

BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH

Amrinder

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GENERAL SECRETARY'S **R E P O R T**

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at

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Respected President and dear brother-delegates,

At the out-set, B.M.S. offers its homage to the memory of all those who departed from us during the period under consideration. The trade union field lost a number of its stalwarts, such as S/Shri Satish Lumba, S.R. Vasavada, Abid Ali; Hemant Deshmukh, Indulal Yagnik, Smt. Anusuyaben Sarabai. Ramanand Das, Vasant Kulkarni, Diwan Chamanlal, and K.G. Bose.

On the national scene, we are deprived of great personalities, such as, S/Shri Premnathji Dogra, Mohan Kumaramangalam, Sardar Gurnam Singh, Bakshi Gulam Mohd, C. Raja Gopalachari, Dayanand Bandodkar, Barkatullah Khan, 'Mother', Mrs, Sucheta Kripalani, V.K. Krishna Menon, D. Sanjivaya, Charu Majumdar, Babasaheb Apte, Nana Palkar, Bhaiyaji Shahdan and Smt. Booji.

The greatest loss the nation suffered during this period was on account of the Maha Nirwan of revered Shri Guruji, who was the guide and philosopher for all nationalistic and cultural organisations and movements.

So far BMS is concerned, the icy hands of death have snatched away from us some of our esteemed colleagues, the prominent among them being, (i) Shri Ram Swarup Vidyarthi, President, Delhi State BMS and Madhya Railway Karamchari Sangh, (ii) Shri Chand Rattan Acharya, General Secretary, Rajasthan State BMS, (iii) Shri Vasant Karamarkar, Organising Secretary, National Organisation of Insurance Workers, and (iv) Shri Gangadhar Nayak, Secretary, Maharashtra State BMS. All of them died in harness. Their contribution to BMS work was invaluable and the labour field as well as the BMS would never be the same again, after the exit of these trade-unionist nation-builders. With heavy heart, the BMS pays its humble homage to the sacred memory of all these illustrious Sevaka of Bharat Mata.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us that our revered President, Shri B. K. Mukherjee, successfully fought the severe onslaught of paralysis and other allied maladies, on the strength

of his characteristic will power. He has been directing, since July 10, 1972, the activities of BMS from his sick-bed with his usual vigour and freshness of mind. We all pray God for his complete and speedy recovery.

Organisational Growth

We met last at Bombay on May 22-23, 1972. The subsequent period witnessed a marked growth of B.M.S. work in different States and industries. On 1-1-72 the number of B.M.S. affiliates was 1,211, with a total membership of about 6,00,000. On 1-1-75 the respective figures were 1,313 and 8,40,000. (The State-wise break-up is given in Annexure E.) The number of its National Industrial Federations rose from 11 to 14. (Ann.B)

During this period the B.M.S. secured State-level recognition in Jammu & Kashmir; has been invited to the State Labour Advisory Board as observer in W. Bengal; received further representation on newly constituted committees in Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, M. P., Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka; has been given representation on the State Minimum Wages Committees in Orissa and Gujarat; participated in the Seminars, on Industrial Relations in the Public Sector in Dec. '72 and Feb. '73, was given representation on the Steering Group set up at the Seminar on National Productivity Council and T. U. Movement on August 20, '73, and also on the NPC committee on Coal Mining in Aug '74; was invited as observer to the I.L.O. Asian Regional Seminar on National & International Labour Standards held at New Delhi in Oct.-Nov., 1974; participated through its representatives in (i) The Seminar on Workers' Participation in the National Family Planning Programme on Feb.22, 1973, (ii) the National Symposium on Labour and Population Policies in April, 1974, (iii) Workers' Population Education and Workshops for T. U. Education Officers in Nov. '74, (iv) the I.L.O. Seminar on first Development Programme for T. U. Leaders held at New Delhi in December, 1974, and (v) the I.L.O. Seminar on Minimum Wages held at Calcutta on Dec., 2-3, 1974. (Ann. C.) In July,

1972, the B.M.S. affiliates in Cement Industry were invited for tripartite talks, in 1973, the Bharatiya Vidyut Mazdoor Sangh was a party to the tripartite on Electricity; the National Organisation of Insurance Workers was a party to the united front with the A.I.I.E.A. and to the negotiations and Agreement with L.I.C. on 22nd Jan., 1974; on April 3, 1974, the National Organisation of Bank Workers was invited by the Labour Ministry for talks, though the move was subsequently dropped on account of extraneous pressure; on April 11, the B.M.S. and the B.R.M.S. were invited by the Labour Ministry for talks on Railwaymen's demands; the Bharatiya Railway Mazdoor Sangh was a constituent of the National Co-ordination Committee for Railwaymen's Struggle and in that capacity was a party to the negotiations with the Railway Ministry in April, 1974, and to the Railway strike in May, 1974; the B.M.S. Jute Workers' Federation became a member of the West Bengal United Front for the purpose of jute strike in Feb., 1975, and received recognition at both, the State as well as the Central levels; the Maharashtra and Chandigarh Units of the B.M.S. have been constantly leading constituents on the Samyukta Kriti Samiti of their respective areas; the B.M.S. was a participant in the anti-C.D.S. national convention of Labour Organisations held in Delhi on August 28, 1974, and subsequently a member of the National Campaign Committee constituted by the Convention.

At Bombay session it was resolved to observe 1972-73 as 'The Unprotected Labour Year' for the purpose of organisation and 'The Bonus Year' for the purposes of agitation. The B.M.S. took initiative in mobilising workers all over the country on the *bonus issue*, and on the other front it organised, among others, private car drivers in Amritsar, Batala and Bombay agricultural workers in Punjab. U. P., Rajasthan and Maharashtra weaver-workers in Maharashtra forest labour in Eastern U. P., tailor-workers in Kanpur, Dehradun, Gurgaon and Chandigarh, domestic employees in Delhi, construction contractors' workers at Cochin, employees of Embassies as well as those of Social Welfare Organisations at Delhi, pharmacists and compounders in Maha-

rashtra and U. P., carpenters at Palghat, sea-vessel-workers at Calicut, lime-kiln workers at Cochin, and police hospital workers at Bombay.

