

अखिल भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस
ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS
RANI JHANSI ROAD, NEW DELHI-1.

File No.

153

SUBJECT

UTTAR PRADESH

UNIONS

1965

AITUC DIGITAL ARCHIVE - 2021



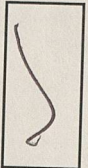
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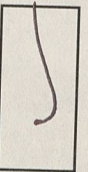
File Title: AITUC General Council, New Delhi (4-6 August, 1967)

Year: 1967 / 1

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DRAFT RESOLUTION

CRISIS AND RESISTANCE

The fact that a crisis has overtaken the economy of our country can no longer be denied even by the spokesmen of the ruling classes.

The gamble of devaluation, which represents the most abject surrender to imperialist pressure and the most shameless sell-out of our national interests, has resulted in intensifying the crisis and has belied every single claim which its architects had made. In a way, this one step symbolised the desperate straits to which 20 years of Congress rule - the rule of capitalists and landlords - had reduced our economy.

The crisis in our economy manifests itself in the difficulties experienced by various branches of industry. Iron and steel, engineering, mining, sugar and textiles, representing the most important branches of heavy and consumer goods industries, all face serious difficulties. Production in all these has been curtailed; many units have closed down; others have retrenched or laid off thousands of workers. Most units are working far below capacity.

Agricultural production, whether of foodgrains or of raw materials, is in the grip of serious crisis. Vast areas of our country have been struck by famine, resulting in deaths from starvation, loss of cattle wealth and acute misery to large sections of our people. The agricultural crisis in its turn aggravates the difficulties which the industries face.

At the same time, prices continue to soar.

While death, starvation, misery, privations are the lot of the toiling people, profits of the monopolists and big landlords continue to mount. The middle classes are crushed by the twin burdens of scarcity and mounting prices. Unemployment continues to rise and each passing year adds to the already frightening backlog.

The ruling classes, no longer able to deny the reality and no longer able to explain away the sufferings as the inevitable concomitant of a backward economy trying to change over to an advanced system, blame the nature which has denied adequate rains, the people who multiply too quickly, and the Indo-China and Indo-Pak wars which put a huge drain on our resources. Thus they seek to secure an alibi for their own failures.

The crux of the present situation does not lie in the failures of the monsoon, or of the people or in the bellicose policies of our neighbouring countries. The real fact is that the general crisis is the inevitable outcome of the refusal to carry out urgent land reforms, the capitalist path which the ruling classes have been following and continued dependence on imperialism for aid even in such vital matter as food.

It is this path which has led to a handful of monopolists amassing wealth, while the toiling people who produce this wealth, starve. It is this path which has led to

denial of urgent land reforms and abject surrenders like devaluation. It is this path which has led to dependence on foreign aid even for food. It is this path which giving full force to the inexorable laws of capitalism has led to the present crisis in our economy.

The ruling classes seek, as always, to pass the burden of this crisis on to the toiling people. One way in which this is sought to be done is by throwing people out of jobs through closures, lay-offs and retrenchments. Another is the attempt to peg wages, DA and bonus. Still another way is the attempt to intensify labour through automation, speed up etc.

At the same time, a barrage of propaganda is let loose that the policy of wage freeze and DA freeze is only a part of an integrated 'incomes policy' which will also freeze dividends and prices.

Dividend freeze which even if it comes about will freeze the dividends at the fantastic figures now prevailing and which gives a whole loophole to increasing profits through issue of bonus shares and watering of capital is just meaningless. Prices cannot be stabilised unless the monopoly grip on industry is broken and this the Government is unwilling to do.

The AITUC warns the working class that the sophisticated talk about a so-called incomes policy is a mere eye wash to hide the grim reality of a wage cut. Even as this talk is going on, it has been made clear in the plan for 1967-68 that prices will continue to rise.

The General Council of the AITUC notes that all sections of our people have gone into action in defence of their rights and living conditions. Even those who are not part of the trade union movement have resorted to large-scale actions. Attempts by the ruling classes to suppress these struggles by the old methods of repression are no longer successful.

The situation is fraught with serious consequences which will affect not only the working class but all sections of our peoples.

Hence the working class must take the lead in forging a wide unity of various sections of our people around demands which will bring immediate relief to all.

These demands are not new. These have been put forward time and again by the TU movement and by others. But the present crisis and the possibility of mobilising large sections of our people around these demands, lends them added urgency.

1. No Wage freeze.
2. Linking of D.A. with Cost of Price Index in all industries and sections of employment and services with 100% neutralisation at all level of wages.
3. Annulment of the Bonus Act.
4. Immediate implementation of all awards, decisions of Courts and Wage Board recommendations.

5. Full trade union and democratic rights including recognition of unions on the basis of secret ballot.
6. End to retrenchment, lay-off, closure and no rationalisation and automation.
7. Immediate land reforms in the interest of the peasants.
8. Nationalisation of banks, oil industry and import export trade.
9. State trading in food grains.
10. Moratorium on all foreign debts and interests on them.
11. Self-sufficiency in food and a speedy end to dependence on PL 480.
12. End to privy purses and privileges of princes.

The AITUC calls upon all trade union organisations, mass organisations and democratic individuals to build a powerful united front in support of these demands. In particular, it appeals to all other TU centres to come together at this critical hour, sink their differences and forge a mighty unity of the working class. It is this unity which can bring about a radical shift in the correlation of existing forces.

