Closures, lock-outs, rationalisation and retrenchment, have become the order of the day. According to official (Reserve Bank of India) statistics, sick units totalled 28,360 up to June 1982, of which more than 420 were large units, and the rest medium and small. The total amount of bank advances locked up in these units was over Rs. 2,000 crores. The worst affected industries were jute, textiles, sugar, engineering and electricals.

What is more interesting is that the cause of sickness have been identified as 52% of the cases due to mismanagement, diversion of funds (a polite term for theft), infighting and lack of marketing strategy; 23% due to market recession; 14% due to faulty initial planning and other technical draw-backs; 9% to factors like shortages of power and raw materials; and only 2% to labour trouble.

Management of several units declared "sick" in the past was taken over by the Government mainly in order to avoid large-scale unemployment, and to keep the factories running. Some were later nationalised under workers' and public pressure. Various public sector corporations were set up for this purpose, notably the National Textile Corporation, National Jute Manufactures Corporation, etc. The Industries Rehabilitation Corporation was supposed to nurse selected units back from sickness to sound health. But the deeprooted maladies of capitalism cannot be overcome simply by changing the labels of management or ownership. The resources of the Government may also prove inadequate to shoulder a never-ending

liability created by the greed, dishonesty and plunder of the private employers. This huge loss of productive wealth, however, never seems to excite the anger of the Prime Minister in the way that workers' strikes do!

Now, the Government wishes to apply the brakes by classifying sick units into "viable" and "non-viable", with the object of de-notifying the latter and either allowing them to go into liquidation or handing them over to any willing private businessman.

Either way, employment becomes a casualty, with workers often forced to accept conditions of increased workload or reduced complements of labour, as the price to be paid if the mill gates are not to be permanently closed.

### INCREASING LOCK-OUTS

Another alarming feature during the last three years is the increasing weightage of lock-outs over strikes in the incidence of man-days lost. This may be a feature not found in other countries. In 1982 as well as during the first five months of 1983, more than 50% of man-days lost were caused by lock-outs. In West Bengal there was a 96% increase over 1981 on this account, 58.4% in Gujarat, 53% in Uttar Pradesh. Taking the country as a whole, man-days lost due to lock-outs were 45% of the total in 1980, 42% in 1981, 53% in 1982, and 52% during January to May 1983.

What does this show? The employers are increasingly resorting to lock-outs for mainly two purposes: firstly, as a coercive measure against the workers, to suppress their demands and starve them into submission (incidentally, for the first time in the history of the public sector in India, a 5-days' lock-out was imposed on four of the biggest Bangalore units during the strike of 1981); and secondly, in order to create pressure on the Government in order to extract more concessions in the shape of tax relief, subsidies, higher prices, etc. This has been markedly so in the case of the West Bengal jute industry, where lock-outs and closures have become endemic.

## ANTI-LABOUR POLICIES

The Government's and employers' basically anti-labour policies are having other serious impacts, too, on working class conditions. For example:

\*The Government of India bluntly refused to implement even the Rath Committee's unanimous recommendations for rectification of the 1960 series of Consumer Price Index figures, which, according to the Committee, contain several serious defects and shortcomings, which lead to faulty computation of the workers' dearness allowance. The Government itself thus ensured an in-built erosion of real wages. And it sought to bypass and postpone the whole issue by appointing yet another committee—the Seal Committee—on the Consumer Price Index, whose report is still gathering dust in the Government files. Meanwhile, the workers are being systematically deprived of the full extent of compensation to which they should be entitled.

\**Industrial housing*, except in the case of new public sector projects constructed in virgin areas, is in a shambles. There is an acute shortage - even the public sector plants provide for only 30 to 40% of their employees. Private employers either provide some poor-quality quarters or, as in the case of jute mills, mines or plantations, depend on whatever came up during the pre-independence days and refuse to add anything more. The vast majority of workers are living in sub-human slums and unauthorised colonies. According to the 6th Plan, 2.9 million houses will be built during 1980-85, at the end of which the number of slum-dwellers will reach over 33 million. This throws into sharp focus the demand for increased house-rent allowances.

\**Social Security schemes* are being sought to be whittled down. In pursuance of the Ramanujam Committee's recommendations, it is proposed to hand over the entire management of the Provident Fund scheme to the employers with more than 500 workers on their rolls. In other words, huge sums of workers' money will be put at the disposal

of those very persons who have misused the workers' contributions and defaulted to the extent of, nearly Rs. 45 crore. It is regrettable to find that among the most blatant defaulters are many leading public sector units.

The Employees' State Insurance scheme, though it has an impressive coverage on paper has become a source of inefficiency, corruption and bureaucratic harassment of the workers. Now the Hoshing Committee has further recommended that workers will not be eligible for any sickness benefits during periods of strike or lock-out. There is also a proposal to reduce sick leave.

\**Chronic unemployment, poverty, and recurring famine conditions in some regions of states like U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh have thrown up a growing problem of migrant labour during the last few years. Whole families of landless rural poor, dominantly belonging to Harijan and tribal communities, are found moving from place to place, sometimes induced by unscrupulous contractors, in search of work on construction sites, in brick-kilns, quarries, in farming operations, and many other low-paid occupations. Generally, their helpless condition leaves them with no choice but to accept whatever is offered. Extremely low wages, irregularity of payment, insecurity of jobs, no amenities of any kind, intimidation by employers' rowdy gangs—all these reduce them virtually to the status of bonded labour. Up to now, our trade unions have given hardly any thought to their miserable plight, or to implementation of the Act for protecting the conditions of migrant workers.*

\*Another ugly fall-out of the chronic unemployment problem and low wages level in the unorganised sector, is the widespread malpractice of employing *child labour* in a number of occupations. The trade unions have given precious little thought to this, and have preferred to avoid the social and economic implications involved, although even the legal ban on employing children below 10 years of age is often being violated.

One of the most scandalous cases is of the matches and fireworks factories in Sivakashi (Tamilnadu), which em-

ploy at least 52,000 children, of whom about 3,500 are in the 10 to 12 years' age group while nearly 1,000 are ten years old. According to the employers, they are paid Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per day.

Recently, when the Government of Tamilnadu did threaten to enforce a ban on the exploitation of child labour, the employers threatened to introduce mechanisation which would result in higher excise duties and higher selling prices. Even some mothers have demanded alternative jobs for their children if any ban is enforced, so that they may continue to earn and supplement the family income! This, despite the high accident rate in an industry where explosive chemical substances are handled.

\*There is also the complicated issue of *Indian emigrant labour*, working in the Middle East countries, and hailing mostly from Kerala and Punjab. For them, too, after many years of inactivity, Government has legislated an Act meant to control the illegal and extortionate activities of the recruiting agents. How far it will be effectively implemented is yet to be seen. But numerous complaints are there of ill-treatment and under-payment, at their work-places. The problem of their repatriation is also raising its head.

\*A growing menace which is appearing at an accelerated pace over the years is the introduction of *automation, computerisation, and various types of micro-processors*. These, as we know, are inevitable symptoms of modern industrial development, and to oppose them outright in favour of lower technologies means fighting a losing battle. But in a country like our's with massive and growing unemployment and the need for more labour-intensive industries, these modern techniques imply, if not immediate loss of jobs, a serious decrease in employment potential in the long run. Certain types of office work, traditionally performed manually, may be done more speedily and efficiently by these machines, but they are also a device for swelling the super-profits of the monopolies and the MNC's.

So far, the introduction of automation and mechanisation in large units, both in the private and public sector, has been accompanied by assurances of no retrenchment, no

loss of earnings in cases of redeployment, plus extra "incentives" in some cases, and introduction of "voluntary retirement schemes" with attractive monetary compensations. All these are, of course, in the nature of bribes to overcome the employees' apprehensions.

As a precaution against strong obstruction and resistance by the unions, central computer banks have been set up in the big cities and various companies get their work done here on hire charges. This has proved impossible to counter.

There is still a good deal of confusion in trade union circles about the correct attitude to adopt. Obviously, a total and unconditional ban on automation and computers will not be accepted, especially in areas of high technology, complex processes requiring precise coordination (e.g. power plants, steel mills, etc.), research institutes or defence establishments. But where the affected work can as well be done by manual and brain power of the employees (of course implying a large salary bill), there is every justification for trade union opposition or, at least, insistence on the most stringent safeguards and conditions.

A large number of agreements have already been signed in this sphere. Their detailed provisions and implications need to be studied, discussed and reviewed thoroughly, instead of just hurling "revolutionary" accusations against each other. Computerisation and automation present no problems of employment in the socialist world, but under capitalism they are certainly a legitimate cause for concern.

\*Another fall-out of the acute unemployment problem is the popularity of 'demagogic' slogans like "Jobs for sons of the soil only", "No jobs for outsiders", "No reservation in appointments and promotions for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes", etc. In a situation where job opportunities are extremely limited in relation to the number of job-seekers, such slogans do rouse the unemployed youth of a particular State or region, and do often provoke conflict and clashes between local people and others. Another form of "insurance" against unemployment, and one which is enthusiastically supported by the overwhelming majority of employed workers, is the assurance that after retirement

every worker's vacancy will be filled by his son or some other dependent. Such a provision, which has been incorporated in many collective agreements, is naturally resented by those whose chances of recruitment automatically get barred. But most unions press for it.

In a very difficult and complex situation, utmost care has to be taken by our trade unions to see that divisive slogans and quarrels are avoided, and concrete solutions are found in each specific case. Otherwise, the monster of unemployment created by capitalism will devour the workers themselves and destroy their unity.

### AITUC STAND ON THE QUESTION OF JOBS

Broadly speaking, our unions should patiently and perseveringly try to adhere to the following principles:

- ==Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Tribes must continue in order to develop cadres from these most exploited and oppressed sections;
- ==The working class must fight unitedly for creation of more job opportunities, and for defence of existing jobs;
- ==As far as unskilled labour is concerned, preference must be given to applicants from local employment exchanges;
- ==As far as skilled and semi-skilled labour is concerned, if not available locally to begin with, recruitment from "outside" should be allowed;
- ==At the same time, in the case of new projects, local youth must be given technical and apprenticeship training during the gestation period, so that they become qualified in due course;
- ==All families whose lands and property have been acquired for factory construction must be allowed to send at least one member into employment;
- ==Employment of workers' sons or dependants should not be elevated to a 100% "closed-shop" principle. Some quotas can be agreed upon for local "outsiders" also. The main thing is to avoid a narrow, sectarian outlook on either side.