Labour Scene

The year 1972 will be noted in the trade union history for the completion of the first ever split at national level in the INTUC. The National Labour Organisation formed consequently, seems to be nearer the Ghandhian ideals, though the efficacy of its methodology remains to be tested under different conditions and over a period of time. The central leaders of the HMP frequently declared their resolve—first to unite with the HMS and then to break away from it. Organisationally, the HMP has not made any headway. At its National Convention of Calcutta in Dec.'74 the HMS has survived the split move. The tug-of-war between the AITUC and the CITU has not helped consolidation of communist forces in the labour field. On account of its alliance with the ruling party the AITUC has acquired some royal status in the Committee Halls and newspaper-columns, but in the field they have suffered heavy losses. The CITU has been making determined efforts for expansion in different States, and though it has suffered slight set-back in W. Bengal for political reasons, it has made marked progress in some States, and has been engaged steadily in its cadre-building programmes in different centres. It has, however, abandoned its move to form a national federation of Rly. Employees. Both the UTUCs are continuing to serve the labour as before in proportion to their respective strength. The DMK-led Progressive Labour Federation has been progressively losing strength and credibility. The same has been the case with the Indian Federation of Independent Trade Unions. It would be risky to pass any judgment on the growth or decline of the National Front or the various trade union federations sponsored by leftist parties like the Forward Block, the SUC, etc., in W. Bengal,—the situation in that State being constantly fluid; but it can be safely remarked that premature affluence of power is

more detrimental to the growth of idealism than poverty or powerlessness. The Republican Party of India could not bring within the fold of its trade union centre even one-thousandth of its political following for want of adequate number of trade union activists. The Mazdoor Dal of the Akali Party in Punjab has a large potential membership awaiting to be organised and mobilised. The trade union wing of the Peasants' & Workers' Party has been shrinking in size and strength. The Sarva Shramik Sangh, confined to the West Maharashtra, has successfully extended its sphere of influence in the rural areas. The Swatantra T.Uns. or those of Muslim League are either marking time or beating a retreat. The virtually independent Central Labour Union of Jammu & Kashmir has remained stagnant. The efforts of the erstwhile Swatantra Party to organise a centre for co-ordination of independent and responsible trade unions have not yielded any results, The influence of the Church in the labour field has increased slightly, mostly on account of its non-trade Union activities and social service. The INTUC, the BMS and the CITU have commenced during this period their concentrated and systematic efforts to organise agricultural labour, The number of craft and category-wise unions has increased considerably.

This period also witnessed the formation of a National Council of Trade Unions consisting of representatives of the INTUC, HMS, and AITUC, on May 21, 1972, and the subsequent formation of a rival United Council of Trade Unions comprising CITU, HMP, UTUC, etc. (both these Councils are now defunct.)

This period has also seen further deepening of split in the AIIEA, the NFPTE, organisations of working journalists, income-tax-employees, central secretariat employees, and some State units of the INTUC. The factions for and against George Fernandes are at loggerheads within the AIRF. There has been a split even in the Confederation of Central Govt. Employees which waged united battle in September, 1968.

It is noteworthy that the number of unorganised workers far exceeds that of organised workers; and if a fresh verification is conducted, it will be found that the total membership of the unaffiliated, independent trade unions exceeds that of any one of the Central Labour Organisations. There is a growing tendency on the part of the newly formed unions to remain independent so as to be able to secure support from all or any of the CLOs whenever required.

Some of these unattached unions are clustered round different personalities; The largest one of such groups has done some splendid work at Bombay under the leadership of Shri R. J. Mehta, in combating the menace of goondaism and terrorism in that area.

Industrial Relations

Apart from bipartite negotiated settlements at the national level in some industries, such as, BHEL, HMT, HAL, BEL, etc., and the various strikes, lock-outs, 'work-to-rule' or mass casual leave programmes, gheraos, bandhs, lay-offs, retrenchments and closures in different industries, the major incidents during this period were the nationalisation of General Insurance, Coking Coal, Coal Mines, and 103 textile mills.

The take-over of whole-sale trade in wheat and the subsequent reversal of that policy, submission of its unanimous report by the Expert Committee on Automation in June, 1972; submission of its final report by the Third Pay Commission on April, 2, 1972; submission by the Bonus Review Committee of its interim report on September 30, 1974; submission of its report by the Bhagwati Committee on Unemployment in May '73; an Ordinance on September 23, 1972, giving effect to the increased minimum bonus; enactment of the Payment of Gratuity Act, and the Additional Emoluments Compulsory Deposits Act, 1974; and the non-implementation by the Government of India of even the unanimous recommendations of the National Labour Commission.

So far as industrial relations are concerned, this has been a period of protracted, more broad-based and frequent struggles in larger number of industries and services covering wider areas. The all-India strikes of Cement Workers, Central Govt. Employees and Railway employees; by Locomen, Guards, State Govt. Employees of Kerala, Tripura and Bihar, the employees of Indian Airlines, LIC, Air India, Steel, Coal, Agricultural Workers of Kerala and Tamilnadu, workers in engineering, jute, cotton textiles, road transports, plantations, coir and cashew; and big 'bandhs' by broadbased united fronts of trade unions in Maharashtra, W. Bengal, Tamilnadu, and other States are some of the more important struggles during this period.