In this context the decision of the Joint Council of Action of Central Government employees for a one day general strike on 11th September 1967 assumes great significance.

The AITUC fully supports this call and directs all its affiliated unions to join in this strike on that day and make September 11 a mighty day of workers action against the policy of wage freeze and in support of its demands. It appeals to all workers of different affiliations to shed aside all partisan considerations and arise as one in a countrywide united action making September 11 a glorious day in the history of the Indian working class movement.

A.I.T.U.C. GENERAL COUNCIL
NEW DELHI - AUGUST 4 - 6, 1967

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Information Document No.2

In the period since the last meeting of the General Council (November 30 - December 2, 1966), the AITUC Secretariat has endeavoured to intervene in all major developments facing the TU movement. Efforts were made to coordinate the work of the affiliated unions industry-wise as far as practicable and also in the matter of solidarity actions.

Particularly in respect of those unions which have to deal with the Union Labour Ministry such as in coal and iron ore mines, ports and docks, etc., it has been possible to give the required assistance to the affiliated unions, in the matter of their demands and struggles.

The tripartite meetings at national level during this period were the Standing Labour Committee and Industrial Committees on Cotton Textiles and Coal-mining besides the bipartite committee on bonus formula.

The Standing Labour Committee met on May 20. The AITUC was represented by S.A. Dange, General Secretary, Satish Loomba, K.G. Sriwastava and M.K. Pandha, Secretaries. The Report of this meeting was published in the TRADE UNION RECORD of May 20, 1967 and the General Secretary had addressed a press conference on May 12, on the walk-out staged by our delegation from the SLC meeting on the question of gheraos.

The bipartite meeting on bonus which had its second meeting on January 20 failed to reach any accord. Satish Loomba, Secretary, represented the AITUC at this meeting.

The Industrial Committee on Cotton Textiles met on May 8. The AITUC was represented by S.G. Patkar, S.S. Yusuf and M. Atchuthan.

Three tripartite meetings on coalmining problems were held during this period. These meetings mainly discussed the industrial relations problems in coal-mines as well as the deadlock over the Wage Board report. The General Secretary S.A. Dange

attended the important meetings along with K.G. Sriwastava, Secretary and representatives of the IMWF Kalyan Roy and Prakash Roy. The meeting held in Delhi on July 15 was a very stormy one. The Government ultimately announced the acceptance of the Wage Board recommendations. The announcement was made in Parliament on July 24. Another meeting on the same question took place in Delhi on 4th August 1967 as the employers refused to implement the Wage Board Report.

The following press communiques were issued during this period:

- Dec 20 On AITUC donation of Rs. 3,800 as solidarity with Vietnam.
- Apr 4 Demanding early publication of Wage Board reports in Coal and Iron Ore Mining

- Apr 14 On the joint meeting of representatives of unions affiliated to AITUC, INTUC and HMS in sugar industry and decision to observe 10 May as Interim Relief Day.
- Apr 14 Releasing letter written by S.A. Dange, General Secretary, to Gajendragadkar Commission opposing move for CDS in DA payments.
- Apr 20 On Delhi Policemen's strike.
- May 12 On AITUC walk-out from SLC meeting.
- Jun 8 On Israeli aggression on Arab countries.
- Jun 30 On Pilots' Strike in Air-India.
- Jul 9 Employers' violence in coalfields.
- Jul 9 On Wage Freeze proposals made at Chief Ministers' meeting.
- Aug 3 On Firemen's struggle in S. Rly.

The following circulars were issued by the AITUC during this period:

- Dec 28 On nominations to TU school of FDGB, GDR
- Jan 11 On 5th International Conference of Building TUI
- Jan 23 On 5th International Conference of Chemical TUI
- Mar 3 On coordination of work of cement unions
- Mar 23 On consultative meeting proposed of unions in Building and construction industry
- Mar 29 On Sugar Wage Board
- May 6 On Questionnaire of National Labour Commission
- May 15 On questionnaire of the Committee on Welfare Schemes
- May 25 On meagre interim relief awarded by Sugar Wage Board
- Jun 8 On recommendations of the Iron Ore Wage Board
- Jun 9 Verification of TU membership
- Jul 13 On nominations for TU school in Moscow
- Jul 15 On Coal Board recommendations and meeting of affiliated unions in coal convened in New Delhi on 7 August
- July 25

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PUBLICATIONS

The TRADE UNION RECORD was published regularly during this period.

A publication on 'INDIAN WORKING CLASS'- SIZE & SHAPE' was issued by the AITUC. G.D. Sane is the author.

NOMINATIONS MADE BY AITUC SECRETARIAT

During this period, the following nominations were made by the AITUC Secretariat after calling for suggestions from the State Committees.

