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Date 18-Dec-57.

To

Com S. A. Dange
General Secretary
All India Trade Union Congress
4th Ashoka Road,
New Delhi

I arrived here at Moscow at 6:30 ~~am~~ P.M. (Moscow Time) on 17th Dec. 1957. The meeting of the Metallurgical delegates was over on 16th Dec. 57, and all the delegates have already proceeded to Leningrad. I was warmly welcomed and I am now leaving at Ukren Hotel in Room No 2002.

I was helpless due to weather condition. first I was held up at Zurich for three days then I had no other alternative than to start by

Train ~~to~~ from Pragra to Moscow.

On 14th I sat in the Train and reached here on 16th evening.

I lost the meeting, any way I am trying to collect the decisions as far as possible. Further I could not put forward my report. Hope you will excuse me the position was beyond my control.

with greetings.

yours Comradely
H.V.

(H.V. Vadhawkar)

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON SAMYUKTA MAHARASHTRA
AND MAHA GUJERATH.

" This Conference whole heartedly supports the democratic demand of the people of Maharashtra and Maha Gujerath for the re-organisation of their States on the linguistic basis and for creation of the States of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay City as its capital and of Maha Gujerath. This conference condemns the imposition of the bi-lingual State of Bombay against the declared wishes of the people of these regions by means of force which has led to firing and ~~kill~~ing of many workers and citizens. The people by their sacrifices, peaceful mass-struggles, and also through the election results, have given a clear verdict against the creation of a bi-lingual State.

" This Conference warmly congratulates the working class of Maha Gujerath and Maharashtra particularly the multi-lingual working people of the City of Bombay, for having stood in the forefront ~~for their growing solidarity and unity~~ ^{of} the struggle for this most popular and genuine demand.

" This Congress requests the Parliament to take note of the wishes of the people in Maharashtra and Gujrath and revise its verdict on this question, so as to establish the State of Samyktha Maharashtra with Bombay City, Bellgaum etc. ^{and Mahasagarat} as demanded by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the State of Maha Gujrath. ^{ganata}

Parishad.

ON FOOD CRISIS.

The October meeting of the Working Committee of the AITUC took note of the grave food situation prevailing in the country and called upon the central and State Governments to take immediate steps to start cheap-grain shops in the more seriously affected areas, accompanied by a vigorous drive to seize food stocks with big-traders, millers and landlords and adequate steps to devise and execute plans for increased food production. The Working Committee also directed the prominent units and affiliated unions to mobilise working class for energetic participation in all popular movements to secure food at reasonable prices in their respective states.

During the last two months since the Working Committee passed the above resolution, the food situation has deteriorated still further causing acute hardships to vast sections of toiling people in both towns and villages. The cheap grain shops started by Government in Bengal, Bombay, Tamilnad and other states have been found to be totally inadequate to meet the basic food-needs of the poorer sections of the people. In Bombay the quantum of rice supplied through these shops has been reduced from 3 seers to 1 seer and further the people are now compelled to buy 2 seers of wheat to get one seer of rice. The position is more or less similar in most of the deficit states like Bengal, Madras, parts of U.P., Bihar etc.

Since the time the food situation in the country became serious, the prices of food grains have been continuously rising. The price-index for rice, millets and wheat which was 509, 409 and 114 in September 1955 has risen to 696, 593 and 276 respectively in July 1957. Since July 1957, the prices have gone up still further. The workers, artisans and salarised employees in the towns and the agricultural labourers of poor peasants in the village were the worst hit by these extremely high prices.

The session of the AITUC is of the opinion that the short-sighted and wrong food policy of the Central and State Governments is mainly and directly responsible for this grave food crisis. The failure to take the situation seriously by the Government at the beginning of this year as seen in the Parliamentary debates to build up sufficient reserve food stocks, the enormous advances made by the Banks to speculators and hoarders against rice and other food stocks, the Government's unwillingness to utilise essential commodities Act and their inability to control food prices have given a free run to whole sale traders, hoarders and speculators serving people entirely to their tender mercies.

This session of the AITUC demands that the Central and State Governments should take the following immediate measures to relieve the food situation.

(1). Set up cheap-grain shops, one atleast for 500 families run with the assistance of peoples' committees and trade unions in more seriously affected areas.