The special feature of this period has been the strike moves by teachers, professors, doctors, engineers, bank-officers, etc. Abuse of 'Emergency' by authorities, indiscriminate arrests of trade union leaders under DIR and MISA, imposition of curfews and Sec. 144, police atrocities, mobilisation of CRP, BSF, Territorial Army, etc., against peaceful workers — all these repressive measures proved beyond all doubt that the Government and the employers were not prepared to abide by the rules of the game of democracy. Another peculiar feature of the period has been that the number of mandays lost due to lock-outs by employers, including the Government and the Government concerns, has been greater than that lost due to strikes. There has been a growing unwillingness to implement awards and agreements, and a marked rise of autocracy in the name of "certain fundamental management functions" Callousness on the part of the managements has resulted in an increase in work-load, collapse of safety rules, increase in accident rate, and rise in over all frequency rates of injuries. With probably the only exception of the port and dock workers' strike, which constitutes a category by itself, the entire history of workers' struggles during this period is an un-interrupted story of un-democratic repression. If one party to the game of democracy obstinately refuses to abide by its rules, the alternatives left open to the other parties would not be many.

Significantly enough, new concessions were given to monopolies—foreign as well as Indian—during the same period under the New Industrial Policy Resolution.

By now, bureaucracy is firmly in the saddle. Bureaucratic capitalism is thoroughly entrenched in our public sector and has begun spreading its tentacles over the entire economy. The ruling party has made a mockery of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, and official policies, based upon ad-hocism, are directionless. The economic decisions are being taken on purely political grounds. Political expediency, not economic-justice, has been the sole criterion.

BMS Stand

During the period under consideration, the B.M.S. submitted memoranda to, and gave evidence before the Bonus Review Committee, the Experts Committee on Unemployment, the Workers' Education Review Committee, and, through its affiliates, the Third Pay Commission.

After Bombay Session, the BMS Supreme Council met at Gwalior on May 12-13, 1973. The Central Executive met eight times (see Annexure D). Apart from training classes at different centres for activists on the local or the industrial level, we had zonal Training Classes at Kurukshetra (Dec. '72), Kanpur (Sept. '73), Panchagani (Feb. '74), and Palghat (Jan, '75), and the Special Training Class of the NOBW workers organised at Mahabaleshwar in early December, 1974, with the help of the National Institute of Bank Management. The State Units and the National Industrial Federations had their Executive and General Council Meetings as per their constitutions.

Through the resolutions passed and statements issued on these and other occasions during the period under consideration, the B.M.S. condemned anti-consumer annual budgets and anti-labour laws passed at the Central as well as the State levels, expressed its solidarity with the various struggles of workers

in different industries, exposed the official strategy of concealing the failure of the Government on economic front by putting forth alibis of floods, droughts, vagaries of monsoon, influx of refugees from Bangladesh, the world phenomenon of inflation, global oil crisis, population explosion and so called 'shortages' and 'recession'; and demanded, among other things,—

Withdrawal of victimisation of the striking railway employees as well as of the Central Govt. Employees who resorted to strike on 10th May '1974.;

Payment of the arbitrarily withheld instalments of D.A. to the Central Govt. employees, and their upward pay revision in view of the fact that the price index has crossed 272 point.;

Payment of all the arrears to the workers of the sick textile mills taken over by the Government, and extension of all Acts, Awards and Settlements in the textile industry to these sick units ;

Appropriate amendments in the laws regarding bonus, gratuity, ESI, family pension scheme, etc;

Setting up a public distribution system for food-grains and other essential commodities, such as, cloth, edible oil, sugar, fish, kerosene, fuel, etc, under the supervision of the people's committees, so as to ensure steady supply of these commodities, (and at least half a kilo of cereals per day per adult). with proper quality and at cheaper rates, and legislative compulsion requiring employers in all sectors to carry out such distribution for the benefit of their workers;

Full compensation to all workers, including those in establishments employing less than 50, suffering from power-cut or power failure;

Fullest utilisation of the existing installed capacity;

Removal of all bottle-necks in the way of increase in production ;

Due confirmation of the casual, the temporary and the badli workers in various industries ;

Enactment in every State for the protection of the unprotected labour on the model of the Maharashtra Mathadi, Hamals and other Manual Worker's Act ;

Complete protection of Industrial Disputes Act to the employees in the Co-operative Sector ;

Introduction of The Industrial Relations Bill with provisions for recognition of a union through secret ballot, institution of Composite Bargaining Agency on the basis of proportional representation in every industry, amendment in the definition of 'workman' so as to include all persons employed in non-managerial categories, payment of subsistence allowance during the entire period of pendency of conciliation proceedings ;

Encouragement to bipartite agreements rather than to tripartite wage boards,

On National Policies

The B.M.S. also demanded—

Association of workers' representatives with the various processes of planning ;

Formulation of national policies on employment, productivity, prices and incomes/wages on the basis of a consensus evolved in the round table conference of all economic interests to be convened specially for this purpose ;

Acceptance of the Right to Work as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution ;

Constitution of a National Commission on the patterns of Industrial Ownership ;

Appointment of the Experts' Committee on the location, the size and the technology of industries, with a view to redraft the industrial map of the country;

Progressive labourisation in all industries, and active consideration of complete labourisation of Cotton Textile, Jute, Transport, Sugar and Bidi industries;

Entrusting the management of the Employees' State Insurance, the E. Provident Fund, Workers' Education, etc. to workers' representatives;

Fixation of the National Minimum at the level of the need-based minimum wage, full protection of the real wage, acknowledgement of the principle that 'Bonus is only a Deferred Wage' so long as there is a gap between the Living Wage and the actual wage, and the raising its statutory minimum to 12½%.