1. Industrial Committee on Plantations -
Monoranjan Roy & P. Balachandra Menon, M.P.
2. Czech TU Congress -
V. Tamhane
3. Solidarity with Aden Committee -
Maqdoom Mohiuddin (could not go)
4. National Productivity Council -
Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour
Barin Chowdhury
5. Hungarian TU Congress -
Barin Chowdhury
E. Balanandan (could not go)
6. Coal Mines PF Trust Board -
Shafique Khan
7. Committee on Family Planning -
Mrs. Usha Gupta
8. Minimum Wages Committee -
R. Umanath, M.P.
9. May Day Delegation to USSR -
P.K.Thakur,
Ambika Bajpai (could not go)
10. May Day delegation to GDR -
S.V. Subba Raju
Harish Tewary
11. May Day delegation to Cuba -
Ali Amjad
12. Chemical TUI Conference -
G.Sundaram, Jadugopal Sen,
S.S. Bose
13. Standing Labour Committee -
S.A. Dange, Satish Loomba,
K.G. Sriwastava and M.K.Pandhe
14. Industrial Committee on Jute -
Indrajit Gupta, Ghanshyam Sinha
15. Advisory Committee on Iron Ore Welfare Fund -
Prakash Roy, S.K. Sanyal for M.P.
and Maharashtra
16. Development Council for Organic Chemicals -
George Chadayamuri
17. Development Council on Paper -
Lakhan Lall

18. Council of Technical Education -
V. Ghanekar
19. Film Industry Wage Board -
Haripada Chatterjee
20. Consultative Meeting on Vocational Training con-
vened by W.F.T.U. -
Nihar Mukherjee
21. Institute of Manpower Research -
Gerald Pereira
22. Delegation to GDR -
Ambika Bajpai, Raoba Chikne
23. Delegation to USSR (July) -
Gangaram Jadhav, Darshan Singh,
Sadhu Singh

Draft Resolution

ON 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The General Council of the AITUC warmly greets the working people and the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, led by the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin - a great day for the international working class and toiling people of the whole world. It congratulates the working people of the Soviet Union on their stupendous achievements in all spheres and on successfully completing socialist construction.

The October Revolution - the first of its kind in history - heralded a new epoch in the history of mankind, the epoch of the decay and final liquidation of imperialism and colonialism, of the victorious march of the struggles for national liberation and for socialism. No wonder, the working class and the toiling people of all lands, the people of all countries under the colonial yoke, hailed the first socialist revolution as a milestone in the world-wide battle against the rule of capital, against imperialism and in the struggle for overthrowing colonialism. They saw in it the harbinger of a new world order of peace and prosperity, wherein exploitation of man by man would be a thing of the past, relegated to the dustbins of history.

The young Soviet State - a state of a new type, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, led and guided by the Immortal Lenin, rallied the working class of the whole world behind it and withstood the onslaughts of the combined strength of all the imperialist powers, and came victorious out of the civil war. By consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Great Lenin had laid the firm prerequisites for building socialism in the Soviet Union.

After quickly overcoming the terrible ravages of the First World War and the protracted civil war, the Soviet Union launched on the Five Year Plan which made possible the astonishing march forward in economic development, the like of which capitalism could not even dream of.

The people of the whole world are forever beholden to and can never forget the heroism of the people of the Soviet Union and its Red Army, who underwent immense sacrifice, faced the onslaught of Hitler's Nazi hordes with practically the whole of Europe under their heels, and inflicted the most crushing victory on fascism. Thereby mankind was saved from fascist enslavement.

All these made possible the further victorious march of socialism and national liberation. Already a third of humanity has overthrown the yoke of capital and laid the firm and reliable foundations of socialism. The majority of the colonial countries have become politically free.

The working people of the USSR in an amazingly short period overcame the terrible ravages of the Second World War - ravages and destruction the like of which no country suffered - and astounding achievements in all fields, in economic construction, in the advance of science, in the field of nuclear technology, in man's conquest of space, in every field of human endeavour - bear testimony to what a people who have overthrown the rule of capital and all exploiters can achieve.

The October Revolution, inflicting a most telling defeat on imperialism, has always been and is an everlasting source of inspiration to the Indian people, and the Indian working class in their struggle for national liberation and for socialism. The working class of India and the AITUC which took its birth three years after the October Revolution have successfully pierced the venomous hate propaganda against the Soviet Union unleashed by the imperialists and reactionaries at home and have always displayed tremendous feelings of solidarity with the working class of the Soviet Union. The economic assistance of the Soviet Union to India in building heavy industries has been very valuable for India's economic development in the post-independence years.

The concrete material help that the Soviet Union is rendering to the fighting people of Vietnam has been of great help in their struggle against the most brutal aggression of U.S. imperialism.

The material and other assistance given over the years by the USSR to the national liberation movements and the newly-liberated countries all over the world against imperialism demonstrates that the growth and successes of the socialist state are a great positive asset and accession of strength to the cause of the international struggle of labour against capital.

The General Council of the AITUC calls upon the working class in India to observe in a fitting manner the 50th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

AITUC GENERAL COUNCIL
NEW DELHI - August 4 - 6, 1967

DRAFT RESOLUTION

ON LABOUR POLICY OF NON-CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS

The monopoly of Congress rule in India has received a shattering blow. As a result of the general elections and subsequent developments in nine states, comprising 62 per cent of Indian population, Congress rule has been replaced by the rule of other parties. At the Centre, the preponderance of Congress has been reduced to a precarious majority.

This big change has come about because of the struggle against the misery which was the lot of the common people during the 20 long years in which the Congress - the established party of the propertied classes - held uninterrupted sway on governmental power. While the people starved, the monopolists, the landlords, the black-marketeers and the bureaucrats thrived. Corruption and nepotism made life intolerable. The people wanted a change.