(2). The Government should take immediate steps to build up sufficient food reserves by compulsory levy on all surplus grains of land-holder possessing more than 15 acres of land, by buying up grain in the open market immediately after harvest, by taking over the stocks with millers and big traders so that it is in a position to supply cheap-grain shop with enough stocks to provide the basic quantum of rice and wheat to the entire people.

(3). Bring down the prices of food grains so that they are within the reach of common people.

(4). Take immediate steps to increase the food-production in the country.

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The AITUC welcomes the agitation launched by political parties and mass organisations in Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and other provinces directed towards reversal of the Government food policy for securing and lowering of food prices and guaranteed supply for food grains to people and calls upon all State Units and affiliated Unions to mobilise the working class for energetic participation on all such popular movements. It also calls upon all trade unions and other popular organisations to evolve a common mechanism which can assist the Government authorities in the distribution and ~~xxx~~ sale of food stocks at ~~xxxxx~~ controlled prices. ~~xxxxx~~ Government takes such assistance and people can train themselves and evolve such assistance measurers for controlled distribution where mere commercial or bureaucratic channels fails to satisfy the needs of the people. This system ~~xxx~~ can immediately be resorted to begin within all State services and concerns in many industries.

The AITUC also directs the Unions to make every efforts to secure the active cooperation of unions affiliated to all other centres in this common task.

DRAFT ON WAGES AND BONUS.

The 25th session of the All India Trade Union Congress notes with satisfaction the fact that the demand put forward by the Nagpur meeting of the General Council of the AITUC for a general 25% increase in wages had become the central rallying slogan of all workers throughout the country. The movement for the satisfaction of this demand embraced the workers in all industries and man a heroic struggle had been fought for its realisation. The AITUC is happy to record in many industries workers have been able to overcome the resistance of the employers and Government and win significant wage increases.

However, it is an indisputable fact that the general level of wages is lower than even the standards of a minimum wage and lower than is warranted by the levels and productions, profits and the state of the national economy. The fact that industrial production has increased by 40% and productivity has significantly increased during the first Five Year Plan and prices and profits have gone up, has brought the question of a general wage increase and the devising of a rational wage-structure as well as the question of immediate interim relief to the forefront of the Trade Union movement.

The Second ~~Rixx~~ Pay Commission itself has admitted that the rise in prices has been unprecedented in the year 1957 and that the rising trend is a persistent one. Absence of any control over prices cancels the gains of the workers. As a result the question of interim relief has become urgent.

Government and employers have sought to resist these demands on the plea that it would lead to an inflationary spiral and upset the 2nd Five Year Plan. The All India Trade Union Congress rejects this plea. It is not a rise in wages which has led to inflation, but it is mainly the speculative and profiteering activities of the monopolists and the policies of Government which imposes heavy taxation in people's necessities and which refuses to control prices or curb the activities of the monopolists that has led to the rise in prices.

Between 1950 and 1954, the value of factory production increased from 550 to 760 crores. Out of this increase of 210 crores in value of production, the workers' and employees' share by way of wage and salaries increased only by 17 crores from 232 to 240 crores whereas the monopolists' share of profits increased by 193 crores from 318 to 511 crores.

The successful implementation of the plan demands that this process is reversed in favour of the people. That increased production does not lead to enrichment of the monopolists and that workers are unable to get their due share of the increasing wealth.

This stand of the AITUC stands vindicated by recent development in the country.

The appointment of the Second Pay Commission and the announcement of an interim relief by the Commission mark an advance for the trade union movement and a significant set-back to the policy of wage-freeze. The AITUC congratulates the Government Employees, particularly the P & T Employees whose struggles led to this change in the situation.

The AITUC protests against the utterly inadequate relief of Rs. 5/- granted by the interim report of the Commission. Though the relief was given from July 1957, it is regrettable that the recommendation of the Commission to freeze the arrears of relief in ~~compulsory~~ compulsory investment in Savings certificates and was not to be paid in cash. This recommendation negated acceptance of the necessity for relief itself. The AITUC notes with satisfaction the fact that Government in response to representations from various trade union organisation has agreed to pay the relief in cash.

The decision of the Tripartite Indian Labour Conference held in July last constituted another set-back to the policy of wage-freeze. The conference ruled that minimum wages be revised as to make them

x Extends its support to the Central Govt Employees demand for adequate interim relief.

"Need-Based" which should ensure the minimum human needs of the workers. The conference further accepted certain norms on requirements of food, clothing and for fixation of the minimum wage.

It also accepted the necessity to appoint Wages Boards in different industries with a view to review and revise the wages structure in these industries which embrace the major part of our industrial set up.

However, the AITUC notes that the dominant policy of the Government and employers still continues to be one of resistance to the demand for wage increase. Although over five months have elapsed since the Indian Labour Conference concluded, no steps have been taken by any State Government, except the Government of Kerala, in the direction of implementation ~~xxxxx~~ of the agreed decision of the conference.

The AITUC desires to point out that the increasing tendency among employers to increase the conditional and additional part of the wage and not the fixed basic wages and rates. Even when forced by pressure of workers to concede wage increases, makes the workers' earnings subject to increased production and increase in prices.

The AITUC is confident that the united action of the working class will defeat these tendencies and will bring about improvement of the wages of workers.

The AITUC demands:-

- (1). The setting up of Wage Boards immediately for various industries for the fixation of wages based on standardised national rates with differentials for jobs according to skill, industry and regions.
- (2). Revision of minimum wages in accordance with the norms accepted by the 15th Indian Labour Conference.
- (3). The consolidation of the existing dearness allowance with basic wage.
- (4). A 25% average increase in wages as interim relief.

pending to fixation of wages by the Wage Board.

The AITUC calls upon the Trade Union movement to strengthen the struggle for these demands. It further calls upon all its affiliated unions to forgo, strengthen and consolidate unity in action with unions affiliated to other All India National Centres and Trade Federations on the basis of these demands.

As part of the policy of Government to freeze the earnings of workers, serious attempts are being made to nullify the advance made by the working class in the matter of bonus by fixing an arbitrary ceiling on bonus.

The AITUC further notes that resort is being increasingly made to devices such as providing for all manner of reserves, with a view to deprive the workers of their share of profits.

The AITUC ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ cannot permit the compulsory diversion of any part of the bonus to the Provident Fund as proposed in the Standing Labour Committee or to National Savings Certificates or into other forms of investment as proposed by some employers. The AITUC is firmly of opinion that such investments should be entirely voluntary.

The All India Trade Union Congress declares that they have a right to receive bonus as a form of deferred wage and as share in profits in order to advance their standards of living in view of the fact that it is out of their toil that profits spring, while today in India, despite increasing production and profits, not even a fair minimum or living wage is given in any industry. As such ceilings or compulsory savings in the name of the Plan are out of the question.

Taking all these factors into consideration, the AITUC demands that

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that bonus should be paid to workers in all industries on the following basis:-

- 6/4
- (1). $8\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the total annual earnings of workers including basic wage and dearness allowance, to be paid as GUARENTEED bonus, irrespective of the profits or loss to the undertaking. ~~The amounts so disbursed by way of guaranteed bonus shall be reckoned as a charge on the expenditure of the undertaking.~~
 - (2). In addition to this guaranteed bonus, there shall be a profit sharing bonus which shall be calculated as follows:-

Out of the gross profits, the normal depreciation, as well as taxes other than income-tax should be deducted. 25% should be disbursed as Profit-sharing bonus in proportion to their annual earnings.

2) In addition to this, there shall be a bonus ^{based} ~~which may depend~~ upon profits. ~~The workers~~ ^{the workers} ~~The L.A.T formula should be~~ shall have the right to an adequate share in the profits. The L.A.T formula ~~shall be revised~~ should be revised, so as to provide that extraneous elements such as Rehabilitation Bonus & ~~other~~ ^{other} ~~issues~~ are not taken into account for determining the surplus available for ~~the~~ distribution as bonus.

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DRAFT RESOLUTION ON UNITY.

This twentyfifth session of the All India Trade Union Congress notes with satisfaction the growth of the will of the workers of India to strengthen unity in action, and cooperation in order to improve their economic and social conditions, to defend their trade union and democratic rights, to contribute to the reconstruction of their country and to safeguard peace and freedom.

Since the Twentyfourth session of the AITUC held in Calcutta in 1952, this will, reflecting the needs of the workers, has been manifested in numerous struggles in which workers and trade unions of various views and affiliations have jointly participated, for example, tea garden workers of Bengal and Tamilnad, the Textile workers of Kanpur, Tamilnad, Amritsar and Bombay, the coal union, in different parts of the country, the Railway workers of Kalka and Northern ~~India~~ Railways, Engineering workers of Burnpur, Jaashedpur and many others. The united struggle of the Bank Employees, the working journalists and of the Central Government Employees particularly of the P & T Workers, clearly show not only the need of the movement and the wide-spread desire among the workers for unity and united action, but also the gains that can accrue to them from such action.

At a number of places united unions of workers have been formed giving organisational steps to the urge for unity. United trade federations on State and All India level have been formed in many trades for example in P & T, Defence, Central Government Employees, Insurance, Petroleum, Motor Transport Workers, Bank Workers, and others. The AITUC greets the formation of such united unions and trade federations as organs of trade-union unity.

On various issues, the four national T.U. centres have taken similar stand. To mention a few, all the four have expressed themselves in favour of an immediate increase in wages, a rational wage structure, against uncontrolled rationalisation injurious to workers, for adequate social security measures, for better living and working condition, for national reconstruction, for international peace, against Atom Bomb and Nuclear Tests, solidarity with the anti-colonial struggles of the Egyptian, Algerian, Indonesian and other peoples. All the four national centres as well as a large number of autonomous trade federations have again and again reiterated their earnest desire to achieve T.U. Unity. However, one of the national centres has held forth the question of ideological differences as standing in the way of unity. But the experience of united trade federations in which all trends in the trade union movement are represented belies the objection to unity.

There is no valid reason why the existence of common demands should not lead to more continuous cooperation. It is not necessary to agree on everything and to hold the same political opinions in order to achieve unity of action.

An outstanding example of united action on a national scale is the outcome of the deliberations of the last Labour Conference, where the united stand of the AITUC, INYUC, HMS and UTUC on various matters made it possible to secure agreements beneficial to the workers on the question of wages, rationalisation and other matters. Similar experience exists in many States.

On the basis of the experience accumulated in the past years, it has become clear that:-

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Whenever there has been united action by workers and Trade Unions of different affiliations, it has been possible to win appreciable gains where divergencies and division dominated in trade unions, the struggles of the workers have been made more difficult and result dubious.

Even when there is organisational division in the T.U. movement, there exists a community of demands which makes the ~~xxx~~ united action sought by the workers both possible and inevitable.

The unity of the T.U. movement has now been more necessary than ever. It is important to achieve it in order to satisfy the workers' demands and to ensure better life, ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ liberties and peace. But the workers' profound wish for unity can be transformed into reality only if they increase their efforts to overcome all the obstacles that lie in the way.

The AITUC reiterates the platform for unity it has already put forward as a basis for furthering unity in action and organisational unity. In order to further facilitate the growth of unity, this session of the AITUC puts forward the following suggestions:-

(1). Whenever two or more unions exist in any industry or factory, efforts must be made to democratically unite them into one united union, so as to achieve the slogan of one union in one industry, through mutual agreement, guaranteeing to all the right to be adequately or proportionately represented in all organs of the union. As an alternative or secret ballot may be taken of all workers concerned and the union which secures a majority should be supported by all sections. The Aituc on its part agrees to representation being given to various trends by mutual agreement in the union which secures a majority vote.

(2). In cities and districts all unions should join together to form city or district T.U. Councils or Committees. Each union should be free to affiliate itself to any national T.U. Centre if it so chooses, but the city or district T.U. Council or Committee may not affiliate to any central T.U. Centre, unless it be by a unanimous decision.

(3). Trade Federations not affiliated to any national T.U. centres should be formed at state and national level. Member unions should be free to affiliate themselves to any national T.U. Centre if they so desire.

(4). Joint consultative and action should be promoted among State Committees of National T.U. Centres and the National Centres by drawing up a joint minimum immediate programme already exists in the wide area of agreement on various issues and issues on which there is no agreement can be voluntarily left out.

The AITUC feels that if such an approach is adopted not only will it be possible to defend the vital interests of the working class, but it will be possible to clear the way towards a united national centres of T.U.s. in India.

The session appeals to all workers of whatever opinion and affiliation they may be to sink their differences and to earnestly and sincerely work for achieving unity in action and organisation so that the Indian working class may be assured of its rightful place in society and can play its role in the cause of socialism national reconstruction, peace and freedom.

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ON CLOSURE OF FACTORIES

The 25th Session of the All India Trade Union Congress is deeply concerned at the growing closure of factories in many industries.

In important textile centres such as Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Nagpur etc., a large number of mills have been closed down. *altretilue*
The Third Shift has been generally closed down in all centres. *or curtailed their production by giving up multiple shift working.*
The Government of India admits that twenty-two mills have stopped working.

In the Silk, Woollen and Hoisry industries in the Punjab, Bombay, Mysore and Vidarbha, many units have closed down.

The closures have affected some units in the Engineering industry as well.

of increasing production,
The Second Five Year Plan placed before the country the *perspective* objective of rapid industrialisation of the country, as well as the goal of a Socialistic Pattern of Society. The fact that even in the 2nd year of the Plan, the existing units of industrial production have closed down clearly shows *the anarchy in our country.*
in such an essential commodity as cloth not planning

economy
The accumulation of stocks in the cloth market is a direct result of the high prices which the textile magnates have been permitted to impose on the consumer with the consideration of high profit. Government's excise duties led to further increase in prices and aggravated the situation. *and increase in employment.*

In many cases, the closures have been due to swindling, mismanagement and speculation by managements.

In many cases, the managements have split up factories, or have contracted out production with a view to escape the liability to pay Statutory Benefit such as Provident Fund, Employees State Insurance, Lay-Off Compensation etc.

The All India Trade Union Congress demands of the Government:

- 1) Statutory Provision for instituting a Public enquiry in the case of every closure;
- 2) Statutory Penal Provision against managements in case of mala-fide closures, which should include the taking over of Factories;
- 3) Taking over management of all factories which have closed down due to mismanagement and immediately opening them; *by Government and*
- 4) Relief in excise duties;
- 5) Government financial aid in case of small industries which close down due to lack of capital requirements.

DRAFT
ON ALGERIA.

The 25th Session of the AITUC declares its unequivocal support to the heroic struggle of the Algerian people for achievement of their national independence from French colonialist rule. It strongly denounces the armed suppression of the Algerian patriots in the interests of a handful imperialist profiteers, and the barbaric methods of torture and repression which are being used against an entire people.

Firmly believing that colonialism is a disgrace to civilised society, the AITUC calls upon the workers of India to raise vigorously the demands put forward on this question by the 4th World Trade Union Congress viz:-

- (1) Immediate recognition by the French Government of the national independence of the Algerian people, and the opening of negotiations with representatives of the National Liberation Front to secure withdrawal of French troops from Algerian territory;
- (2) Stopping of tortures, executions, and barbaric methods of repression by the French occupationists, and immediate release of all imprisoned and externed patriots;
- (3) Establishment and free exercise of trade union and democratic rights and abolition of all prohibitions and discrimination in respect of trade unions.

The AITUC demands that the French Government take the above measures without delay and appeals to the General Assembly of the United Nations to take appropriate steps for their early fulfilment.

The AITUC calls upon the workers to organise, through their unions, mass meetings, demonstrations, deputations to the French Embassy and Consulates, and other suitable forms of action to express their active solidarity with the Algerian people.

DRAFT
ON INDONESIA.

The 25th Session of the AITUC sends fraternal greetings on behalf of the workers of India to the Government and the people of Indonesia and congratulates them on the firm stand they have taken in resisting the recent Dutch imperialist intrigues against the national sovereignty, security and peace-loving policy of the Indonesian Republic.

The AITUC fully supports the demand of the Indonesian people for the evacuation of their territory of West Irian occupied by the Dutch imperialists and its return to the Republic of Indonesia.

The AITUC unequivocally condemns the imperialist provocations aimed at the assassination of President Sukarno and at illegal intervention by the NATO Powers in the internal affairs of the Indonesian Republic. Such conspiracies of the colonialists are a menace to the peace, security and national independence of all the countries of South-East Asia and call for joint resistance by the Bandung powers.

The AITUC considers that the Government and people of Indonesia, in taking resolute measures to defend their national sovereignty, are upholding the cause of all independent nations and of world peace. The AITUC particularly congratulates the Indonesian trade unions which have taken the initiative in fighting imperialism by directly establishing national control over the Dutch-owned industrial and commercial enterprises on Indonesian soil.

The AITUC assures the people of Indonesia of the firm solidarity and support of the Indian workers in their struggles to end colonialism and consolidate their national independence. The AITUC calls upon all its units to observe January 18th as "Hands Off Indonesia." Day by appropriate forms of mass action and to seek the co-operation in this task of all unions irrespective of affiliation.

DRAFT ON GOA.

The 25th Session of the AITUC demands the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Indian territory of Goa and its return to the Republic of India. The 25th Congress of the AITUC prays homage to the memory of all the martyrs who have laid down their lives in the struggle for the liberation of Goa.