Introduction of 'Monetary Corrective' linking all repayments and savings of workers with index-number, and recompilation of the index on the scientific basis, particularly taking into account the usual gap between the wholesale and the retail prices ;

Raising of a special cadre of 'Public Administrators' with statutory recognition, and balancing the autonomy of public undertakings with their accountability;

For the rural and the backward areas :

Removal of regional imbalances;

Implementation of land reforms legislation and redistribution of all surplus land among the landless labourers-particularly those belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes;

Extension, till the introduction of the National Minimum, of the Minimum Wages Act to all Agricultural Workers as well as those in the unorganised sector in the country, and crash programmes for rural housing for their benefit;

Implementation of massive Public Works programmes, Minor

irrigation and other labour-intensive projects in the rural areas;

Disciplining the Rural Rich—the beneficiaries of the Green Revolution;

Extension of free medical and educational facilities to all sections of population;

Organisation of forest-based industries, protection to Vanvasi workers from the conspiracy of contractors and conservators, and reservation in forest services for the benefit of Vanvasis;

Extension and implementation of the debt-relief-measures throughout the country;

Facilities for supplementing under-employment in rural areas by self-employment through poultry, bee-keeping, fishery, agricultural engineering, cattle-breeding, dairy, spinning, weaving, carpentry etc;

Steady supply of yarn at cheap rate to weavers of handloom and powerloom;

State-assistance to the educated unemployed for starting small-scale industries;

Development of ancillary units around big factories; and a general ban on Automation;

As a policy of resource-mobilisation in the rural setor, the BMS has urged for the introduction of the system of micro-planning through the agency of mass banking.

Economic and Financial Discipline

Taxation :

Regarding taxation-structure, the B. M. S. pleaded for,

Revision in and simplification of taxation-structure; withdrawal of all indirect taxes; withdrawal of tax on salaried classes;

Raising the exemption limit of the income-tax to Rs.-12,000/- and tax-concession on specific export items of labour Intensive industries.

Regarding Foreign Capital :

Nationalisation of foreign Banks;

Indianisation and democratisation of all foreign-owned industries;

Rejection of restrictive clauses in all foreign collaboration agreements;

Moratorium on all foreign debt repayments;

Progressive elimination of foreign capital from national economy; and

Provision of investment opportunities for the capital of the patriotic Pravasi Bharatiyas.

For curbing the evil of black-money :

Demonetisation of currencies of higher denomination;

An end to deficit financing;

Drastic curtailment in administrative expenditure;

Imposition of consumption-tax on all wasteful, vulgar and ostentatious private expenditure;

An end to the practice of overdrafts to the States;

The evolution and implementation of the national financial discipline; and

Strict-measures against tax-evaders, black marketeers, profiteers, hoarders, smugglers, speculators, adulterators, and other corrupt and anti-social elements.

As general economic measures :

Rationalisation of industrial and import licensing policies;

A boost-up to import-substitution programme;

Incentives for small savings and their channelisation into industrial investments;

A ban on luxury goods industries and encouragement to consumer goods industries;

An appropriate change in the patterns of consumption, the revival of the spirit of Swadeshi, and organisation of consumers'

'forums, consumers' resistance and, if necessary, consumers' strikes;

A determined drive for national self-reliance through an increase in the growth rate;

Ceiling on urban and rural property and on profits and dividends; decentralisation of all economic authority; and early establishment of the ratio of 1: 10 between the minimum and the maximum incomes in the land.

On Government Policy.

Finally, it cautioned the country against the unholy alliance between the Government, the Monopoly Houses, and the Multi-National Corporations, and exhorted all patriots to forge a united front to foil their anti-national conspiracy.

It further cautioned the workers against the diversionary tactics of the Government and the employers who play up linguism, provincialism, regionalism, casteism, communalism, political casteism, etc. for dividing their ranks, and conduct subtle propaganda to create a rift between the employees and the unemployed, the low-paid and the better-paid, the rural and the urban, or the organised and the unorganised sections of workers, 'sons of the soil' and 'foreigners', workers and consumers, and the lowest 30 percent and the wage earners.

The Right to Strive

As a patriotic labour organisation, BMS stands for increased production and equitable distribution. But it will not tolerate any move on the part of the Govt. to ban the right to strike. BMS has demanded that the 'right to work' should be recognised as the Fundamental Right. The 'right to strike' is the natural corollary of the 'right to work'. To ban this right is highly undemocratic and authoritarian. Instead, appropriate machinery be so set up for the solution of industrial disputes that the 'right to strike' is rendered a mere superfluity.

The B.M.S. condemned the system of vesting power in the hands of the Executive to ban all strikes. It is opposed to the classification of industries and services as 'essential'. It further condemned the practice of police interference in industrial disputes, the use of anti-democratic measures, such as DIR, MISA, Sec. 144 Cr. P. C. etc. and the practice of treating the layout problem as a law and order problem.

The B. M. S. has been demanding immediate withdrawal of 'emergency'.

International Women's Year.

1975 is the International Women's Year. The Govt. of India has been generous enough to resolve that this year they will introduce a measure prescribing 'equal pay for equal work'. In fact, this ought to have been done quite earlier. In Nov. '69, the BMS submitted a National Charter of Demands to the President enumerating comprehensively therein the demands and 'duties' for the benefit of the working women, the working housewives, the part-time workers, and even the prostitutes. -'equal pay for equal work' being one of these demands. Women workers in textiles, construction, beedi, mica processing, cashew processing, mines and quarries, plantations, etc. have been raising this demand since 1947. The BMS urges upon the Government to concede this year all the demands raised by BMS on behalf of women workers. I request you also to consider in this session whether it is advisable to undertake this year any specific project for the benefit of Indian working women.

Our Research Work.