The pattern of governmental power which has emerged in India shows that in some places, it is essentially the same classes, organised in some parties other than the Congress, which have come back to power. In some other states, however, governments have been formed with the participation of Left parties and progressives. They have accepted a minimum programme, which if implemented, will bring relief to the people.

The AITUC notes that one essential part of this minimum programme relates to urgent demands of the working class and the peasantry. On the successful implementation of this, depends the wholehearted support of these classes.

The AITUC welcomes the specific positive measures, however limited, which some of the United Front governments, have taken in the interests of the working class, viz. the West Bengal Government's decision not to allow police interference in gheraos and other democratic trade union movements; its orders cancelling disciplinary actions taken by the previous regime against State Government employees for trade union activities; its acceptance of the right of State Government employees to equal DA rates with Central Government employees; its takeover of the management and control of the British-owned Tramways Co. etc.; the Bihar Government's acquisition of Tata's zamindari rights in Jamshedpur; the Madras Government's fulfilment of the pledge to supply 1 measure of rice per rupee; the Kerala government's steps to increase minimum wages in various industries; etc. etc.

But the bourgeoisie and the landlords who continue to own the means of production, the leaders of the Congress and the imperialists and their henchmen who tried to resist the emergence of the democratic non-Congress governments, will continue to place hurdles in their way and try to create conditions in which these governments can be brought down.

There is, for instance, a most concerted attack on the Government of West Bengal. The real immediate reason

for this was the refusal of the West Bengal government and its Home Minister who is also the Chief Minister, to use the police against the workers, despite the utmost pressure. The outcry against gheraos, the credit and food squeeze, the machinations on the issue of Naxalbari, the attempts to sow communal and linguistic disruption are all used to secure the same end.

The working class must come out in defence of these democratic governments and must unleash popular initiative to defeat reaction's game. It must help them to implement the minimum programme on the basis of which these governments have been formed by rousing mass consciousness and initiative.

At the same time, the AITUC must note that many urgent steps yet remain to be taken by these governments. In the field of labour, these relate to recognition of trade unions by ballot; amendment of existing laws; and the evolving of a better machinery for consultation between the government and the TU movement.

While extending its full support and cooperation to these democratic governments, the TU movement must continue to press for immediate implementation of these measures and, at the same time, boldly criticise some of the wrong steps which these governments have taken.

For instance, the police excesses in Naxalbari and Kalagarh must be condemned. Every trade unionist, every democrat must come out sharply and unequivocally against such repression. Such acts of repression only weaken the popular support behind the governments and strengthen the hands of reaction.

The reported agreement to or silence on wage freeze proposal put forward by Morarji Desai in the recent meeting of Chief Ministers, is a matter of serious concern. The General Council expects that the Chief Ministers of non-Congress democratic governments will not be a party to this anti-working class offensive.

The TU movement must realise that in today's complex situation when many of these governments in which progressive democrats and representatives of the working class are functioning together contain some individuals who represent the vested interests. Hence each measure towards progress, each step in the direction of a break from the unhappy past, does require a measure of struggle.

While supporting these democratic governments in their fight against pressures from vested interests and the Congress Government at the Centre, the working class and the TU movement must continue to exercise its independent initiative. Every offensive of the employers must be stoutly resisted and legitimate demands pursued.

In other States where non-Congress democratic governments have not yet come to power, the working class must popularise each achievement of these governments and expose the game of reaction and vested interests in trying to obstruct and topple down these governments.

AITUC GENERAL COUNCIL
NEW DELHI - August 4 - 6, 1967

DRAFT RESOLUTION

ON BONUS

The General Council of the AITUC views with grave concern the callous attitude of the Central Government towards the demand for modification of the pro-employer provisions of the Payment of Bonus Act. The AITUC in common with all other trade union organisations had put forward the demand in the bipartite talks convened by Government that the entire Bonus Act be revised except the clause relating to four per cent minimum bonus and a new formula be evolved on the basis of computing bonus according to the LAT formula without allowing rehabilitation, sharing the available surplus 50-50 with the benefit of tax rebate being taken into account (This would mean giving the workers $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of the available surplus). The AITUC had further demanded that Section 34(1) be held in abeyance and all existing agreements, etc., be given effect to as if Section 34(1) had not been enacted. It was also demanded that Section 33 be restored in a proper way overcoming the objections of the Supreme Court.

The position today is that with the refusal of the Government to amend the Payment of Bonus Act, as demanded by the TU centres, there has been a severe cut in the workers' bonus in the various industries and employments. Employers also resort to illegalities, flouting even the provisions of the Bonus Act, in computing bonus, inflating prior charges most arbitrarily. There have been several instances where the amount of tax deducted as prior charge exceeds the total tax liability of the year to be paid or the provision made in the Accounts. Employers are adding new items of deductions, and the reduced quantum of bonus under the Act is further cut by the inflated prior charges manipulated by the employers.

The General Council of the AITUC calls upon all affiliated unions to resist the offensive of the employers on workers' bonus and to resolve through united action on a local, industrial and national plane, the demand for a fair determination of bonus on the basis of the formula proposed by the Trade Union Centres.

