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25TH SESSION**

(Ernakulam, December 25 to 29, 1957)



DRAFT REPORT

**S. A. DANGE,
GENERAL SECRETARY**



For Delegates Only

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS
25th Session - Ernakulam
Dec.25-29, 1957

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DRAFT REPORT

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

25th SESSION - ERNAKULAM

25 - 27 DECEMBER 1957

We are meeting at a time when most significant developments are taking place that open great vistas for human progress and civilisation. At the same time, things are taking place which in our country and the countries of imperialism, are causing hardships and misery to the toiling millions, because the vast new instruments of production and progress are not yet the property of the people and commanded by the organised power of the toiling millions.

The outstanding event that has captured the imagination of everyone throughout the world today is the two Sputniks that are even now circling our globe at fantastic speeds. Alongside nature's creations, man has thrown his own moons into the heavens. And there they stand.

This single event occurring in the month of October 1957 has produced its repercussions in science, in philosophy, in politics, in economy, in everything that concerns man's life.

When the atom was first split it was used to throw atom bombs to wipe out two Japanese cities and kill hundreds of thousands of people.

When the first Inter-continental Ballistic Missile was launched it was used to hurl the Sputnik in the heavens in the peaceful service of man. It delighted the people of the whole world and dismayed the warmongers. The arrogance of the American imperialists and their allies, who every now and then threatened to take the world to the brink of war was tempered at the sight of the ICBM and the Sputnik.

Why so?.....

Why so? Because the first atom bomb in the hands of the imperialists served the interests of imperialism. The first inter-continental ballistic missile because it was in the hands of the leading country of socialism served the peaceful needs of mankind. It is not man's science alone that advanced. It was socialistic science that advanced and hence it served the peaceful needs of man.

Anyone scanning the press of the imperialist world can see this effect. Before the Sputnik was launched, the American imperialists were creating a war-crisis in the Middle-East. But after the Soviet Union had shown its ICBM, the warmongers piped down. The Tory Press of Britain noted that the Sputnik has drawn the Arab world and the world of all under-developed countries away from the dazzling sights of West European power.

The ICBM and the Sputnik in the hands of socialism gives another vital lesson to the working class and the people of the world. A country which only forty years ago was a backward under-developed country, when it was ruled by the working class on the basis of the theory and practice of socialism has outstripped the most powerful imperialist powers in science and technological industrial development. What capitalism with two hundred years of development could not do, forty years of socialism could do, in spite of two invasions, cold war and economic boycott of their country at the hands of the imperialists. This equation is enough to measure the rate of growth that a country can achieve when a socialist working class comes to power. Even the ruling class in England and America has raised the question as to why their education and supply of engineering cadres and skill are falling behind that of the Soviet system. This shows how the world of the working class is advancing, the world of capitalism and imperialism receding.

..... It is evident that we in India cannot remain isolated from the import of these things. Both the people and the Government are aware and responsive.....

and responsive to these happenings.

Our country has chosen to remain in the path of peace. Our people and the Government both have refused to walk into the camp of warmongers. The chief architect of the foreign policy of our country, Pandit Nehru, as the head of the Government, has cast all his weight on the side of peace. His latest initiative, once again, after the Sputnik went up in space, in addressing an appeal to the Great Powers to suspend atomic bomb tests and meet to discuss things around the table has been fully endorsed by the Soviet Union. He has once again denounced the policy of war pacts, just when the NATO powers were meeting in Europe.

The second most important event is the resolution on ~~xxx~~ peaceful co-existence that was adopted by the 82 countries of the United Nations. It was a resolution sponsored by India, Sweden and and was based on the five principles first signed between India and Yugoslavia China in April 1954. It was a culmination of a whole historical process that the principle of co-existence has now become the accepted principle of all the countries of the world.

2. The other most important feature of our time is the daily increasing collapse of the colonial system, which has been the mainstay of imperialism and the subjugation and exploitation of hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

When Europe and America developed capitalism two centuries ago with the help of the new technique of production, they became industrialised and rich. The countries of Asia which so long had been the most advanced and rich with the old modes of production were left behind.

The capitalists of Europe invaded and subjugated the people of Asia and Africa, robbed them of their wealth, made them work for supplying cheap raw materials to the capitalist industries of Europe, chiefly England, and poured the goods of their factories into these

countries.....

countries in order to reap profits. The new advances of civilisation instead of lightening the toil and misery of man, gave wealth and leisure to a handful of exploiters and owners of capital and plunged the millions of the Asian, African and Latin American people into colonial slavery to the so-called advanced countries of Europe and America.

I need not recount all that history now. We all know what has been the outcome. The powers of production increased on a vast scale. The whole globe, its markets and materials were brought within the compass of a single world-market of capital. Yet capitalism began to suffer from its very birth from periodical crises of over-production. In order to preserve the gains of exploitation, each capitalist country vied with its rival; they went to war with each other for markets, for colonies, for profits, as in 1914 and 1939.

In order to better exploit the colonial people, the imperialists had to introduce the new means of production and elements of the capitalist system in these subject-countries. The result was that there also a capitalist class, a new working class came into existence. A new consciousness and nationalism, a will to be liberated from foreign invaders began to gather force, at each crisis in the system of imperialism. The countries of Asia began to struggle against imperialism to be free to develop their own resources for themselves. Thus the colonialists began to encounter the opposition of the liberation movements of the subject-countries.

3. We must not forget, however, that the initial force, the first sufferer on the basis of whose exploitation, capitalism in the world grew and enslaved the countries of Asia and Africa was the working class of Europe. This working class, at first, was as badly treated as the colonial people. But soon it learnt to resist and defend itself against the employers. It learned to build trade unions. It conducted strikes and fought for lesser hours of work and higher

wages, and protection from the state in these matters, by enactment of laws. These bitter struggles and sacrifices helped it improve to some extent its conditions of work and living.

But it soon found that whenever it made some gains, the capitalist found further means to increase his profits. In fact, with reduction of hours of work, he increased the speed of work. With the increase in wages, he increased the load of work. With each innovation in technique, the capitalist continued to multiply his wealth. He fought the trade unions and strikes with the aid of the state machinery, the law and the police which were controlled by capitalist class. A time came when mere strikes and even all-national strikes, embracing all industries, could not defeat the power of capitalism. The crisis visited society as before and each crisis nearly wiped out the gains of the previous period for the working class.

This experience led the working class to probe the secret of the crisis and of his suffering that is the secret of the laws of capitalist society. Intellectuals, who had thrown their lot with the working class, came to its help and the working class soon learnt the secret of the crisis, of the phenomenon of accumulation of wealth on one side and accumulation of misery on the other. It found the secret of this in the fact that while the capitalist bought him for a fixed wage for a day, or week or month and took work from him, the worker always created more value than he was paid for. This vast surplus, this difference between what he got and what he gave back as a result of his labour made the vast profits of capital. If he got the value of a pound of wheat for wage, for a day, he gave back value of two, three or four pounds, depending on the hours of work he did and the instruments he was given to use.

This secret the worker felt in his own experience of life. He felt it in his bones every hour, every day he worked and lived. This

secret.....

secret alone could explain the nature of the crisis of over-production - too many things remaining un-sold, while too many people wanting those very things, willing to work and willing to buy, but unable to do so because capitalism will not sell except for profit and will not employ them unless it is for profit. This secret told them that the cure of this is not only to fight for temporary improvement of living and working conditions - but also to fight for a new goal, the goal of socialism, where the private ownership of the means of production will be abolished and the gains of labour of hand and brain will flow back to all and not become the private property of a private class of owners. To change and reorganise society in this new basis became the aim and object of the working class, both of its trade union movement and of its political parties. Imperialism was thus confronted with a battle on two fronts. In its home-countries it was confronted with its own working class struggling for socialism. And in its subject-countries abroad, it was confronted with the national revolutionary movement struggling for freedom.

All these things seem to be very clear and simple to us. They seem very natural and right to us today.

But forty years ago, they did not seem so right, so natural.

Even the utterance of the word 'Home Rule' or self-government was forbidden in our country. And when we founded the All-India Trade Union Congress in 1920, the word 'socialism' and 'political independence' was taboo. How things have changed since then and at what sacrifices!

All trade unions of all shades now participate in politics.

All accept the defence of freedom and independence of the country as their important duty. All accept socialism as their objective. All accept the obligations of international solidarity, the need for peace and opposition to warmongers. All or most of us are in some international organisation, either in the W.F.T.U. or the I.C.F.T.U. All trade

unions.....

unions now send May Day delegations of fraternal friendship to Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries.

Thus has widened the mighty working class and trade union movement of our country, in its objectives and principles. When the working-class and the trade union movement has advanced as to have the above common objectives - what divides it then and why should it not unite for the attainment of these objectives all the world over and in India?

4. Forty years ago, socialism was only a theory, a slogan for propaganda, and not a reality anywhere.

Forty years ago the independence of the colonial countries was only a movement and not a reality anywhere.

Forty years ago, after the First World War, in which the imperialists tore each other's throats to re-divide the world for their profits, the working class of Russia carried out a Revolution and established the first socialist state.

Forty years ago, after the First World War, the countries of Asia and the Middle-East launched their great struggles for freedom - as in China, India, Egypt, Indonesia, Turkey, etc.

Our struggles for freedom were drowned in massacres. But they failed to massacre the Soviet State.

One may or may not agree with the socialist State of the Soviet Union in all its doings or politics. But none can escape the fact that the first socialist state of the world helped the colonial people in their struggle for freedom (viz. China, Turkey, etc.); that this state industrialised itself without capitalism, that in its socialist system, unemployment and periodic crisis of over-production had been eliminated, the right to work and rest, the right to education and culture had become a reality for the toiling people. The slogan of socialism became a reality.

Despite.....

Despite the ironical finger of capitalist critics pointing ~~out~~ to certain deficiencies in the Soviet Union, one could not point out a class of factory owners there closing down factories because they could not make profits! Nor, too, a class of landlords evicting poor tenants from land or millions of un-employed roaming in search of work and living.

Once again, the imperialists, in 1939, launched a second World War, and once again they failed in their aims. The world of socialism became bigger.

Not only that. After this war, those colonial and subject people who were struggling for independence advanced on the road to freedom. China, India, Indonesia, North Viet-Nam, North Korea, many countries of the African Continent shook off the yoke of foreign rule. And many others strengthened their struggle to be free. The slogan of National Independence became a reality for the major part of the people of the subject-countries. The increasing independence of the under-developed countries, setting free hundreds of millions of people from the clutches of the imperialist system is a great blow to colonialism and a step forward towards the liberation of the whole of mankind.

The imperialists, however, are not resting content with their defeat. The grand spectacle of free Asia, as seen in the Bandung Conference in 1955, has frightened and enraged them. With the ferocity of a wounded beast they counter-attack the freedom movements. They even dare to launch armed invasions to ~~to~~ destroy the freedom already gained by some countries, as was shown in the attempt of the British and the French to re-enslave free Egypt. The American and British are trying to take away the political freedom of the Arab countries, in order to make their hold on oil wells and oil profits safe and to establish war bases against socialism and the freedom of the Asian people. They refuse to let Algeria have its freedom. They tried a war scare in Syria.

Despite.....

Despite granting Malaya its freedom, they hope to keep it within
their grasp. In Latin America, they try to impose dictatorial governments
amenable to the will of the American imperialists and have succeeded
in some places. The Portuguese, aided by the Anglo-Americans refuse
to give up their Goa territory. Even in India, only the other day,
Pandit Nehru had to say that some colonial interests did not like
India's freedom and want to weaken it. They try to embroil us with
Pakistan on Kashmir or some other excuse.

The heroic Algerian people are carrying on a war of liberation.
The organised working class of Indonesia has retaliated against the
Dutch imperialists who want to dismember Indonesia by fomenting military
conspiracies and seizing the Indonesian territory of West Irian from
the hands of their Central Government. This is enough to show that
the colonialists are not ready even now to give up their hold peacefully
and that the struggle against colonialism has to continue unabated.

The Government of India has declared that it supported the claim of
Indonesia on West Irian and the demand of Algeria for freedom. The working
class and people of India stand unequivocally on the side of the
Indonesian people, the Algerian people, the peoples of the Arab world
and the African Continent in their struggle against the colonialists,
who are today led by the American monopolists.

The solidarity of the Asian-African people must be strengthened
by the trade unions of these countries actively defending each other's
interests in co-operation with all the patriotic and colonial forces
in every country against the attacks of the colonialists. Trade unions
of all shades and thought in India can and should unite in this common
task. The AITUC joins in this common task.

II

5. India, after achieving freedom, is confronted with the problem of developing her economy, so as to overcome the backwardness and poverty of the country, in which the British imperialists had kept her. This is a problem of all under-developed countries who have achieved their freedom. Our working class and trade unions have their duty to do in the solution of this problem, because unless we participate in the solution of the problem as an organised force, the working class and the people will not advance on the road to socialism. Even the independence of the country will be in jeopardy.

Political independence in today's world becomes a formal affair, unless the country strengthens it by economic independence. Our country has seen the problem and has resolved to solve it. But unfortunately the way to the solution is bristling with serious difficulties. As the strongest sector of the trade union movement of our country, the AITUC has to take note of these difficulties and contribute its might to overcome them.

What is the nature of the difficulties and from where do they arise?

All the difficulties follow initially from the fact that foreign rule kept our economy backward and under-developed. So the problem before us is to develop agriculture for food and raw materials and to industrialise our country.

In the early days after the Congress Government came to power, the imperialists tried to obstruct the stabilisation of our freedom by creating centres of reactionary attacks on our country by means of the Kashmir invasion, the conspiracies of the princes, the immense refugee influx and so on. To add to all these difficulties, the landlords and reactionary monied interests created scarcity and high prices in order to make unprecedented profits. The Government advised

by these.....

by these very interests in economic matters, played with de-control and control and allowed them to jeopardise the life of the people. It took some four years to allay the turmoil.

Then Government began to speak of planned economy. The severe defeats sustained by the Congress Party in the elections in many places, the struggles conducted by the working class and the peasantry in defence of their rights and living and in opposition to the reactionary policies also had their effect. Government promised to abolish landlordism and carry out land reforms in order to overcome backwardness in agriculture and to launch schemes of industrialisation.

The results of the working of the First Five-Year Plan are already known to you.

The Plan from the very inception was not intended to be one of industrialisation. Agriculture and irrigation was to take 33 per cent of the total outlay, while industries and minerals were allotted 7 per cent. There was not a single iron and steel works in the First Plan.

The profits of the Korean war boom and very good harvests helped the First Plan to present a picture of success and achievements a little out of proportion to the reality of the situation. There is no ~~any~~ doubt that the national income increased by 18 per cent. But a large part of this was due to good monsoons and harvests. Capital investments of Rs.

The main outcome was that war-time rationing was abolished, the war-time loss of production in many lines, viz. textiles, sugar, etc. was overcome and we were only trying to catch up with the 1939 pre-war level, which itself was one of poverty and backwardness. It was time something bigger and better was planned. So the Second Five-Year Plan with an emphasis on industrialisation was proposed.

6. The Second Plan was twice the size of the first in the matter of money investments - 2,400 crores in the first, 4,800 in the second, in central and state outlays only, apart from private investments. In percentages, industry and minerals were given 19 per cent compared to 7 per cent in the first.

The Second Plan differed from the First in many basic features. The Second Plan in its conception was one which could have been beneficial to the country as a whole.

Its first feature was that a large part of the investment was to be made in the State Sector. The major volume of new capital was to be state-owned.

The second feature was that new heavy engineering machine-building plants, iron and steel works, coal mining and oil exploration, which still remain in the hands of private and foreign monopoly capital were to be immediately undertaken in the state sector.

The third feature was that in all this development, sole reliance was not to be placed on the capitalist countries of the West in the matter of procuring capital goods and loans. Countries of the socialist camp, particularly the Soviet Union, were also to be approached for aid.

The fourth feature was that land reforms like putting a ceiling on land and distribution of land was to be carried out.

The fifth feature was that as the basis for all this, the Parliament adopted socialism as the objective for the whole country.

Who would not welcome these five features of the Second Plan, features which, if worked out fully and honestly, would certainly be a great step forward to overcoming the backwardness or colonial character of our economy and launch it on the road to progress?

7. Of course,.....

7. Of course, we have our criticism of the Plan - the first point in the criticism being - is the Government of the Congress Party, which in its major part is dominated by the influences of monopoly-capital, really capable and desirous of translating all the five-features into practice?

How can a party influenced by monopoly capital abolish capitalism and introduce socialist measures? Mere state ownership of certain plants does not constitute socialism. The railways were state-owned even in British days.

How can a party influenced or led by monopoly capital allow India to turn to the socialist countries for aid and thereby displease and destroy its traditional partners of trade and investment from the capitalist West?

These questions are right and must be raised. But the fact that such questions are raised by millions of workers is due to what? It is due to the presence of the very five features in the Second Plan. Since they are there, the country, and the working class can demand that these features be observed and fulfilled. He who breaks these features can be denounced as an opponent of the people's interests. That itself is a great advantage for the positions of the working class and the mass of people.

But we are not the only critics of the Plan. There are others, who want the Plan to be cut or pruned, who call it ambitious, who want the Plan, as it is, to fail. These are critics from Right-wing Reaction.

What is their main plank of criticism? It is those very five important features which invite their greatest wrath. They resent what we welcome. Both of us are critics of the Plan. But one wants to destroy the Plan on behalf of reactionary monopoly capital and their foreign inspirers, while our criticisms want to strengthen it against these Right-wing disruptors.

The Working.....

The Working Committee of the AITUC has time and again discussed this problem and declared its position in the above terms unequivocally.

8. I need not discuss in detail the extremely important economic, political and social implications of the features mentioned above.

It is not an accident that the principal owner of the Indian Iron & Steel Co. of Burnpur, openly called on Government to drop building the steel plants, on the most astounding ground that India does not need so much steel! This Company has got loan from the Government and the Americans for its own expansion. It is not an accident that as soon as Rumanian and Soviet oil-drilling parties came to India, Burma-Shell and Standard-Vacuum hurried up their talks with the Government for further prospecting of their oil and building refineries. It is not an accident that the big monopolists on coal agreed to step up production when Government itself decided to open its own mines and asked the Soviet Union to give them a plant for making mining machinery. And it is not purely a financial or technical matter that the Hourkela Steel plant to be built by the Germans is still in blue-prints and Durgapur steel plant to be built by the Britishers is looking out for a bankers' loan, while Bhilai to be built by the Soviet is going up by leaps and bounds and hopes to be completed ahead of schedule.

This happens because the capitalist countries are not very much glad to see India advancing on the road to economic independence and getting rid of their control, while the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are not-profit-making capitalist countries are glad to see and help in the development of all underdeveloped countries, so that the working class and the toiling people can rapidly advance to socialism and prosperity.

The critics of the Right see this and act to blow up our State-owned heavy industry development. The critics of the Left must also see this and act to improve, strengthen and fulfil that development.

9. Does this mean that we do not want to take help from the countries of capitalism - from England or America? It does not mean so. The development of our economy requires the supply of capital goods from all the industrially advanced countries. But a country like ours, a country that has been kept backward by the colonialists, cannot have capital enough to pay all at once for all those capital goods, technique and know-how. Hence, we ask for loans.

But the colonialists want to dictate terms for their loans. They want us to join their war pacts. They want control over our resources - which means they want us to be subject to them once again.

Another reason why their help is not helpful enough is the fact they they charge disproportionately high prices for their supplies and services to earn super profits. Then when we wish to pay they do not take our payment in rupees, because it means that they have to buy something from us in return to what they supply us. That puts us in what is described as crisis of foreign exchange.

The capitalist countries, moreover, do not like to give us loans to build heavy industries at all and particularly in the State sector. They are ready to sell us their surplus wheat, their unsaleable cotton. But they are unwilling to give us readily machine making plants. They want to lend mainly to their class brothers in private enterprise for private profit. They readily loaned money to Tatas, Martin-Burn, Birla and others.

This is what compelled the Government of India to seek loans and help from the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. Otherwise, the Government with its traditional trade links with capitalist countries tried as much as possible to avoid trade relations with the socialist countries. But the obstacles put in the way of our development by the capitalist countries, particularly by the financiers of USA, Britain, and the friendly straightforward terms offered

terms offered by the Socialist countries, without any strings attached to them, convinced the people of our country that help from them is genuine, really efficient and comes in time. Even the Government and the bourgeoisie had to admit it. Such help is upsetting the plans of the colonialists and of the Right wing critics who want to keep India under-developed and once again attach her to their band-wagon.

10. It is, however, known that the Second Five Year Plan is in great difficulties, that it is being cut down or pruned and that the Plan is no longer what it promised to be. How then are we to support it and what can we do to checkmate its saboteurs some of whom manage to utilise even the Governmental apparatus for their unholy work.

Here is what Mr. A.D. Shroff, a well known banker-industrialist says about imports which affect our foreign exchange.

"The indiscriminate and crazy manner", in which licences were issued by the Government of India last year has created "a very serious situation" in the country. He said there was "trafficking in licences". (Times of India, 10.12.57)

Of course Mr. Shroff as a banker should have known what was happening in the banks of his own class. Now as a Right-wing critic the lesson he draws is that "both planners and their supporters" would have realised by now that the philosophy on which the plan was based - attainment of a socialistic pattern of society - "looked much a good horse in the stable but is proving an arrant jade on the journey". (Times, 10.12.57). Mr. Shroff forgot to see that it was because the horse was being jockeyed by the brethren of his own class, who want to purposely fail it in the run and then buy it up at the price of a jade!

We must remember that if the Plan fails, the results will not affect only the ruling Party. It will spell immense economic difficulties for the whole country. No doubt the political responsibility of the failure will be in the ruling Congress Party. But then the misery will be for everyone to suffer. It may even become a political gain for the.....

gain for the genuine parties of the left. But the gain will be far greater, if we can save the best of the Plan and defeat the monopoly-capitalists in their game against the people.

Here we have no time to go into the analysis of all the factors that are taking our economy to a crisis. Some people say that the difficulties are of growth and, therefore, healthy difficulties. What are the main elements of the situation which cause the difficulties.

11. The main complaint of the Planners is that the resources from foreign loan capital that they expected to get are not forthcoming. The cost of what is coming has gone up. Our ^{exports,} which should have paid for some of these vital imports for the Plan are falling in price and in quantity. Hence many of the schemes of electricity, transport, fertiliser factories etc. have to be curtailed, except such as have been already launched.

In the matter of foreign resources, what was not being put clearly before the people is that resources of foreign exchange have been utilised at random, without plan or proper control and with the connivance of the Ministries concerned by monopolists in the private sector. "Imports in 1955-56 increased from 751 crores to 1077 crores, in 1956-57..... The increase in imports was shared by both the public and private sectors, - imports on Government account having increased from Rs.139 crores in 1955-56 to 281 crores in 1956-57; and imports on private account from Rs.612 crores to Rs.796 crores." says the Planning Commission's review.

It is noteworthy that in spite of the increasing tempo and percentage of outlay in the State sector visualised in the Plan, private imports have risen more than Government's and secondly while Government import account is limping at Rs.281 crores, the private account stands at 796 crores. The account of state imports for productive purposes would be still poorer if we remember that a large part of it is for Defence purposes.

This shows

This shows where the foreign exchange goes - not so much for the use of the State sector as of the private sector. This does not ofcourse mean that no activity in the private sector feeds the Plan or that the private sector can be abolished outright from all spheres. It shows how strong the capitalist private sector is and growing and how weak remains the State sector.

This is why it happened that when recently the Finance Minister of the Government of India went abroad for getting loans for the State Sector of industries, he came back with big deals for the private sector. Some say he failed the State but saved the private!

In Planning Commission Review says that in the industry in private sector 85 crores were invested in 1955-56 and 160 crores in 1956-57 with an expectation of Rs.270 crores in 1957-58. This does not include unrevealed investments!

12. Next to the obstruction of the foreign monopolists, is the activity of the capitalists of the private sector that hamper the Plan and impose hardships on the people. Their evasion of taxes, running with several hundred crores imposes higher taxes on the people to provide money for the Government. Their speculative activities and profiteering in prices, make the living costs of the majority of people unbearable and uncertain. Their robbery of public money (though caught very rarely) as was done in the case of the Telco locomotive prices of the Tatas or the Life Insurance investments in the concerns of the Mundras or the scandals of the Indian Finance Corporation, the Sodepur Glass Works, the Nepa Paper Mills, the theft of stores in Bhakra -Nangal Dam, the failure of the Bombay Tubewells, not only goes unpunished, but is even explained away as unavoidable hazards of private enterprise in the service of the country! The Mundra and the Insurance Corporation funds scandal, which would have led to a crash of a cabinet even in a bourgeois democracy like England, was explained away and laughed at by some of the Ministers in the Parliament. Such is their consciousness of socialism, social good and the Plan.....

and the Plan.

13. The third serious element in the situation is the failure of food supplies. It is stated by the Government that this is mainly due to the natural calamity of unexpected floods and drought. No doubt this is partly true. But the hoarding activities of the big capitalist-traders, rice-millers and landlords, who use people's miseries and shortage to make money are certainly not a natural calamity! But it took hunger-marches and starvation deaths for Government to wake up to the situation. At the beginning of the Budget Session of Parliament this year it was flatly denied that the situation was serious and whatever 'shortages' were felt were attributed most cynically to "over eating" by the people and rise in standards of living. Such is the socialist philosophy that rules the Governmental benches.

The main failure is not the rains. It is the failure of the land reforms promised to the peasant, failure to give him protection from evictions, to give him aid to form cooperative agriculture, with capital and equipment, to lighten his tax burdens and to save him from the speculators and the capitalist market and the squeeze of the bureaucrats. Unless thorough land-reforms are carried out, mere shouting about Community development will not solve the food problem. If that were the main solution, the report that this scheme has covered 296,000 villages, 173 million population and spent 74 crores till June 1957 should have materially changed the food picture. But it has not. The trade unions should join hands with the movement of the peasants for these reforms, which are held up by landlord-capitalist interests and their supporters, in the Government. Unless the peasant committees themselves are given powers to carry out the reforms and protected by the State against the rich in the villages, the reforms become only formal.

A review by the Planning Commission says: "The additional area actually irrigated by major and medium projects during the first plan is about 4 million acres against the original expectations of about 8.5 million acres and an anticipated additional potential of 6.3 million....."

6.3 million acres. The shortfall in utilisation of irrigation supplies has occurred mostly in the States of Bihar, Bombay and U.P. and West Bengal and the reasons for the shortfall vary. The main lesson to be derived is that greater attention has to be given to steps essential for the early utilisation of irrigation supplies. There is need for even greater stress on these steps, in view of the meagre results obtained in 1956-57. The target of additional irrigation potential for the Second Five Year Plan is 12 million acres of which 2.2 million acres were programmed to be achieved during the year 1957-57. The actual additional irrigation during the year (excluding Bombay and J&K) was, however, only about 650,000 million acres."

The trade unions have a direct personal interest in this, because every failure on the food front immediately affects prices and cuts the value of our wages.

14. The fourth obstructive element in the Plan is the bureaucracy in the State apparatus. The whole functioning of the Plan is left to "official" agencies, which oft and on make a show of "consulting" and inviting "cooperation" of the people. There are some good and patriotic cadres in the bureaucracy, who since independence want to help in the development of the country's economy. But mere goodness of a few cannot be a substitute for mass initiative, in the absence of which the bourgeois-landlord influences prove stronger and use the State for their own purposes. The absence of room for democratic initiative from below, the sanctity with which the doings of the bureaucracy are clothed and protected by force and law ultimately lead to corruption and a Police State - which means the end of progress and fulfilment of the needs of the people.

15. How can these obstructive elements be overcome and what can the trade unions do in this task?

The trade unions must first concentrate on educating the mass of workers on the needs of the situation. The trade unions led by the Congress Party only sing the praises and achievements of the Plan and try to mobilise.....

try to mobilise the people behind their Governments and the classes that support it, thus preventing the masses from taking democratic initiative to protect their own and the general interests.

Some trade unions only denounce either the whole Plan or its defective parts as merely a conspiracy of the bourgeoisie to defraud the people. Such a one-sided and unreal view, though put in radical and left phraseology, only helps the Right wing reactionaries and frustrates or misleads mass initiative from achieving positive improvements and gains.

The trade unions of the A.I.T.U.C. should reject both these positions. We must shoulder the responsibility to educate the masses on the need to fulfil the Plan and to defend it against the disruptors from foreign monopoly capitalists and also the Indian monopolists.

In this we must expose the activities of the foreign oil companies, the tea plantation monopolists, the big coal mining interests, etc. Every deal of the Government with these colonial interests, every term that they dictate against the interests of our economy must be exposed before the people and demands raised either to nationalise them or severely curb their monopoly power and harmful activities. This must be done from the point of view of the general national interest and as part of our struggle against colonialism.

We must be vigilant about the robbery of State funds and corrupt practices. We must guard the theft of property in the State sector as that is national property of the people.

We must give efficient work according to the terms of the service particularly in the State sector. Though State-sector economy is not yet socialist economy, yet it is built out of public money and the surplus from our labour is expected to go to the State, from which we can insist on tax relief, further expansion, amelioration etc.

Trade Unions cadres must learn the finance and the technique of industry both in private and public sector, without which they cannot exercise....

cannot exercise intelligent vigilance or participate in the management in the State sector through such democratic organs as Works Councils, trade union committees or committees of the State legislatures and Parliament.

All our trade unions for example, at least in the services of the big combines must be able to handle through cooperative activity the question of food distribution and housing.

We are trying to indicate some of the general tasks the unions can undertake in relation to the Plan, our economy and the fight against the colonialists abroad and the monopolists at home.

16. In this great task, the trade unions have now secured a position of vantage and influence in the Parliament and the State legislatures. As a result of the last elections, trade union leaders from all shades of thought and affiliation have been elected in quite large numbers. The AITUC alone has nine members of Parliament and 32 members in the State legislatures, who put forward criticisms on behalf of the people and the working-class as indicated above. The AITUC, the HMS, the UTUC along with the leaders of independent trade union federations, evolve common points of criticisms and proposals on the floor of the legislatures. Through adjournment motions, questions, short discussions, amendments to bills, resolutions and debates, the view point of the working class and the trade unions now finds expression throughout the country. And we should be glad to record that there is at least one Government of a State, which, however small it may be and however limited its powers to transform the life of a whole state, does respond quickly and correctly to the democratic demands of the people and the trade unions. Let us work for more successes in this field.

The tasks which we have indicated above do evoke a certain reluctance on the part of workers, because in the present stage of our economy they are under heavy fire from all sections of the exploiters, whether private or State. For every minute of their life they have to struggle hard to defend their working and living conditions. Even when the economy is growing, even when the wealth of

the country and the profits of the capitalists grow, the workers are denied their legitimate share. Hence they find it difficult to be enthused over a Plan, which speaks of having a progressive labour policy, but willingly and voluntarily never takes a step unless it is pressed hard, to concede even the smallest demand of the workers. With all this, however, it is a fact that with the boom in production, partly as a result of the Plan and partly of world conditions, the trade unions have been able to make headway and make certain gains, that they have been able to advance in their positions. Let us see that the position is in that field.

III

17. The Government judges the success of their economic activity in relation to industrialisation by pointing to investments and indices of production. The capitalists measure by the profits they make. We, workers, judge it mainly by the wages we get and the load of work we have to do. Questions of wages and work are the most vital part of our life.

If someone were to ask whether in the last seven years, that is five years of the First Five-Year Plan and the first two years of the Second Plan, the workers have advanced on the wages front or lost, what can we say? A precise answer to that is rather difficult in view of the fact that the Government collections of statistics on this matter is not so cast as to give us a picture of the wage map of India. The Payment of Wages Act gives us an annual sum of average earnings in an industry. But it is un-related to the output of total production. The cost of living indices or the consumer price indices do not reflect reality to quite an appreciable extent. Government keeps on changing the bases for the index from time to time. The change in base years disables comparisons and unwittingly help the employers resist wage

demands.....

demands. At present four base years are used viz. 1939, 1944, 1949 and 1951, for consumer price indices.

We have as yet no computations on the total wage and salary bill of all industry trade and services. The study that is published on the net product of industry, from which one can find the share of wages and the share of the capitalist embraces only about 27 industries. But it can give some guidance to find the trends. The index of profits published by the Government also are a rough guide to trends.

On the basis of the material available it is claimed that the workers' real wage index in India with 1949 as base has gone up over 111 and is higher than the index of productivity which is said to be somewhere near 103.

Every worker knows that the money in his hands is now more than before. And he also knows that that money buys him less than before. Allowing for that fact, have not real wages risen for the Indian workers as a whole or in the major sector of production? Has not the working class improved even so slightly his conditions of wage, work and living?

Without going into the details at this stage, the trade union movement as a whole will accept that both money wages and real wages have advanced in the last seven years. The advance was more pronounced in the last three years.

In judging the real content of the advance one, of course, has to study how the advance was secured and the relation it bears to prosperity that the other classes have secured. But before we look into it we have to point out the form in which the earnings of the workers have advanced.

18. Our wages system takes several forms of payment. There is a basic wage, whether on time basis or on piece rates. When in war times prices rose, an addition was made to the basic wage, called dearness allowance. This was paid directly cash on some ad hoc basis as a fixed

sum or.....

sum or as percentage of basic wages. In some places a part of the dearness was met by giving rationed supplies of food and other items of necessity at fixed prices or free. When the workers saw the immense prosperity of the employers, they began to ask for a share of it, as their "reward". Thus the annual Bonus came into existence. In the last seven years the struggle for higher wages embraced all the forms of wages - that is for a rise in basic wages, for higher dearness allowance to neutralise the rise in the prices, and for bonus.

The demand for higher dearness allowances and bonus dominated in the war and post-war period. When the Second World War broke out, the Bombay Government under the leadership of Mr. K.M. Munshi was the first to allow the traders and manufacturers a rise of 20 per cent in prices. The Government of India and other states had ruled for only 10 per cent.

The textile workers of Bombay retaliated by asking for dearness allowance, which was conceded only to the extent of 10 per cent. A general ~~skf~~ strike followed but no change was immediately made. But as a result of it, the dearness allowance was linked to cost of living indices and annual bonuses were promised by the mill-owners. That became the beginning of a wide-spread movement for dearness allowance and bonus throughout the country.

But the dearness allowance never really neutralised the rise to the full and none was conceded in several industries and centres, where the trade unions were weak or workers could not unite and strike. Calcutta was an instance of this type. So was coal, tea, etc.

19. The end of the war, the upheaval in the national movement for independence, backed by all national strikes of the Navy, post and telegraphs, etc. immediately pushed the question of wages to the forefront. All classes, including the national leaders, sympathised with the demands but cautioned against strikes. The Government appointed a Pay Commission

for all.....

for all the services including railways, who had been given an interim relief.

The historic task that the first Pay Commission performed was to bind all the services and Government workers round a central slogan of uniform wages, a uniform minimum for the whole country.

There were tribunals and boards for other industries also. The movement for dearness allowance, for a national minimum, for bonus, for a standardised basic wage made headway from 1946 to 1948 with substantial gains in dearness allowance and bonus and some gains in the basic. Government services, railways, post & telegraph, coal mining, textiles, iron & steel that is most of the major sector of the working class made an advance.

At the same time the employers were fleecing the country most mercilessly with the help of Government policies which once de-controlled several commodities and allowed the speculators to fleece the people. Alarmed at the way, the most patriotic and pious bourgeoisie robbed the people and roused their protest, Government and the Congress Party had to intervene with controls. We need not reproduce the statistics of the strike wave of that period.

Conditions stabilised relatively for a time, from 1950 onwards. The strike wave came down appreciably, though disputes on bonus, dearness allowance and basic were pending in many places. The most famous dispute that lasted for over six years and gave a new turn to the question of salaries of middle-class employees in the main and to their organisation. That was the dispute of the Bank Employees. In this dispute the workers had a taste of the Constitution, had the pleasure of an ordinance, perhaps the first of its kind, had the taste of the Central Government intervening on behalf of the bankers and refusing higher salaries given by a Tribunal, had the pleasure of seeing a Labour Minister resign and ultimately through a threat of strike and last minute compromise, and a new tribunal had the

fortune.....

fortune to secure a substantial part of their demands. The success of demands, the organisational build up, the all-national character and unified behaviour and action under the banner of the AIBEA - all made this struggle of the bank workers quite outstanding in the newly rising developments in the trade union field. Just as the Pay Commission set the level of the national minimum basic wage in money for Government employees, this dispute set the tone for the levels of the salaries of the middle-class employees. The AIBEA was an independent federation. Behind it, all the three national T.U. centres, AITUC, HMS, UTUC rallied in support on a united platform in Nagpur.

20. It was in the midst of the bank workers' dispute that the First Five-Year Plan came. It put forward a wages policy for the Plan. What was its essence?

The essence of the policy was a wage-freeze for the five years of the Plan. It was plainly stated that if workers were given increase to meet the rise in prices that would take place, there would be inflation and harm to the Plan.

The policy of wage freeze was openly stated by the Sastri Tribunal in the Bank Award. They quoted with approval the following from the Five-Year Plan:

"In recent years prices have risen rapidly. Industrial profits have also increased considerably and organised labour has obtained substantial increases in wages. To check inflation, however, profits and wages will need to be controlled to some extent during the period of the Plan... An increase in wages at this juncture may injure the country's economic stability by raising the costs of production.

This policy of wage-freeze, however, evoked a strike struggle almost in every case, where it was attempted. In those major industries where dearness allowance was linked to cost of living the rise used to be automatic. Even there the struggles arose on question of bonus.

The workers.....

The workers instinctively found the way to attack this policy. During this period, instead of struggling for rise in basic wages, the workers, linked the wages demand with bonus.

The declaration to control profits remained only on paper. The Plan gave huge profits to the capitalists, production increased, prices also rose. The workers retaliated by asking for more wages and bonus. Earnings of the workers rose, both in money and real wage. But it was not because wages-rates went absolutely up but because productivity rise and production continued to rise un-interruptedly. Full time work and productivity raised the wages more than the rates of wages and amount of bonus paid. That is the real picture of the rise in wages. The worker has contributed more of his labour and earned more and not because he increased the real price of his labour power.

21. If one studied the share of the workers' wages and salaries in the net product of industry and compared it with the share of the capitalist we find the following:

	<u>Rs. in crores</u>	
	1950	1954
Net income from factory industries	550	760
Total wages & salaries	232	249
Profits	318	511

The Labour Gazette observes:

"The rise in productivity has been of the order of 43% in the space of five years (1950-54) or ~~xxx~~ at an average annual rate of 8.6 per cent while the rise in the index of real earnings has been of the order of only 14 per cent or at an annual average rate of 2.8 per cent".

The worker earned more because he worked more. But the profiteers earned several times more out of the workers' labour.

Though.....

Though we speak of overall averages and all-India picture of the wage situation, as already stated above, we have no national standard of wages. The wage rates are totally anarchic and in many cases product of ad hoc considerations. Indian industry and working class is now wide-spread in India. It is necessary to arrive at some national standardisation of wages which, while being a standard, provides for differentials of skills, loads of work, intensity and hazards of work and regional and cultural and climatic differences. Some steps in this direction are being taken by the Government through their wage study groups and the Steering Committee on Wages.

As is well-known, it is not the capitalist employer, who is interested in a national wages standard or standardisation. Capitalist employment is based on the very principle of competition to lower costs of production and enhance profits. By different wage-rates, they make the workers also compete with each other for the job, until by experience he fights anarchy in his own rank through his trade union. Uniform rate for the job - standardisation helps the workers to unite and get the same price for his labour for the same job everywhere except for certain differences.

The employers and the Government, faced with pressing demands for bonus and wage-increases from all parts of India, appointed a Labour Appellate Tribunal in 1950 to evolve some unified line on the granting of demands.

22. The Labour Appellate Tribunal (L.A.T.) did lift bonus from an ex-gratia payment to a right under certain conditions. It was called a differed wage, was made a necessity until a living wage was attained. The L.A.T. worked out a formula which enabled the employers to appropriate a major part of the surplus before anything could be left for bonus. But it allowed the consideration of "social justice", obviously meaning thereby the bad condition of the worker and the need to improve.....

to improve it to be made an element in the final judgment.

The L.A.T. formula was heavily weighed in favour of the employers. Every section of trade unions protested against it, including the INTUC. But curiously enough, it was the INTUC which first signed a five-year agreement on bonus in Ahmedabad in terms of that very formula, it had denounced.

The L.A.T. verdicts, their delays and costliness incensed the workers, and ultimately on the demand from all sections of the T.Us including the INTUC, the L.A.T. was abolished without accomplishing any standard system of wages or bonus for the whole country.

23. In the last two years that is 1955 and 1956 and also in this year, the pressure of demands for higher wages, and dearness allowance has increased. This time it is not so much bonus as direct wages and dearness allowance. The reason is that food scarcity has become acute and prices have gone up.

The Bombay cost of living index at 338 in 1955 average rose to 353 in 1956 average. In October 1957 it was 374. The whole sale price index of cereals has gone up from 373 in 1955-56 to 499 in 1956-57 (financial year) - a rise of 126 points in one year. The whole sale price index of all food articles has risen for the same period from 313.2 to 388.5. We must remember that the base for this rise is 1952-53 as 100.

This is the period of the Second Plan. Herein also the wages policy was to be the same but in different words. Wages would rise only on the basis of increased productivity was the new slogan of the Government and employers. And soon every employer began to complain that in his plant productivity was going down.

The pressure of the increasing hardship is seen in the increasing

strike.....

strike wave. ~~Number~~ Number of man-days lost have been rising as below:

	<u>Disputes</u>	<u>Workers</u>	<u>Man-days lost</u>
1954	840	477,188	3,372,630
1955	1166	527,767	5,697,848
1956	1263	734,168	7,136,512

The jump from three million to five and to seven is quite sharp and shows the quick reaction of the workers to the worsening of their conditions. Whatever gains the worker makes in his wages is thus taken away from him in strikes, retrenchment, productivity.

24. All these three years of 1955, 56, and 57, the workers in several major industries have raised claims for wages and dearness allowance and tribunals and boards have been giving their verdicts.

The most outstanding gain was of the coal miners who after ten years got a revision of their wages, grades, dearness allowance and some attempt at standardisation. Over 360,000 coal miners have secured an increase and an Implementation Committee to check up the application of the award. The tea plantation workers were able to make a settlement on bonus and a wage-increase. In both these cases, the long standing payment of dearness allowance in form of rice was abolished and converted in money. The third notable industry which received larger bonuses and some ad hoc increases is the iron and steel industry. Burnpur Iron, which was the worst paid received 65 days' bonus a jump from 10 days to 30 days last year and 65 this year. Jamshedpur of Tatas also had to make concessions. The fourth most outstanding wages dispute this year was that of the P. & T. workers and other Government employees in August 1957. They secured a Pay Commission which has granted an interim relief effective from July at Rs.5/- per month in dearness allowance to alleviate hardship caused to employees in the lower income groups on account of a significant rise in the cost of living which appears

likely....

likely to persist." In-spite of this it is strange to find that the Pay Commission has asked that the sum of Rs.30/- which will accrue to the poor employees in December should not be given in cash but in national savings certificates. If they could save, why should they have risked a strike and why should the Commission have given the relief? About 16 lac employees, including railways, post and telegraph, aviation, P.W.D., defence employees, Government presses will get this dearness allowance increase. Their last increase was in 1951 and one in 1949. Several other professions and trades have also secured wage increases.

25. The Government dailed to keep the prices from rising. In fact they encouraged it by allowing the banks to make speculative advances on food grains, until the situation became serious. The profits too are up. But they wanted to oppose wage-increase, which means they wanted the workers to suffer real wage-cut. A tremendous propaganda barrage was launched with all the backing of "economic experts" that if wages are increased prices rise and this game of wage-price spiral does not help the worker and harms society.

It was also alleged that the AITUC unions are fomenting wage demands and a strike wave. The AITUC strongly fought this propaganda. We had to show that in all these years prices have risen first and were rising continuously without the workers getting any commensurate rise in wages. We had to show that in the countries of Europe and America, where trade unions are of the same thought as the INTUC, workers have been fighting ~~for~~ for higher wages as the monopolies are fleecing them and making profits.

The monthly journal of the AFL-CIO the big trade union centre of America in its issue of June 1957 writes:

"The Bureau of Labour Statistics has issued a report that explodes the propaganda of the 'wage-inflation' advocates, the business spokesmen and politicians, who claim that wage and salary increases are the primary cause of price increases.....Price increases have been pulling up unit labour costs, not vice versa".

The BLA study.....

The BLA study says: "..... the index of non-labour costs (profits, depreciation and other non-labour payments) was higher than the price index for every year prior to 1956....." (Quoted: Economic Trends and Outlook, published monthly by AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee, June 1957.)

The British Trade Union Congress, who is another "responsible" body in its session this year in September passed a resolution which said that Congress had no wish to "chase an inflationary spiral" but were not prepared to accept a policy which would debase workers' living standards. They accordingly repeated the principle of large restraint in any form and reaffirmed the Union's determination, while prices and profits remain uncontrolled, to take such steps industrially as would ensure that wages kept pace with rising costs.

The same is the answer of the AITUC to the Government and the employers. We do not make the rise in prices. Unless the Government agree to supply the essential items of living at fixed prices, unless Government take over the enormous profits made by the employers from workers' labour for public good and for the Plan and stop taxing poor, the Unions will not halt their wage claims, and agree to further worsen their already poor living standards.

26. It was three years ago that the AITUC called upon the employers and Government to discuss the question of a wage increase all round in the country. We called for a 25% rise in an average, in view of the low wages prevailing and the rise in production, profits and prices. Though at first there was no cooperation from other centres, but soon both the INTUC and the HMS took the same as ours. These two organisations have a Joint Consultative Board, with the employers' organisations in India, from which the AITUC is excluded. This Board though a non-official body, receives from the Government all the status of the tripartite bodies. Through this Board, we are told, the INTUC and HMS come to fruitful agreements with the employers.

When the.....

When the AITUC refused to agree in the Tripartite Standing Committee to the amendment of Section 33A of the Industrial Disputes Act to permit employers to retrench or dismiss workers during the pendency of a dispute before a Tribunal, this Joint Consultative Board quickly secured agreement and the Government carried out the amendment to the detriment of the workers. But on the question of wage increase the Board first kept silent when the movement for wage increase began to grow and the INTUC & HMS joined it, the employers protested. We read the following in the proceedings of that meeting of the Board on 19th of January 1957:-

"While reviewing the development in the field of industrial relations, the employers' representatives expressed regret that while the Joint Consultative Board was seized with the question of rationalisation of the wage structure, workers' organisations had gone to other forums to agitate for wage increase and had thus damaged the confidence and the atmosphere created by the Board.

The representatives of workers said that perhaps there was some misunderstanding due to workers' recent demand for wage increase. Such action should not be interpreted as expression of lack of faith in the Board. The spirit of the Joint Consultative Board was an article of faith with them. However, they pointed out that there was a need for strengthening the Board and making its voice dominant in the field of industrial relations. Till that was done workers had no other alternative but to resort to other constitutional channels."

(Indian Labour Gazette: F.645: February 1957)

The AITUC brought the question before the Labour Panel meeting called by the Government in September 1955.

But nothing was done to give the problem a serious thought on an all-national level. This attitude naturally compels the workers to have their demands heard through struggles.

27. When the employers found that the movement for wages cannot be stopped, they took to the usual capitalist method of rationalisation and retrenchment.....

and retrenchment and using the pressure of unemployment to beat down the employed workers struggles.

To introduce rationalisation measures, in the name of advancing India's production by technological improvement, the employers secured huge sums under the Five-Year Plan. The Jute Industry was to be given Rs.50 crores, the Cotton textiles Rs.50 crores. No doubt, some new machines were bought, but we have yet to know how much the country gained thereby. We, however, know that thousands of workers have been retrenched in the Bombay Textile Industry. Thousands in the Jute industry. Rationalisation and so-called productivity movements anywhere under capitalism and in India have led to retrenchment of the employed, and increase of misery for the workers. Technology has not led to any very substantial rise in wages nor has it led to any fall in prices of goods to benefit the consumer, which was one of the arguments advanced in support of rationalisation.

The Government of India has stirred itself on all these questions, when confronted with the rising unrest. The 15th Indian Labour Conference was called in July 1957 to discuss problems of wage-policy, rationalisation, discipline in industry, Housing, Workers' education, etc.

The results of that Conference have been before the trade union movement for the last four or five months.

The Conference indirectly acknowledged that wage-freeze was a failure and a wage-rise was inevitable. But instead of admitting an overall increase in wages, the Conference decided to level up the minimum wages. The terms of the minimum are those given by the Committee on Minimum Wages.

Thus, if translated into practice would be an advance. The conference decision on Rationalisation was also an advance on previous positions. It was emphasised and agreed that Government might make arrangements to ensure that measure of rationalisation which did not serve the real economic interest in the present conditions of the country might be avoided. The AITUC had demanded that each employer must.....

employer must produce a "certificate of national necessity" before he could introduce rationalisation, and even thereafter, it must satisfy three conditions: No retrenchment, equitable sharing of gains between workers and employers and proper assessment of work-load."

It is four or five months since the Conference and over two years since the famous Kanpur struggle against rationalisation. But reports are already reaching us that the employers are violating the agreement.

The Conference agreed in certain principles of "discipline", applicable both for the workers and the employers. The agreement was attracted wide attention because we accepted certain obligations of discipline, in the matter of notice of strike, no go-slow and peaceful settlement, etc.

Was there anything surprising? Yes, there was. The AITUC had never accepted that it would refuse to support "go-slow". We consider it as a form of strike. We also do not accept that there can be, in principle any such thing as an illegal strike. In certain cases, strikes without notice become inevitable due to provocation.

28. By this agreement we have modified our position and that is a surprise to the Government and the employees and perhaps to some trade union workers also.

The working class in fact is the last class to deny discipline. In fact the socialist order, led by the working class is the only order where real discipline combined with freedom for all can be built, because, it eliminates the anarchy of the capitalist order where private profits and ambitions can ruin the lives of millions.

But we cannot accept the discipline of the prison or the barrack. Discipline must serve social purpose and social good and must be based on democracy. The worker will accept discipline willingly if he is given reciprocal rights and freedom. His complaint must be heard, he must have right to criticise the management and have his just demands satisfied quickly. He must in fact be treated, not merely as a "third hand" but a citizen-worker with equal rights and freedom. Then he will....

The he will observe the discipline of production and requisite industrial behaviour. At the Conference, this was made clear. The agreement on code of discipline is to be read as an integral part of all the agreements, and not by itself. It is not a new edition of the present code of Standing Orders, which are aimed to convert the factory into a prison house and which only works as a watchdog on the worker to smell his "misconduct" and "insubordination" all the while.

At the conference it was agreed that the employers will observe their new obligations and hence we do. It is we who are aggrieved and exploited and not they. Hence we have to emphasise these conditions.

The Government and employers, however, seem to have soon forgotten this. They tried to elaborate a code quite against the spirit of the agreement. For example in the draft they made, they banned all strikes and even demonstrations lest they "cause alarm" to the employer. Of course, the AITUC had to reject such nonsense. We are asked to ratify the agreement. We can do that only on the conditions we have mentioned.

In conclusion of this subject we can say that by our struggles and sacrifices, imposed on us by the employers and Government, we have succeeded in changing their wrong policies of wage freeze and wage-cuts. We have been able to secure some wage increases in basic pay, D.A. or bonus. We have emphasised the necessity to evolve some rational human policy on wages, rationalisation and retrenchment and discipline with democratic rights. These have not been times of defeat for the working-class but of gains and advances.

The tasks that lie before us on this question of wages and work, therefore, are as follows:-

- 1) To secure an adequate general rise in wages and D.A. to meet the rise in the cost of living and to improve the standard of living; to secure a guaranteed minimum wage. To merge the D.A. in basic wages. To revise the bonus formula.

2) To secure.....

- 2) To secure the fulfilment of the conditions agreed to in the tripartite before rationalisation and productivity measures are introduced, to resist them where they are not.
- 3) To secure the reduction and stabilisation of prices.
- 4) To agitate against compulsion to take D.A. or Bonus in National Loan or other certificates. To support them where workers agree voluntarily.
- 5) To work out and establish a national standardised wage system without loss to any section. To expedite the work of the Pay Commission and Wage Boards for all industries.

IV

29. Government not only takes credit of having increased production and raised workers' wages, it also takes credit of having introduced a system of ~~xx~~ social security, the "biggest of its kind in the whole of Asia". Along with workers' rise in direct earnings, the social security schemes offer additional income or benefits, which also go to improve the standard of life.

The Employees' State Insurance Scheme (ESI) now covers about one million workers. Promises have been made that it will embrace the families of the workers. But nothing so far has materialised.

The workers' complaints about the scheme are many. At present rates, the contribution of workers is more than that of the employers. According to 1955-56 report workers contributed Rs. 2,39,61,200 while the employers contributed Rs. 2,25,29,288. With the revision of the rate by which the employers will give their full share as under the Act, it is expected that income from that source will increase the total benefits amounted to Rs. 1,35,99,589.

The workers' demand first and foremost that the medical attention given them in the majority of the centres is not adequate, the bureaucratic delays in getting benefits, leave, special medicines, etc. are most exasperating and many a time harm the worker more than they cure him.

The AITUC unions have fully supported the scheme, in the hope that as experience is gained the scheme will improve. And it has improved in certain centres, like Bombay, though there are complaints do remain and sometimes very serious.

The most badly managed centre is Calcutta, where both the employers and State Government almost seem to be trying to destroy it by ill-treating and provoking the workers. Next to Bombay it is the

biggest.....

biggest insured centre. There also the panel system prevails and the doctors in general are co-operative. It is the employers (except a few) and the Government which is obstructive in every matter. The AITUC has informed the Central Government of the situation. But there is no remedy to it.

The worst feature of the scheme is the want of hospitals. Though there is enough money lying idle, hospitals are not being built. A scheme for one in Bombay has been in cold storage for the last four years. The patients are then sent to private doctors where beds are paid for from the scheme. This has enabled many people to set up few beds, with practically no service or attention and earn comfortable money from the E.S.I. This is becoming a scandal in Calcutta.

The question of providing for T.B. patients is becoming very acute. With low wages, increasing load of work and bad housing and nourishment, incidence of T.B. is very high. But they are cared the least because they are not cases than can be cured by the short term hospital care that is available to the insured and even the larger period granted to the T.B. patient.

Especially severe is the plight of the partially employed, the retrenched and the victimised workers and trade union cadres, against them the authorities are inclined to practice vendetta even in matters of medical treatment.

If the scheme is not improved in the light of the complaints received, many of our centres will press for advising the workers to launch a struggle to be rid of it. The AITUC does not wish that things should come to such a pass, as we still feel that while no doubt there are short-comings in the scheme, yet it is beneficial as a whole and can be made to serve better, if we organise for it.

30. The other social security measure is the extension of the Provident Fund to a larger coverage of industries. On 31st March 1956, there were 5,56,922 workers under the fund and Rs.6.37 crores came in as contribution. The fund had total assets of over Rs.20 crores in 1956, of which 17 crores were invested in Govt. of India securities.

The administration of the fund is over-centralised and is in need of change, which is being studied. Under the Second Plan, the contributions in many cases are being raised from 6½% to 8-1/3% of the basic wages and dearness allowance.

In the hands of some companies, the sums of the Provident Fund given by the workers have been used in speculation or the needs of the company's transactions. Such defrauding has not yet ceased. When companies fail, the funds along with wages are lost and the unemployed worker is robbed of his own lawful resources. The failure of many textile mills as in Sholapur, Jalgaon, in Rajasthan has brought into light this scandal. But no remedy has been possible because it is pleaded by the Government that it has either no powers to seize the mill property in lieu of these funds or no information.

There have been instances where bankrupt and fraudulent owners after having closed a factory have suggested that the workers invest their Provident Fund in running the mill. Harrassed by unemployment or retrenchment, workers fall in for such proposal. Generally, such proposals are merely a ruse to impose wage-cuts and bind the worker to the factory, by flattering his pride to have become a partner! Hence they should be discouraged, unless in the given case, the trade union leadership is capable of really giving concrete guidance to the workers to participate in such management of the mill as devolves on them by virtue of their contribution. This question requires very cautious handling. The worker is no match today to the wiles of a bourgeois in the game of capitalist finance.

Both the.....

Both the above schemes of social security are based on the workers' own earnings. He is given security only so long as he continues to work and produce profit for his employer, who then adds a little back to the workers' savings, a share from what the worker produces. Thus, both the schemes, even though they entail a contribution from the employer impose a cut in workers' earnings. At present nearly 10 per cent of the workers' earnings go back into accumulation as capital either for the state or the private employer. In fact the Second Five-Year Plan clearly states that such accumulation is one of its sources of capital.

31. This accumulation is there to serve the worker when he has grown old and disabled. After having lived for augmenting someone else's capital, he has to fall on his own "capital" and it is so meagre, living costs keep changing so fast, what his life's Fund can hardly last him his old age, if he is fortunate to see old age.

The majority of our workers can hardly see ripe old age. Our nourishment is so bad, that we end our journey sooner than anyone elsewhere.

Then there is the problem of unemployment and retrenchment. The Fund is supposed to be of use to you in days of unemployment or retrenchment.

Our social security system and our wealth has not come to the level where we can institute a system of unemployment benefit or insurance or old age pensions on the scale that is done in advanced industrialised countries. Hence the Provident Fund is expected to fill up the gap for every emergency, including the funeral!

Profits that are created out of labour even today are sufficient to provide for some amount of unemployment relief to those at least who were already at work. But our bourgeoisie is yet so rapacious and our strength yet so low that even the retrenchment and lay-off compensations are denied to us unless we take to some action.

The workers.....

The workers had secured a retrenchment compensation after a hard struggle. But when the Supreme Court in a litigation by the employers declared the whole measure invalid, lacs of workers lost crores of rupees of their dues, which should have served them as relief.

But it was a strange thing to find that a welfare state which speaks so much of welfare and social security, for months did not take any action to restore the measure. When workers protest assumed a serious form, was the retrenchment compensation restored with a very partial retrospective effect.

32. Another sphere in which there should be far greater care in giving social security is that of maternity. Even while one may want family control, yet motherhood must exist, if life is to go on. And overwhelming part of it comes from the working masses. Yes maternity benefits are given in the most niggardly way and the whole thing is treated as if the mother and child are both criminals of society or beggars. A working woman claims that benefit by virtue of her work in the factory for the employer. Yet even with the present cost of living, the rate of benefit still rules at Annas 12/- per day. Over and above there is constant threat of dismissal from the employer of the woman worker just because she becomes a mother.

Egen in the Governmental services, all sorts of medieval and un-democratic restrictions are placed on women employees in regard to marriage and mother-hood.

33. All life must have a shelter and so must the worker. But since man has got the capacity to live without shelter, housing is not concerned as an item of social security. There was lot of talk about Government subsidising housing since the employers would not build houses as they did not yield a "good return". Landlords whether as employers or otherwise have always thrived on workers' slums, which yield a large return for almost no investment. Slums have grown in every capital-town.

But when.....

But when the ruling-class wanted to throw the slum dwellers out of sight and out of their "epidemic" touch, protests grew and the problem of housing came on the agenda.

The Government spent crores on subsidies that is gifts to the employers. But no house worth the name were up.

Co-operative housing by the workers could be the privilege of only those co-ops and those workers who were with the ruling party or were prepared to do the "necessary corruption". At last the Tripartite Conference insisted on Government to undertake the job through their own department since they were in any case paying for it.

It is note-worthy that the only place where housing subsidy for plantation labour housing has been used well is the Kerala State.

34. Another aspect of the workers' life which requires security is accident and industrial diseases. Accidents have been the first to be compensated and industrial diseases the last. Accident insurance is now within the E.S.I. Scheme. Though the value of the finger and of life lost is yet several times lower than the insured value of a race-horse, yet it exists and is paid, sometimes with ease, sometimes with the usual bureaucratic obstructions.

The accidents in coal mines two years ago caused quite a stir in the country. The Newton Chikhli mine accident, the Burra Dhemo accident were serious and over three hundred lives were lost. All trade union organisations, the Government and the employer gave immediate relief. Inquiries were instituted. In every case it was found that the management had neglected safety rules or to take precautions, despite warnings from the workers on the spot. Why? Because, observing precautions costs money, which is less than the money that may have to be paid in compensation! A clear question of capitalist accounting between the cost of killing a life and the cost of saving it - by observing a rule!

The inquiry.....

The inquiry courts recommended overhauling the Mining Regulations, which were old and defective.

So the rules have been amended. The courts complained that in many cases "responsibility" for the safety observance could not be fixed. Hence the rules were changed.

But who is to apply them, until the accident and deaths reveal that they were not applied. The worker is not interested in only finding the guilty or responsible person, who leads to his death.

It is acknowledged that inspection of mines is under-manned that there are not enough staff. And the official staff has never been enough alert in such matters. Because he too has to guard his job from "accident", if he becomes too honest, exacting and inquisitive! The only remedy to such a state is to give elected works committees and trade unions jointly with the inspectorates and independently power to inspect, report and secure observance of safety rules.

Without such a democratic method there can be no security from accidents.

35. Security from industrial diseases is very much resisted by the capitalist. To admit its existence is not only expensive, it condemns his very system, and the way he runs it. Flood in a mine can be an act of God or unpredictable. But slow lead poisoning or silicosis or inhalation of dust and fumes is not unpredictable nor can be attributable to God. Many useful reports have been published on this subject by the Labour Ministry and conditions of industrial diseases have been brought to light. But it is a long way to secure protection from them.

Full social security is yet a long way off. We have neither wealth enough for it nor the climate of opinion for it.

Whole life is so insecure in our conditions that even the worker looks cynically at us first when we speak of social security.

But we have to.....

But we have to convince him that man cannot live without social security, whose forms differ from time to time. Modern means of production and life require these new forms of social security. We must make the workers look positively at these things, organise and make him capable through his organisation of handling social security schemes himself.

36. Our tasks on this front can be indicated as follows:

- 1) Every state to hold a well-organised conference of all who are insured under the E.S.I. and investigate their real difficulties.
- 2) To make a well-studied memorandum of suggestions for improvements in the law, the procedure and the methods used in the E.S.I.
- 3) To make the unions take positive steps to assist the insured worker in securing benefits.
- 4) To organise the panel doctors to help them solve their difficulties in the scheme and to render better service.
- 5) To demand the panel system, which some authorities do not like and want the service system.
- 6) To demand construction of hospital buildings of the E.S.I. in every town.
- 7) To extend the scheme to families.
- 8) More and easier facilities for specialised treatment.
- 9) To simplify rules and procedure to eliminate delays.
- 10) To secure reduction of contribution by half.

It is always asked why should the worker have all this when millions of other people have not a doctor or medicine.

The answer is that the worker per head produces more wealth and more value than anyone else. Secondly, let us work to give it to all. But it cannot be - either for all or for none. Those who

.....
speak thus.....

speakers thus have their own most costly panels of doctors and personal security. We must have the E.S.I. and a better one.

V

QUESTION OF TRADE UNION UNITY

I shall now try to sum up the progress in the field of trade union unity, without which a real victory in working class struggles is not possible.

The question of trade union unity has been and still remains a very complicated question. Apart from factors like special characteristics of Indian working class - caste, language, etc., the achievement of trade union unity has been made more difficult because of certain historical developments in the country, leading to different political parties organising their own trade unions. Because of sharp political differences between different political parties, because of concerted attempt by the ruling Congress party and the Government to foist their own trade union, and because of some weaknesses of the progressive elements and of the movement for unity and organisation among the general masses of the workers, the trade union unity question has still to cross many hurdles before it can achieve success.

However, during recent years, the movement for unity has made considerable headway. Faced with very bad living and working conditions, threatened by unemployment and retrenchment, deprived of trade union and democratic rights and attacked by Government and employers, the urge for unity for the defence and extension of their rights, has continued to grow among the masses of the workers, helping to lower down the barriers of prejudices and suspicions. Besides these economic issues which directly affected the life of the workers, there arose in the recent period certain political issues which had a very wide mass appeal and they brought parties of democratic opposition together and which in turn brought the trade unions under different affiliations nearer. In these political issues we find mainly the AITUC, HMS, UTUC and independent unions coming together.

The urge for unity was seen in the growing number of united actions and also in the formation and growth of independent trade Federations since 1953. Though, the urge for unity has developed considerably yet

. . . . it could not be

it could not be translated into organisational unity. The phenomenon of coming together and again falling apart still continues.

Another thing which brought the question of trade union unity to the fore was the convening by the Government in August 1955 of a Labour Panel (of the Planning Commission) meeting, representing the employers, trade unions of all affiliations, and others. Labour Ministry submitted a memo which expressed regret at the existence of multiplicity of unions. It proposed certain measures by which multiplicity of unions will be eliminated, and one union recognised on the basis of "membership of good standing" and of certain percentage. Though the trade union representatives could not in principle oppose them, the measures amounted more or less to the whole country, the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, which has been disapproved by all trade unions except those of the INTUC.

All these developments did create a situation in which every national trade union centre has been required to take up new position on the question of unity. Before we draw up the tasks, I wish to review the positions taken up by different trade union centres as well as the Government on the question of trade union unity.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

Hind Mazdoor Sabha

One of the most important developments is the welcome change in the attitude of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, which has brought the question of trade union unity from the realm of conjectures to the realm of practical realisation, creating new hopes.

In its Working Committee meeting held in June 1956, the HMS passed the following resolution:

"The Working Committee of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, having fully considered the question of trade union unity, reaffirms its belief that an overall unity of the labour movement of India is a matter of the highest urgency, as such unity alone will ensure that working people in our country will get a fair deal, a place of honour and an opportunity of playing an effective role in the building of the nation.

"The past experience of efforts at achieving trade union unity has been disappointing and even today deep-rooted rivalries and suspicions exist among the various central organisations towards one another. In the opinion of the Committee, however, even some risk, if such risk is involved, is worth taking in the attempt for so important a goal. (emphasis ours)

"The Working Committee, however, is of the opinion that if the disappointing experience of the past is not to be repeated, and if a

. . . . live and lasting unity is to be

live and lasting unity is to be attained, it must be based on an unreserved acceptance by the organisations concerned of certain fundamental principles and on reasonable guarantees that the principles will not be flouted in practice. Such principles which must form the basis for unity, in the opinion of the committee are: (1) Unreserved acceptance and rigid adherence to the principles and methods of democracy in the activities of the unified central organisation and affiliated trade unions and in the internal functioning of both; (2) Complete freedom from interference by the Government or by political parties; and (3) Existing rivalries among several unions in the same field should be resolved by providing for the workers to select a union of their own choice through secret ballot.

"The Working Committee feels that if these principles are accepted by all concerned and ways are explored of guaranteeing them in practice, a genuine overall unity in the labour movement can be achieved. The Committee feels, however, that mere working adjustments with only the INTUC or the AITUC are not adequate for the purpose and may actually hinder the cause of overall trade union unity. (emphasis ours)

"The Hind Mazdoor Sabha will welcome any move to bring about overall unity on the basis of these principles."

The resolution of the Working Committee marks a very significant and positive step. It stands in bold relief to the position taken by the leadership of the HMS earlier. It may not be out of context to recall Asoka Mehta's statement in 1952 after the merger of SPI with KMPP when he said: "I would exclude from merger (of the central trade unions) the Communist unions mostly found in AITUC. The merger of INTUC, HMS, UTUC and independent unions will make the AITUC a shell for the Communists to freeze in." This new positive stand on overall unity including AITUC and proposals for achieving this, was naturally welcomed by all advocates of unity in the trade union movement, because it marked a departure from the earlier policy of isolating the AITUC and collaboration with INTUC followed by the HMS leadership.

This change in outlook of the HMS leadership, when seen in the context of developments that took place in recent years, appears to be all the more significant. Since its birth, the HMS, though it openly said that it was opposed both to the INTUC and AITUC, it actually followed a policy which was against militant trade union movement and which helped the INTUC to establish itself. Since 1950 its leadership tried to merge the HMS with the INTUC. (The way in which trade union unity on the railways was put forth led to the virtual handing over of the AIRF to the INTUC.) This led to gradual weakening of the HMS and devouring by the INTUC of the HMS unions. This policy of collaboration with the INTUC in the trade union field and with

. . . the Congress in the political field

the Congress in the political field led to sharp conflict in PSP and HMS, leading to split in the PSP on the one hand and comparative weakening of that section of the leadership which was bitterly against cooperation with AITUC and other progressives.

In his report to the 6th Annual Convention in October 1957, Comrade Bagaram Tulpule, General Secretary of the HMS, reaffirming the call for unity said:

"Unfortunately, the INTUC which is numerically the largest organisation in the country today and which has become so through the patronage and support of the Government, did not make any official response to this call."

This change in attitude has come in the wake of growing contradiction between the INTUC and HMS on the one hand, and growing cooperation with AITUC on the other. The cooperation in joint actions increased in the last year.

INTUC Position on Unity

Shri G.D.Ambekar in his presidential address at the 8th Annual Session of the INTUC in May 1956, said:

"Due to the change in the foreign policy of the Communist countries, the AITUC is also changing its policy in the trade unions and they are confronting others with various moves in the name of common platform, unity, merger and so on.

"Though I believe in the ultimate trade union unity, I am convinced by the experience of the last 18 years that no real unity can be achieved unless there is a unity of heart and homogeneity of approach and methods. . . . But looking to the past record of the Communists in India, their slogan is not coming out of a genuine desire to better and improve the lot of the working class. . . . Their present view seems to come out of the position of weakness and not of any position of idealism or the position of strength. . . This is likely to turn into only a tactical move, ultimately to use the workers as they have done before for their political aims. Moreover, how can there be a unity when even today their whole approach is the approach of a class war and class conflict.

". . . . The Communists and the AITUC are known not to observe any code of behaviour when it does not suit them. . . . Unity of heart must come out of the unity of purpose. If it is to succeed there must be some identity of purpose not by oral assurance but by record of behaviour. Under these circumstances, I do not see any sign of achieving the unity under different organisations at present. (emphasis ours) . . . I have, however, not lost the hope that the force of circumstances may effect a genuine change in the attitude of Communists and the AITUC.

"However, there is much in common between us and the HMS (emphasis ours) as both of us are wedded to peaceful democratic means in the trade union field as well as our approach to the problems is more or less common. I do not want to create circumstances where any hasty step will bring bitterness instead of bringing the working class together. I, therefore, suggest that the two organisations should

. . . . evolve a code of

evolve a code of behaviour on the following lines:

"(1) Where INTUC unions are strong and running on proper trade union lines, HMS should not create rival unions and withdraw where they are weak or not running on proper lines;

"(2) Where HMS unions are strong and running on proper trade union lines, the INTUC should not start rival unions and should withdraw from those industries where they are not strong and well-organised;

"(3) There should be discussions on common issues in the beginning at the top level;

"(4) Where there is no agreement of approach on any particular issue, each organisation should be allowed to follow its own course and nobody should criticise the other organisation and start rivalry and competition of proving who is right as the ultimate results are bound to show who was right. . . "

We have given this rather long quotation from Shri Ambekar's speech so that we can see what this renewed love for HMS indicated. As already referred, consequent upon devouring tactics of the INTUC backed by the Government and the employers, sharpening of conflict between the INTUC and HMS ranks started. Besides, certain political and economic developments also brought the AITUC and HMS together in many joint actions during 1955-57. It was in this context the Second Five Year Plan was launched by the Government, which needed cooperation of labour for its implementation. The Government-own support to the INTUC since its very birth did not lead to elimination of other militant trade unions, rather, events led to the coming together of AITUC, HMS, independent and even some INTUC unions. For the Second Five Year Plan, Government proposes to recognise one union in one industry throughout the country and the Plan was to boost up the INTUC. But as this looks obviously partisan in the face of growing opposition, the Government also wants some sort of rapprochement between the INTUC and HMS so that on the combined strength of INTUC and HMS, it is able to isolate the AITUC and recognise these unions. That is why we find Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister) while speaking in Amritsar (AICC session) in February 1956 spoke about unity of the trade union movement, but at the same time violently attacked the AITUC. His message to the INTUC session also spoke about rapprochement between INTUC and HMS.

Analysing in this background we find the following from Ambekar's speech:

(1) The INTUC cannot ignore the urge for unity that has grown among . . . the working masses in

the working masses in general, and in its own following, in the face of no real improvement in their life despite production increase. Therefore, the appeal for unity raised by the AITUC cannot be brushed aside unceremoniously as was done on previous occasions. Hence the harping on past prejudices against the AITUC by subtle means (Ambekar saying that he has not lost hopes, etc.) coupled with an approach of rapprochement with the HMS.

(2) Despite all-out support by Government and employers, small concessions made available to the workers through the INTUC (soon in various agreements on bonus, etc.), it has not gone to strengthen the INTUC in a big way. Hence, the renewed approach to the HMS to wear it away from its growing cooperation with other trade unions including the AITUC.

(3) The speech indicates a sinister device to form a front against the AITUC and some concessions are offered to the HMS. In simple words Ambekar says to the HMS leadership "Come on, let us share the gains. I gain recognition through your support in some areas, and you gain recognition through our support in some areas."

Compare the speech of Ambekar which indeed offers certain concessions to the HMS with the report of the late Harihar Nath Shastri at the 6th session on the suggestion of N.M.Joshi. No concessions were offered, rather a criticism of HMS was made for its tactics in conducting trade unions and also some cooperation with the AITUC. He said:

"As was stated rightly by our President. . . our differences with Socialists have during the year considerably narrowed down. Their stand in relation to Communists is identical with ours. . . Now the main obstacles that stand in the way are two-fold. Firstly, at times they pursue policies in the trade union field that lead to the belief that they are guided by political considerations rather than by pure merits of the question. Secondly, while the leadership of the Socialist Party is against any truck with the Communists and its present policy is that of unity with INTUC, yet there is a clear evidence of sharp division on both these points within the HMS itself. There is definitely a section that is inclined towards the Communists and it is opposed to any close unity with the INTUC."

He suggested the establishment of "consultative relationship between INTUC and HMS on the basis of a joint consultative committee of the two organisations." Contrast is quite obvious. Here is H.N.Shastri speaking from a position of strength, whereas Shri Ambekar speaks of certain concessions of leaving some areas and unions to the HMS.

. . . While on the question of unity, the

While on the question of unity, the above seems to be the general line agreed by the 8th Session of the INTUC held in May 1956, we find on the other hand certain formulations of demands which have much in common with the demands raised by AITUC and other trade union centres. They are: 25 per cent wage increase (raised by Shri Tripathi), appointment of a Pay Commission, extension of Provident Fund Scheme, an integrated scheme for wider social security, extension of the benefits of medical facilities under the ESI Scheme to the families of the workers, merger of DA with pay, etc. ^{These} provide wider possibilities of united action both from below and the top, even though the leadership of the INTUC has not spoken of any sanction to achieve these demands, rather have stressed that strike has become obsolete in planned economy and left the whole initiative to Government and the employers conceding some concessions.

While both the AITUC and the UTUC hailed the HMS Working Committee resolution on overall unity, the INTUC leadership singularly remained silent.

A.I.T.U.C.

Since its revival in 1950-51, the AITUC despite certain limitations and shortcomings has been steadily and progressively re-orienting itself and working for trade union unity. The deliberations of the W.F.T.U. have helped AITUC in this orientation quite a lot.

This is seen in:

- (1) Acceptance of Bose-Raikar formula in 1950 for the unity of trade unions especially unity between AITUC and UTUC;
- (2) In acceptance of the proposal made by N.M. Joshi in the middle of 1952 of limited unity, of forming "only ^{by} united joint trade union committee based on a plan which may not sacrifice of views by any of the organisations";
- (3) In lending support and initiating campaign of solidarity to struggles of workers irrespective of the leadership leading the struggles;
- (4) In initiating the formation of independent trade federations;
- (5) In initiating campaigns and struggles on its own on the vital demands of the working class and in defence of its trade union and democratic rights.

Since 1954, the approach towards unity has begun to take more positive shape. Not only have we continued to appeal to the INTUC unions and leader-

. . . ship for united action and

ship for united action and organisational unity. We have been laying more emphasis on closer relationship with HMS unions and leadership. On the occasion of the 8th session of the INTUC, we sent a message of greetings and expressed the hope:

"We note with great pleasure that a considerable measure of agreement exists at present between the AITUC and the INTUC in their respective attitudes towards common problems of the workers of our country and on the need for concerted effort to realise the workers' demands.

"It is our earnest hope and conviction that although differences may still exist between the AITUC and the INTUC, it is possible to achieve cooperation between our organisations and between our affiliated unions to win a national living wage and better amenities, to stop retrenchment, to oppose rationalisation, to prevent unemployment . . . to further the economic development of India and to build up Asian solidarity and maintain world peace.

"The AITUC, like your organisation has always stood for unity among workers and a single united organisation for all workers. As a positive step towards this objective, we have on many occasions called upon the Government to hold a round table conference of representatives of all national centres and independent trade federations to devise ways to achieve unity on the basis of agreed principles and agreed programme and democratic functioning.

"We wish to make a fervent appeal to you . . . to give serious consideration to this proposal."

We fully supported the call given in the HMS Working Committee Resolution on overall unity, and called upon all workers, irrespective of affiliations to support this move and campaign for its success. In the statement welcoming the HMS resolution the AITUC said:

"The AITUC has always stood for these principles and assures its full and sincere cooperation in bringing about trade union unity on the basis of one union in one industry and one unified national centre for all unions."

Our circular to our General Council members on 25th June 1956 said:

"It is necessary that the General Council once again clearly sets forth its views on the methods and manner of achieving trade union unity of all trends and national centres and carry out a sober and serious campaign on the basis of our views. Trade union unity has now become a practical proposition." (emphasis added)

In the General Council meeting of 28th July 1956, apart from other questions, the most important question of trade union unity was discussed and a resolution adopted detailing the basis of unity of the trade union centres. It also appointed a committee of eight persons to negotiate with other central trade union organisations for trade union unity. Earlier in the meeting of the General Council, Com. Ranon Sen, Vice-President, AITUC, related the preliminary talks he had with the leadership of the HMS and UTUC on the question.

. . . In its resolution on trade

In its resolution on trade union unity the General Council of the AITUC elaborated the 3 principles enunciated by the IMS Working Committee resolution of June 12 and laid down the following 9-Point platform for organisational unity of the trade union centres:

- (1) Unreserved acceptance of, and respect for, democratic functioning of the trade unions;
- (2) Regular and democratic elections of the executive bodies and office-bearers;
- (3) Proper representation to all trends in the leading organs of the common organisation;
- (4) Right of every worker and trade unionist to belong to any political party of his own choice;
- (5) Freedom from interference in the internal affairs of the organisation by the Government, employers and political parties;
- (6) All vital decisions affecting the workers' interests, including important collective agreements with the employers, to be endorsed by the general body of the workers;
- (7) All decision on political issues to be conditional on 75 per cent majority in their favour;
- (8) In the normal course, strike action to be taken only as a last resort and after properly ascertaining the wishes of the workers;
- (9) "Rival" unions in the same factory, industry or undertaking be wound up either by:
 - (a) Allowing the workers to select the union of their choice through a secret ballot; or
 - (b) Merging them together on the basis of proportional representation according to their respective membership; or
 - (c) Any other democratic and mutually agreed procedure.

Taking full cognizance of wider possibilities of united action of all elements and centres, the AITUC General Council by another resolution made an appeal to all national trade union centres and trade federations to initiate a united campaign and movement on an all-India basis for the securing of the following immediate demands:

- (1) 25% interim wage increase;
- (2) Fixation Rs.100/- as Minimum Wages;
- (3) Appointment of a Wages Commission to outline the principles on which wages and salaries should be based; and
- (4) Proper bonus.

The Resolution also called upon the need for setting up of an Ad Hoc Consultative Committee representing all national centres to discuss and

. . . . finalise the demands regarding

finalise the demands regarding wage increase, Wages Commission, Minimum Wages and Bonus.

U.T.U.C.

Though most vital and important for trade union unity are the INTUC, AITUC and HMS, the UTUC also plays a part on the question of trade union unity and especially in the relationship between the HMS and the AITUC.

The UTUC supported the proposal of the AITUC for the convening of a Round Table Conference of trade union representatives from all national centres and trade federations to discuss and devise ways of achieving unity.

The HMS Working Committee resolution found full support from the UTUC Working Committee held in July 1956.

It may be recalled here that the UTUC refused to merge with the AITUC in 1955 on the plea of bringing in the HMS also. After the HMS Conference in March 1956, there were talks between the HMS and the UTUC regarding the merger of the two.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBILITIES IN THIS SITUATION?

In the HMS Working Committee resolution of 1956 and their report of 1957 we find certain positive things, viz.:

- (1) ". . . overall unity of the labour movement of India is a matter of the highest urgency. . . ", etc.;
- (2) That existence of rivalries and mutual suspicions involve some risk but adds: "In the opinion of the Committee, however, even some risk, if such risk is involved, is worth taking in the attempt for so important a goal."
- (3) About the principles on which unity has to be founded, they can become the basis of discussions for unity.

While we note the above-mentioned positive things, we note also its fear in unity when it says: "The Committee feels, however, that mere working adjustments with only the INTUC or the AITUC are not adequate for the purpose and may actually hinder the cause of overall trade union unity."

And in 1957, HMS has something more to find fault with us. It says:

"The HMS has no illusion about the character of the AITUC, which differs from the INTUC only in that the party which dominates it is not in power today. Its stand on the Hungarian episode has revealed once again its real character. Yet the calculated risk of unity with the AITUC would be worth taking, but only if the stake was as valuable ~~xxx~~ as trade union unity itself; not for partial unification which would leave the problem of disunity still with us."

. . . . Since this report was written

Since this report was written in June 1957, the HMS section in Kerala led by the PSP has put itself in opposition to the AITUC unions. The PSP there has made joint front with the Congress against the Kerala Government led by the Communist Party. At the same time in Bombay, the HMS and AITUC have had more cooperation than before.

While the above report displays the fear of the HMS leadership, as also its desire to have a better bargaining position in the united organisation, the move towards unity put here on record gives the rank and file of the HMS workers a sanction for united work.

In the existing situation, is overall unity of INTUC, AITUC, HMS and UTUC possible? Whether INTUC will agree to join such a unity? Will INTUC agree to election by secret ballot to determine the choice of the workers for their trade unions? In the event of INTUC not agreeing to overall unity including the AITUC, will HMS agree to unity of AITUC, HMS and UTUC as first step towards overall unity? These are some of the questions which come up.

Though because of the logic of developments, urge for unity among the general mass of the workers, INTUC does not reject the question of unity including AITUC outright, its aim is to unite the rest in order to isolate the AITUC. But it has to speak today under mass pressure of working class demands which bear very close similarity to the demands raised by other unions. Facts are very stubborn. In a situation when production has gone up in the last 5 years by 45%, the workers' wages have only reached 1939 level and that too in organised industries. It is not possible for the INTUC leadership to keep silent on the question of immediate increase in wages, on revision of pay scales when on these issues there have been big agitation and struggle. Speaking about Kanpur strike of last year, Ambekar said: "The Kanpur strike is an eye opener to all concerned and reflect how deep is the resent of the workers towards rationalisation or reorganisation."

While there are contradictions and differences of opinion both among the leadership and between the leadership and the lower cadres, yet these contradictions and conflicts have not taken any definite shape in the organisation and the organisation as a whole is opposed to unity with AITUC and is committed in the main to carry out the political policy of the

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Congress Party and the Government. It still hopes to secure its monopoly position as a bargaining agent throughout the country on the basis of help by the Government and the employers conceding some concessions to the workers. It is still committed not to unleash a widespread initiative of the working class for securing their demands. It seeks to strengthen its position, which in the past three years have not led to further strengthening, rather it has led to its comparative isolation in the face of growing struggle in the year 1955, 1956 and 1957 (Amritsar, Kanpur, Kalka, Kharagpur, Nagpur, Burnpur, Jamshedpur and other places), by utilising the contradiction between the HMS and AITUC and the suspicion of the HMS leaders against the Communists.

During and after the General Elections, the identification of the INTUC with the National Congress and the Government has gone still further. The INTUC has now been given functional representation inside the Congress Committees and puts up its candidates for election on the platform of the Congress ^{and} as a trade union organisation supports all Congress candidates.

This is done in order to check the pressure of the masses from taking their organisation to the left and nearer to the AITUC and the pull for united action.

In this situation, the INTUC will not agree to any proposals for overall unity whether by the HMS or AITUC at present. It will not agree to election by secret ballot of the union of workers' choice. Numerous instances could be given when, in the last two years, INTUC representatives were ignominiously defeated in election by secret ballot to such committees as Provident Fund Trustees, Works Committees. In the election (April 1956) in Rohtas Industries, INTUC miserably failed getting only 409 votes when HMS got 3481. Similarly in Brajrajnagar Paper Mills, INTUC lost in the election to HMS. In many factories and workshops where the INTUC unions are recognised, they have lost elections to the Works Committees, such as Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory, Hindustan Shipyard, etc. The reorganisation of the National Federation of Post and Telegraph Employees on the basis of 9 unions and election and a constitution proposed by Government itself, has resulted in the INTUC leadership losing its majority and hence we find in INTUC report an attack on NFPTE as "trying to utilise the organisation

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for the purpose of sectional ideological purposes." The INTUC refused to support the P&T struggle in July last and lost its position still further.

All this shows that the INTUC will not easily agree to election as the basis of determining the representative character of a union. It will seek the help of the Government to get the recognition.

So with the perspective of INTUC not agreeing to overall unity including the AITUC in the immediate future, what will be the attitude of the HMS and UTUC?

This is a very important question. Because, even as it is, the unity of AITUC, HMS and UTUC will be a big step towards future overall unity. This will not only generate a high enthusiasm of the working class outside the INTUC, it will unleash the urge for unity inside the INTUC itself. If this unity comes about it will unleash the inherent strength of the working class, which lies today divided in the main. In the context of INTUC having raised the same demands as other trade union centres, such unity will result in broadbased united movement. Important though it is, the achievement of even such unity is not a very smooth task. There are a number of questions which need study and understanding so that proper approach is made towards this achievement. In the circumstances of today, though overall unity is not possible, unity with HMS and UTUC is within the realm of practical possibilities, though there are a number of difficulties. The way to overcome them is united action for workers' demands and more friendly contacts and mutual consultations between the leaderships.

Possibilities for More United Action

This has increased considerably in the present conditions. The possibilities are expressed in the following:

(1) All the national trade union centres have much in common as far as the slogans regarding workers' demands and international developments are concerned.

AITUC, HMS and INTUC are agreed that the First Five Year Plan has not given the workers a fair deal. While the production has increased by 45% the workers' share in the actual value of the products has been reduced from 42% to 33%, the real wages of factory establishment workers have reached only 103% of the

reached only 103% of the 1939 level. Large majority of workers still live in pitiful conditions (admitted by the Government).

All the three centres demand a national minimum wage of Rs.100.

On the question of immediate 25% wage increase there is a unanimity, though Asoka Mehta in the Parliament did not support immediate wage increase in the debate on Second Five Year Plan.

Similarly, all are agreed on the need for a national Wages Commission to revise the wages structure, on a new formula for bonus, postponement of rationalisation for two years, on extension of Provident Fund to all workers, on extension of medical facilities under ESI Scheme to workers' families, on an integrated scheme of wider social security, on merger of D.A. with basic wage and against unemployment.

(2) Again, all the national centres are anxious for the success of the Second Five Year Plan. They are also equally anxious that the burden should not fall on the workers and the toiling people.

(3) Further, all the national centres have more or less similar attitude regarding peace and peaceful co-existence of nations, for increasing international contacts, exchange of delegations and development of mutual understanding. This common agreement was very vividly expressed in the 15th Indian Labour Conference, where all trade union representatives took an agreed view on all major questions. And trade union leaders in the Parliament have supported the peace policy of Pandit Nehru and his appeal to ban nuclear weapons.

This commonness removes one of the major barriers of prejudices and jealousies and enables to mobilise the masses belonging to different trade union centres in ever larger numbers and will pave the way for more and more united action both from below and the top on common issues.

How Does The Government Look at the Question?

In the matter of wages policy, the planners of the First Five Year Plan followed a line of practically freezing wages and supporting increased work and rationalisation. But they were not successful in their policy generally to the extent they desired because of action of the workers who fought determinedly for wage increases and against rationalisation.

. . . If this was the wages policy of

If this was the wages policy of the Government, the policy in the trade union field has been to make the INTUC and those who fell in line with it, the sole recognised body in the country, enact such laws which would make it difficult, if not impossible for other trade unions to exist.

With all the suppressions of trade union rights and democratic liberties accompanying the enforcement of this policy of imposing the trade unions of the Congress Party and Governmental agencies on the workers, the ruling party did not succeed in securing "industrial peace" or making the INTUC the sole representative of the workers.

In the Second Plan period, in the name of eliminating "political rivalries" and "multiple trade unions", the Labour Ministry of the Government submitted a note in August 1955 for discussion in the Labour Panel of the Planning Commission, which carries the old policy in a new way. It was seen in the proposals submitted for discussions: "Since the development of a healthy trade union movement is an insurance for industrial harmony, the Labour Ministry will approve of 'closed shop' and 'Union shop' practices provided there is no constitutional bar to such arrangements." But this was not approved in the Panel Committee.

From the proposals, however, it becomes evident that they want to make the INTUC the only legally representative recognised centre on the basis of certain percentage of membership; they want to obliterate others by imposing new registration laws for unions and a Government inspectorate to check up and supervise the records and workings of the unions in the matter of membership rolls.

Though they talked about "union rivalries", they are not prepared to renew the proposals made by V.V.Giri, as Labour Minister, during 1952 of determining the representative character of a union by the secret ballot of the workers in the Nainital Conference.

Neither do they propose the other alternative of one union in each industry and one national centre in the country, that the pooled membership of all unions elect by single transferable vote the executive and office-bearers that they want from a list submitted by the differing unions.

. . . . The executive that is so elected

The Executive that is so elected will be the new industrial union to which the pooled membership is transferred and the separate competing unions disappear in this general pool and the newly elected executive, in which all shades are represented as the election is by proportionate representation.

The Government proposal is to determine the representative character of the union by the criteria of "membership of good standing" and of a "certain percentage". The emphasis on this shows that Government does not rely on the workers to choose their own union. The membership figures can be manipulated to the advantage of the INTUC and hence their reliance on this method.

The Chapter on Labour Policy and Programmes of the Second Five Year Plan says:

"In its essentials the Labour Policy and the approach to industrial relations outlined in the First Five Year Plan will also hold for the period of the Second Plan, although necessarily some changes and adaptations will be needed in view of the determination to achieve a Socialist Pattern of Society.

"The present trade union legislation needs to be revised with the object of (1) restricting the number of outsiders in the trade unions, (2) giving unions statutory recognition under certain conditions, (3) protecting office-bearers against victimisation and (4) improving the financial base for the trade union movement from within its own resources. Such legislation is considered necessary for strengthening the trade union movement. There is need also for voluntary efforts towards the unification of the trade union movement."

We have quoted only that portion which has an immediate bearing on the question of unity of the trade union movement.

Regarding wages, the policy declares rising real wages "can only (mainly) be based on increase in productivity." It stresses considerably on mutual negotiations and voluntary arbitration. It does also speak of certain concessions.

The Government policy does, therefore, clearly emerge out. The workers will not be permitted to choose their union. The conditions will be imposed by the Government for representative character of the union. In answer to the demand raised from various quarters except the INTUC about determining the representative character of the union and one union in one industry and one national centre by workers' ballot, the Government says: "There is need also for voluntary efforts towards the unification of trade union movement."

. . . Why? Because, Government is

Why? Because, Government is aware that election will go considerably against INTUC, because such a united movement will not simply accept what the Government says but will defend the workers against any attack which lead to lowering their living standard.

While this is the general policy of the Government, today, a further change is not ruled out. With the possibilities of united movement developing and the demand for recognition of unions on the basis of workers' choice becoming more and more irresistible, there is possibility of making the Government change its policy. As already noted, with INTUC alone, the Government is not able to secure the support of the workers for the success of the Second Five Year Plan, for which a contented working class is essential.

BACKGROUND TO THESE DEVELOPMENTS

The present situation described earlier has not come all of a sudden. It is the result of a series of processes and developments through which the working class movement had to go through. In the past two years, many events took place both political and economic in which the working people under different leadership came together and the urge for unity continued to grow, mutual suspicions and prejudices were comparatively reduced in joint work. In this initiation of the united action, the AITUC played a significant role. The process of formation of independent trade federations signifying organisational unity in the various trades, further developed the unity sentiments, because the workers saw that unity brought them some gains.

We may note here some of the important political and economic issues which unleashed a broad united movement of the working class. In order to have a comparative view we will try to sum up in short the situation that existed at the end of 1954 and beginning of 1955.

Situation of Unity Movement at the end of 1954 and Beginning of 1955.

The growth of united action from below which was noticed in 1953 continued to be the main form of unity movement in 1954. We see workers working in the same place joining together in common struggle against attack and then again falling apart organisationally. Majority of such united struggle took place on local basis though a few were in a provincial scale.

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In 1954, we saw the Kanpur workers forming anti-rationalisation action committee in the face of rationalisation, leading to the merger of 6 unions into one trade union for the textile workers of Kanpur including the INTUC union, which was later disowned and the INTUC formed another union.

In 1954, we saw also the establishment of Delhi Trade Union Council, representing the unity of AITUC, HMS and independent unions.

In 1954, we saw also the bank employees struggle mobilising support from all sections of trade unions except the INTUC. Both AITUC, HMS and UTUC support the bank employees in their September 23rd token strike as well as their proposed indefinite strike from December 10, 1954 against modification of the L.A.T. award by the Government.

1954 also saw the formation of NFPTE uniting the entire post and telegraph workers on the basis of Government scheme and election of leadership of the Federation unanimously with the accommodation of various viewpoints. 1954 saw the INTUC carrying on its anti-unity policies and trying to eat up the HMS unions, leading to conflict between the INTUC and HMS and independents. After the merger of AIRF with INTUC railway workers' union and formation of NFIR, the INTUC leadership began elbowing out the HMS and other independent elements from the merged unions, began to bypass them in the negotiations with the Railway Board and unilaterally withdrawing issues from the Tribunal. This led to a conflict. HMS elements in Western Railway came out of the merged union and re-established their old union led by Manibon Kara. In February 1955, open conflict between Vasavada (INTUC) and Guruswamy supported by HMS and other elements took place leading to establishment of two NFIRs and later the AIRF. Now again a unity of the two is being tried.

The policy of collaboration with INTUC carried on by the HMS led to its weakening since 1951. Important PSP leaders renounced their work in the trade union movement in 1953. In June 1954 conference of the PSP, stress on labour work was given. On the whole in 1954, we do not find much organised activity of the HMS, the leadership continued to remain opposed to unity with AITUC and working class trade union unity.

The AITUC continued to work for trade union unity, laid stress on organising the unorganised workers appealing to the workers to join any

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union they like but join the union. An appeal for trade union unity was made in our conference in 1954 (May), which was further developed in the resolution on trade union unity adopted by our General Council meeting in November, 1954.

The efforts at developing trade federations were continued in this period. We see the organisation of National Federation of Motor Transport Workers (State Sector) in the beginning of 1955 and a joint organisation of both state and private sectors this year.

So on the whole we might say that in 1954 and beginning of 1955, the main form of expression of the unity movement was united action and forming of temporary committees, etc. The scale of such united action and formation of temporary united committees was comparatively on a lower level.

There was no response from the leadership of the HMS or the INTUC to the appeal for trade union unity by the AITUC.

Situation existing then did not promise that developments in the near future will have such far-reaching consequences as will bring the question of trade union unity from the realm of distant conjectures to the realm of practicality. A new spurt took place, which was to some extent unexpected - partly on political issues and partly on industrial.

NEW SPURT OF ACTIVITIES AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNION UNITY IN 1955

Political Issues:

(1) Goa Liberation Struggle: In June 1955 developed the Goa Liberation Movement led by a joint committee named Goa Liberation Committee representing all political opinions.

This saw an unprecedented growth of working class activity and united struggle. The AITUC, HMS and UTUC and their affiliated unions including textile and harbour workers' union conducted joint action and led the general strikes in the cities, including Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in the month of August.

The INTUC leadership did not participate in the strike struggles on the plea that it was a political question and openly opposed the strike action.

for Goa liberation and formed Mill Workers' Goa Liberation Committee jointly by the AITUC and HMS. The provincial branches of the AITUC, HMS and UTUC and the Bank Employees Association of Bombay, jointly convened a representative meeting on July 31 at which decision was taken to stage a general strike in Bombay on August 12. 400,000 Bombay workers responded to this joint call despite every attempt by the INTUC and Congress bosses to disrupt the strike.

Again on the receipt of the news of brutal firing on volunteers on August 15, the Bombay workers in far greater number participated in the General Strike of August 16. Elements like bank and mercantile employees who did not take part in the 12th August strike struck work on the 16th.

In Calcutta on the 17th of August under the joint call of the AITUC, HMS, UTUC and other independent federations and various coordination committees, there was an unprecedented strike reminiscent of the 29th of July 1946 General Strike.

Goa liberation question unleashed working class activity on an all-India scale. This concrete fight against the remnants of colonialism in India directly helped the cause of working class unity.

(2) On States Re-organisation proposals: In October 1955 the States Reorganisation Committee proposals were published. There was widespread resentment in whole of Marathi-speaking area against the rejection of the just claims to be united in one province including Bombay. On the platform came all political parties including the Congress in the beginning but on the directive of the Working Committee of the Congress, the Congressmen had to dissociate. On the trade union front, the Sanyukta Maharashtra Movement brought the AITUC, HMS, UTUC and other independent trade unions in one platform. On November 5, Bombay workers met in conference, called "Bombay Workers United Maharashtra Conference." 5000 delegates representing 90 trade unions belonging to AITUC, HMS, UTUC and independent trade unions attended. S.M.Joshi (HMS) presided and S.A.Dange (AITUC) inaugurated the Conference, which decided to lead a protest demonstration to the Assembly Hall on November 18 when the S.R.C. proposals came to be debated.

On the demonstration of 5000 industrial workers being lathi-charged, a call was given for general strike on 21st November jointly which was

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responded magnificently. Police firing on the demonstration headed by the textile workers killed 12 and wounded more than 300. This news of firing on the Bombay workers spread like wild fire, leading to strikes and demonstrations in every town and city in the Marathi-speaking area.

In January 1956, the Government arrested the main leadership of the movement, which led to a big upheaval. In this, along with the middle-classes, the working class came forward with united political general strikes. Thousands went to jail, 105 were killed in firings. The main characteristic of this struggle was that all parties of the left united on a common platform, all trade unions of the three centres acted together and the political general strike and satyagraha was the spearhead of the struggle.

During the General Elections in the State, this unity was further strengthened.

In the recent agitation against unemployment and closures, the AITUC, HMS and UTUC unions are taking common action with prior joint discussion.

(3) On Bengal Bihar Merger - The proposal to merge Bengal and Bihar provinces led to widespread discontent, which found its reflection in the united movement launched against the proposal by all opposition forces, especially by CPI, PSP, Forward Bloc and others. This brought out also unity of the trade unions affiliated to AITUC, HMS and UTUC and even some unions affiliated to the INTUC joined the movement. The call for general strike on 25th of January 1956 was responded throughout Bengal. Even the jute workers who are mostly non-Bengali, and are under Congress influence, responded to the strike call.

ECONOMIC ISSUES AFFECTING THE LIFE OF THE WORKERS AND THEIR STRUGGLE

Besides these political issues, there were a number of economic issues affecting the life of the working masses, which also found the trade unions with different affiliations coming together. In 1955-57, there were more number of strike actions by working class compared to 1954 on issues like rationalisation and retrenchment, for wage increase and bonus, etc. A special feature of these struggles was the coming together of masses belonging to INTUC, AITUC, HMS and the non-attached. In a number of cases the INTUC local cadres and unions also joined in the united struggle.

All these struggles have played an important part in bringing all together and especially the AITUC and the other middle elements.

INDEPENDENT TRADE FEDERATIONS

The process of development of independent trade federations is not a new one. They existed even before any splits took place in the TU movement. But in those days they were more the expressions of craft separateness than anything. These Federations since 1953 came forward more and more as expressions of unity of the workers in given trade, irrespective of the affiliation of their constituent unions to any central TU organisation.

We have now all-India trade federations in Defence, Banks, Post and Telegraph, Government Employees, Cement, Motor Transport, Port & Docks, Railways, Insurance, Petroleum, Working Journalists. All these federations contain unions and office-bearers drawn from all the four TU centres or some belonging to none. The Confederation of Central Government Employees has a number of associations, who are not affiliated to any centre.

These independent federations have been very active in the defence of the rights and demands of their workers and the trade. They have been in a position to call all-India actions on a considerable level and make positive gains: as for example, the Banks, P&T, Defence, Docks, Insurance, etc.

Even while acting on a trade level, these federations have to act in solidarity with the whole working-class and have to receive help from all. In recent times there have been many occasions, when in their struggles, they have been able to bring the AITUC, HNS and UTUC leadership together to agree on common action in support of the federations, as it happened on the question of the struggles of the Banks, P&T, Insurance. Thus, the Federations have acted as a lever of unity.

The INTUC, however, of late, has been trying to split these federations. In some trades, it sets up its own trade federations directly affiliated to the INTUC. Where there have been no united trade federations before, the INTUC is able to set up its own federations, viz. cotton textiles, coalmining, plantation. But INTUC activities have been harmful in cement, where they first entered a united federation and finding the majority unions to be not theirs, walked out. They have been trying their best to split the Bank workers, Defence and the P&T. But the urge for unity is so strong and cemented by common action and sacrifices, that the INTUC leaders are not able

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so easily to mislead and split. Their activities have, however, been successful in the Railways to a large extent.

The unity of the trade federations cannot be a substitute for the unity of the central TU organisations. The independent trade federations are playing a very positive role. At the same time, they have their limitations. They are essentially trade federations. The working-class and the trade union movement is not merely a sum total of all the trades. It is something more than all the trades - it is a class. Even all trade federations sitting together cannot make a central trade union organisation, which must reflect the class as a whole, beyond its trade needs, demands and ideals. All the trade federations generally accept this. Hence it was that the Defence Federation asked all the Central TU organisations to put forward a united and agreed case before the Pay Commission on an all-India level.

The trade federations must develop and that too as independent federations. At the same time, they must, on all major questions, function in consultation with all the central TU organisations.

In some cases, some elements try to develop them almost as rivals to the central TU organisations. Even when a common solidarity action is needed, they make such a narrow technical fetish of "independence", that they ask for solidarity actions from all workers, without even asking the various centres to come and help. Their excuse is that if all the Centres do not agree to act together what could they do? First they should try to call in their united help, together or separately. If they refuse, then approach over their heads and unite with those who are prepared to act and help.

PRESENT POSITION & TASKS

What then is the position on the question of unity?

United actions of the workers have grown, more so in recent days because of the attack on their wages and living standards, by inflation, high prices, rationalisation, closures and unemployment, etc.

These united actions have brought the various central organisations and their leaderships to act together, as at the time of P&T, Banks, mining, etc.

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Joint demonstrations and consultations between the AITUC and HMS (and UTUC in some areas) have grown in many political questions and TU problems, which have strengthened unity trends.

Those in the INTUC who favour splits and are opposed to unity did not succeed in their disruptive activity, where united work already exists and has been strengthened.

The unity of all the TU centres was most vividly shown in the work of the Indian Labour Conference and the Standing Labour Committee.

Government spokesmen in Parliament continue to say that they do not wish to discriminate between the INTUC and others. But in reality they do.

Conditions for unity have become more favourable in last two years.
Unity has advanced, not retreated.

Internationally too, forces of unity have advanced. The appeals of the WFTU to the ICFTU for united action on common points have borne fruit, not at the top, but below. Common action from below has grown.

The standpoint of the WFTU in support of the Middle-East and African countries have found so much support that the ICFTU has had to revise its attitude. The INTUC and HMS who are affiliates of the ICFTU strongly criticised it for its support to the Seato and Baghdad Pacts. It was in fact an amusing situation. The National Congress, Nehru and the Government denounce these war pacts and support the Middle-East and African independence. Yet it is affiliated to the ICFTU which goes against these policies of anti-colonialism. The only common point that the ICFTU could find recently with the HMS and INTUC was on Hungary. But, it could not hide their contradiction on questions of freedom of the Asian-African people. As a result, the ICFTU in its Tunis Congress this year has begun to speak the language of anti-colonialism. This has advanced the forces of unity internationally also.

We must convince the workers more concretely that unity is a principle and not merely a tactic to "capture". Our organisational action and individual behaviour must lead to this conviction - which, for example, means that while not refusing to lead the workers, we must not be over-anxious to prove that we are the initiators or leaders of struggles and gains.

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Joint actions must be carefully prepared as such. More formal majority votes in meetings are not enough sanction for unity. Before we come to a vote, we must informally try for unity and agreement.

The conclusions of the Tripartite Labour Conference can be made the basis for furthering common views and common action, where necessary, in as much as the Tripartite Conclusions were agreed to by all the four centres, sitting together, including the INTUC.

The independent Trade Federations must be helped more in their united action and united functioning. It is easier to isolate the splitters there.

The AITUC centre must concretely investigate where rival unions as between the HMS and us and also as been UTUC and us can be overcome by merger or unilateral dissolution. There are cases, where unilateral dissolution, with some prior talks on united functioning and absorption of cadres, has to be undertaken (as, for example, in Bombay). "Bargaining" at a certain stage has to be given up to bring about unity. For a time, it may look that we or the workers have lost in activity. Even if it is so, it is temporary, if we really remain active, without "positions". Our experience on railways shows that.

We do avoid starting rival unions whether against those of the INTUC or HMS or UTUC. But, with regard to the INTUC, we have to put limitation on this principle. Where their unions cease to function or become company unions, we are forced to start rival unions. At present, the pattern is that their unions throw out the INTUC leadership and call for us to give guidance. We cannot shirk the responsibility, if the decisions are more or less unanimous. In such a situation, it is the INTUC which then starts a new rival union, as has happened in many cases. It is less so in the case of the HMS.

Occasions for demand or shifts in leaderships arise very much at a time, when a crisis grows and workers demand action to defend themselves. At present, there is pressure for action for wages, DA, etc. But it is just in such situations, for the struggles to be successful, we must build united leaderships. Especially shifts and changes in the leadership of unions in industries, establishments and services belonging to the State

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Sector are coming up very fast. The AITUC is being called in to participate in the composition of the elected leadership along with others or even singly where others refuse. The growth of the AITUC is responsible for such a situation. Especially, the calls on AITUC members of Parliament are very high.

Here, while we agree to undertake responsibility, we must bear in mind our limitations also and must exercise some restraint.

The fact that the AITUC forces have grown stronger is a help to unity and success of struggles. But we must also remember that the opponents of unity and the working class can use this very fact to disrupt and mislead. The tasks of unity are so urgent and so complicated that the AITUC must concentrate on it more than before.

..... V. DISPUTES & STRUGGLES

VI

DISPUTES & STRUGGLES

All these last three years, the tempo of the struggles of the working class has been on the upgrade. The comparative quietude, which was there in 1951 to 1954, as seen in the figures of man-days lost, vanished in 1955. The tempo continued in 1956 and in 1957 also. We have already seen that whereas in 1954 the man-days lost were over three million, in 1955 they were over five-and-half million and in 1956 over seven million.

Secondly, not only man-days lost were increasing, but even the number of disputes and number of workers in struggles had also gone up. The rise was not due to any one single big strike lasting a long time and thus setting the record high which partly was the case even in 1955.

The third thing in the struggles of 1956 was that the disputes were widespread, the number of workers and disputes was large, but the duration was not very high. Protest actions, swift actions of one day or short duration were the tactics of the trade unions in 1956. Two-thirds of the disputes did not last for more than 5 days and even in this category, there was heavy concentration in the category of "one day or less" which alone accounted for 41.3 per cent of the disputes. Does it mean that the workers were not prepared to put up longer or stiff struggles or that the employers were conceding quick? Neither of the two. It means that there were more "protest actions". Having protested, the workers waited for negotiations and results.

The fourth thing was that in 1956, the bigger factories have been in action more than the small. Factories employing 1000 or more workers lost 4,404,134 days.

The fifth thing to be noted is that all these man-days lost is not due to strikes. Last year there were more lock-outs also. The average time loss per lock-out was 30,520 man-days while the average per strike was only 3,862. The lock-outs accounted for 38.4 per cent of the total time loss.

Though lock-out is an offensive of the employers, it also shows that the

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workers have not yielded either in withdrawing their struggle or surrendering to the employers.

The sixth thing is that both in 1956 and 1957 there have been actions on a national scale and not only on local factory scale.

The seventh thing is that this time, the Governmental services and middle class employees have gone into action on a national level and have shown tremendous advance in trade union organisation. The growing crisis inevitably throw them into activity and action.

The eighth thing is that the most exploited of the working class, that is the miners, have carried out united actions, involving immense sacrifices and made gains.

The ninth is that even the big units of iron and steel which were supposed to be highly paid and totally under the influence of the INTUC have broken away from the old moorings. Jamshedpur and Burnpur both have struggled against the "sober" advice of the INTUC and have won substantially.

The tenth thing is that the struggles of 1955 and 1956 halted the offensive of rationalisation for the time being, by their united struggles. Now the employers are waiting for this unity to break and to attack again in the name of productivity.

It is not possible to refer to all the disputes and struggles and the tremendous sacrifices and heroism shown by the workers. Scores have been killed and wounded in firings by the Government, hundreds sent to jail. Thousands have lost their jobs. Though personally they have lost, yet their sacrifice has made the working class stronger. The lives of the few lost have won the lives of millions and the admiration and loyalty of their class.

In the great strike of Kanpur lasting over ninety days, the workers by united action succeeded in halting the offensive of rationalisation. That strike made the Government and employers, who most vehemently talked and attacked in the name of "technological progress", revise their attitude as shown in the conclusions of the Tripartite Indian Labour Conference of 1957.

The several actions on the Railways and the firing in Kalka, Kharagpur, etc., brought the problems of the railway workers to the forefront. There was a tremendous offensive against active TU workers on the railways in the name of "State security". The Sankar Saran tribunal was in cold storage

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and the INTUC-led NFIR also. Though the Kharagpur strike was marred by the anarchic behaviour of some people endangering the lives of many people, the railway workers' drew the attention of the Government.

The Defence installations had to struggle against retrenchment in September-October of 1956. This all-India action got them partly absorption of the retrenched in alternative jobs.

The Bank workers launched many protest actions for protection against victimisation or deductions envisaged under the Award. They won on these points. But the single-handed action of the Bengal section in trying to secure a revision in the D.A. formula failed to win and carries some valuable lessons for the TU movement.

The struggle of the Insurance workers in the nationalised sector whose service and pay conditions were being worsened in the name of the State Sector economy was quite a surprise to many in its wide sweep though only of one-day duration. The settlement also was quick at the hands of the Finance Ministry and gains were made.

The struggle of the Burnpur steel workers has been going on from 1953. Their determination and correct tactics has given them some good gains. Their profit-sharing bonus has risen from 10 days (formerly linked to dividend) to 65 days this year and 105 of **their** retrenched people have been reinstated after four years with compensation, by the verdict of the Supreme Court in an appeal. The Company has shown some grace at last and is reported to be willing to pay the compensation which will be about Rs.15 lakhs.

This verdict and a few other disputes have raised the question in the minds of many people, whether there should be an appellate machinery of some kind or not.

Other struggles on local levels have been many. Notable was the strike by the Nagpur textile workers, where all the workers including women were sent to jail. The satyagraha, led by the HMS in Modinagar has been a stiff battle. So was their struggle in Dalmianagar, where the HMS led and ultimately won. The AITUC cooperated with them.

Another notable struggle was of the Wince workers in Barcilly. It was notable for the fact that the Company introduced rationalisation in clear

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violation of all the terms of the agreement of the Tripartite Labour Conference and Government has refused to take action. On the contrary, the loaders were put in jail by the U.P. Government.

Ports and Docks is another trade, where an all-India struggle was fought and settlement arrived at. At one time, all the ills of shortages were being laid at the door of the port and dock workers' demands, and refusal to give full quota of work. Public opinion was sought to be raised against them. Ultimately, after the settlement of the dispute, it was found that the shortages are mainly due to want of machinery, space and other facilities for handling goods and the total failure of the authorities to plan and anticipate the movement of goods. Yet Government agencies were not wanting to malign and threaten the workers unnecessarily.

We have no time to go into all the lessons, aspects and characteristics and all the disputes and struggles that have taken place. But there are some which have got to be considered.

In recent period, the defiance of the tribunal awards by the employers and their freezing the claims of the workers by constant recourse to the Supreme Court and the way the verdicts of the Court have gone mostly against the workers has been on the increase. This is happening not because the law is made that way but that the principles which ought to govern the basic concepts of the law are not defined and made binding. The concept of social justice, which is said to govern the rulings of the Court are vague. Hence in the given society, social justice when weighed between the claims of Capital and Labour has tended to weigh in favour of Capital. Who is responsible for such results? When the ruling Congress Party was shown these results, it has turned a deaf ear to the problem of putting industrial law and industrial relations on a sounder footing.

The case that has attracted the most widespread attention is that of the Award on Working Journalists. The wage-scales awarded were flatly rejected by the big monopoly newspaper houses. And now they are before the Supreme Court. The Government refused to intervene and bring about a settlement because it was not prepared to put down the recalcitrance of the big men who control the monopoly press.

. . . . Can Government do it?

Can Government do it? Yes, when they want to. They did it in case of coal. The mineowners defied the award and went to the Supreme Court. A wave of pit-strikes culminating in a general strike was developing. The Labour Minister, Mr. Nanda, called both the parties. The State itself as a colliery owner was concerned. And the award was given effect to by giving the owners a rise in the coal prices.

The struggle of the coal miners, the award and the settlement are outstanding things in the recent period.

The struggle that made real history for all is that of the P&T and Government services. The proposed strike of August 8th shook the country and the Government. The whole country had been sent into a tension by Government threats and the possibility of an all-national stoppage of most essential sector of communications to be joined in by the other services. All the Governmental services for the first time in history were taking a united action, not on political but purely in defence of their trade union demands, for protection against rise in prices and for betterment of conditions.

For the first time, Governmental services were acting under the auspices of a unified trade union federation of their own. And they were supported by all the national TU centres except the INTUC.

The Government, however, at a late stage agreed to institute a Pay Commission, which they had flatly refused at first. Except the main pay question, other demands were agreed to. An interim relief was to be adjudged "expeditiously". With that firm declaration made in Parliament, the strike notice was withdrawn.

That has been argued about quite a lot. The AITUC supported the strike notice, helped in the negotiations and settlement. The AITUC centre hold the opinion that with those demands that were conceded and the Pay Commission, the strike notice lost its force and sanction. But the AITUC was prepared to stand by the P&T in whatever decision it chose to take.

The interim result is out. Rs.5/- are given as D.A. It is not an adequate increase. At the same time, the most exasperating part of it is that the arrears of six months that are due (Rs.30) are to be paid

. in National Savings

in National Savings Certificates. A sum of Rs.9 crores due to the workers and needed by them for meeting the acknowledged rise in prices is awarded and yet taken back and frozen. This is against the spirit of the recent agreement in the Tripartite Standing Committee. At no time was D.A. frozen this way. Bonus amounts were thus offered in certificates but not D.A. This most exasperating method is bound to cause discontent and protest.

In all the struggles this year and last, Government has many a time revealed its true face - the defender of monopoly capital using all the force of the State to put down the legitimate demands of the working class. This is so in spite of the fact that the Government is headed by a leader like Nehru.

Its frequent resort to firing on strikers has evoked condemnation from even the ranks of the Congress. The declaration of the Kerala Government not to fire on people or to allow the police to be used by landlord bourgeois interests to suppress the struggles of the toiling people along with the assurance of protection of the property and person of the employers has embarrassed the Congress ministries. The firing that created an uproar in the Parliament was the one in Bhangi Colony in Delhi, where Mahatma Gandhi used to pray daily for peace and non-violence. Some honest Congressmen were ashamed to see a poor man's blood being shed at the hands of the ministry swearing by the same Mahatma's name in that very place. Not a single strike has gone without arrests and lathi-charges and the most liberal use of the Preventive Detention Act. With the slightest move for demands and protests, the police is thrown on the scene against the people. That is the democracy served to the working class. While on the other side, food hoarders, tax evaders, racketeers fattening on State funds have all the freedoms.

The strike of the P&T and Governmental services made the Government move quickly to seize arbitrary powers to ban the strikes in essential or any service. Government Servants' Conduct Rules were made to prohibit the Government employee from participating in any form of public activity even in connection with his own union. He was banned from being a member of a union not recognised by Government. A Government which takes years to pass laws beneficial to the workers, took only a day to ban the trade union

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and democratic rights of two million Governmental workers.

Yet we must not lose sight of the fact that the working class possesses the power to make the Government retreat by united, determined and correct action, as was seen in P&T, in coal, tea, banks, insurance, &c.

Some struggles have revealed the strange fact that workers have to struggle even to get the ^{laws} ~~laws~~ already passed implemented by Government and the employers. Where the trade unions are not strong, laws are violated with impunity. In the mines and plantations this is prevalent on a large scale.

Protection of rights won by former struggles and implementation of laws beneficial to the workers is one of the tasks of the trade unions even under the democratic constitution of our Republic, governed by the Congress Party and its big bourgeois pillars.

The development of the State Sector of economy is going to make the Government as the largest employer of labour in the country. Its relations with the workers, apart from the employees in the direct State services, have a two-fold aspect. The State is an employer in the ordinary sense of the term and it is a State. Every struggle of the worker for his demands, therefore, brings him up in conflict with the State. Every big struggle even for the most simple demands, therefore, would be met with the full force of the State. Every struggle could be denounced as a struggle to overthrow, to embarrass, to paralyse the Government. It used to be said so even where Government was not an employer as in Ports and Docks. Now it would be much more so.

Therefore, while the development of the State Sector of industry is an advantage in the general struggle of the working class, it will tend to be a disadvantage in the struggle for his own demands as such.

The character of our working class is undergoing rapid transformation in two directions. With developing economy, vast masses of young men of the peasantry are being drawn into the towns and the factory. They have no traditions yet of the working class, which grew and learnt from struggles in the pre-war or immediate post-war days. These young workers have yet to inherit the experience of the old.

This rapidly growing young worker will soon learn from his experience

. . . what social system he is

what social system he is facing, what political rule and which class is over him and against him. With the tempo of development, the fast-changing conditions and crisis will soon temper him and weld him into a class and make him the builder of the trade unions.

The bourgeoisie uses the weapon of caste divisions, language divisions to disrupt the unity of the exploited class. The scheduled castes are attacked because they choose to take up a casteless religion, a religion which has no authoritarianism and inequality in its ideology. The rightful claims of linguistic culture and development are used to foment political divisions. Craft tendencies are encouraged to disrupt industrial unity in unions. There are a hundred and one ways which the wily bourgeois uses to confuse and divide us and thereby disarm us.

Hence working class education has become an urgent need. The Government, the INTUC, the ICFTU, all have launched schemes of workers' education. Though we do not know what its content will be, yet the fact that it is being launched is enough to make the TU movement to turn to the urgent problem of class education. Our trade unions should participate in the Government scheme and also have their own one.

It is said that Indians give a high place of honour to their women. That may be somewhere else but not so in the working class. The bourgeoisie is hounding out women workers from the textile industry wherever possible. Where this cannot be done, they are attacked as badly as the men. In the struggles we have fought women have proved the most militant and best organisers - in mines, plantations, biris, etc.

But we have been unable to raise women workers to the level of leadership in the unions. The problem has not been tackled in a proper way. There are many other problems which the TU movement has to pay attention to, such as education and culture which has become a pressing problem in the big cities, especially. Where the working class and middle class together come to majority positions in the local bodies, municipalities and corporations we are faced with several new problems - the problem of satisfying demands on housing, sanitation, education, etc., and our role as municipal administrators of these towns and sometimes even as employers of municipal undertakings. To harmonise these two different roles, adherence to certain

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principles, to the defence of the interests of the working people as well as serving the needs of the town in conditions where the main ruling party, the Congress, with its control of the purse and the law is not with us has got to be carried out. Under such conditions, the trade unions do not discharge only the role of agitators but become also part of the administrators. Under such conditions, the peculiar contradiction between being rulers within a capitalist framework and also defenders of the exploited has to be resolved in a friendly way and not in an antagonistic or oninical way. Our trade unions have no experience in this matter - how to fulfil this dual role. Sometimes, we over-emphasise the difficulties of doing things under severe limitations of the capitalist framework within which we have taken up the task of ruling. Sometimes, we over-emphasise the immediate possibilities of giving total relief to the exploited masses. Constant free exchange of opinions, mutual consultations, a certain restraint on the part of unions coupled with quick and positive steps to overcome bureaucratic practices in order to give whatever relief is possible, however small helps in the situation. The distrust of the masses, born of centuries experience, of all State and ruling machines has to be taken note of and a proper political education combined with practical measures have to be undertaken to at least soften, if not remove that distrust. Where the monopolists are in power they cannot do it; but the working class can. Our experience in Kerala and in Bombay City, which has the richest and biggest city corporation shows this.

. . . . ORGANISATION

ORGANISATION

The report has become long enough and yet not exhaustive enough. Many problems which require greater discussion have not received adequate attention, some not at all. The problem of organisation is not dealt with and I am not giving here any report on that.

The AITUC today has become the strongest trade union centre in the country in moral and political influence. Non-recognition of many of our unions, and opposition of the employers of the Government prevent us in many ways from reflecting our strength and influence in the membership and organisational set-up. To a certain extent, let us admit, this is helped by the apathy or neglect of organisational duties of some of our leading people. We theorise, we fight, we suffer, we win many things, millions gather round our flag and our call. And there we stop. The result is that this fighting and winning working class loses its best armour when it needs it most - organisation, membership, money, cadres, offices, lawyers, technicians, representations on committees, functioning of State TUCs, of the Central Office.

This problem of organisation cannot be dealt with just now. A number of Wage Boards are awaiting our views on behalf of the workers. You can ask the P&T leadership what hard labour and organisation it requires to arrive at an agreed memorandum on questions of wages. Even the Government pleads that it has not got cadres to man the Wage Boards we are asking for. What then will be our plight? Industrial wages and national minimum and living wage are too concrete to be dealt with by mere theory and tactics and talk of exploitation. Facing prisons and firing is necessary and requires heroism. But that alone does not solve the problem. In fact doing that at the wrong time, when settlement is near at hand, disrupts the gains of the class, though it may help some of us to hide our ignorance or avoid some of the inconveniences of agreements. We must learn to settle just as we know how to fight. We cannot do it unless we learn and organise.

In order to discuss this problem, the Working Committee will make certain proposals at a later stage.

..... CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSION

As I said at the beginning, we are meeting in times of great events. Compared to them, our session is a small event. But the reflection of the times is there. We have had the pleasure of having fraternal delegates from the socialist and capitalist countries and of the WFTU among us for the first time. We extend our greetings to them and our thanks to Government for giving visas to them.

We are meeting just after the conclusion of the IV World Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The conclusions of that Congress, its fraternal help and solidarity on behalf of the world's working class will help us in many ways in discharge of our tasks.

We are meeting in a State, which is not exactly like all the other fifteen States in India. This session also feels the truth of the statement, when we remember how the AITUC is treated in other States. Some people may not agree with the Government of this State in all its doings. But none can accuse it of being an anti-working-class, anti-peasant, anti-people State. We cannot say such a positive thing about the other States, with their enthusiasm for Preventive Detention Acts, Security Rules against Government employees, and bans of all kinds. The AITUC unions should be glad of such a state of affairs and should support and strengthen such a Government and must positively counter all tactics of the landlord-bourgeois groups to weaken and overthrow it, without identifying our unions with any political party as such. I would appeal to all trade unions of whatever affiliation to join hands with us in this, because we would do the same with any other Government, if it were to put itself positively and in concrete deeds on the side of the working class and the exploited masses.

We are meeting at a time, when the crisis is slowly creeping on us, compelling the Government to talk of slashing the Plans of economic development. If it happens, the first sufferers and victims will be the workers and the poor middle-class. The economic development of our country which is an urgent national task for all including the trade unions

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particularly, will be held up.

At the same time, we have to see that all this development taking place is not at the cost of the working people. Hence we have to follow a two pillar policy - to help in the development of the economy and to defend the interests of the working masses in that economy.

This entails upon us the consideration of our tactics of struggles - which must be such that they must serve both the aims. They are difficult tactics, no doubt. They are not so simple as to back every demand with a strike nor to ban all strikes. At the Working Committee in September this year, we put it this way:

- * Organise and Unite;
- * Demonstrate and Protest;
- * Negotiate and Settle;
- * If not strike, peacefully and as a last resort.

This understanding is valid even today. And it must be interpreted formally. We do negotiate but many a time, we do not know where to settle. There are cases, where leaders have recommended strikes because the concessions offered gave 24 per cent bonus whereas demand was for 26 per cent. While there are cases where the leadership would just not move. We cannot lay down exhaustive norms for the use of the correct tactics. But in general, they must be guided by the main considerations of the situation. Words sometimes are not enough. Militancy may be an excuse to hide anarchist violence and disruption. Prudence may hide timidity and total inaction. We have to avoid both. How? Experience will tell.

Therefore, we may put down in brief the things we have to achieve and the tasks before the trade unions. We have to organise and struggle:-

1. For International Peace and banning of nuclear weapons.
2. For development of the national economy and fulfilment of the core of the Plan for national prosperity.
3. For development of the State Sector and to end the activities of foreign monopolies against national interests.
4. For workers' and people's control over the profiteering activities of the landlord-monopolist groups.
5. For reduction and stabilisation of prices and cooperative distribution of consumer goods.
- 6. For a rise in wages

6. For a rise in wages, differing according to industry or regions leading to an average of 25%.
7. For merger of D.A. in wages.
8. For reduction of hours of work in hazardous occupations involving danger to health and life, viz., mining, chemicals, transport, etc.
9. For progressive laws and implementation of such laws and awards with workers' participation.
10. For Wages Boards in each industry to revise the wages structure upwards on a national scale in each industry, trade and region.
11. For the improvements in the social security measures - Employees State Insurance Scheme, Provident Fund, etc.
12. For recognition of Trade Unions and Ballot to decide the most representative union.
13. For Trade Union Unity irrespective of political and other affiliations.
14. For end to firings and suppression of trade union and democratic rights. End to the Preventive Detention Act and the anti-democratic Government Services Conduct Rules.
15. For end to corruption and nepotism in the ruling circles.
16. For end to caste divisions and oppression of the scheduled castes and tribes. For unity of the class irrespective of caste.
17. For organising the unorganised and for strengthening the AITUC.

For our country and our class,

Unite and win

the end of poverty below

and the misrule above,

wherever it exists!

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December 24, 1957

Confession Memo File

C. A.
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中華全國總工會

ВСЕКИТАЙСКАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ
ALL-CHINA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FEDERATION DES SYNDICATS DE CHINE

Кабель
Cable "PEKING 1930"
Ad. teleg.

22nd November, 1957

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO THE GENERAL CONGRESS OF THE A.I.T.U.C.

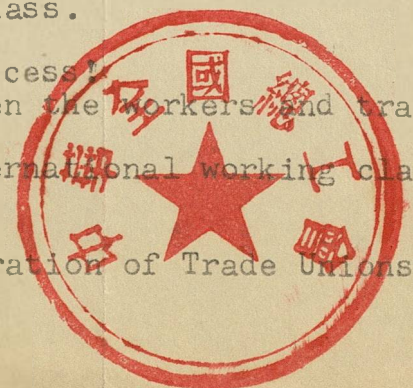
Dear Brothers,

On the occasion of the General Congress of the A.I.T.U.C., the Chinese trade unions and the working people of China extend our fraternal and warmest congratulations to the Congress and the Indian brother workers. The Chinese workers are constantly in admiration of the fine traditions of the Indian working class movement and give our close attention to each and every progress gained by the Indian brother workers. We are in great joy to notice the great role played by the A.I.T.U.C. during the past few years in strengthening the unity and solidarity of the Indian working class, in defending national independence, in developing national economic construction and safeguarding the vital interest and democratic rights of the workers. We are confident that the convening of this General Congress, an event of great significance, will bring about greater success in your future undertakings. The Chinese workers will always stand by you in the struggles for safeguarding world peace, for defending national independence and improving the living conditions of the workers.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, close relationship has been established between the trade unions of China and India. Through the continuous exchange of trade union delegations there witnessed a better mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese and the Indian trade unions. This friendship and unity will further inspire and fill the working classes of our two countries with confidence in their struggles for a happy future and will play a great part in the cause of consolidating the unity and solidarity of the Asian and African as well as the international working class.

Wishing your Congress every success!
Long live the friendship between the workers and trade unions of India and China!
Long live the unity of the international working class!
Long live world peace!

All China Federation of Trade Unions



File
11/21/57

C-4
CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
OF YUGOSLAVIA
CENTRAL COUNCIL
BELGRADE

Belgrade, 19.....
Kardeljeva, 12
Tel. 24-751
P. O. Box 353

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MESSAGE TO THE 25th CONGRESS
OF THE A.I.T.U.C.

We thank you very much for inviting us to send a delegation to the 25th Congress of the A.I.T.U.C. Unfortunately, we received your invitation too late to be able to make arrangements in time. Therefore, please transmit this message of fraternal greetings of the working class and of all the trade unions of socialist Yugoslavia to all the delegates assembled at your Congress to whom we wish every success in their work.

We hope that the discussions and the resolutions of your Congress will be a contribution to the unity of the workers and of the trade unions of India in their struggle for the defence of the interests of the working people, the development of the national economy and a further assertion of the working class. We also express the conviction that you will on this occasion raise your voice in support of the efforts that the progressive people in the world are making to stop the race for armaments, to attain a relaxation of the tension and to reinforce world peace.

दिल्ली राज्य समिति

अखिल भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस

का

14वां सम्मेलन

दिनांक 26-10-1996

महासचिव की रिपोर्ट

टी.यू.सी. की अखिली राज्य स्तरीय सम्मेलन 15 नवम्बर 1990 को सम्पन्न हुआ था, इससे पहले यह सम्मेलन 1985 में हुआ था। सरकार द्वारा 1991 में नई आर्थिक नीति की घोषणा के साथ ही केन्द्रीय ट्रेड यूनियन की प्रायोजित कमेटी झण्डे तले फूट चुक चुकी तथा नई आर्थिक नीति का विरोध करने के लिए संघर्ष का कार्यक्रम तैयार किया गया।

1991 से 1996 तक का सारा समय संघर्ष की दो मुख्य दिशाओं के अधीन रहा, ट्रेड यूनियनों की प्रायोजित कमेटी द्वारा समन्वित, नई आर्थिक नीति के विरुद्ध आम संघर्ष तथा उसके बाद न्यूनतम मजदूरी में वृद्धि के लिए जन संगठनों के माध्यम से संघर्ष।

नई आर्थिक नीति के खिलाफ संघर्ष का निर्णय ट्रेड यूनियनों की प्रायोजित कमेटी ने राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर लिया जिसका क्रियान्वयन दिल्ली राज्य कमेटी समेत राज्य कमेटीयों द्वारा किया गया।

14-15 सितम्बर 1993 की हड़ताल की तैयारी के लिए जुलाई 1993 में प्यारेलाल भवन में न्यूनतम मजदूरी के ऊपर एक सम्मेलन आयोजित किया गया।

19 अगस्त 1993 को एटक की दिल्ली कमेटी ने अन्य ट्रेड यूनियनों के साथ मिलकर जल-मंत्र पर एक विशाल रैली आयोजित की और उसमें बड़-बड़कर भाग लिया। जिसमें 3000 एटक के कार्यकर्ताओं ने रैली में भाग लेने की तरफ मार्च किया। पुलिस ने उक्त कुत्स पर जगानाथ अश्रुगैस तथा पानी के फाड़ने का इस्तेमाल किया। लगभग 4500 लोगों को पुलिस ने गिरफ्तार कर लिया और एटक के कामरेड एम.एम. गोप, कामरेड टी.ए. प्रॉमिस आदि के खिलाफ अन्य केन्द्रीय ट्रेड यूनियनों के नेताओं के साथ आपराधिक मामले दर्ज किए गए।

इस आन्दोलन के बाद अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर 9 सितम्बर, 1993 को तालकिने के पीछे एक विशाल रैली नई आर्थिक नीति के विरोध में की गई, जिस पर पुलिस ने बर्बरतापूर्ण लाठी चार्ज किया तथा अश्रुगैस के गोले छोड़े।

1994 में एटक का 35वां अधिवेशन पटना में 11 मार्च 1994 से 15 मार्च 1994 तक सम्पन्न हुआ। इस सम्मेलन में दिल्ली प्रदेश का नेतृत्व 20 प्रांतनिर्वाहियों ने किया। इस अधिवेशन में कामरेड टी.ए. फ्रॉमिंग तथा कामरेड डी.एन. सचदेवा एटक के मांचव तथा कोषाध्यक्ष के रूप में चुने गए।

5 अप्रैल 1994 को एटक की दिल्ली कमेटी ने जनसंगठनों के प्लेटफार्म द्वारा घोषित कार्यक्रम में पूर्ण रूप से भाग लिया। एटक की दिल्ली कमेटी इस कार्यक्रम की तैयारी के प्रत्येक कार्य के साथ पूर्णरूप से संलग्न रही। इस कार्यक्रम पर भी दिल्ली पुंनग ने नाठीचार्ज किया तथा आंसू गैस छोटी जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप बहुत लोगों को चोटें आईं, दिल्ली राज्य के कार्यकर्ताओं ने सभी घायलों को अस्पतालों में पहुंचाया।

21 जून 1994 को एक राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन का तालकटोरा स्टेडियम में आयोजन किया गया जिसमें दिल्ली राज्य कमेटी ने बढ़-चढ़ कर भाग लिया।

20 सितम्बर 1994 को एटक की दिल्ली कमेटी ने रेल रोकने आन्दोलन का आयोजन किया लेकिन जन सहयोग के अभाव में उक्त कार्यक्रम प्रभावी नहीं रहा।

असंगठित क्षेत्र तथा निजी क्षेत्र के मजदूरों द्वारा नई आर्थिक नीति के विरुद्ध संघर्ष में ज्यादा भागीदारी नहीं हो सकी। 1995 तक सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के कर्मचारी भी इस संघर्ष के प्रति उदासीन हो गए।

यूनियनों के बन्द होने तथा छंटनी के डर से असंगठित क्षेत्र में ट्रेड यूनियन गतिविधि कमजोर हुई। केवल न्यूनतम मजदूरी में बढ़ोतरी के आन्दोलन के समय इस क्षेत्र के लोगों ने थोड़ा बहुत संघर्ष में भाग लिया, यह संघर्ष अन्य ट्रेड यूनियनों के साथ मिलकर किया गया था और इसमें सीटू, एच.एम.एफ., यू.टी.यू.सी., यू.टी.यू.सी. लीगन सारणी, ए.आई.सी.सी.टी.यू. आदि ने भाग लिया था। इसके फलस्वरूप न्यूनतम मजदूरी में महत्वपूर्ण वृद्धि हुई।

दिल्ली में भाजपा सरकार के आ जाने से अकुशल श्रमिकों की मजदूरी को ₹.1,582/- प्रति माह तक बढ़ाया गया। दिल्ली सरकार द्वारा मंहगाई भत्ते को स्वतः ही लिंक करने का मामला फिलहाल निलम्बित किया गया है। इसके बावजूद 1995 में केन्द्रीय ट्रेड यूनियनों ने एक संयुक्त अभियान चलाया जिसके फलस्वरूप 1996 में अकुशल मजदूरों की न्यूनतम मजदूरी ₹.1,677/- की गई।

औद्योगिक क्षेत्र

दिल्ली के औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में औद्योगिक सम्बन्धों का दृश्य ट्रेड यूनियन कार्यों में गिरावट के रूप में देखा जा सकता है जिसके कारण ट्रेड यूनियनों की न्यायिक प्रक्रिया वाला मार्ग अपनाया पड़ रहा है ।

समस्त केन्द्रीय ट्रेड यूनियनों की सम्मिलित शक्ति लगभग 20,000 है तथा किसी भी औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में कोई बड़ी हड़ताल नहीं दिखाई दी :

सर्वोच्च न्यायालय द्वारा हाल में दिए गए उस निर्णय के कारण जिसके तहत अप्रतिष्ठित औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों से औद्योगिक इकाइयों को हटाने का निर्देश दिया गया है, ट्रेड यूनियनों तथा मजदूरों पर अतिरिक्त भार आ गया है जिसकी ट्रेड यूनियन अभी तक अपनी प्रांताक्रिया नहीं दे सकी हैं ।

श्रम मशीनरी

मौजूदा समय में लेबर कोर्टों पर काम का बहुत अधिक दबाव है जिसके चलते निर्णय लेने में वर्षों लग जाते हैं ।

श्रम न्यायालयों में मजदूरों का विश्वास धीरे-धीरे कम होता जा रहा है । इस समय निर्णय लागू करने वाली मशीनरी तथा केन्द्रीय श्रम विभाग बिल्कुल ही अभावहीन हो चुके हैं । यहां तक कि लगभग 80 प्रांतशत संस्थानों में न्यूनतम मजदूरों भी लागू नहीं हो पाई है । ट्रेड यूनियन भी इस बारे में कोई कदम नहीं उठा पाई है ।

एक दिल्ली की कुल स्थापित शक्ति 17,085 है । दिल्ली में मुख्य यूनियनने निम्नलिखित हैं :

1. पेट्रोलियम वर्कर्स यूनियन	3,230
2. होटल मजदूर यूनियन	3,071
3. दिल्ली म्यूनीसिपल वर्कर्स यूनियन	2,155
4. आई.टी.डी.सी. / अशोक होटल	2,196
5. हौस्पिटल यूनियन्स	1,224
6. बिल्डिंग मेंटेनेंस	545
7. मदर डेयरी वर्कर्स यूनियन	456
कुल योग	12,877
शेष 22 यूनियनों की कुल सदस्य संख्या मात्र	4,208

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
OVERSEAS COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE

IR/12

N.B.—All enquiries regarding this Telegram should be made to the Government Telegraph Deptt. accompanied by this form.

THE FIRST LINE OF THIS TELEGRAM CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING PARTICULARS IN THE ORDER NAMED. Prefix Letters and Number of Message, Office of Origin, Number of Words, Date, Time filed, and Official Instruction—if any.

Received at BOMBAY at:-

350



LNB549/WSW PB144 WARSZAWA 147 5 1030 =

LT = S A DANGE GENERAL SECRETARY ALL INDIA

TRADES UNION CONGRESS R L TRUST BUILDING 55

GIRGAUM ROAD BOMBAY4 =

DEAR BROTHER WE THANK YOU CORDTALILY FOR YOUR
FRATERNAL INVITATION OF OUR DELEGATION TO THE XXV
SESSION OF THE ALL INDIA TRADEUNION CONGRESS STOP WE
ARE VERY SORRY TO INFORM YOU =50WDS= THAT INSPITE OF
OUR MOST SINCERE DESIRE WE ARE UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE
IN YOUR DEBATES STOP OWING TO OUR WORK IN CONNECTION
WITH THE PREPARATION OF THE CONGRESS OF POLISH
TRADEUNIONS AS WELL AS WITH SEVERAL NATIONAL BRANCH

INWARD
CCT
NBR

INITIALS

SA

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
OVERSEAS COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE

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THE FOLLOWING PARTICULARS IN THE ORDER NAMED.
Prefix Letters and Number of Message, Office of Origin,
Number of Words, Date, Time filed, and Official Instruction—if any.

Received at BOMBAY at:-

omb 5/9/2

CONGRESSES TAKING AT PRESENT PLACE WE CANNOT SEND
A REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATION TO =100WDS= YOUR SESSION
WHICH WE CONSIDER AS BEING VERY IMPORTANT FOR OUR
MUTUAL COOPERATION STOP PLEASE TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUR
SITUATION AND ACCEPT OUR SINCERE FEELINGS OF CORDIAL
FRIENDSHIP AND FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY STOP WITH BEST
PERSONAL WISHES IGNACY LOGA SOWINSKI PRESIDENT OF THE
CENTRAL COUNCIL OF POLISH TRADEUNIONS * *

INWARD
CCT
NBR

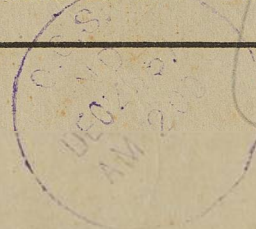
INITIALS

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
OVERSEAS COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE

N.B.—All enquiries regarding this Telegram should be made to the Government Telegraph Deptt. accompanied by this form.

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Prefix Letters and Number of Message, Office of Origin,
Number of Words, Date, Time filed, and Official Instruction—if any.

Received at NEW DELHI at:-



NDL183 403 BEYROUTH 30 24 1005 =

LT ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS 4 ASHOK

ROAD NEWDELHI -

BLOC SYNDICATS NEUTRES VOUS SALUE SOUHAITE
REUSSITE VOTRE CONGRES POUR UNITE TRAVAILLEUS
ET DEFENSE LEURS INTERETS PAIX DEMOCRATIC

ELIAS HABRE

INWARD
CCT
NBR

INITIALS

M

CONFEDERACION DE TRABAJADORES DE AMERICA LATINA

PRESIDENCIA

PLAZA DE LA REPUBLICA 6º PISO
Ave. Morelos 65 Desp. 2
MÉXICO, D.F.

CABLE "CETALMEX"

9 de diciembre de 1957.

All-India Trade Union Congress
4, Ashok Road,
New Delhi, India
a c/o. S.A. Dange.

Queridos compañeros:

La Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina, saluda calorosamente al Congreso Pan-Indio de los Sindicatos. Lo hace en nombre del Secretariado de nuestra internacional latinoamericana y de los millones de trabajadores de esta región del mundo.

Sabemos que los cambios positivos e históricos que se están efectuando en la India son, en gran medida, producto de la acción de la clase obrera y su movimiento sindical, dentro de la gran lucha nacional de las fuerzas patrióticas. Ello estimula y facilita la acción de las mismas fuerzas en pro de tareas similares en cada una y todas nuestras patrias. Por eso a nuestros votos por mayores avances del desarrollo económico y el progreso general de la India, unidos nuestra gratitud por las experiencias que nos da vuestra lucha y por la fe que nos anima en nuestras propias victorias futuras.

Saludamos la lucha por la paz mundial que desarrollan el movimiento sindical y todo el pueblo hindú y al gobierno de Nehru por sus servicios a esa gran causa de los pueblos, afirmados en los principios y objetivos de la histórica Conferencia de Bandung.

Sabemos que la lealtad de la AITUC a las grandes tareas sindicales de la clase obrera, determinará que su Congreso trabaje celosamente en favor de la unidad de acción y orgánica entre los sindicatos de su país y entre los del mundo entero.

Hacemos votos porque sus decisiones con ese objeto tengan buen éxito. Estamos seguros de que ellas y su posterior aplicación, aumentarán aún más las importantes reivindicaciones económicas y sociales que han ido conquistando los trabajadores de ese país, gracias a la lucha incesante y certera de su gloriosa AITUC.

Que llegue nuestro saludo fraternal y entusiasta a cada uno y a todos los delegados a ese Congreso.

"POR LA EMANCIPACION DE AMERICA LATINA"
P. EL SECRETARIADO DEL COMITE CENTRAL

VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO
PRESIDENTE

VICTOR MANUEL GUTIERREZ
SECRETARIO

(vuelta)

[Handwritten signature]

HILDEBRANDO ALVAREZ
SECRETARIO

[Handwritten signature]

ANTONIO GARCIA MORENO
SECRETARIO

CONFEDERACION DE TRABAJADORES

CONFEDERACION DE TRABAJADORES

Ave. ...

México, D.F.

de ...

...

...

...

La Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM) es una organización de carácter gremial y de tipo confesional, fundada en 1936 por el Sr. ...

El objetivo principal de la CTM es la defensa de los intereses económicos y sociales de los trabajadores mexicanos, así como la promoción de su bienestar material y moral. Para ello, la CTM realiza actividades de representación, negociación colectiva y acción sindical.

La CTM es una organización democrática y pluralista, que reconoce el derecho de los trabajadores a elegir libremente a sus representantes. Asimismo, la CTM promueve la participación activa de los trabajadores en la vida sindical.

En el ámbito internacional, la CTM mantiene relaciones de cooperación y amistad con otras organizaciones de trabajadores, así como con organismos internacionales de carácter gremial.

La CTM es una organización que se preocupa por el futuro de México y de su pueblo. Por ello, la CTM promueve el desarrollo económico y social del país, así como la defensa de los intereses nacionales.

...

...

[Handwritten signature]
SECRETARIO

...

INVEST WISELY
Buy NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES

INDIAN POSTS AND



TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

81

Class

Prefix

Code

No.

C.

Recd. from

Sent at

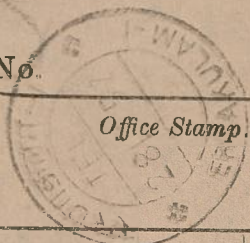
H.

M.

To

By

By



Handed in at (Office of Origin)

Bombay

Date

Hour

Minute

Service Instructions.

Words

28

11

40

14

TO

Comrade Dange
 Camp Cank

Recd. here at

11

H.

16

M.

= Congratulations for successful
 proceedings with success
 to the conference - new year
 greetings all delegates - Uman

N. B.—The name of the sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.

N.P.T.—P-1/87 E/55-56—11/P-178—30,000 Books—7-11-56

Uman
 Staff

Translation

✓
S.A. Dange,
General Secretary,
All-India Trade Union Congress,
4, Ashok Road,
New Delhi, INDIA

On behalf of factory and office workers of the Soviet Union the Central Council of Trade Unions extends its warm and fraternal greetings to participants of the General Congress of the All-India Trade Union Congress and to the entire people of India who has won its independence and is marching along the road of peace.

The sincere friendship and cooperation existing between the Soviet and Indian peoples in the struggle against colonialism and for prevention of a threat of war is a powerful factor contributing to world peace. The Soviet trade unions will do their best to further strengthen the fraternal friendship between the working people of our two countries.

The AUCCTU wishes success to participants of this Congress in the work aimed at provision of better living conditions of your working people and stronger unity in the work for peace and prosperity of your country.

and fraternal
Long live the unbreakable/friendship of the peoples
of India and the Soviet Union!

Long live peace throughout the world!

V. GRISHIN

President, All-Union Central Council
of Trade Unions

С.А.ДАНГЕ

Генеральному секретарю Всеиндийского
Конгресса профсоюзов

Ашок Роуд, 4, Нью Дели

От имени рабочих и служащих Советского Союза Всесоюзный
Центральный Совет Профессиональных Союзов шлет горячий братский
привет участникам Всеобщего съезда Всеиндийского Конгресса
профсоюзов и всему великому народу Индии, завоевавшему свою неза-
висимость и идущему по пути мира.

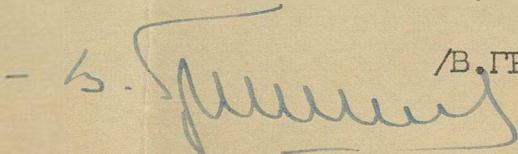
Искренняя дружба и сотрудничество, существующие между индий-
ским и советским народами в борьбе против колониализма, за предот-
вращение угрозы войны являются мощным фактором укрепления всеоб-
щего мира. Советские профсоюзы будут всемерно содействовать даль-
нейшему упрочению братской дружбы между трудящимися наших стран.

Всесоюзный Центральный Совет Профессиональных Союзов желает
участникам съезда успеха в их работе, направленной на улучшение
жизненных условий трудящихся и укрепление единства в борьбе за
мир и процветание своей родины.

Да здравствует нерушимая братская дружба между народами
Индии и Советского Союза!

Да здравствует мир во всем мире!

Председатель Всесоюзного
Центрального Совета Профессиональных Союзов

- 5.  /В. ГРИШИН/



INDIAN POSTS AND

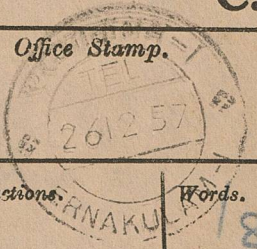


TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

89

Class }
Prefix } Code _____ No. _____ C.

Recd. from _____ Sent at _____ H. _____ M.
By _____ To _____
By _____



Handed in at (Office of Origin) _____ Date _____ Hour _____ Minute _____ Service Instructions _____ Words _____

TO
The Secretary All India
Trade Union Congress
Indisposed regretting absence
wishing the conference
success
Sankaranarayanan

N. B.—The name of the sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.
N.P.T.—P-1/67 E/55-56 —11/P-173—30,000 Books—7-11-56



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TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

130

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Prefix } _____ Code _____

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By _____ To _____
By _____



C

Handed in at (Office of Origin)	Date	Hour	Minute	Service Instructions	Words
264 Djakarta	27	8-40	00	ocs	43

TO

Aitucang Bonakulan

National council sobesi convey warmest greetings from indonesia workers stop & regret not able attend your credit congress stop wish greater successes consolidating struggle for better life coes unity and peace stop hoping support indosias people fight for

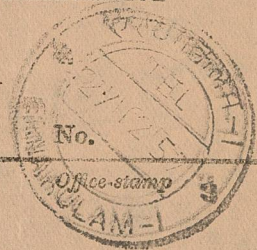
AGIPPAH.-615-16-531-5,02,020 Bks. [T-30-5/53]



INDIAN POSTS AND



TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT



C

Class }
Prefix } _____ Code _____

Recd. from _____

Sent at _____ H. _____ M.

By _____

To _____

By _____

(P. 2)

Handed in at (Office of Origin)

Date

Hour

Minute

Service Instructions

Words

TO

Recd. here at

20 H. 35

M.

abolishment

of Dutch aggression

Sobsi

MCIFPAH--615--16--9,99,620 BKG-1-30-5/53

The following are the few of the names of Organizations and individuals from all parts of the World who sent Messages for the Silver Jubilee Session of the A.I.T.U.C:-

1. Com. V. Chakkarai Chettiar, MLC - President, A.I.T.U.C.
2. V. Grishin, President, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, of U.S.S.R.
3. All China Federation of Trade Unions.
4. Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia.
5. The Central Council of Polish Trade Unions.
6. gez. Warnke, President of Federation of Free German Trade Unions Federal Board.
7. Miklos Somogyi, President, National Confederation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions.
8. General Secretary, C.G.I.L. Rome.
9. Vietnam General Confederation of Labour, Hanoi.
10. Fathy Kamel, Secretary General, International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.
11. Hassan Ballal, General Secretary, International Aeradio Ltd., Staff Trade Union, Khartoum Sudan, Africa.
12. Akira Iwai, General Secretary, General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO).
13. Hamid Keir, Egyptian Delegate to 4th World Trade Union Congress.
14. Ibrahim Al-Guhmani, Secretary General, Syrian Federation of Government Workers and Employees.
15. Mohammad Said Tawalbi, Jordanian Trade Union of Government Employees.
16. President, P.T.T. Employees Trade Union of the Sudan.
17. James Cummings, Hon. Secretary, United Land Tenants Association, Trinidad B.W.I.
18. Com. F. David, Secretary, Hotel, Club & Restuarant Employees Union of N.S.W.; Sydney, Australia.
19. P. Kelly, Newzealand.
20. Paul Wolff, General Secretary, Trade Unions International of Public and Allied Employees (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
21. M.BRAS, General Secretary, Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries. (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
22. R. Avila, General Secretary, Transport and Fishery Workers Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
23. Trade Unions of International of Chemical, Oil & Allied Workers, Budapest.
24. Trade Unions of International of Food Workers, Sofia.
25. X Shri V. V. Giri, Governor of U.P.
26. Com. N. Prasada Rao, General Secretary, All India Kisan Sabha.
~~XXXXXXXX~~

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26. Com. N. Prasada Rao, General Secretary, All India Kisan Sabha.
~~XXXXXXXX~~

Contd:

27. Shri M.V. Donde, Mayor of Bombay.

28. All India Insurance Employees Association, Calcutta.

and

Many other National Federations and Trade Unions of the Country.

Contd:

27. Shri M.V. Donde, Mayor of Bombay.

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and

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MESSAGE FOR THE SILVER JUBILEE SESSION OF A.I.T.U.C., ERNAKULAM.

25th to 29th December 1957.

1. Com. V. Chakkarai Chettiar, MLC. - *President, A.I.T.U.C.*
2. V. Grishin, President, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of U.S.S.R.
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17. P. Kelly, Newzeland.
18. Paul Wolff, General Secretary, Trade Unions International of Public and Allied Employees (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
19. M. Bras, General Secretary, Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
20. R. Avila, General Secretary, Transport and Fishery Workers Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
21. Shri V.V. Giri, Governor of U.P.
22. ~~Shri V.K. R. Menon, Director of I.L.O., Delhi Office.~~
23. Com. N. Prasada Rao, General Secretary, All India Kisan Sabha.

and

many other National Federations and
Trade Unions of the country.



LEATHER, SHOE, FUR AND LEATHER-PRODUCTS WORKERS TRADE-UNIONS INTERNATIONAL
(TRADE DEPARTMENT OF THE W. F. T. U.)

UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DU CUIR, DE LA CHAUSSURE, DE LA FOURRURE
ET DES ARTICLES EN CUIR
(DÉPARTEMENT PROFESSIONNEL DE LA F. S. M.)

UNIÓN INTERNACIONAL DE LOS SINDICATOS DE TRABAJADORES DE CUEROS, DEL CALZADO
DE PIELES Y DE PRODUCTOS DE CUERO
(DEPARTAMENTO PROFESIONAL DE LA F. S. M.)

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ ОБЪЕДИНЕНИЕ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ КОЖЕВЕННОЙ, ОБУВНОЙ
И МЕХОВОЙ ПРОМЫШЛЕННОСТИ И КОЖЕВЕННЫХ ИЗДЕЛИЙ
(ПРОИЗВОДСТВЕННЫЙ ОТДЕЛ ВФП)

JERUSALEMSKÁ 9/IV
PRAGUE II
TEL.: 23-67-95

PRAGUE, 11th December, 1957

All-India Trade Unions Congress
4, Ashok Road
NEW DELHI
India.

Dear Friends,

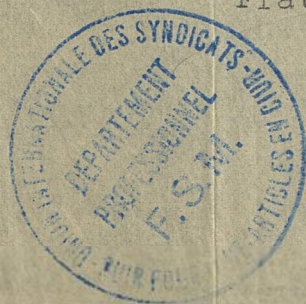
In the name of over one million organised workers in our Trade Union International, we warmly greet the officers and delegates to the All-India Trade Union Congress. Your deliberations and decisions on behalf of all the Indian workers will be followed with great interest by organised labour throughout the world.

Today, workers everywhere are demanding unity and united action, in order to stop the onslaught of monopolies on the standard of living of the workers, through inflationary prices and their attempt to freeze wages. The workers realise that through united action, not only can they maintain their hard-won gains but create the conditions to struggle for higher wages and shorter hours, for trade union rights, democratic freedom and for peace.

We are confident that your congress will work out such a program which will become a banner of action for the organisation of millions of unorganised workers into trade unions, for unity of workers of all tendencies, for improvement of the material and social conditions of the workers and their families.

Please, accept our heartfelt good wishes for success of your deliberations.

Fraternally yours,



J. Mevald
J. Mevald
General Secretary

UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DES INDUSTRIES CHIMIQUES, DU PETROLE ET SIMILAIRES
(Département Professionnel de la F. S. M.)
МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ ОБЪЕДИНЕНИЕ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ ХИМИЧЕСКОЙ НЕФТЯНОЙ И РОДСТВЕННЫХ
ОТРАСЛЕЙ ПРОМЫШЛЕННОСТИ
(Производственный отдел ВФП)
TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL OF CHEMICAL, OIL AND ALLIED WORKERS
(Trade Department of the W. F. T. U.)
UNION INTERNACIONAL DE LOS SINDICATOS DE LOS TRABAJADORES DE LA INDUSTRIA QUIMICA,
DEL PETROLEO Y SIMILARES
(Departamento Profesional de la F. S. M.)
БУДАПЕШТ — BUDAPEST 76

Budapest, le 13 décembre, 1957

Cde S.A. DANGE
Secrétaire général de
"All-India Trade Union Congress"

4, Ashok Road
New Delhi

BF/Pné

Cher Camarade Dange,

Permettez nous de vous remercier pour l'invitation d'assister a votre congrès qui aura lieu du 25 au 29 décembre à Ernakulan. Nous sommes persuadés que ce congrès avancera d'une façon considérable la cause des travailleurs de l'Inde.

Nous aurions acceptés avec joie votre aimable invitation, mais à notre vif regret, le Secrétariat est saisi d'affaires urgentes pour cette époque.

Pour cette raison, permettez nous de profiter de la présente pour souhaiter aux délégués du Congrès et à l'AITUC un travail efficace, riche en succès dans l'activité menée dans l'intérêt des travailleurs de l'Inde.

Nous vous serions très reconnaissants si vous vouliez bien nous informer des travaux du Congrès et des décisions adoptées, dont nous pourrions également profiter dans notre travail.

En vous souhaitant encore une fois des succès pour votre travail futur, recevez cher camarade nos plus fraternelles salutations.

Pour l'Uistics
UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS
DES TRAVAILLEURS DES INDUSTRIES
CHIMIQUES, DU PETROLE ET SIMILAIRES
F. Bozsoki, F.S.M.
secrétaire général

M. V. Donde, B.A., M.L.C.



{ 26-3951—Mayor's Room
TEL : { 26-3954—After Office hours
{ 8 8 3 4—Residence

CORPORATION HALL,

BOMBAY, 26th December 1957

Shri M. V. Donde, Mayor of Bombay, thanks the Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee of the Twentyfifth Annual Conference of THE ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS for their kind invitation at the Delegates Session to be held from the 25th to the 29th December 1957, at the Kerala Fine Arts Hall, Erankulam, Kerala State, but he regrets his inability to attend ~~the same~~ due to local engagements.

He however wishes the conference a great success.

~

C-1

208



62

INVEST WISELY
Buy NATIONAL
SAVINGS
CERTIFICATES

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

No. _____

Received here at _____ H. _____ M.

LT RF DR 152 SOFIA 26 OCS 47

LT 25TH SESSION ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

ERNAKULAM (COCHIN) KERALA INDIA =



TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL FOOD WORKERS GREET'S FRATERNALLY

DELEGATES 25TH SESSION ALL INDIA TRADE UNION

CONGRESS AND WISHES THEM USEFUL WORK IN DEFENCE WORKERS

INTERESTS NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA AND WORLD PEACE .

== DICHEV GENERAL SECRETARY = P-561-30-1-58) (P-1/249A/55-56) - 18-2-57 - 2,04,000 Lira.

1957 DEC 23

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
OVERSEAS COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE

N.B.—All enquiries regarding this Telegram should be made to the Government Telegraph Deptt. accompanied by this form.

THE FIRST LINE OF THIS TELEGRAM CONTAINS
THE FOLLOWING PARTICULARS IN THE ORDER NAMED.
Prefix Letters and Number of Message, Office of Origin,
Number of Words, Date, Time filed, and Official Instruction—if any.

Received at NEW DELHI at:-

BN111/HB2 HANOI 50 23 1100

1957 DEC 23 = PM 9 12

R 198

AITUCONG NEWDELHI =

6128

OCCASION 25TH SESSION AITUC WE EXTEND TO YOU

WARMEST FRIENDLY GREETINGS STOP WISHING YOUR CONGRESS

BRILLIANT SUCCESSES TRADE UNION MOVEMENT INDIA ADVANCE

FIRMLY UNITY ACTION FOR IMPROVING LIFE CONDITIONS

WORKING PEOPLE MAINTENANCE WORLD PEACE STOP LONGLIVE

SITY WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE INDIA AND VIETNAM

= VIETNAM GENERAL CONFEDERATION LABOUR *

INWARD
CCT
NBR

INITIALS

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
OVERSEAS COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE

1053

N.B.—All enquiries regarding this Telegram should be made to the Government Telegraph Deptt. accompanied by this form.

THE FIRST LINE OF THIS TELEGRAM CONTAINS
THE FOLLOWING PARTICULARS IN THE ORDER NAMED.
Prefix Letters and Number of Message, Office of Origin,
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Received at BOMBAY at:-

1957 DEC 24 AM 9 12

753

TOGK17 ROMA 37 23 1720 =

LT AITUCONG BOMBAY = ON BEHALF ITALIEN GENERAL

CONFEDERATION LAVOR SECRETARIAT AND ITALIAN

WORKERS WE WISH WORKS YOUR CONGRESS BEST

SUCCESSSES FOR NEW ACHIEVEMENT AND IMPROVEMENT

WORKERS CONDITIONS NATIONAL INDIPENDENCE AND WORLD

PEACE DEFENSE = AGOSTINO NOVELLA GENERAL

SECRETARY

INWARD
CCT
NBR

INITIALS

Greetings



INDIAN POSTS



AND TELEGRAPHS



44

Handed in at (Office of Origin) DR 414 Wigan	Date. 23	Hour —	Minute. —	Service Instructions.	Words.	Office stamp.
				Recd. here at 12 H 20 M		

glt Lx. General Secretary
 = Fraternal greetings and Success
 to your Congress
 = P Kelly New Zealand

N:B.—The name of the Sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.
 This form must accompany any enquiry made respecting this telegram.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
OVERSEAS COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE

N.B.—All enquiries regarding this Telegram should be made to the Government Telegraph Deptt. accompanied by this form.

THE FIRST LINE OF THIS TELEGRAM CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING PARTICULARS IN THE ORDER NAMED. Prefix Letters and Number of Message, Office of Origin, Number of Words, Date, Time filed, and Official Instruction—if any.

Received at NEW DELHI at: ⁵⁴

1957 DEC 21 AM 8

DR 162

MND1302 PRAHA 42 20 1850 =

LT = AITUCONG NEW DELHI INDIA =

ON BEHALF EIGHT AND HALF MILLION MEMBERS TRANSPORT
PORT AND FISHERY WORKERS TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL
SENDS ALL DELEGATES MOST FRATERNAL GREETINGS WISHING
THEM EVERY SUCCESS IN DEVELOPING UNITY AND SOLIDARITY
BETWEEN ALL WORKERS =

R AVILA GENERAL SECRETARY *

INWARD
CCT
NBR

INITIALS

RA

Copy 3
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
INDIA BRANCH

TELEPHONES: 47567 & ~~4392x~~ 44481
TELEGRAMS: INTERLAB. NEW DELHI

MANDI HOUSE.
NEW DELHI-1.

REF. NO. F.5/3517/57

7 December 1957.

Dear Shri Dange,

Thank you for your kind invitation to attend the Twentyfifth Session of the A.I.T.U.C. I will be glad to be present though, due to other preoccupations, this can be only for a short period. I will arrive at Cochin by air from Madras on the 27th December and return to Madras by air the following day (28th). I will be staying at Malabar Hotel, Willingdon Island, Cochin-3.

Yours sincerely,


V.K.R. Menon

Shri S.A. Dange, M.P.,
General Secretary,
All-India Trade Union Congress,
4, Ashoka Road,
NEW DELHI.

SAD

All-India Kisan Sabha

New Delhi

President:

A. K. GOPALAN, M.P.

Camp 4, Windsor Place,

General Secretary:

N. PRASADA RAO.

Date December 12, 1957.

The Secretary,
All-India Trade Union Congress,
NEW DELHI.

Dear friend,

Extremely glad to receive your letter of invitation to attend the twenty-fifth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Today a great task faces the workers and peasants of our country - the task of fighting for the solidarity of our national economy which had been stunted for centuries together due to foreign imperialist rule. The fulfilment of this task demands ceaseless struggle against the vestiges of imperialist and feudal exploitation in our country and for the defence of people's rights and interests which can be done only on the basis of a firm unity between the workers and peasants of India.

The All-India Kisan Sabha and the organised peasantry represented by it have always looked with great admiration and pride the role played by the All-India Trade Union Congress in uniting the working class for the defence of popular interests and democratic rights and we hope that the decisions of the twenty-fifth Conference will add another bright chapter to the glorious history of your organisation.

In the tasks, facing ahead, we assure you of the sympathy and support of the organised peasantry of India and wish you full success in your struggle.

Please accept our cordial greetings on this occasion.

With best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

N. Prasad Rao

(N. PRASADA RAO)
General Secretary.

Jordanian Trade union of Government employees

P.O.B.396.
Damascus, Syria.
4th. Dec.1957.

To: S.A.Dange,
Secretary General, A.I.T.U.C.
4, Ashok Road, New Delhi.

Dear Comrade,

I am deeply sorry for being unable to deliver to you this message of greetings in Leipzig at the session of the W.F.T.U. IV Congress, and also for being late in sending it to you as I came back recently from outside.

On the other hand I wish to have this opportunity ~~to~~ to extend through ~~to~~ you to the Indian workers and their A.I.T.U.C. my hearty greetings on the occasion of their coming Congress.

In fact, the Jordanian workers and people, now struggling bitterly against Eisenhower's Doctrine, for peace, national independence, and democracy, do sympathize the great struggle and the historical changes, the Indian workers and People are undergoing nowadays, after the great success they had achieved in building their new govt. in Carala.

We look forward with hope and faith for the bright future of the Indian working class and people, for developing their activities more and more, and also for their big contribution in preserving world peace.

Unfortunately, it is deeply regretted that we are unable to send any delegation to attend your respective Congress, due to our critical financial situation.

Wishing all success for your coming Congress, and steady progress for Karala and the Indian working class,

I remain,

Your's fraternally,

Mohammad Said Tawalbi,
Jordanian Trade Union
of
Government Employees.

M. Tawalbi

Copy-4

NIHON RODO KUMIAI SOHYOGIKAI

(THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS OF JAPAN)

✓
Sohyo

SOHYO KAIKAN, SHIBA PARK, TOKYO, JAPAN

CABLE ADDRESS: SOHYO TOKYO

OUR REF.:

TOKYO December 25th, 1957

YOUR REF.:

Mr. S.A. Dange
General Secretary
All-India Trade Union Congress

Message

Dear Friends,

On the occasion of the 25th Annual Convention of your organization, wd, 3,500 thousands workers under General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO) send our warm fraternal greetings to the workers of your organization.

We know of your persistent struggle against the colonialist domination, for the better life of the worker and the world peace, especially the ban of the nuclear weapons. We express the whole-hearted solidarity with your struggles.

We wish the more strengthening of the solidarity with the workers of your country and the Afro-Asia countries so that we and you may win the victories in these struggles.

We wish the every success in the activities of your organization.

Yours fraternally

Akira Iwai

Akira Iwai
General Secretary
General Council of Trade
Unions of Japan (SOHYO)

Syrian Federation of Govt; workers & employees.
Al_Baladiyah road, Dera' , Syria.

1st.Dec. 1957,

To: S.A. Dangi,
Secretary General ,A.I.T.U.C.,
4,ashok road,New Delhi.

Dear Comrade,

Unfortunately I was not able to give you requested message of greetings at the session of W .F.T.U. 4th. Congress at Leipzig. I am late also as I was abroad in the Soviet Union.

Your kind invitation was brought up to our Administrative Committee, which had unanimously approved to send a delegation to attend your coming Congress.

IN fact,our financial situation does not permit us to send ,frankly talking, any delegation,unless you can ~~re~~ settle this matter; If this is possible,kindly contact us as early as possible, so that we can apply for visas.

Meanwhile,allow me, dear comrade,to extend on behalf of our Federation,my fraternal greetings for the acheivements and the prominent success of the Indian working class. We look with great pleasure and hope for the glorious victory of the indian workers in establishing their government Karala.This ofcourse will increase our fraternal relations and brotherly collaboration for the unification of the working class all over the world,in our sacred struggle for the commo n cause ~~for~~ of humanity,everlasting peace;also for a better life, and liquidation of world imperialism and its aggressive military bases and pacts for the prohibition of A.&H. bombs~~x~~ and disarmament.

Wishing all success for your Congress and bright future for the indian working class and their government,

I remain ,

Your's fraternally.

Ibrahim Al_ Guhmani.
Secretary General,

Syrian Federation of Govt.Workers &
employees.

Com. D.
me
6/12/57

**MAGYAR SZABAD SZAKSZERVEZETEK
ORSZÁGOS SZÖVETSÉGE**

BUDAPEST, VI., DÓZSA GYÖRGY ÚT 84/B
TELEFON: 228-016, 225-840

Budapest 7th of November 1957.

CONFÉDÉRATION DES SYNDICATS LIBRES DE HONGRIE
ВСЕВЕНГЕРСКИЙ СОЮЗ СВОБОДНЫХ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ
CONFEDERATION OF FREE HUNGARIAN TRADE UNIONS
LANDESVERBAND DER FREIEN UNGARISCHEN GEWERKSCHAFTEN



S.A. Dange
General Secretary
All India Trade Unions Congress

Dear Comrade Dange:

The Presidium of the National Confederation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions has discussed your cordial invitation to attend this year's Congress, and has given me the honour of representing the Hungarian Trade Unions there.

I wish to inform you that I shall leave Peking --where I shall attend the 8th Congress of the All China Trade Unions -- around December 15, 1957, for a four or five day stay in Tokyo on the invitation of SOHIO. Therefore, I shall arrive in New Delhi around December 20th, and shall go on from there to Kerala. An English interpreter will accompany me.

Since you state in your invitation that it takes considerable time to secure an entrance visa, would you please take the steps necessary for securing it?

I hope that nothing shall come up to prevent my visit in December.

Please accept my best wishes to you, and your staff for good health and success in your untiring efforts.

Miklós Somogyi
Miklós Somogyi
President, National
Confederation of Free
Hungarian Trade Unions



INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION

OF ARAB TRADE UNIONS

5, Kasr el-Nil st.

CAIRO

POB No. 1041 — Tel. 28797

Tel. Add. — « OMMAREB » Cairo

الاتحاد الدولي لتقابات العمال العرب

شارع قصر النيل - القاهرة

تليفون ٢٨٧٩٧ - ص. ب. ١٠٤١

العنوان التلغرافي: « مُمَارِب » القاهرة

Cairo, 30th October 1957.

Mr. S. A. DANGE,
General Secretary,
All-India Trade Union Congress,
4, Ashok Road,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Brother,

I thank you sincerely for your letter, N°198, inviting the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions to send a delegation to the All-India Trade Union General Congress at the end of December next.

As you are aware, the situation in the Arab countries is not stabilised at the present time, and particularly in Syria and this might compel me not to leave, although I would be delighted to attend your General Congress. I shall not fail to let you know, at a later date, of any developments.

At any rate, should I be prevented from attending it will be a pleasure for me to send my greetings, comprising the message of the Arab Confederation of Trade Unions.

Reiterating my best thanks for your kind invitation,

Yours fraternally,

Fathy Kamel
Fathy Kamel

Secretary General



GERMANY

Translation

All-India Trade Union Congress
(AITUC)
New Delhi
India

Dear Brothers,

The Federal Board of the Federation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB) conveys fraternal greetings to all delegates of the Congress of the AITUC and wishes the activities of the Congress a full success in the interest of the Indian working people and their trade union organization, the All-India Trade Union Congress.

We are convinced that the AITUC-Congress will adopt resolutions which will give the Indian trade union movement a new impulse on the way towards the unity of its trade unions and will further inspire the working people in their fight for improving the living standard of the working people in India.

Dear Brothers, you may rest assured that the trade unionists and the working people of the German Democratic Republic feel always attached to you in fraternal solidarity and will follow up your trade union struggles in India with keen interest.

Long live the fraternal international solidarity of the working people of all countries in the fight for peace, wellbeing of the working people and the friendship of the peoples!

With fraternal greetings!
Federation of Free German Trade Unions
Federal Board
President
gez. Warnke

Berlin, 8.11.57

All-India Trade Union Congress
New Delhi
India

Dear Brothers,

Please find herewith enclosed English translation of the message to the AITUC-Congress which has been forwarded to you November 6th.

Fraternally yours



Director, International Department
FDGB

(Federation of Free German Trade Unions)

All India Trade Union Congress

Inauguration

25th December 1957.

4 P. M.

Kerala Fine Arts Hall

Programme

1. Address — Chairman, Reception Committee
2. ^{Translation} Inaugural Address—
Sri. E. M. Sankaran Namboodiripad,
Chief Minister.
3. Translation of Chief Minister's Address.
4. Presidential Address.
5. Condolence Resolutions.
6. Announcements.
7. Address by the delegates from the W. T. T. U.
5. Messages.

Chandra Press, Ernakulam.

I. N. T. U. C.

INDIAN NATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS
CENTRAL OFFICE

REF. No. V/1.

Decr. 10, 1957

17, JANPATH
NEW DELHI-1

The General Secretary,
All India Trade Union Congress,
4, Ashok Road,
New Delhi.

Dear Friend,

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 5th December 1957 addressed to our President inviting him to the Twentyfifth Session of the All India Trade Union Congress which is going to be held at Ernakulam from 25th to 29th December 1957.

Yours fraternally,

N.K. Bhatt

(N.K. Bhatt)
Assistant Secretary

NK/PN.

See list, India

1/11/57

C-3
The National Federation of P & T Employees

P & T HOUSE,
9, PUSA ROAD,

No. F/S(a)

New Delhi-5 13th December 1957

To,

The General Secretary,
All India Trade Union Congress
4 Ashoka Road,
New Delhi.

Dear Comrade,

I am to thank you for the kind invitation extended to me for attending the 25th session of your congress to be held at Ernakulam from December 25th to 29th . I am proceeding to Nagercoil to attend the annual conference of the All India Postal Employees Union, Postmen and Class IV from the 19th December and on my way back if possible I shall try to be in your midst.

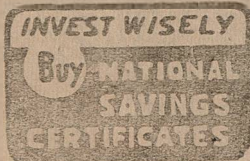
With greetings and good wishes,

Yours fraternally

Brij Mohan

Secretary General,

33



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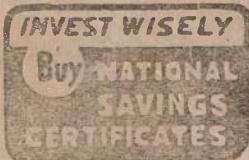
M

Handwritten message: "Ahu cong One fraternal greetings from workers of civil aviation department emp ~~emp~~ employees union"

N.B.—The name of the sender, if telegraphed, should be written later, but separated from the text.

N.P.T.—P 1/67 E/55-56—11/P-178—30,000 Books—7-11-56

Handwritten signature: Joshi



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162

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C

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Service Instructions.

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Hyderabad

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Dange Trade Union

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17 25

Unable to attend stop road transport workers served termination notices stop Letter follows

Markdoom

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Hyderabad

C-2

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No.



Received here at _____ H. _____ M.

O MF YANTRAPUR - 23 19 SECRETARY ALL INDIA

TRADE UNION CONGRESS ERNAKULAM =

OUR ALL WISHES SUCCESS CONFERENCE =

SECRETARY MYSORE KIRLOSKAR EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION HARIHAR =

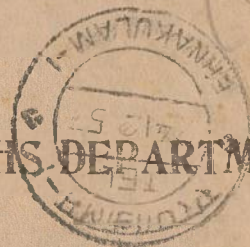
The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (In the case of Foreign Telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and number of words.

This form must accompany any inquiry respecting this telegram.

L. C. & Sols. Calcutta - No. G 6/57 (MFP. Reqn. No. 11/3/P-561—30-1-56)—(P-1/249A/55-56)—18-2-57—2,04,000 Lks.

C-3.

Copy B-713



194

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INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT

No. _____

Received here at _____ H. _____ M.

D. M. BEAWAR 24 58 RECEPTION COMMITTEE ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS ERNKKULAM-

REGRET LOCAL LABOUR CIRCUMSTANCES COMPELLED MY ABSENCE IN MOST IMPORTANT SILVER JUBILEE SESSION ON BEHALF RAJASTHAN TRADE UNION ACCEPT MY FRATERNAL GREETINGS FOR YOUR COMMITTEE AND FOR CONRADE DELEGATES ALSO FRATERNAL DELAGETES COMING FROM FOREIGN LANDS LONG LIVE ALL INDIA TRADE UNION

CONGRESS KUMARNANDA PRESIDENT RAJASTHAN TRADE UNION

This form must accompany
L. C. & Sons, C

CONGRESS =

sqn. No. 11/3/P-561--30-1-56) (P-1/249A/55-50)



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Bengal de legaltion held up
 madras confeder de ferment
 Conference being starting
 today
 Enile

Message from the PRESIDENT

Dear Comrades,

I am deeply sorry that owing to my physical ill-health and weakness, I am unable to attend the Conference. However, please accept my good wishes for the success of the Conference. One thing only I shall stress in this short message.

You must strive by all means to bring about Trade-Union Unity and solidarity. It may not be possible to achieve organisational unity but take every available opportunity for concerted action on a common minimum wages. At present it is said that workers are being taken as partners in the Management of business in some industries. I cannot say how far this has been successful; anyhow, it is to be hoped that real representatives of workers elected by themselves will be chosen on the Board of Managements. Again conveying to you~~x~~ my good wishes and sanguine expectations that the Conference may be crowned with success. I bid farewell to you for the present.

Hoping to meet you on some future auspices occasion.

INQUILAB ZINDABAD !

Yours Truly
in the cause of LABOUR,

SIR V. CHAKKARAI CHETTIAR
MLC

20-12-59



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83

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TO General Secretary Recd. here at _____ H. _____ M. _____

All India Trade Union Congress Silver Jubilee

at Gtgs Great Trade Union Congress Silver Jubilee Koda organized trade rally behind Trade Union program

N. B. - The name of the sender, if telegraphed, should be written after, but separated from the text.

N.P.T. - P-1/67 E/55-56 - 11/P-178 - 30,000 Books - 7-11-56

of agrarian reforms industrial



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31

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TO Mettupalayam 25 30
Reed. here at _____ H. _____ M. _____

Secretary Reception Committee
Regret unable to participate blessing
conference with good success
long live workers unity
Secretary

Lorry workers Union
Mettupalayam

MGCPAL. 616-10-6-51-699,650 Bks. [1-30-75]

Madras, 23rd Decr. 1957.

Sri V. Balasundram, Commissioner of Labour and Director, National Employment Organisation, Madras, thanks the Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee of the 25th Annual Conference of the All India Trade Union Congress for their kind invitation and wishes the Conference every success.

Chairman,
Reception Committee of the 25th Annual
Conference of the A.I.T.U.C.,
Kerala Fine Arts Hall,
Ernakulam.



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Calcutta	25				44

TO _____ Recd. here at _____ H. _____ M. _____

President Reception Committee
airie Conference
Regret absence conference should
fight governments callous attitude
towards fair living condition
of toiling Masses stop hope airie

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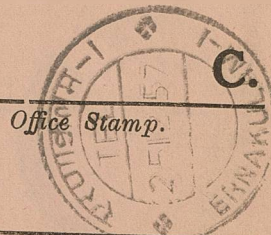
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TO (AITUC)

Recd. here at 17 H. _____ M.

Wile mole high the banner of
 peace and friendship of working
 class stop wish all
 success

Hemantabasu President

BPTUC

25th Session of the All India Trade Union Congress - Ernakulam.

Programme for 25th December 1957.

Time: 4 P.M. to 6-30 P.M.

Items: 1) Address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

2) Inaugural speech - Shri E.M.S. Namboodiripad,
Chief Minister, Kerala.

3) Presidential Address - S.S. Mirajkar.

4) Greetings by WFTU Delegation.

45) Messages.

5e) Condolence Resolutions.

7) Announcements.

Madras 14
23.12.77

From

K. Ramamurthi
Vice President,
All-India Postal Employees Union - cl 118
(C.H.Q. New Delhi)
Madras

20 The Chairman
Reception Committee,
25th Conference, AITUC,
Ernakulam

Dear Comrade,

~~I trust that~~ Com. B.W. Ghosh, Secretary-General of the National Federation of P+T Employees will convey to the conference the fraternal greetings of the P+T Employees and of the Central Govt. Employees as well. May I add my own.

The conference is meeting at a time when the country is enveloped in a crisis in regard to implementation of the Second Five year Plan. The AITUC has thrown much spot-light on the problems of this crisis. I believe that it should be possible for the AITUC to move a step or two further and give a lead to the working people including the bourgeois elements. The latter has still a role to play - in fact a great role in the building up of a socialist pattern of society.

The workers and the employees
in the Central and State Services have
a greater responsibility to shoulder.
The AITUC has pointed at the horizon
but many of us would expect the
AITUC ~~to~~ although as well-intentioned
constructive critics - to peep beyond
the horizon and grapple with the
problems firmly.

With greetings

yours fraternally
K Ramamurti

(Sd) KRAMAMURTI.

MESSAGE FOR THE SILVER JUBILEE SESSION OF A.I.T.U.C., ERNAKULAM.

25th to 29th December 1957.

1. Com. V. Chakkarai Chettiar, MLC. - *President, A.I.T.U.C.* ✓
2. V. Grishin, President, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of U.S.S.R. ✓
3. All China Federation of Trade Unions. ✓
4. Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. ✓
5. The Central Council of Polish Trade Unions. ✓
6. gez. Warnke, President of Federation of Free German Trade Unions Federal Board. ✓
7. Miklos Somogyi, President, National Confederation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions. ✓
8. Fathy Kamel, Secretary General, International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. ✓
9. Hassan Ballal, General Secretary, International Aeradio Ltd., Staff Trade Union, Khartoum Sudan, Africa. ✓
10. Akira Iwai, General Secretary, General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (SOHYO). ✓
11. Hamid Keir, Egyptian Delegate to 4th World Trade Union Congress.
12. Ibrahim Al-Guhmani, Secretary General, Syrian Federation of Government Workers and Employees.
13. Mohammad Said Tawalbi, Jordanian Trade Union of Government Employees.
14. President, P.T.T. Employees Trade Union of the Sudan.
15. James Cummings, Hon. Secretary, United Land Tenants Association, Trinidad B.W.I.
16. Com. F. Davis, Secretary, Hotel, Club & Restaurant Employees Union of N.S.W.; Sydney, Australia.
17. P. Kelly, Newzeland.
18. Paul Wolff, General Secretary, Trade Unions International of Public and Allied Employees (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
19. M. Bras, General Secretary, Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
20. R. Avila, General Secretary, Transport and Fishery Workers Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)
21. Shri V.V. Giri, Governor of U.P.
22. Shri V.K. R. Menon, Director of I.L.O., Delhi Office.
23. Com. N. Prasada Rao, General Secretary, All India Kisan Sabha.

and

many other National Federations and
Trade Unions of the country.



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9

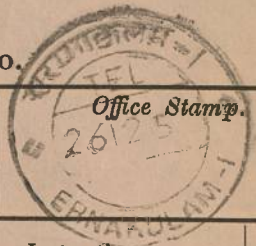
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TO

All india Trade
Mahanadu Ernakulam
Pray function every success
Chemical
Workers Union

Recd. here at _____

H. _____

M. _____

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gtps Secretary AITUC Conference En
 Wishing the junction every Success
 Palanisamy

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Greetings



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To President AITUC Conference
Ernakulam
Wishing the function every success
Plywood workers

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