The Bharatiya Labour Research Centre is presently busy working out the implications of the German experiment of 'flexible working hours' whereby workers decide themselves when to start in the morning and finish in the evening, provided there is a certain minimum period of attendance. It is also studying the recent Swedish Agreement allowing worker representa-

tives to obtain 'full-insight' into their company's financial and economic affairs. It is further conducting research on (i) the probable impact of nationalisation of audit of accounts and (ii) the efficacy of differential interest rates in the context of priority sectors.

The Centre is, however, handicapped on account of the inadequacy of relevant data and statistics. To cite a single example, usually there is inordinate delay in publishing the National Accounts, and, when published, they are found to be adversely affected by the inadequate flow of information from the Reserve Bank. Generally, the required statistics are either not available, or, if available, not adequate and upto-date.

Moreover, the Government is not responsive to responsible suggestions from research centres. For example, the B. L. R. Centre had suggested earlier that an Autonomous Monetary Authority be set up with full responsibility for (i) price-regulation through currency control and (ii) full employment through credit control. This was not heeded to. After the Bank nationalisation, the Centre pleaded for organisation of a far-flung Financial Consultation Service, which was again a cry in the wilderness. Now it is reported that the Union Govt. have decided in principle not to allow nationalised banks to open further branches in rural areas; in future, the unbanked rural areas would be covered either by cooperative banks or by farmers' service societies. This is virtual reversal of its earlier policy.

The Inter-National Angle.

Unlike some other Central Labour Organisation, the BMS has not made it a practice to comment elaborately and in a general way upon the problems of foreign affairs and foreign relation, except in so far as they directly affect our national economy and labour field. Enhanced import prices of foodgrains and oil, accentuating the foreign exchange crisis, machinations

of Multi-National Corporations, and the influence of the Soviet Union on our economy as well as on the attitude of the Government towards different CLOs,—these are the problems of which BMS has been taking a serious note.

The Work Ahead

Organisationally, though the BMS work is expanding, the line of communication between different levels, though stronger than before, requires to be further strengthened, if we are to meet adequately the challenge of the new crisis. The reporting from the basic units to the CHQ and from the CHQ to the basic units, through all the intermediary levels, must be still more prompt.

The time is now ripe for publishing a journal from the CHQ with a view and not only to publicise the B.M.S. activity but also to equip our cadres with the latest news and the authentic views. Regarding publications, our progress is satisfactory, but there is a suggestion from some quarters that a regular department be organised at the centre for looking after this work.

Similarly, our Central Office needs further reinforcement. The programme of Study Classes and Activists' get-together needs to be intensified. Our Master Mind Groups at different levels must be further strengthened. Our public relations need further improvement.

With the growth in BMS work, it was felt necessary to introduce certain amendments in the BMS Constitution with a view to cope up with the developmental problem. At its Rajkot meeting, our National Executive endorsed these amendments. It is for you now to discuss at length and pass your final verdict on these amendments, in this session.

On account of the extent of BMS growth it was expected that the Labour Ministry would grant recognition to it on

national level. The Ministry had declared in July '72 that it would reconsider the entire question of central recognition on the basis of the verified membership of all the Central Labour Organisations, the recognised as well as the unrecognised ones, and required all of them to submit their membership figures and be prepared for verification procedure. But subsequently the move of verification was dropped on the plea that the AITUC and the HMS—the two recognised organisations—refused to submit themselves to verification and no other appropriate criterion could be conceived of for the purpose of determining the question of recognition. Obviously, the matter is kept hanging for purely political reason. The 'question of justice has become irrelevant. Nevertheless, the BMS is confident that the Government will be forced before long to concede central recognition on account of its evergrowing strength. Because of our determined efforts on organisational front, the Government will find it impossible to maintain industrial peace in the country without admitting BMS to all national tripartites. The official recognition follows the workers' recognition. The Labour Ministry is also aware of this fact. Hence their reluctance to convene a meeting of the Indian Labour Conference all these years.

Various non-INTUC CLOs have failed so far to secure justice regarding representation on the International Labour Organisation. The BMS has decided not to put forth a demand for the same immediately. With the overwhelming support of the working class to BMS—which it is sure to win sooner rather than later, the Government will find it impracticable to continue this injustice and favouritism without losing its credibility at the international forums. Patience is the natural attribute of an expanding, self-confident Organisation.

We have also not rushed so far to seek affiliation to any of the international organisations of trade unions. Instead, we prefer to wait until these organisations come to feel it worthwhile to seek our affiliation to them.

On national level, the agitations in Gujarat and Bihar have added a new dimension to the country's political life. They are sure to have dynamic impact on the policies and programmes of the mass organisations also. The Govt. of India has obliged the opposition parties by furnishing some issues. such as, Emergency, DIR, MISA, etc. which constitute a challenge common to both, the political parties and the non-political mass organisations.

Today, the entire environment is surcharged with agitation—political and non-political. Regarding politics the BMS has already defined its position in unequivocal terms. We do not confine ourselves to 'economism', i. e. bread-butter-unionism. Nor do we accept 'political unionism' which considers trade union as a wing or a transmission belt or a front organisation of a political party. We stand for genuine trade-unionism based upon the firm foundation of nationalism. We make a distinction between राजनीति and राष्ट्रनीति or लोकनीति. The latter comes into operation whenever the nation is confronted with the life-and-death problem, on account of foreign aggression or internal crisis. The BMS is unreservedly at the disposal of the राष्ट्रनीति लोकनीति—but not for राजनीति Brahspaty has distinguished लोकवृत्तम् from राजवृत्तम् लोकवृत्ताद् राजवृत्तम् अन्यदाह बृहस्पतिः । (We are for) the former, but not for the latter.