Draft Resolutions

3. ON SOLIDARITY WITH NAXALBARI PEASANTS

The General Council of the AITUC notes with grave concern the situation that has arisen in the Naxalbari area of W. Bengal as a result of the local peasantry's struggle to satisfy their age-old land hunger and to establish their legitimate rights as tillers of the soil.

Throughout the 20 years since national independence, the jotedar-ridden Congress regime in W. Bengal utterly failed to carry out effective land reforms, to distribute surplus lands to the poor peasants, to prevent 'benami' land transfers or to protect the sharecroppers against the evictions and oppressions of the landlords. Thousands of acres of land in this area remained in the illegal occupation of the plantation owners who never developed them as tea gardens. In this background, when the new, democratic government of the United Front assumed office after the general elections, it was but natural that the peasantry should be fired with new hopes and expectations that their rights would be recognised at last, land from which they had been illegally evicted and which are under 'benami' occupation of the jotedars would be restored to them and iniquitous rents would be abolished and land revenue reduced.

But when the peasants of Naxalbari, majority of whom are Santhals, Oraons and other tribal people, began a mass agitation and movement last May to establish their rights on land, the jotedars aided by the police resisted violently, attacked the peasants and provoked clashes. In one of these, ten persons including eight women and a child who were part of a peaceful assembly of kisans, were shot dead as a vindictive reprisal for the earlier death of a police inspector. The General Council expresses its sorrow and indignation at this coldblooded killing and pays homage to the memory of these martyrs.

In the opinion of the General Council, the exploited peasants were perfectly within their rights to reoccupy jotedars' lands from which they had been illegally and forcibly dispossessed and this was the essence of their movement which the bourgeoisie and landlords and all their reactionary supporters, have sought to depict as some sort of armed 'liberation' movement. In any case, it is the height of hypocrisy to equate the primitive bows and arrows which every tribal peasant traditionally carries with the rifles of the police and the guns of the jotedars and their hirelings.

But just when the Naxalbari movement was showing promise of achieving concrete gains, when the United Front government had recognised the justice of the peasants' demands and the urgent need for long overdue land reforms, when the 6-Ministers' mission had toured the area and set up broadbased Land Committees to carry out land distribution, it is a matter of deep regret that the Peking Radio began to broadcast this struggle as a flowering of Mao's 'thoughts' on Indian soil and as an armed struggle for the overthrow of the government. These broadcasts, with their far-fetched and absurd interpretation, gave a convenient handle to the Government of India, the Congress Party, certain all-India leaders of some other political parties and all those who wanted to malign, isolate and crush the peasants struggle against jotedar oppression.

In the opinion of the General Council of the AITUC, the Naxalbari movement should have made use to the fullest extent of the possibilities of achieving concrete gains through a broadbased mass movement of peasants and other democratic

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sections of the people with the cooperation of the U.F. Government in the changed circumstances of the post-election situation.

The General Council cannot but protest in the strongest possible terms against the atrocities committed by the police and border security force during the last few weeks in the name of rounding up the leaders of the movement. The police have been behaving in their worst traditions and even in violation of Government orders, leading to public protests by several Ministers themselves. The General Council therefore demands that these excesses be stopped immediately, that indiscriminate arrests of ordinary peasants be discontinued, all those arrested be released and all unexecuted warrants be withdrawn. The U.F. government should immediately order judicial inquiry into all cases of killing by shooting or bayoneting of peasants which have been reported, order a halt to the police 'operations' in the area, cancel gun licenses of the jotedars and seize their unlicensed guns.

The General Council appeals to the working class to rally round the following slogans:

1. Support the struggle of the Naxalbari peasants for land, stop evictions, ensure distribution of land and stop indignities on the Santhals and other tribals of the area;
 2. Support the U.F. Government of W. Bengal against all machinations of the reactionary vested interests and the Centre;
 3. Support the democratic struggles of the peasantry which are breaking out in other parts of W. Bengal and in various States, e.g., the Bastar tribal area of Madhya Pradesh, on the issues of land distribution, occupation of fallow lands, stoppage of evictions, reduction or abolition of land revenue, etc., and demonstrate active solidarity of the working class with their peasant brothers in the common struggle for democratic rights and food. Only by resolute mass struggles can the peasantry hope to get land and sweep away feudal remnants in land relations and, in these struggles, the democratic U.F. governments must be utilised as an instrument whatever their limitations.
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AITUC GENERAL COUNCIL
NEW DELHI - August 4 - 6, 1967

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DRAFT RESOLUTION

ON THE STRUGGLE OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
EMPLOYEES

The General Council of the All India Trade Union Congress fully supports the Central Government employees' demand for a D.A. linked to consumer price index and full neutralisation of the rise.

The Gajendragadkar Commission has done great injustice to the Central government employees by resorting to a cut even in the partial neutralisation given by the earlier Das Commission.

This is nothing but condemning the Central government employees to an erosion in pay packet when prices are so high.

The millions of State Government employees have also not got the promised national D.A. formula.

The Government of India is only pursuing with a vengeance their hated policy of wage and D.A. freeze making the life of the employees miserable.

The AITUC condemns this criminal policy of wage freeze and fully supports the decision of the Joint Council of Action of Central Government employees to launch a one day protest strike on September 11, 1967 if the Government of India does not settle their demands by that time. This will be the first all-India action of the biggest single section of employees against the crisis offensive of wage and D.A. freeze.

The AITUC General Council appeals to State Government employees to see that this very same wage and D.A. freeze and the Central government refusal to assist the State governments to raise the emoluments of their employees will only condemn them to perpetual misery. This has already happened in Andhra Pradesh where the Pay Commission has given them practically nothing. The Central Government employees' action is therefore an action is therefore an action on their behalf also. They should therefore fully rally in support of this action.

The General Council of the AITUC appeals to all the Central T.U. organisations and National Federations to rally in full support of the Central Government employees and organise a solidarity protest strike on that day.

The General Council calls upon all the unions affiliated to AITUC to do everything in their power in support of Central Government employees and make the solidarity strike a success.

Draft Resolutions

4.

ON T.U. UNITY

One of the biggest weaknesses of the TU movement for the last two decades has been the lack of unity in its ranks. Today, the TU movement is split as never before in a number of national centres, trade federations and 'independent' unions. And efforts are being made by many forces to form still other 'centres'.

At the same time, objective conditions have ripened for a bold initiative - to forge unity.

In the past, there has been unity of action at local, state and national industrial level in various centres, the highpoints of which were the Bandhs and the industrial strikes as in Kerala rubber plantations, W.Bengal jute industry, Andhra Pradesh road transport industry, etc., in which even INTUC affiliates joined in the united action. But such unity of action on issues at various levels has not led to the initiatives for organisational unity and, as soon as the action was over, the unions as well as TU centres have tended to go their separate ways.

Various national TU organisations and trade federations came together on a common platform and formed the Rashtriya Sangram Samiti. The Samiti functioned off and on for some time but has not been active recently. Now the various Central Government employees Unions, united in the Confederation of Central Government Employees, the AIRF and the AIDEF have formed the Joint Council of Action and called for a one-day general strike on 11th September.

Today the economy of the country is in the midst of a severe recession. On the food front, the situation is serious and for any improvement, the ruling class looks only to better monsoons or more foreign aid. On the industry side, heavy and basic industries as well as several consumer goods and light industries are faced with a crisis and slump. Closures, retrenchments and lay-offs have rendered thousands of workers jobless. A determined offensive has been launched by the employers to cut earnings through denial of bonus and D.A. And now the ruling bourgeoisie and its government at the centre have come forward with the proposal to launch wage freeze.

Under the sophisticated and glib talk of incomes policy with its three components of dividend freeze, price freeze and wage freeze, the reality of a wage-cut is sought to be hidden. Dividend freeze is meaningless. Prices cannot be stabilised unless the monopoly grip on industries is broken. The most immediate steps to ensure this must be nationalisation of banks and export-import trade.

The food problem is really dependent upon land reform and state trading in foodgrains. It is precisely these steps which are needed and it is precisely these which the ruling classes refuse to carry out.

The ruling classes are not willing to take any steps which will ease the present situation. Hence, all sections of people, primarily the working class, must unite in order to resist the offensive and force a real solution of the present problems.

. . . The AITUC

The AITUC calls upon all brother TU organisations to come together and discuss the present difficult situation and lay down a common line of action. In fact, initiative must be taken to unite on a national plane.

The AITUC authorises the AITUC General Secretary to take initiative for calling a meeting of T.U. representatives.

The AITUC General Council is of the opinion that pending the realisation of organisational unity between various TU centres, it is urgently necessary for representatives of all central TU organisations and Industrial Federations to meet together to evolve a plan for united action on an all India basis to resist the immediate offensive of wage-freeze, retrenchment, lay off, closures etc. faced by the working class. Such a meeting will not only pave the way for urgently needed united action of the working class but will also be helpful in bringing about organisational unity of various TU Centres. The AITUC General Council suggests that Rashtriya Sangram Samity which already includes some central t.u. organisations and federations can be widened to become the platform of all t.u. organisations for united action.

The AITUC General Council notes that the General Secretary of the AITUC has already taken the initiative to begin talks on the need for evolving a common approach and for organisational unity. The crucial point of this approach is the willingness of the AITUC for organisational unity without any preconditions. The replies received from various organisations display considerable positive approach. The AITUC General Council authorises the General Secretary to take such further steps as are necessary in this direction.

The AITUC General Council appeals to all unions to explore possibilities of militant actions on the most pressing demands before the masses of the workers and press forward towards the formation of one union in one industry.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

1. ON SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM

The General Council of the AITUC extends its warm greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam in their unremitting and arduous struggle to defeat the military power of the US imperialist aggressors and to win and consolidate the national independence of their country. Each passing day arouses the conscience of more and more millions of people the whole world over against this brutal war into which the mighty US rulers and their satellite states have thrown all their resources of manpower and weapons in order to wreak massive devastation of a small country of South East Asia.

The inhuman atrocities committed by the Americans in South Vietnam, including the large-scale use of napalm and new types of bombs, and their cynical air attacks on the territory of North Vietnam, have been universally condemned. The war crimes Tribunal organised by Bertrand Russel, on the one hand, and the UN Secretary General's repeated appeals for an end to the bombing of North Viet Nam, on the other have exposed and isolated the US aggressors as never before. Nevertheless, they continue to defy world public opinion and are talking in terms of intensifying their attacks, escalating the war further, and mobilising another 100,000 troops for despatch to Viet Nam.

Against this barbarous policy of the Johnson administration, more and more sons and daughters of the USA itself are rising in massive protest and condemnation. Unprecedented anti-war demonstrations are taking place. Hundreds of intellectuals and men of science are demanding the withdrawal of the US forces from Viet Nam. Young men, conscripted for military service, are publicly burning their draft cards. World boxing champion Cassius Clay, has preferred imprisonment to soiling his hands with Viet Nam blood. The AITUC warmly greets all these courageous citizens of America, white and black, who are proving true to the best democratic traditions of their country.

In Viet Nam itself, on the battlefield, the national liberation forces have grown in strength and striking power and each day are delivering telling blows at the aggressors, inflicting heavier and heavier, casualties on the US land and air forces alike. It has become crystal clear that the Americans have no hope of winning an outright military victory. They are doomed to eventual defeat no matter how much they kill or destroy in their frenzy.

At such a moment, it becomes the solemn obligation of all socialist, democratic, anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces the world over to mobilise their united strength to their utmost capacity and to act together more vigorously and determinedly for ensuing an end to the war, unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam of all US armed forces, and unequivocal recognition of the right of the Vietnam people, in both and South, to their complete national independence and sovereign rights.

The General Council of the AITUC once again voices its strong indignation and protest against the weak-kneed and servile policy of the Government of India which has refused to condemn the US government for its aggression in Vietnam and to demand categorically the unconditional withdrawal of US troops. The Government of India's hypocritical professions of "non-alignment" do not prevent it from allowing trade to be carried on with South Vietnam in such commodities as trucks, steel etc. while trade between India and North Vietnam remains completely suspended. By its acts of omissions and commission, the Government of India is providing the US imperialists with an alibi for their naked aggression out of fear that otherwise US "aid" to this country may be stopped.

The General Council of the AITUC calls upon the working class and all democratic sections of our people to:

- a. raise their voice more effectively against the present pro-US policy of the Indian Government and to demand its reversal;
- b. declare that the Indian people will not be party to surrender their national honour and their anti-imperialist traditions for the sake of obtaining US wheat and dollars; and
- c. mobilise in united actions on a country-wide scale to express their firm solidarity with the Vietnam people and to demand immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the US aggressors from Vietnam.

2. ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE ARAB PEOPLES

The General Council of the AITUC unequivocally condemns the treacherous Israeli military aggression launched on June 5, against the UAR, Syria and Jordan with the active collusion of the imperialist circles of USA, UK and West Germany. It is these Western powers which had been arming and equipping Israel over the years as their aggressive base in the heart of the Arab world and directed against the anti-imperialist, national liberation movements of the Arab peoples.

Despite the Suez canal fiasco of 1956 suffered by the Anglo-French aggressors against Egypt, they, and the US imperialists, continued to harbour designs of new military adventures using Israel as their tool. They unleashed the Israeli war machine in a desperate bid to halt the historic and irresistible upsurge of the Arab revolutionary and democratic forces of recent years. Their special target was the anti-imperialist and progressive UAR of President Nasser which has developed close bonds of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries. In Syria, too, a new radical and progressive government was in power, threatening to turn the whole balance of power, in West Asia against the imperialists, their local agents and their oil resources.

Although the Israeli blitzkrieg won a military victory on the battlefield, the aggressors have been morally and politically defeated. The unity of the Arab world in defence of the UAR and Syria was cemented as never before. Even in the hour of defeat, the people of UAR refused to allow Nasser to resign and reiterated their confidence in him. The progressive government of Syria could not be toppled. The imperialists had to face a total boycott of oil supplies by the Arab States. And all efforts to isolate the USSR and other socialist countries from the Arabs failed, as did the attempt to brand President Nasser as the real aggressor and Israel as his victim.

The General Council of the AITUC notes with satisfaction that the Government of India played a correct role in the West Asian crisis, refused to be pressurised by the imperialists, consistently upheld, the cause of the Arabs and opposed Israeli aggression inside and outside the UN. The AITUC hopes that this stand will be firmly carried forward and that the Government of India will categorically denounce the US and other imperialists, who are behind Israel. This would do much to restore India's rightful image as an anti-colonialist, freedom loving country. The AITUC is of opinion that the defence of the security and independence of the UAR and other Arab countries is, in India's own interests too, and requires a determined struggle against the reactionary, pro-US, vested interests in this country.

At the present moment, a dangerous situation has arisen because of the Israeli military occupation of Arab territory seized by force in the recent hostilities, and the refusal of the US-dominated General Assembly of the UNO to condemn Israel and demand withdrawal of its aggressive forces. The struggle must be intensified for vacating the Israeli aggression from all occupied territories of the UAR, Syria and Jordan and for ensuring that West Asia ceases to be a centre of imperialist intrigues and war conspiracies.

The General Council of the AITUC expresses its deep concern and sorrow for the thousands of innocent Arab refugees who have been driven from their homes by the Israeli armed forces. It calls upon all democratic and progressive forces in India, and especially upon the working class, to rally unitedly in a powerful mass campaign to defend the national independence and rights of the UAR and all Arab peoples, and to denounce and defeat the imperialist aggressors and their Israeli puppets.

AITUC GENERAL COUNCIL
Delhi, Aug.6, 1967

INFORMATION DOCUMENT No.3

I

LETTER FROM COM.P.RAMAMURTI TO COM.S.S.MIRAJKAR, PRESIDENT, AITUC

My dear Com.Mirajkar,

You told us that the General Council of the AITUC, after we had walked out of the meeting earlier this evening, had unanimously requested you to persuade us to return and attend the meeting tomorrow. We appreciate the sentiments of the General Council.

In our minds there was no question of boycotting the General Council. We are determined to strengthen the AITUC. Hence, there is no need for any such persuasion.

Our action was a protest against the speech of the General Secretary in reply to the discussion on his report. No person interested in pressing the unity of the AITUC, - and least of all, the General Secretary, - could make such a disruptive speech.

You would remember that the criticism that had been made on his report were entirely political and no exception could be taken to the speech of any one who participated in the discussion. There was no acrimony in the entire discussion.

But we were pained to find Dange, in the latter part of his Reply Speech hurling challenges like "The AITUC had been split three times before and let it be split a fourth time." There were many more such challenges. There were also wild accusations against unnamed persons.

Apart from the highly disruptive nature of these challenges and accusations, it must be emphasised that they were absolutely irrelevant to the subject under discussion. If the General Secretary had anything to say against any one in the movement, he should propose and get it included in the Agenda, and get it properly discussed. What he was doing today was a clear abuse of his right to reply to the discussion.

It was to mark our protest against this disruptive speech that, after patiently listening to his speech, we walked out of the meeting.

I hope that in future the business of the General Council will be conducted in such a way as to be conducive to greater unity and harmony in the AITUC. With greetings,

Yours sincerely,

P.RAMAMURTI

P.S. Later in the night you told us that Dange had telephoned to you and requested you to convey to us his own personal request that we should forget all that had happened and return to the meeting tomorrow. I am writing to him separately.

II

LETTER FROM COM.P.RAMAMURTI TO COM.S.A.DANGE

My dear Shri Dange,

Last night, Com.Mirajkar told us that you had telephoned to him and requested him to convey to us your personal request that we should forget whatever had happened yesterday in the meeting of the General Council and return to the meeting today.

The latter part of your speech in reply to the discussion on your Report was highly disruptive. You suddenly started flinging wild accusations and hurled challenges. You said: "The

. . . AITUC had

AITUC had been split three times, let it be split a fourth time." This you repeated again and again.

The fact that you did not name anyone is no excuse for making such highly disruptive speech. The General Council cannot be used as a forum for making charges against a section or even individuals in the movement, and that too, without naming them.

Anyone who participated in the discussion yesterday would admit that there was no acrimony till the latter part of your speech and all the criticisms were entirely political or about lack of attention to organisation at all levels.

But even if any individual member of the General Council sometimes goes off the track and gives room for provocation, you, as the General Secretary, bear a special responsibility to be sober and bring back the discussions to the main points under discussions.

Instead, it was an amazing sight to see you going off at a tangent, and without any relevance to the points that had been raised during the discussion or to your report, hurling accusations and challenges.

If you wanted to bring any charges against anyone, you should have got it included in the Agenda and arranged for a proper discussion. But you cannot, under the guise of reply to a discussion, suddenly fling such charges and challenges. This is clearly abusing the right of reply.

As I have pointed out in my letter to Com.Mirajkar, our walk-out was to make our protest against your speech.

You have requested us to forget all that happened yesterday. I do hope that in future, such speeches will not be repeated. And if that happen there will be no need for anyone to remember what happened yesterday.

Yours sincerely,
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III

LETTER FROM COM.S.A.DANGE TO COM.P.RAMAMURTI

My dear P.R.,

You have handed me a written letter stating your reasons for your last night's walk-out from the AITUC General Council and your return to the meeting today.

I would not have written this reply had it not been that you gave me a written letter. Hence I have to give you my reply also in writing.

In the first place, after your walk-out, the Council members who continued the meeting, asked the President to request you to return to the meeting. But before it could be conveyed to you, it seems, you had left the place.

Since we did not get any reply, I phoned to Com.Mirajkar to convey to you my request that you should not walk out and that you should come to the meeting. He asked me if it was my personal request. I said that it was as also that of the General Council.

As regards my concluding speech, let me first tell you that the one sentence you pick up is absolutely wrong. You quote me as follows: "The AITUC has been split three times, let it be split a fourth time."

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You have simply omitted the crucial word "not" from my speech when I said: "Let it not be split a fourth time". I do not think this is a fair or honest way of dealing with things.

Let me also remind you why this question arose. I was dealing with the question of how to "politicalise the trade unions". Therein I referred to a school of thought which holds that to politicalise the union means to rid the union of all reformists and their kind. This, as you know, in the history of the AITUC has meant expulsions leading to splits.

So I warned against such kind of "politicalisation" which had split the AITUC three times and asked that we should not split a fourth time, that we must do things unitedly for which the glorious struggles of the working class and the incoming all-India strike were paving the way for an all-India working class unity and, in fact, a merger of all TU centres in one.

After my speech, you got up and made a statement of protesting against my speech. After your statement, there was really no reason at all to walk out.

I am really unhappy that your prejudices against me have led you to understand things in a way different from what I said.

Anyway, it is good that you have come back to the meeting. And let both sides get over these differences my mutual agreement as much as possible.

Yours sincerely,
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