## **How the Workers Have Fought**

To understand the mood of the workers in this period, their readiness and capacity to fight for what they consider to be their rights, and to withstand all the terrors of repression and victimisation, and their urge for united action, let us recall, in a summarised way, the struggle record of the last three years:

\*1981 opened with the historic 77 days' strike of 150,000 Bangalore and Hyderabad-based public sector workers for wage parity with BHEL;

\*45,000 LIC employees launched an indefinite strike (their first) from April 2, in protest against Government's unilateral cut in their bonus and other benefits;

\*Sugar mill workers of Surat won a wage rise after one-month's strike, in which one worker was killed by police firing;

\*2 lakhs of Bombay textile workers, led by 4 unrecognised unions, struck work on September 27 demanding bonus of 12.5%;

\*7,000 workers of Anglo-French textile mill, Pondicherry launched a strike from October 14 for higher bonus;

\*Birla's Kesoram textile mill locked out 10,000 workers from December 6th over a dismissal case;

\*University and college teachers all over the country observed a token strike on December 15 for pay revision and job security;

\*Massive workers' march in Delhi against ESMA on 23 November.

\*1982 opened with indefinite general strike of 2.25 lakh Bombay textile workers from January 18 on long-pending demands;

\*At the call of NCC, first all-India General Strike on January 19, particularly successful in Bangalore public sector, Coal, Iron-ore, Banks, newspapers, LIC, GIC, different private sector industrial units, etc.;

- \*Anti-victimisation Day widely observed at NCC's call;
- \*Kesoram textile lock-out completed 3 months on March 5th;
- \*23-days' strike by 3 lakh Rajasthan State Government employees settled on April 9, winning increase in pay and D.A.—no victimisation assurance;
- \*6 lakhs of U.P. State Government employees on strike from March 22 to April 6, for higher pay and allowances;
- \*Brutal police attack and firing on January 3 inside factory on striking workers of Rallis (India) at Magarwara, U.P.—unknown numbers killed or missing;
- \*National Security Act used to detain Com. Sukhbir Tyagi, AITUC leader of Ghaziabad, U.P.;
- \*One-day general strike of Delhi textile workers on April 21 for 13 demands and support to Bombay strike;
- \*One-day solidarity strike with Bombay textile workers at call of Joint Action Committee of Maharashtra, April 19;
- \*60,000 Rajasthan State Electricity Board workers on strike from May 20 to July 14—1,500 arrested—State Bandh, in support, July 6th;
- \*1-day textile strike in Maharashtra on July 8, in solidarity with Bombay workers; !
- \*Mysore Wire and Metal workers, Bangalore, on strike for more than 80-days—severe police repression;
- \*Anti-Black Bills Day observed, July 8, at call of NCC;
- \*Kesoram textile mill lock-out lifted after 166 days—converted into strike—finally settled, June 28, after 204 days;
- \*Ujjain "Bandh", June 30, in protest against closure of two textile mills;
- \*90 days strike by Bihar university and college teachers called-off on July 12 after settlement with Government;
- \*West Bengal agricultural workers' token strike, July 19;
- \*Kerala State Electricity Board workers' token strike, August 4, led by 6 unions;

- \*Tripartite Labour Conference called by Labour Ministry boycotted by NCC, September 17-18;
- \*Enkay Rubber workers' strike, Gurgaon, fired on by employer;
- \*1-day strike of West Bengal jute workers, August 10th, against closures;
- \*8-months' strike at Magarwara after firing of January 3rd ends on August 16, after settlement;
- \*Strike of Bombay police constables, August 18, for improved conditions—Army deployed, arrests and victimisation;
- \*Poysa (metal containers), Ghaziabad, illegal lock-out completes 6 months, September 1st;
- \*1 lakh Bombay civic employees on 6 days' strike for wage increase;
- \*Hyderabad Public Sector Convention calls for one-day country-wide strike on January 28, 1983;
- \*Tamilnadu textile workers' token strike, November 11, against Government ban;
- \*Bharat Refinery workers, Gujarat, on prolonged strike;
- \*One-day strike of Coal workers on November 8;
- \*60,000 Orient Paper Mills workers, Brajrajnagar, begin indefinite strike for 20% Bonus, December 12;
- \*All-India textile strike on 21 December called by NCC in solidarity with Bombay workers;
- \*1983—January 18 marks completion of 1 year of Bombay textile strike;
- \*72-hours' all-India strike by Coal miners, January 17 to 19;
- \*4 lakhs Engineering workers, West Bengal, token general strike, March 16, for wage revision;
- \*Textile lock-outs in Birla Mills, Delhi; Gwalior Rayon; Hissar; Thirumangal (Tamilnadu); Anglo-French (Pondicherry);
- \*20,000 Kerala State Electricity Board workers begin

- strike from May 4, for interim relief and against victimisation;
- \*6 lakhs Bihar NGO's on 2-days strike May 10-11;
- \*Hunger-strike and dharna in Bhupendra Cement, Surajpur.
- \*Orissa iron-ore miners begin struggle against threat of closures and mass retrenchment from May;
- \*20,000 Punjab textile workers on one-day strike, May 25, for Rs. 600/- minimum wage;
- \*5,000 piece-rated workers of Bhilai mines win 13-days' strike, June 11, for wage revision;
- \*1,600 Bhartiya engineering workers, Calcutta, on strike from July 25;
- \*All-India agricultural workers' strike July 15;
- \*10,000 Iron-ore workers under NMDC on one-day strike, July 14, in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra, Karnataka;
- \*35,000 workers of 5 public sector Fertiliser units on 1-day strike, July 20;
- \*6 lakhs Andhra State Government employees on strike for 19 days against reduction in retiring age and other demands;
- \*State-wide Bandhs (TUs and parties), August 9/10, in Kerala, Orissa, Bihar;
- \*50,000 West Bengal textile workers' 1-day strike, August 27, for wage revision and implementation of agreements;
- \*45,000 LIC employees on strike for 1-day, August 18, demanding negotiations;
- \*Hope textile mills, Indore, workers occupy factory under closure notice, demanding Government intervention;
- \*Orient Paper Mills strike of 6,000 workers completes 10 months, October 12;
- \*Iron-ore miners of Barbil-Joda in Orissa conduct strikes, satyagraha, and local "Bandh" demanding continued lift-

ing of ore by MMTC so as to avoid closure and retrenchment;

\*11-days' strike by 75,000 Singareni coal miners ends on October 13 after winning festival advance.

These instances, dated up to mid-October 1983, are by no means exhaustive. They are meant to illustrate the determined and widespread nature of the trade union movement in the struggles, big and small, for workers' demands and defence of trade union rights. In most of these instances, involving large numbers of workers, particularly the prolonged strikes and lock-outs, all or most of the unions joined hands and provided united leadership. Employers—both private and public sector—generally took an adamant attitude towards the demands, and this was a major reason for the protracted and long drawn-out nature of many struggles.

## WORKERS' FIGHTING SPIRIT

Repression, including arrests and firings, was launched in many cases. However, it was seen that such attacks hardly ever cowed down the workers' fighting spirit. Government's hopes of using ESMA as an intimidatory weapon to curb strikes have been dashed to the ground—and this is evident from the large number of Government employees, electricity workers, teachers, and other such "vulnerable" sections who were not afraid to risk the penalties held out by this and other draconian laws.

Large-scale victimisation by employers, including suspensions, dismissals, penal transfers, wage deductions, etc. has been a regular feature, against which a running battle has been conducted. Hundreds were sought to be punished in these ways for joining the General Strike of January 19, 1982. These, and many other gross violations of trade union rights, were collectively complained against to the ILO by the NCC.

## **The National Campaign Committee**

One of the most positive and significant developments since the last Session of the AITUC has been the emergence, in June 1981, of the National Campaign Committee comprising eight central trade union organisations, viz: AITUC, CITU, HMS, BMS, UTUC, TUCC, UTUC (L.S.) and INTUC ((Dara group)). The official INTUC, whose leadership follows a line of virtually total support to the Central Government's policies, is the major absentee. Incidentally, both INTUC and HMS are the Indian affiliates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions controlled by the AFL/CIO labour bosses of the USA.

### **URGE FOR UNITED RESISTANCE**

The NCC is the product of a spontaneous urge for joint resistance to the Government's anti-labour policy, which unfolded itself more and more nakedly after the 1980 General Elections in the specific form of imposing wage freeze and wage restraints on the workers and a planned offensive against trade union rights, especially the right to strike.

The principal Government agency employed to put through a policy of wage freeze was the notorious Bureau of Public Enterprises under the Ministry of Finance (BPE).

The principal agency employed to attack trade union rights was the Parliament, where the ruling Congress (I) party enjoys a massive majority. A series of legislations was introduced and began to be enacted, one by one. The Essential Services Maintenance Act, which by imposing a sweeping ban on strikes (including go-slow and refusal to work overtime), struck a fatal blow at the very roots of collective bargaining; this was followed by the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill; Payment of Wages (Amendment) Bill; Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill; and the Hospitals and other Institutions Bill.

Earlier, Parliament had enacted the National Security Act, which began to be used, despite Government assurances to the contrary, to arrest trade union leaders and workers and to hold them in detention without trial, the "complainants"

in most cases being management of private companies.

The package of legislative measures (out of which the I.D. and Payment of Wages amending Bills have already been passed) has wide-ranging objects: e.g.: imposition of further preconditions to make a strike "legal"; introduction of punishable "unfair labour practices"; introduction of a check-off system by the back door; legalisation of the undemocratic system of membership verification by Government agencies; tightening up of the procedure of registration of trade unions; official intervention in so-called "trade union" disputes; powers to disqualify elected union officials from holding office; and withdrawal of the rights of strike, organisation and agitation from employees of hospitals, educational and other institutions.

These Bills were drafted and introduced by the Government without any prior consultations with the T.U. centres. The design to impose drastic restrictions on the rights of strike, freedom of association and collective bargaining, and to muzzle the free functioning of trade unions was obviously the counterpart of the wage-restraint and wage freeze policy. This was reflected in the so-called "guidelines" imposed by the BPE—a ceiling of 10% on any rise in the total pay packet of public sector workers, a ceiling of Rs. 1.30 as per point compensation for rises in the cost of living; no retrospective effect to agreements; lower wage-scales for new recruits; etc. This obviously set the pattern in the organised sector of private industry also.

Working class protest and resistance found a united platform in the NCC, whose first Convention at Bombay, June 1981, was attended by 4,000 delegates from the 8 T.U. centres and about 40 industrial federations. It is worth noting that the second NCC Convention held after two years, in August 1983 at New Delhi, recorded an attendance of 6,800 delegates while the number of federations represented increased to 60. Experience has shown that, in the prevailing conditions of acute division of the T.U. movement along political/party lines, the getting together of a majority of T.U. centres on agreed slogans and demands does inspire wider unity of action, drawing into its fold even the auto-

nomous industrial and trade federations. This gives confidence to wider sections of workers and thus helps in unleashing more broad-based mass actions.

### ACHIEVEMENTS OF UNITED ACTIONS

During these two years of the NCC's activity, the Government has been forced to retreat on several issues. The most notable gain for the workers has been the virtual blowing-up of the BPE's restrictive "guidelines". Pay-packet increases ranging between 14 to 15% have been secured by the workers of Steel, Coal, BHEL, IOC, NTPC and other public sector undertakings, with retrospective effect from the expiry of the previous agreements; BPE's insistence on linking wages with productivity has been given up, and the Government was forced to appoint a bipartite committee to recommend a higher D.A. neutralisation rate than Rs. 1.30 per point. The minimum wage in public sector undertakings has gone above Rs. 800 p.m.

These gains were achieved as a result of the NCC-initiated series of sector-wise, united Conventions followed by an all-in Public Sector Convention at Hyderabad which threatened to organise an all-India one-day strike in January 1983, and hard bargaining at the negotiation table where even the INTUC representatives put up a united stand on all issues with the other unions. The atmosphere of growing confrontation was further galvanised by two magnificent all-India strike actions of the coal miners—a 24-hours' stoppage on November 8, 1982, and a 72-hours' stoppage on January 17th, 18th & 19th, 1983, both of which showed the temper of the workers and brushed aside the opposition of the INTUC leadership. The Government had the good sense to climb down.

The N.C.C. organised, on 23-11-81, the biggest ever workers' demonstration before Parliament in which several lakhs participated. It is gratifying that the single largest contingent in this historic rally was provided by the AITUC. Our comrades deserve warm congratulations for their hard work, especially in mobilising agricultural workers on a massive scale.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF JANUARY 19 STRIKE

But the high water mark of the NCC's action programmes was the all-India General Strike of January 19th, 1982. It is well to recall its essential significance, particularly since the Government, employers and mass media did their utmost to belittle its success.

(1) It was the first action of this type in our trade union history—the slogan of “Bharat Bandh” raised several years ago came within the possibility of realisation;

(2) Approximately 50% of the working class i.e. about 10 million workers all over the country responded to the call despite heavy repression, risk of mass victimisation, and inadequate preparation;

(3) The NCC was able to project successfully the idea of a nation-wide united trade union action;

(4) Trade Union demands on questions of labour policy, wages, trade union rights, etc. were combined with general democratic demands and specific demands of the farmers and agricultural labour;

(5) In various parts of the country, there were good supporting actions by agricultural workers, students, teachers, shopkeepers, etc. and peasants in Tamilnadu even fell victims to police bullets while picketing;

(6) Successful state-wide “Bandhs” were organised in West Bengal, Bihar and Kerala, and also locally in dozens of district towns in other States;

(7) The strike was opposed tooth and nail by the Congress Governments, their administrative machinery, the INTUC leadership, Radio and TV etc. 50,000 arrests were made on the day of the strike itself.

(8) The single biggest weakness of January 19th—and a major one—was the non-participation of the Central Government employees in Railways, Posts and Telegraph, Defence, etc.

Actually, the organisational disunity and other weaknesses of this sector have cost the workers dear. The Central Government (departmental) employees, numbering nearly

3 million, with their numerous federations and craft associations, had long ago agreed to resist tooth and nail any move to foist on them yet another Pay Commission. They demanded wage-parity with other public sector employees and the status of industrial workers, with proper wage classification, etc. In this effort, the decisive role naturally lay with the Railwaymen who alone number 1.75 million.

But, ultimately when it came to the point of confrontation with the Government, the employees' leadership accepted the appointment of the 4th Pay Commission in exchange for a modest interim relief of Rs. 50/-, 60/-, and 70/- p.m. Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, and Defence employees have also been paid so-called "productivity-based" bonus as per the Government's scheme though the quantum is less than even 8.33%. As a sequel to the agitations, the government recently announced a 15-days bonus for those leftout earlier.

However it is the positive factors which have to be carried forward while the weaknesses which were revealed must be overcome in a planned and systematic manner, taking into account imbalances which exist in different levels of consciousness, unity and organisation among the constituents of the N.C.C. and in different industries and regions.

## 2ND NCC CONVENTION—AN ADVANCE

The policy slogans and political formulations which have been incorporated unanimously in the resolution (given in Appdx. I) of the second (August) Convention at Delhi represent a step forward. Though some of the formulations are rather ambiguous and capable of varying interpretations, some others are very clear and positive. On the whole, the N.C.C. has consciously declared itself to be concerned not merely with workers' immediate, economic demands, but also with the larger democratic interests of the working people and the country.

The AITUC welcomes this development and will do everything possible to strengthen the NCC and take it forward as an important lever of workers' unity in action.

# **The Bombay Textile Strike**

By its very magnitude and unprecedented duration of 18 months, this great struggle will find a permanent place in the annals of working class history.

It is not necessary here to go into details of how Shri Datta Samant has built up his reputation as a "militant" and effective trade union leader in Bombay, what tactics he has employed, how he appeared on the Textile scene to which he was hitherto a stranger, and his unconcealed hostility to the Communists and their Girni Kamgar Union of the Red Flag. A proper and objective assessment of Samant, with his slogans directed against political parties, must be made to understand how and why he was able to carry over 2 lakhs of textile workers behind him and to keep them on strike for 1½ years.

An assessment must also be made, above all by our own Bombay comrades of our role from the very start, for, after all, the Red Flag is no stranger to Bombay's textile worker. but the pioneer of their fighting trade union movement and leader of many glorious struggles in the past.

## **UNIQUE FEATURES OF THE STRIKE**

However, some undeniable features of this unique strike stand out and let us summarise them:

(1) The textile workers displayed marvels of unity, determination, discipline and tenacity. These qualities should evoke pride in the heart of every trade unionist. Few of us, let us admit, could have foreseen the workers' capacity to hold out in the fashion they did;

(2) The demands with which the strike began were thoroughly justified. But actually they turned out to be of little relevance. The fundamental issue involved was whether or not an unrecognised union under the BIR Act would be allowed to negotiate and settle the demands. From the very outset, the Central and State Governments, the Bombay Millowners' Association, and the INTUC leadership of the RMMS were very clear on this point, "No truck

with Samant" was their common slogan—anything else would have meant the death-knell of the BIR. This question was not brought into the forefront by Samant, except occasionally and casually—perhaps due to over-confidence in the strength of his position.

(3) It was this basic issue of trade union rights and trade union democracy, and the injustice of trying to force on the workers the fiction of a "representative" union which they had rejected by their very strike action, which was a challenge to the entire trade union movement—Samant or no Samant.

(4) In such a situation, the only effective answer and counter-blow to the employers and Government could have been a planned and conscious broadening of the strike into a mighty solidarity movement. To an extent, this was forthcoming from an unexpected quarter—the farmers of those districts in Maharashtra from where large number of people go to Bombay to work in the mills. Samant did succeed in mobilising the peasants' support for the strikers in the form of large collections of foodgrains. This was no doubt a positive demonstration of workers-peasants unity.

But the main factor which inhibited the development of a mass solidarity movement by the working class, especially in the other major textile centres, was Samant's own sectarian attitude, his reluctance to cooperate even with the Maharashtra JAC's programme, his attitude of "exclusive" leadership, and his public attacks on other unions and parties. This objectively led to avoidable isolation of this great struggle from the rest of the movement throughout the country. Moreover, his public utterances lacked clarity on the workers' demands, and underplayed the wider significance of blowing up the BIR Act;

(5) The NCC, and its Bombay counterpart the JAC, tried to the extent of their limited capacity to organise solidarity actions among other sections of workers by making collections of relief donations; issuing Press statements supporting the strike; pressurising the Government, inside and outside Parliament for a negotiated settlement with Samant's union; organising large number of meetings and

demonstrations; the AITUC and CITU refused to serve on the Committee announced by the Government during the strike to consider the workers' demands; and the NCC called upon all textile workers to carry out a solidarity strike on December 21, 1982, which was responded to in many centres. But these could not be of decisive importance;

(6) An interesting question was that, with 62 mills closed down for 18 months in the country's largest textile centre, why did no shortage of cloth manifest itself in the market? The impact of such a large-scale stoppage of production appears to have been minimal. It is not enough to attribute this to the low purchasing power and poverty of the people, though these do play a part in maintaining the glut of cloth in the shops.

#### STEPS TAKEN BY THE EMPLOYERS

It is necessary to study the concrete steps taken by the employers to counter the effects of the strike by organising alternative sources of production. This was effected partly by harnessing the full capacity of the Ahmedabad mills, and partly by stepping up the output of the power-loom sector which has expanded considerably in our country, and much of which is financed by the millowners themselves and run by their agents. Power-loom cloth is also marketed, particularly during a prolonged strike, under the brand names of popular mills. Big power-loom centres in Maharashtra itself, like Malegaon and Bhiwandi, contributed in large measure to off-set the impact of the Bombay strike. But neither Samant, nor anyone else, appears to have been exercised over this specific problem; In their confrontation with the workers, the Bombay Millowners' Association is not a force to be underrated in its resourcefulness and capacity!

#### AFTERMATH OF THE STRIKE

Ultimately the strike fizzled out, without being formally called off. The workers fought to the limits of their

endurance, despite the frustration caused by no prospects of a negotiated settlement. In the meantime, several mills took the opportunity to instal new machinery which implies rationalisation of traditional work-loads and reduction of labour complements. The initial worst sufferers are the 30,000 *Badli* (substitute) workers who were in the vanguard of the strike, and are now told they are not required. A dozen or so mills announced permanent closure for financial difficulties, and they have now been taken over by the Government. The 17 nationalised mills under NTC were already running in losses prior to the strike, and will be in worse plight now.

Equally serious is the vindictive attitude of many managements towards the strikers, trying to humiliate them in many ways, e.g. demanding assurances of "good behaviour", or certificates from the RMMS before they are allowed to join. The strike has failed and, for at least some time, managements, not only in Bombay but in other textile mills also, will be in an aggressive and triumphant mood. The offensive of rationalisation and retrenchment can be expected to be stepped up.

In Bombay, the activists of the AITUC's Girni Kamgar Union played a leading role in mill-wise and area-wise strike committees which the strikers formed. We are proud of them. They acted as the foremost champions of workers' unity in action from below, despite all the difficulties created at the top by the Samant leadership. Many of our worker comrades are veterans of numerous strikes in the past, and are experienced and respected. They must be helped by all possible means to draw the correct lessons and conclusions, positive and negative, from this historic struggle and to regroup our forces in a way which will lead to revival of the AITUC's activities among the textile workers.

In this task—difficult though it is—the newly reorganised All-India Textile Workers' Federation whose conference has been held in Calcutta last October, has the responsibility of lending a helping hand.

## **The New Worker**

Critical to our understanding of the changing industrial environment is the recognition of the fact that a new working class is emerging. There has been a major change in the social composition of the work force. Not to study its implications may often lead to isolation of our trade unions from the new worker, his attitude, aspirations and outlook.

### **DIFFERENT FROM OLD WORKERS OF TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIES**

This new worker, especially in the modern and technically more sophisticated industries, is quite different from the old worker with whom we were long accustomed to work in traditional industries like, jute, cotton textiles, plantations, tobacco, ports and docks, railways, etc. He is educated, possesses a degree of technical training, and frequently comes from the relatively better off urban and rural sections of society. He is far more vocal about his feelings than his predecessors were. He carries with him his petty-bourgeois ideas and prejudices, and his caste moorings also. Very often, he is a first generation worker, whose father never saw the inside of a factory or handled a modern machine.

This new young worker is economically more independent and, so long as he does not marry, has a high disposable income. He is impatient to improve his promotion prospects, and to acquire the visible symbols of the middle class—flashy clothes, a house, T.V. set, a scooter or motor cycle and so on.

He is spontaneously antagonistic to his employer and, hence, easily unionised. But a major problem is that he has no specific loyalties, either historical or ideological, to a particular union. He is militant in the sense that he is ready to fight for his demands under the leadership of any union which, he believes, is capable of delivering the goods irrespective of the methods it uses. In this sense, he has a “con-

tractual" attitude towards the union and can switch his loyalties from one to another. But if he feels that an "outside" personality like a Datta Samant or a Lalit Maken are better equipped to intimidate the management, he sees no reason why he should not employ their services.

From our point of view, this young worker has not only to be unionised but proletarianised—a difficult and patient task. It calls for much more intensive trade union training and ideological education, linked with the practical lessons and experience of the day-to-day struggle. Without a consciously democratic functioning of our unions, this impatient young worker cannot be drawn into active union work. He simply cannot be taken for granted.

Without special care and attention being paid to him, he can easily become a victim of sectarian, adventurist, ultra-left and anarcho-syndicalist trends. Very often he may be carried away by casteist, communal or regional appeals.

## NEW WORKER AND SUPERVISOR

The young worker has a natural craving for job satisfaction and quick promotional avenues. He feels that both unions and management are not doing enough for the upgradation of the workers' skills. This sentiment also brings him into conflict with the supervisors on the shop floor. Most supervisors are young engineers or diploma holders, who have not risen from the ranks (unlike many old-time supervisors). They are more interested in machines than in the people they are working with; and have a "superior" attitude towards the workers, which the latter resent. But the supervisors often earn less than the workers because of the latter's overtime earnings, and this increases their bitterness.

Unionisation has gripped the supervisors as a class, and so also the engineers, technicians, front-line managers, and skilled specialists of various kinds, whose ratio is growing fast in our industrial economy. They are being drawn into the orbit of organisation and struggles. Their relation with the workers is one of both conflict and cooperation. We

have to pay special attention to these professional groups also.

### CLOSER ATTENTION NEEDED

But, above all, it is the new young worker whom our trade union leaders must study in greater depth and pay much closer attention to. Without this, we cannot hope to extend our organisation and increase our membership substantially, particularly in the public sector and the new private sector industries.

It is essential to develop a young worker's organisation and movement and to devote special cadres for this purpose. Cultural and sports activities, libraries and drama groups etc. can go a long way in meeting the emotional needs of the young workers. So, also, the organisation of credit cooperatives and consumer cooperative societies can play an important role in protecting young workers from the clutches of money lenders and the high prices and scarcity of essential commodities.

So long as the young worker regards the union as nothing more than an instrument for gaining his immediate monetary demands, his loyalties will fluctuate between one union and another. It is our class duty to educate him to a higher level of consciousness, to impart a feeling of pride in the unity of his class and determination to struggle for a socialist transformation of society.

## **Working Women, Young Workers and Agricultural Labour**

These are three important sectors in which, it must be admitted, our work is seriously lagging behind.

It is a well-known fact that employment of women, especially in industry has been steadily dwindling. Industries which once employed large numbers of women, e.g. textiles, jute mills, etc. have drastically reduced them over the years. At present, they are to be found mainly in plan-

tations (where whole families work together), the newer electronic, pharmaceutical and garment making units, and in professions like Government Service, secretarial duties, nursing, teaching, etc. and, of course, in agriculture.

## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

But employment opportunities for women continue to be scarce. This is largely due to the feudal and other social inhibitions which persist in our country and which keep women mainly confined to the home or in traditional pockets of the unorganised sector like the coir, cashew and handicraft industries. The specific problems and demands of working women are not at all seriously taken up yet at the trade union level. This attitude of neglect and indifference must be corrected without further delay.

The National Campaign Committee has resolved to organise a special Convention of Working Women in early 1984, to be followed by a working women's central demonstration in Delhi. Everything must be done for the success of this programme. But the AITUC must develop its own independent, day-to-day work among the women workers. In the social conditions prevailing, some women cadres must be found for this important task.

## THE YOUNG WORKERS

We have discussed briefly elsewhere the phenomenon of the new young worker in Indian Industry and the need to study and understand him in depth. These young workers, as everywhere in the world, have their own specific problems, grievances, and emotional requirements. They cannot be satisfied simply by the general demands of the trade union movement which tend to be oriented more towards the older workers who have been longer in service.

Separate organisations of the young workers must supplement, but not counterpose themselves to, the unions. They should concern themselves particularly with problems of apprentices, off-time education, technical training opportunities and upgrading of skills, etc. They should

organise cultural activities of various types, especially in the workers' residential areas and colonies, such as sports, cinema shows, drama and song groups, libraries and so on.

In this respect, too, very little has been done. With the help of the WFTU's Youth Commission on which AITUC is represented, concrete tasks have to be formulated and pursued.

## AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

Agricultural labour runs to over 50 million in our country, and their number is growing every year. This is the most oppressed and exploited section of society. To economic exploitation is added the social oppression of our caste system, since the preponderance of landless, agricultural without consists of Harijans and tribals. Never a day passes without news of attacks and atrocities upon them in one village or another, the culprits being the landowners, acting often in collusion with the local officials and police.

Despite numerous state legislations which have been enacted for their welfare, minimum wages, etc. there is as yet, no Central comprehensive law prescribing their minimum conditions of service, statutory benefits, rights of association, social security, etc. Prescribed and notified minimum wages in various states and regions are generally not paid in practice.

In recent years, the agricultural workers, especially the youth, have developed a new consciousness and awareness of their rights and a spirit of revolt against the injustices to which they are subjected. They have become much more vocal and self-assertive than before, and this brings down more fiercely on their heads the retaliation of the landowners and their armed gangs. But the agricultural workers refuse to be cowed down, and are eager to be organised for struggle.

A noteworthy advance has taken place under the leadership of the Bharatiya Khet Mazdoor Union (BKMU) which has led several strikes at State and even all-India level. Lakhs of rural workers, particularly from Bihar, U.P., Pun-

jab, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh have marched in the streets of the Capital more than once.

The situation, we believe, is now ripe for the BKMU and its local branches to be registered as trade unions and to be affiliated to the AITUC. This will mean a tremendous accession of strength to the movement as a whole. The industrial workers in many places have been actively helping the BKMU in implementing its programmes, though much more requires to be done. Trade Union actions in protest against atrocities on the agricultural workers are still the exception rather than the rule. The two sections need to be united more closely in the struggle for social and economic transformation of our society, and this can best be done by the BKMU getting organised on trade union lines. It is already affiliated to the T.U.I. of Agricultural Workers and represented on its Bureau. There appears to be no logical reason why it should not affiliate to the AITUC.

## **The Corporate Sector and MNCs**

### **PUBLIC MONEY FOR PRIVATE PROFIT**

The so-called "private" sector run by the monopoly houses has been nakedly exposed during the controversy over the large-scale purchase of shares in the Delhi Cloth Mills (Shri Ram group) and Escorts (Nanda group) by a non-resident Indian, Swraj Paul of U.K. For the first time, the general public of this country came to know that most of the large Indian joint-stock companies are managed by families which own and control not more than 5 to 10% of the shares, while the bulk of the rest are held by the public financial institutions and nationalised banks through which most of the investible funds are being channelised to the monopolists.

For example, such holdings are to the extent of 45% in TELCO, 42% in TISCO, 46% in Voltas, 54% in Escorts, 40% in Modi Rubber, 44% in Mahindra and Mahindra, 31%

**Kirloskar Oil Engines, 36% in National Rayon, and 38% in ACC. The shareholdings of the families controlling these companies hardly exceed 10% or so.**

**Of course, this phenomenon was no secret, only it was kept discreetly, hidden from public gaze. The shareholders (other than the controlling group) don't complain so long as they get their dividends. The workers and trade unions don't make an issue out of it, because they generally don't look beyond their own immediate demands. Yet it is these very Big Business houses which are the most bitter enemies of the working class. The value of their assets, sales, profits and dividends keep on going up year after year, while their tax arrears run into crores.**

**On May 27, 1983, the Secretary, Department of Industrial Development in the Ministry of Industry, openly boasted in Calcutta that no where in the world were the Governments so liberal in their investment policies as was the Government of India. Here one could promote a unit of Rs. 100 crores by only putting one's own money of about Rs. 5 crores. More or less the entire funds for a project are being provided by the financial institutions. This sort of assistance from the Government, he claimed, could not be found in any of the developing countries of the world.**

**Should not the trade unions educate the workers about the capital formation and structure of the companies for which they work and expose the bogus "sacrifice" of the bosses who are allowed by this Government to fatten themselves on public funds?**

**Should not we run a campaign demanding that all public-sector loans to these companies should be converted into equity shares; vigilant control should be exercised over the management by the Government-appointed Directors; and all companies in which the public financial institutions hold more than 50% of total shares should be taken over? Unfortunately the trade unions are yet to move in the matter.**

**Swraj Paul's own bonafides, his close links with the Prime Minister, and the "purity" or otherwise of the huge-**

funds at his disposal, may well be questioned. But that should not inhibit the working class from taking full advantage of the civil war going on in the capitalist jungle, to rouse public opinion.

## **STRUGGLE AGAINST MNCs**

As far as struggle against the multinational corporations is concerned, we all know that the WFTU has been giving the highest priority to it, especially in the developed countries which are the headquarters of the biggest MNCs. Here, in India, the net work of MNCs' penetration and activities, their strategy and tactics, have unfortunately not been adequately studied by us. On the one hand, their subsidiary companies, or the joint ventures in which they participate, can generally afford to give their employees higher wages and more liberal benefits than many other domestic companies. On the other hand, it is difficult to obtain detailed information and data about the MNCs. Even the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations has recently complained that out of 904 companies asked to submit factual information on their economic activities, only 152 replied and, of these, only 33 provided any useful data. "Business confidentiality" was given as the reason.

## **FOREIGN CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN INDIA**

Private foreign capital investment in India and foreign collaborations approved by the Government are on the increase. According to the Secretary, Ministry of Finance, a record level of 591 collaboration proposals and Rs. 62.8 crores investment was reached in 1982, against 389 proposals and Rs. 10.8 crores investment in 1981. The rising trend, he claims, has continued in the early months of 1983. This is not surprising in view of the drastic concessions and incentives offered by the Government since 1981, amounting to virtual scrapping of the "controls" contained in the FERA and MRTP act. At present, it appears that side by side with direct subsidiaries of the MNCs, the latter are now preferring to go in for joint ventures with participation of Indian

partners. Also, many FERA companies are deliberately reducing their foreign equity to 40% in order to qualify as "Indian" companies which are entitled to diversify their activities practically without any restriction.

## TACTICS OF MNCs

Two interesting cases of new moves by the MNCs call for trade union attention.

Hindustan Lever, whose market share of soaps and detergents is over 50%, has been allowed by Government to retain 51% foreign equity participation in the name of good export performance and introduction of "high technology" (use of non-edible vegetable oils instead of edible oils for making soaps). The company has decided to transfer its production of Dalda vanaspati to Lipton—another subsidiary of Unilever, hitherto dealing only in tea and making losses. Thereby it is planned to improve Lipton's financial performance, while leaving Hindustan Lever free to expand in the "core" sector. The workers of the Dalda units get transferred along with the production, from one company to the other without even being consulted!

The other case relates to the merger of Indian Aluminium Co.—a subsidiary of the Canadian MNC, ALCAN—with Mahindra and Mahindra. In the merged company, ALCAN will be holding 28% of the shares, though nobody knows how the valuation of shares between Indal and M. & M. was done. The reason put forward for this merger—which will not convince anyone—is that aluminium is becoming an increasingly important component in the manufacture of commercial vehicles such as are produced by Mahindra and Mahindra!

It is to the credit of the unions in both Hindustan Lever and Indal that they are actively opposing these MNC manoeuvres and trying to mobilise shareholders and public opinion against them.

A note prepared by the WFTU says, "Some of the TNCs are adopting flexible forms to penetrate national economies, agreeing to minority interest in affiliate enterprises and

even working with the public sector enterprises, which they shunned in the past. The tactic is evidently to infiltrate and destroy the public sector either by working from within and allying with the reactionary bureaucracy or through promoting political campaigns of denationalisation". The relevance of this danger to the Indian public sector becomes clear when we remember that the MNCs are the sworn enemies of self-reliance of developing countries.

The MNC's enjoy a tremendous advantage because of the higher technologies developed in their home countries, which allow them to pass on their out-of-date technologies to countries like India. Also, in the matter of market surveys and marketing mechanisms, advertising and research, they are far ahead of their competitors. In India, they are already holding dominant positions (thanks to the Government) in the drugs and pharmaceutical industry, in soaps, detergents, cigarettes, confectionary, lamps, domestic refrigerators, typewriters, gramophone record, footwear, carbonblack, electrodes, graphite, glycerine, hotels, safety matches, explosives, automobile tyres, airconditioning, commercial vehicles, batteries and flashlights. This list is far from exhaustive.

## OUR TASKS

Our trade unions must study the MNC operations concretely and formulate ways and means of exposing and resisting their anti-national activities, remembering always that they are the extended arm of neocolonialism, motivated by the greed for high profits at the expense of our cheap labour, always conspiring against our economic sovereignty and against the movement for a New International Economic Order.

## **Communal & Divisive Forces**

Since our last Session at Visakhapatnam, various communal, secessionist and other divisive forces have stepped up their disruptive activities. There can be no doubt that the growing mass discontent against unemployment, poverty and exploitation are being utilised by reactionary forces to instigate communal, casteist and regional clashes among the people. This is a serious threat to working class unity and to the country's integrity. It is a calculated conspiracy against the toiling peoples' urge for united struggles to improve their living and working conditions and for democratic rights.

### **DANGER TO CLASS UNITY AND NATIONAL INTEGRITY**

Social and religious heritage of the past is being distorted today to foster aggressive Hindu Communalism, such as that preached by the RSS and organisations like the Viswa Hindu Parishad; on the other hand, long years of discrimination against the Muslim minority, as well as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, are breeding powerful tendencies of minority Separatism. Both these trends unless counteracted, will be increasingly used to divide the toilers, disrupt class and national unity, and incite fratricidal clashes.

The examples of Meerut, Aligarh, Moradabad, Bihar Sharif, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and many other places are grim witness to the criminal activities of the obscurantist forces and their killer gangs. Can we imagine that our working class, with its multi-religious, multi-lingual, multi-cultural composition, will remain unaffected by these developments? Can we claim that our trade union movement, at least that part of it which is under leftist and progressive leadership, has shown sufficient awareness of this problem, and sufficient vigilance and educational and propaganda activity aimed at exposing and isolating the divisive forces?

## **DANGER OF REGIONALISM AND CHAUVINISM— ASSAM AND PUNJAB**

The tragic happenings in Assam, and the prolonged Akali agitation in the Punjab all showed clear manifestations of regionalism and chauvinism which strike at the very root of national unity and integrity. We can say without hesitation that the Assam and Punjab State units of the AITUC have creditably faced up to the ordeals through which they had to pass. In Assam, the agitators made a special target of the militant trade union movement under the Red Flag. Several of our trade union workers (as also of the CITU) were brutally assaulted, some killed and seriously injured, our offices were attacked and sought to be destroyed. But our comrades withstood all difficulties with great courage upheld their principles, and succeeded to a large extent in keeping the trade union rank and file away from the extremist activities.

Similarly, in the Punjab, the trade union movement, based as it is on the unity of the Hindu and Sikh workers has been put to a severe test. The AITUC is the major trade union organisation in this State. It is to the credit of our comrades that, even under the most difficult conditions of communal passions being roused, the unity of our unions was kept intact and clashes among the workers were prevented. Our Punjab unions have carried on a sustained explanatory campaign which paid good dividends.

### **SUSTAINED CAMPAIGN NEEDED**

But we must remember that there will be no early respite from the poisonous and insidious campaigns carried on among the people, including the educated middle classes, in the garb of Hindu obscurantism and Islamic fundamentalism. Our working class cannot be insulated from these pressures simply by concentrating on their common economic demands. Of course the united class struggle of the workers is a powerful weapon with a logic of its own. But this is not enough to combat the communal and casteist forces. The trade unions must carry on a sustained campaign of exposure of the reactionary forces which are

threatening the unity of the country and its secular principles. It must be admitted that we have been lagging behind in this task.

We should not lose sight of the fact that imperialism and its agencies are active in this situation, lending various types of encouragement and support to the internal forces which are consciously working for disruption and chaos.

## **AITUC's Unity Proposal**

Despite the great positive significance and achievements of the trade union movement under the united banner of the National Campaign Committee, we cannot but be conscious of its many limitations. These arise basically from the fact that so many different ideologies and affiliations are involved. The constituents of the NCC are certainly to be congratulated for having created and sustained a broad platform of trade union unity which has successfully mobilised millions of workers for joint actions for their common demands, including defence of trade union rights and a reversal of the Government's anti-labour and anti-people policies.

### **WEAKNESS OF SUCH UNITY**

But two glaring weaknesses cannot be overlooked. *Firstly*, the unity achieved so far at the top level is hardly reflected down below, at the plant and local levels, where the different unions continue to have relations of intense rivalry and even of bitter hostility, resulting sometimes in violent physical clashes.

*Secondly*, the NCC, by the very nature of its composition, has to limit its practical activities to questions of labour policy and workers' demands. It cannot be an instrument of struggle against the growing war danger, imperialist conspiracies aimed at encirclement and destabilisation of our country, the penetration of MNC's into our economy, etc. It cannot inscribe on its banner the slogan of international working class solidarity and defence of the gains of Socialism.

Experience shows that even on policy slogans like the

need for nationalisation of key industries and Government take-over of the wholesale trade in foodgrains (though these have been accepted in the resolution adopted on August 21, 1983, by the Delhi Convention of the NCC) a common understanding and conviction are lacking. The same is the case on the issue of fighting the communal and divisive forces.

The question, therefore, arises whether or not a situation has arisen where the N.C.C. must be supplemented by a more cohesive and politically conscious platform of working class unity. Let there be no misunderstanding. The N.C.C. should be strengthened and helped to function more effectively and democratically, and to expand its activities into new sections of workers (particularly the unorganised sector) and new regions of the country. Its positive gains and achievements should not be belittled in any way, but should be utilised for further advances. But the N.C.C. cannot be a substitute for a platform which can project a qualitatively higher level of class and political consciousness, which alone permits the discharge of internationalist and social obligations.

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU) has from time to time been advancing a slogan of "Confederation", but without clearly spelling out what they have in mind. At the 5th Conference of the CITU, held at Kanpur last April, its President, Com. B. T. Ranadive, has repeated the proposal without giving it any clear definition except to say: "There must be a genuine attempt to bring all organisations who have a say with the workers, who are vitally interested in the unity and cohesion of the trade union movement and who do not indulge in cross firing within the movement itself and specialise in attacking progressive and left forces". But he did not reply to any of the specific points on which the AITUC had sought clarification in its letter of 4.8.1982. (See Appendix II)

#### NEW KIND OF UNITY NEEDED

We are of firm opinion that the time has come when trade unions having a broadly common class and political ideo-

logy should make determined efforts to sink their differences and to forge their organisational unity. All socially progressive and leftminded unions should come within the compass of these efforts. But, first and foremost, it must mean a frank rapprochement and closer alliance between the unions affiliated to the AITUC and the CITU, although at present they are often "rivals" to each other at the plant and industrial level. **This requires a clearcut agreement on aims and objects as well as on the modalities of eliminating rivalries and paving the way for merger, depending on realistic appreciation of the relative strength of the unions in their spheres of work.**

The AITUC declares its willingness to work for such unity of all unions which unequivocally stand for:

- (1) Class struggle, as against class collaboration
- (2) Secularism and national unity
- (3) Peace and anti-imperialism
- (4) International working class solidarity.

We see no objective reason why the AITUC and the CITU, to start with, should not agree on the above-stated principles as the basis for their organisations, starting from the lowest level, merge with each other on mutually agreed terms and conditions. What is needed above all is to overcome past quarrels and mutual prejudices in the face of the extremely serious crisis—national and international—which is aggravating every day, and which feeds on the disastrous divisions existing in the trade union movement. This should be our supreme consideration.

AITUC and CITU coming together would, we believe, have a galvanising impact on the working class, greatly reinforce its self-confidence and militancy, heighten its consciousness, and attract other left-minded and progressive trade unions towards a closer cohesion.

We do not advance our proposals as a cut and dried, inflexible formula. We are prepared to sit down and discuss, in a fraternal spirit, any other concrete suggestions which would help to advance the cause of trade union unity on a principled basis between the like-minded forces in our movement.

## **International Relations And Solidarity**

The AITUC has, to its utmost capacity, been consistently expressing its support and solidarity to various anti-imperialist forces and victims of repression.

By means of messages, cables, resolutions of our leading bodies, press statements, representations to Embassies concerned, etc. we have denounced the crimes being conducted in South Africa, Chile, Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan by the reactionary regimes against the peoples and workers of these countries fighting for democratic and trade union rights and for release of political prisoners. We continue to express our firm solidarity with the peoples and governments of Vietnam, Kampuchea, Cyprus, the DPRK, Angola, Cuba and Nicaragua. Our unions were active in the campaign against the Israeli aggression on Lebanon and for the cause of the PLO.

In June and October 1981, AITUC delegations led by the General Secretary paid fraternal visits to Hungary and Afghanistan respectively at the invitation of the central trade union organisations of those countries, and in December 1982 to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of URO, with whom an agreement on mutual cooperation and joint action was signed.

In April 1982, a delegation of the Hungarian trade unions, on transit through India, was received by the AITUC and fraternal exchange of views took place. In March 1983, a delegation of the Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions visited India at the AITUC's invitation for a week. In April 1983, a delegation of the Chinese trade unions attending the CITU conference, visited the AITUC office and had friendly talks for the first time since they parted company with the W.F.T.U.

During the period under review, AITUC delegations attended the national trade union Congresses of URO, FDGB, CGT of France, Inter-Syndical of Portugal, AUCCTU, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Syria and Mongolia, as well as the:

**Conference against Chemical and Bacteriological weapons in Ho-chi-Minh City.**

The Indian delegation to the WFTU 10th Congress at Havana, February 1982, included, besides AITUC, delegates of the CITU, HMS (affiliate of ICFTU), All-India Bank Employees Association and All-India Federation of University and College Teachers' Organisations (both autonomous).

The presence of so many fraternal delegations at this Congress is evidence of the strong ties of solidarity and brotherhood which bind us. We thank all of them sincerely for their cooperation and the trouble they have taken to travel long distances to Bangalore. Their presence is a source of great inspiration and strength to the AITUC.

Our unions in various industries and the industrial federations guided by the AITUC have been regularly participating in the activities of the TUI's of the WFTU. Our members of the various Administrative Committees have been active and delegations have attended all T.U.I. Conferences and seminars where their contributions have been generally appreciated. However, more attention requires to be given to exchange of regular reports and experiences with the T.U.I. affiliates in other countries. And industry-wide co-ordination in the context of T.U.I. programmes and initiatives is still far from satisfactory.

The decision to hold an Asian Trade Union Conference on "Development and a New International Economic Order" in Delhi in November 1984 should contribute greatly to strengthening of fraternal relations and mutual cooperation between Asian T.U. organisations.

## **Organisation**

Since the 31st Congress at Visakhapatnam, the AITUC's mass activity, influence and prestige have undoubtedly registered a welcome increase. Its tactical line of united mass actions has recorded big achievements, including the consolidation and strengthening of the N.C.C. as a broad platform of trade union unity. In the big all-India mobilisations of this period, the AITUC has played the leading role and this is admitted by friends and foes alike.

However, the same cannot be claimed in respect of our organisation as a whole. There has been a limited improvement in so far as some State committees (Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Orissa, Maharashtra, Assam, Bihar, being the main ones) have begun to send regular reports to the Centre. Also, during the last year, there has been some pick-up in the payment of arrears of affiliation fees. A number of **State Committees have held their conferences during this period, though some have not.**

## THE AITUC CENTRE

But generally it can be said that our organisation still needs a great deal of tightening up. Implementation of decisions taken centrally is far from uniform. The first and foremost requirement is the strengthening of the AITUC Centre itself, so that it is really capable of performing its leading, planning, guiding and coordinating responsibilities. A strong and well-knit team of central leaders who can attend promptly to the many and varied problems and be **as mobile as required in such a large country, has yet to be evolved.** The central office is inadequately equipped to help the unions and federations with their problems and their dealings with the Central Government.

Our fortnightly journal, "*Trade Union Record*" has improved in quality and contains a wealth of data and information, as well as analysis of current developments. But it is unfortunate that a large number of affiliated unions and even some State Committees are not its regular subscribers.

In the majority of States, (some of which, in size and population, are larger than countries of Europe) there are not yet collective teams of leadership, and a heavy burden of T.U.C. work falls on the shoulders of one or two comrades.

## TRADE UNION EDUCATION

In the field of trade union education, we have found extreme practical difficulties in conducting centralised schools for the cadres. We have, therefore, opted for a more flex-

ible pattern—zonal or regional schools with central assistance in the forms of lecturers and syllabus; State-run schools; and utilising the facilities of the Government sponsored Workers' Education Scheme, whose orientation is, however, getting more and more unsatisfactory from the stand-point of our philosophy.

We have organised, in this period, one Zonal School at Bangalore and another at Trivandrum with the help of WFTU lecturers, and a specialised school for Steel industry cadres at Bokaro. We have also helped the LIC Employees' Federation to run two schools. Besides this, we have sent trade union cadres for education at seminars in Hungary and Bulgaria at the invitation of their respective national organisations, to whom we are grateful for this fraternal assistance. But we are lagging far behind the requirements of the movement in educational and ideological work.

These and many other problems, will have to be given high-priority attention by the new leadership to be elected from this Session.

## **GROWTH OF MEMBERSHIP**

In conditions of the historically inherited disunity and divisions in the movement as a whole, it may be unreal to expect a spectacular increase in membership of our unions. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that our mass influence has grown without being organisationally reflected in our membership. There is considerable scope for growth. One of the principal factors holding it back is the lack of adequate democratic functioning of most the unions, and of some State committees also. This malady was pointed out in the report of the 31st Congress also, but there has been hardly any improvement since then.

## **The Main Tasks Ahead**

The capitalist crisis, internationally and at home, is bound to deepen with the logic of economic and social development, and despite the manoeuvres, repressions or temporary palliatives of the reactionary forces the world over.

The Indian economy is a part of the world capitalist system, and the Indian working class is a part of the international working class. We have to be guided by the broad perspectives outlined by the 10th World Trade Union Congress, in their concrete application to the specific conditions of our country.

### **AITUC AT THE HEAD OF STRUGGLES**

The AITUC's prime task in the coming days is to work for, and to stand at the head of, the intensification of the trade union struggles. These can be a decisive factor in social progress, provided they are not guided by a narrow outlook of "economism". Already these struggles are assuming a broad democratic and popular character which has great political significance. We must work consciously to take this process forward, and develop the workers' consciousness accordingly.

### **EXPAND ORGANISATION TO NEWER SECTIONS**

The AITUC must play a more active and effective role in drawing new strata and new sections into the struggles, especially workers of the unorganised sector, agricultural labour, women, young workers, engineers and technicians, all of whom are already on the move for their own specific rights and also for the common goals of a more just and democratic society.

### **DEVELOP SOLIDARITY ACTIONS**

The AITUC must strive to make itself an instrument for inspiring, organising, and coordinating the trade union struggles of a new and broader type, and for developing the concept and practice of solidarity actions.

### **STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY**

The AITUC must more forcefully make itself a detach-

ment of the forces of international solidarity against underdevelopment and its crippling consequences, against the effects of the capitalist crisis, against fascism, colonialism, racism and apartheid, and for a new international economic order, for peace and disarmament.

#### **FURTHER STRENGTHEN NCC**

The AITUC must work for the further strengthening of the N.C.C. as a national platform of united trade union action on common slogans and demands, and for the successful implementation of its action programmes; despite differences and disagreements with other organisations, the AITUC must champion the expansion of united action for resisting the onslaughts of capitalism and its agents.

#### **STRUGGLE FOR RIGHT TO WORK**

The AITUC must educate the mobilise the workers to demand recognition by our country's Constitution of the fundamental right to work, the unfettered right of freedom of expression, of association, and for equality of opportunity for all to the benefits of education, housing, health services and social security, as against the present privileges of the few.

#### **COMBAT COMMUNAL AND DIVISIVE FORCES**

The AITUC will have to be much more active than hitherto in combating the communal and divisive forces which are out to destroy the secular fabric of our country, as also the disruptive and chauvinistic provocations based on casteism, linguistic and regional differences.

#### **AGAINST MONOPOLIES AND MNCs, STRENGTHEN SELF-RELIANCE**

The AITUC must carry forward its struggle for nationalisation of key industries against the monopoly houses and the MNC's, and for strengthening and defending the self-reliance of the public sector by its democratisation, workers' participation in its management, and for an end to wastage, corruption and bureaucratic power.

#### **FIGHT FOR TU AND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

The AITUC must fight relentlessly and uncompromising-

ly against all attacks on trade union and democratic rights, against official interference in the internal functioning of trade unions, and against all bans on strikes whether by reactionary laws or police repression.

#### **AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT AND PRICE RISE**

The AITUC must concentrate, in the coming period, on (a) the struggle against unemployment and its varied manifestations and evil consequences, and (b) the continuing struggle against rising prices and falling real wages, and for a comprehensive public distribution system under democratic supervision and based on State control of the wholesale trade in foodgrains.

#### **ORGANISE THE UNORGANISED**

The AITUC must work to organise the vast millions of the unorganised sector, and to lead their struggles for a minimum living wage and statutory rights and benefits. For this, District T.U. Councils can play an important role.

#### **MOBILISE WORKERS AGAINST IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACIES**

In view of the intensifying war conspiracies and manoeuvres of US imperialism against India with a view to weaken, divide and destabilise it and to encircle it with military bases, the AITUC must be in the forefront for boldly exposing and resisting this danger, and for mobilising all sections of the workers in this common, patriotic task.

With determination and perseverance for the fulfilment of the above broad tasks, and with faith in the essential unity of our heroic working class for struggle and social progress, let this 32nd Congress resolve to build a more active, effective, and militant AITUC capable of discharging its heavy responsibilities.

- \* LONG LIVE THE AITUC !
- \* LONG LIVE WORKERS' UNITY !
- \* LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS !
- \* LONG LIVE WORLD PEACE !

## **Appendix I**

### **THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF TRADE UNIONS**

Two years have passed since the First National Convention of Trade Unions was held in Bombay on June 4, 1981 under the auspices of eight Central Unions, 40 Industrial Federations and several independent Trade Unions participated in that Convention. The Convention adopted a **charter of demands** and authorised the National Campaign Committee (NCC) to implement, step by step, a programme of agitation and mass action, which was unanimously approved by the 4,000 delegates attending the Convention. This was intended to oppose and resist the anti-labour, anti-people, anti-democratic and pro-monopoly, pro-national and repressive policies of the Government.

2. This Convention notes with satisfaction that despite the many hurdles created in organising country-wide mobilisations for the first time, the movements led by the NCC, facing heavy repression, have achieved significant measures of success. They have created a new heightened level of consciousness in the working class. Above all, the experience in these movements has created a new awareness among the workers on the vital necessity of strengthening the unity of the working class and united actions by the Trade Unions on common demands and issues, despite different Trade Union affiliations. As a result, the NCC has emerged as the joint trade union platform and central rallying point for the working class. The need of the hour therefore is to carry forward and further develop the consolidation already achieved during the last two years.

3. The successful campaign launched through state-wide Conventions, protest demonstrations and rallies culminated in an unprecedented march of the workers from all over

the country to Parliament on 23rd November 1981 and an All India Strike on January 19, 1982, in which about 1 crore and 25 lakh workers participated. In several states Bandhs were observed and in several cities, towns and even rural areas the entire people participated in these protest actions.

The 25 lakh employees in the public sector launched a country-wide movement under the active guidance of the NCC against the arbitrary guidelines of the Bureau of Public Enterprises on wage revision. The successful All India Convention in Steel, Coal, and BHEL followed by the All India Public Sector TU's Convention at Hyderabad in October 1982, generated a new enthusiasm among the workers and steeled them for a determined struggle. Then followed the historic strike of seven lakh Coalmine Workers on 8th November 1982 and 17-19 January 1983. Preparations were on for a one day strike in the Public Sector. Faced with this situation, the Government had to climb down and the wage agreements in the Steel, BHEL, NTPC, Oil and other industries have thrown overboard the BPE's guidelines paving the way for similar agreements in other Public Sector undertakings. The official INTUC unions had to take the same stand as the other unions in the negotiations.

The Government also had to agree to appoint a tripartite committee for the upward revision of the DA formula worked out by the BPE. These achievements in the Public Sector will have their impact in many private sector industries.

The powerful campaign against ESMA and NSA, the protest actions against the anti-labour legislative measures, and the Bihar Press Bill, the solidarity actions with the historic protracted strike of Bombay Textile workers—all these brought together several lakhs of workers on the same platform.

The Convention warmly greets the lakhs of workers in different industries and occupations, and the peasants and agricultural labourers, students, youth and others who courageously responded to the call of the NCC braving

police lathis and bullets, mass arrests and victimisations.

4. During the course of 1982-83, the Central Trade Unions comprising the NCC boycotted the tripartite labour conference convened by the Government as a mark of protest against its refusal to hold prior consultations with the unions on new labour legislations and also against its refusal to withdraw the ESMA and NSA, which are violative of the fundamental principles of collective bargaining and the right to strike.

Although the Government, the employers and the official INTUC leadership tried to belittle and ridicule our boycott, subsequent events have proved that the Government cannot afford to ignore or browbeat the boycotting Trade Unions and has to deal with them.

5. Despite the important gains for the working class in the recent period the prospects for the working class are grim in the near future. The crisis of our economy as a result of the capitalist path of development that our Government is pursuing is being further aggravated by the world-wide capitalist crisis. It has its disastrous effect on our country's economy and the working people. The advanced capitalist countries, the Multinationals and the International Financial Institutions serving their interests from whom our government borrows heavily and on whom it depends for transfer of so-called sophisticated technology, seek this opportunity to transfer a good part of the burdens of their crisis to our country and other developing countries. The Government and the capitalists in their turn try to transfer their burdens on to the shoulders of the working class by retrenchment, increased workload, depressed wage and denial of adequate compensation for rising cost of living.

6. Repeated periodical claims by the Government spokesmen that the price line has been held, are belied by Government's own published figures of wholesale and retail prices. In two months (May and June) the Working Class Consumer Price Index has risen by 25 points—the highest since last year so far. These inflationary policies are enabling industrial houses, multinationals and black-marketeers to earn unimaginable profits. As a result industrial

production has not only stagnated but in the year officially proclaimed as the "Productivity Year", industrial production has actually fallen. But the Big Business Houses, Monopolist and Multinationals are being given more and more concessions.

7. Deficit financing, additional taxation, periodical increase in the price of coal, steel, oil, cement, railway or transport freight and passenger fares and postal charges impose unbearable burdens on the common people.

Accumulation of huge foreign debts by borrowings from the World Bank, foreign Commercial Banks and the international Monetary Fund have not eased the crisis. On the other hand the conditionalities imposed by the IMF of removing import restrictions, while these advanced countries resort to protectionist policies, have actually worsened the balance of payment position. Further, the intensification of unequal terms of trade aggravates the crisis and leads to further stagnation of industrial activity.

8. Closures and lock-outs are increasing. Unemployment and mass poverty increase by leaps and bounds. Government refuses to take over closed and sick units. This sickness is the result of the policy of the Government which allows the looting of these factories by the tycoons and diversion of funds into more profitable pastures.

Land reforms are not implemented. Producers of agricultural commodities especially the small and middle peasants are denied a remunerative price. The Minimum Wages Act has remained a dead letter as far as the agricultural labourers, workers in the unorganised sector and under contractors are concerned. Food production is seriously affected by floods and drought in large areas. The Public Distribution System has virually collapsed, particularly in the rural areas leading to rocketing prices in the open market. The plight of agricultural workers and tribals is worsening day by day.

9. The employers have become more recalcitrant and are forcing strikes on workers. These strikes are becoming more and more protracted and the repressive machinery of Government is more and more blatantly used against the

workers. This is their general strategy to tire out and starve them out into submission on humiliating terms. The classical example of this has been the historic strike of the Bombay Textile workers.

10. The basically anti-labour policies of the Central Government continue. The policy of restraints on wage increase, though defeated in the major public sector undertakings is being pursued relentlessly elsewhere.

It has refused to agree to the legitimate demands of the Government employees and workers in departmentally run undertakings for parity in wages with the Public Sector. Instead it has announced a paltry interim relief and referred the whole question to a Pay Commission—the usual method of shelving the issue.

It had amended the LIC Act, issued a notification in GIC and taken away the Right of Collective Bargaining which they had enjoyed for years. It had further attacked their bonus by the same amendments. The service conditions of these employees have been unilaterally changed.

In the vast unorganised industries, and workers under contractors even in the Public Sector and Government Projects, the 'notified' minimum wages are far below subsistence level. These millions of worst exploited workers including tribal and agricultural workers have no job security, no social insurance, no trade union rights and wherever some protective legislation exists, it is violated with impunity.

Atrocities on women have increased. Dowry deaths have become a common day to day occurrence. The condition of working women is deteriorating day by day. Job opportunities are diminishing for them. Protective legislations for them are blatantly violated. Employers, both private and Government refuse to employ them to avoid statutory obligations.

11. Curtailment of Trade Union rights, blatant violation of the ILO Conventions on Freedom of Association and Right of Collective Bargaining, draconian new Bills such as the Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill, 1982, the Hospital and other Institutions (Settlement of Disputes) Bill, 1982

etc. are being pushed through despite the opposition of the entire trade union movement. Use of Articles 310 and 311 2(c) of the Constitution for summary dismissal of the Government employees has become frequent.

12. Despite near unanimity of the trade union movement demanding recognition of unions on the democratic basis of secret ballot, the Government gives the veto power to the official INTUC and refuses to accept the demand. On the other hand, it bolsters up the official INTUC and imposes the discredited procedure of "verification of membership". The longest ever fought Bombay Textile Workers' strike has exposed the hollowness of the BIR Act and of the policy of foisting stooge unions of the workers.

13. The Convention notes with grave concern the increasing casteist and communal riots and the activities of the divisive forces in many parts of the country. Pitting caste against caste and community against community and engineering riots is the specific weapons used by the ruling classes to divide workers and toiling people, divert their attention from their pressing problems and make them enter into fratricidal war. The Convention warns the working class and the working people to be vigilant against these machinations of their exploiters and to defeat them. The Convention in particular notes the alarming situation in Assam and Punjab which is adversely affecting the trade unions.

14. This National Convention reiterates the correctness and importance of the basic outlook proclaimed by the Bombay Convention of 1981, viz, that the struggle of the working class, closely linked up with the struggle of the working people is an integral part of the general democratic movement. The working class, must also champion the demands of the peasantry and agricultural workers as well as of other exploited and oppressed sections. The demands and slogans of the Bombay Convention must be taken up with redoubled vigour. They are:

(i) Need-based minimum wages on the basis of norms laid down by the 15th Indian Labour Conference;

(ii) Full neutralisation of the rise in cost of living. Re-

removal of ceiling of Rs. 1.30 per point rise in price index (1960 base) arbitrarily fixed by the BPE;

(iii) Amendment of the Payment of Bonus Act providing bonus for all workers without ceiling and preconditions;

(iv) Enactment of legislation for agricultural workers' wages and job security;

(v) Ban on retrenchment and closures; introduction of unemployment allowance to the unemployed;

(vi) Withdrawal of all victimisation measures against workers and TU activists;

(vii) Rectification of fraudulent cost of living indices;

(viii) Recognition of TUs through secret ballot;

(ix) Full guarantee of collective bargaining and T.U. rights without any discrimination;

(x) Repeal of National Security Act, ESMA and other repressive measures, the I.D. Amendment Act etc and withdrawal of the pending anti-labour Bills.

(xi) Job security of working women including job opportunities and protective legislation to them.

15. In order to invest the next phase of our all-India movement with a higher level of consciousness and militancy and a broader base for united mass mobilisation and striking power, this National Convention wishes to highlight the undermentioned issues with added emphasis in the light of the common experience of the last two years:

(a) To make price-control of essential commodities and their public distribution effective, take-over the wholesale trade in foodgrains and other necessities of daily consumption and their distribution both under the supervision of elected citizens' committees;

(b) Nationalise or handover to the workers key industries which are being ruined by the mismanagement and profiteering of private owners, viz., Jute, Tea, Sugar, Drugs, Textiles;

(c) Stop taking loans from IMF, World Bank and foreign Commercial Banks.

(d) Curb the activities and powers of the foreign multinationals operating in India either within or without

the regulations of FERA and the MRTP Act; -drastically curtail import of technology and give encouragement to our scientists, engineers and technologists to achieve self reliance in all fields;

(e) Democratise the management of the public sector undertakings;

(f) Demand the right to work as a fundamental right; resist the offensive of lock-outs, closures and retrenchment, and introduction of mechanisation, computerisation and other labour saving devices, with consequent imposition of higher workloads and intensification of labour; jobs or unemployment allowance; a reduction in statutory hours of work; abolition of contract system in all perennial jobs.

(g) A minimum living wage for the millions in the unorganised and small-scale sector, with full statutory protection for rights of medical treatment, housing and social insurance;

(h) Government should not return the factories taken over from the former owners to any private agency but should nationalise them.

16. Experience of the past has shown that it is of utmost importance that apart from fighting for these immediate demands, the working class in cooperation with toiling people must take up the challenge and fight for the reversal of the intire policy of the Government. Without this in the conditions of the deepening economic crisis, whatever gains have been won will be lost and the wage and other conditions of the workers will be eroded rapidly.

17. This Convention denounces the gruesome massacre of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Tea Gardens workers of Indian origin.

18. This Convention warns the working class against the looming danger of a nuclear war. It urges on them to carry on an unremitting campaign for peace and disarmament.

19. This National Convention appeals to all its participants to carry its message and programme to every section of the working people in the organised as well as unorganised sectors, through extensive propaganda and intensive

coverage of those outside the influence of the previous NCC campaigns.

This alone can ensure more effective implementation of our next phase of All-India Action Programmes including:

(i) State and District level Conventions by the end of November 1983;

(ii) A Special Convention against lock-outs, closures and retrenchment and lay-offs;

(iii) A Special Convention of working women,

(iv) Marches & Conventions against price rise and unemployment;

(v) A special all-India Convention of workers in the unorganised sector;

(vi) Central demonstration before Parliament during Budget Session, 1984.

The Convention authorises the NCC to decide and prepare for such other actions as it thinks necessary and appropriate from time to time.

21 August 1983

New Delhi

## **Appendix II**

### **AITUC LETTER TO CITU**

*Below is reproduced the full text of the letter of AITUC General Secretary, Indrajit Gupta to CITU President, B. T. Ranadive on the question of "Confederation" of central trade unions which was again voiced recently by CITU leaders.*

*Besides an interim reply acknowledging receipt of the letter, no further communication has yet been received.*

Comrade B. T. Ranadive,

President,

Centre of Indian Trade Unions,

New Delhi

Dated 4.8.1982

Dear Comrade Ranadive,

It is reported in the Press that at the recently concluded meeting of the CITU General Council held at Bangalore,

you have reiterated your proposal for a "Confederation" of central trade unions in India. Such a proposal has been voiced on one or two earlier occasions also by CITU leaders.

Since your proposal is, I suppose, aimed at creating some sort of a permanent body of trade union centres to facilitate joint consultations and decisions on a continuing basis, we of the AITUC are naturally interested to know exactly what you have in mind, as anything which would really strengthen the unity and united action of the working class would be welcomed by all genuine trade unionists.

Unfortunately as far as we are able to understand, only an abstract slogan of "Confederation" has been mooted by the CITU, without spelling out its implications or defining its structural contours, without doing which it is not possible to understand the feasibility of your proposal. I am, therefore, writing to you to seek some clarifications which would help us to assess CITU's slogan of "Confederation".

Firstly, a Confederation, as distinct from a joint platform like the National Campaign Committee must imply an organisational structure with several federating units as well as a single leadership consisting of office-bearers, executive committee, etc. If that is so, do you propose that the existing constituents of the NCC should dissolve the latter and agree to merge in a single confederal body with its own constitution, and an elected or nominated leadership? If so, do you think this is possible at the present level of development of the T. U. movement?

Secondly, would the proposed Confederation confine its deliberations, decisions and action programmes to day-to-day economic demands and issues on which there is hardly likely to be any controversy? Would it not also concern itself with questions like nationalisation of key industries and of the wholesale trade in foodgrains, struggle against penetration of the MNC's, anti-imperialism, world peace, defence of the socialist community, international solidarity of the working class, etc.?

A Confederation bereft of any positive class ideology and limited only to the struggle for day to day demands, would hardly mean any qualitative advance from the NCC level, we feel. On the other hand, if we aim at a Confederation with a higher level of class and political consciousness which is certainly desirable would it not lead to self-exclusion of some central organisations?

Thirdly, can trade union unity in action be reinforced simply by establishing a top-level Confederal body, while leaving untouched and unsolved the burning reality of intense inter-Union rivalries at plant and local level?

Would it not be better to initiate mutual consultations and fraternal discussions on practical ways and means to do away with or, at least, to reduce the multiplicity of rival unions of different affiliations which is the tragic features of practically every factory and industry in this country? We think that at least among like-minded unions, it is perfectly feasible to work out an agreed formula leading to merger of different unions on a principled basis.

"Unity" at the top and bitter rivalries and hostilities at the base—this seems like putting the cart before the horse, which would prove infructuous, we fear.

In case the Confederation you have in mind is only another name for the National Campaign Committee, why not pool our efforts to strengthen and streamline the latter to make its functioning more regular, effective and democratic?

If, however, you are visualising a qualitatively different sort of united organisation, we would like the points mentioned in this letter to be clarified through elaboration of the implications thereof. We are always ready for a fraternal exchange of ideas on the subject.

With fraternal greetings,

Sd/-  
(INDRAJIT GUPTA)  
General Secretary.