At its Rajkot meeting, the BMS National Executive considered at length the situation arising out of the J. P. agitation, and arrived at the following informal decision; (i) Our individual worker-members are free to fulfil, as citizens, whatever they consider as their national obligation; (ii) The BMS as such will not involve itself in the agitation and (iii) at the local and the State levels, the BMS affiliates are free to join the united front of trade union, whether for the purpose of this agitation or otherwise, basing their decision on the merit of the issues involved as well as the nature of the general situation obtaining at their respective levels. It is for this session to finally endorse or reject this decision.

Regarding United Fronts, our policy so far has been to participate in the same if the issues involve workers' interest within the framework of national interest and, again, if there is general agreement about the procedure to be followed in course of the united struggle. Barring a few exceptions, our experience regarding united fronts so far has not been unhappy. It is again for this session to continue or alter this policy. Presently, we are a constituent of the National Campaign Committee of all trade unions excluding INTUC and AITUC.

Regarding 'Total Revolution', the BMS has not yet taken any definite stand. While we are in broad agreement with the votaries of the total revolution about the diagnosis of the present national situation, we are not sure whether 'total revolution' furnishes the really effective remedy for the same. Our ancient country has witnessed political revolutions and periods of Renaissance in the past, but not a single 'total revolution'. BMS itself is one of the major instruments of 'National Renaissance'. But 'total revolution' is different from 'national renaissance'. As nation-builders, we have to be very particular about the choice of terminology since wrong terminology would lead to un contemplated results. As Jesus said, "the letter killeth". We are, therefore, taking time to study in depth the implications of this entirely new term in our national history. It is, however, open to you, if you so choose, to express your reaction on this issue, and your verdict will be final and binding.

The Real Task

One fact, in the meantime, appears to be certain and non-controversial. The nation is in the midst of the gravest crisis, and no remedial measure—whether romantic or realistic—can become practicable without complete consolidation and mobilisation of all the patriotic forces in the land. We owe it to the Nation to equip ourselves quantitatively as well as qualitatively in the most expeditious manner, so as to furnish a mighty weapon in the hands of the Rashtra Shakti which has inspired us to enter the

labour field and which, again, has always been and shall for ever continue to be our guiding star, our 'Adhishthana'.

From this point of view, I request you to kindly devote serious attention to the organisational aspects. The growth rate of our resources—human as well as financial—has not been keeping pace with the growth-rate of our organisation. Hence the developmental difficulties, which are neither unwelcome nor unknown to all of you. It would be healthier if the initiative in devising the ways and means of overcoming the same comes from the grass root level.

No doubt, the B. M. S, is advancing satisfactorily. But the all-out crisis is overtaking the country still more speedily. Today, Bharat Mata expects all her sons and daughters to perform their duty conscientiously. And She is confident that as nation-builders you will rise to the occasion and re-dedicate yourselves to her sacred cause in the most befitting manner.

D. B. Thengadi
General Secretary.

Receipts & Payments A/C
of
BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH
CENTRAL OFFICE for the year 1972

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Last year Balance	755.70	Salaries & Allowances	2919.18
Affiliation fees as per membership	23655.00	Travelling & incidental charges	9197.09
Levy	2245.00	Scooter Purchase	3533.45
Publications	659.25	Stationary	672.20
Interest	29.89	Postage, Telegrams & Telephone charges	4412.03
Loan	7749.11	Electricity & Water charges	279.83
From Delhi for Conveyance	350.00	Publication & Printing	1598.50
From Bombay		Furniture Purchase	1354.05
BMS	6992.34	Assistance to workers, BMS units & Federations	22971.85
From Ramdas	756.77	Miscellaneous	727.56
	-----	Expenditure of	
	7749.11	Shri Thengdiji	8208.90
Travelling expenses		Balance for next year	2894.12
recowred	834.65	Central Office	2362.25
Shri Thengdiji's		Thengdiji	381.12
Honararium	6000.00	Sathaey	150.75
Allowances	13340.16		

			2894.12
	58768.76		58768.76

Receipts & Payments A/C
of
BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH
CENTRAL OFFICE for the year 1973

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Balance of the last year	2894.12	Salaries & Allowances	3517.79
Affiliation fees as per membership	33341.18	Travelling & incidental charges	7012.56
Levy	2034.50	Stationary	173.47
Nidhi & Donations	2675.35	Postage, Telegrams & Telephone charges	4412.89
Interest	67.10	Electricity & Water charges	515.80
Publications	530.00	Publication & Printing	1193.20
Travelling expenses recovered	1495.43	Furniture Purchased	1223.50
Loan from Bombay BMS	2180.00	Loan repaid to Ramdas	756.77
Thengdiji's Honarium	6000.00	Assistance to BMS units, Federations & Workers	32159.34
Allowances	12004.43	Miscellaneous	484.61
Received by Thengdiji	11602.73	Expenses of Thengdiji	7762.17
Received by Sathey	401.70	Balance with Central office	4010.01
	-----	Balance with Thengdiji	3165.56
	12004.43		844.45
	-----		-----
	63222.11		4010.01
	-----		-----
	63222.11		63222.11

Receipts & Payments A/C
of
BHARATIYA MAZDOOR SANGH
CENTRAL OFEICE for the year 1974

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Balance of the last year	4010.01	Salaries & Allowances	2176.00
Affiliation fee as per membership	36943.67	Travelling & incidental charges	13946.14
Levy	9964.73	Postage, Telegrams & Telephone charges	4392.87
Donations	2380.00	Stationary	358.90
Interest	215.04	Electricity & Water charges	650.98
Nidhi	1100.00	Furniture Purchase	2608.50
Publication	293.75	Loan	730.00
Travelling Expenses recovered	467.00	to Ramdas	700.00
Loan from BRMS	230.33	to S.P. Kochhar	30.00
Miscellaneous	1337.20		—————
Thengdiji's			730.00
Honararium	6000.00	Assistance to BMS units,	
Allowances	15183.83	Federations & Workers	33510.65
Received by Thengdiji	14933.83	Balance	7721.80
Received by Centre	250.00	With Central Office	7208.07
	—————	With Thengdiji	513.73
	15183.83	Expenses of Thengdiji	12029.72
	—————		—————
	78125.56		78125.56

ANNEXTURES

ANNEXTURE A

Extracts from the 'BMS National Charter of Demands' pertaining to women-workers:

Women Workers

Section of types of jobs (in non-agricultural sector) for which women have special aptitude;

Vocational and technological guidance and training to women workers;

Their progressive absorption in semi-skilled and skilled categories;

A more rational distribution of female labour force so as to reduce competition between men and women;

Strict enforcement of statutory provisions relating to women workers;

Equal pay for equal work.

Working Housewives

On the basis of the recent empirical study conducted by the Shri Ram Centre for Industrial Relations, to devise the ways and means of (i) eliminating conflict between the professional role of the housewife and her responsibilities in the family; (ii) reconciling the different expectations from her professional and domestic duties particularly towards children and husband; (iii) minimising her job-dissatisfaction; and (iv) overcoming generally the "five dimensions of stress" revealed by the study.

Recognition by employers of the fact that working housewives constitute a special employment group and necessary adjustments regarding their working hours, work schedules, facilities for housing and transport, etc.

Suitable extension of and qualitative improvement in child-care-services, nurseries, such as, shishusadans' kindergartens and boarding schools or extended school days.

'Part-Time' workers

Separate; 'part-time employment avenues' wings under the Employment Exchanges for the benefit of students; house-wives, widows, unabsorbed ex-servicemen, pensioners, etc., who seek part-time jobs.

A separate piece of legislation to protect the interests and overcome the peculiar difficulties of such 'part-time' workers.

Prostitutes

A Qualitative Reserch in the problem on the lines adopted by the Bombay State Branch of Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.

- (a) The cause-wise break-up of the entries in the profession, such as, family background; emotional, social and economic aspects' broken homes' marital status; heredity; environmental influence, etc.
- (b) Preventive measures at the village level; Family Service; vocational training and guidance; Lucrative occupation for widows, mothers; and economic rehabilitation of fallen women.
- (c) Abolition of 'tolerated areas'.
- (d) Active implementation of—

The Devadasi Law, The Child Marriage Restraint Act, The Dowry Prohibition Act, The Supression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, The Police Acts providing against soliciting in public places and controlling or prohibiting the location of brothels, and the Women" & Children's Istitutions (Licensing) Act.

- (e) The After-Care Homes for Rescued Women.

Following in general the letter and spirit of the United Nations Economic and Social Council on 'the supression of the trafficking in persons and of the exploitation of the prostitution of others' 1959.

ANNEXTURE-B
ALL INDIA INDUSTRIAL FEDERATIONS AFFILIATED TO B.M.S.

No.	Name	President	Gen. Secretary	Address
1.	Akhil Bharatiya Vidyut Mazdoor Sangh	Sh. P.C. Verma M.P.	Sh. B.N. Sathey	Samadhan Kutir, N.C. Ketker Rd Ram Nagar, DOMBIWALI (Maharashtra).
2.	Bharatiya Engineering Mazdoor Sangh	Sh. B.P. Pandey	Sh. P.R. Kalusker	15, Sehkar Bhawan, Poibawdi Parel, Bombay—400012
3.	Bharatiya Gair-Shikshak Karmchari Sangh	Sh. Bhau Rao Vaidya	Sh. Ram Naresh Singh	2. Navin Market, Kanpur
4.	Bharatiya Ispat Mazdoor Sangh	—	Sh. Saroj Kumar Mitra	B.M.S. Office, Jaunalia Patti, Cuttack
5.	Bharatiya Jute Mazdoor Sangh	Sh. N.C. Ganguli	Sh. Baij Nath Roy	Marwari Kal, Nelson Rd, Hazari nagar, Distt 24 Pargana
6.	Bharatiya Khadan Mazdoor Sangh	Sh. Banarsi Das	Sh T.R. Jumde	1/57, Vidhayak Vishramgreh, Bhopal—3
7.	Bharatiya Pratiraksha Mazdoor Sangh	Sh. H.C. Kach- wai, M.P.	Sh. Ram Prakash Mishra	2, Navin Market, Kanpur
8.	Bharatiya Parivahan Majdoor Sangh	Sh. H.C. Kach- wai, M.P.	Sh. S.S. Chan- drayan	75, Vivekanand Nagar, Nagpur—15
9.	Bharatiya Railway Mazdoor Sangh	Sh. H.C. Kach- wai, M.P.	Sh. Amaldar Singh	33, Moti Bhawan, D'silva Rd. Dadar, Bombay—400028
10.	Bharatiya Sugar Mill Mazdoor Sangh	Sh. Sudhir Singh	Sh. G.D. Gupta	Mohalla Lajpat Rai, Shamli Distt. Muzaffarnagar (U.P.)
11.	Bharatiya Swayat Shasi Karmchari Sangh	Sh. Hans Dev Singh Gautem	Sh. O.P. Aghhi	19 Windsor Place, New Delhi—110001
12.	Bharatiya Vasterudyog Karmchari Maha Sangh	Sh. K.D. Pandey	Sh. H.K. Pathak	5239, Ajmeri Gaie, Delhi-110006
13.	National Organisation of Bank Workers	Sh. G.S. Gokhle	Sh. A.M. Putanik	Near Jathar Bldg. New Datta Mandir Marg, Itwari, Nagpur-2
14.	National Organisation of Insurance Workers	Sh. Bhav Narain	Sh. B.S. Dogra	9-B, Cawasji Patel Street, Room No. 27, Fort, Bombay—1

ANNEXTURE C

Meetings of Karya Samiti, Pratinidhi Sabha, Zonal Secys Gen. Secys of All India Industrial Federations

Karya Samiti

1. Kota 25, 26 Sept, 1972
2. Patna 12, 13, 14 Feb, 1973
3. Gwalior 10, 11 May, 1973
4. Mangalore 20, 21, 22 Sept, 1973
5. Delhi 26, 27, 28 Feb, 1974
6. Delhi (Emergent) 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 May, 1974
7. Delhi 29, 30 Aug, 1974
8. Rajkot 5, 6, 7 Jany, 1975

Maha Samiti Meeting

1. Gwalior 12, 13 May, 1973

All India Industrial feds. Gen. Secys Meeting

1. Delhi 19 July, 1973

Zonal Secys Meeting

1. Delhi 19, 20 Oct, 1974
2. Delhi 19, Feb, 1975

ANNEXTURE-D

B.M.S. REPRESENTATION

Name of the Committee	Date & Place	Participants
1. Seminar on Industrial Relations in the Public Sector	15, 16 Dec. 1972 New Delhi	1. Sh. G.S. Gokhle, Bombay 2. Sh. G. Prabhakar, Mangalore
2. Seminar on Industrial Relations in the Public Sector	6, 7 Feb 1973 New Delhi	1. Sh. G.S. Gokhle, Bombay 2. Sh. O.P. Aghhi, Delhi
3. Seminar on Workers in the National Family Planning Programme	22 Feb. 1973 New Delhi	1. Sh. Hari Krishan Pathak, Delhi 2. Sh. Ram Prakash Mishra, Kanpur
4. National Symposium of Labour & Population Policies	15—18 April, 1974 New Delhi	1. Sh. G. Prabhakar, Mangalore 2. Sh. Raj Krishan Bhagat, Jullunder
5. Workers Population Education—Workshops for trade Union Education Officers	18—27 Nov, 1974 1. Calcutta 2. Kanpur 3. Mangalore	1. Sh. R.B. Moitra, Calcutta 2. Shiv Nandan Prasad, Monghyer 3. Sh. Kedar Nath Nigam, Ravrkel 1. Sh. Sharad Ketker, Bhopal 1. Sh. H.A. Ranganath, Simoga (Krtk.) 2. Sh. K. Mahalingam, Madras 3. Sh. BK. Menon, Perumbavoor (Kerala)
6. I.L.O. Asian Regional Seminar on National & International Labour Standards	20 Oct-8 Nov. 1974 New Delhi	observers 1. Sh. Govind Rao Athawle, Nagpur 2. Sh. Om Prakash Aghhi, Delhi
7. I.L.O. Minimum Wage Committee	2, 3 Dec, 1974	1. Sh. Manhar P. Mehta, Bombay
8. National Committee on Family Welfare Planning	29 April, 1975	1. Sh. Ram Prakash Mishra, Kanpur

ANNEXTURE E

STATEWISE UNIONS AND MEMBERSHIP ON 31 Dec., 1974.

S. No.	Name of Pradesh	No. of Unions	Membership
1.	Andhra Pradesh	57	38,000
2.	Assam	14	9,500
3.	Bihar	60	75,000
4.	Chandigarh	23	2,850
5.	Delhi	90	1,05,051
6.	Goa	1	600
7.	Gujarat	22	10,751
8.	Haryana	52	15,000
9.	Himachal Pradesh	12	6,000
10.	Jammu & Kashmir	7	2,750
11.	Karnatak	77	25,630
12.	Keral	34	3,600
13.	Madhya Pradesh	137	42,381
14.	Maharashtra	124	1,21,000
15.	Orissa	8	2,274
16.	Punjab	135	74,373
17.	Rajasthan	52	85,287
18.	Tamil Nadu	6	6,000
19.	Uttar Pradesh	258	1,14,251
20.	Vidarbha	52	39,000
21.	West Beggal	92	60,125
Total		1,313	8,39,423

D. B. THENGADI,

M.P.

57, South Avenue,
New Delhi,
April 9, 1975.

To

**The Convenor,
National Campaign Committee,
New Delhi.**

Dear Sir,

Now that the first phase of the Campaign is over and all members of the N.C.C. are meeting here today to chalk out the details of the next one, I am submitting for your kind consideration the following suggestion:

In the first place, the natural corollary of our campaign so far would be the further intensification of the agitation demanding payment of workers' money on or after the 6th July, 1975.

It would, however be advisable to make the agitation more broad-based by taking up simultaneously some of the common, non-controversial issues, such as, vacation of victimisation consequent to the various strikes, i. e., the railway strike in May, 1974, the Central Govt. employees' strike on May 10, '74, etc., withdrawal of Emergency, payment of all the arrears of the workers of 103 nationalised textile mills, demands of the jute workers, the State Govt. employees, agricultural workers, etc. Needless to say that this enumeration is only illustrative, and not exhaustive. Practically, this would constitute the common minimum Charter of Demands of Indian Labour.

To prepare a draft of such a Charter is a delicate job. It may not be practicable for today's meeting of the N.C.C. to accomplish this work within the available time. I, therefore, suggest that while finalising the agitational programme of the second phase, this meeting should appoint a drafting committee for the above purpose. It should be a temporary committee appointed specifically for this limited purpose. It is neither possible nor advisable to constitute any body resembling the Standing Committee or the Working Committee or even the Action Committee of the National Campaign Committee. The N.C.C. itself is playing that role. The Drafting Committee should be a temporary affair. It should submit its draft to the full-fledged National Campaign Committee whose verdict would be final.

On the merit of this suggestion I deliberately refrain from passing any comment, since all members of N.C.C. who are meeting here today are old veterans of the trade union field. Probably, most of them are already thinking along these lines.

May I request you to kindly place this communication before members.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely

Sd

D.B. Theggadi

General Secretary

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh