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26th Session of the AITUC

.....
Coimbatore

.....
January 1961
.....

S p e e c h o f

COMRADE NJONO,
President, National Council,
All-Indonesia Trade Union Centre (SOBSI)

-

FOR AN UNBREAKABLE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
THE INDIAN AND INDONESIAN WORKERS

Dear Comrades,

I consider it a great honour in getting this excellent opportunity to represent the SOBSI for attending this 26th Session of the AITUC in Coimbatore. On behalf of the National Council of SOBSI and on behalf of the more than 2.7 million Indonesian workers affiliated to SOBSI, I anxiously hope that tremendous successes will be obtained by this Session.

Through you, dear comrades, I convey the most fraternal greetings of the Indonesian workers to the working people of India. Everything has been and will be done by us, in the past as well as in the future, to strengthen our international friendship. And it is only the imperialists and the reactionaries who wish to thwart the unbreakable solidarity between the Indian and Indonesian workers. But since our solidarity is based on a strong basis, i.e., the spirit of proletarian internationalism, it is not possible to smash it down. Besides, many factors are there also which give us the impetus and inspiration for further strengthening of our common battle.

During past several ages, we had to face the same unbearable living as a result of colonial exploitation. The Indian people were exploited by the British imperialists while the Indonesians were pressed under the heel of Dutch imperialism. And now, since our respective countries have won their independence and sovereignty, we are now faced with the same problems, viz., the construction of a democratic national society, fully liberated from imperialism and from the remnants of feudalism, as a base for the construction of a socialist society in the future.

In consolidating our respective national independence, we have to face our most dangerous common enemy, the U.S. imperialism, dragging the newly-independent countries into its military blocs and put under its economic domination.

But the world has already changed its face. We have not only the most dangerous enemies of mankind, but we have also the most reliable friends and comrades-in-arms of our own. These comrades-in-arms are the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union.

Socialism has already outstripped imperialism and this fact strengthens once more our conviction that the hour has struck to counter the forces of the die-hard imperialists.

(Contd.)

Dear Comrades,

To maintain the colonial system, which is facing its absolute downfall, chaos has been brought about by the U.S. warmongers in Laos, Algeria, Congo and other countries. Further, by threatening the national independence of Cuba, and at the same time, by launching armed race, which is of great danger for our world peace.

Under the banner of the World Federation of Trade Unions, we fulfil noble tasks, with the strengthening of international solidarity, with the struggle of oppressed nations for national independence and the broadening of the international front against colonialism and for peace.

To maintain world peace, the workers in India and Indonesia, and together with us the workers and the peoples of the whole world, fully support the proposals of the Soviet Government for liquidating colonialism and for general and complete disarmament.

In this connection, I am of the opinion that AITUC and SOBSI are able to take common steps in this direction, with the purpose that Prime Minister Pandit Nehru of the Republic of India and President Soekarno of the Republic of Indonesia - in conformity with the principles of the neutral foreign policy in our respective countries - to take an important role in obtaining an international agreement on disarmament, at least in prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and in establishing Atom-Free Zones.

Dear Comrades,

The present struggle of the AITUC is, as seen from the General Report of this Session, to make, among others, the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan beneficial for the development of the national economy, and in improving the standard of living of the Indian working people. Just the same is done by the workers in Indonesia.

The Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, i.e., the highest Council in the Republic of Indonesia, in its first session on November 10 to December 7, 1960, unanimously adopted two most important decisions, which will have their great influence on the political developments in Indonesia. The first of these two decisions was the decision on the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, adopting the Broad Lines of State Policy. The second decision was on the Eight Year Plan for national construction.

In the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, as the broad lines of State policy, is explained that the basic enemies of the Indonesian Revolution are imperialism and feudalism, that the main tasks of the Indonesian Revolution is not to establish the political power of one class, one group or one party, but to establish the political power of the entire people, a "Gotong-Royong" (mutual help) power to oppose autocracy or dictatorship, both military and personal dictatorship; that the moving force of the Indonesian Revolution is not one class, one group or one party, but the entire Indonesian people who are consistently anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, with the workers and peasants as the basic force; that the character of the Indonesian Revolution is national-democratic; and that the perspectives of the Indonesian Revolution is Socialism and not capitalism.

(Contd.)

The Eight-Year Plan for national construction in Indonesia is based upon the above-mentioned Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, including the economic, political, social and cultural construction.

The SOBSI supports the National Construction Plan, due to the fact that this Plan is in keeping, within certain limits, with the features of the national and democratic, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal features of the Indonesian Revolution. The above-mentioned Construction Plan does not pay attention to foreign capital investments; it pays attention to land reform and agriculture; it pays attention to industrialisation and heavy industry and it places the State Sector of the economy in a leading position in the country's economy.

The SOBSI fights with all its might, together with the other democratic forces, for the implementation of the broad lines of the Construction Plan, so as to develop the Indonesian economy. The SOBSI does not close its eyes over the fact that the living conditions of the Indonesian workers are worsening, more and more as a result of the increases in prices and the rates and greater unemployment. Besides, the Indonesian workers are also confronted with several restrictions on democratic rights. That is the reason why SOBSI's support to the implementation of the Construction Plan is given without abandoning the actions for better living and for the implementation of democratic rights. Thus, to ensure successful implementation of the National Construction Plan, the SOBSI puts forward the following demands:

First: There must be a strong revolutionary national unity, with the unity of the nationalists, the religious sections and the Communists as its core.

Second: To bring the entire State apparatus in conformity with the decisions adopted by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, by wiping out reactionary elements.

Third: To promote the State Sector of the economy, to nationalise the Dutch enterprises that have already been taken over as well as those which have not yet been taken over, the implementation of the Land Reforms, with the objective of liberating the peasants from feudal production relationships and the participation of the representatives of the trade unions in the Enterprise Councils.

Fourth: By guaranteeing the democratic rights of the people and by raising the purchasing power of the workers, the peasants and the rest of the Indonesian working people, by means of preventing increases in prices and rates and by raising their earnings.

In the struggle for implementation of these demands, SOBSI educates the workers that their reasonable demands can only be won, if seriously based on the actions of the masses. Class actions are urgently needed, since it is known that the influence of imperialism and feudalism on the economic field is still there; since it is known that the State apparatus is not yet cleansed from corrupt and reactionary elements, while loyal representatives of the workers are not to be found in the Government.

Comrades,

On behalf of the National Council of SOBSI, I hope for better cooperation and an improved mutual help between the

(Contd.)

peoples of India and Indonesia, in the struggle for the liberation of Goa and the struggle for liberation of West Irian. As is known, West Irian is an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia, up till now occupied by the Dutch colonialists. To preserve its occupation of West Irian, the Dutch colonial government is conspiring with the U.S. imperialism, by strengthening its armed forces, by carrying out persecutions, large-scale massacres and burning down villages. The aggressive steps taken by the Dutch colonial government are endangering not only the Indonesian national independence but also threatening world peace, especially in South East Asia.

In conclusion, dear Comrades, I convey my heartfelt gratitude to the honage and warm welcome paid by all of you to the SOBSI delegation with such a sincere and profound feelings of international solidarity.

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the workers of India and Indonesia!

Long live the mighty struggle of the peoples of the world for national liberation, democracy, social progress and world peace!

draft

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I am very happy to have the opportunity to be with you in this 26th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. On behalf of the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions, I would like to express our deepest gratitude and convey to you our warmest fraternal greetings and through you to the working people all over India.

greetings

The present AITUC Session has a very important significance, as far as it takes place in a situation of an increasing struggle of the workers and the trade union movement in India, for improving the living and working conditions, for democratic rights and also of more vigorous battle of the people against the growing foreign monopoly capitalist exploitation.

*Sppl significance
increasing
struggles*

In such a situation, the AITUC pays a very important contribution. We know the AITUC, since its foundation more than 40 years ago, as a militant trade union organisation which fights continuously in the defence of the interests of the Indian working people, for democracy, for national independence, for social progress and for peace.

*40 years ago
militant*

Especially in the last periods, the AITUC has shown more clearly its very important contribution in the struggle for unity in the working class and trade union movement in India.

*Temp Committee
UNITY*

Based on the numerous experiences in the international trade union movement, the question of unity is a burning question of today. Mostly, every aspect of the workers' and trade unions' struggle for economic and social demands in various countries, for wage increases,

*unity burning issue
Everywhere
struggles based
on unity*

for defending and improving social security, for trade union rights, etc., are carried out on the basis of unity.

As regards the question of unity, there are many forms. By unity, it means unity of action as well as unity of organisation, realised on an unit, local/regional, national as well as international level. The exact form of unity depends on the subject matter and on the concrete conditions existing in the ranks of the trade union organisations on international, on national, on local/regional as well as on unit level. This kind of unity is very important for the achievement of greater successes in defending the workers' interests and increasing the role of the working class in political life.

Forms: Action
local, nat, intl

Depends on
subject and
concrete
conditions

Important
for success
as - means
sole in
pol. life

Famous
- 500,000 Belgians
supported by Comms of
- WFTU called for support of all

There is now a tremendous development day by day, as regards unity of action. A giant strike of 500,000 workers is going on in Belgium since more than two weeks, supported both by the Communist as well as the Socialist Party. The WFTU recently issued a statement expressing support and calling for solidarity of all workers and trade unions throughout the world. Such a kind of unity of action is a general character developing now day by day in many countries throughout the world. This unity of action is mainly based on the common interests of the workers to meet their daily needs, followed by rank and file workers of various trends and trade unions of different affiliation.

- This way
develops
everywhere

- Based on
Common interests
of various affiliah

Needs to experience
- Imp. condition to
however
small benefit
- Every small
success contributes
to bigger
scope.

According to the numerous experiences, the achievement of unity on this basis is an important success in the trade union movement, no matter how small the result may be in the benefit of the workers. But every success in the actions for unity, big or small,

creates the conditions of consolidating and widening the scope of unity.

In the further development of unity of action, the question does not only remain ~~xx~~ as how to consolidate and to widen the scope of unity, but also how to promote unity so as to increase the role of the working class in political life. So should the common programmes not only be always based on the defence and improvement of the workers' living and working conditions, but also the struggles for national independence, democracy, freedom, social progress and peace.

The problem of promoting unity ~~xxxxxx~~ is interlinked

with the problem of increasing the political consciousness and the role of the working class in political life in general. In this connection, it is of very great

importance as to how to always be in close relations with the masses and not being lost from them. For

this purpose, what is important to be done is, how to correctly handle the problems of putting reasonable economic and social demands of the rank and file workers so as to be able to mobilise them in as large a scale

as possible, how to make organisational preparations so that the action to be taken will not come to failure ~~xxxx~~

because of the activities of reactionary elements, how to make use of every success, big or small, for increasing

the workers' political consciousness, and how to cope with the situation correctly when the rank and file

workers are in a ~~surging~~ mood to take action, ~~to higher degrees.~~

Future
- Not only consolidate around us
- But unity as to how to increase in pol. life.
- So unity should be for not only defence but for Nat'l freedom Soc. prog is peace.

LINK
- Linked with increasing pol. consciousness & its role in pol. life
- For this
- close with masses not lost
- For this
- reasonable demands permitting large scale mobilization
- Good preparation
- How to use success for necessary concerns

I think that due to your rich experiences of long years of struggle, it may be nothing new in what I have just told you. But it seems to be necessary to speak on this problem, no matter it is a repetition for you or not, because of certain reasons, especially in making clearer the WFTU principles and that of its affiliated national centres. It is because that based on the experiences drawn from the international trade union movement, which movement is developing unevenly according to the particular conditions of each country, one finds aspects of activities of trade union organisations showing, on the one hand, some confusion in the difference between a working class political party and a trade union organisation, as a mass organisation, of course, based on working class principles and, on the other hand, showing tendencies of avoiding political activities and proclaim themselves their character as reformist trade union organisations or trade union organisations on the basis of class collaboration.

Not new
but repeat

Because
Confusion
distinction
- Party on W.
- TU as mass
- the have
avoiding
pol. activity

The WFTU, since its foundation, is an international federation of trade unions of a mass character, based on working class principles but a non-party organisation. Such is also the case with the AITUC and other WFTU affiliated national centres.

WFTU

This principal character of our organisation is an important basis in realising the line of unity of the working class and the trade union movement. It is very important to make clear the difference between the trade union organisations and the working class political parties. The mass of workers organised as members of trade unions have not the same level of political consciousness as the members of the working class political parties. They are more backward and in

This character
of WFTU org
is help
for unity
help to
clear diff
bet. TU org
& W-C party
- Mass of
workers in
TU movement
help

many cases following different political trends. We have not to go far beyond the capacity of the rank and file in following our trade union activities but also not to hamper their progress of struggle and keep them to the level of reformism and surrender to class collaboration, which is against the working class principles, ~~which is~~ who strives for freedom from any form of class exploitation.

There are still many obstacles in realising unity. On international level, organisational unity between the WFTU and the ICFTU is for the moment unrealisable, even on lower degrees, as the unity of actions. The ICFTU still refuses to do this and nullifies the approach of the WFTU. And just in opposition to the call of the WFTU for cooperation, it increasingly takes to splitting activities, particularly in Asia, due to its tremendous decrease in influence recently.

Because India is the centre of the ICFTU regional activities, I call your special attention in this regard so as to provide us, the WFTU and the other national centres particularly in Asia, better enquiries for the necessary steps to be taken in the future. Of course, there may be some splitting activities of a more important character in front of you but your attention to the ICFTU activities will give also an important contribution, particularly that of international character.

Though we have made an approach for an action of unity with the ICFTU, it does not mean that we keep silent with regard to its splitting actions, with its activities undermining the WFTU, and demoralising the fighting spirit of the rank and file workers. We should clearly and resolutely unmask this kind of activities of the ICFTU in front of the rank and file workers, as is also the case of other trade union organisation having the same character of activities. It is therefore

Workers
various
pol. trends
- should not
go beyond
their capacity
- also don't
hamper
struggle &
class collaboration
OBST

very important to follow with full attention the activities of the ICFTU and its ITS and analysing such activities so as to be acquainted with its real nature.

There are still a lot of other obstacles confronting our struggle for the working class unity and the unity of the trade union movement. That is why we are fighting and not begging for unity. Our unity is based on the principle of unity of the working class the world over marching forward to the same destination

- ① of being freed from all forms of class exploitation
- ② and the complete abolition of exploitation of man by man,
- ③ for the happy future of mankind.

There are still elements in the world who take position in opposite to our principles of proletarian unity. The bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries are the main enemies of the proletarian unity. They spread so-called nationalism which is completely reactionary as regards proletarian unity. But there are also bourgeoisie in colonial and newly independent countries. Their principles of nationalism is in certain cases different to that of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries. With regard to the anti-imperialist struggle, their nationalism is progressive and we can support them. At the same time, we should always resolutely fight against their attacks on our struggles defending the interests of the workers, without hampering our cooperation in our fight against imperialism. In this connection, it is clear to us that our principle of proletarian unity is not in opposition to the national interest but just meets the need of the national interest, as far as this national interest is not against the interest of the working people and is directed against imperialism. And also based on this principle was the resolution taken in the

IV World Trade Union Congress in Leipzig, supporting
the claim of the Indian Government on Goa.

We are now living in a period showing the tremendous growing of the force and the international influence of the world socialist system, the active process of sinking of the colonial system under the blows of the national liberation movement, the sharpening of the class struggle in the capitalist world, the thoroughly sinking and deterioration of the capitalist world system. In the world arena, the balance of forces is in favour of the forces of socialism as ~~xxxx~~ against that of imperialism, and in favour of the forces of peace as against that of war.

In this period, our contribution to international activities attracts more attention. Under these conditions, the preservation and consolidation of peace remains a fundamental aim of struggle of the international trade union movement. I may recall that that is why the programme adopted in the last 11th Session of the WFTU General Council in Peking laid down the following general lines of our common action:

- For the relaxation of international tension and peaceful co-existence;
- For universal and complete disarmament;
- For the elimination of military bases on foreign soil;
- For cessation of nuclear tests and a ban on nuclear arms;
- For national liberation and independence of the peoples;
- For democracy;
- Against the rebirth of German militarism and for its liquidation by the signing of a peace treaty with the two German States; for the transformation of West Berlin into a free, demilitarised city;
- Against the rebirth of Japanese militarism and for the abrogation of the Japanese-U.S. Military Treaty.

As is also stated in the resolution of the WFTU General Council, there is a close relation between the struggle for peace and the anti-colonial struggle for national independence. The success of anti-colonial struggle for national independence which roots out colonialism as a source of war, is of very great significance. We therefore support without reservation all the struggles of the peoples against colonialism, for national independence, as part and parcel of the struggle of the peoples for peace. In this connection, we should pay attention and be always vigilant to the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialism playing the role of neo-colonialism. The situation in Congo gives the proof of how the U.S. imperialists step up their manoeuvres as neo-colonialists under the cloak of the UNO, to gain power in this country and putting aside the old Belgian colonialists. We should actively unmask this kind of manoeuvre in front of the people so as not to expel the old colonialists and let in new ones, especially America.

Another international task which I draw your attention is how to take initiative on your own in preparing for the forthcoming Vth World Trade Union Congress, taking place at the end of this year. That is, how to make it popular among the masses, how to take advantage of the preparatory work for strengthening and widening unity for the success of the Congress.

That is all what I would like to say here and I am concluding with the hope for every success of this AITUC Session. I am convinced that the time is with us, workers and all oppressed peoples. Unity within our reach, unity in the trade union movement and the working class movement as a whole, with the forces of the socialist

camp as its bulwark, give us the sure guarantee for our victorious struggle in defence of the workers' interests, for democracy, freedom, social progress and peace.

Long live the AITUC and the Indian working class unity!

Long Live the unity of the working class throughout the world!

Long live democracy, freedom, social progress and peace!

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Besides, I would like also, on behalf of the WFTU, to present here to the AITUC a simple and modest gift as a living proof of international working class solidarity.

26th Session of the AITUC

.....
Coimbatore

.....
January 5-12, 1961
.....

Speech by

COMRADE ANDREI I. SCHEVCHENKO,

Secretary,
All Union Central Council of Trade Unions,
USSR

Dear Friends and Comrades,

Allow me, on behalf of the Central Council of Soviet trade unions and the factory and office workers of the Soviet Union, to extend to the participants of the 26th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress our most sincere fraternal greetings and wish every success in your activities for the benefit of the Indian working people.

The Soviet trade unions, all industrial and office workers of our country pay high tribute to the noble activities of the All-India Trade Union Congress aimed at raising the working people's standard of living, at consolidating the independence of your country, at strengthening fraternal ties with the trade unions of different countries in the interests of peace and social progress. We, Soviet people, greatly appreciate the big contribution which the All-India Trade Union Congress is making to fostering the friendship between the working people of India and the Soviet Union.

The friendship and cooperation between the peoples of our countries have in recent years grown stronger and broader, they have become an important factor in the struggle for a stable peace in Asia and the whole world.

The Soviet people are engaged in peaceful creative work to implement the majestic programme for the all-out building of communism in our country which was mapped out by the historic 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This programme is based on the seven-year plan for the economic development of the USSR in 1959-1965; its implementation will enable the Soviet people to achieve further considerable economic progress, and raise the material and cultural standards of the population. Industrial output under the seven-year plan will increase by more than 80 per cent and the real wages of the working people will go up by more than 40 per cent.

The past two years, during which the Soviet people have worked on the seven-year plan, show that this majestic plan will be fulfilled ahead of time and greatly exceeded. During 1960 alone, the steel production increased in our country by 5 million tons thus making the total figure of steel output about 65 million tons per year.

The output of electric power went up by nearly 30 billion kilowatts having reached the annual figure of about 295 billion kilowatts.

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During the first two years of the Seven Year Plan, the industrial output in our country has increased by 23 per cent instead of 17 per cent as it was scheduled.

The output of consumer goods in 1960 showed an increase of 8 per cent.

As a result of the heroic efforts of the Soviet people, the progress of the economy, culture, science and engineering is very rapid, and the standard of living is steadfastly rising.

In accordance with the programme for raising the people's standard of living, all industrial and office workers have now been switched over to the shorter 7 and 6 hour working day. And average wages, far from decreasing, have gone up - from 13 to 26 per cent in the different industries of our economy.

In 1964, we shall begin the transition to the 6 and 5 hour working day, or 35-30 hour working week. And wages will go up further.

A considerable contribution to raising living standards was made by the recent decision of our parliament - the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to abolish the taxation of industrial and office workers. This means that the wages of millions of working people will go up by practically the entire sum of taxes. No such example can be found in the entire history of capitalist society. Only when socialism has triumphed can a State think of abolishing taxation.

The Soviet people enjoy the benefits of free medical aid, free education and professional training, and many other benefits which are paid for by the State. Social insurance of industrial and office workers in our country is also paid for by the State without any deductions from wages. The Social Insurance Fund is run by the trade unions. They use it for benefits on temporary disablement, maternity benefits, for pensions, for carrying out educational and health work, for the organisation of the summer camps for children, etc. Every year, more than four million workers are sent to the sanatoria and rest houses and more than 3.5 million boys and girls are going to the summer pioneer camps. The majority of the passes to sanatoria and rest houses is given free of charge and some at the expense of only 30 per cent of the total cost.

The social insurance fund and State expenses on pensions, stipends to students, free education, free medical services and other benefits provided to the working people are increasing year by year. In 1960, the State spent for these purposes about 250 billion roubles or about one-third of the total budget of the country.

Very great attention is paid to housing construction, which is also at the expense of the State. In the years of the Seven-Year Plan, 15 million flats will be built in the cities, and about 7 million homes in rural areas. The housing programme is being accomplished successfully. In the first two years of the Seven Year Plan, about 3.5 million flats were built already in the towns and workers' settlements, and more than one million new homes in rural areas.

The trade unions have always played and play today an important part in all the glorious deeds of the working class of the USSR. At all stages of socialist construction, the trade unions conducted and are conducting a broad organisational and educational work among the working people.

The trade unions take an active part in the economic and cultural life of the country. No law, no decision of the legislative bodies in the country concerning the working and living conditions of the Soviet people can be adopted without the trade unions.

The Soviet trade unions are constantly concerned with the needs of the working people, with bettering their life, their housing conditions, their rest and leisure, medical aid and carrying out a big cultural-educational work.

The economic and cultural progress of the one-time backward national outlying areas of tsarist Russia, whose fate in tsarist times resembled that of colonies, is immense. Only as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution, did the peoples of the Transcaucasus, Kazakhstan and Central Asia win national independence, and with the help of the other peoples of the Soviet Union they made rapid economic and cultural strides.

The Soviet Union gladly shares with all peoples its experience in economic and cultural development, in solving the national problem. The working people of our country regard it to be their international duty to support the struggle of the economically under-developed countries and colonies against colonialism, for the right to solve for themselves the questions of their country's development in the interests of peace and social progress. We are linked with the people of these countries by a mutual desire for peace, by a common wish to strengthen friendship and cooperation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Like sincere friends, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are widely developing their cooperation with the countries of the East, helping them to advance their national economy, their culture, to train national intellectuals.

Friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union develop and strengthen in the interests of the two countries as well as for the benefit of all other peoples of the world.

The Soviet working people are greatly pleased that the ties between the trade unions of our countries are growing wider and stronger. All the activities of the Soviet trade unions on the world arena are directed at expanding ties with trade unions of other countries, at strengthening the unity and fraternal solidarity of the working class in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. In 1960, we were pleased to welcome in the USSR, the representatives of the AITUC who attended the May Day celebrations, the delegation of the National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India and some leaders of Indian trade unions. On our part, we were also glad to accept the invitation of the leadership of the All-India Trade Union Congress to come to your wonderful country and take part in the work of the 26th Congress of the AITUC as a fraternal delegation.

We are deeply convinced that these friendly relations between the Indian and Soviet trade unions will develop and strengthen, they will become an important factor in the people's struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

As a result of the victorious national-liberation movement of the peoples of the East, almost all of Asia and two-thirds of Africa, one-time colonies and semi-colonies, have won their freedom. The new States of the East are exercising ever greater influence on the course of historical development,

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they are making a major contribution to the common struggle for peace and friendship among peoples, for the triumph of the principles of peaceful co-existence in relations between States. The further development of the national-liberation struggle enhances still more the role of these countries in the struggle for a universal and stable peace, for the complete abolition of the hated colonial system.

The historic proposals of the leader of the Soviet delegation to the 15th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, on the complete and total abolition of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations correspond wholly to the interests of all of mankind, which does not want to tolerate any longer the disgrace, barbarism and savagery of colonialism. The wide support given to the Soviet proposals by the Governments of different countries, India included, their wholehearted approval by progressive-minded people the world over and the UNO decision on colonial question illustrate strikingly that the task of the complete eradication of the hated colonialist system is a realistic task which must be accomplished right now, without any delay.

The abolition of colonialism would open the way to a radical improvement in the life of millions of people, to further economic and cultural progress of the world, to progress and prosperity for all of mankind.

The imperialist reaction led by its most aggressive unit, the United States ruling circles, seek to prevent by every means the triumph of the great principles of peaceful coexistence. The imperialists' actions are founded on their wish to delay historical development, to extend the sphere of imperialist domination by means of aggression against the freedom-loving peoples.

But times have changed. The imperialists are having to retreat and manoeuvre more and more often, to go back in their tracks. In our times, the balance of forces on the world arena has changed considerably. The struggle for peace is now being waged by the countries united in the mighty socialist camp, by many countries of Asia and Africa that have thrown off the colonial yoke. Peace is being defended by the international trade union movement, by the working class - the most progressive and organised class of our times - organised into trade unions.

The Soviet working people and their trade unions will continue to work steadfastly for peace and disarmament, to support the peoples who have thrown off the political rule of the colonialists in their struggle for social progress and prosperity.

In the present circumstances, the question of disarmament assumes special significance. The head of the Soviet Government, Nikita Khrushchev pointed out: "All the peoples, irrespective of the social system of their country, want peace, and the Soviet Government, in the interests of ensuring peace, is sparing no effort in the struggle to achieve agreement on disarmament and for the practical implementation of disarmament. This is essential in order that the peoples could live peacefully and solve all their domestic State problems as they themselves wish, without interference in their domestic affairs from other countries, with the complete recognition of the sovereignty and inviolability of all States."

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The Soviet trade unions wholeheartedly support the consistent peaceful policy of the Government of our country. We believe that the policy of peaceful coexistence is the only correct policy. The international working class and its trade union organisations must work more actively for the establishment and implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between States, for general and total disarmament, as this is the decisive factor for success in their struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Dear Comrades,

I should like to thank the leadership of the All-India Trade Union Congress for inviting a delegation from the Central Council of Soviet trade unions to attend this Congress, for the cordial and friendly welcome given to us by the working people of your country. I wish all of you good health, happiness and great success in your activities for the benefit of the working people.

In conclusion allow me to read the message of greetings from the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions to the 26th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

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TO THE 26TH SESSION OF THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

On behalf of the industrial and office workers of the Soviet Union, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions extends its heartfelt and fraternal greetings to the participants of the 26th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress and through them to all the working people of India.

The Indian trade union movement, in the front ranks of which is the militant organisation of the Indian working class, the All-India Trade Union Congress, has in a short historical period developed into an immense force, which plays an important part both in the life of the country and in the international trade union movement. The whole world knows of the struggle waged by the All-India Trade Union Congress for the interests of the Indian working people, for consolidating the independence of their country, for peace the world over. The All-India Trade Union Congress takes an active part in the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions, it is developing fraternal ties with the trade unions of different countries, steadfastly seeks to unite all forces of the world trade union movement in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The unity of the working class is the decisive factor to achieve success in this struggle, and particularly, for ensuring a stable and lasting peace.

The Soviet trade unions which are constantly working for peaceful coexistence, for relaxation of world tension, against militarism and revanchism, for cooperation and friendship among nations, firmly believe that the unflagging and united efforts of all peace-loving forces can secure peace and deal a decisive blow to the policy of war.

The Soviet working people sincerely rejoice at the achievements of the Indian people in building up their peaceful and independent country, and they wholeheartedly share the Indian working people's desire to strengthen peace and friendship among nations.

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The relations between the peoples of our two countries are marked with sincere friendship and fraternal cooperation in the economic and cultural field. This cooperation promotes the development of India's national economy and culture, consolidates her sovereignty and independence.

Now, when the American imperialists and their accomplices seek by every means to delay the historical process of the steadfast development of the national-liberation movement, the people's struggle for peace and social progress, when they provoke intrigues against the peace-loving nations, the cooperation between the peoples of the USSR and India, between the peoples of all countries, assumes ever greater significance.

The All Union Central Council of Trade Unions wishes the All-India Trade Union Congress further great achievements in its noble activities in the interests of the Indian working people, in strengthening the solidarity of the labour and trade union movement, in the struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace and friendship of nations.

Long live the unbreakable fraternal friendship between the working people of India and the Soviet Union!

Long live the unity of the working people of all countries in the struggle for peace and social progress!

Long live the All-India Trade Union Congress!

ALL-UNION CENTRAL COUNCIL
OF TRADE UNIONS

January 5, 1961

26th Session of the AITUC

.....
Coimbatore

.....
January 1961

Speech of

COMRADE Z. DAGWA,
Vice President of the
Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions

Dear Friends,

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to extend brotherly and warm greetings of the working people and the trade unions of the Mongolian People's Republic to the 26th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress and through this Session to the glorious Indian working class, and also to express our heartfelt thanks to Comrade S.A.Dange, General Secretary of the AITUC, for the kind invitation extended to the representatives from Mongolia enabling us to participate in this great gathering today.

I am equally happy to convey our deep thanks and appreciation to the working people of Coimbatore and the Chairman of the Reception Committee as well as to all those who have made this wonderful preparation for this conference and welcomed us to your glorious city.

The Mongolian trade unions always have had fraternal feelings towards the AITUC and have watched with admiration the heroic struggles waged by this militant organisation for the good of the toiling workers in this country and rejoiced at its success and achievements. Today, we feel happier still to attend this conference for the first time, as representatives of the Mongolian trade unions and be in your midst, the leaders and members of the militant trade unions of the AITUC. It is, I believe, will no doubt be of immense help to the further strengthening of the brotherly relations between the working peoples of our respective countries.

We have gone through and heard with attention the reports, including that of Comrade S.A.Dange, on the activities of the AITUC. We hope your deliberations and the decisions taken at this session will help further strengthen the struggle for trade union unity, for improving the working and living conditions of the Indian workers and for peace.

Since its inception in 1920 at the largest industrial city of Bombay, during these forty years, the All-India Trade Union Congress has made great advance in uniting and organising the forces of the working class in this sub-continent, to defend the interests and rights of the toiling workers and fought for the national independence of India.

Thanks to the heroic struggles for the liberation of the country from the yoke of foreign imperialists and for improving the standards of living of the working class, the AITUC has become a mighty and militant organisation, fighting for the interests of the toiling masses.

The AITUC, we know well, is playing an important part in the national and international trade union movements. It is an active member of the one hundred and one million strong World Federation of Trade Unions and firmly supports the progressive activities of the WFTU.

The Mongolian Trade Unions, being a member of this

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lofty world organisation - the WFTU, the centre of the coordination of the international trade union movement, - are in full support of the noble activities of the AITUC and hope that the AITUC will achieve greater successes in the struggle for strengthening unity of the working people in this country and for the defence of their interests.

Today, under the circumstances of the increasing aggressive activities of the imperialists threatening the fate of humanity, the Mongolian trade unions actively favour the further cooperation among our sister trade unions. The Mongolian working people and their trade unions, together with all the progressive forces throughout the world, strongly condemn the shameful acts of the colonialists and imperialists in Algeria and in interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo, Laos and other countries and the attempts to bring their freedom and independence to naught.

Dear Friends, - May I take this pleasant opportunity of being present at your Session here, to say a few words about my country and about our working class and its trade unions at large? I think this would help, at least to some extent, in knowing something of each other's activities in this particular field.

Forty years back, in 1921, there was a people's revolution in Mongolia, which put an end to the internal oppressive forces and drove out the foreign colonialists and, thus, freedom and independence were brought to our country.

As a result of this Revolution, drastic changes took place in Mongolia. New branches of socialist industry and agriculture, equipped with modern techniques have come into existence and a new working class was born. Trade unions were organised. As you know, the conditions in which trade unions were organised and grew in our country were naturally different. And we work and labour in different conditions too.

At present, over 90% of the industrial and office workers are organised in trade unions. The trade union organisations are a mighty factor in the life and the development programme of the whole nation.

Trade unions in our country are always in support of the government policy and stand for carrying out every steps taken by it, because our government policy is aimed at raising the living and working conditions as best as possible.

Owing to the joint efforts of the working class and the people of Mongolia, the feudal backwardness in which we lived 40 years ago was done away with within a short historical period. Today we are building socialism, having escaped the capitalistic stage of development. We can say that socialism is making good progress in every field of life of the country.

Various branches of national industry, modern means of transport and communications are advancing today in our country. Now, 50% of the gross national product is output from industry alone. It may be mentioned that the active participation of the trade unions in these fields was an important factor in effecting the rapid transformation.

As far as agriculture is concerned, veterinary science, mechanised farming and modern agricultural techniques are now in common use in our country as against the nomadic animal husbandry which predominated formerly. The settlement of the nomadic rural population has started. The herdsmen

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are entirely different today. Until recently, in our agriculture, private ownership predominated but it has now been turned into big collective farms or cooperatives formed on a voluntary basis. In view of this change, in the field of animal husbandry, great progress has been made and the animal wealth of the country has increased. Now there are 27.9 heads of animal per capita in our country. Also the area under grain crops have been greatly expanded.

Thanks to 40 years of the tireless labour and efforts of our people, Mongolia has become an agrarian and industrial country.

There was a cultural revolution too and illiteracy among the adult population in the country was eliminated. Elementary and middle schools, specialised colleges and higher educational institutions were set up everywhere. Seven-year education and four-year schooling system has been introduced in towns and in villages respectively. Free education is provided to all. The higher educational establishments in our country turn out specialists for various branches of the national economy and culture. At present 137.6 people out of every 1,000 are able to study at one or another educational institution in Mongolia.

National arts, literature and science have advanced rapidly for the good of the people.

Every year witnesses an increase and advance in the well-being of the people. And public health service is organised well and medical science is in progress. There is hardly any corner or part in the country where no hospital or dispensary is functioning in Mongolia today. Medical service is free to all, and at present, there is one doctor for every 1,000 people of the population.

I must say that the disinterested and sincere assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was and is an important factor in the realization of these achievements attained by our country. With the further increased assistance from our friends, the Mongolian people are determined to advance their country in the direction of further development and prosperity. In the next five years, it has been stipulated that the advance in agriculture and industry should be at a tempo of rapid development, with a view to raise industrial output twice and the area under grain crops by three times. As a result, Mongolia will make great advances as an industrial and agrarian country.

The Mongolian trade unions organise the working people for the progress and advance of the nation and educate them in the spirit of high productivity and are responsible for further raising of the living standards and the cultural level of the people and in defence of their interests.

The trade unions in our country take an active part in the economic planning, and in introducing new production methods in industry and elsewhere. They participate in everything that might affect the interests of the workers, either directly or indirectly, such as fixation of working hours, wage level, or securing better living and working conditions, leave facilities, etc. Without the consent of the trade unions, no overtime work or work during holidays is allowed.

In our country, the duration of working hours in light or food industries is limited to 8 hours. Special food and clothing, and shorter working day of 7 hours, are provided

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for the workers engaged in hard labour. Duration of the working time on the days before public holidays is limited to 6 hours. Social insurance is run by the trade unions in the country. Industrial and office workers are granted 14 to 26 days of paid leave every year. There is 80% discount in the cost of having rest at State-owned sanatoria or rest homes provided for the industrial and office workers. In case of maternity, three months' leave before and after the delivery is granted, with wages paid in full. And, in the case of old age or disablement, 100% of wages are paid to industrial and office workers.

The Mongolian trade unions, in cooperation with the All-India Trade Union Congress and other sister organisations, affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions have tirelessly fought for international unity of workers, for peace throughout the world and against imperialism and the colonial yoke.

Our trade unions consider it essential to further strengthen the unity and solidarity of the workers the world over, for achieving universal disarmament, for a lasting peace and for peaceful coexistence, and in support of national independence movements, for protecting the interests of the working people and their trade unions.

Dear friends and comrades! In conclusion, I take the liberty, on behalf of the Mongolian trade unions to wish the All India Trade Union Congress every success in their work in defence of the interests of the glorious working people of your country and for peace throughout the world, and for the activities aimed at insuring the solidarity of international trade union movement.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of Mongolia and India!

Long live the brotherly cooperation between the trade unions of India and Mongolia!

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26th Session of the AITUC

.....
Coimbatore

.....
January 1961

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S p e e c h o f

COMRADE NJONO,
President, National Council,
All-Indonesia Trade Union Centre (SOBSI)

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FOR AN UNBREAKABLE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
THE INDIAN AND INDONESIAN WORKERS

Dear Comrades,

I consider it a great honour in getting this excellent opportunity to represent the SOBSI for attending this 26th Session of the AITUC in Coimbatore. On behalf of the National Council of SOBSI and on behalf of the more than 2.7 million Indonesian workers affiliated to SOBSI, I anxiously hope that tremendous successes will be obtained by this Session.

Through you, dear comrades, I convey the most fraternal greetings of the Indonesian workers to the working people of India. Everything has been and will be done by us, in the past as well as in the future, to strengthen our international friendship. And it is only the imperialists and the reactionaries who wish to thwart the unbreakable solidarity between the Indian and Indonesian workers. But since our solidarity is based on a strong basis, i.e., the spirit of proletarian internationalism, it is not possible to smash it down. Besides, many factors are there also which give us the impetus and inspiration for further strengthening of our common battle.

During past several ages, we had to face the same unbearable living as a result of colonial exploitation. The Indian people were exploited by the British imperialists while the Indonesians were pressed under the heel of Dutch imperialism. And now, since our respective countries have won their independence and sovereignty, we are now faced with the same problems, viz., the construction of a democratic national society, fully liberated from imperialism and from the remnants of feudalism, as a base for the construction of a socialist society in the future.

In consolidating our respective national independence, we have to face our most dangerous common enemy, the U.S. imperialism, dragging the newly-independent countries into its military blocs and put under its economic domination.

But the world has already changed its face. We have not only the most dangerous enemies of mankind, but we have also the most reliable friends and comrades-in-arms of our own. These comrades-in-arms are the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union.

Socialism has already outstripped imperialism and this fact strengthens once more our conviction that the hour has struck to counter the forces of the die-hard imperialists.

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~~Dear Comrades,~~

To maintain the colonial system, which is facing its absolute downfall, chaos has been brought about by the U.S. warmongers in Laos, Algeria, Congo and other countries. Further, by threatening the national independence of Cuba, and at the same time, by launching armed race, which is of great danger for our world peace.

Under the banner of the World Federation of Trade Unions, we fulfil noble tasks, with the strengthening of international solidarity, with the struggle of oppressed nations for national independence and the broadening of the international front against colonialism and for peace.

To maintain world peace, the workers in India and Indonesia, and together with us the workers and the peoples of the whole world, fully support the proposals of the Soviet Government for liquidating colonialism and for general and complete disarmament.

In this connection, I am of the opinion that AITUC and SOBSI are able to take common steps in this direction, with the purpose that Prime Minister Pandit Nehru of the Republic of India and President Soekarno of the Republic of Indonesia - in conformity with the principles of the neutral foreign policy in our respective countries - to take an important role in obtaining an international agreement on disarmament, at least in prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and in establishing Atom-Free Zones.

~~Dear Comrades,~~

The present struggle of the AITUC is, as seen from the General Report of this Session, to make, among others, the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan beneficial for the development of the national economy, and in improving the standard of living of the Indian working people. Just the same is done by the workers in Indonesia.

The Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, i.e., the highest Council in the Republic of Indonesia, in its first session on November 10 to December 7, 1960, unanimously adopted two most important decisions, which will have their great influence on the political developments in Indonesia. The first of these two decisions was the decision on the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, adopting the Broad Lines of State Policy. The second decision was on the Eight Year Plan for national construction.

In the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, as the broad lines of State policy, is explained that the basic enemies of the Indonesian Revolution are imperialism and feudalism, that the main tasks of the Indonesian Revolution is not to establish the political power of one class, one group or one party, but to establish the political power of the entire people, a "Gotong-Royong" (mutual help) power to oppose autocracy or dictatorship, both military and personal dictatorship; that the moving force of the Indonesian Revolution is not one class, one group or one party, but the entire Indonesian people who are consistently anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, with the workers and peasants as the basic force; that the character of the Indonesian Revolution is national-democratic; and that the perspectives of the Indonesian Revolution is Socialism and not capitalism.

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The Eight-Year Plan for national construction in Indonesia is based upon the above-mentioned Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, including the economic, political, social and cultural construction.

The SOBSI supports the National Construction Plan, due to the fact that this Plan is in keeping, within certain limits, with the features of the national and democratic, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal features of the Indonesian Revolution. The above-mentioned Construction Plan does not pay attention to foreign capital investments; it pays attention to land reform and agriculture; it pays attention to industrialisation and heavy industry and it places the State Sector of the economy in a leading position in the country's economy.

The SOBSI fights with all its might, together with the other democratic forces, for the implementation of the broad lines of the Construction Plan, so as to develop the Indonesian economy. The SOBSI does not close its eyes over the fact that the living conditions of the Indonesian workers are worsening, more and more as a result of the increases in prices and the rates and greater unemployment. Besides, the Indonesian workers are also confronted with several restrictions on democratic rights. That is the reason why SOBSI's support to the implementation of the Construction Plan is given without abandoning the actions for better living and for the implementation of democratic rights. Thus, to ensure successful implementation of the National Construction Plan, the SOBSI puts forward the following demands:

First: There must be a strong revolutionary national unity, with the unity of the nationalists, the religious sections and the Communists as its core.

Second: To bring the entire State apparatus in conformity with the decisions adopted by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly, by wiping out reactionary elements.

Third: To promote the State Sector of the economy, to nationalise the Dutch enterprises that have already been taken over as well as those which have not yet been taken over, the implementation of the Land Reforms, with the objective of liberating the peasants from feudal production relationships and the participation of the representatives of the trade unions in the Enterprise Councils.

Fourth: By guaranteeing the democratic rights of the people and by raising the purchasing power of the workers, the peasants and the rest of the Indonesian working people, by means of preventing increases in prices and rates and by raising their earnings.

In the struggle for implementation of these demands, SOBSI educates the workers that their reasonable demands can only be won, if seriously based on the actions of the masses. Class actions are urgently needed, since it is known that the influence of imperialism and feudalism on the economic field is still there; since it is known that the State apparatus is not yet cleansed from corrupt and reactionary elements, while loyal representatives of the workers are not to be found in the Government.

Comrades,

On behalf of the National Council of SOBSI, I hope for better cooperation and an improved mutual help between the

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peoples of India and Indonesia, in the struggle for the liberation of Goa and the struggle for liberation of West Irian. As is known, West Irian is an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia, up till now occupied by the Dutch colonialists. To preserve its occupation of West Irian, the Dutch colonial government is conspiring with the U.S. imperialism, by strengthening its armed forces, by carrying out persecutions, large-scale massacres and burning down villages. The aggressive steps taken by the Dutch colonial government are endangering not only the Indonesian national independence but also threatening world peace, especially in South East Asia.

In conclusion, dear Comrades, I convey my heartfelt gratitude to the honage and warm welcome paid by all of you to the SOBSI delegation with such a sincere and profound feelings of international solidarity.

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the workers of India and Indonesia!

Long live the mighty struggle of the peoples of the world for national liberation, democracy, social progress and world peace!

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING ON 9.7.06

- Agenda
- 1) WA
 - 2) WA
 - 3) WA

4. Gedharaj
5. Prabh
6. Bank Singh Bar
7. C. P. Singh - CP. Bar
8. C. SRIVANAN - CP. Bar
9. S. N. Thakur - Delhi
10. N. Shivanna - Bhel
11. Aruni bharthi - Kan
12. T. R. S. MAN. - Tamilnadu - CRSP
13. G. M. MURTHI - " - Delhi
14. C. R. Borkshi - Mattuzing - U.
15. P. S. Permar, Rajasthan
16. M. N. DESHPKAR - M. Deindus
17. H. V. Anantha Subbarao - Hydrabad
18. P. J. CHANDRA SEKHARAO - Hydrabad
19. विश्वनाथ - Hydrabad
20. Debanath - West Bengal - New
21. R. C. Senph. - W. Bengal - CRSP
22. M. M. Gope - Delhi - CRSP
23. M. Nara Singh - Manipur - None
24. K. Subbarayan, MP - Tamilnadu - CP. Bar
25. S. N. SHARMA - DELHI - Delhi
26. Jyoti Pradhin - W. Bengal - B. Chini
27. S. V. Damle - Maharashtra - Delhi
28. N. Khobrapada - G. G. - Chattisgarh
29. J. P. Khare - Delhi - Delhi
30. L. S. Chandra - Delhi - Delhi

31. Vijay Sheumare. Gujarat SD
- 32 D.K. Chhangam Rajasthan UOP
- 33 Kavita Vyas Rajasthan UOP
- 34 G. Nawab BIHAR UOP
- 35 HARIDWARSINGH M.P. HU
- 36 Rosh Singh Chakka M.P. UOP
- 37 Roshni Shyam Tewari U.P. UOP
- 38 S.P. Rama U.P. UOP
- 39 Arvind Rajgurooj U.P. UOP
- 40 B.V. Vijayalakshmi A.P. UOP
- 41 Jayz Dasgupta W.P. UOP
- 42 Mamata Swain Orissa UOP
- 43 UOP UOP
- 44 M. Radhakrishnan Nair Kerala UOP
- 45 M.L. Yadav Rajasthan UOP
- 46 Kanan Rajendran Kerala UOP

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27-3-96

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SHRI GOPESHWAR GENERAL SECRETARY
INTUC
NEWDELHI

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REPRESENTATIVE UNION INTUC STARTED AGITATION AGAINST BALCO
MANAGEMENT ON WAGE REVISION ~~2~~ FROM APRIL 94 AND 69 OTHER POINTS BY
WAY OF DAILY DHARNA PRADARSHAN AND SLOGANS AND STARTING OF RELAY
HUNDER STRIKE FROM ELEVENTH MARCH 96 STOP ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

BE OBSERVED SOON STOP SITUATION TENSE STOP IMMEDIATE ACTION BEING

SOLICITED STOP=

GENERAL SECRETARY INTUC BALCO KORBA MP=

S p e e c h

b y

COMRADE HANKE,
Secretary,
Central Council of Polish Trade Unions

Dear Comrades, Friends and Delegates,

Permit me to express the feelings of the entire Polish working class and to convey, on behalf of the Central Council of Trade Unions, to you and to all the members of the great militant trade union organisation of the Indian working class - the AITUC - and to all the working people of your country, most cordial, fraternal greetings and the best wishes for success in your struggle for the consolidation of national sovereignty and the development of your beautiful great fatherland, India.

The Polish working class is perfectly well aware of the difficult road, full of self-sacrifices which your people covered, a people with an old culture and rich historical traditions, of struggle against the foreign rule.

The Polish trade unionists want to express their feelings of sincere friendship and, at the same time, their deep respect for your militant trade union organisation which, being a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions, serves indefatigably the cause of the consolidation of unity of the international trade union movement.

We fully appreciate the great merits of your trade union organisation and of the entire Indian working class and their contribution to the struggle of all the progressive forces of the Indian nation, which adhere to the principle of fighting for an easing of international tension, for peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, who are in favour of the complete and universal disarmament, the preservation of peace, who actively oppose the cold war, colonialism and imperialism.

Dear Comrades,

Among the many important problems on which concentrates the attention of the working people in our country and throughout the world, that of lasting peace has been given priority. Today, the very existence and the future of mankind depends on peace. The Polish people suffered the most terrible losses during the last war, started by the Nazi invaders. More than six million human beings lost their lives in our country during this war. Thirtyeight per cent of the durable national property was destroyed. That is why our people are fully justified in watching with uneasiness the danger inherent already today in the reborn forces of aggressive militarism in West Germany, equipped with modern destructive weapons supplied by the Western Powers belonging to NATO. Five years ago, the Paris Treaty limited this army to the conventional weapons only; today rockets and all sorts of guided missiles are being produced in the German Federal Republic. Voices are

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raised more and more frequently about the transformation of NATO Army detachments into a so-called "fourth atom power". So you can see how meaningless the assurances of the peaceful intentions of the West German Government are and why our people are convinced that it is their duty to arouse the vigilance of the entire world in regard to this serious danger to peace, namely the West German militarism.

Our people, our working class and with them, the whole progressive public opinion of the world, most determinedly protest against the acts of lawlessness committed by abusing the United Nations flag by the defenders of the colonial regime in Congo. With indignation, we condemn the new adventurous armed acts in Laos, committed by the right-wing rebels, enjoying the armed help of the USA. The Polish working class most determinedly condemns colonialism in its classical, today already obsolete, form, as well as all types of neo-colonialism, combining the economic dependence of economically less developed countries with political dictation. We are of the same opinion as stated by Comrade Dange in his report that the times of colonialism are gone, once and for ever and that there can today no longer be any nation on earth deprived of the right of being a sovereign State.

Disarmament and a guarantee for lasting peace is the guiding line for all the countries of the powerful camp of socialism. This policy encounters the full support of all the progressive forces in the world. The Indian people also make a great contribution to the cause of peace and cooperation among nations and the attitude adopted by India in regard to many key problems of international policy gained recognition throughout the world and strengthened its authority among the peoples of the Asian continent.

Our people who are building socialism, our working class and its trade unions consider the struggle for the consolidation of peace as the most important task in their efforts to bring about the development of the productive forces and to raise the economic potential of the country. This is, after all, in the conditions of our system, free from exploitation, the only road to raise the standard of living of the community and thereby, a road leading to the deepening of the superiority of the forces of peace over the imperialist forces of war. In this peaceful competition between two different systems participate all socialist countries, including Poland, a country which, after having thrown off the yoke of exploitation of native and foreign capitalists, has entered the road of a rapid all-round development. During the twenty years of the rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords after the first world war, the production of the main industrial articles in Poland was unable to surpass the level of 1913. Today, after 15 years of the rule of the people's power, the per capita industrial production in Poland has increased eight times. This was possible due to the fact that today the working people is the master in its country. The people are working for their benefit, and this means that everyone in Poland has work and earns his bread, and also has free access to education. Side by side with the growth of production, improvement of the living conditions can also be noticed from year to year. During the last five years, real wages of workers increased by 28-29 per cent. The rapid rise in the standard of living is possible as a result of the rapid increase in the national income whose dynamic force can be best illustrated by the way it grew during the last ten years. If we accept the 1949 level of the

national income as 100, then it increased by 1959 to 226. This growth bases itself on the tremendous development of the fundamental branches of our economy. During the current year, our mining industry passed 100 million tons in the extraction of hard coal annually, while the highest coal output before the war amounted to 38 million tons. We are at present at the threshold of a new Five Year Plan which will be a plan of the fundamental technical alteration of our economy, the expansion of our raw material base and the further increase in the well-being of the population. Having in mind our demographic situation, we provide in our Plan, the proper conditions for our youth entering the labour market, by creating approximately 800,000 new work-places during the coming Five Year Plan. These are no easy problems but we are solving them successfully, because the entire working class, every working person, is personally interested in the best possible economic results of the establishment in which they work. The socialist countries not only develop their own economy at a rapid rate, but they also grant, to a much larger extent, disinterested help to less developed countries, to raise themselves from backwardness and to liberate themselves from economic dependence from foreign monopolistic capital. The cooperation between socialist countries and all other countries regardless of their political and social structure, including the cooperation between Poland and India, is proof of the economic and political relations of a new type which is taking shape, relations to which no strings are attached. I can assure you, Comrades, that our working class ardently desires a further development of this cooperation for the mutual advantage of our peoples. Love of peace, the joint efforts to consolidate the unity of the working people throughout the world, to bring about progress throughout the world, the deep consciousness of international solidarity - this is the firm foundation on which our cooperation is based.

Dear Comrades - Delegates,

Please receive our assurance that just as until now, we shall continue to watch your daily work and your achievements with cordial feelings of friendship and fraternal solidarity on the part of the working people of People's Poland. We wish you, Comrades, that the deliberations of your conference may be most fruitful and from all our heart, we wish you new successes in your struggle and hard work for the benefit of the working class of India, of the people of India, for the victory of peace throughout the world.

26TH SESSION OF THE AITUC

(Coimbatore, January 1961)

**SUPPLEMENTARY
REPORTS**



**ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS
4, Ashok Road, New Delhi.**

S U P P L E M E N T A R Y R E P O R T

I. i n d u s t r i a l
r e p o r t s

- i) On Metal and Engineering
- ii) Jute
- iii) Coal Mining
- iv) Sugar
- v) Beedi and Tobacco

II. Industrial Disputes Act - A review of its working

III. A Note on Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme

IV. A Note on Productivity

V. A Short Note on Workers' Education

VI. S t a t i s t i c s:

- i) Average Annual Earnings of Factory Workers
- ii) Working Class Consumer Price Index Numbers for different centres
- iii) Industrial Disputes
- iv) Index of Real Earnings of Factory Workers
- v) All-India Consumer Price Index Numbers
- vi) Employment Exchange Statistics
- vii) Index Numbers of Wholesale Prices
- viii) Employment
- ix) Index Numbers of Industrial Profits
- x) Index Numbers of Industrial Production
- xi) Value Added by Manufacture, etc.

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A. I. . U. C.
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ON
M E T A L
and
E N G I N E E R I N G

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A short note on problems of
TUs in Metal and
Engineering Industry

by

Md. Elias, M.P.

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The three-year period since our Ernakulam Session has witnessed a steady growth in building the engineering base of our industrialisation programmes. Work on the three steel plants in the State Sector has been largely completed. The capacity of the two plants in the Private Sector has also been expanded. The Heavy Electricals plant in Bhopal is about to begin normal production and work has already begun on the heavy machine-building, foundry forge and coalmining machinery plants in the State Sector. Engineering plants in the Private Sector have expanded and many new units have been constructed.

The growth of the industry is illustrated by the following index figures of production: (Base:1951 - 100)

		<u>Basic Metal</u> <u>Industries</u>	<u>General & Electrical</u> <u>Engineering</u>
1957	...	119.5	241.3
1958	...	121.1	254.1
1959	...	159.2	287.8
1960 (July)	...	196.7	343.4

Employment in the metal and engineering industry has expanded, though not to the same extent as the rate of increase in production. This has been due, to some extent, to the rationalisation schemes introduced by the employers.

In 1957, the total employment in metal and engineering industry was 6,92,756, in both Public and Private Sectors (excl. ordnance factories). Total employment in the State Sector was 2,41,615, out of which 21,614 were in factories manufacturing machinery, 10,334 in electrical machinery plants and 2,09,945 in transport equipment (including about one and a half lakhs of workers in railway workshops).

The Ordnance Factories of the Government of India employed nearly 52,000 workers in 1957. Quite some of these factories are good engineering units and these factories are producing the multi-fuel trucks and heavy tractors in the State Sector of the industry.

Besides, there are thousands of engineering workers engaged in construction work in different projects. Accurate statistics of the engineering workers in this category of employment are not available.

However, it can be estimated that employment in the metal and engineering industry which was about seven lakhs in 1957 would have risen to well over ten lakhs in 1960.

It will be interesting to note how much the engineering worker contributes in terms of value added by manufacture. The Census of Manufacturing Industries (1957) gives us the following picture.

(in Rupees Lakhs)

Industry	Salaries, Wages & Benefits	Gross Value of Production	Value added by manufacture
1. Iron & Steel smelting	2,131	11,905	5,141
2. Aluminium, copper and brass	396	4,381	1,069
3. Bicycles	189	1,261	423
4. General and Electrical Engineering	3,070	15,383	5,800

(Source: Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, November 1960)

When we calculate the per capita earnings by the worker and the value added per worker, we see that (i) in iron and steel, the worker contributed Rs.5700 as value added by manufacture as against the wage of Rs.2,364; in (ii) General and Electrical Engineering, the value added per capita was Rs.2,821 as against the wage of Rs.1,493.

It is thus clear that our workers not only reproduced what they were paid but added about 200 per cent more to social wealth.

Another factor which has earned the metal and engineering workers wide acclaim is their remarkable quickness in acquiring new skills. The illustration from the Hindustan Machine Tools is revealing. Just four years ago, it took four Indian workers to match the out-turn of a single Swiss worker. Now in some skills, the ratio is 3 : 2. Similar examples can be quoted from many other engineering units and the new steel plants also show us the capacity of our workers to acquire mastery over new skills in short time.

Under the Third Five Year Plan, large allocations have been made for development of the metal and engineering industry. The Bhilai Steel Plant capacity is to be expanded to two million tons. Similar expansion plans of the other steel plants are also being taken up. An alloy steel plant is to be set up and one more integrated steel plant may also be built. With the increase in steel supply, new engineering plants for re-rolling, fabrication, foundry, etc., will develop.

Evidently, the rising trend seen in the development of the metal and engineering industry will be maintained in the Third Plan.

One of the significant features of the development of the industry during this period is its growth in the State Sector, for which a large measure of assistance was made available by the socialist countries.

The disinterested help from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other Socialist countries and the efficiency with which the projects were executed by these countries stand in marked contrast with the aid from the imperialist countries. The heavy machine-building and foundry forge plants capable of constructing a complete steel plant in India, are coming up with the aid of socialist countries. It is a powerful factor in building the base of our heavy industry.

We should also notice that even now large engineering units, particularly in Calcutta and Bombay, are still controlled by British capital and the automobile industry besides other units producing machinery, etc. are still heavily dependent on foreign monopolist concerns.

The Mazgaon Dock in Bombay and Garden Reach Workshops in Calcutta - two large ship-repairing and shipbuilding works in India - which were foreign-owned have now been taken over by the Government of India.

Before we examine the conditions of the workers, we might conclude our observations on the profits in the industry. The Index Numbers of Industrial Profits (Base: 1950 - 100) show:

		<u>Iron & Steel</u>	<u>Engineering</u>
1955	...	234.3	255.2
1956	...	226.1	205.2
1957	...	214.8	335.7
1958	...	242.7	353.9

As we see, the profits have gone up 2.5 times in iron and steel and 3.5 times in Engineering.

The only difficulty the engineering industry faced during this period was the shortage of raw materials, in 1958-59, but the victims of the "crisis" were the workers who were either laid-off or retrenched in hundreds. The profit figures have only gone up.

CONDITION OF WORKERS

While, as we have seen, the metal and engineering industry has made tremendous progress and the employers reaped huge profits, during the three-year period under review, the workers had to fight determined struggles to improve their working and living conditions. The steep rise in prices had cut deep into workers' earnings which were indeed very low.

Let us first take the iron and steel industry.

In JAMSHEDPUR, in May 1958, the 35,000 workers of the TISCO fought a heroic action demanding a rise in D.A., among other demands, under the leadership of the Jamshepur Mazdoor Union (AITUC). Despite the steep increase in prices, the D.A. in TISCO was only Rs.32.50 for unmarried workers and Rs.38 for married men. The basic wages were also very low, the minimum daily wage being Rs.1.07. The May 1958 strike was sought to be crushed by the most brutal repression by the employers and the Government. Two workers were killed in police firing. The Army was called in. A "conspiracy case" (the fantastic charge was that the trade unionists were conspiring to sabotage the Five Year Plan!) was foisted on the leaders of the Jamshepur Mazdoor Union, besides over 130 cases against a thousand odd workers. About four hundred workers lost their jobs because of victimisation. Such brutal repression on workers for conducting a peaceful strike and on a very simple demand as D.A. is unheard of in recent history. The leaders of the Jamshepur

Mazdoor Union, including Kedar Das, AITUC Vice President, who were imprisoned in May 1958 were released on bail only in September 1960.

Though the strike was crushed by force, the management had to concede the demands of the workers soon after. Effective from April 1, 1959, the steel workers won their demand of increased D.A. besides a comprehensive revision of wages and grades. The minimum D.A. was increased to Rs.45. The unskilled grade was fixed as Rs.1.83 to Rs.2.11; Semi-skilled: Rs.2.62 to Rs.3.02; Skilled III: Rs.4.20 to Rs.5.04; Skilled II: Rs.5.70 to Rs.6.54; Skilled I: Rs.6.54 to Rs.7.42; and Highly Skilled: Rs.7.83 to Rs.9.12. The gains were significant. The management had also to pay increased profit-sharing bonus (termed as Annual Bonus in April 1959 agreement), after the struggle of the workers in 1960. The problem of the victimised workers however remains acute and the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union is mobilising the workers to realise this demand. Also of great significance is the magnificent demonstration of militant unity the steel workers of Jamshedpur have shown around the AITUC union. Despite the repression and terror, the arrests of all leaders, the workers kept the flag of the union flying high and also contributed thousands of rupees to the union to conduct the cases. The AITUC had also mobilised solidarity of the workers in different parts of India in aid of the Jamshedpur workers and rendered help in conducting legal defense, on the many cases foisted on the trade unionists.

In BURNPUR, the strike notice was given by the United Iron and Steel Workers' Union (AITUC) in April 1958, on the demand for D.A., coinciding with the notice given in Jamshedpur. The management in Burnpur-Kulti conceded the demand by increase in D.A. by Rs.10.00. There were several departmental actions by the workers during this period and also for increased profit-sharing bonus. A token strike was called by the INTUC union on the issue of bonus in September 1959.

In the new State Sector Steel plants also, the workers had to fight determined struggles, particularly on the question of minimum wages, absorption of skilled workers who were on construction jobs into the operational work, etc.

In BHILAI as well as in Rourkela, the minimum wages were fixed so low as Rs.48 (consolidated) per month, a scandallous wage-fixation by any standards. After the strike in February 1960, wages of about 3,000 workers were raised from Rs.48 to Rs.75. The Bhilai Project management also assured to absorb skilled construction workers for operational work as much as possible.

In ROURKELA, about 480 trained technicians went on strike for over sixty days in 1959, demanding proper posting in the grades. Following this strike, Government constituted a Review Board to consider the workers' demands. The Review Board did not bring any appreciable results and the technicians had to resort to a pay strike some time later.

The muster-roll and works-charged workers in Rourkela went on strike for a week in June 1960, demanding increase in wages (to Rs.75, as was conceded in Bhilai after the strike there in February 1960), payment of overtime wages, etc. The strike was successful in that the wages were raised by 25 nP per day and the overtime wages were paid.

In DURGAPUR, the workers had to resort to direct action for short periods in different departments. These were mainly by the C.E.M. department workers against the attendance system, mechanical division workers for overtime payments and workers of different departments staged a short strike demanding improved transportation arrangements between the quarters and the work-site.

During this period, there were several actions by workers employed under the contractors engaged for construction of the steel plants.

These workers, among whom there are a good number of engineering workers, are forced to live in absolutely squalid conditions in the project sites. The contractors wilfully violate all labour enactments and due to poor organisation, the workers were unable to defend their interests. The AIUC, in collaboration with the National Federation of Engineering Workers of India, has assisted in organising these workers and in conducting their strikes. The problems of project workers are not however confined to the steel projects. The trade unions have put forward the proposal that there should be a National Pool of Project Workers so that on the completion of one project, the workers could be transferred to another with continuity of service. Campaign on this demand is going on.

With the rise of the iron and steel industry to an important position in the economy of the nation and with prices controlled by Government, giving a fair margin of profits, the most unplanned side of planning for iron and steel has remained the wages and working conditions of the workers. For identical work, even in State Sector steel plants, workers are paid differently and the same is more true as between the Private Sector plants and the State Sector plants. The campaign for a Wage Board to fix wage norms and standards has therefore been initiated and the campaign is catching fast.

STRUGGLES OF ENGINEERING WORKERS

There were innumerable actions by engineering workers on plant level, throughout the country, during this three-year period. Apart from the struggles against 7-3-off and retrenchment (for alleged shortage of raw material) in 1958-59, the struggles over wage demands and bonus were the dominant feature. Determined strike actions had also to be waged against victimisation of workers and for trade union rights.

The wage-rates of engineering workers have been the most anarchic. The minimum wage for unskilled workers, for instance, in West Bengal (in factories employing over 250 workers) is Rs.35 per month, whereas in Bombay the daily wage is Rs.1.15 to Rs.1.38; in Punjab Rs.2; in Andhra, Rs.1.12; in Madras Rs.1.15 and in Mysore, Rs.1.19.

The semi-skilled category starts from Rs.40 in West Bengal. The daily rates in Bombay vary from Rs.1.37 to Rs.2.25 (in four grades), Rs.1.37 in Andhra, Rs.1.56 in Madras and Rs.1.44 in Mysore.

In skilled category, the West Bengal scale is Rs.75--2--115, monthly rated. The scales of daily rates in Bombay start from Rs.2.00 to Rs.4.50; in Punjab from Rs.3.50 to Rs.4.00; in Andhra Rs.1.75 to Rs.2.12; in Madras from Rs.2.65 to Rs.3.35 and in Mysore from Rs.2.31 to Rs.3.92.

In other categories also, similar wide differences exist.

The above figures also show how low are the wages in the engineering industry. The struggles over wage demands, therefore, became one of the important activities of the trade unions.

During this period, there was a tribunal award in the engineering industry in W.Bengal. (The figures about W.Bengal wages given above are as fixed by this Tribunal). By this award, wages were improved to some extent and graded scales were also introduced. However, since the grade and category were not defined by the Tribunal, the employers took full advantage of the situation in denying the workers of their legitimate dues.

In other States, although no awards industrially for the whole State have been given during this period, awards on disputes raised in particular units have been given in a number of cases. There have been some bipartite agreements. By these awards and agreements, certain wage increases were won by the workers. However, on the overall problem of wage standardisation, little headway has been made.

These gains were secured only after bitterly fought struggles. This is seen from the statistics of industrial disputes in the engineering

industry during the years 1957 to 1959.

Year	No. of disputes	Workers Involved	Mandays lost
1957	141	53,954	3,78,779
1958	154	50,654	7,78,668
1959	250	87,167	10,79,600

These statistics taken from the Indian Labour Gazette unmistakably show the growing sweep of the strike struggles waged by the engineering workers in defence of their interests.

One of the biggest strikes in recent history, on the demand for trade union rights and against employers' terror, was the strike in Premier Automobiles, Bombay, in 1958 which lasted 110 days. The workers in all the industries and services in Bombay City struck work for one day in sympathy with the Premier Automobile strike on July 25, 1958. Another bitterly-fought action was in National Electrical Industries, Bombay, in 1959, which lasted 94 days. This strike was against the arbitrary change in wage pattern enforced by the management. The workers of the Machinery Manufacturers Corporation, Calcutta, fought a prolonged action against retrenchment. The workers of Orient Fan company struck for seven months in 1959, in J.K.Steel, Calcutta for three months in 1959 and in 1960, workers of Bengal Enamel Works, Calcutta, had to go on strike for seven months. There were also prolonged strikes in small engineering units in Howrah, between May and November 1960. There was also a solidarity action by a half-day strike by 10,500 engineering workers in Howrah during this period. In 1960, the workers in India Electric Works, Calcutta, numbering over a thousand, launched a prolonged strike for 54 days and were successful in forcing Government to take over management of the company.

The workers of the Godrej Factory in Bombay had to stage a token strike against the anti-labour policies of the employer in December 1959. Similar token stoppages had to be undertaken by workers in Hindustan Machine Tools, Bangalore, against goonda attacks on workers as well as in Praga Tools, protesting against the murder of a trade unionist. The INTUC unions in Telco and Tinsplate Companies in Jamshedpur had to call token strikes, being compelled by the workers, to press settlement of outstanding demands. The workers of the Tatanagar Foundry, Jamshedpur, fought for over 113 days against retrenchment, victimisation and lock-out in 1958 and there was a prolonged struggle against closure of this foundry in 1960. (Details of many other struggles by engineering workers are given in the 'Struggle Diary' circulated to delegates separately).

ORGANISATION

Workers in the metal and engineering are relatively better organised. In the period under review, new unions have been formed and the unions in all centres have gained new strength. The AITUC has a pre-eminent position in the TU movement among engineering workers. The AITUC had within its fold in 1958-59 in this industry 183 unions with a membership of 1,33,623 (as against INTUC 157 unions; 1,00,414 membership; HMS - 54,275 in 56 unions; and UTUC - 8,326 in 37 unions in the same period.). The AITUC membership in 1959-60 has increased to 1,47,280 in the metal and engineering industry.

The formation of a central federation of metal and engineering workers to coordinate the movement in this growing industry has been engaging the attention of the AITUC for a long time and particularly since our Ernakulam Session. In the General Council meeting held at Bangalore in

January 1959, this question was discussed, and a [redacted] initiative taken by our unions, a National Conference of Engineering Workers of India was convened in July 1959 at Calcutta.

The Conference was attended by more than 900 delegates and 100 visitors representing metal and engineering workers unions in all parts of the country. Jean Marillier, Secretary, Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Workers, (WFTU), Prague, also participated in this conference. At this conference was formed the National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India, with S.A. Dange, M.P. as President and Md. Elias, M.P. as General Secretary.

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The Federation has affiliates, besides AITUC unions, many independent unions also and represents an organised membership of over two lakhs.

State Conferences of Engineering Workers have been held in W. Bengal, Punjab, Bombay (Maharashtra), U.P., Mysore and Kerala. Regional bodies of the National Federation have been set up to coordinate the movement at State level.

The National Federation has also opened up offices in Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur, to help the organisational work among the steel workers in the State Sector, with the cooperation of the AITUC.

At the call of the National Federation, demands days were observed throughout India by engineering unions in August 1959. The Federation called for a mass signature campaign on the three national demands of the workers, viz., (1) Wage Board; (2) Living Wage and (3) Recognition of the union. Over 50,000 signatures have been collected so far and the campaign is continuing.

Among the new affiliates of the AITUC, since the Ernakulam Session, in this industry are: the United Iron and Steel Workers' Union, Burnpur-Kulti; the Rourkela Steel Mazdoor Union, Rourkela; and the Praga Tools Employees' Union, Secunderabad.

The intervention by the National Federation and the AITUC in favour of the workers in the State Sector steel plants has considerably strengthened the movement of the workers to improve their working and living conditions. Our policy has been to help build and strengthen the organisational unity of the steel workers and more attention has to be paid now to the organisational aspects.

While trade consciousness of the metal and engineering workers is fairly high and are comparatively easier to organise, the problem of cadres to do the organisational work is fairly acute. This has stood in the way of improving the functioning of our affiliates and in engaging in new organisational work. The training of the workers to make them good trade unionists therefore merits immediate attention. The General Engineering Employees Union, Bombay, our affiliate, has done commendable work in conducting workers' education classes.

Another problem which has been engaging our attention is the need to build strong industrial unions of engineering workers in different centres. The existence of a large number of small plant level unions in the same city, among engineering workers, does not help development of united action on industrial demands and the pooling of resources is necessary for the rapid expansion of work we should undertake immediately.

We may, therefore, conclude that organisationally we have strengthened but with the growth of the industry, new vistas are opening up for new organisational work and this task, along with the strengthening of our affiliated unions, should receive our careful attention.

SOME MAJOR PROBLEMS

We may now examine some of the major problems which face our movement today.

The foremost task which is before us nationally is to carry forward the campaign on the three demands raised by the National Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers, viz., (1) Setting up of a Wage Board for the metal and engineering industry for standardisation of occupations and proper wage differentials; (2) Living Wage; and (3) Recognition of the union.

The present anarchy in the wage structure in the metal and engineering industry can be ended only by fixation, on a scientific basis, of wage norms and categories, by adjudication on an all-India basis. We have already seen how even in the steel plants, for doing identical types of work, wages are paid differently. Even in one city, wage norms in different factories vary greatly.

With the steep rise in prices, the real wages of the workers have fallen and even the limited gains made through struggles have been offset by the price increases. The demand for a sliding scale of D.A. is therefore most pressing.

There is every justification for demanding an immediate increase in wages right now, since the wage levels are abnormally low.. The huge profits garnered by the industry provide sufficient ground for demanding a living wage for the metal and engineering workers.

As we have experienced, our demand for wage rises are not only resisted by the employers but increased workloads are sought to be foisted on us. This attack comes in the basis of "job evaluation" and "work study" by which the norms of work are re-fixed to the detriment of the workers. These schemes of job evaluation and work study, as we have found them working, have been highly arbitrary and unscientific and are used solely to intensify the exploitation of the workers. Our trade unions welcome every scientific system of job analysis and wage fixation, grading and differentials. The arbitrary methods of the job analysis should therefore be resisted and all such schemes should be scrutinised thoroughly, to defend the interests of the workers. In this regard, the trade unions have a handicap in that our cadres do not have a proper understanding of work study and hence efforts should be made to equip them with requisite knowledge. (A Note on Productivity and allied problems, separately circulated, has dealt with the TU attitude to such schemes, in greater detail.)

Although it is settled on all hands that the productivity of the engineering workers has risen appreciably, employers counterpose our demands for wage increases can be granted only if productivity increases. This argument has to be emphatically resisted. Wages should be increased on the present standards of productivity since it is clear that engineering workers have been denied proper wages.

Apart from the methods of re-fixing norms after so-called "work-study", there have been several instances of outright increase in workloads in the most arbitrary fashion. The example of the Tata Iron & Steel Works in Jamshedpur is typical. With the same complement of workers who were producing one million tons of steel and, in fact, with 8,000 workers less, the plant with two million capacity is to be operated. While it is admitted that the new blast furnace is of improved design, requiring less labour complement, it is clear that on the old furnaces and mills, with the old machinery, there has been an absolute increase in workloads.

The fixation of the Standard Force in the State Sector steel plants appears to be such as would put tremendous strain on the workers. The total complement for working full capacity in Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur is reported to be fixed at around 12,000 to 14,000 workers. This seems to be much on the low side. The fixation of the standard force and workloads as per norms in similar plants in foreign countries in the new plants in India (this applies not only to steel plants but all new

engineering units) would be arbitrary. For one thing, the strain involved in work if optimum workload is imposed on our workers would be considerable. This is not compensated by the wages and amenities which steel workers in Soviet Union or other countries enjoy. All conditions being equal, the Indian worker would be behind none in skilled work but with the low wages in India, he would be unable to maintain himself long in such arduous work as much as his counterpart in advanced countries. We should therefore demand that the standard force in the new steel plants be fixed with some consideration for the Indian workers' conditions.

There has been a sharp increase in the accident rate in the metal and engineering industry. The number of fatal accidents rose from 17 in 1951 to 47 in 1958 in basic metal industry. In metal products, it rose from 1 to 5 and in machinery, from 11 to 22, during the same period.

The total number of industrial injuries reported rose from 5,037 in 1951 to 10,251 in 1958 in basic metal industry. In metal products, it rose from 1,347 to 4,741 and in machinery from 3,124 to 9,522.

The rate of increase is indeed alarming, even if allowance is given for increase in working force in the engineering industry. Immediate steps should therefore be taken by unions to insist on employers for providing adequate safety measures.

The problem of workers' housing has remained most acute and the employers and Government have done little to improve the situation. Even in the new plants, proper attention has not been paid to provide workers' housing.

It is not necessary to deal with all other problems which are common to the entire working class in this industrial report. These are being dealt with in other reports before the Session.

We will conclude this report by referring to one particular feature of the attack against trade unions which has been reported mainly from Bombay. An organised attempt is being made in Bombay, using the utmost pressure from the State Labour Department, to disrupt our as well as independent unions which have majority backing and recognised by management. They seek to impose INTUC unions on the workers. These attempts are being resisted by the engineering workers in Bombay. Similar efforts were also made in Hindustan Machine Tools, Bangalore. Here the independent union which had the majority backing and with which the management had earlier concluded an agreement for "joint council of management" is being suppressed and an INTUC union bolstered up. The experiment of Joint Council of Management collapsed after these anti-labour moves. These attempts at disruption should be fought by mobilising greater unity of the workers.

The experience of building unity in action has been quite encouraging in W. Bengal. Particularly in the struggles for Puja bonus, during the last three years, united actions were waged by unions affiliated to AITUC, INTUC, HMS and UTUC.

Strengthening this trend of united action of the engineering workers, on a national plane, for winning the demands of wage board, living wage and trade union rights will be our key task in the period ahead.

INDUSTRIAL REPORT

.....

ON JUTE INDUSTRY AND WORKERS

By

Indrajit Gupta.

.....

The Jute Industry comprises about 106 Mills with a total loomage of just over 65,000 looms. Of these, 10 Mills with a loomage of about 7,000 are situated in Andhra (4), Bihar (2), Uttar Pradesh (3), and Madhya Pradesh (1). The remaining 96 mills and 58,000 looms are concentrated in the industrial belt around Calcutta. It is, therefore, obvious that, for all practical purposes, the fate of the industry and its workers depends on developments in the West Bengal units. It is there that the powerful India Jute Mills Association (IJMA) has its headquarters and exercises powerful control over its 75 or so member mills, and determines its production, marketing, labour and other policies which have profound repercussions on the fortunes of lakhs of raw jute cultivators, mill workers, traders and shippers, overseas customers, and also on the country's economy.

SOME BASIC FACTS:

To understand the developments of the last three years, some basic features of the jute industry must be kept in mind:-

- 1) Over 80% of the production is sold in foreign markets, principally USA, Argentine, and Australia;
- 2) The Indian mills are by far the largest manufactures of jute goods in the world; before World War II they held almost the monopoly of the world's markets; even now, for example in 1959, the output of jute cloth in the 6 major producing countries (UK, France, West Germany, Belgium, India and Pakistan) amounted to 1,523,000 tons out of which the IJMA member mills accounted for 1,052,000 tons; Jute is India's biggest earner of Dollars;

3. Production is still overwhelmingly devoted to the two main lines of traditional cloth - Hessian and Sacking - and hence the world demand for these decides the industry's fortunes;
4. The Indian mills have excess production capacity (in relation to demand and always keep it restricted by selling a certain percentage of looms, reducing working hours from time to time, etc. This is more or less uniformly implemented through the mechanism of the IJMA's "Working Time Agreement";
5. The mills require about 6.8 million bales of raw jute annually; domestic production of raw jute has gradually been stepped up since Partition, but there is still a shortfall of about 1 to 2 lakh bales particularly of the quality known as "cuttings" which is indispensable for the manufacture of quality Sacking and still has to be imported from Pakistan;
6. Since 1949, the Industry has embarked on a vast programme of Rationalisation and Modernisation with the blessings and active assistance of the Government; its declared object is to reduce the number of workers employed to 2.5 per loom (i.e. to about 1.45 lakhs in place of the pre-Partition 3 lakhs) and thus to cheapen the cost of production to a level which would allegedly counteract the competitive threat from other producing countries, notably Pakistan with its new and growing industry;
7. The Jute Industry made fabulous profits in the pre-war period; since Partition, the same rate of profits can no longer be maintained without much more intensified exploitation of the workers, on the one hand, and of the jute cultivators on the other. This task has fallen to the lot of the new, predominantly Marwari capital which has gradually been penetrating into the industry and which now owns over 85% of the total shares in the mills (though the British still retain a strong foothold in the major Managing Agency groupings).

Arising out of the above specific features of the jute industry are the main problems confronting the trade union movement from the point of view both of the workers' immediate class interests and of the broader national interests. Let us take the latter first.

"CRISIS" OF THE INDUSTRY:

According to the IJMA and the Government of India this vast and powerfully organised industry has been in a more or less continuous "crisis" since after Partition. The main factors responsible for this are said to be:

- a) Shortage of raw jute, both in quantum and quality, due to the principal jute growing areas falling within Pakistan;
- b) Growth of competition in foreign markets, due to new jute mills being set up in countries which want to be self-sufficient and, above all, in East Pakistan;

- c) Growing use of substitutes like paper and cotton bags and of bulk - handling methods in the main grain producing countries;
- d) Old and out-of-date machinery in the mills, outmoded production techniques, low level of productivity, and increase in labour costs since 1948.

These four are the major arguments sought to justify non-fixation of minimum prices for raw jute; freedom of discretion to the IJMA to regulate working hours and loom-sealing as they wish; freedom to shippers and mills to enter into forward contracts with overseas customers; a vast programme of Rationalisation ranging from installation of new machinery to arbitrary reduction of labour complements on the existing old machinery; dogged resistance to any wage increase for the workers; and Government support to all these policies in the name of the interests of an export industry which brings the country valuable foreign exchange to the tune of between Rs.115 and Rs.125 crores every year.

Is this line of policy justified by the facts?

- It is true that India does not yet produce all the raw jute required by the industry; but the shortfall is easily made up by licensing imports from Pakistan, which is eager enough to sell. The real problem lies elsewhere - in the complete grip of traders and middlemen over the raw jute market, and the refusal of the India Govt. to assist the cultivators by fixing minimum prices of raw jute or by making State purchases. As a result, it is the "fatka" market which dominates the pictures, reckless speculation in forward contracts goes unchecked, and prices fluctuate sharply from season to season. This also affects the extent of cultivation and size of the crop in each successive year, depending upon whether the peasant has got a good price or not. So the crux of the problem is instability of raw jute prices resulting from leaving the trade entirely in the hands of speculators and profiteers who corner the gains while the ordinary cultivator is fleeced. The IJMA's voice is loudly heard when raw jute prices are boosted up by speculation (though many of the mill interests are themselves involved in this game); but it is silent when prices go down sharply as happened, for example, in the crash of 1957-1958.

As far as foreign competition and use of substitutes is concerned, no doubt such a trend has been developing since the war. But facts prove that the tremendous advantages of the Indian industry, which has established itself, around Calcutta for over 100 years, have equipped it with resources (the two most important being cheap raw material and cheap labour) which enable it to hold its own successfully. Any lag in this respect is due to the IJMA's ultra-conservative attitude towards developing new lines of production other than the standard fabrics of hessian and sacking. It is only in recent years that reality has forced the mills to take a few hesitant steps towards research and manufacture of new types and varieties of jute products, though there still remains untapped a vast potential market in this direction.

Even so, competition remains an IJMA-created "bogey". In 1958-59, the industry produced 1,040,500 tons of jute goods; in 1959-60 this went up to 1,074,200 tons. Exports in 1959 (880,000 tons) were the highest in ten years, and only 20,000 tons short of the 2nd Five Year Plan target. The production target (1.1 million tons per year) has already been fulfilled. This is hardly a picture of "crisis" in the normal sense.

Note must also be taken of the emergence of an unexpected factor which has greatly helped the export position but which, strangely enough, is blacked out by the patriotic Press, viz., the entry of China into the market as a major customer. In 1958, China purchased 10 million bags and 6.2 million yards of hessian; in 1959, 42.8 million bags and 14.5 million yards of hessian. As a matter of fact, extension and expansion of trade agreements with the Socialist countries of E. Europe is a fruitful source for the jute industry and the Govt, since they agree to accept rupee payments for their goods and services, thus enabling us to channel a substantial quantity of jute goods to them. Exports to the USSR have also been increasing.

Another positive factor has been the growing internal consumption of jute goods (namely sacking) which is inevitable as industrialisation and economic development go ahead.

CRISIS OF THE WORKERS:

As far as Labour is concerned, its being sacrificed in the name of "economy" and rationalisation. A gradual and phased introduction of up-to-date machinery may be justifiable, but the IJMA's rationalisation drive employs methods and practices which call for total and unconditional opposition. For example:

- The number of workers in the W. Bengal mills has come down from 3 lakhs (pre-Partition) to 2,47,000 in 1954 and to 2,00,000 in 1959. Thus about one-third of the entire labour force has been retrenched;
- of these 2 lakhs in employment at present, about 88,000 are kept on a non-permanent basis, viz classified as 'badlis', casual or temporary workers, although many of them are working continuously for years in the same mill; they have no security of service whatsoever;
- Women workers are being retrenched with a vengeance on various technical pleas; their number came down from 22,375 in 1955 to 11,281 in 1958;
- While installation of new machinery has so far been restricted to the Spinning and Preparing sections, thousands of workers are made "surplus" and retrenched by arbitrary reductions in complements operating even old machines and resulting in heavy increases of workload. Forcible introduction of double-loom operation by a single weaver has become one of the major issues of industrial conflict;

- The 1957 Tripartite Delhi agreement on Rationalisation (with its conditions of no retrenchment of existing workers, no loss in wages, agreed workloads, and workers' share in the gains of rationalisation) has been treated as a scrap of paper.

It is this utterly reactionary and anti-labour policy which the Government actively assists. By 31.3.59, 190,000 spindles on the fine side and 34,400 spindles on the coarse side, installed in 51 out of 82 companies had been modernised. This means that 62% of the looms are now being fed with sliver yarn produced by modern, high-speed, self-doffing spinning frames. Up to date, the industry has spent Rs. 21 crores on modernisation. As on 1.3.60, the National Industrial Development Corporation had given Rs.4.9 crores as loans for modernisation to 26 mills and is prepared to give much more.

As a result of modernisation and reduction in the labour force, the fixed capital employed per worker in the Jute industry has gone up by 133% in the decade, 1946-56. This gives an indication of how productivity per worker has risen.

But the gains have all been cornered by the employers. There is a generally upward swing in profits during the last two years resulting mainly from the lower production costs. While total profit figures for the whole industry remain to be compiled, the majority of individual mills are reporting "excellent" results. For example, in the year ending March 1960 as compared with the previous year, Khardah Jute Co's profits increased from Rs.10.04 lakhs to Rs.23.91 lakhs; India Jute Co's from Rs.8.70 lakhs to Rs.18.08 lakhs; Magua Mills Co's from Rs.9.81 to Rs.14.20 lakhs; and so on. These are a few random and recently published samples which illustrate the general trend.

Another index of accumulation of profits is the diversion of activities by a growing number of mills in the form of setting up new units for the manufacture of a variety of goods such as rayon, paper pulp, electric cables, cement, chemicals, etc. In this way, jute mill companies in W.Bengal are utilising the surplus value created out of ruthless labour exploitation as investment in new branches of production situated in various States of India.

At the other end of the scale, the workers continue to suffer heavy losses in their real wages. This is evident from the following summary of the "gains" recorded under 3 successive Omnibus Tribunal Awards:

		Cost of living index	Basic Wage (Minimum)	D.A.	Total
1948	Award I	325	Rs.26 p.m.	Rs.32/8	Rs.58/8
1951	" II	355	" 26 p.m.	Rs.37/6	Rs.63/6
1955	" III	325	" 34.67 "	Rs.32/8	Rs.67.17
1960		400	N O I N C R E A S E		

Thus, 13 years after independence, the minimum emoluments of the jute worker stand at Rs.67.17 p.m. Except in 2 mills in Andhra, D.A. is paid at a fixed rate and not on a sliding-scale, and no Bonus system exists. About 40% of the total labour force is on piece-rates with consequent sharp fluctuations in actual earnings, there being no minimum fall-back wage. The only retiral benefit is Provident Fund and even this is not enjoyed by the thousands who are illegally registered as non-permanent workers.

It is these 'badlis' casuals, and temporary hands in fact who constitute a potent weapon in the employers hands to keep the wage-level pegged down and to impose various rationalisation measures. This army of semi-unemployed and partially employed workers, eking out a miserable existence, purchasing short time jobs with bribes to the corrupt sardars and labour officers, acts as a brake upon the trade union movement itself. They are the first victims of every retrenchment and lay-off, of every closure, reduction of working hours or sealing of looms and of every intensification of workload which is resisted by the permanent hands.

TRADE UNION ACTION:

During the last 3 years, the trade union movement of the jute workers in W.Bengal has recorded some formal advances, though in practice the insuperable obstacle remains of implementation of assurances given and recommendations or agreements made.

1958: The unions were able to force the Labour Ministry to convene the first Session of the Tripartite Industrial Committee on Jute. This was the result of intense mass agitation, including a joint convention of all Unions including the INTUC.

The Committee recommended, among other things, that the list of registered 'badli' workers in every mill should be "frozen" as from a particular date and no new names should be added; a special committee on Rationalisation phasing and avoidance of retrenchment should be setup; another committee to suggest safeguards for employment of women workers; and acceptance, in principle, of a Wage Board for the Jute Industry.

1959: The high light was the one-day token General Strike called on December 14th by all Unions. It was 100% complete. Demands putforward were immediate setting up of a Wage Board, Rs.45/- D.A., linking with the C.L.I., Annual Bonus, Night allowance, Full wages for double-loom operation, Increase in P.F. contributory rates and permanency for 'badlis' who have completed 3 months service. Three days earlier, the second session of the Industrial Committee on Jute had failed to agree on grant of an interim cash relief to the workers pending setting up of a Wage Board, due to the adamant attitude of the IJMA. It was also clear by this time that the employers had no intention of observing the agreement on freezing of the badli lists and the Government was incapable of enforcing it.

The Committee on women's employment rights submitted some useful recommendations to the State Government, but these, too, were kept confidential for a long time and were practically shelved.

1960: The special Committee on Rationalisation could not come to agreed decisions. The Chairman, therefore, submitted his own recommendations in May, the most important and valuable of which were: fixing of permanent cadre in every mill at the rate of 3 workers per loom; freezing of this figure for the next 3 years; no further extension of double-loom operation without majority approval of the permanent weavers; and fixation of superannuation age at 58 years.

The key problem remains how to secure implementation of these recommendations, which certainly represent some advance on the present position and are therefore, being strongly resisted by the IJMA.

In August was announced the setting up of the Wage Board, with Labour being represented by 1 AITUC and 1 INTUC nominee. This is the first Wage Board (other being Textiles, Sugar, Cement, and Plantations) on which AITUC has secured representation. The Board is enjoined by its terms of reference to make recommendations, re: Interim relief within 2 months, i.e. by January 21st, 1961.

From May-June onwards, a new scare about alleged scarcity of raw jute due to crop failure led to a fresh burst of speculation, particularly in Forward contracts and raw jute and jute goods prices were rocketed sky-high. This disrupted the whole market and the export position, creating unparalleled chaos which the Government watched helplessly. The IJMA, taking advantage of this man-made crisis, started sealing looms again from September, over and above the 9% which was already sealed at that time. By October end, 19% of looms were sealed - a figure reached only once before in the Industry's history. Neither the Unions nor State Government were consulted before this action was taken by the IJMA with the approval of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry.

As a result, about 6,000 additional looms were sealed and between 18 to 20,000 workers thrown out of employment.

SLOGANS & DEMANDS:

In this situation, where national and workers' interests are at stake, the trade unions must advance and fight for realisation of a comprehensive policy which would rescue the Jute Industry from the chaotic gambling and profiteering of the private Sector which controls it at all stages and levels. The bankruptcy of the Congress Government's planning is nakedly revealed in this total grip which traders, speculators, millowners and shippers are allowed to exercise over an Industry whose foreign-exchange earning capacity is one of the Government's major resources for developmental planning.

The trade unions should, therefore, put forward and campaign unitedly for a popular programme for all-round development of the Industry in the national and people's interests:

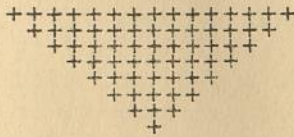
- 1) Fixation of statutorily enforceable minimum prices for Raw jute; Government's direct purchasing from the cultivators wherever necessary; provision of Government godowns and warehouses to enable the cultivator: to ~~store~~ ⁿ their crop;
- 2) Banning of Forward contracts trading in jute goods; effective measures to stamp out illegal speculation in raw jute markets;
- 3) Further development by the industry and Government of scientific research and market surveys with a view to manufacturing new types and varieties of jute goods for which there is world demand;
- 4) Government to take more vigorous steps, through the State Trading Corporation, to develop jute exports to Socialist and Afro-Asian countries;
- 5) A ban on rationalisation measures which do not conform strictly to the conditions laid down in the agreement of the 1957 Indian Labour Conference;
- 6) Immediate implementation of the recommendations of the Chairman, Special Committee on Rationalisation; of the Committee on Workers Employment;
- 7) Prohibition of present illegal practice of maintaining tens of thousands of workers as "non-permanent" on various pretexts;
- 8) For immediate cash interim relief to the workers; revision of the whole wage structure in the light of the minimum wage norms of the 15th I.L.C., introduction of sliding-scale system of D.A., provision for annual Bonus, etc.
- 9) Recognition of the jute workers major Trade Unions.

ORGANISATION:

Perhaps the biggest single factor responsible for the present plight of the workers is the relative weakness of their organisation. Trade union membership in W. Bengal never goes higher than between 20 to 30,000 (AITUC); that of non-AITUC unions is even less, despite the tall claims of the INTUC for purposes of verification. Acute disunity prevails, with a large number of rival and splinter unions at the mill level. To unite, coordinate and centralise the movement is the key task.

Some degree of industry-wise consciousness has begun to develop over the last 2 years. The united general strike of December 14th, 1959 was undoubtedly a great landmark. The Wage Board, including AITUC representation, provides further opportunity for consolidating and centralising the movement on common demands and slogans.

In the mills of Andhra, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, taken together, the AITUC is undoubtedly the biggest force. But no coordination has hitherto existed between the different centres. In the coming months, basing ourselves on the campaign for interim relief and other concessions from the Wage Board, AITUC should consider ways and means of holding an all-India convention as the first step towards a central Federation.



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C O A L M I N E S

C h a t u r a n a n M i s h r a

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Reviewing the developments in coalmining and the work of our trade unions at the Bangalore Session of our General Council (January 1959), we noted that the year 1958 was a period of implementation of the LAT Award and the growth of the AITUC unions in coalmining industry. We noted how the Implementation Committee was failing and for the implementation of the Award, big strikes were taking place like that of West Bokaro Colliery (Tatas) and others. Some of the INTUC unions were also forced to organise strike struggles. In this period, the question of grant of increased D.A. as per the rise in the cost of living index was first raised and after a movement, this demand was won. It was in 1958 that big accidents like Chinakuri and Central Bhowrah took place, causing a heavy toll of lives, the safety question was raised all round and the Safety Conference was convened. Later, some positive measures were taken up by changing the Mines Rules, etc. in this regard. The period also witnessed the continued police repression against our unions as manifested in East Jemehary colliery, Jemehary Khas colliery, Chapui Khas colliery of Raniganj belt and in Selected Jharia and other collieries of Jharia Belt and in Karanpura belt collieries of Hazaribagh area. The policy of discrimination against our unions continued, though in some committees, representations were given to us.

In February 1960, our General Council reviewed the situation in coal industry. Shortly before this session, the Arbitrator's Award was given and we noted how the award conceded some of the main demands like time-scales for the time-rated workers, 14 days sick leave at the rate of half pay, increment in maternity benefit rates, time-scales for doctors and teachers, etc., and amended grade for chaprasi, night guard, creche nurse and others. The award also dealt with return railway fare since February 22, 1954. But all other main issues like gratuity and pension, categorisation of overburden workers, 150% D.A. for coal cutters, etc., were refused.

It was in this period that the amendments to the Mines Act granting leave and overtime facilities were made. In 1959 also, big mine accidents like Damua took place, to remind us of the inadequacy of safety measures. Invariably the Government could be forced to move on safety questions only after the big mine accidents.

The question of Gorakhpuri labour came to the forefront and so many enquiries were held. Later on, it was decided to abolish this system.

We also reviewed the position of housing and welfare measures and saw how they are lagging behind.

As usual, the Government increased coal prices several times without listening to the protests of the unions and perhaps, they have decided that labour has no right to say anything about the price even when it is State-controlled.

We also noted in February 1960 that coal production, specially of the State Sector, is lagging behind targets and we warned the Government of this.

We also noted the question of division amongst the miners, the position of AITUC, INTUC and HMS, the unorganised section which still remains the biggest chunk, and the role of the ICFTU working through the INTUC.

We concluded that (1) Shorter working hours for underground workers (2) computing D.A. for the purpose of payment of bonus; (3) Increased rate of C.M.P.F. from 6-1/4% to 8-1/3%; (4) increased rate of compensation; (5) Removal of condition of minimum attendance and illegality of strike for the eligibility of bonus; (6) Facilities for technical training for workers; (7) Appointment of worker-inspectors, are the main issues for the broad mobilisation of the miners.

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GENERAL CONDITION OF THE INDUSTRY: Since Delhi meeting of the General Council, it is now an year and the year 1961 being the last year of the Second Plan, we could take stock of the whole Plan period. The Second Plan target was 60 million tons for coal, but at best production could reach only 50 million tons. The failure is particularly in the State Sector. During the period 1950 to 1957, the gross profits in coal industry have doubled and the dividend distributed in 1957 was 60% higher than in 1950. The productivity of the miners has risen by over 40% during the last two Plan periods. The total labour strength engaged in coal industry is practically the same as in 1948 and the extent of mechanisation cannot be more than 20% on a rough estimate. (According to official figures, 3,75,733 workers were employed in coal mines as in May 1960).

WAGE BOARD DEMAND JUSTIFIED: In this background, it has to been seen that though there has been some increments in wages, compared to other organised industries like textile, cement, iron and steel and even compared with the Second Pay Commission's recommendations, the miners are getting much lower minimum wages. That is why, in the last (7th) session of the Industrial Committee on Coal Mining, the demand for a Wage Board for Coal was raised both by AITUC and INTUC representatives. The consideration of this demand was deferred to the next meeting of the Industrial Committee. But this is an issue on which all sections of workers are united. Since the last Tribunal Award, we had secured only more or less the sectional demands. Now for whatever has been performed during the Second Plan period, the demand of the miners for a general increase in wages is perfectly justified.

GAINS OF THE LAST YEAR: Few of the concessions that coal miners have gained during this one year, i.e., after the Delhi meeting of the General Council, are (1) Abolition of Gorakhpuri camps; (2) implementation of the amendments to the Mines Act from 1960; (3) Another instalment of D.A. as per increase in cost of living index; (4) Overtime provision for accountant, time-keeper, register keeper, orderly, etc. (5) Court of Inquiry on the issue of Contract System; (6) Reference of mechanised workers' (NCIC) demands to the tribunal and now an outside agreement has been reached between the INTUC and NCIC granting increment in wage rates of different categories; (7) Drafting new Model Standing Orders, though not yet certified; (8) Sectional and local concessions.

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SOME URGENT PROBLEMS

It is well-known that there is acute housing problem in the coal industry. Out of 30,000 houses to be built under the Scheme, only 11,570 have been built or are under construction, i.e., not more than a third of the target. The situation is worst in the newly-developed areas and as a result of that production itself is suffering. Similarly, the question of repairing the old quarters is being neglected. The National Coal Development Corporation (NCDC) though agreeing that they will not discriminate between a miners' quarter and others on the question of providing amenities, like water and electricity connections, etc., the miners are in actual practice being discriminated. So far, in the field agitation, we have failed to take the general housing problem but the workers are much agitated over this issue.

Similarly, it is accepted by all that there is great scarcity of water in the coal belt. So far the miners have been given only Master Plans for drinking water supply. In the last Industrial Committee meeting, it was decided to call a tripartite conference on this issue but this was not done. From the statements being made by the Deputy Labour Minister, it is evident that Government is not paying any serious attention to this problem.

Similarly, the question of medical facilities, sanitation, education, etc., are all along neglected.

From our experience, we can say that on the question of housing, water supply, electricity, sanitation, medical facilities and education, about which the employers do not pay proper attention, only if these are entrusted to joint committees of management and workers, could even a start be made to tackle these urgent problems.

It is well-known that the problem of indebtedness among coalminers is very serious. The oppression of the moneylenders in the coal belt is tyrannical. The interest charged by the usurers is 25% per cent per month, i.e., 300% yearly. The goondas generally thrive on this business. Legislations like Workmen's Protection Act, Moneylenders Act, etc., have failed to do anything, because, firstly, the executive authorities are not prompt to take action and the enactments themselves are vague. In this background, workmen are greatly interested in getting loans from the C.M.P.F. like that from S.R.P.F. and if we take it up, this will be a great rallying issue.

Since the overtime rate has been doubled, there is great demand for doubling off-day allowance and on this issue, fifteen thousand workers struck on off-day on August 19, 1960 in Bokaro and Kargali group of collieries.

Generally we find that coal cutters fail to work full as there is shortage of tubs, lack of working faces, absence of tram line upto the face, etc. - all due to the failure of the management. Generally unions have to take up these issues and many a time, rather late. So to pay proper attention to this problem, there should be Joint Production Committees.

While the trade unions have been agitating for ending the contract system in collieries and Government talking in terms of that, the employers are actually extending the contract system. Even in State Sector, the NCDC has given fresh contracts in many areas in overburden. In Bermo and Kargali collieries, the workers were highly agitated when the term of contract was extended and in a strike ballot, 99% voted for strike. Now the Court of Inquiry has been set up and the Indian Mine Workers Federation has taken up the question to fight the case properly.

Due to various pressures, the Ministry of Labour and Employment continues to discriminate against our unions and this is so in the State Sector like NCDC. It was clear from the results of Works Committee elections, registered membership and from the recommendations from NCDC officers themselves that the Coal Workers Union (AITUC) has the majority following and it should be recognised. This has not been done, despite the repeated

verification of the membership of the union (conducted twice in 1960).

Similarly, there are large numbers of 'failure reports' pending before the Union Labour Ministry, with the recommendations from the Conciliation Officers not because the disputes were raised by AITUC unions, cases are not referred to tribunal. When pressed by unions, after ungly long delay, the Ministry informs them that these cannot be referred to adjudication. No reason is given for this rejection. On the other hand, the disputes raised by INTUC are promptly referred to tribunals. As a result of this policy, a large number of cases of unjust categorisation and others could not be rectified and are still pending.

Another subject on which the Government has failed to discharge its duty is with regard to concessional supply of uniforms and boots, as per the award.

Police repression on our unions and workers continues as in the past. The recent example is that of Modern Satgram colliery. For the only crime of organising a union under the flag of the AITUC, the miners were subjected to lathi-charge, teargassing and police firing. No action was taken against the employer for not implementing labour laws, although the Ministers who visited the colliery have seen it for a fact.

A new problem that has arisen is that due to the new Mines Regulations, a considerable number of workers have been stopped from working underground on the ground of physical incompetence. No relief is paid to them. It is to be demanded that they be paid at least relief at the rate as in retrenchment compensation. Similarly, nothing substantial has been done for the rehabilitation of the disabled persons.

While the question of shorter hours for the miners is being pressed, it is also necessary to demand that five-day week be recognised for coalminers immediately. The survey recently conducted has shown the desirability of paying weekly bonus instead of quarterly. Also in implementation of para 195 of the LAT Award, we have been facing difficulties because employers refused to pay guaranteed minimum wages when the worker has not put up six days work in a week.

NEW PROBLEMS OF THE MOVEMENT

The coalmining industry as a whole has practically come under one award and now there is less scope for achieving demands locally, except in the implementation aspect. Hence there is a great need of centralised coordinated movement. Indeed, in the year 1960, there had been several such occasions when we should have acted through our Federation but we failed to do it. There was a great need to take up the urgent issues stated above on a coordinated and centralised level. But unfortunately, our unions are too much immersed with their local issues and also suffer from localism and as a result, they fail to link up the day-to-day issues and movements with the general movement. That means that we are fighting the effects alone and not the causes. Hence, it is the prime task of our coal unions, specially of Jharia, Raniganj and Hazaribagh fields to make the IMWF an organising centre and launch an industrywise movement on the burning issues.

The influence of AITUC unions is growing and new organisational work has also been started in the newly-developed areas. We have won five out of the eight seats on the Works Committee in the newly-opened Saunda colliery of the NCDC. We have formed a union in Korba belt also. Here again, the problem of centralised organisation to help the new centres is particularly acute.

In the private sector collieries, our unions have not been able to make appreciable headway, except in a few centres. The odds are great, with the employers totally refusing to ne-gotiate, conciliation machinery failing to improve the situation and the Government generally acting in favour of the employers. Coupled with this are subjective weaknesses

particularly in the old centres. The division among the workers is acute as between the AITUC and INTUC but as yet a big chunk of workers remain unorganised. On issues of spontaneous movement, we succeed in rallying the overwhelming majority of the workers but when we are forced to retreat, failure is evident. There is therefore greater need for unity, with the INTUC workers as well as by moving the unorganised workers to make any real headway on our demands.

In the recent period, mass actions in the coalfields have been limited to some demonstrations on local issues. This may be partly due to the dependence on legal actions which it appears has been carried too far in certain cases.

Localism and isolationism also expressed themselves in a crude form during the General Strike of Central Government employees in July 1960 and the call for solidarity action given by the central TU organisations. Beyond holding meetings in certain areas, the coal unions largely failed to move in solidarity action, although the question of rise in minimum wages and D.A. was vital to the miners too.

However, it does not mean that local actions have no significance. Rather it is due to local actions that gratuity was won by the miners in Singareni Collieries. Similar local actions on this issue were possible in the NCEC and the big collieries which would have helped to realise this demand. Even the Arbitrator's Award conceded that the big collieries could provide the gratuity.

We have all along been suffering from lack of cadres and due to this, the functioning of the local unions has been considerably affected. The failure to provide cadres has brought in its wake also a sense of defeatism in the old bases, with very few cadres struggling hard to grapple with the problems of the movement. In the present circumstances when we do not get sufficient number of outside cadres, we should have concentrated on training the worker cadres. But we have failed to do this so far which would have helped to change the old pattern of "union babu and workers" in organisation. It is urgent that we should plan this work of educating and training up cadres from among the workers.

In this connection, it is extremely desirable that the Indian Mine Workers' Federation should publish its organ, at least a monthly, in which problems of Pit Committees, Shop Committees, demands and organisational tasks, etc. can be discussed.

During this period, one notable failure on our part is on the question of organisation of cooperatives. It is true that the Registrars are putting hindrances in our way but even then, we must see that we have lagged behind the INTUC in this respect. During the last two years, a large number of cooperatives have been organised with the help of the Welfare Department. Our union organisers must see the future of the workers' cooperatives in its true perspective and overcome the lag in the coming days.

S U G A R

by

Ram Asre

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I

Employing nearly two lakhs of workers and providing employment to millions of others, sugar industry within about two decades has developed into one of the biggest organised industry, meeting the needs of the growing population of our country. Upto 1953-54, we imported about six lakh tons of refined sugar, whereas now sugar has now become one of the sources of earning foreign exchange.

Nearly 150 sugar mills, mainly concentrated in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, in the last season, produced over 24 lakh tons of white sugar and overfulfilled the targets of the Second Five Year Plan which was 22.5 lakh tons. By the end of the Second Plan period, we may well touch the high mark of 26 lakh tons (in 1960-61).

The capital employed in sugar factories all over India is nearly Rs.30 crores. The table below gives an idea of the progress of the industry:

(in tons)

1950-51	11,00,500
1951-52	14,83,000
1952-53	14,83,000
1953-54	10,00,500
1954-55	15,80,000
1955-56	18,62,000
1956-57	20,26,179
1957-58	19,77,794
1958-59	19,18,192
1959-60	24,10,000

II

But this progress has not given relief to the consumers or even to the cane-growing peasants. Even the Wage Board for Sugar Industry which was expected to give adequate relief to the workers producing super-profits for the employers, has failed to provide any appreciable relief except standardising the facilities and concessions that were being enjoyed by a large section of the workers.

In the year 1949-50, average all-India price of sugar was Rs.28.50 per maund and in the year 1959-60, it rose to Rs.46 per maund, in the market, despite partial control imposed by the Government of India. The cane-producing peasants too have been accorded no relief and thus, despite repeated demands and support from State legislatures of U.P. and Bihar, will get only Rs.1.62 per maund for delivery at the factory gates and Rs.1.50 per maund at rail centres, even in season 1960-61.

It is thus clear that the sugar industry has become very important not only for the trade union movement in the country but because of its position with regard to everyday requirements of the people and the importance it has for the cane-growing peasantry, it has acquired important position for the democratic movement in the country.

III

It was with this view that when the Sugar Wage Board came into existence in December 1957, the AITUC invited its cadres working in sugar unions for a meeting. In early 1958, comrades from U.P., Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnad held a meeting to discuss and prepare the replies to the Questionnaire of the Wage Board.

After these consultations, the replies were prepared by the AITUC centre and submitted before the Wage Board. In our evidence before the Wage Board, we demanded Rs.110.00 as the need-based minimum for the whole industry and also indicated that the AITUC will allow regional variations in accordance with the duration and recovery percentage in each region. But in no case it will accept less than Rs.110 as minimum wages since the paying capacity of the industry permitted this easily.

At the Bangalore meeting of the General Council (January 1959), while drawing priorities of work industry-wise placed the work in sugar industry as a priority task. We had also decided that an All-India Federation be brought into being with the help of the United Chini Mill Mazdoor Federation which was a united forum of work in U.P. for AITUC, HMS and independent unions in sugar industry in the State.

After this meeting, a tour was organised to sugar centres in Eastern U.P. and some preliminary organisational work was initiated. A Regional Office of the UPTUC was also set up at Meerut to coordinate activities of unions and to start new organisational work in Western U.P.

In the beginning of the 1959-60 season, meetings of activists of sugar unions were held in Maharashtra and U.P. At these meetings, which were attended by Com.S.A.Dange, General Secretary, and Com.K.G. Sriwastava, decisions were taken to step up organisational work.

In the U.P. region, one thousand pamphlets covering our replies to the Wage Board questionnaire were published in Hindi and sold in sugar centres.

In Walchandnagar, in Maharashtra, a new union has been organised with the help of cooperation of the AITUC and other elements. A meeting of union activists in Maharashtra was held in October 1960. Similar meetings were held in West U.P. and Punjab. At these meetings, it was decided to immediately campaign for publication of the Wage Board report and implementation of recommendations during the 1960-61 season itself. In Punjab, some of the INTUC unions in the industry have moved along with the AITUC in this campaign.

Today, we have 29 unions with a membership of 21,472 in the sugar industry. The INTUC has 91 unions with a membership of 63,999. Here it must be noted that in U.P. and Punjab, it is the INTUC which has strong hold over sugar workers. In Eastern U.P., though the independent unions of Shri Shibbanlal Saxena, M.P. and HMS have general influence over the workers, they are weak organisationally.

IV

The Report of the Sugar Wage Board was released for publication on December 7, 1960. The Government's resolution on the report has not yet been forthcoming.

The effects of the recommendations of the Wage Board will be felt deeply and widely. For the first time, a standardised wage structure has been recommended for the whole industry. Categories have been worked out according to the skill of work, etc.

What is the Board's recommendation with regard to need-based minimum? Though conceding in principle a National Minimum Wage of Rs.60--1--65, the Board has not gone much farther than the existing wage in the industry.

Maharashtra has been awarded slightly different wage scales, though in total wages there too, not much has been given. In U.P., the existing wage level is Rs.58.00 for unskilled workers. If the recommendations are fully implemented, which is very likely due to the unanimous character of the Report, then the wage of the unskilled workers must rise between Rs.10 to Rs.16. In Maharashtra, the rise has to be between Rs.7 and Rs.10.

Here in this industry, the Wage Board did not discuss much with regard to the paying capacity as such, but denied adequate wage rise in the name of the totally misconceived bourgeois theory that "a wage-rise in particular sector of economy will dislocate the rural economy of the country and wide disparity of incomes would arise." This is totally unconvincing.

The method common to all Wage Boards and the Pay Commission that seems to have been followed is to effect minimum wage-rise, which is impossible to deny in view of the fact that cost of living has gone up and then ensure "peace" for the Third Plan. The Wage Boards were won due to the labour done in the First Plan, but they took for for their deliberations the Second Plan period and look up to ensuring "peace" in industry by meagre increments in wages.

The Pay Commission was bothered by dislocation of Plan economy, the Textile Wage Board was bothered by a "crisis" and paying capacity of the industry, the Sugar Wage Board was concerned for the rural economy - the net result being denial of adequate wage rise and neutralisation of rising prices. They followed different routes, but the conclusions were the same - as if premeditated.

The Sugar Wage Board has denied retaining allowance to unskilled seasonal workers. It has denied railway fare. It has taken away other facilities and concessions that were won after many a struggle. The Bonus in the North, which too was being given in the basis of negotiations through Government machinery has been made dependent on profits of individual units. The apprehension is that the workers in this region may suffer due to this because the Bonus Commission promised to be set up is still far away.

V

1. Now that the Wage Board recommendations are before us and also because they, to an extent, standardise conditions of pay and work, a common all-India organisation led by the AITUC has become imperative.
2. The sugar industry due to its being peculiarly in a position to affect lives of the millions of workers, peasants and consumers, provides an appropriate forum for AITUC intervention against profiteering and racketeering.
3. The AITUC by effectively intervening in this industry will become leader of not only thousands of workers but also millions of peasants engaged in sugarcane production and will unite workers and peasants on a common platform against capitalist loot, for nationalisation of sugar industry.

O N

B E E D I A N D

T O B A C C O I N D U S T R Y

.....

The Industry is spread over in the following 11 states covering about 30 lakhs of workers all over the country. Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Kerala, Andhra, Mysore, Madras, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar, Orrisa and West Bengal. The States of Madhya Pradesh and Bombay constitute the biggest Beedi-manufacturing states.

For the production of Beedis, 'Contract System' also prevails with all its evils side by side with the Factory System. The employers with the aim of depriving the workers of the various facilities under various labour-laws, constantly attempt to disband factory system and introduce Contract System under which the workers are subjected to double exploitation, one by the employer concerned and then by the contractor.

In the factory area too where the trade union movement is weak, the workers are controlled by the Jungle laws. There the Government machinery has failed to provide any protection to the Beedi Workers.

In the years 1958 and 1959, the Governments of Madras, Kerala, Mysore enacted the respective Beedi Industrial Premises (Regulation of conditions of work) Acts. The purpose of these Acts was to regulate the conditions of work in Beedi Industrial premises and provide for working hours, rest intervals, weekly holidays, annual leave with wages, overtime wages, etc.

During the last 3 years the Minimum Wages were fixed for Beedi workers in Kerala, Rajasthan, Bombay, Madras and revised in Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Madras and Kerala.

According to a statement given in 1959 in Lok Sabha by the Union Dy. Labour Minister, 11 states - Andhra, Bombay, Bihar, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orrisa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal had fixed Minimum rates of wages for Beedi workers. In Tripura the Minimum rates of wages were also fixed. In the remaining states the Beedi Industry didnot exist except Assam where the Minimum rates of wages were not fixed because the employment-strength of the Industry was below 10,000.

But the problem ^{was} not solved with the fixation or revision of minimum wages because when the question of payment of the minimum wages, fixed or revised, came, the employers of Beedi Industry resorted to such tactics as closures or lock-outs and moving the High Courts etc. In the year 1958 about 3 lakh Beedi workers were rendered unemployed as a result of closure of Beedi workers in Vidarbha. The employers resorted to this action because the average minimum rates of wages of the Beedi workers were raised by about Rs.15.00.

..... 2.

Not only this, the employers also moved the High Court against the fixation and revision of minimum wages with the result that the workers did not receive even that much meagre benefit which they would have received in case the relevant orders of the Governments would have been implemented.

An Inter-state Committee was convened by the Government to consider the question of removing disparities in the rates of minimum wages in Beedi Industry fixed by Certain State Governments. The Committee took note of the difficulties experienced by certain State Governments and felt that contemplated upwards revision of wages in States like Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, where the existing rates were comparatively low, would ease the difficulties in adjoining states like Bombay and West Bengal.

of the Bombay States with the rate of minimum wages the employers
But the problem still remained unsolved. Because of Madhya Pradesh closed their establishments and thousands of workers became jobless or forced to work on the rates even less than the Minimum Wages fixed in 1956. They also began shifting their Industry to Bombay. Both in Bombay and Madhya Pradesh there are open violations of the Minimum Wages Act, the workers are forced to work @ 1/2/- per thousand beedis when the fixed Minimum is 1/10/-.

In order to solve the problem once and for all, something had to be done on the National level. Disparities in the Minimum wages in different regions which encourage unfair labour practice must go. The Central Government is in a position to take positive steps in this matter. But it has not done so till now. The workers and unions of the Industry should demand for fixation of a Standard Minimum Wage applicable to the whole industry in the country.

Closures are also resorted to by the employers in order to pressurise the workers to accept to work under the Contract System as was done in case of some Beedi factories of Madhya Pradesh.

Another disturbing even in the Industry has been declaration of Section 2 (G) (1) of the Madras Beedi Industrial Premises (Regulation of Work) Act ultra-vires, with the result that Trade Mark owner now escaped all the liabilities under the Act. The condition of about one lakh Beedi workers of Madras had gone from bad to worse. Proper amendment of the Act was needed to ensure the Beedi workers their safeguards in the Industry. But that has not been done so far. The Situation could also improve, had the Central Government ordered its Excise Department not to issue L-5 and L-2 licences to such employers who did not obey the Act. But the Government failed to do this also.

It will be not out of place to mention here that abnormal rise in the excise duty on Beedi Tobacco has also indirectly hit the Beedi workers. Such a rise has specially affected the small businessmen and manufacturers resulting in closing down of their concerns and throwing out of employment a considerable number of workers. Following the rise in excise duty the price of tobacco has been arbitrarily increased by monopolists in Beedi leaves and Tobacco Trade in an abnormal proportion thereby knocking out of business small businessmen.

Although Dy. Labour Minister, Government of India had stated in Lok Sabha that major employers in Tobacco had accepted the Code of Discipline, yet the policy and actions of these employers have

been in direct conflict with the Code. One instance in this connection is the non-recognition by the Tobacco employers of the All India Tobacco Employees Federation which has its affiliated unions functioning all over the country. Besides this measures of rationalisation, increase in workload and reduction of labour force had been frequently adopted in an arbitrary manner by these employers, viz., **The Imperial Tobacco Co.**, of India, **The Indian Leaf Tobacco Development Co. Ltd.**, and **Wazir Sultan Tobacco Co. Ltd.** Of late, these employers have gone to the extent of introducing contract system of production.

Recently, the wage-scales prevailing in the **Imperial Tobacco Co.**, of India Ltd. Bombay were revised by the Industrial Tribunal. This award also covered certain other matters such as D.A. working hours, leave-facilities and Gratuity etc. But the employers have not implemented the award.

Of significance is the bipartite settlement reached between the **Indian Leaf Tobacco Development Co. (ILTD)** on the one hand and **Andhra State ILTD Co. Ltd. Workers Union** and **ILTED Workers Union Chirala** on the other hand. The settlement arrived at in May 1960 would be binding for a period of 3 years and relates to basic wages, D.A., Bonus, Provident Fund, Gratuity, maternity benefit etc. It was also agreed under the settlement that the company and the unions should adopt the principles of collective bargaining for a settlement of all matters connected with the terms and conditions of service of workers. Both the Unions entering into the agreement were recognised by the management.

Seeing the magnitude of the problems facing the workers of Tobacco & Beedi Industry, the movement of Beedi workers is not strong as it ought to be. During the last 3 years, local and regional struggles were conducted in Madhya Pradesh, Bombay and other places against closures, lock-outs and for abolition of contract-system of production and wage increase. But broad-based struggles moving the workers of the whole industry on certain common demands could not be wages.

To develop strong trade union movement, it is necessary that along with Madhya Pradesh, where Beedi Kamgar Federation has been working satisfactorily, other states like Bombay, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Andhra others where we have Beedi workers' movement, reports be prepared and circulated to all such states through AITUC for exchange of experience and thereafter chalk-out a programme for the fulfilment of certain common demands viz. Minimum Wage of Rs.250 per 1000 beedies and higher rates according to local conditions; application of the Factories Act or the Shops Act to all Beedi Workers; Abolition of Contract System of Production in Beedi-manufacture and Appointment of an Enquiry Committee to go into the conditions of Industry and the workers' wages and working conditions with equal representation of workers, employers and the Government.

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Note For Discussion:

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT - A REVIEW OF ITS WORKING

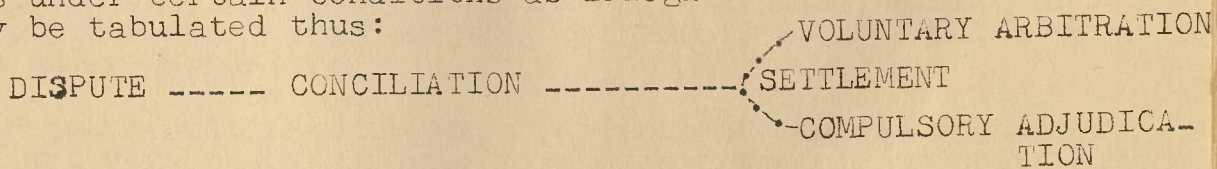
By: Satish Loomba

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The purpose of this note is not to suggest detailed amendments to various clauses of the Act nor to propose additions, but to focus attention on some of the principles and basic concepts in the light of thirteen years' experience of its working, to define the attitude of the TU movement towards these.

I

The object of the Act, according to its sponsors, is to provide a machinery for conciliation and settlement of disputes. As a last resort, recourse may be taken to voluntary arbitration or compulsory adjudication. In this context, it may not be out of place to note at the very outset that the Industrial Disputes Act is the first piece of legislation which defines strikes under certain conditions as illegal. The Sceme of the Act may be tabulated thus:



The AITUC has maintained that the best way of settling disputes is through collective bargaining. Hence it has demanded compulsory recognition of the most representative union, on the basis of secret ballot of workers. The Kerala Industrial Relations Bill proposed by the Communist Government of Kerala, which had the support of the AITUC, recognised this principle. The suggestion has also found favour with the HMS, UTUC and eminent trade unionists like Shri V.V.Giri. But the employers, the Congress Government and the INTUC oppose this. However, this is the only basis on which disputes can be settled amicably, quickly and satisfactorily.

The AITUC has always been opposed to compulsory adjudication. In the Industrial Disputes Act, the discretion of whether to refer a dispute for adjudication or not, when to refer it, and what issues to refer rests with the appropriate Government and it cannot be compelled to exercise it in a particular way. In the present set-up, this has also meant exercise of this power to favour and bolster up INTUC unions and cases are not rare where the AITUC has been denied any access to the adjudication machinery or has been granted this only after prolonged delay and in a lame way. At the same time, this discretion has been used to cripple struggles, illegalise strikes and to land workers in endless litigation. For this reason, the AITUC has always demanded replacement of compulsory adjudication by voluntary arbitration.

The Madras Session of the Indian Labour Conference (July 1959) decided that recourse should be had wherever possible to voluntary arbitration. The AITUC welcomes this suggestion and though experience shows that employers, generally do not agree to this course in practice, voluntary arbitration is a much more fair and quicker way of solving disputes than adjudication.

As at present, adjudication means long delays. During all the time this dispute is pending before adjudication, strikes are ruled out on any matter. Combined with the meagre protection against change in all service conditions, adjudication for long periods means taking away all safeguards in the hands of the workmen for adequate protection of his organisation and conditions. At the same time, it means that conditions which he wants to change and on which he has raised a dispute will continue to exist till the adjudicator has given his decision. Frequent resort to High Courts and Supreme Court and long stay of proceedings are matters with which all trade unions have had to contend.

After the award has been obtained and even if the managements have not gone to higher courts by way of writs or appeals, starts the long and tortuous battle for implementation of awards. The Code of Discipline enjoins upon all to fulfil their obligations under awards. Some sort of Implementation Cells have been set up in States and at the Centre. In most States and at the Centre, Implementation and Evaluation Committees have also been set up to enforce the Code and to implement awards. But so far, all these have been of little use in securing speedy and just implementation of awards. The law, as laid down in the I.D. Act also is very faulty and entirely favours the employers as regards implementation and in the way in which it is applied, since all legal initiative must come from the Government, it is still more biased in their favour.

The net result is that our experience of compulsory adjudication is not very happy and apart from the principle to which also the AITUC is opposed, the working of it has been altogether loaded against the interests of the workers.

The AITUC, experiencing the discriminatory attitude of the Government and hit by all the bureaucratic functioning and bungling of the Governmental machinery raised the demand of voluntary adjudication, i.e., the workers must have the right at any time to take any matter to adjudication. The time has come when this slogan must be critically re-examined..

The Government of India has declared its intention of banning strikes in the public utility services of the Public Sector and of providing machinery for compulsory arbitration. That is to say so far as the Government employees are concerned, compulsory arbitration will be an alternative to strikes. The same will be in effect the position if voluntary adjudication is agreed upon. For, if the workers have the right to take any matter to adjudication on their own initiative, direct action is in fact eliminated. True, we stand for voluntary arbitration but this means agreement of the employer to arbitration and arbitration has none of the drawbacks of adjudication. It is the end of litigation, not the beginning of a long series of court battles. Besides, arbitration has its own logic of implementation of decisions. Adjudication is quite another matter. If free recourse was guaranteed, it would be a matter for the union alone to take steps. All the other attendant evils

of compulsory adjudication would be there and the position for direct action would become intolerable. The backward worker would be easy to confuse, public sympathy would be difficult to elicit and the action itself difficult to justify since the alternative to direct action was always there namely reference in its own discretion of the matters to adjudication.

Hence the AITUC, in the light of the working of the I.D. Act should concentrate on demanding that there should be more frequent resort to voluntary arbitration and in case that fails, the workers should have the unfettered right to resort to direct action. This is not to say that there have not been many awards entirely or mainly beneficial to the workmen, but the matter is of wider import.

However, one particular matter requires a different treatment and that is the case of individual workers. At present, no individual dispute can be taken up unless it is converted into an industrial dispute. The AITUC has demanded the setting up of Industrial Courts to which any individual employee can have recourse directly or through his union. This suggestion has the support of the HMS and the UTUC but was shelved by the Standing Committee of the Indian Labour Conference because the INTUC was opposed to it.

At the 17th Session of ILC at Madras, permission was given to the Madras State Government to set up such courts. There is no reason why this should not be extended to all States.

II

The I.D. Act applies only to workmen of an employer. It leaves out all those who are employers of contractors. A large number of workers is thus left out of its scope. This will apply not only in the case of the existent law regarding adjudication but also with regard to arbitration and Industrial Courts for individual complaints if the suggestion with regard to that is accepted. Without going into the larger question of abolition of contract labour, what is needed is widening of the scope of definition of workmen to cover contractors' employees and therefore that of employer also to include contractors.

III

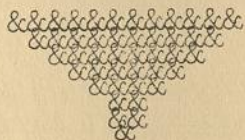
The Act seeks to maintain a superficial balance between the rights of the workmen and the employers and since this balance is superficial and a juridical fiction which does not, in fact, exist, the scales are heavily tipped in favour of the employers. The facts of capitalist society are more weighty than its legal pronouncements.

To take one example only the Act equates lock-out and strikes, an equation which, in fact, does not exist. It illegalise strikes in public utility services unless certain conditions are fulfilled and it also illegalise strikes in all industries in certain circumstances. It impose similar restrictions on lock-outs.

But can a lock-out and strike be equated? A strike is the last but legitimate weapon of the exploited working class to safeguard its rights and to improve its conditions. It is the refusal

of the exploited to sell its labour power under the old conditions because their conditions are intolerable. A lock-out on the other hand is a weapon of the exploited to scarve the exploited into submission. One is the weapon to exist; the other is the weapon to squeeze more.

The AITUC must continue to raise its voice for the removal of restrictions on the right to strike. The trade unions^A come of age. They owe it to themselves to see that this right is not mis-use. But there should be no legal coercive restriction of this right. Specially today when the right to strike is being taken away from a large section of the working class, the section which serves the biggest single employer in the country, the AITUC must make its position clear with regard to this and fight for the removal of curbs and restrictions on this right. The history of strike legislation and case law in India has been a history of ever increasing imposition of limits on the right to strike. This trend must be stoutly resisted and the juridical myth exposed.



A
NOTE ON
SUBSIDISED
INDUSTRIAL HOUSING SCHEME

Since the introduction of the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme in 1952, there have been lots of changes in the industrial structure in our country. With the growing industrial activity, the need for better and bigger provisions for housing has also grown. It is therefore really scandalous to see that how slow and inadequate was the working of the Scheme in regard to meeting with the housing requirement of industrial workers.

This Scheme, as the name indicates, envisages the grant of financial assistance for industrial workers covered by Section 2(1) of the Factories Act, 1948 and mine workers other than those engaged in Coal and Mica mines and covered by Section 2(h) of the Mines Act, 1952. This Scheme consists of loans and subsidies that are given by the Central Government, to the State Governments, statutory Housing Boards, Industrial Employers and registered cooperative Societies of Industrial workers.

A review of the working of the Scheme shows that during the first Five Year Plan, the houses sanctioned for construction involved an expenditure of Rs.22.32 crores. But the actual amount disbursed was only Rs. 13.29 crores.

For the Second Five Year Plan, the original allocation under this Scheme was Rs.45 crores. But subsequent reappraisal slashed it to Rs.27 crores only.

However, the expenditure during the first three years of the Plan was only Rs.10.87 crores. For 1959-60, it was said that a sum of Rs.7.22 crores has been earmarked and thus Rs. 8.91 crores will remain to be spent during the fifth year of the Plan.

It is interesting to note that during the entire period from September 1952 to September 1959, although the total amount provided for all agencies was Rs.62.08 crores, the amount actually spent or utilised was only Rs.28.30 crores. In this amount, the quantum disbursed to the private employers was only Rs.98 lakhs.

From the latest figures available (as on September 30,1960) which are shown in the appendix to this report, it will be seen that the allotted amount was not sanctioned and the sanctioned amount also was not disbursed.

It will also be seen that except Kerala Government, all other Governments failed to build the sanctioned number of houses. In Assam the employers are on complete strike and everywhere else they are lagging miserably behind the schedule. They have failed everywhere to construct the requisite number of houses even under this loan-cum-subsidy scheme.

The matter was taken into consideration by the Labour Ministers Conference in Nainital and subsequently in the Housing Ministers conference in Darjeeling in 1958. This conference of the Housing Minister, which was the third one, ascribed some pious hopes and called upon the employers to cooperate with the Scheme. A proposition was also put forward for the enactment of a Law in this connection should the Scheme fail to rouse necessary interest.

The fourth meeting of the Housing Ministers took place in November 1959 and it is reported that "it was felt necessary to consider specific measures, including legislative compulsion to meet the situation." But there it stood and since then although one year has passed nothing tangible has been done, as can be seen from the facts and statements.

It should be clearly understood that the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme not only failed to eliminate the housing shortage that was there at the time of its introduction, but also failed to cope up with the growing need of industrial workers that increased along with the development of industrial activity.

Despite employers non-cooperation and the sordid state of progress of this Scheme, the Fourth Conference of the Housing Ministers decided to leave the matter to the Government to consider it in all its aspects in consultation with the State Governments and the representatives of the All-India organisations of industrial employers and workers.

It is important to note in this connection that the Governments of Bihar and Rajasthan have reported to have ruled out any compulsion in this connection on the employers. It is a known story that these two Governments particularly do not want to displease the employers in any manner.

As regards the workers' cooperatives not coming up satisfactorily, it has been pointed out by the AITUC and also by others that the rules etc., in this regard are so defective that they do not allow the development of such Schemes. The attempts made by the trade unions in this regard just get lost in the usual red tape and the technicalities hinder necessary growth of impetus among the workers organisations.

Besides this, the AITUC also pointed out that the cooperatives should be helped by: a) allowing the workers share of 10% to be drawn as loan from the Provident Fund accumulations; and b) the State Government acquiring land and providing it to the labour cooperatives at cheap rates.

Despite all these, the position has not improved much. The acute housing shortage yet continues; day by day the need for housing is growing; workers still leave in thatched hutments or pay exorbitant rates to the private owners of houses; no steps yet taken to compell the big employers to provide their employees with quarters.

In big companies, the bulk of workers are still without any quarters. For example, the Tata Iron and Steel Company provides only 14,000 quarters for its 29,000 employees. The Tata Locomotive & Engineering Company provides 37% of its employees with quarters. The Tinplate Company of India provides 27% of its employees with quarters.

In the newly built steel plants also many workers have not been provided with housing. In these of course, the temporary workers and workers employed through the Contractors have not been taken into account.

The AITUC had earlier recommended that the houses already constructed by the State Government under this Scheme should be allocated to the workers employed in small factories at the first instance. This was reasonable because the employers of such small factories may not have the necessary ways and means to finance housing projects. The AITUC also pointed out that the big employers should be compelled even by legislation to construct houses for their workers. It appears that no attention has been paid by the Governments in this regard. The AITUC also demanded downward revision of the rents charged on workers for houses constructed under this Scheme.

A P P E N D I X

State	H o u s e s		A m o u n t (Rs. in lakhs)	
	santioned	completed	Santioned	Paid
<u>Andhra:</u>				
State Govt.	5461	3818	174.58	1,12.52
Employers	717	157	17.63	2.58
Cooperatives	..	..	..	..
<u>Assam:</u>				
State Govt:	303	135	10.00	9.36
Employers:	..	..	..	..
Cooperatives	..	..	..	..
<u>Bihar:</u>				
State Govt.	6923	4090	262.68	175.67
Employers	1806	689	57.52	33.50
Cooperatives	..	..	..	..
<u>Bombay:</u>				
State Govt.	38135	28950	1501.69	1102.48
Employers	3533	1747	93.07	17.12
Cooperatives	1371	1103	31.17	21.21
<u>Delhi:</u>				
S.G./U.Admn	2528	1380	58.73	45.00
Employers	145	21	1.92	..
Cooperatives	58	58	1.04	1.04
<u>Kerala:</u>				
State Govt.	250	250	7.76	12.91
Employers	150	50	4.33	..
Cooperatives	..	..	..	..
<u>Madhya Pradesh:</u>				
State Govt.	5957	5331	153.80	151.70
Employers	1388	988	21.21	13.24
Cooperatives	115	13	3.17	..
<u>Madras:</u>				
State Govt:	2644	1854	82.96	66.87
Employers	1288	464	27.95	7.49
Cooperatives	1291	64	40.52	4.33
<u>Mysore:</u>				
State Govt.	4778	3847	143.24	98.33
Employers	4321	2247	72.78	15.01
Cooperatives	..	..	..	..
<u>Orissa:</u>				
State Govt.	1006	424	35.64	23.94
Employers	1077	1008	18.82	16.21
Cooperatives	..	..	..	..
<u>punjab:</u>				
State Govt.	2774	1802	95.88	72.71
Employers	1556	1486	28.81	10.21
Cooperatives	374	132	10.71	3.29
<u>Rajasthan:</u>				
State Govt.	2540	1122	78.29	43.46
Employers	1064	1064	15.75	13.45
Cooperatives	..	..	..	..

Uttar Pradesh:

State Govt.	25588	21148	795.58	680.57
Employers	946	536	21.70	7.74
Cooperatives	43	43	0.66	0.40

West Bengal:

State Govt.	7760	4716	364.15	177.94
Employers	1946	886	40.45	6.51
Cooperatives

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A B S T R A C T

All State Govt.	1,06,647	78,858	3706.25 & 58.73	2773.46
Employers	19,937 & 2,802%	11,343 & 2,274%	421.94 & 26.05%	143.06
Cooperatives	3,338	1,413	90.25	30.27
	----- 1,32,724	93,888	4303.22	2946.79 -----

& Out of 7,796 houses involving a financial assistance to the extent of Rs.122.55 lakhs, which were originally sanctioned by the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, and subsequently cancelled and transferred to the State Governments for re-sanctioning under the revised procedure. 2802 houses involving an amount of Rs.26.05 lakhs are still to be re-sanctioned by the State Governments.

* The entry in the third column, second line (58.73) indicates Central Government expenditure.

A NOTE ON PRODUCTIVITY

By

Satish Loomba

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1. WHAT IS MEANT BY PRODUCTIVITY?

Productivity is quite distinct from Production. It is possible for production to increase while productivity may at the same time decline and vice versa.

Strictly defined, productivity means the ratio between input and output. If the output increase in relation to the input of resources, productivity is said to increase. Resources include not only human labour but also capital, machines, techniques, etc. But in the ultimate analysis, in a capitalist set-up, increase in productivity means increase in productivity of labour. The Japan Productivity centre had to acknowledge that "productivity has been increased, but labour (workload) is intensified; wages remain as they were, hours of work are lengthened and unemployment poses a serious question".

2. PRODUCTIVITY AND THE T.U. MOVEMENT.

Since productivity drive in a capitalist country is a device to increase the exploitation of the workers, the question may be posed: should not the TU movement oppose all productivity drives? The question is legitimate but cannot be answered in a short way.

India is industrially a backward country. Through the Public and Private Sectors, efforts are being made to develop it industrially. But this development is based on capitalist relations of production and carries with it all the features of capitalism. Should the trade union movement therefore oppose it or should the workers play a part in the development of the national economy as the economy of an under-developed country newly liberated from imperialism?

The answer which was given by the 25th Session of the AITUC was that we have to adopt a "two pillar" approach. The first "pillar" is the defence of the rights and interests of the working class and the second "pillar" is helping the development of the economy specially in the Public Sector.

Productivity drives also require this approach. We have to support what is necessary for development and at the same time, safeguard the essential interests of the workers.....

It is for this reason that the AITUC has consented to become a member of the National Productivity Council - the tripartite body which heads the productivity movement in India.

The matter was put in the Report to the General Council at Bangalore (January 1959) in the following way:

"Over and above this, in the name of productivity, the existing time-rates will be sought to be converted into piece-rates. For some workers and in some occupations, it may lead to higher earnings in the initial phase. But later on, the employers will revise the norms and bring down the rates as also the complement of workers. This is already happening in the engineering industry, particularly, which being a new industry and an expanding one, is very much susceptible to this attack. (For instance, see reports of Bombay and Calcutta Engineering unions.)

"Here one has to be careful. Because, some of the workers, especially the skilled section, in some occupations, welcome the piece-rates. Hence, we cannot take an attitude of general opposition to all piece-rates, though in principle piece-rates as the whole, in the capitalist system, they benefit capital more. We should, however, not readily accept proposals of converting time-rates into piece-rates, without thoroughly ascertaining the wishes of the workers' concerned.

"There is a convention on principles of productivity also. It says the productivity must not lead to unemployment or intensification of workloads and speed ups. It should also increase earnings. The convention as such is good in principle. But the trouble arises in observance. The AITUC, wherever possible, has sent nominees to serve on productivity councils in the state sector industries particularly. In the private sector, the employers prefer the INTUC. The employers and managerial personnel, whether in the state or private sector do not easily shed off their ownership or superiority complex. They try to treat the workers on these councils as mere 'show-hands' to illustrate the 'fads of democracy and socialism'. The moment worker representatives resist the managements suggestions, they are overruled. But there are instances also, where harmonious working has taken place. I learn from some reports that productivity has some interesting results to show, for example, in the Jay Engineering Works of Calcutta in the private sector and the Hindustan Machine Tools and the Indian Telephone Industries in the state sector. There are many more cases worth studying and worth reporting. Increase in production with mutual adjustments has been tried in the Sen Raleigh Works in Asansol, though not without hitches from both sides which I think have been resolved through discussion. Productivity has not had that much trouble which rationalisation has brought in, because it has not yet led to that vicious result of

rationalisation, namely, retrenchment and unemployment which especially hit the old and women workers. It does, however, raise problems of speed-ups particularly where assembly line work dominates, as in Bata Shoe Co. or assembly sections of cycles, motors, etc.

"There is a tendency to look at problems of speed-ups in an under-developed country like India on the same levels as in advanced countries. And that generally leads to trouble. The managements dominated by European or American standards expect to do the same thing here, forgetting the fact that our worker is still fresh from the fields, that the average level of industrial skill takes time to rise (the present levels took over hundred years to evolve in Europe) and that the wages, nourishment and other conditions here are not at all conducive to greater speed-ups. We import European machines and technique but not European wages and conditions. Yet our productivity in many cases equals or even beats that of the European worker.

"Both in trade unions and in the managerial or owner personnel, productivity requires evolving proper integrated norms of approach and work based on the given stage of the worker, his training and wages, the machine and the technician as also the class approach of the system and its bosses. Rising productivity is essential socially but we cannot forget the fact that capital insists on it for increasing its own profits by lowering costs. Increase in earnings, where they take place are only a bye-product for capital, a mere adjunct to pump out more surplus from the workers. Cheapness of the product to the consumer is also a dubious result in the present monopoly conditions. The workers should not forget the basis of the system, whatever the fine words that cover it. With that full knowledge, we participate in it in the given conditions of Indian development."

During recent years, there has been a considerable increase in the number of industrial and productivity consultants. These consultants concentrate mostly in time and motion study and job evaluation. Through these methods, efforts are made to set up norms and standards of efficiency and production which put an unbearable burden on the workers in relation to the plants technique, wages, working and living conditions prevailing in India. Hence most of these efforts, as also the efforts at rationalisation and increase in workloads, have been stoutly resisted by the workers. Now, along with these methods, attention is being paid to have statistical quality control, standardisation of products, inventory control and similar methods which aim at increasing productivity per rupee and per worker and in approach and applicability are less objectionable from the point of view of the workers.

Hence in evaluating schemes of productivity, a differentiated approach will have to be adopted. While we will have to oppose such schemes which aim at increasing productivity by putting the burden on the workers, or mainly on the workers, we should lend support to measures which do not have adverse repercussions on workers.

The tripartite agreement on rationalisation forms a basis for evaluating various schemes. It must be remembered however that rationalisation is only one of the methods of increasing productivity, although the method which, for the employer, is the easiest to choose and one which is most generally applied. This agreement has been incorporated in the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Cotton Textile Industry.

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Another method to which capitalists generally resort to is increase of workloads. Increase of workload is to be distinguished from rationalisation, which may, by simplifying processes, greater mechanisation, etc., actually reduce workload. Very often, through simple speed-up or by increasing the number of operations or/and number of machines which an operative has to mind, it is sought to increase production and possibly productivity. While the TU movement may not oppose rationalisation, if subject to the agreed conditions, it can never agree to increased workloads.

A small point may be noted here, namely, that even if physical workload is lightened, it is possible that fatigue load may go up. With increasing automation comes monotony and also increasing nervous strain. Therefore, the TUs cannot judge a position simply from the point of view of workloads but must also see what the fatigue load is.

This brings us to an important question - any scheme for productivity must be introduced only after agreement with the workers. Collective agreement at the plant level is essential, since it is the actual worker in the shop who can best judge the effects of a particular scheme. In the absence of trained personnel with the unions, the formal consent of union officials is not enough. The worker in the plant will have to be consulted all along. And even if there are such personnel with the unions, the workers as a whole must agree to any scheme before the assent of the union can be valid or effective. The TU movement must therefore stress that for productivity to be really successful in our country, three things must be provided on the workers' side: A union which is really representative must be recognised; consent of the union must be taken for any productivity scheme; the workers concerned must also be consulted and consent obtained before any practical steps are taken. If the usual capitalist method of forcing productivity by threats of closures or dismissals in the even of the workers refusal will only lead to conflicts, retarding production.

The question of increasing productivity is closely linked with the question of sharing the gains of productivity. Recently, the National Productivity Council held a Seminar on this subject which resolved to set up a small tripartite committee to go into the question and submit its suggestions. The tripartite agreements on rationalisation have in a general way laid down that any gains of rationalisation must be equitably shared between the industry, the workers and the consumers. This general formula suffers from a basic defect, namely, that gains to the consumer can never be assured or measured specially in the private capitalist sector.

Specific application of the formula is a still more ticklish problem.

/Charter of the National Productivity Council and has also been included in the

Another point which the trade unions must emphasise is that prices must be controlled. For, increase in productivity and sharing its gains is meaningless if all advance is to be wiped out by a rise in prices.

A very dangerous concept is now being mooted from various governmental and employer quarters, namely, that wages should be linked to productivity. The policy of wage-freeze met with serious, prologed and stubborn resistance from the workers. The result was that it was conceded by the Government and the employers that wages required revision. An agreement was reached to appoint Wage Boards in selected industries and a few were actually appointed. A tripartite agreement was reached on the norms required for fixation of minimum wages. But then the translation of the norms into rupees would have meant a high increase in money wages. What happened to the agreements was seen in the Central Government employees' strike. The working class had defeated the idea of any freezing of wages through its strength. Now the slogan has come of linking wages to productivity, and more specifically, allowing any wage increase only when productivity increases.

We have attempted to give some analysis of productivity trends and real and nominal wage elsewhere in a different note. This will tell its own story. But the point to emphasise here is that a new turn is being given to the slogan of wage freeze by raising the slogan of linking wages to productivity. The trade unions must firmly reject this new slogan because not only is it faulty in theory - wages should be linked to cost of living and a rising standard of living - but also because in the context of rising prices, it means actually denying any advance.

3. PRODUCTIVITY ORGANISATIONS IN INDIA - NPC AND LPCs:

The productivity movement in India is headed by the National Productivity Council (NPC) - a tripartite body containing representatives of Government, employers and workers. It also has representatives of experts and technicians and other interests like consumers but the effective representation is only to the first mentioned three.

The NPC with its headquarters at Delhi seeks to disseminate information, help research into and training of experts, gather facts and exchange experience through in-country tours and sponsoring of teams and trainees abroad. It also aims at laying down broad principles for guidance.

Local Productivity Councils (LPC) have been set up in the same pattern at various places and they have similar field of activity.

The organised bodies are of too recent a growth to assess their work properly. However, the general criticism can be made that the approach is technical and not human or social. They are more concerned about how to achieve greater productivity than how it is achieved.

4. PRODUCTIVITY TRENDS IN INDIA:

Figures are not available about productivity trends

either as a whole or in a particular industries. Sometimes, such statistics as are there are conflicting. Generally figures are available for production, employment, etc. only and it is on this basis alone that some calculations can be made. These calculations can by their nature be only indications.

1. JUTE INDUSTRY

(Base = 1951)

Year	Index of employment	Index of production	Index of productivity
1956	100.5	127.3	126.6
1957	94.3	120.5	127.7
1958	89.3	123.9	138.7

2. SUGAR INDUSTRY

1956	102.4	166.5	162.5
1957	107.6	185.5	172.3
1958	107.7	175.6	163.0

3. COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

1956	112.9	117.5	104.1
1957	113.7	115.6	101.6
1958	107.3	108.9	101.4
1959	107.0	111.5	104.2
1960*	107.0	113.6	106.1

4. COAL INDUSTRY

1956	100.1	114.9	114.7
1957	105.2	126.8	120.5
1958	108.8	132.2	121.5
1959	103.4	137.1	132.5

5. SHARING GAINS OF PRODUCTIVITY:

This question is of obvious importance. However, apart from the general proposition that any gains must be shared equitably among the employers and the workers, the exact working out raises many problems.

It may be stated at the very beginning, that it is well-nigh impossible to define exactly how much increase in productivity is due to any single factor. Productivity depends upon inter-action of many factors and it is difficult, if not impossible, to isolate one, in all the variables, and the result is due to their joint effort. Hence any attempt to share gains on the basis of ascribing increase to a single factor must be ruled out. However, the sharing of gains involves measurement of productivity in a broad way.

The second point is how to share the increase or gain. The employers argue that such gains must be shared equitably which, in fact, means appropriation of major portion by them. As opposed to this, the trade unions must advance the position that since wages are low and in many cases, still below the minimum level, till a fair wage level is reached, the gains must in the largest measure go to increase wages. This must be the first priority.

The employers argue that workers share should also include at least partially, improvement in working conditions which benefits not only the industry but also the workmen. Again, according to them, workers' share should include expenditure on "fringe benefits" like medical aid, leave provisions, housing, etc. These claims must be rejected. In conditions obtaining in our country, where wages are very low, and real wages are falling, the first priority must be wages and only after a fair standard has been reached, can be divert part of the workers' share towards other benefits.

A straight question which is being posed by the employers is that the system of time rates must be substituted by payment by results, i.e., piece-rates. For example, all the employers have argued out this point is their evidence before the Cement Wage Board, in the name of increasing productivity.

The system of piece-rates in India is very defective and detrimental to the interests of workers. There is no minimum fall-back wage; rates are changed often and to the detriment of the workers; there is no standardisation of patterns or materials, etc. Therefore, the trade unions must demand that these defects be first removed where piece-rates already exist and that minimum monthly fall-back wages be fixed in all cases. As for extension of piece-rates, we should not consent to it.

Past experience of piece-rates bears this out. For example, in the ports and docks, the workers at first welcomed the idea because it meant an immediate gain in earnings. But soon afterwards, they found out that not only was this gain purely illusory but also the burden of work was too heavy.

A method of sharing gains of productivity which is often advocated is the various types of incentive schemes. Though these are popularly known as production bonus, efficiency bonus, etc., these are not in reality bonuses but a reward for increased effort. The point to grasp here is that production bonus etc., should not become a means of keeping wages and rates at a low level. Wages at a minimum level must be guaranteed and any bonus, etc., must be extra over this level. Secondly, since such schemes involve extra effort, care must be taken to see the level of workloads involved. If these two points are satisfactorily resolved, we can examine each scheme on its merits.

6. TASKS:

In this background, let us briefly examine what are the tasks which the TU movement has to discharge.

1. It is clear that greater stress is being laid on productivity drives. The trade unions must equip themselves with technical knowledge of time and motion study, job evaluation, methods study, statistical quality control (SQC), inventory control, etc., in order to protect the vital interests of the workers. Along with this, we must equip the trade union organisers with detailed knowledge about incentive schemes.

In the absence of this knowledge, defence of the workers interests will become more and more difficult. For this purpose the facilities offered by the NPC and the LPCs must be fully utilised.

2. The tripartite agreement on rationalisation, which is also incorporated in the NPC Charter, thus giving it a wider application covering all productivity methods and techniques, must be applied in practice. Today this is not being done. The TUs must carry on agitation for this and see that adequate sanctions are evolved.

3. The slogan of linking wages to productivity and hence making any increase in wages dependent and consequential only upon increase in productivity must be stoutly opposed. The analysis of productivity trends, wages, profits and prices shows clearly that while productivity has increased, real wages have fallen, profits have swelled and prices have gone up. The trade unions must therefore advance the slogan of defence of the real wages of the workers. This can be done only if prices are controlled, basic wages are raised and to neutralise the rise in the cost of living, D.A. is linked to cost of living indices.

4. The gains of increased productivity must be equitably shared. While this point is in a general way covered in the tripartite agreements on rationalisation and the NPC Charter, yet details have to be worked out. Apart from this, and in the light of previous experience of all tripartite agreements and formulae, is the question of evolving suitable sanctions and machinery for enforcement.

5. The question of recognition of unions representative of workmen and collective agreements with them is a vital one. The Seminar on Sharing Gains of Productivity recognised in a general way the necessity of collective agreements before any measure for productivity increase is introduced. But the real question of seeing that it is the genuine union which is recognised will remain and also of enforcing in practice that unions are taken into confidence before a scheme is introduced.

6. A test which requires immediate attention and also patience is to explain to workers the real nature of piece-rate work in India. As mentioned earlier, the drawbacks must be explained and this sometimes becomes difficult because the immediate monetary gains seem at first tempting.

Similarly, with regard to the incentive schemes, education of workers is necessary. Only then will we be able to guard the wage level and protect them from unbearable and ruinous workloads.

7. Our TUs should participate in the work of the Productivity Councils where possible, even though these bodies are suspect from the point of view of the workers. In the given conditions and circumstances, we can safeguard the interests of workers better by utilisation of this forum and participation in its activities than by keeping out. Even proposed retrogressive measures can be better opposed by fighting them from the platform of the tripartite combined with, rather than merely through, local action of the workers whose interests are threatened.

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Trade unions have been rightly called the schools of socialism. It is through the struggles for a better living and working conditions that the workers know how to fight against the capitalist social order. Workers get convinced through these long drawn struggles that their conditions can be basically improved only through the changing of the social order and establishing a socialist society.

After attainment of independence, the bourgeoisie has been making systematic efforts to strengthen its hold over the working class. With the help of the press controlled by them, with the aid of the educational system, books, etc., the capitalists carry on a vigorous ideological campaign among the workers in order to make them accept the capitalist order as their own, as being in their interest or to palm off this order itself as a socialist system. Their attempt among trade unions is to shape the minds of the workers as will make the unions a handmaid of the employers. It should be one of the tasks of trade union education to counter this ideological adulteration of the workers and trade unions.

As a result of the struggles of the workers in defence of their rights, the trade unions have become a great force. The old anarchist unrestrained behaviour of the capitalists in exploiting the workers has been restrained by the struggles of the workers. A body of laws, court rulings, codes, collective agreements, tribunals, wage boards, verification, etc., with which trade union workers are concerned every day, have come into existence. The knowledge of those along with the theoretical knowledge of general trade union tasks need training courses for cadres, who have to be equipped and educated for these new complex tasks, which did not exist in the early days of trade unionism.

For all these purposes, Trade Union Schools are a great necessity.

The Government of India felt the necessity to bid for positive support of the working class and the trade unions for the Five Year Plan economy which they launched as a means of raising India's economy to a higher level. With this end in view, they too felt the necessity of embarking on a scheme of workers' education, to orientate the unions and workers in their direction. Though they declared for socialism as their goal, they were not ready to accept scientific socialism as part of the workers' educational scheme. However, some training in the management of trade unions and an ideological approach, which amounted to canvassing support for the extant capitalist system, though accompanied with criticism, seemed to be the basis of their scheme. Even then, they allowed scope for other approaches also to be put before the workers, as was evidenced by the invitation given to the AITUC to participate in the lecture series, of which seventeen were allotted to AITUC speakers. But the

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weightage given to the employers on the Board of Education is totally unjustified and they and the so-called neutral educationists are draining the scheme of every content of working class approach, if not hampering it altogether. Whatever is at present being done more or less amounts to training cadres for the INIUC at State expense. The trade unions must take more interest in this question. A few facts noted below would be of help in this.

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The Fifteenth Indian Labour Conference recommended the establishment of a Central Board for Workers Education, having semi-autonomous authority, comprising representatives from trade unions, employers, government and educational institutions. It was also agreed to provide instruction in (i) trade union consciousness; (ii) the purposes, functions and administration of trade unions; (iii) the conduct of union management relations and knowledge of the industry; and (iv) the development of a mature individual and his role as a citizen.

The scheme prepared by a sub-committee (which was set up to go into the details of an appropriate programme) envisaged training a hard core of "teacher-administrators" who, in turn, would be put in charge of training teachers for carrying out the workers' training programme throughout the country.

Accordingly, a six-month training course for about 57 top level instructors or teacher-administrators was organised in Bombay in 1958. Of these, 43 were absorbed in service. Fourteen, who had been nominated by trade unions reverted to their unions on completion of the training. The AITUC had nominated four comrades for this course. The AITUC was also allotted 17 lectures in this course. The teacher-administrators under the Board had been posted to man the workers' education centres in different places, namely, Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, Bangalore, Indore, Dhanbad, Hyderabad, Delhi, Alwaye and Nagpur. AITUC nominees have been taken on the Regional Boards which supervise the work of the Regional Schools.

The AITUC decided to participate in the Scheme with the idea of utilising the scheme in the interest of the working class. The AITUC had no illusions that some spectacular results would be achieved by this scheme. However, the scheme, if implemented properly would result in giving some benefit to the working class.

The second training course was arranged in Calcutta and the AITUC was given three nominees only.

It was expected that during the Second Plan period ten more workers' education centres will be established and after conducting three more teacher-administrators' training courses, there will be 130 teacher-administrators in the service under the Board and 45 will be trade union nominees. During the same period, a sum of Rs.60 lakhs has been provided for this scheme.

The inclusion of the employers' representatives on the various committees is not a correct principle so far as workers' education is concerned.

A sub-committee also has been formed on production of literature. But since the last year, no progress has been made by the Committee. The AITUC has given its proposals under this head.

There is a scheme of expanding financial aid to such institutions and trade unions who undertake the task of imparting education to workers and trade union officials. A provision of Rs.2 lakhs every year has been made for this purpose. Requests for these grants have been received from many institutions. It is worth noting that organisations which have nothing to do with trade unions or are mere ad hoc education societies have also asked for grants from this fund. Such spurious demands are even likely to find support in the Board, much to the detriment of real TU education.

The AITUC has submitted a scheme asking for a grant-in-aid for the N.M.Joshi Memorial School but even though more than an year has passed, the Government has not yet communicated its decision to the AITUC.

The Scheme prepared by the AITUC and submitted to the Government had the following salient features:

- 1) Establishment of the Central School and its offices. There will be two centres of the Central School for training teachers and leading cadres every year. One will be in New Delhi and one in Bombay. This may later be extended to four centres, one in Calcutta and one in Madras State (Coimbatore). The AITUC had even acquired accommodation to house these schools, if the recurring grants were sanctioned.
- 2) Organisation of ten regional schools in an year.
- 3) Organisation of a Library and Research Centre at the Central School. An experimental school was held by the AITUC at Nagpur in 1955.
- 4) Publication of books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc.
- 5) Aiding affiliated unions to run education campaigns and coordinating such efforts at local and industrial levels.

The Board, on which AITUC has one nominee only, is a bureaucratic, top heavy body. Naturally much less attention is given to the trade union opinion, dominated as it is by non-TU elements in its functioning.

Classes are being run for factory workers, who are to be chosen by the unions. The students, while in training, get their wages and leave. The AITUC is however discriminated against on the question of nomination of students to these classes. Employers in some cases have refused to give leave to the workers belonging to the AITUC for attending these classes.

To rely wholly upon the Government's scheme is out of the question. Even while participating in the Government scheme where possible, the AITUC must have its own scheme of workers' education and necessary steps should be taken to implement it.

The Working Committee of the AITUC at its session in September 1957 planned for the establishment of the N.M.Joshi Memorial School of Trade Unions.

The resolution stated:

"In view of the urgent necessity to institute organised workers' education, the Working Committee of the AITUC decides that a permanent Central School of Trade Unions be established. It will train teachers for TU Schools and also arrange TU schools for workers in various States. The Working Committee authorises the General Secretary to take all necessary steps to organise and establish such a School.

"The Working Committee of the AITUC decides that a fitting memorial should be raised to the late Comrade N.M.Joshi, one of the veteran founders of the trade union movement in India and so decides that the proposed Central School be named 'The N.M.JOSHI MEMORIAL SCHOOL OF TRADE UNIONS'.

"The General Secretary will consult the Secretaries of the State TUCs in order to organise the syllabus and outline of education, taking note of the scheme evolved by the Workers' Education Committee of the Government of India."

The Working Committee meeting held at Darjeeling from May 29 to 31, 1958, discussed a programme for conducting trade union schools in the different regions. It was decided to hold four regional schools in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi regions in October 1958 and organizers were appointed. However, these schools could not be organised.

In the same meeting, a committee was appointed to prepare syllabus for the TU Schools. The Committee was to meet from July 20, 1958. The meeting, however, began on September 28 and a draft was prepared.

Another sub-committee was appointed by the Working Committee in September 1960 to finalise the syllabus, with Coms.Indrajit Gupta, Satish Lomba and A.C.Nanda. It was decided that these comrades will sit in the AITUC office for a few days and complete the job. The committee met on September 26, 1960 and dispersed with some discussions and distribution of work, to meet again on November 12 and, as later decided, on November 16. The members of the Committee again met and postponed the meeting to November 25. No meeting could be held on this date as only Com.Indrajit Gupta was present in Delhi. Some of the drafts of lectures prepared by Com.Pandhe and examined by the earlier committee have been gone through by Coms.Indrajit Gupta and Satish Lomba. Com.Homi Daji also helped the Committee in finalising a few lectures. Some of the lectures are yet to be revised and the sub-committee is yet to finalise it.

The question of workers' education was discussed at length at the General Council meeting at Bangalore (1959) and it was decided to take steps to expedite the publishing of syllabus and holding TU Schools. The question again came up for discussion in the Working Committee meeting held at Delhi in August 1959, the General Council held at Delhi in February 1960 and the Working Committee which met at Delhi in September 1960. But for various reasons, the school has yet not been able to start functioning, which is an unfortunate fact.

This does not mean that schooling activity has not been taking place at regional and TU levels. Trade Union schools were held in Giridih (Bihar), Bombay, and Assam during the year 1958. In 1959, the General Engineering Employees Union, Bombay, organised a school for the members of the union. Sangamner (Maharashtra) Bidi Kamgar Union also conducted some classes on trade unionism. In 1960, the Singareni Colliery Workers Union (Andhra) also conducted a school for a week. The Punjab STUC organised a two-day school at Amritsar in December 1960. There have been some more but reports about them have not reached the Central Office.

It is high time that the AITUC should take concrete steps to implement the education programme. Following steps are proposed to be taken in the forthcoming months on this subject:

- 1) Early publication of the Syllabus.
 - 2) Fixation of the date for the formation of N.M.Joshi Memorial School of Trade Unions.
 - 3) Every State TUC should make it a point to organise a TU School under the direct supervision of the N.M.Joshi Memorial School of Trade Unions.
 - 4) To begin with organisation of Central School for the teachers in the regional schools.
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AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF FACTORY WORKERS'

(Rupees Per Workers')

Industry	1957	1958
Textiles	1243.3	1304.3
Footwear, other wearing apparel and made up textile goods	1308.1	1322.0
Wood & Cork (except furniture)	726.8	817.2
Furniture & Fixtures	958.6	759.7
Paper & Paper Products	1157.6	1199.9
Publishing Printing & Allied Industries	1217.5	1305.1
Leather & Leather Products (except footwear)	889.8	1032.0
Rubber & Rubber Products	1497.2	1382.3
Chemical & Chemical Products	1147.3	1302.0
Non-metallic Mineral Products (except petroleum and coal)	835.3	886.2
Basic Metal Industries	1463.2	1527.9
Metal Products (except machinery transport equipment)	1145.4	1175.9
Machinery (except electrical machinery)	1189.3	1335.9
Electrical Machinery Apparatus appliances and supplies	1437.9	1384.4
Transport Equipment	1481.5	1455.2
Miscellaneous Industry	1249.0	1214.7
Electricity Gas & Steam	1591.8	1570.2
Water & Sanitary Services	1147.5	1207.0
Recreation Services	1302.0	1116.6
Personal Services	488.4	589.6
All Industries	1233.9	1282.4

(Source: Labour Bureau, Ministry of Labour & Employment.)

WORKING CLASS CONSUMER PRICE INDEX NUMBERS FOR DIFFERENT
CENTRES

State	March 1956	1955- 1956	1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960
Assam						
Gauhati	93	87	99	104	101	99
Silchar	97	87	102	106	108	110
Tinsukia	108	101	114	118	119	116
W. Bengal						
Calcutta	93	92	106	106	110	112
Kharagpur	101	93	105	109	113	114
Orissa						
Cuttack	105	100	108	111	117	121
Berhampur	105	97	111	109	116	115
Bihar						
Jamshedpur	104	99	108	118	123	126
Monghyr	88	81	91	99	102	98
Dehri-one- sone	93	85	99	106	105	100
Madhya Pradesh						
Jabalpur	99	90	102	108	110	108
Uttar Pradesh						
Kanpur	83	79	113	93	101	97
Delhi						
Delhi	106	101	112	112	117	119
Punjab						
Ludhiana	92	85	94	95	99	100
Rajasthan						
Ajmer	91	86	97	98	106	106
Gujerat						
Ahmedabad	93	89	101	104	115	124
Maharashtra						
Bombay	114	110	116	122	130	136
Sholapur	99	85	110	110	106	116
Jalgaon	96	86	103	104	110	116
Akola	95	83	94	97	103	111
Nagpur	103	98	107	113	122	134

State	March 1956	1955- 1956	1956- 1957	1957- 1958	1958- 1959	1959- 1960
Andhra Pradesh						
Hyderabad	112	100	121	123	124	131
Madras						
Madras	105	100	113	117	126	135
Mysore						
Mysore	104	100	114	121	127	142
Bangalore	108	104	118	128	132	142
Kerala						
Trichur	109	107	113	113	121	130

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

	No. of dispu- tes	No. of workers involve	No. of man-days lost
1955	1166	5,27,767	56,97,848
1956	1203	7,27,767	69,92,040
1957	1630	8,89,371	64,29,319
1958	1524	9,28,566	77,97,585
1959	1531	6,93,616	56,33,148
1960 (upto August)	948	5,10,294	32,61,459
January	141	73,891	4,23,077
February	133	62,075	4,12,797
March	126	47,700	4,70,258
April	92	37,770	3,31,511
May	127	37,675	4,14,789
June	154	65,783	3,90,425
July	125	1,68,407	7,48,651
August	50	16,993	69,951

TABLE SHOWING THE INDEX NUMBERS FOR REAL EARNINGS OF FACTORY

WORKERS

(BASE: 1947)

Year	Average annual earnings	Index of Money earnings	Index base shifted to 1947	Index of real earnings
1951	1,035.6	140.9	120.8	116.6
1952	1,112.2	150.9	118.3	127.6
1953	1,110.9	151.8	121.7	124.7
1954	1,111.3	151.8	115.8	131.1
1955	1,173.5	159.4	110.0	144.9
1956	1,208.1	162.6	120.8	134.6
1957	1,233.9	170.2	127.5	133.5
1958 (P)	1,282.4	176.8	133.2	132.7

P = Provisional.

ALL INDIA CONSUMER PRICE INDEX NUMBERS

Year	FOOD		GENERAL	
	Base = 1949	Base = 1939	Base = 1949	Base = 1939
1951	104	370	105	372
1952	102	363	103	365
1953	109	388	106	376
1954	101	359	101	359
1955	92	327	96	342
1956	105	372	105	372
1957	112	397	111	394
1958	118	420	116	412
1959	125	445	121	431
1960*	125	445	123	438

* Average for first eight months.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE STATISTICS

(1956 - 1960)

Year	No. of exchan- ges	No. of regis- trations	No. of place- ments	No. of appli- cations on higher regis- ters
1956	143	16,69,895	1,89,855	7,58,503
1957	181	17,74,668	1,92,431	9,22,099
1958	212	22,03,388	2,33,320	11,83,299
1959	244	24,68,448	2,71,128	14,20,900
1960*	276	20,26,800	2,25,900	15,87,851

(* Data relates to first nine months only)

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES

YEAR	BASE 1952-53 = 100	BASE August 1939 = 100
1956	102.6	390.5
1957	108.7	413.7
1958	111.0	422.5
1959	115.0	439.6
1960	122.0	464.3

EMPLOYMENT

YEAR	ALL FACTORIES	ALL MINES
1955	2,690,403	590,776
1956	2,882,309	628,581
1957	3,367,127	651,321
1958	3,412,985	649,360

INDEX NUMBERS OF INDUSTRIAL PROFITS

CROSS PROFITS INCLUDING DEPRECIATION (BASE: 1950 = 100)

Industry	1955	1956	1957	1958
1. Tea Plantations	97.8	131.2	76.0	91.3
2. Coffee Plantations	82.5	126.3	71.6	89.4
3. Rubber Plantations	171.8	244.3	171.5	167.3
4. Coal	132.4	104.5	141.1	151.4
5. Vegetable Oil	189.3	136.2	92.9	220.2
6. Sugar	173.3	209.7	228.6	218.2
7. Cotton Textiles	145.2	143.2	71.7	81.5
8. Jute Textiles	62.7	22.2	84.4	131.9
9. Silk & Woolen Textiles	351.7	448.8	418.3	777.2
10. Iron & Steel	234.3	226.1	214.8	242.7
11. Engineering*	255.2	305.2	335.7	353.9
12. Chemicals@	151.9	176.4	212.7	235.5
13. Matches	95.5	90.2	89.0	110.4
14. Cement	168.9	154.5	160.5	177.0
15. Paper	181.5	188.2	216.2	271.9
16. Electricity Generation and supply	146.7	145.4	166.6	196.9
17. Trading	57.6	68.1	68.8	78.7
18. Shipping	217.5	377.8	444.7	321.0
All Industries	150.8	165.0	151.7	168.7

* Includes (1) Non-ferrous metals, (2) Transport equipment, (3) Electrical machinery and (4) Machinery other than transport and electrical.

@ Includes (1) Basic industrial chemicals, (2) Medicines and Pharmaceuticals and (3) Other Chemicals.

INDEX NUMBERS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION
(Base 1951 - 100)

Item	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
General Index	103.6	105.6	112.9	122.4	132.6	137.3	139.7	151.9
Coal	105.6	104.5	107.2	111.4	114.9	126.8	132.2	137.1
Iron Ore	106.3	99.9	107.8	116.7	116.1	126.3	156.3	212.2
Sugar	134.0	115.8	97.4	143.0	166.5	185.5	175.6	186.8
Tea	98.6	96.7	102.0	106.2	106.0	106.9	113.8	113.5
Vegetable Oil Products (vanas- pathi)	110.7	111.2	133.9	151.3	148.3	174.9	171.3	183.8
Cigarettes	93.8	85.9	92.4	106.4	122.6	134.7	139.1	150.0
Cotton Textiles	102.3	109.1	110.9	111.9	117.5	115.6	108.9	111.5
Jute Textiles	107.6	101.1	107.3	118.9	127.3	120.5	123.9	125.4
Footwear (Rubber)	98.9	104.4	135.4	151.4	156.6	160.0	159.1	170.4
Tyres	102.1	112.6	126.3	138.2	151.4	170.1	193.0	221.9
Matches	107.1	106.9	91.5	106.6	106.6	100.1	108.3	112.3
Soap	103.5	98.5	105.5	118.7	132.1	133.8	148.0	155.8

Contd..... 2.

INDEX NUMBERS OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

(Continued)

Item	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Rayon	175.6	213.2	241.5	280.2	355.8	459.8	644.0	724.5
Cement	110.7	118.3	137.6	140.4	154.2	175.3	189.9	213.6
Iron & Steel	102.2	95.7	113.2	113.3	119.4	119.3	119.1	163.1
Non-ferrous metals	80.7	85.2	126.5	123.7	124.7	151.7	166.5	205.7
Sewing machines	112.6	140.4	180.4	228.2	293.3	376.7	461.5	568.2
Electric Lamps	134.5	126.7	148.7	156.2	198.0	213.6	196.4	224.5
Electric Fans	92.0	94.0	112.4	132.8	159.5	246.9	299.1	341.4
Automobiles	68.7	62.5	64.9	103.7	144.3	143.4	120.3	163.8
Bicycles	172.4	231.2	325.8	429.8	581.0	691.8	798.6	867.0
Electricity, Gas, & Steam	104.5	113.1	127.0	144.5	164.1	184.9	209.0	248.5

(Source: Reserve Bank of India Bulletin : October 1960)

Part I

VALUE ADDED/INPUT, OUTPUT, ETC
(Biennial Average)

PARTICULARS	1946-47	1948-49	1950-51	1952-53	1954-55	1956-57
1. Value added by manufacture	226,81,77,618	295,01,81,433	315,57,12,579	324,64,04,264	397,16,68,990	468,32,83,220
2. Total Value of input	446,41,98,986	669,84,19,617	851,86,46,294	828,73,15,955	951,20,99,552	1,200,71,84,783
3. Total Value of output	673,23,76,604	964,86,01,051	1,167,43,58,873	1,153,37,20,219	1,248,37,68,542	1,669,04,68,003
4. Total productive capital	385,41,82,861	495,88,35,600	663,76,44,166	729,71,16,258	826,29,17,614	1,074,32,49,751
5. Person other than workers	1,36,730	1,60,757	1,59,188	1,54,867	1,87,880	2,13,398
6. Workers	14,37,237	15,33,944	14,73,403	14,83,282	15,62,331	16,77,255
7. Salaries paid to other persons	19,06,55,025	27,51,96,502	32,06,95,390	34,61,26,424	42,85,29,953	52,48,63,030
8. Wages paid to workers	95,41,98,802	140,00,46,286	144,97,00,854	163,72,57,503	173,27,68,315	195,91,90,183

VALUE ADDED/INPUT, OUTPUT, ETC.

(BIENNIAL AVERAGE)

(Contd)

PARTICULARS	1946-47	1948-49	1950-51	1952-53	1954-55	1956-57
1. Value added as percentage of value of input	50.8	44.0	37.0	39.2	41.8	39.0
2. Value added as percentage of value of gross output	33.7	30.6	27.0	28.1	29.5	28.1
3. Value added as percentage of productive capital	58.8	59.5	47.5	44.5	48.1	43.6
4. Value added a) Per person other than worker b) per worker	16,589 1,578	18,352 1,923	19,824 2,142	20,963 2,189	21,139 2,542	21,946 2,792
5. Value added as percentage of:- a) Salaries of persons other than workers b) Wages of workers	1,189.7 237.7	1,072.0 210.7	984.0 217.7	937.9 198.3	926.8 229.2	892.3 239.0

26TH SESSION OF THE A.I.T.U.C.

Colmhatore, January 1961

SECOND AGRICULTURAL LABOUR ENQUIRY

[Summary of Report]



ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

4 ASHOK ROAD, NEW DELHI

THE HISTORY OF THE AGRICULTURE
COMMISSION, JANUARY 1961

SECOND AGRICULTURAL LABOUR ENQUIRY

REPORT PRESENTED TO LOK SABHA

The report on the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry in India was placed on the table of Lok Sabha on 21st December 1960, by the Union Deputy Minister for Labour, Shri Abid Ali. The following summary was circulated by the Press Information Bureau:

The Enquiry was conducted by the Ministry of Labour and Employment during 1956-57, in collaboration with the Central Statistical Organisation, the National Sample Survey Directorate and the Indian Statistical Institute.

The Enquiry was conducted in 3,600 villages selected on the principle of stratified random sampling but staggered evenly over a period of 12 months. Data on employment, unemployment, wages and earnings, income, expenditure and indebtedness were collected from 28,560 sample agricultural labour households residing in the sampled villages.

The Report consists of 12 chapters dealing with the scope and method of the enquiry, the agrarian background, the characteristics of agricultural labour force, occupational structure of agricultural labour households, employment and unemployment of agricultural labourers, wage structure in agriculture, earning strength and size of income of agricultural labour households, consumption expenditure, indebtedness, women labour in agriculture, child labour in agriculture and agrarian legislation and social welfare.

The Report also contains 8 statistical charts and 6 statistical maps in which a graphical representation of

the more important results of the Enquiry has been given.

The first Agricultural Labour Enquiry was conducted in 1950-51 and, as the Report states, one of the main objects of the Second Enquiry was broadly to assess the impact of developmental schemes undertaken under the First Plan on the conditions of agricultural labourers as between 1950-51 and 1956-57. A comparative picture of the conditions of agricultural labourers as between the two points of time has therefore, been given. The Report has, however, clearly indicated at the appropriate places the limitation of such a comparison arising from some difference in the concepts and definitions and procedures adopted during the two Enquiries.

The results thrown up by the Second Enquiry as compared to those of the First Enquiry are briefly given below:

I. Occupational structure of agricultural labour households.

(i) The estimated number of agricultural labour households was 16.3 millions in 1956-57 as against 17.9 millions in 1950-51 i.e. a fall of 1.6 millions. This reduction might be mainly due to conceptual difference in the definition of the term "agricultural labour households" adopted during the two Enquiries. In the first Enquiry, a broad definition was adopted and an agricultural labour household was one in which either the head of the household or 50 percent or more of the earners reported agricultural labour as their main occupation and there was thus a possibility of marginal land-holding families, of land owners and tenants, being included. But during the Second Enquiry, a household was deemed as an agricultural labour household if the bulk of its income in the previous year was derived from agricultural wages and thus there was a rigorous delimitation of agricultural labour households.

(ii) The landless agricultural labour households in 1956-57 accounted for 57 per cent of the total as against 50 per cent in 1950-51.

(iii) According to the 1950-51 Enquiry, the proportion of attached and casual agricultural labour households was 10 : 90. The results of the 1956-57 Enquiry showed that attached labour households accounted for about 27 per cent of the total for all-India, the remainder being casual labour households. This increase in the percentage of attached labour households might, to some extent, be due to resumption of personal estates for self-cultivation by the erstwhile intermediaries like zamindars, jagirdars, talukdars, etc., in the different States.

(iv) The average size of the agricultural labour household rose slightly to 4.40 in 1956-57 from 4.30 in 1950-51. The average number of wage earners was 2.03 per household, comprising 1.13 men, 0.74 women and 0.16 children. The corresponding figures for 1950-51 were 2.0 wage earners, made up of 1.1 men, 0.8 women and 0.1 children. The slight increase in the earning strength during 1956-57 would appear to be due to more children having come to the labour market in 1956-57.

(v) The estimated number of agricultural labourers during 1956-57 was 33 millions composed of 18 million men, 12 million women and 3 million children. The corresponding figures for 1950-51 were 35 millions consisting of 19 million men, 14 million women and 2 million children.

II. Employment and Unemployment

(i) Casual adult male workers were employed, on an average, for wages for 200 days in 1950-51 and for 197 days during 1956-57. They were self-employed for 75 days in 1950-51 and for 40 days in 1956-57.

(ii) Casual adult female workers were employed

on wages for 134 days during 1950-51 and 141 days during 1956-57.

(iii) As regards children, their wage-employment had increased from 165 days in 1950-51 to 204 days in 1956-57.

(iv) Casual adult male workers were unemployed for 128 days in 1956-57, as compared to 90 days in 1950-51.

According to the Report, measurement of employment was not meticulously done in the First Enquiry (1950-51). Wage-employment for half the day or more was counted as full day's occupation and less than that was ignored. All those who worked even for a day in a month were taken to have been gainfully employed. In respect of unemployment, data were collected only for those adult male labourers who reported wage-employment in each month. In the Second Enquiry (1956-57), the intensity with which the activity pattern, major or minor, was followed was duly taken into account. For this purpose, four intensity classes were laid down, namely, full, half, nominal and nil. A full-day's work meant three-fourth or more of the normal working hours, the "norms" being 10 hours. More than one-fourth and less than three-fourth of the normal hours was considered as work with half intensity. Less than one-fourth was deemed as work one-eighth intensity. In the tabulation of employment data, the intensities were duly taken into account.

Self-employment data was not collected separately in the First Enquiry, but was only of an inferential nature, as the residual days left after deduction of wage-employment and unemployment from 365 days were taken to represent the quantum of self-employment. These limitations of the first Enquiry data have to be kept in view.

III. Wages

(i) About 76 per cent of the average income of agri-

been met from past savings, sale of stocks, remittances received and loans.

V. Indebtedness

(i) About 64 per cent of agricultural labour households was indebted during 1956-57 as against 45 per cent in 1950-51. The average accumulated debt per household increased from Rs. 47 in 1950-51 to Rs. 88 in 1956-57.

(ii) The average debt per indebted household also rose from Rs. 105 in 1950-51 to Rs. 138 in 1956-57. One of the reasons for the higher percentage of indebted households as also the higher volume of debt in 1956-57 was the higher proportion of attached labour households, some of whom were under debt bondage and/or tie-in-allotment.

(iii) The total estimated volume of indebtedness of agricultural labour households in 1956-57 was Rs. 143 crores as against Rs. 80 crores in 1950-51.

(iv) Of the total debt, about 46 per cent was incurred for meeting the consumption expenditure. Social purposes accounted for 24 per cent and productive purposes for 19 per cent, the remaining 11 per cent of the total debt being incurred for meeting the expenditure on other miscellaneous items.

(v) Of the total loan, 34 per cent was taken from money-lenders, 44 per cent from friends and relatives, 15 per cent from employers, 5 per cent from shopkeepers and one per cent from co-operatives.

The above is the all-India picture. In the Report, however, the variations in the different States have also been given and significant differences as between 1950-51 and 1956-57 highlighted and accounted for.

**CONSTITUTION OF THE
ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS**

**AITUC PUBLICATION
1958**

1900

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CONSTITUTION OF THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

(Amended)

Adopted at

THE TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION OF
THE AITUC AT ERNAKULAM
1958

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CONSTITUTION
OF THE ALL-INDIA
TRADE UNION CONGRESS

(Amended)

Adopted at

THE TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION OF
THE ATUC AT BANGALORE
1958

CONSTITUTION OF THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

NAME

1. The name of the organisation shall be the All-India Trade Union Congress (to be designated in abbreviated form as the AITUC).

AIMS AND OBJECTS

2. The objects of the AITUC shall be:

- (a) To establish a Socialist State in India;
- (b) To socialise and nationalise the means of production, distribution and exchange as far as possible;
- (c) To ameliorate the economic and social conditions of the working class;
- (d) To watch, promote, safeguard and further the interests, rights and privileges of the workers in all matters relating to their employment;
- (e) To secure and maintain for the workers:
 - (i) The freedom of speech;
 - (ii) The freedom of press;
 - (iii) The freedom of association;
 - (iv) The freedom of assembly;
 - (v) The right to strike, and
 - (vi) The right to work or maintenance.
- (f) To co-ordinate the activities of the Labour Unions affiliated to the AITUC, and

(g) To abolish political or economic advantage based on caste, creed, community, race or religion.

3. The AITUC shall endeavour to further the aforesaid objects by all legitimate, peaceful and democratic methods such as legislation, education, propaganda, mass meetings, negotiations, demonstrations and, in the last resort, by strikes and similar other methods, as the AITUC may, from time to time, decide.

DEMANDS

4. The demands of the AITUC shall be:

- (a) A statutory enactment providing for a six-hours' working day;
- (b) Minimum living wage;
- (c) Weekly payment of wages;
- (d) Equal wages for equal work, without racial or sex discrimination;
- (e) One month's leave with full pay, or an equivalent amount of compensation when leave is not granted;
- (f) Unemployment, sickness, old age, accident and maternity insurance;
- (g) Pensions for widowed mothers and dependent children;
- (h) Proper housing;
- (i) Formation through Trade Unions of the workers' committees in factories, workshops, business houses and all other places where collective work is performed, with a view to control conditions of work, inside these places;
- (j) Abolition of the employment of children under 15 years of age;
- (k) Payment of wages to women workers six weeks before and six weeks after child-birth;
- (l) Abolition of all other systems of recruiting labour, except through Trade Unions;
- (m) Abolition of fines and debts; and

- (n) Effective control of the subscribers over the Provident Funds.

AFFILIATION OF UNIONS

5. (a) The AITUC may affiliate to itself any bona fide Trade Union which satisfies the following conditions:—

- (i) The Trade Union seeking affiliation shall make an application according to the form.
- (ii) It shall pay an annual contribution and special levies, as provided in these rules.
- (iii) It shall send a copy of its rules and regulations, a list of its office-bearers, a copy of the statement of accounts for the official year, giving an average paying membership for the period, duly audited by a qualified auditor and such other information or materials as the General Secretary of the AITUC may require.
- (iv) The application for affiliation shall be forwarded through the Provincial Committee, wherever such a Committee exists, to the General Secretary of the AITUC, with remarks, if any, made by the Provincial Committee regarding the eligibility of the Union for affiliation, under the Rules of the AITUC. Such applications shall be forwarded by the Provincial Committee to the General Secretary within a period of two months.
- (v) The minimum fee which a Union desiring affiliation to the AITUC shall charge to its members shall not be less than one rupee per year. The General Council, however, shall have power to permit a lesser membership fee in cases of unions consisting of workers from seasonal or sweated industries.

(b) The Working Committee of the AITUC shall have the authority of accepting or rejecting any application for affiliation from a Trade Union, provided, however, that in case of the acceptance or rejection of any such application by the Working Committee, it will be open to the General Council, or to the General Body of the AITUC to confirm or set aside such a decision.

(c) The General Council shall have power to disaffiliate any Union, which is proved to have been guilty of breaches of this Constitution, provided that it will be open to the General Body to affirm or set aside that decision.

AFFILIATION FEES

6. Each Affiliated Union shall pay to the AITUC—

(a) (i) An annual contribution at the following rates:

Membership up to 250	..	Rs. 10.00
” from 251 to 500	..	Rs. 15.00
” from 501 to 1000	..	Rs. 20.00

and at the rate of two naye paise per member for unions with a membership above 1000;

(ii) WFTU Levy at the rate of Rs. 5.00 per 1000 members, and major fraction thereof, subject to a minimum of Rs. 2.50 for membership less than 500;

(iii) Annual subscription for *Trade Union Record*, as fixed by the Working Committee from time to time;

(b) A delegation fee of Rs. 2 per delegate;

(c) Such other levy as may be fixed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of the General Council;

(d) Every affiliated Union shall pay to the State Committee such levy as may be fixed by the State Committee.

(Note: Accounts of the AITUC shall be maintained in accordance with the financial year beginning from April 1 and ending with March 31.)

7. (a) The annual contribution shall be paid by the 30th June each year. The special contribution or levy shall become payable as and when fixed in each case. Non-payment of any contribution or levy that has become due shall disqualify the defaulting Union from voting at or participating in the meetings of the AITUC, or any of its constituent bodies, until the payment is made; the disqualification shall also apply to the voting on the circulars that may be issued by the Secretariat, till the fees are paid; provided that the Working Committee may, in special cases for reasons to be recorded, remit the disqualifications.

(b) A Union, when disqualified for non-payment of contributions or levies may be reaffiliated on payment of the arrears and the current fees.

(c) In case a Union is disqualified, within the meaning of clause (a), for a period of not less than twelve months, the General Secretary may issue a notice to the Union concerned to make good within three months, all the dues at the date of the notice. In case, the Union fails to pay all such arrears, demanded within the time given, it shall be liable for disqualification.

COMPOSITION OF THE AITUC

8. The AITUC shall consist of:
- (i) The affiliated Unions;
 - (ii) The delegates assembled at the General or Special Session;
 - (iii) The General Council including the Office-bearers;
 - (iv) The Working Committee of the General Council;
 - (v) The Provincial Bodies.

GENERAL COUNCIL

9. (a) The General Council shall consist of:
- (i) A President;
 - (ii) Seven Vice-Presidents;
 - (iii) A General Secretary;
 - (iv) A Treasurer;
 - (v) Not more than five Secretaries; and
 - (vi) Other members elected by the AITUC on the basis of the total affiliated membership of unions in each State on the following scale:
 - One representative for every 5,000 members or part thereof upto a membership of 50,000;
 - One representative for every additional 10,000 members.
 - One representative each from the Trade Federations or groups that may be formed by the General Council.
- (b) Delegates alone shall be eligible for election to the

General Council. Election of membership of the General Council shall be made during the general session of of the AITUC, by the delegates present at the session.

(c) Casual vacancies shall be filled at a meeting of the General Council from the State where vacancies have occurred.

10. The Councils of State Committees shall have the right to substitute members of the General Council from the State as elected under clause 9(a) (vi).

11. The representatives elected by the AITUC on the General Council, in the manner prescribed in these rules, shall co-opt members on the Council, not necessarily connected with any trade union organisation but who have taken part in the trade union movement and whose presence on the Council may be considered essential in the interest of the movement. The number of such co-opted members shall not be more than one-sixth of the total number of representatives of the affiliated organisations.

WORKING COMMITTEE

12. There shall be a Working Committee of the General Council consisting of:

- (a) All office-bearers of the AITUC as ex-officio members;
- (b) Thirty-five members elected by the General Council by a system of cumulative voting.

13. (a) The AITUC shall meet once every two years;
(b) The General Council shall meet at least once a year;
(c) The Working Committee shall meet at least twice a year.

14. The Working Committee shall have the power to call a special session of the AITUC. On a requisition from the Unions representing one-fourth of the total strength of the AITUC, the General Secretary shall, in consultation with the President, call a Special Session of the AITUC within six weeks of the receipt of the requisition, for the purpose of transacting the definite business mentioned in the requisition.

15. (a) Notice of the time and place of meeting of the Working Committee, General Council and General and Special Session of the AITUC, shall be given by the General Secretary.

(b) For the meeting of the Working Committee, at least 15 days' notice shall be given; for the meeting of the General Council and the General Session of the AITUC, at least a fortnight's and a month's notice respectively shall be given.

(c) Emergency meeting of the Working Committee can be called by giving a notice of seven days.

16. (a) For the General or the Special Session of the AITUC, the affiliated Unions shall be entitled to elect delegates on the following basis:-

One delegate for each union having a membership of 200 or less, and one additional delegate for every complete set of 200 members, and a further delegate for the last fraction of 200, if the said last fraction consists of 100 or more members.

(b) To ascertain the number of delegates which an Affiliated Union is entitled to send to the AITUC, the basis shall be the number of paying members existing on the register of the Union, as disclosed in the balance sheet of the Union, for the year prior to the Session of the AITUC, duly certified by the auditor.

(c) An Affiliated Union shall furnish to the General Secretary the names and addresses of the delegates two weeks before the date fixed for the session of the AITUC.

(d) Delegate's card will be issued on production of a certificate of election by the Secretary of the Union concerned.

(e) No person who is neither an office-bearer of the Affiliated Union, nor a member of the Affiliated Union shall be entitled to be elected as a delegate of the AITUC.

(f) Propositions for the agenda of the General Session of the AITUC must be signed by the President or the Secretary of the Union sending them, and must reach the General Secretary of the AITUC, at least two weeks before the time fixed for the meeting of the AITUC.

(g) A Trade Union shall not be allowed to send more than five resolutions but in order that important labour questions may not be omitted from discussion at the Session, the General Council is empowered to place important propositions on the Agenda.

(h) At the meeting of the AITUC the official business shall have priority over other business.

17. On a motion being put to the Session of the AITUC, the President shall declare the result on a show of hands. But if any delegate demands a division, the voting shall be by Unions, and each Union is then entitled to as many votes as the number of delegates it is entitled to send as per rule 16 above. On a poll, the voting shall be by means of a card.

QUESTIONS FOR DECISION

17-A. Questions coming for decision before the Working Committee, the General Council and the Session of the AITUC, shall be decided by a majority of votes, provided, however, that questions of political nature, and those relating to strikes to be declared by the AITUC, and the affiliation of the AITUC to any foreign organisation shall be decided by a three-fourths majority.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

18. (a) The Provincial Committee for the place where the Session is to be held, will form a Reception Committee for the purpose. In places where a Provincial Committee is not functioning, a committee appointed by affiliated unions of the place shall be the Reception Committee.

(b) The Reception Committee shall have power to collect funds for the expenses of the AITUC Session. After meeting the expenses of the Session, if there be any surplus, the same shall belong to Provincial or local Trade Union organisation of the place, where the Session is held.

QUORUM

19. The quorum at the sessions of the AITUC and at the meetings of the General Council and the Working Committee shall be one-third of the delegates or members of the respective bodies.

TIME OF THE SESSION

20. The General Session of the AITUC shall be ordinarily held in December.

POWERS OF GENERAL COUNCIL AND WORKING COMMITTEE

21. (a) The General Council shall have the authority to take all proper steps to carry out the work of the AITUC in accordance with the Constitution;

(b) The Working Committee shall have the authority:

- (i) To take all proper steps for carrying out the resolutions passed at the previous Session of the AITUC;
- (ii) To deal with any emergency that arises during the year, affecting the interests of the working class; and
- (iii) Generally to advance and further the aims and objects of the AITUC.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

22. The General Secretary shall present a report of the work done during the year by the Working Committee and the General Council and an audited statement of accounts and balance sheet, duly certified by auditors.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

23. Office-bearers shall be elected by the annual General Session, after having received nominations duly proposed and recommended by one or more delegates. Nominees must be persons, who are either delegates at the session, or are retiring office-bearers.

PRESIDENT OF SESSIONS

24. The outgoing President shall preside at the General Session, and any Special Session that may be held during his term of office.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL AND OTHER CONFERENCES

25. Delegates and advisers to the World Federation of Trade Unions and other international and national Conferences and meetings shall be ordinarily elected at meetings of the General Council or the Working Committee, whichever is being in session. In case of emergency, and when either the General Council or the Working Committee cannot be convened, decisions may be taken by circular to the members of the Working Committee.

INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

26. The AITUC may be affiliated to such International bodies as have same or similar object and methods.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

27. The Working Committee may appoint, from among its members, a political committee consisting of seven members. The Committee shall endeavour :

- (i) To encourage the Affiliated Unions to build up their political funds;
- (ii) To organise, in consultation with the General Council, elections to the local bodies and the legislatures;
- (iii) To keep a watch over the taxation proposals of the Central and Local Governments and over the development of the labour legislation in India, from the point of view of the working class;
- (iv) To initiate legislation in the interests of the working class; and
- (v) To do such other political propaganda in consultation with the Working Committee, as may not be inconsistent with this Constitution.

BYE-LAWS

28. The General Council have power to make bye-laws, not inconsistent with this Constitution, and in particular on questions relating to:

(a) the election of delegates, (b) the submission of returns and (c) the affiliation fees.

PROVINCIAL AND REGIONAL UNITS

29. (a) Affiliated unions in every Provincial administrative unit, shall form a Provincial Trade Union Congress Committee. Every Union in the Province, affiliated to the AITUC, shall automatically form a part of the Provincial Committee, and a Union which has not secured affiliation to the AITUC cannot become a member of the Provincial Committee. The Provincial Committee and the individual Unions shall have power to manage their affairs according to their own rules, subject to the provisions of this Constitution.

Where a Provincial Administrative Unit consists of two or more linguistic units, separate Provincial Trade Union Committees may be permitted to be formed by the General Council.

(b) The Provincial Committee may enrol as Associate Member any Union which has not secured affiliation to the AITUC but which proposes to observe the constitution of the AITUC, except sub-rule (a)(iv) of Rule 5. The Associate Unions will have no power of voting at the meeting of Provincial Committees, nor will they be entitled to have any privileges of Affiliated Unions, under the constitution of the AITUC.

(c) Regional Trade Union Councils: Where the General Council finds that if affiliated Trade Unions in an area are grouped together (taking into consideration homogeneity of language and nearness or affinity of industrial units in the area) in a Regional Trade Union Council, the work of the organisation will be more efficiently done, the General Council may authorise the Provincial Committee to organise such Trade Union Councils. The Regional Trade Union Councils will have their own working constitution, which will be consistent with that of the AITUC and of the Provincial Committees. In matters of representations etc., to the Government concerning regions, the Regional Council may directly approach the Government but when such matters concern the province as a whole, the Regional Council will only function through the Provincial Committees.

AMENDMENT

30. It shall be open to the AITUC on the report of the General Council to make any additions or changes in this Constitution by a majority of 3/4th votes.

BYE-LAWS OF THE CONSTITUTION UNDER SECTION 28:

(1) Election of Delegates:- Delegates to the session of the AITUC shall be elected in a meeting of the Executive Committee or some duly authorised committee or the General Body of the Union. A Delegates' Form should be issued by the General Secretary AITUC, to each Union in which the names of the delegates and the other details required, shall be entered. The General Secretary, AITUC, shall register only those persons as delegates, whose names are sent to him duly entered in the form.

(2) Submission of Returns:- Every affiliated union shall send to the General Secretary, every year, such information or material as the General Secretary may require. The General Secretary, should issue a form in the month of April every year. The information must reach the office of the AITUC by the end of August. A report of the information received may be presented to the General Council at its next meeting held after October.

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Report of the Commission

ON WOMEN WORKERS

The Commission on Women Workers arrived at the conclusion that by and large, AITUC unions had not taken up the specific problems affecting women workers during the past few years, nor paid adequate attention to the organisation of women workers in trade unions. There has been a tendency to think that the problems affecting women workers are only those of equal pay for equal work and maternity benefit. But this is not the only thing. While these may be the common issues before women workers in all industries, each industry has different problems arising out of the special peculiarities of the industry itself.

The question of equal pay for equal work was debated and the majority of comrades agreed that this was an issue that should be taken up and campaigned for vigorously immediately on an all-India plane. Though, as a result of earlier agitation, the ILO Convention on Equal Pay for Equal Work has now been ratified by the Government of India, the principle has been adopted only by a few industries, notably Coal, where the Tribunal awarded equal pay for equal work. In many cases, as for instance in the plantations in Tamilnad, the employers have circumvented the question by putting men and women in different categories and even if they do the same work, the women are put in the lowest paid category and paid less than men who do the same work. Even in the public sector, as in Bhilai, women are not paid equal wages, the difference sometimes being as much as 100%. Differences are being maintained even by the Minimum Wage Committees set up by Governments.

With regard to maternity benefit, the urgent need for central legislation was stressed and there should be a campaign for the speedy enactment of the bill that is now before Parliament. The draft bill requires certain amendments, notably those of qualifying period and the exemption clause. It was felt that 120 days' intermittent work should be the limit for entitling a woman worker to maternity benefit and the bill should also cover women working in seasonal factories. There are the cases of these women as in tobacco industry in Andhra and in the tea and coffee curing establishments, who even after twenty years' of service, are denied maternity benefit on the plea that the days of work during the year do not entitle them to these benefits. Further, the State Governments are to be given power to exempt certain establishments. This clause should be opposed. The bill provides for a payment of a medical bonus of Rs.25 in cases where a woman worker on maternity leave is not given pre-natal and post-natal treatment free of charge. This medical bonus is totally insufficient and the bill should provide for either compulsory medical benefits or for the payment of medical bills from authorised practitioners or government hospitals.

It was felt that while maternity benefit was an important issue to be taken up, it should not be considered as the only vital issue as it is not so universally vital as the issue of equal pay for equal work, which affects all women workers equally.

The Commission discussed the question of family planning and it was felt that this should be taken up seriously by all trade unions. Family planning amongst the women workers is a vital issue. The burden of large families amongst the working class is felt most by the women themselves. Both from the point of view of the family budget and from the point of view of increased burdens at home for the woman worker, this has to be considered. Apart from this, frequent pregnancies affect vitally the health of the woman worker, who is already on an under-nourished diet and this, in turn, affects her work and her capacity to earn. The manner in which the Government and other non-official bodies were handling the question was totally ineffective and no practical aid was being extended to the working women. Comrades from all centres reported that wherever any little work was being done by the trade unions, in this sphere, the women workers, contrary to the propaganda that is being made, welcomed the work as they felt it was of help to them in their lives and in their work.

Apart from these general problems, the problems of different industries were also posed. Today the phenomena that is seen in certain industries where women have been traditionally employed as in textiles, is that women were being thrown out of employment in large numbers.

The percentage of women employed in textiles has gone down considerably. Comrades from Bombay and Tanilnad pointed out that where women were superannuated, men were being recruited in their place, and in new mills in those departments that have been usually manned by women, such as reeling, no women were being recruited. In fact, in some mills, men were being trained by women workers and then the men are made permanent while the women are sent out. In other mills, where automatic machinery is being introduced and they are changing from hank to cone yarn, women are being retrenched on the plea that the reeling department is to be closed down.

In Coimbatore, a women workers' conference was held and some pressure has been brought to bear on the Government and the millowners to see that the employment of women is safeguarded as far as possible. But the issue that remains to be taken up is that women can and should be absorbed in other departments also. In the past, women have worked in the winding department and at the looms, and they have proved their capacity to work in these departments. Apart from this, women working in technical jobs in telephone and radio factories have shown that they can do more technical work. Therefore, the traditional standpoint that women can do only certain type of work should be combated and a vigorous campaign taken up, for a certain percentage of jobs to be reserved for women in those industries where they have been employed hitherto. The strange paradox that is before us is that those very laws that have been passed to protect women workers are now being put forward as the main causes for their removal from employment. One of the lags of our trade union movement has been the inability to rouse class consciousness amongst women and to move trade unions as a whole to campaign for the rights of women workers, especially their right to work. The recent conference in Coimbatore was taken by unions in the district very seriously but although the Conference was itself successful, insufficient work has been done to consolidate the gains registered.

Another general factor that was noted is that in all these industries where women are predominantly employed as in cashew, coir, ginning, natch, bidi, the general wage pattern is very low. This shows how the employers exploit the women workers as the most backward social section to the fullest extent.

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In many cases, they are engaged through contractors and have no safeguards whatsoever. Therefore, this question of wages in these industries has to be taken up seriously and a vigorous campaign for a living wage in these industries demanded.

From the organisational point of view, the picture that emerged from the discussion showed how in all trade unions, no special attention is paid to recruitment of women workers as members, to educating women cadre and promoting them to positions of responsibility. There is a tendency to neglect enrolment of women as members of trade unions, of helping them to participate in the day-to-day work of the unions. The fact that they have to fulfil a double role, of earning their livelihood and of running their homes, is used as an excuse to evade this difficult task. Rather than trying to work out methods whereby they can combine their home, factory and trade union work, comrades are inclined to assume that since they have their homes to run and to work eight hours a day, the women workers cannot be "expected" to do much for the union. This attitude will have to be fought and women workers drawn more and more into trade union activity. Where there is a large or active membership of the trade union, it is in those industries where they are in very large numbers or where they predominate as in plantations, cashew, coir, ginning, match industries, etc. The very fact that from all these industries where women are in large numbers, not a single woman delegate has been elected to this session, with one or two exceptions, is an index of the pattern of work amongst working women. One woman comrade from Mangalore drew special attention to this fact. It is encouraging to see that comrades working in these unions appreciate the problems of the women workers and have lent thought to them, but unless and until they change their method of work and draw more and more working women into active trade union work, the problems facing the women workers, particularly that of retrenchment, will be difficult to solve.

There is generally resentment amongst the women workers that they are not treated on a par with the men, and that they are neglected as members of the trade union. This is a factor that should be considered and a proper method of approaching them worked out and they should be helped to be more active in the unions. All comrades were of the opinion that there was an urgent need for more women cadre to be recruited to the trade unions where women workers were employed in large numbers, as that would help considerably to bring forward militants from amongst the workers themselves - today, this is one of the major lags - that although the women workers, when once roused, came forward to participate fearlessly in working class actions, because of this organisational lag, there were no signs of their becoming organisation conscious or of their coming forward to participate in day-to-day work.

Comrades agreed that the AITUC should demand the appointment of a Commission to go into the problems affecting women workers particularly, and also that the issue of employment of women should be taken up at tripartite committees. The figures that were given tend to show that the employment of women is going down and, therefore, this was a question that posed itself when we are on the threshold of the Third Five Year Plan: when the country is progressing, are the one-half of the population to be left out of the task of building the nation's economy, are they to be driven out of their existing jobs, or are they also to be protected and helped to participate in this work? It is in this context that the Commission felt that the AITUC should raise the slogan of protecting a certain percentage of jobs in various industries for women, the percentage to be in relation to the already existing percentage, varying from 10% to 80%. The AITUC had already demanded 25% before the

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p.T.O.

Textile Wage Board. But for other industries, this demand is yet to be formulated.

PARVATHI KRISHNAN,
Reporter of the Commission

January 10, 1961

26th Session of the AITUC

Coimbatore, January 1961

Jarujit Singh

1.1.61

General Report

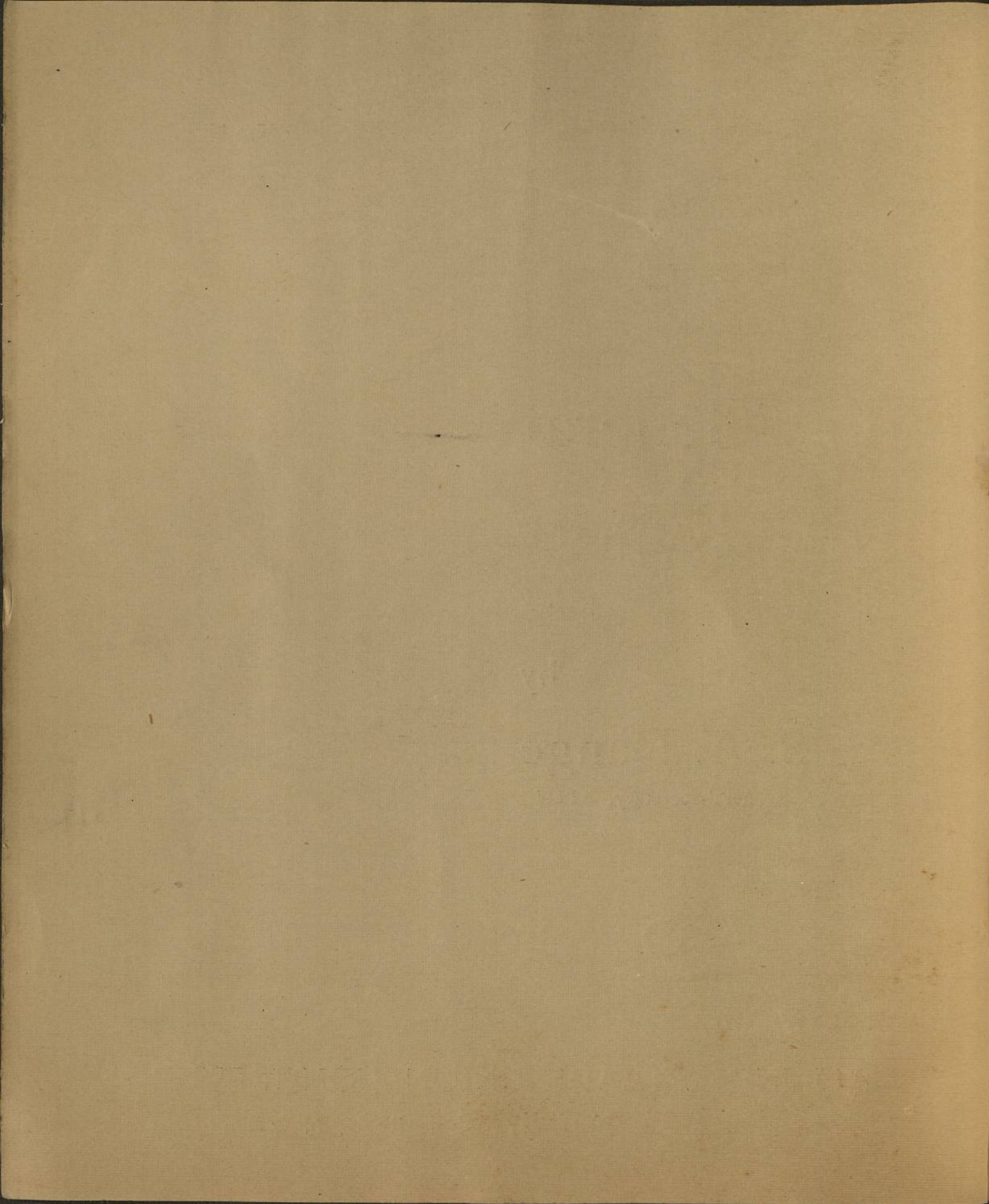
by

S. A. Dange

General-Secretary, AITUC

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

4, Ashok Road, New Delhi



26th Session of the
All-India Trade Union Congress
Coimbatore, January 1961

G E N E R A L
R E P O R T

by

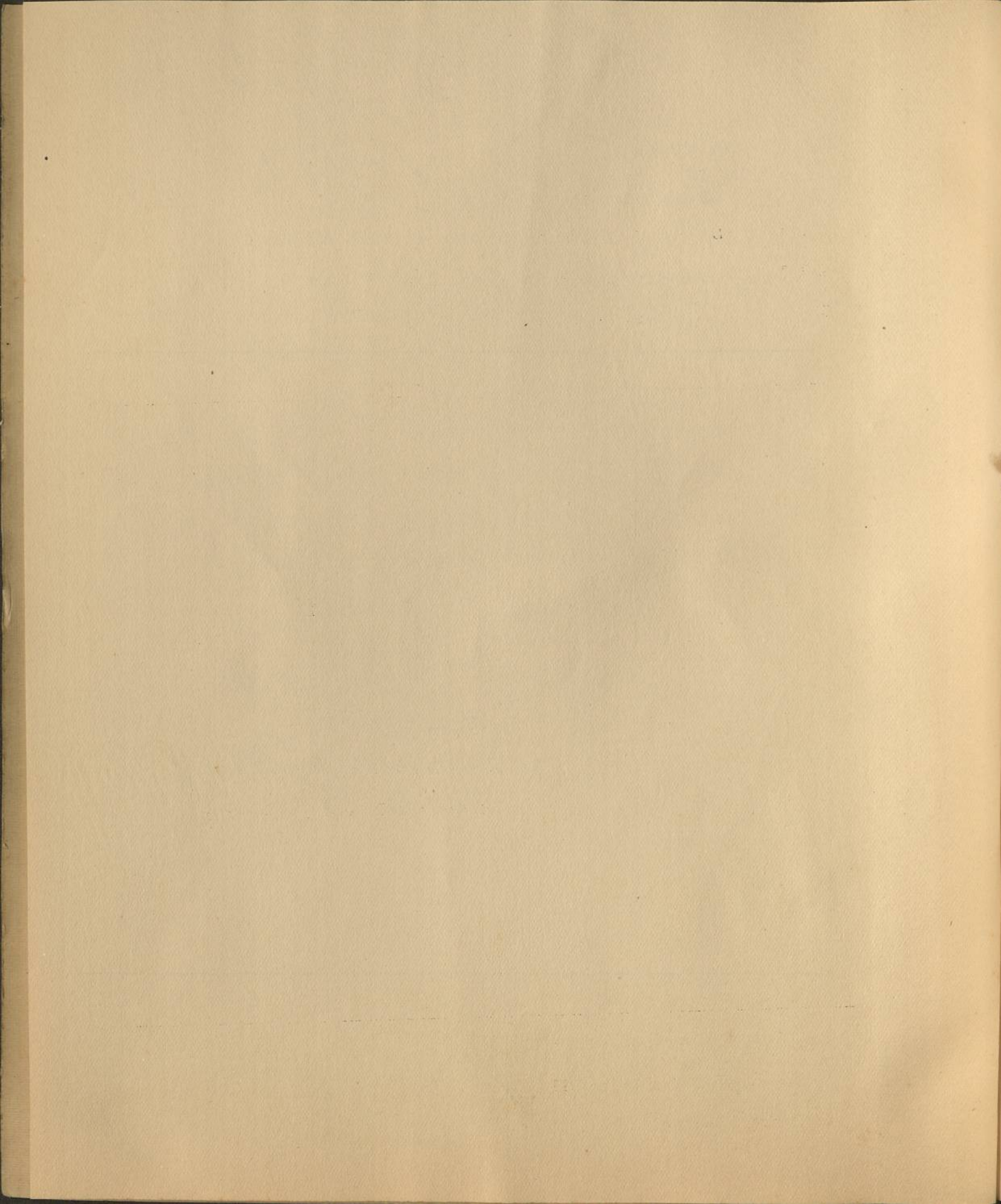
S. A. D A N G E

General Secretary

A I T U C

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

4 Ashok Road, New Delhi



I
socialism advances
imperialism retreats
nations liberated

We have just closed the year 1960 and are trying to look at the future that we have to shape. Each year, since the end of the World War, brings forth memorable events, which in their total effect, advance history in favour of the working class, in favour of the people, in favour of socialism, peace, democracy and freedom.

You may remember that during the days of the Second World War, there were many good people in India, who were sorry that the Soviet Union, its people and its Red Army, was crushing Hitler and that it had accepted the alliance of Britain, the arch-enslaver of India and several other countries, in the anti-fascist war. India's millions, pining under the heel of British imperialism, would not relish the idea of the victory of the British imperialists in the war. True, they did not want Soviet Russia to be lost, but their main desire was to see that Britain was somehow defeated, - by whom it did not matter. They thought Britain's defeat in the war, even at the hands of the fascists, meant liberation of India and all subject countries. If Britain were saved, so they argued, there would be no freedom for us.

Britain was saved by the Soviet victory, France was saved and America became the richest and most powerful country in the world.

And, yet, what happened in the fifteen years after the war?

The victory of the British imperialists, of the French imperialists, of the American imperialists, did not help them to grow and develop their imperialism further, to retain their loot of the world, to continue to hold vast millions in their colonies in subjection. Was it not a strange victory of imperialism by which the victors lost the essence of their loot, where the victorious imperialisms have to face defeat and shed off the chains by which they enslaved millions? Why this paradox?



It is because, the victory was not attained by the imperialists but by the country of socialism. The victory of the Socialist Soviet Union directly led to the establishment of several socialist States in Europe and later to the victory of the Chinese Revolution. India too attained independence and many other countries of Asia and Africa began their battle for freedom and won it.

In the last fifteen years, since the war, about forty new sovereign States have arisen in Asia and Africa.

That continent of one hundred fifty million enslaved, tortured, looted by a handful of imperialist marauders and colonisers, described in the school textbooks of the imperialists as a land of barbarians, blacks and wild beasts, but from where they mined gold, diamonds, uranium and radium and got their cocoa and ivory, from where they captured the Africans and sold them into slavery, has now risen in revolt. After the First World War, several countries in Asia stepped into the national revolutionary movement. But Africa was comparatively dormant except for Egypt, Morocco, etc. After the Second World War, the liberation of Africa is on the march. Over fourteen new sovereign States have come up there though, even as yet, the apartheid fascists of South Africa are unwilling to surrender to the forces of freedom.

Another vast belt on which the imperialists fattened was that of Latin America. There too, they are overthrowing the rule of American capital. The most outstanding event in that sphere in recent times is the Cuban Revolution.

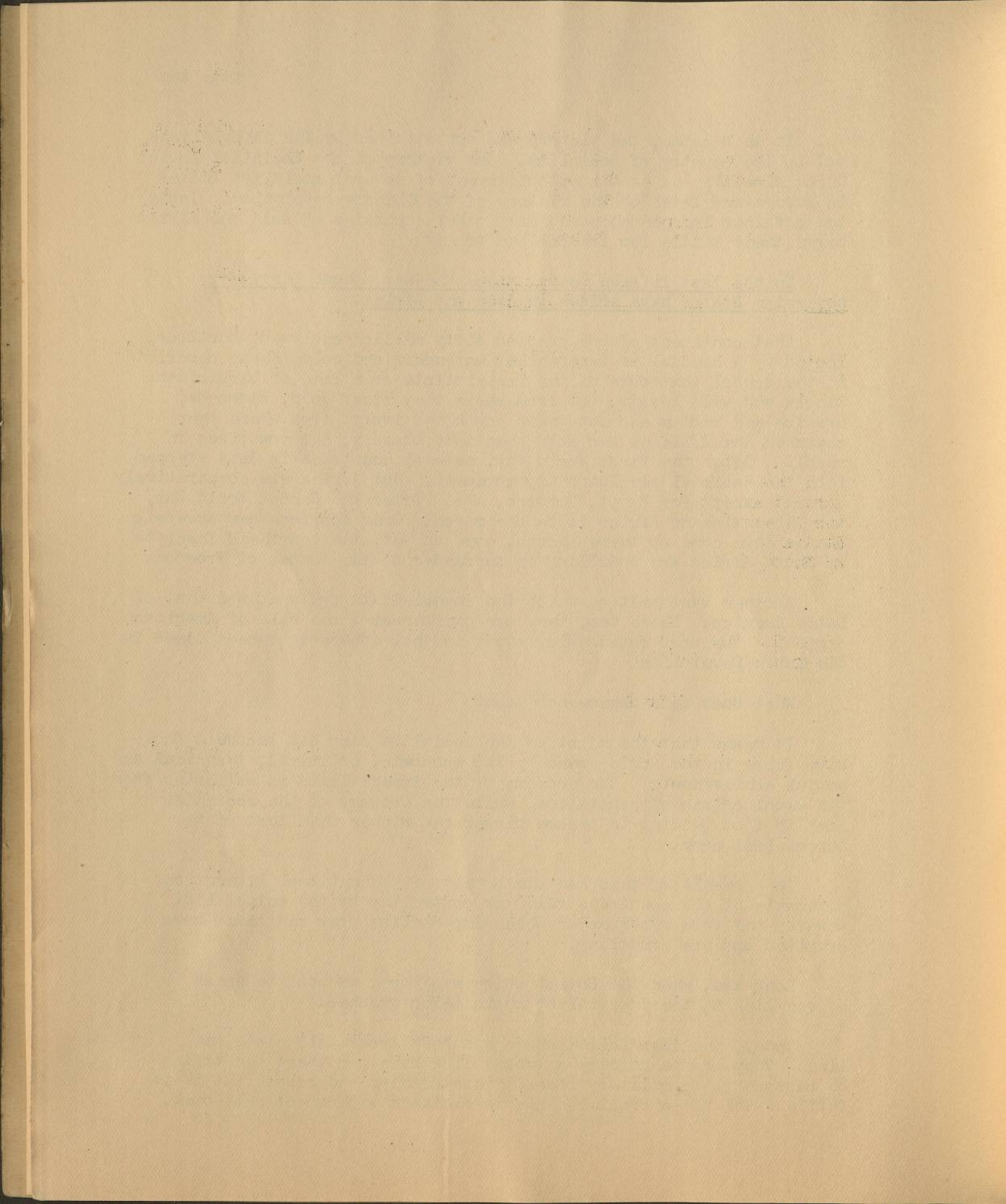
What does this phenomenon mean?

It means that the might of the socialist camp has become a decisive force in the world arena by its economic, political, technical and social achievements. The economy of the imperialists is suffering from the usual crisis of capitalism, while the economy of the socialist camp is fast heading to become bigger and richer than that of the imperialist camp.

As a result of this and the growth of the national liberation movements of the countries ruled or controlled by the colonialist powers, the vast reserves on which imperialism grew and lived have crumbled and are crumbling.

Long ago, when the Soviet Union was born, we used to speak of one link in the imperialist chain being smashed.

Today, the imperialist chain has been broken all along the line. They may be holding a broken link here and there and trying to restore it by military bases, dictatorships and coups, but it is futile. The all-embracing chain is finished and cannot come back.



Such is the world in which we step in, in the year 1961. That should give us, of the working class and toiling people, a new confidence, a new sense of unity and solidarity and greater zeal to fulfil our tasks.

The imperialists are no doubt suffering defeat after defeat. The fiasco of their attack on Egypt, Syria, shows that their warmongering can be halted. They must now be forced into disarmament and to live in peace with the freedom-loving world and try their luck or ill-luck, whether they can keep their own working class and people with them and away from socialism, when it comes to peaceful competition with the socialist camp. But they still refuse to follow that road. Hence, while being confident that all the forces of peace, including the mightiest of them, united under socialism, can halt and defeat the warmongers, we all have to campaign for peace in real earnest and in vigilance. We have to make people conscious of the horrors of nuclear war, the atomic weapons that can kill millions of people and devastate vast areas of civilisation. In our trade unions, we must educate the workers in the capacities for good and bad of the new forces of science, their use in the hands of imperialists for destruction and their use in the hands of the working class for socialism and better life. Only an enlightened class-conscious working class, with the help of other peace forces, can halt war, preserve peace and freedom and go over to socialism.

We in India have never been in the real theatre of war and hence we are not so keenly sensitive to the question of war and peace. But now in the atomic age, no country, even a neutral one or far away from the actual scene of war, can be saved from the horrors of nuclear reactions. The advanced worker knows it but not yet the millions. To tell them is one of our tasks.

The imperialists are suffering defeat after defeat, but they will not give up their adventures easily. Apart from threatening a world war, they try to stage a comeback in new guise. They thwart the development of newly liberated countries, by imposing militarist dictatorships over them and suppressing the growth of parliamentary democracy in these countries and fulfilment of measures that are beneficial to the toiling people and especially the vast masses of the peasantry. They still try by force of arms to defeat the national liberation movements. The French imperialists refuse to give up Algeria, the Belgians, aided by the American imperialists, refuse to give up Congo. The Americans are planning to overthrow the Cuban Revolution. While, on one side, their puppets are suffering defeat in Japan, South Korea and Turkey, they are trying to set up new ones in Congo, in Latin America, Laos and so on. Even petty Portugal refuses to surrender our territory of Goa to us.

Our workers and trade unions have campaigned for solidarity with the struggles of the people of Algeria, Cuba and Congo. But these campaigns have not been widespread as they should have been. We have not taken up the work in real earnest. For example, we have hundreds of trade union

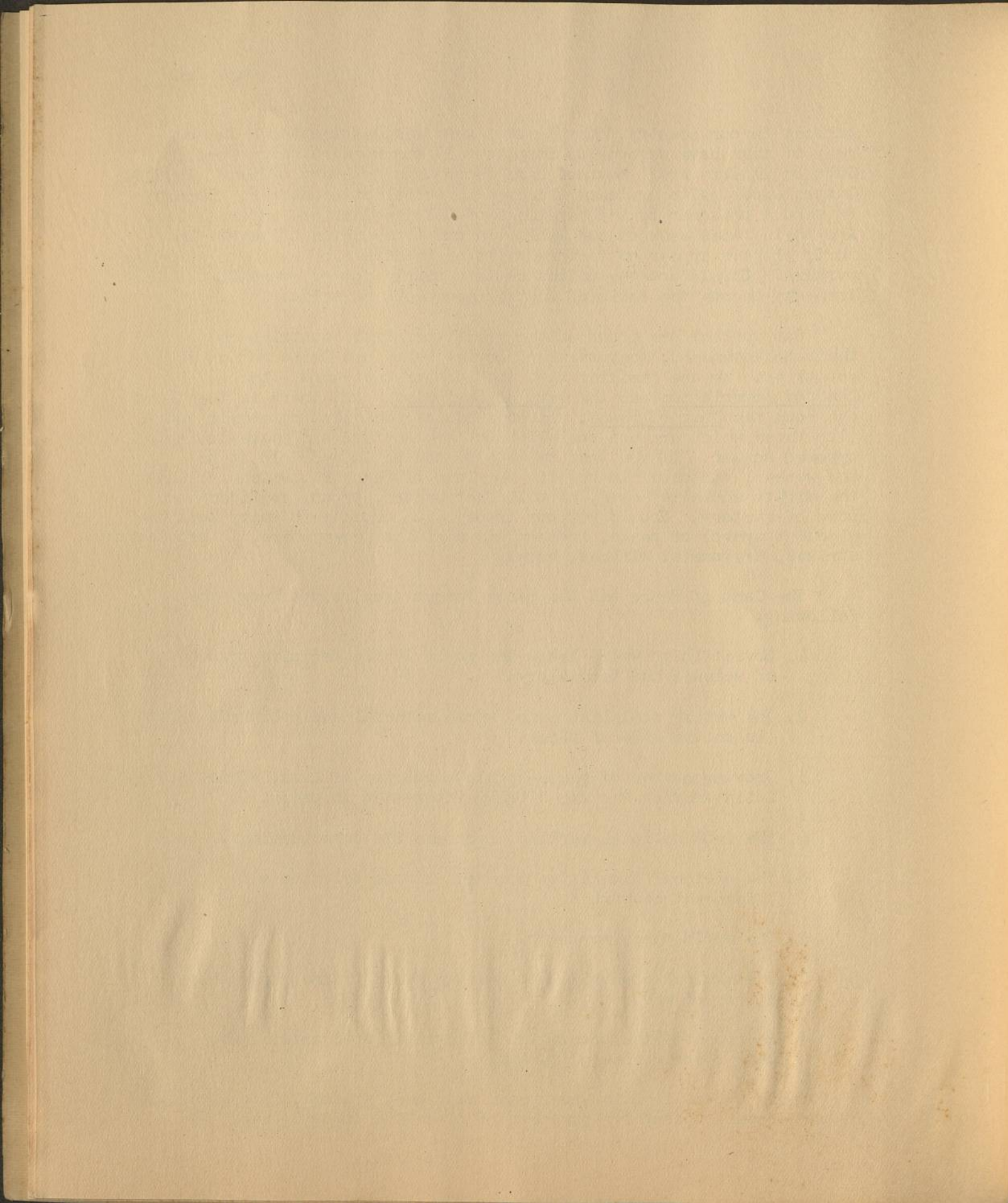
offices in our country. May I ask a very simple question? - In how many of them have we hung up maps to tell our workers where Congo, Cuba or Algeria are? Why not have those maps in every office? Dr. Fidel Castro's portraits are seen all over in socialist countries. Lumumba is held a prisoner by the hirelings of Belgian-American imperialists. Are their faces seen on our walls, in our trade union offices? Do their slogans appear on factory walls or in houses of even our advanced workers? Should not the unions do that simple job of education, which then can become the basis of further movements of solidarity?

Our workers are proud of the great socialist countries and their achievements; they speak of Soviet Union and China and other countries. We are familiar with the idea of two camps - the Camp of Imperialism and the Camp of Socialism. But there is the third one now: the Camp of Peace. It consists of socialist countries and also those which are not socialist but are neutral and peace-loving, opposed to war. If you take the map of the world and hold it to the worker, and show him how big the Camp of Peace is, which includes the mighty socialist camp, he will feel amazed, proud, confident and sure of victory. Should not our trade union organisers carry such an eloquent symbol of peace, freedom and socialism everywhere, in processions, strikes, tribunals, offices, homes?

The Camp of Peace and the peace forces are, as you know, the following:

1. Soviet Union which leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology.
2. The entire socialist camp, whose material and political might is on the side of peace.
3. Growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are vitally interested in peace.
4. The international working class and its organisations.
5. The national liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries.
6. The world peace movement.
7. The neutral countries who want no share in the imperialist policy of war.
8. Sections of the bourgeoisie of capitalist countries who take a sober view of things.

India stands in this vast peace camp and, as such, is on the side of the socialist camp for purposes of peace and opposing war. The



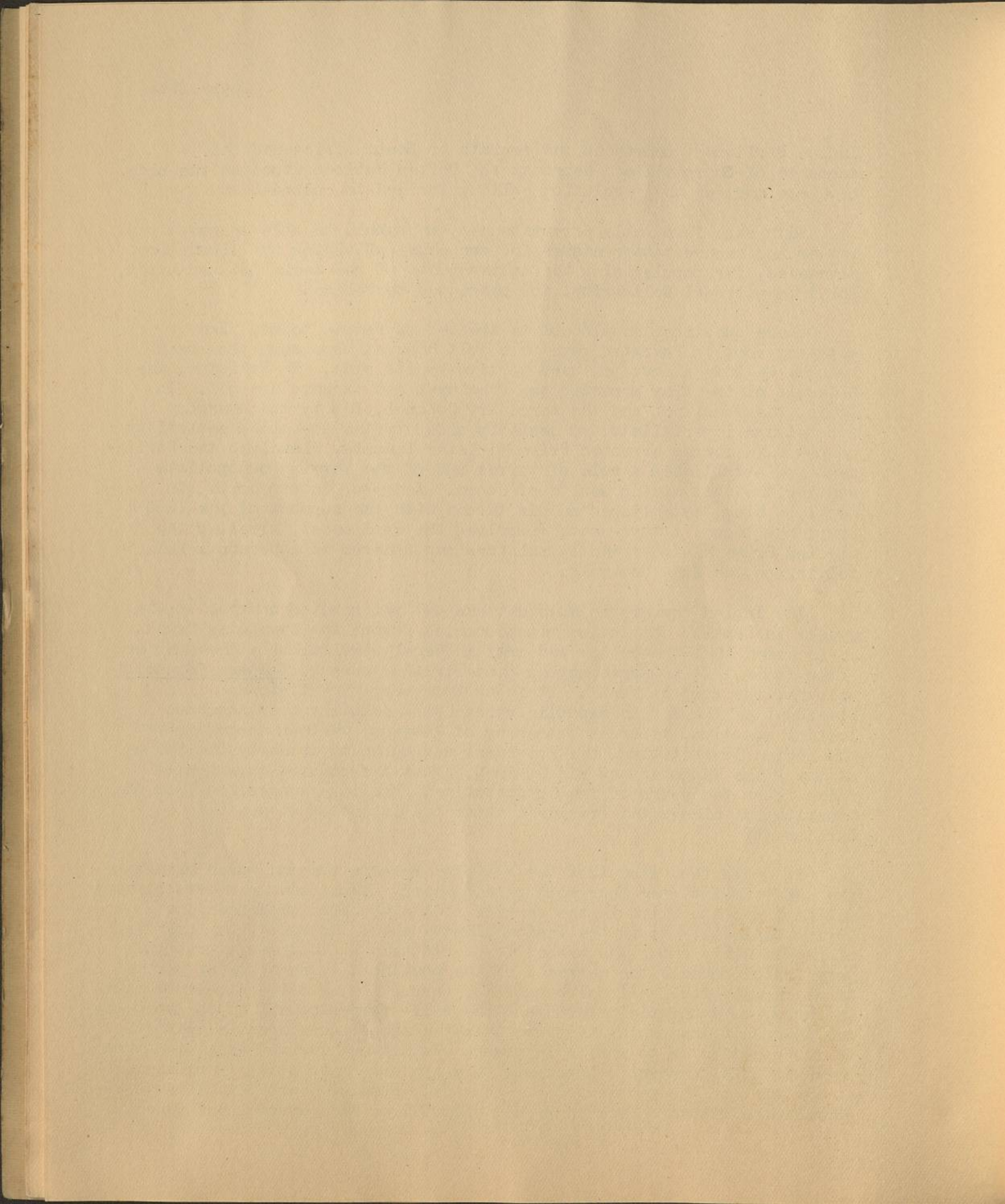
Indian Parliament denounced the racists of South Africa and the massacre of Sharpeville. Nehru at the United Nations stood on the side of Congo and for the resolution calling for end to colonialism.

With such favourable circumstances, we should be able to campaign better and secure vaster masses for our cause of aiding the liberation movements, for popularising the achievements of the socialist countries, for international solidarity, for peace and socialism.

These questions should not be treated as remote to us. The military coup in Pakistan gave us a jolt near at home some time back but now we have almost got used to live by its side. In Pakistan, the Generals of the Army arrested the President and marched him off. In Congo, the President and the mercenary Colonel, fed by the American and Belgian imperialists and secretly aided by the so-called neutrality of the U.N. forces arrested Prime Minister Lumumba, dissolved the Parliament and established a rule of terror and of the foreign monopolists wanting the vast mining wealth of Congo. And now, in our north, in Nepal, a King, established on his throne with the support of the Indian Army, has become a turn-coat, dissolved the Parliament, arrested the elected Prime Minister and legislators and ushered in a personal rule relying on the Army Generals.

The Indian democratic movement has not yet reacted sharply to the events in Nepal. The Indian reactionaries favour the events in Nepal. It is known that the police and army in Nepal were built by the advisers from India. It is worth noting that Birla's journal, Eastern Economist, welcomed the coup in Nepal. It is at this very time that the President of the Indian Republic raised just casually the innocuous looking question, before a gathering of lawyers, whether according to the Indian Constitution, the President was bound to abide by the advice of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. What a fantastic question to raise after ten years of the Constitution? Was it a suggestion that the Constitution places the President above the Cabinet and even the Parliament?

It would thus seem that the anti-democratic trends, which elsewhere are overthrowing even bourgeois parliamentary democracies and establishing military dictatorships in the service of the monopoly profiteers, are trying to infiltrate in the Indian climate also. No doubt, the position of Pandit Nehru among the masses is an obstacle in their way. But this very factor reveals the weakness of the position. The Congress regime is so ridden with factional squabbles, corruption, waste, anti-democratic measures, bureaucratic methods and the self-aggrandisement of the monopoly profiteers and landowning elements that the masses are becoming apathetic to the question as to who is in power. Parliament is used as an instrument by these anti-democratic interests to carry out their self-aggrandisement at the cost of the people and the country. Premier Nehru is unable to correct the situation merely by his goodwill or his personal influence,



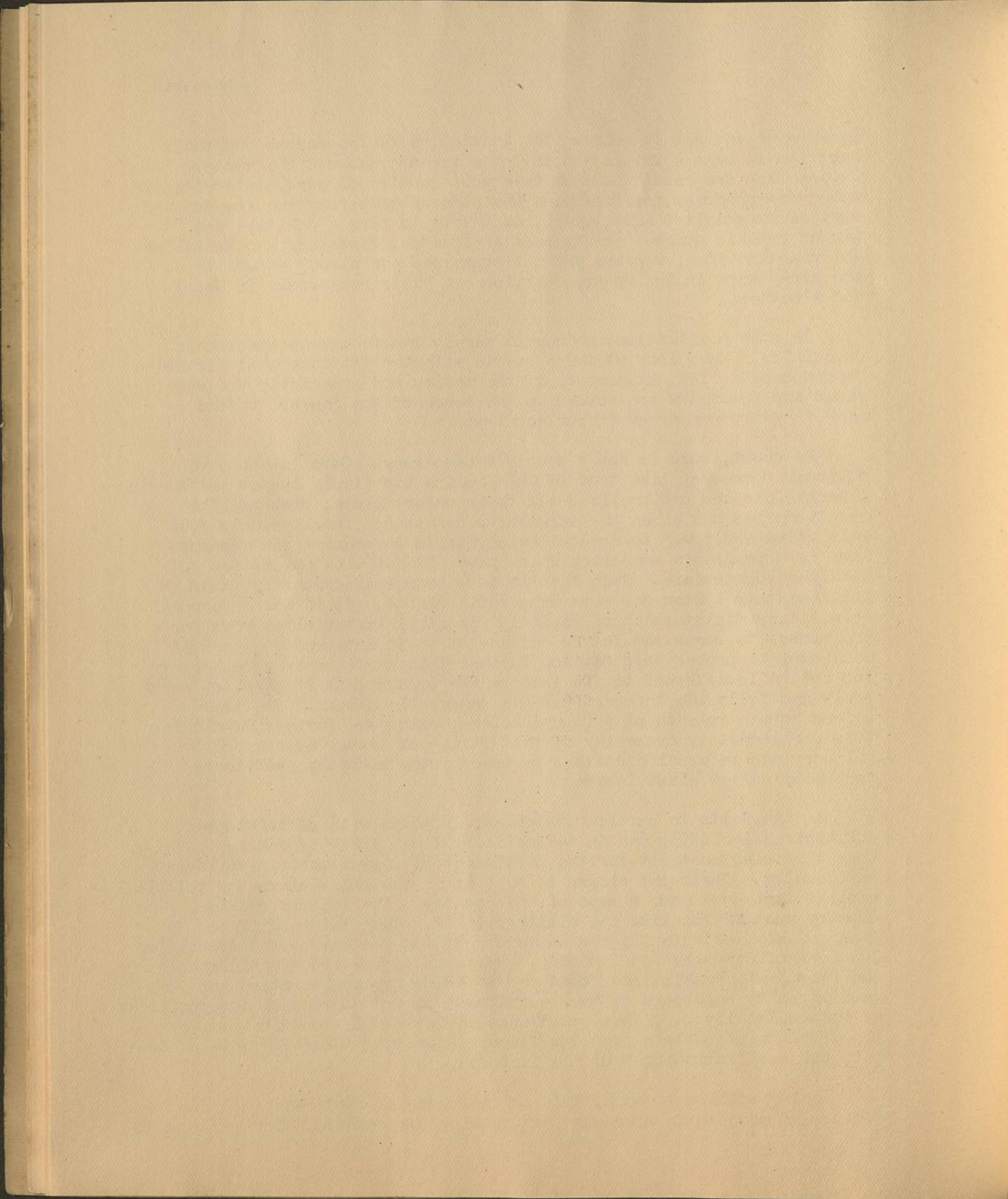
because he refuses to rely on the initiative of the masses and their capacity to manage things and curb the bureaucrats and the vested interests. The result is that this vast country of ours, interested in peace and progress, positively on the side of democracy and freedom and against imperialist adventurers, is unable to play a positive and bigger role in quickening the pace of freedom, democracy and socialism. The reactionaries, who are yet not organised nor strong enough to do the dirty work in India, are carrying out their rehearsals in Nepal and elsewhere.

In such a situation, we cannot merely remain silent spectators or critics. Many look at these events with the attitude that "it cannot happen here". Yet, it cannot, if the masses and especially the working class and peasantry are roused to the sense of the danger, to the need to guard democracy in our country.

No doubt, ours is not a people's democracy. Ours is not even a national democracy like that of Cuba, which has firmly ousted the American imperialists and nationalised all their undertakings, disarmed the reactionaries and given the workers, peasants and intellectuals full initiative and power to manage the country's government and economy. Ours is a bourgeois democracy where power is not with the masses but with the bourgeoisie. Even then it is a bourgeois democracy based on parliamentary system and some democratic rights. It is not a personal or military dictatorship of capital. It still leaves elbow room for the masses to speak and act in defence of their interests. Hence it is necessary to protect and develop further this parliamentary democracy and not be indifferent to its fate on the ground that it does not serve truly and fully the interests of the democratic masses. The trade unions have a role to play in protecting, using and further developing this parliamentary democracy so that it is not either overthrown by military and personal dictators or used by the monopoly profiteers for their narrow class interests.

In my visits to certain factories, in talks with officials and politicians including men in the military line, I have found in them a growing contempt for the parliamentary system that prevails in our country. Their pet slogan is that it is the politicians and political parties that have made a mess of the country. The factory and the country must be run like the military units. Then things will be done quickly, efficiently and better. At the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry, addressed by the Finance Minister, the President, Mr. Williams "wondered if adequate consideration had been given by employers to the recruitment of army personnel for positions of responsibility. . . They could make an invaluable contribution to the solution of certain problems facing industry." Here you have an open call for "militarisation" of the factory.

In the opinion of some, this talking shop of Parliament and the "so-called democratic freedoms" are ruining the country. Strikes must be



banned altogether, peasants must work and stop talking of land for themselves, the student must learn, obey and serve, and so on. There are, as you know, well-known leaders who support these sentiments and want a non-party firm government and dissolution of all political parties. Their next step would be dissolution of all trade unions or their complete subordination to the State administration. Such line of thinking is dangerous to our freedom, to the workers, to the trade unions, to all people.

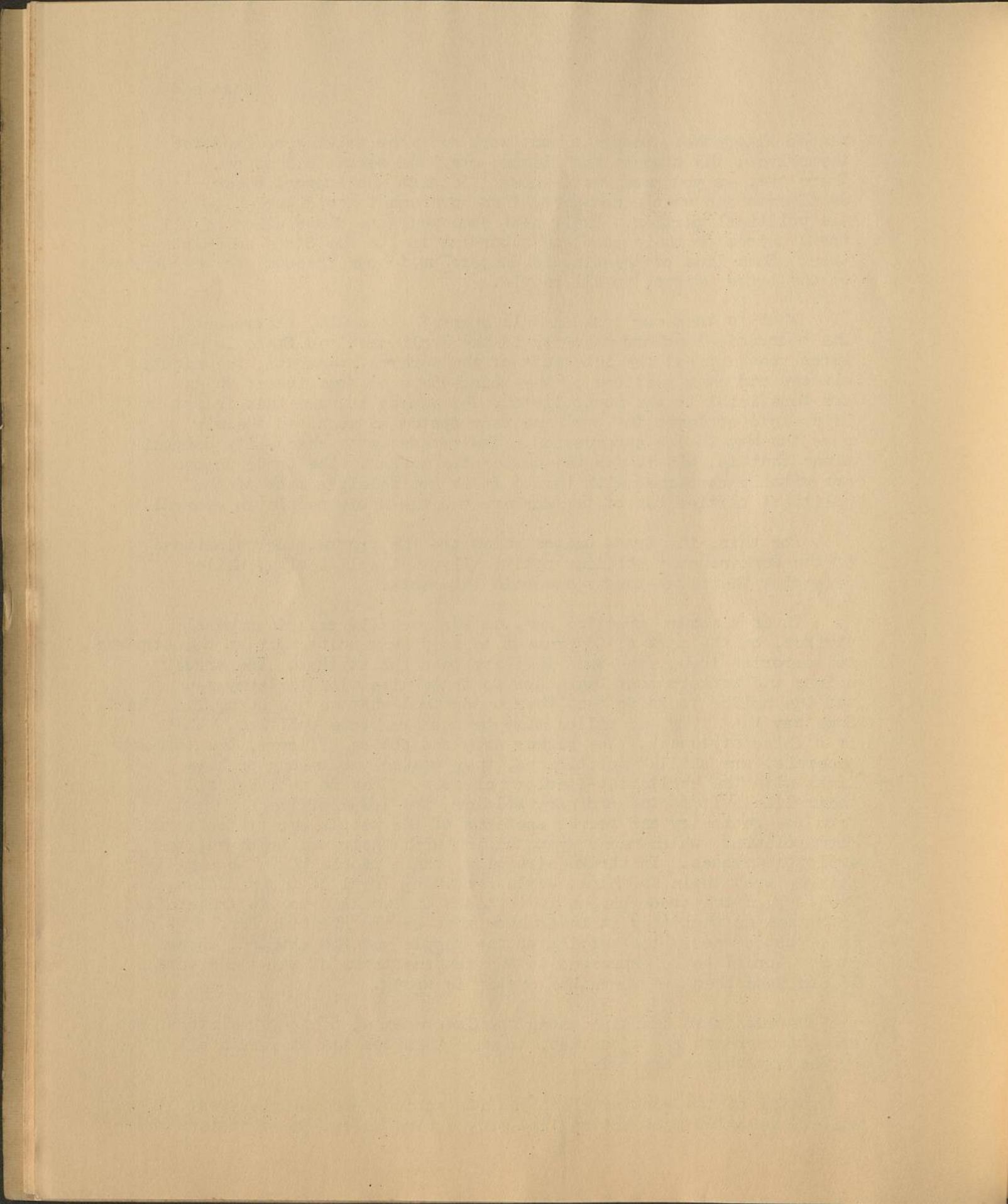
What is then our task in this sphere? No doubt, at present, the bourgeois-landlord majority in the Parliament and State Legislatures goes against the interests of the workers, peasants, the middle classes and even sections of the bourgeoisie on some issues which are beneficial to the monopolists. The remedy to cure this is not to bring into contempt the parliamentary system as such and thereby pave the way to its suppression. The remedy is to change its composition; that is, win it for the democratic masses. The trade unions are vitally concerned with this. It is not solely a task of the political parties but of the workers and the whole people in general.

For this, the trade unions which are the broadest organisations of the workers must mobilise politically, act politically, while defending their day-to-day economic interests.

It is a common practice now, as was recently seen in several strikes, on the part of Government to send army units against the strikers, to terrorise them, even when they are peaceful strikes. The trade unions and workers must learn how to fraternise with the army men and the police ranks so that they understand what we are struggling for. Some say that army and police must be and are above politics. That is a false statement. The higher army and police officers, the topmost generals, are skilled politicians, they themselves belong or have links with the capitalist-landlord classes. They do politics all their life. It is the ordinary soldier, the lower officers, drawn from the peasantry and poorer sections of the people who are debarred from politics, which means sympathising with their own brethren, the exploited masses. In strike struggles, these people begin to see things, they begin to think, while remaining loyal to their duties. The task of the trade unions is to teach the workers how to fraternise with them so that they at least know what we are fighting for, that ours is a just cause in the service of the people and the country, though it may appear to be expressed in the mundane terms of wages and work. It can make them see where the system is wrong.

We must also campaign among the Congressmen, their legislators, who are not hardened reactionaries, to make them see the danger to all of us, by the way things are going.

Unity of the working class and its action, even simple, vast, united, peaceful mass action, can many a time defeat the dictators and



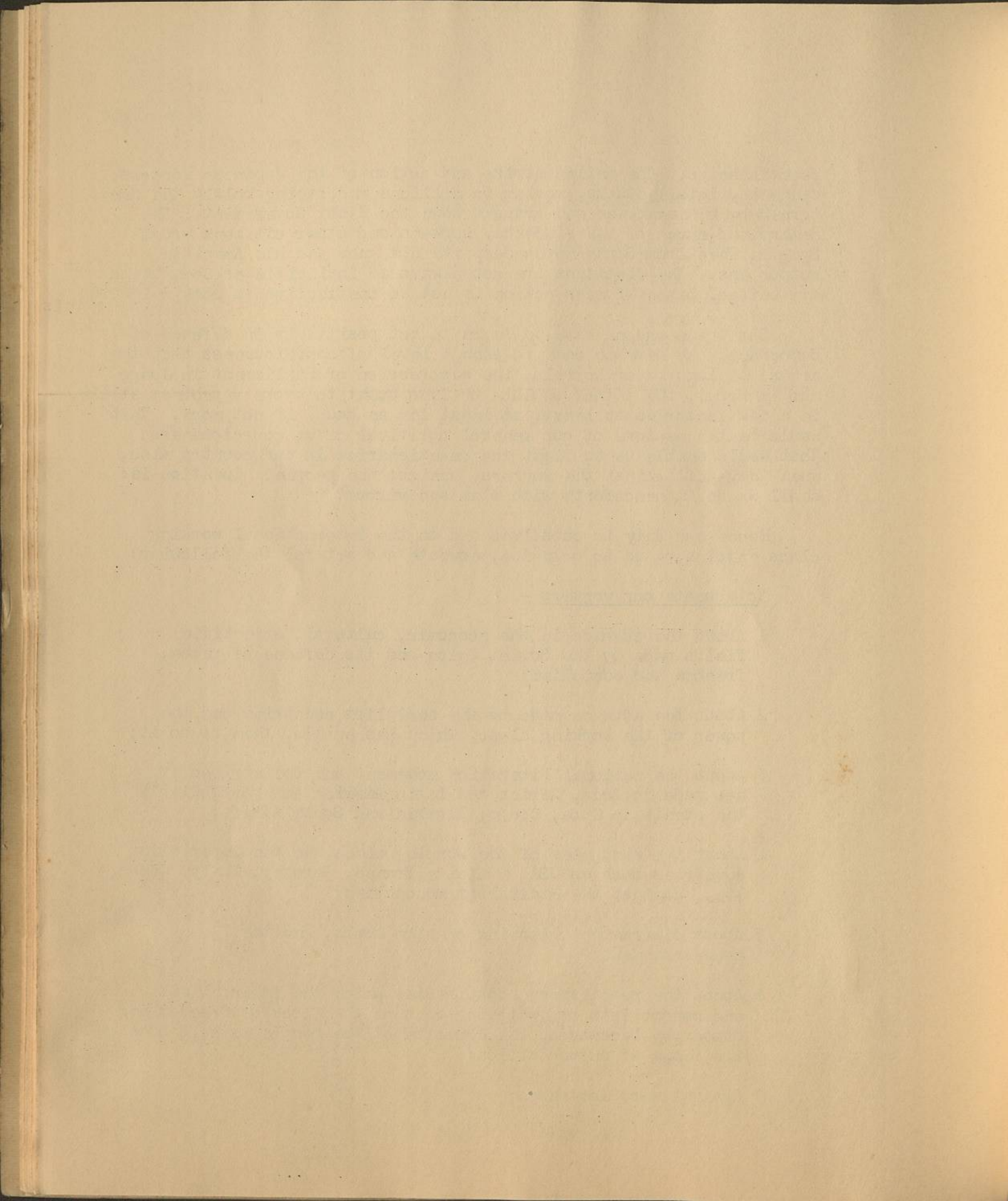
reactionaries. The united strike and action of the Japanese workers, students, intellectuals, moving in millions and facing boldly the army, turned back Eisenhower and brought down the Kishi Government. The determined march of the students, workers and other citizens drove Syngman Rhee from South Korea despite his guns and his American supporters. The dictators are not always so invincible as some think and united, peaceful mass action is not so ineffective as some maintain.

Our trade unions have to learn to act positively in defence of democracy. We have to come to such a level of consciousness that the arrest of Lumumba or Koirala, the suppression of Parliament in Congo and in Nepal, the attack on Cuba or Iraq ought to evoke a protest strike, in a few factories at least, at least for an hour, if not more. That would be the measure of our general political class consciousness. That would enable us to fight the reactionaries in our country also, when they act against the workers, against the people. Question is: shall we do it henceforth with plan and vigour?

Hence our duty to ourselves and to the international working class enjoins on us to organise, educate and act for the following:

To educate our workers -

- 1 About the advance in the economic, cultural, scientific fields made by the Soviet Union and its defence of peace, freedom and socialism;
- 2 About the advance made by the socialist countries and the power of the working class, which has enabled them to do it;
- 3 About the national liberation movement and the strides it has made in Asia, Africa and Latin America and particularly the events in Cuba, Congo, Algeria and South Africa;
- 4 About the struggles of the working class, in the imperialist countries such as USA, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, etc., against the capitalist monopolies;
- 5 About disarmament, banning of atom bombs, and the peace movement;
- 6 About the reactionary conspiracies which the imperialists and monopolists are hatching to turn the clock of freedom and democracy backwards, the capacity of the people to halt them on the basis of united action;
- 7 Against war; for peace;



8 For defence of democracy and freedom; against monopolists and dictators.

To teach our workers to act in solidarity and unity, to discharge the above tasks.

The platform of the AITC which is the platform of the internationalism of the working class, of unity and solidarity, must more and more campaign for these issues and also act. Let us win all the unions and workers for this. The World Federation of Trade Unions shows us the way to do it. We, as its detachment, are confident of winning victory.

II

plan production

- growth

and

new dangers

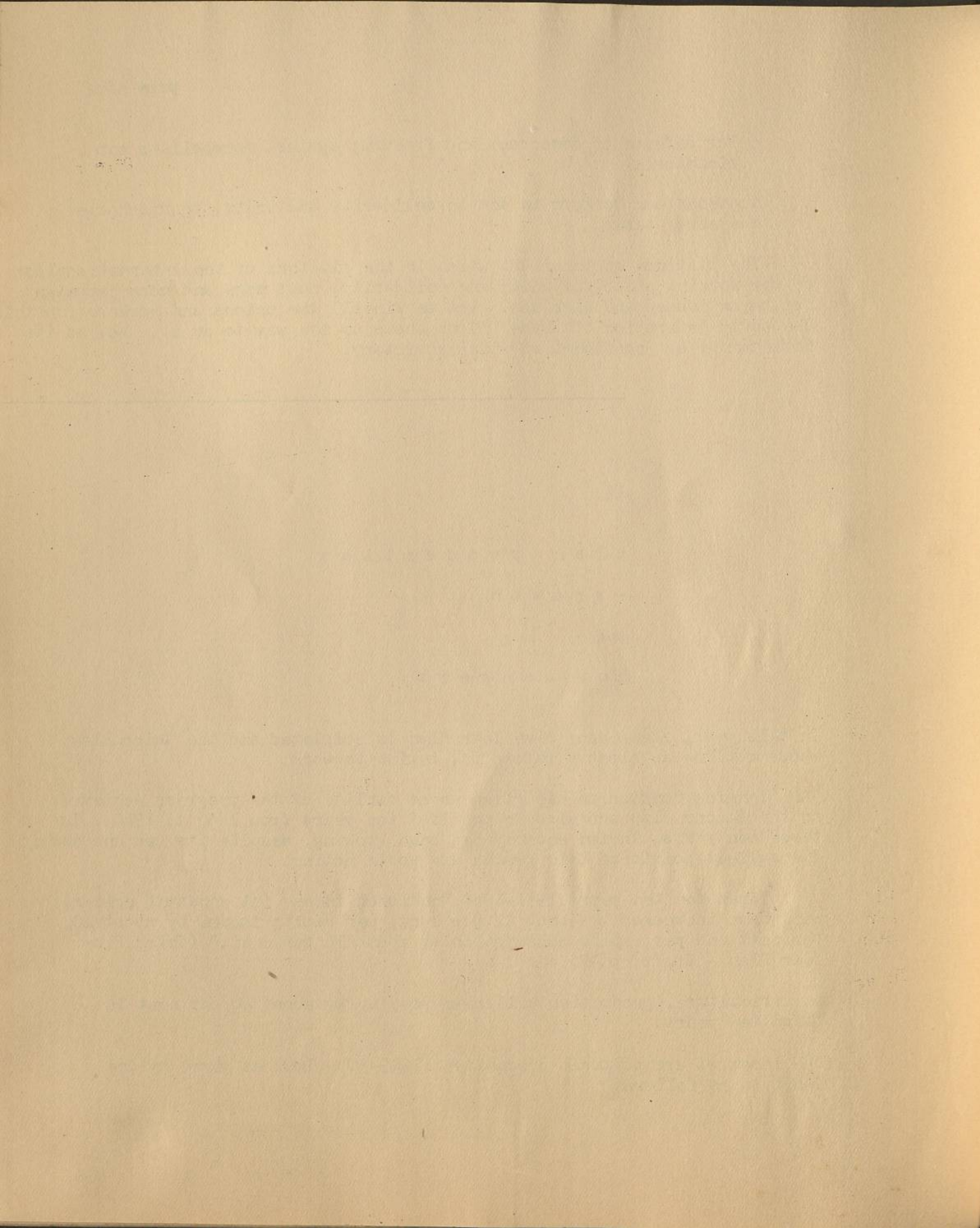
In this year, the Second Five Year Plan is completed and the Third Plan, whose outline is already before us, begins to work.

The Planning Commission has given us an outline of the progress achieved in the Second Plan and also in the last ten years from 1950 to 1960. In these ten years, Indian economy has been growing, despite its ups and downs. The salient points of this growth are worth noting.

"Over the ten years 1951-1960, national income (at constant prices) will have increased by about 42 per cent, per capita income by about 20 per cent and per capita consumption by about 16 per cent." (Third Five Year Plan - Draft, p.17)

In agriculture, production will have gone up by about 40 per cent in these ten years.

The index of agricultural production (1949-50 - 100) as given by the Draft is as follows:



i n d e x o f
a g r i c u l t u r a l p r o d u c t i o n
(Base: 1949-50 - 100)

	1950-51	1958-59	1960-61 (expected)
All commodities	95.6	132.0	135.0
Food Crops	90.5	130.0	131.0
Other Crops	105.9	136.0	143.0

p r o d u c t i o n
o f m a j o r c r o p s

	1950-51	1960-61 (likely)	Percentage Increase
Foodgrains (cereals and pulses) (mil.tons)	52.2	75.0	43.7%
Oil Seeds "	5.1	7.2	41.0%
Sugar Cane "	5.6	7.2	29.0%
Cotton (mil. bales)	2.9	5.4	86.0%
Jute "	3.3	5.5	64.0%

Thus the overall production in agriculture has risen by 39.4 points in the ten years. Foodgrains, as expected, before the year-end figures are available, has risen by 43.7%. At the same time, it is worth noting that the most attractive money crop and one which is so much on the speculative markets is that of cotton and jute. Both these have risen by 86.6% and 64.0% while sugarcane has lagged behind food crops even, with an increase of only 29%. Oil seeds have gone up by 41%, nearer to food crops.

All these are tentative figures. But they show the trends which are verified by the actuals of the previous year.

The growth in the industrial sector has been much more and was bound to be so. The Second Plan placed great emphasis on heavy industry and despite many obstructions, encouraging results have been obtained.

"Overall industrial production is expected to record an increase of about 120% between 1950-51 and 1960-61." (Draft, p.20)

This more than doubling of overall production is in highly important lines which are absolutely necessary for our growth and preservation of our independence.

The first and foremost rise is in iron and steel. Three steel plants in the public sector (Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur) have been established. The two in private sector, Tata's at Jamshedpur and Martin-Burn's at Burnpur have been expanded. However, the actual finished steel production is still lagging behind capacity, as some of the plants are not yet ready for full working.

There has been growth in machinery and chemicals, fuel, power, transport, cement, textiles and so on. There is not a single commodity in which one can point out a fall in production to old time levels. Some figures on this are worth noting.

		1950-51	1960-61 (likely)	Percentage Increase
Finished Steel	(mil. tons)	1.0	2.6	160%
Cement	"	2.7	8.8	226%
Coal	"	32.0	53.0	65.6%
Iron Ore	"	3.0	12.0	300%
Diesel Engines	('000 Nos.)	5.5	33.0	500%
Fertilisers	('000 tons)	9.0	210.0	2300%

The percentage increases, no doubt, look astounding. But compared to our needs, the quantity as such is not very high. But the point here is that production has gone up and at a good rate, though it could have been better, of which we will speak later.

In the matter of consumer goods, only one or two items need be mentioned.

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		1950-51	1960-61 (likely)	Percentage Increase
Cotton Textiles	(mil. yds)	3720	5000	34.4%
Sugar	(mil. tons)	1.10	2.25	104.0%
Bicycles	('000 Nos.)	101	1050	940.0%
Automobiles	(Nos.)	16,500	53,500	224.0%

In textile production, which is one of the most essential things for life, the production of handloom cloth has increased from 742 million yards to 2,125 million yards. Khadi production will have gone up from 2.0 to 3.7 million yards. A number of medium and small-scale industries have developed and the old countryside of India, which ten years ago knew only the plough, the bullock and the huts, is getting interspersed with small industries, which, though small, do introduce a new element in the old dormant village.

In spite of the pruning that the Second Plan suffered at one stage, because of the attitude of the imperialist countries and their capitalists, our production targets in certain vital lines have come nearer fulfilment. In certain lines, though there is no production yet on hand, foundations of absolutely new and vital industries have been laid. The stranglehold of the oil monopolists of USA and Britain is about to be broken, thanks to the aid given by the Soviet Union and Rumania. Heavy machinery manufacture, mining machinery and such others will soon be on the production line.

To be able to manufacture our own machines is the basic need of our country. In the Third Plan, we shall be able to do it, with the foundations now laid in the Second Plan.

We the workers and trade unions, whose labour is the prime creator of all these things, should rejoice that we are overcoming our backwardness in which the imperialists left us and still want to keep us. Our workers, technicians, intellectuals and the honest sections of the industrialists have discharged their duty to the country and the people.

I have said "honest sections of the industrialists" very deliberately. Many of the big names in industry first tried to mislead the Plan in the wrong direction. Some of them tried to sabotage production in one section or another. But many of them increased production in some lines because it paid them super profits. Of course, all industrialists are in the field because of profits. That is the law of all capitalism. Even the honest sections do it for profit. But many there are, who really want the country's economy to develop, to be independent of foreign dependence and to be efficient. It is these sections of the bourgeoisie whom I included in the above compliment.

But to say that is not enough. These production achievements had several drawbacks, several black spots, including treachery to the country's interests and people's welfare on the part of certain vested interests and their allies.

The first who merit denunciation are the foreign imperialists and investors, who have all along been holding us at ransom. They will spend millions on arms and armaments. But they refuse to give aid to our country unless we join their warmongering pacts, unless we give up our anti-colonialism, unless we change our peace policy, unless we give up our State Sector and cease to dream of becoming an industrialised nation. True, some of them have helped with the Durgapur and Rourkela plants for iron and steel or with the Heavy Electricals, some with wheat supplies, which are unsaleable in the world market, and so on. But all that help started coming in only when the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Socialist Camp offered unstinted help on low interest, in rupee terms, and of the best technique in the true socialist manner. The socialist countries' plants have been built according to schedule and are in production without difficulties because there is no corruption and negligence in what they have been doing for us in Bhilai or in oil or machinery enterprises. But Rourkela always breaks down somehow, somewhere. Durgapur goes on limping though we get reports of production also and big plans of their further expansion, even before the present phase is hardly completed. The attack on our oil venture is so open and blatantly anti-national that those who have been trying their hardest to sabotage our oil sector should have been thrown out of the country and some of them sent to prisons as saboteurs. But in the name of democracy, these saboteurs are running their "free enterprise" at the cost of our people's interests.

The Oil Commission, assisted by the Soviet Union and Rumania, has found oil and is on the way to establish its own refineries. In the meanwhile, the Anglo-American oil monopolies were asked to reduce prices of their products, as they had fallen in the world markets and their prices were robbing our economy. As the companies refused to be helpful, the Government imported crude oil from the Soviet Union at cheaper prices. Unfortunately, the selling agencies, pumps, storages are all in the hands of the Anglo-American companies. They refused to refine our imported oil in their refineries, refused storage facilities and did everything to sabotage the Government deal. Any Government, which is not under the pulls and pressures of foreign monopolists, would have taught a lesson to these companies and thrown them bag and baggage out of the country. The little Cuba did it and our big country could have done it. But the Government of India, divided within itself, some of whose ministers rightly want our independent oil industry to grow, while some others in the same Government oppose it and from within help those foreign monopolies, would not allow any drastic measures against the foreign oil monopolies.

But the most astounding fact is that when the Government started selling the oil to the States, to the State-owned transport companies and such

others, some of these States and public concerns hastily made contracts with the foreign companies and refused Government of India's oil. The excuse given was that the oil companies' quotations in the tenders were lower than the price quoted by the Oil India Ltd., i.e., the Government of India's oil company. The BEST, the municipal-owned transport service in Bombay, bought the anglo-american oil, the Kerala State did the same. The excuse of lower quotation is a racket. The quotation of Oil India was revealed to the oil companies by persons who are secretly allied with them and the companies, to defeat our oil policy and stop us from buying cheaper Soviet oil and break the anglo-american monopoly, quoted lower figures by a few naye paise. This situation does require attention and inquiry. The main culprits are, however, are those who oppose our independent oil policy and State Sector and insist on befriending the foreign monopolies.

Another field, which has caused tremendous harm to our growth by vested interests is Coal. The coal industry has been a preserve of foreign capital, though of late, some Indian monopolists have been taken into partnerships by them to blunt Indian nationalist opposition and to secure concessions from the State. The Government of India rightly decided to develop coal in the State Sector and stop these companies from massacring coal seams by unrestricted mining of good coal for quick profits.

This too was opposed by some of our own ministers and industrialists and strongly resented by the coal magnates. They bluntly said that the coal target would not be fulfilled. And it did happen that way. Neither in the State Sector nor in the private sector, did coal advance as was required. The private sector had a short fall of 3.5 million tons and the State Sector of 9 million tons.

Not only production lagged, even the supplies to the factories failed. And it was a scene of shame that the Railway Ministry blamed the Mining Ministry for the failure by which the Bhilai Steel Plant had to hold up production and the Mining Ministry retorted back and exposed the Railway Ministry. The truth is that both the ministries have failed in their tasks. The reason is not that coal cannot be produced or that it cannot be transported or that there are no means for it. The real reason is that inside the Government, there are interests and elements, who hate the public sector, and want to see it fail in its objectives. And the private sector held back their hands as they wanted their demands to be fulfilled. The essence of their demand is higher prices, unrestricted field for expansion and large subsidies from the State. What they themselves would do to help production would be to help in swallowing the profits that would fall in their hands.

The World Bank mission which is the inspirer of all these tactics of foreign and Indian reactionaries had the following to say on this question:

"The expansion of the private sector has been restricted as an act of Government policy, which has reserved the opening up

of new areas to the public sector. Price control has also discouraged the private companies from investing more in the industry. It is possible to sympathise with some of the considerations underlying the Government's policy and yet to feel that the way in which this policy has been applied is contrary to the nation's economic interests. As the Mission sees it, the overriding need now is to get more coal quickly and other considerations should be subordinated to this purpose." (Commerce, October 29, 1960, p.750)

As a result of the deadlock that took place for want of coal in factories, the Government of India have now agreed to let the private sector all that it wants - larger fields of expansion, higher prices, subsidies, etc. The Commerce (October 22, 1960) wrote:

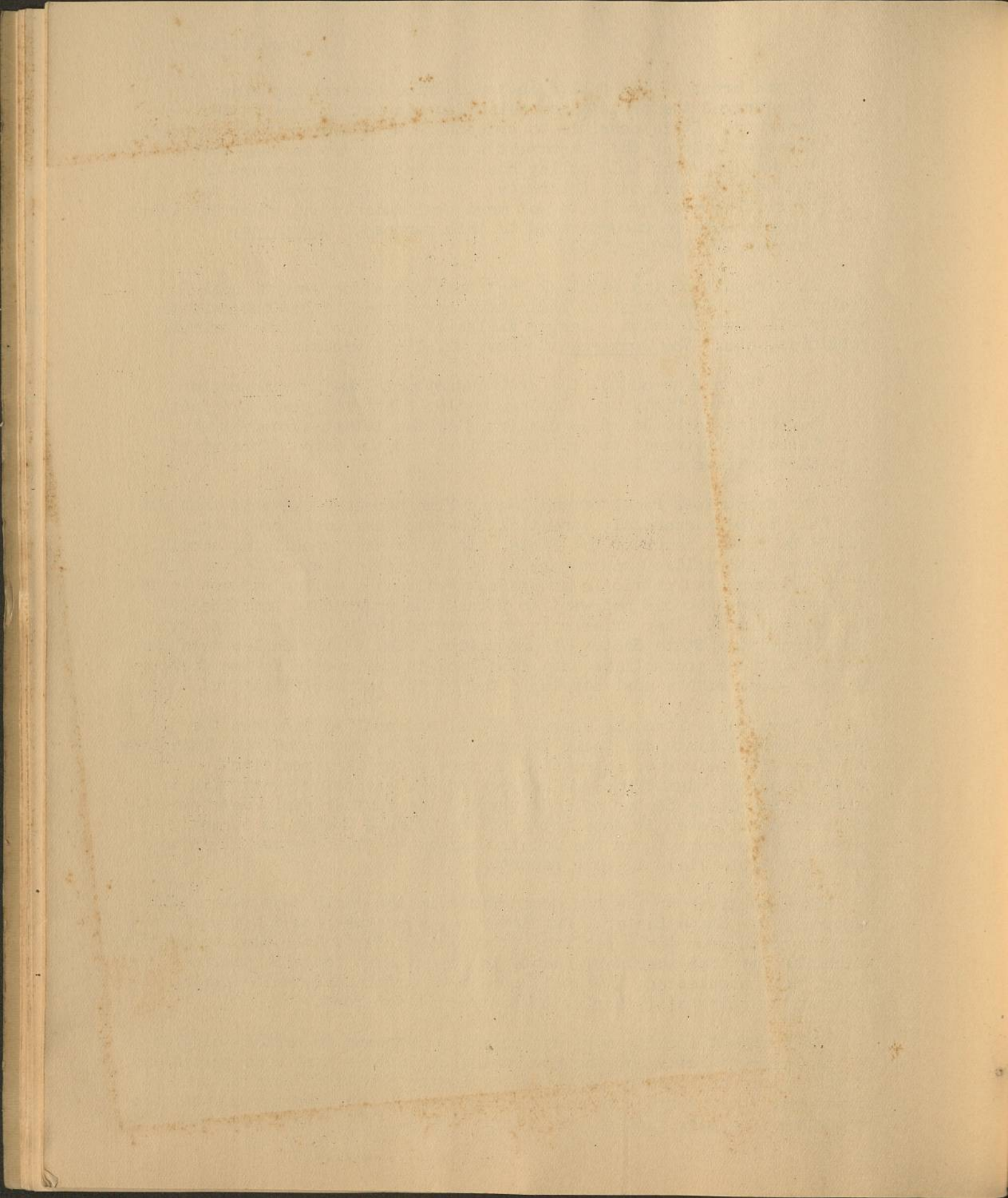
"By all accounts, the coal industry in the private sector has not been fighting a losing battle. That its pleas are just beginning to be heard is confirmed by the latest agreement at Calcutta, between its representatives and the Union Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel."

The Economists Panel of the Second Plan had long ago said that for the Plan to be successful, essential minerals like coal, ore, etc., should be in the hands of the State. It means that coalmining should have been nationalised and managed on a democratic basis with the aid of the workers and patriotic managers. But such a policy was not to the taste of those who did not want to attack the entrenched position of the monopolists. They tried only to restrict their hold and side by side expand the **State Sector** of production. The tactic failed with the result that the monopolists have come back in the saddle in the field of coal - one of the most strategic things for industrialisation.

I have only cited the example of oil and coal to show how the foreign imperialists and their friends in India, among the big financiers and the ruling circles, entrenched in some of the key positions of the Congress ministries and public bodies, are doing everything to sabotage the **State Sector** of industry and the further rapid development of our economy, even in some parts of the **Private Sector** as in coal, unless the Government and the country agrees to their terms. I cannot cover the whole field in this report.

Some sections of the big monopolists in the early days vehemently denounced the **State Sector**. But later on, when they found that rather than encroach upon their profits, it would, in fact, help them to do jobs which for the time they were unable to do and that too with public money, they acquiesced. But only some have acquiesced, while others continue to snipe at it hoping to destroy it for good.

An innocent looking move was recently proposed in certain circles of the Congress Party and the Government of India - that some percentage of the shares of concerns in the **State Sector** should be sold to private investors. That would give money to Government and keep the sector open to competent supervision of the private industrialists who know things



better. Even an official study group, headed by Mr. D.L. Mazumdar, Secretary to the Company Law Department was appointed to study the proposals and the group has recommended that the "experiment" can be made in certain undertakings. And what lines were suggested for this sell-out? The Hindustan Machine Tools, the best going concern and some selected Transport Corporations. Even the Life Insurance Corporation is being mentioned.

This proposal is the most dangerous one and must be fought by all people, including the trade unions. The proposal is nothing but one of de-nationalisation. The Commerce (November 12, 1960) wrote:

"By and large, however, a balanced approach of limited 'denationalisation' or 'privatisation' is discernible in the extracts from the group's report which appears to have leaked out to a small section of the press."

These sinister developments have not evoked that indignation and protest it should have from all those who do not want our State Sector to be sold out to the anti-national profit-hunters. There is a two-pronged drive to land India on foreign dependence in economic field and to keep it under the heel of unrestrained anarchic capitalist exploitation. These two prongs are the demand for an end of the Public Sector and sell-out and if that is not just now possible, to try for its restriction and ultimate failure. Second, to open the gates of India for penetration of foreign capital. The second campaign is blessed by the Finance Minister whose address to the concluding session of the Conference of Industrial Leaders organised by the National Productivity Council, is reported as follows:

"Mr. Desai said that there was wider recognition both at home and abroad of the scope of foreign business investment in India. The number of applications the Government had received for collaboration with foreign enterprises had increased in the last one or two years.

"Recent estimates of the net inflow of private long-term capital from abroad had also shown an increasing trend and indications were that the flow of foreign capital would be larger in the coming years." (Times of India, December 19, 1960)

Similar sentiments were expressed by Mr. J.R.D. Tata at the Annual General Meeting of Tata Iron and Steel Co., on October 6, 1960. He said:

"In this context, we welcome the shift in our country's policies towards foreign participation in industry. We have gone a long way from the days when such participation in industry was looked upon with suspicion and discouraged and this is obviously to the good."

One would ask if the help of the socialist countries is not listed as foreign capital. It is listed as loans to the Government of India. It is in a sense inflow of capital. But it is not inflow of "private" capital which is being very much sought after by the monopolists of the Indian big bourgeoisie and which is being referred to here. It is further stated by Mr. Morarji Desai: "In the coming years, private enterprise, whether Indian or foreign, would have ample opportunities for growth..."

It is not our position that all private enterprise should or can be done away with in the present stage. But we have to see that the State Sector grows in extent and depth, that it embraces all the strategic lines of production, that nationalisation grows further and not that the State Sector is "denationalised" as some propose.

Some may think that India is politically strong enough to take in foreign private capital and yet retain its political and economic independence. Yes, political independence may remain in form but its substance will get corroded and economic independence will not remain at all. Even a mighty industrialised nation like England has succumbed to the dictates of American capital. Now millions of workers there have awakened to the danger of the wholesale sell-out of British factories, the atomic bases in England and so on. India will not be able to resist the onslaught on its political and economic independence, once it opens its floodgates to foreign capital and destroys its public sector and surrenders to the dictates of foreign and Indian reactionaries on the policies of India's industrialisation.

In every public sector undertaking, in every large-scale concern, the trade unions must rouse the workers to the consciousness of this danger to our country and our economy. Greater the growth of monopoly capital, greater will be the attacks on our democratic rights, on our wages, on our freedom.

Another serious danger to our economy is the failure to raise agricultural production to the required levels. Because of this, we are getting slowly mortgaged to the American imperialists, from whom we buy wheat. We are already indebted for over 1000 crores to them under P.L.480 loans.

The failure in this sphere is again one arising from refusal to carry out fundamental land reforms in favour of the peasantry. All the heroic resolutions on land ceilings, cooperative agriculture, State trading in foodgrains have remained a dead letter. The bitter opposition launched against these resolutions, which were adopted under the pressure of the masses, was not countered by a sweeping mass movement, with the result that the peasantry has been left where it was, except in a few spots, where some ceiling laws have been nominally adopted. Even then, the ceilings are such that very little land is left for distribution to the peasant. A movement, as in

Maharashtra, by the landless labourers got them a few thousand acres of fallow land and no more.

Land reforms and supply of capital to the peasant alone can raise agricultural production to high levels. The growth in production of diesel engines, fertilisers, channelled into the agrarian sector has led to some increased production, but that is limited to sections of landlords ("self-cultivating") and rich peasants. But they by themselves are incapable of raising the economy to a higher level. A joint movement of the working class and peasantry, of the trade unions and the Kisan Sabhas and agricultural labour unions is clearly called for to overcome the lag in the situation.

The perspectives that the Third Five Year Plan holds before us are more or less a continuation of the Second Plan in the matter of allocations and related priorities. The Third Plan has given a little more weight to agriculture than before and a little less to transport and the total industrial pool. But quantitatively and in money terms, the Third Plan is bigger. The Second Plan had laid down a total investment of Rs.6,750 crores, while the Third envisages investment of Rs.10,200 crores, an increase of 51 per cent. The investment in Public Sector will increase by 70 per cent and that in private sector by 29 per cent. One table giving an overall picture will suffice here.

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	<u>PUBLIC SECTOR</u>			<u>PRIVATE SECTOR</u>	Total investment
	Plan Outlay	Current Outlay	Investment		
Second Plan	4600	950	3650	3100	6750
Third Plan	7250	1050	6200	4000	10200

.....

It is good to see that despite the criticisms of some monopolists like Tatas and others, the emphasis on heavy industry, engineering and metals, has not been given up and the Public Sector has not been subordinated to the private. But one has to be vigilant and see whether private sector steals from the public sector as was done in the Second Plan and put it in difficulties. Our trade unions will surely fulfil their duty to the people, where the Plan will work in national interest, and give efficient and honest work. At the same time, we cannot help raising the vital question as to who is gaining from all this prosperity, what is the share of the people and the workers in the vast wealth that they create.

III

p r i c e s, w a g e s

-

w h o i s p r o s p e r o u s ?

Everywhere among the toiling people in town and country, the question is asked: where is all this prosperity, all this money, all this rise of 42 per cent in the national income going? One feels proud about the country's prosperity but if that prosperity is not of the people, then who is prosperous? The answer is plain and clear. The overwhelming part of this wealth is garnered by the exploiting classes, particularly the big capitalist-landlord groups and their friends in the ruling circles.

This needs no elaborate proof. But continuously challenged by this statement, the Government has appointed a Committee to find out where all this is going.

The first outstanding fact to show the manner in which people are being fleeced is the rise in prices of everything that the common man needs. The rise in prices have nothing to do with wages or the cost of raw materials or any other factor, except the power and greed of the big financiers, traders, factory owners, bankers, landlords and those bureaucrats and ministers who help them.

The clamour of the people, workers' protests against price rises fail to move either the Government or these classes to reduce their loot of the people, until they are seriously threatened with action. The scandalous rise in cloth prices to the extent of 40% did not move the Government and the ministries concerned to any action, until the Government employees' general strike in July 1960. Even then it is seven months now and Government is still "pleading" with the millowners to cut prices voluntarily.

That prices have risen inordinately and require to be drastically reduced and controlled is admitted by all. But the Government will not act against the vested interests who make the high prices. That is the character of the capitalist order we have in India.

The extent of the rise in prices is well known to all. The consumer price index number with 1939 as 100 was 431 in 1959. With 1949 as 100, it was 121.

By raising prices to a pitch, totally unrelated to cost of production and by refusing to increase the incomes of those who labour and produce things, the exploiting classes are earning vast super profits and running away with the cream of the prosperity and growth of the national income.

In spite of the 42 per cent growth in national income and 20 per cent in per capita income, there are many on record who have had to commit suicide because they had not got a pie of the per capita income and had nothing to eat.

In order to guard the interests of the country and the toiling people from these profiteering classes, who are robbing us of our labour and wealth, it is necessary to struggle. And that struggle has a two-fold aspect.

One aspect is of general demands directed against the exploiters and their sources of power and wealth.

Such demands are: extension of the State Sector of economy in strategic industries, land reforms in favour of the peasantry and State trading in foodgrains, nationalisation of banks and key industries like oil, jute, plantations and mines. In view of the record of the textile and sugar millowners, in robbing the people, it is time now to think of nationalising them also. Abolition of the stock exchange and speculative markets. Unless the fangs of the concentrated big bourgeois houses are blunted you cannot control prices nor distribute the growing national income to the toiling people or use it in a planned manner for the country's development. For this, the working class along with its allies have to wage a political battle against the ruling classes.

Another aspect of the necessary struggle is against the direct employer for day-to-day demands on questions of wages, bonus, dearness allowance and bonus and conditions of work.

This day-to-day struggle is the constant daily task of the trade unions. By fighting for higher wages, dearness allowance, bonus, etc., the worker fight for a larger share of the wealth, the goods which he is producing and which are the real national income, a share which the employer always wants to reduce in some way and for which the worker must always fight in the ways open to him. How has the working class fared in this struggle so far?

During the Second World War period, the conditions of the workers had deteriorated in the extreme. The index of real earnings had fallen to 73.2 taking 1939 as the base year.

It took us nearly five years to reach the real wage level of 1939, after we achieved independence. The index number of real wages during the period 1947-1952 gives us the following picture:

1947	...	78.4
1948	....	84.4
1949	...	91.7
1950	...	90.1
1951	...	92.2
1952	...	101.8

The trend of recovery of pre-war real wages continued further and in 1954, the index of real wages was 102.7.

Therefore, in the Ernakulam Report, it was pointed out that:

"What we have really achieved is to overcome the heavy wage cuts of the war period and to secure a wage rise to neutralise the rising prices which soared even after the end of the war. The Indian big bourgeoisie even after securing power did not hesitate to fleece the working class and people for their selfish profits and the workers fought it back."

Thus the rise in prosperity and national income did not advance further the interests of the working class. Even to keep what he was getting, he had to fight.

It has to be said that upto date data is not available to give you the true picture of wage trends till today. The data regarding the average annual earnings is available only upto 1958 and hence index of real earnings also can be computed only upto that period. Only the general trend can be pointed out.

The major factor that influences the fluctuating wages of the workers in today's conditions is the price trend in the country. The rising prices continuously force the worker to raise new wage claims. The failure of the Government to hold the price line has harmed the workers and enriched the exploiters as stated above. The failure is seen in the table below.

The All-India Consumer Price Index number during 1956-1960 period went up from 105 to 123 (1949 - 100). The table gives the annual rise of food index as well as the general index.

a l l - i n d i a

c o n s u m e r p r i c e i n d e x n u m b e r

Year	Food Index (1949 base)	General (1949 base)	General Index (1939 base)
1956	105	105	374
1957	112	111	395
1958	118	116	414
1959*	125	123	438

* average for first eight months

The Consumer Price Index in 1960 taking the base as 1939 was as high as 445 for food and General Index was 438.

Thus during the first four years of the Second Five Year Plan, the consumer price index showed a rising trend. The draft outline of the Third Five Year Plan while admitting this puts it as if rise in prices is inevitable accompaniment of planned progress, a proposition which is totally invalid for socialist planning but is true only in conditions of capitalist monopoly control. The Draft says: "In the ordinary course, the progressive set up in investment which the Plan envisages is likely to exert an upward pressure on prices." The planners, therefore, can give for the future only an assurance that the task of the policy would be to ensure that "prices, especially of essential consumer goods, remain relatively stable despite this pressure."

In terms of this, let us measure what our real earnings are even if our money wages have gone up.

The trend about the real earnings since 1955 is given in the following table:

INDEX NUMBERS FOR REAL EARNINGS OF FACTORY WORKERS

Year	Average Annual Earnings	Index of money earnings (1947 Base)	Consumer Price Index 1947 Base	Index of Real Earnings (1947 Base)	Index of Real Earnings (1939 base)
1955	1173.5	159.4	110.0	144.9	113.5
1956	1208.1	162.6	120.8	134.6	105.4
1957	1233.9	170.2	127.5	133.5	104.5
1958 (provisional)	1282.4	176.8	133.2	132.7	103.9

As the table indicates, the real wages of the workers after 1955 shows a declining trend even though money wages have increased. It is also seen that the index of real wages in 1958 was just a little above that of the 1939 level. Even this level could be kept up only as a result of the continuous fight of the Indian working class for dearness allowance to neutralise rise in prices, by means of strikes or collective agreements, tripartite decisions, tribunal awards and Wage Board reports.

In view of the continued price rise during 1959 and 1960, the real wages of the workers cannot be said to have gone up during the

period. Even though we take into consideration the wage rise received by the workers in various awards, report of the Central Pay Commission, Textile, Cement and Sugar Wage Boards, the wage rise is not enough to change the all-India trend. The real wages of the workers of those particular industries remained stationery, instead of going down as a result of the increases given by Wage Boards.

Though in these industries, the wage rise awarded has neutralised the rising cost of living to some extent, on an all-India plane, for all workers as such, the real wages have definitely gone down.

That the real wages of the workers depreciated even after 1958 was admitted by Shri C.L.Nanda, Union Labour Minister, during the course of his speech in Lok Sabha on April 11, 1960, initiating the discussion on the demands for grants for the Ministry of Labour and Employment. He said:

"Between 1939 and 1947, the standard of living of the workers had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951, they had just recovered lost ground. By 1955, the real wages had increased by 13 per cent. But since 1956, when again prices started rising, their gains have been to an extent wiped out."

It has been claimed by students following the wage trends in the country that considering the trend of reduction in the real wages of the workers, the real wage of the workers in 1960 would be almost again on the level of 1939, if not below that.

After completing two five year plans, the workers in our country have only that much real wage as they had before the Second World War. That shows that it is only the exploiting classes that are appropriating the major portion of the wealth that is growing in the country.

Does it mean that workers are producing less or employers find it difficult to run their industries profitably? Not at all. On the contrary, as pointed out by a study on "Productivity: A Value Aspect", based on the Reports of the Census of Manufacturing Industries, since independence, workers have been increasingly producing more value for the employers. The biennial averages of the value added by manufacture and wages of the workers give us the following picture:

	Value added per worker	Value added as percentage of workers' wages
1946-47	Rs.1,578	237.7
1948-49	1,923	210.7
1950-51	2,142	217.7
1952-53	2,189	198.3
1954-55	2,542	229.2
1956-57	2,792	239.0

This table is the most vital part of our armoury of arguments to show how much capitalism is exploiting us, expropriating the workers of the product of their labour and at what rate they are enriching themselves. And those, who always criticise the workers' wages as being higher than the average per capita income, let them see what we hand back to the employer and society in return for the wage we receive.

For every rupee I get for my wages, I return to the employer that rupee plus two rupees and thirtynine naye paise (239%), that is, Rs.3.39. I not only reproduce what I earn but nearly two and half times more. And in all this, I keep his capital intact and safe. So not only the wages I earn are mine, but all the wealth that my employer or his class takes is also my creation, mine.

In the year 1956-57, in factories covered by the Census, employing 16,77,255 workers, Rs.195,91,90,183 were paid as wages to the workers. The value added by the workers in return was Rs.468,32,83,220. Where did all this addition of Rs.468 crores go? To the factory owners. What did the workers get? Deeper poverty, curses for demanding more wages and for protesting against high prices. Such is the law of the capitalist order. The producers starve, their expropriators prosper. Hence we call for the expropriation of the exploiters, if we are to have a socialist order, a humane and prosperous society.

While the above table of value added is the real measure of the gains of the exploiting classes, the index of profits shows the trend of their individual appropriation as acknowledged by them according to law.

Excluding the hidden profits and reserves, the Index of Profits as shown in the balance-sheets of the companies, indicate the growing trend of profits earned by the employers:

Year	Index of profit in all industries	(Base: 1950 - 100)
1955	150.8	
1956	165.0	
1957	151.7	
1958	168.7	

This gives a lie to the claim of the bourgeoisie that the growing wage costs have created difficulties for the employers in running the concerns "economically".

*

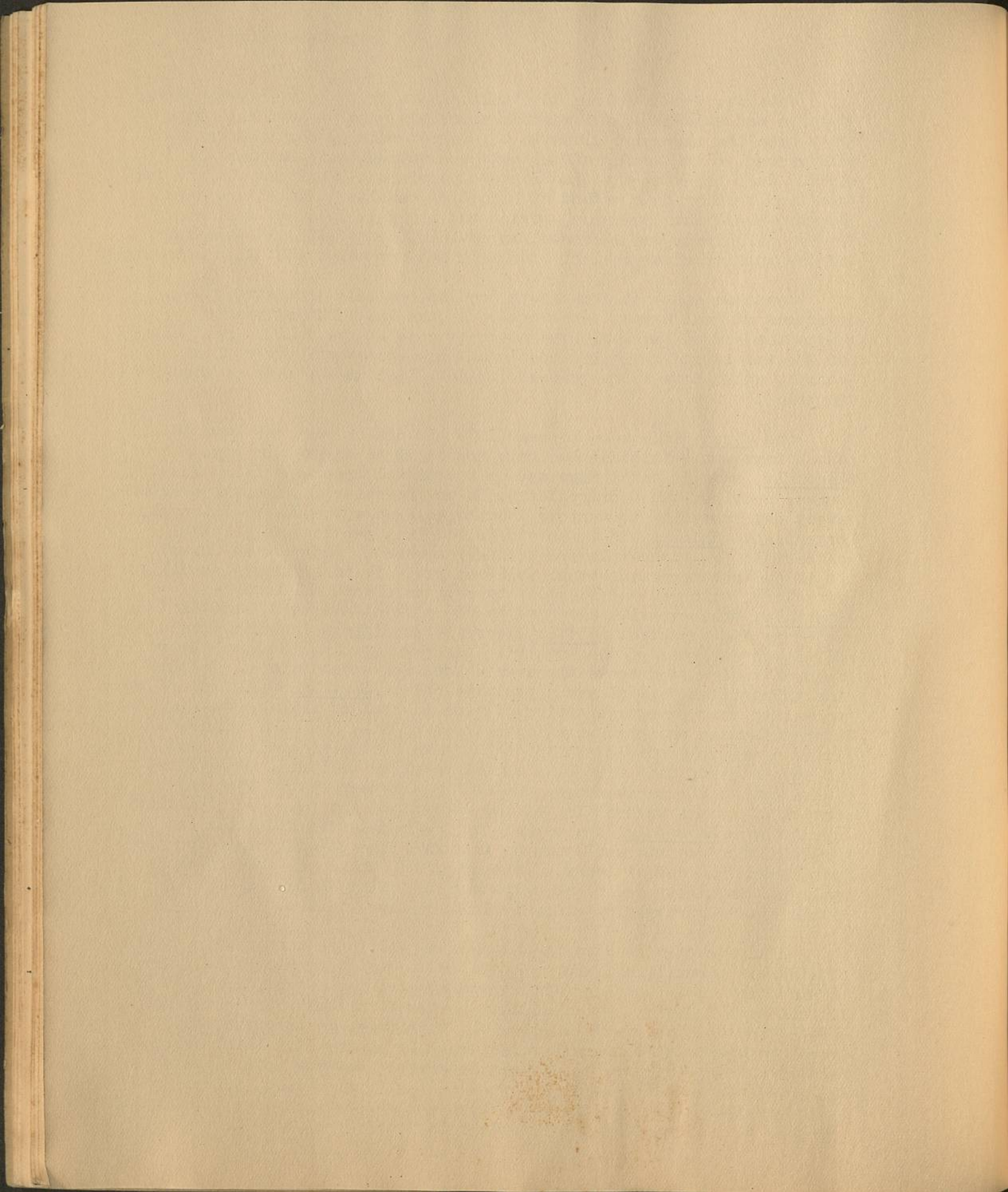
I have said above that statistics show that the real wage of the worker after two Five Year Plans is on the level of the wage of 1939 or even below.

This may induce a line of thinking that in these twentyone years, despite our struggles, the working class has made no advance. Then what have the struggles given to us, beyond holding our feet to the old ground, only warding off attacks and advancing no further than 1939. Such thinking may also lead to pessimism. Or it may induce the question whether this method of computing results is at all correct. Because those who have seen, worked and lived in 1939 and see things today, definitely see a change, an advance in the life and demeanour of the working class in India, despite the hardships that it has to face.

Hence we must not draw hasty conclusions only from statistical averages of real wages. The workers in the last fifteen years since the end of the war, have not only made up the fall in real wages of the war period but have made an advance on several other vital counts, which have to be pressed further. Let us see some of them in brief.

The first difference between 1939 and now is that the wage in those days was on a nine-hour day; now it is an eight-hour day. Secondly, what in those days was an occasional uncertain thing like bonus, provident fund or gratuity, is now becoming a universal practice, every day spreading to various industries, where the TUs are strongly organised. Thirdly, in the old days, medical service was a favour of certain few rich employers to their workmen. Today, even though it is contributory and not so well-managed, it is available to all organised factories and is going to embrace almost all workers. Fourthly, holidays with pay have become a right and paid festival holidays are accepted. Fifthly, service conditions including the dignity and rights of the worker in the organised sector have become subject to laws and conventions which did not exist before. In this the tripartites have played a positive role. Sixthly, the right of the worker to demand neutralisation of rise in cost of living, that is, a continuously changing wage in the form of D.A. has been acquired. It is a valuable shield against the attack of the monopolies. And it may be noted that this is a system peculiar to India, which first arose out of its backwardness but now is a better system than the battle of annual wage-claims of the workers of the advanced capitalist countries. Seventhly, the workers by their determined battles are pressing hard on the employers to introduce the standard rate for the job, gradation and minimums. This evens out the conditions of the sale of our labour power and helps our own unity in this sphere. It is a hard struggle but inch by inch, we are winning.

I have chosen to list the advance on all those counts which help the worker directly or indirectly to add to his economic gains. The sixth point, of service conditions and rights, is an exception to this, if one were to leave out of account the fact that they too react on production and hence wages. It will, therefore, be seen that the mere statement that our real wages are only at the 1939 level does not give us the picture in its completeness. We have made a number of gains. Though the employer tries to cheat us of them, yet if we are organised, they are there in our hands. And we have to fight still further to improve them and also to raise the direct wage level.



In the matter of wages which is the most vital question for us, a number of changes are taking place, whose extent and effect is not yet assessed by us. But they are of great importance and the trade unions should note them.

The wages structure in India has been undergoing very significant changes and we have to organise this change more consciously in the near future. The Labour Policy in the Second Plan was not in any way much helpful in this nor is the policy in the Third Plan going to be any better. The planners have little power over the phenomenon of wages in the direction of bettering them, unless the workers move. The planners initiative sometimes good principles but when they are good, their execution is obstructed by the employers. If some of the principles are to the benefit of the employers but are adverse to the workers, though on the face of it they do not appear to be so, then the employers are quick to act on them.

The wages question in the Third Plan is going to be a tough question. The Plan and the employers are now harping on linking wages to productivity, that is, speed-up and rationalisation in general. As this question directly brings in problems of retrenchment, unemployment and workloads and with the attitude of employers as it is, it is not going to be a smooth sailing. Over and above this is the question of rising prices. Hence the question of wages is going to be a difficult question for all.

In this context, it is necessary to have a quick look at the structural changes at present taking place in our wages.

The AITUC has, all along, in the recent years emphasised the fact that we have to concentrate on the question of sliding scale of D.A. in all trades and industries. In how many industries has this been achieved?

Some of the big organised industries have got a sliding scale. We had to struggle for the last ten years to get the sliding principle of D.A. extended to many more industries than those which had already achieved it in the pre-independence and war days. The textile industry of Bombay and Madras was the only solitary spot but a big spot, which paid the worker a sliding scale. This enabled the workers in the other trades in Bombay City to get the principle extended to them. Even then, huge belts of most profit-making industries and trades remained on fixed D.A. or no D.A. As prices advanced, the employers sold goods at the new high prices but paid the worker at the old price of his labour power and thus reaped huge extra profits.

In the last five years, the workers fought struggles to protect their wages and secured success in many cases. Now the principle is applicable to the whole of the textile industry, according to the recent Wage Board award, though some employers in some areas are resisting it. That means, a block of seven lakh workers is covered by it. All the

important trades in Bombay City are covered, which means another block of about two lakhs of workers, in engineering, chemicals and such other trades.

The cement industry and the sugar industry have been given the award of sliding D.A. now. Metal and Engineering in Calcutta's big belt has been brought into that principle by a recent award. Coal miners also have got it after a hard battle. Thus it will be seen that the battle for protecting and keeping stable the existing wages has been advancing to larger and larger areas. But the struggle is yet incomplete. The battle given by the two million government employees, both industrial and non-industrial, railways and ordnance factories, and the lakhs of office workers, has not been successful in getting the sliding scale.

Some very profitable industries, despite huge profits, reserves, assured markets, State help and all that have been doggedly refusing. The most notorious in this are the iron and steel industries of IISCO and IISCO and along with them are the new plants in the State Sector.

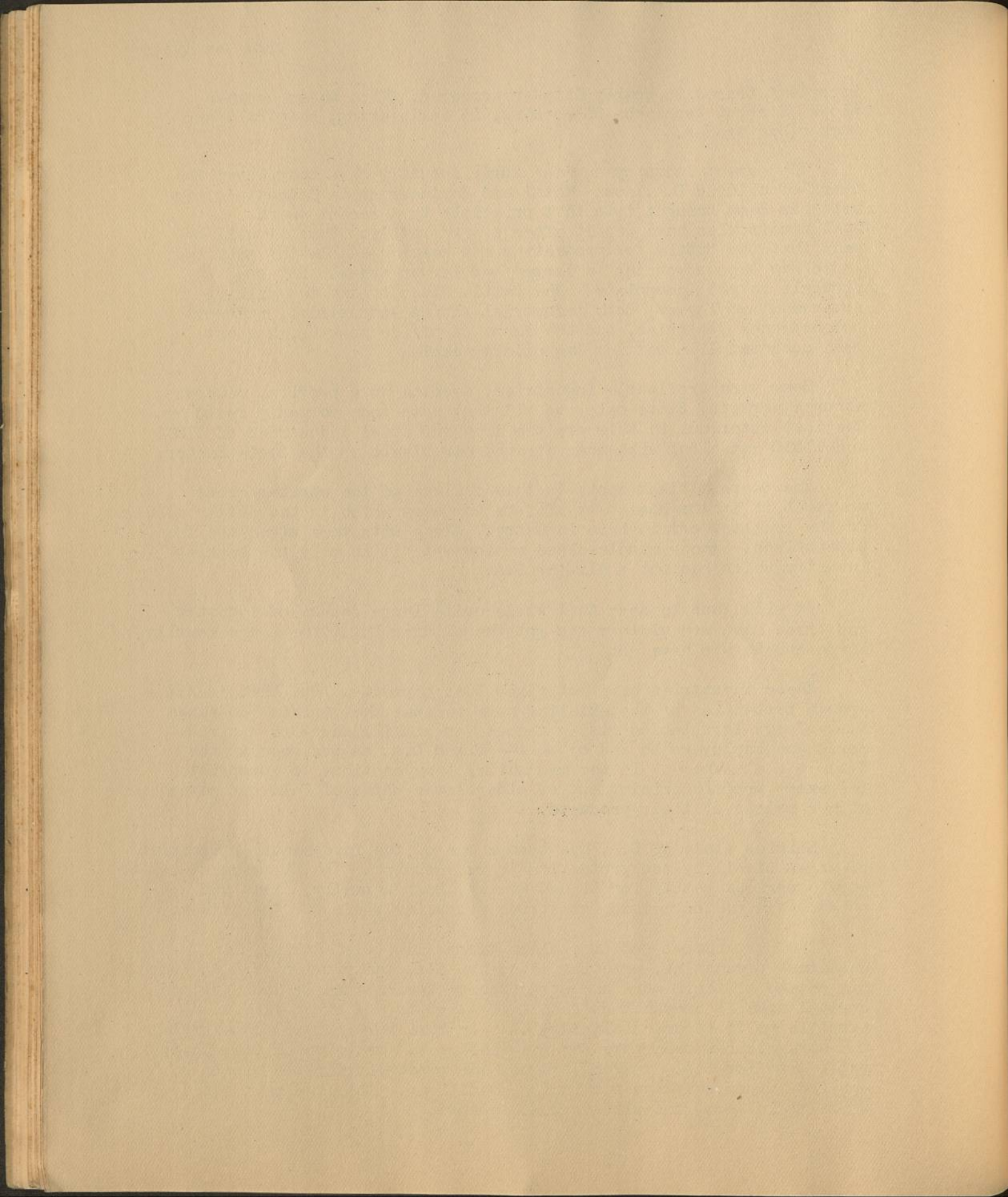
The deepest black spots in this failure of the working class movement is in the huge belt of jute industry which, in the matter of wages, is the greatest criminal in industry. Along with them stand the tea plantations. Among middle-class employment, it is only the banking industry which has got a sliding D.A.

It will thus be seen that while quite large chunks of industry and trade have won victory and got the sliding D.A., there are equally large chunks who have not.

These industries have got fixed D.A. payments. But that is not a proper protection of the existing wage because the revision of fixed D.A. always lags behind rising prices and nothing short of a strike moves the employers to add on to the fixed D.A. as was seen in the Tatas and elsewhere. In the meanwhile, they continue to appropriate the extra profits arising out of older lower rates of D.A. and newer higher prices of their products.

Sliding scale of D.A. has become one of the fundamental principles of wages stability and protection in our country. The TU movement has to wage a serious battle for it and win it, most urgently, first and foremost in the organised industries producing goods for the market.

The vast spread out of smaller trades like biri-making, cashewnut processing, printing, etc. has also the problem of D.A. But the nature of their work and structure of their trade or industry and capital make it somewhat difficult for them to embark on such a struggle to to secure a sliding D.A. In biri and cashew, for example, the struggle has been more for the minimum and revision of the direct rates than for D.A. In such trades, the general principle has to be applied as may suit the particular conditions. There we have not to be rigid about the sliding D.A. formula.



The second element in the structure of wages is the question of consolidation of D.A. with basic wages. This demand was, in principle, conceded by the Gadgil Committee. It was accepted by the Second Pay Commission and also by some industries as textiles. This question affects wages indirectly in the long-run on the matter of gratuity, etc. In some cases, it does away with the ridiculous, where the dearness allowance is nearly three times that of the basic wage. This is a demand, which is subsidiary to the question of reorganising the structure as such. Though it confers some benefits, it does not play such a vital role in the wages of the big organised industries. Its reflection on the question of bonus, which is generally based on basic wage, is also indirect, because bonus is first allotted as a total quantity and then distributed by linking it to the measure of individual wages. Even if the measure is changed by consolidation of basic wage and D.A., the quantum does not change.

The third element in the wages structure is the question of the minimum, the grades and categories. Reporting to our Calcutta Session in May 1954, I had raised the question of wages. I said then:

"Some of the struggles and gains have been noted. But we have to take serious note of the fact that the most vital part of our demands - i.e., wages for our work, a living wage that will truly pay for all the labour that we do for the capitalists and will represent a just share of the product, as far as is possible under the capitalist wages system - has yet to be attained. This major task on the question of wages remains to be fulfilled.

"The wage structure of our country has to be reorganised and improved in all essentials, because today, as it is, it is a very erratic structure.

"The first thing to be fought for is a national minimum throughout the country, below which no wage shall be paid in any organised industry. . . .

"The Government of India pretended to move towards a minimum wage by instituting the Minimum Wages Act for the sweated and unorganised industries. But this Act, apart from its periodical postponements, has not been instrumental in raising wages to the accepted normal minimum, but has in cases reduced wages. The minimum, as is usual with the employers, tended to be made the maximum. The AITUC, at the Mysore Tripartite Conference disapproved of the four categories of Minimum Wages proposed by Government as a compromise between the demands of workers and employers. The lowest category there is Rs.1.2 which in today's conditions is ridiculously low.

"By their report of the CPC (Central Pay Commission) and its application of a national minimum in their services, the Government has unwittingly helped to blow up the theoretical opposition to a

national minimum. The basic CFC minimum is paid everywhere in all centres, despite variations in conditions in several sectors of State capital. Variations in rent and other prices are provided for in the allowances, but a basic minimum of Rs.30 has been accepted. We must demand an upward revision of the basic wage.

"A national minimum has got to be fought for, because that brings about uniformity in the conditions of the working class wages throughout the country and prevents the capitalists from playing one centre or one sector against another. It helps to eliminate competition within the ranks of the workers themselves and thus unifies them."

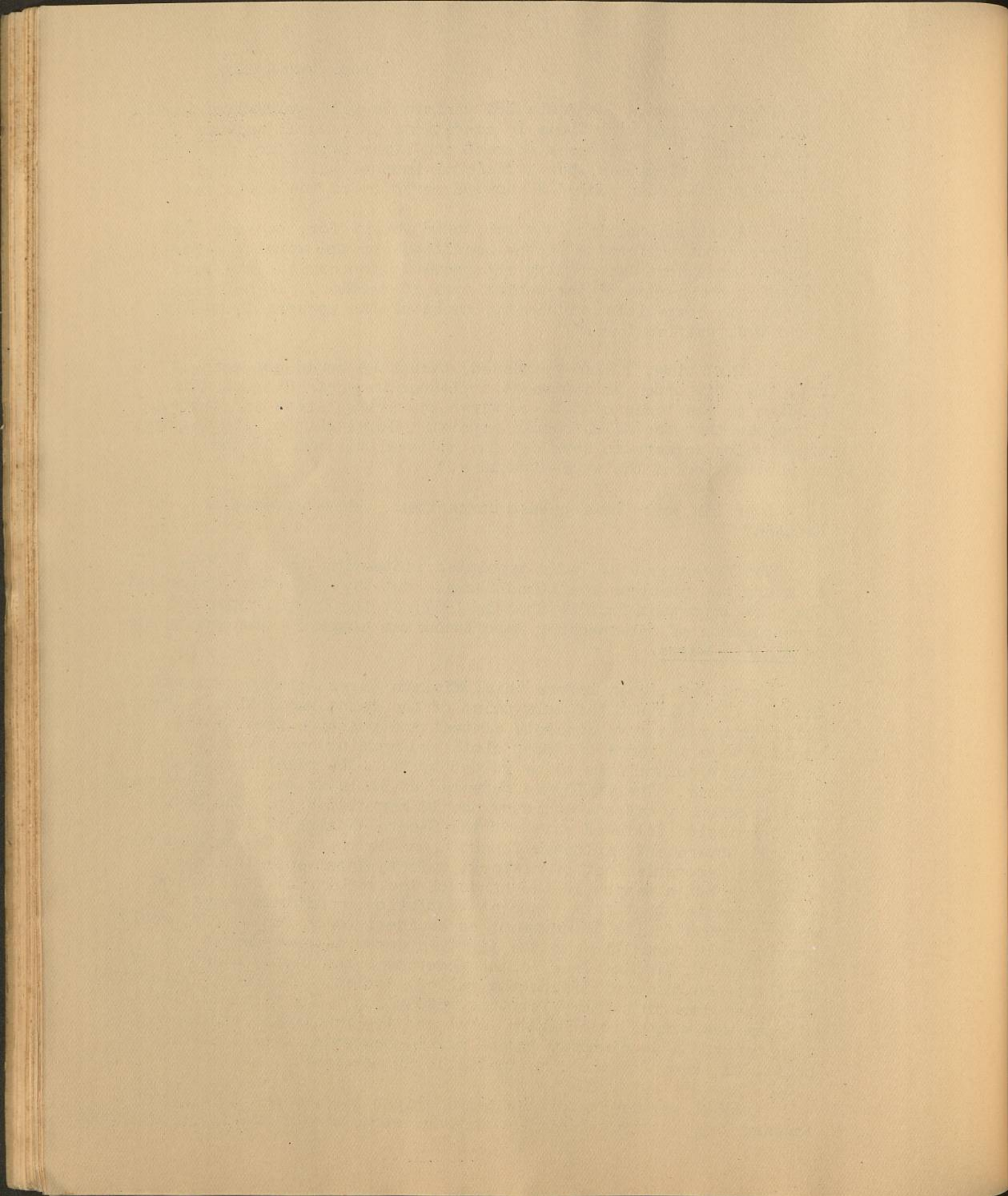
At that time, I also proposed, though we could not work it out, that "in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of this problem on the basis of data on wages in various areas and trades, I propose that the AITUC should appoint a Commission of its leading trade union workers to work out the national minimum and the reorganisation of the wage-structure."

Over six years have passed since then. What happened in between?

The Government of India appointed a Steering Group on Wages to study the problems mentioned above. But that is not so important. The most important fact is that in 1957, at the Delhi Tripartite, a resolution of far-reaching importance was adopted - the resolution on minimum wages.

There were, even before this, Minimum Wages Acts in various States. That is not the main point of the Delhi resolution. The Delhi Tripartite gave concrete content and positive form to the minimum wage in terms of food, cloth and housing and asked the wage-fixing authorities to be guided by it. The resolution was a unanimous one. The employers repented of it later on. The Government went back on it and one ministry openly repudiated it. The Second Pay Commission followed suit and the General Strike of the Central Government employees fought a battle on it. The resolution became a memorable fact of history, a fact, inconvenient to the employers but a weapon in the hands of the working class. No one ever suspected that that innocent resolution on minimum wages would resound in the TU movement as an ideal to be fought for, would provide such ammunition to the fighting workers, such defeat and embarrassment, loss of face to the Government and become a source of conflict and division inside the ruling circles. The Delhi Tripartite will live down in history for this resolution. The fight for the minimum was raised to a higher level and the resolution provided a banner and a unanimously agreed moral, economic, constitutional political banner at that, to the whole TU movement.

Another resolution of the Delhi Tripartite was meant to carry forward this banner and revise the wage structure of the major organised



industries. And that was the resolution on Wage Boards for various industries.

The Wage Boards were resented by the employers. The enlightened ones saw, however, that if the Boards were to introduce a rational wage structure embracing an industry on an all-India level, all the employers in an industry, as a whole, would be put on the same level of competition and in the matter of price of labour. Such a situation always benefits the large-scale organised employer with his large resources and of finance, technique, etc. Even then, many of them objected but had to agree as the TU movement began pressing for the Boards.

The Boards take a long time to get "cooked" and come into existence because the Government will not appoint them unless the employers agree. It takes them quite some time to come to conclusions. Then, more time for Government to take a decision, some more time for the employers to decide and then comes at last, the application of the award, the wage-increase, etc.

Despite these delays, we have had three Wage Board awards so far - cement, sugar and textiles. Two more Boards have been appointed recently - on jute and tea plantations. The next hard battle is for Boards on iron and steel, engineering, transport, and so on.

Side by side with these Boards worked the Second Pay Commission and also certain important tribunals. There is also a Bonus Commission trying to do re-thinking on the bonus formula which has been a bane of the bonus demands of the workers, since it was formulated by the Appellate Tribunal.

Have any tangible results come out of all these activities on the wages-front, both from the side of the workers, the Government and employers, each trying to put through its approach to the matter?

Yes. These Wage Boards are, for the first time in our wage history, introducing some order in the wage structure of capitalism in India, after it had had its long run of anarchy and unrestrained behaviour. For the first time, the major large-scale industries, the organised sector of big capital is being regulated in the matter of wages on a national all-India level.

The process had begun with the First Pay Commission and had halted. It has gathered momentum, when the hectic activities of jubilant capital fattening on the Second Five Year Plan came on the ascendant and the workers also began to defend themselves against the attack. The Delhi Tripartite, the minimum wage resolution, the Wage Boards, the Second Pay Commission hoped to stay off a big strike wave, reorganise the wage-structure and secure a peaceful growth for industry and the Plan.

The hopes were not without foundation. The strike wave did calm down to certain extent in expectation of the Boards fulfilling some

claims of the workers, especially on wages.

The hopes have not been belied, though not fulfilled to expectations. All the three Wage Boards have given a wage-increase, have retained, where it existed, the sliding scale in D.A. and applied it where it did not. They have introduced a minimum though not exactly in terms of the Delhi Tripartite. Still they have accepted the principle of that Tripartite resolution. All of them have gone into the grades and differentials and also other questions.

This problem of the minimum and the grades has been taken up before the Tribunals, as for example, the tribunal on the Brooke Bond dispute or the Coal Tribunal. Some of them have introduced minimums in a whole industry. All of them have had to deal with grades and differentials and put proper wage values on them. Industry after industry has been forced into this question of introducing orderly norms in the wage structure.

Due to the thousands of crores of capital being poured into new industries, thousands of factories have sprung up, each one paying whatever it could force on the worker in search of employment and bread. Trade unionism and wage claims did not take long to arise among these workers. The bourgeoisie tried to carry on, as of old, the tending and suppressing struggles. But that could not go on long. A compromise was imperative and it was made and is being made, thanks to the sacrifices of those, who organised, struggled, argued, bargained and won.

The fight for the minimum, grades and categories is a complicated and uphill task - especially the one on grades. Even under socialism, the problem of the minimum and the grades requires attention. But there it is the worker, his own State that owns the industry, who decides himself as to how much of his social product will be taken by him and in what measure of grades. It is not so in capitalism.

The minimum is easier to define though not easier to make the employers agree to. It starts with bare human subsistence at the given level of civilisation in the given country on the basis of simple unskilled physical labour. The grades and differentials take their starting point from there. In a newly rising capitalist country from a backward economy, these differentials and grades based on differing skills or nature of work have no history, no norms and therefore, their price of labour power is determined in a very ad hoc manner. This soon proves inadequate and claims for determination of categories, grades, their number and value becomes the most pressing demand of the trade unions. As a result of the two Plans, these claims have risen in each trade and industry on a nationwide scale. They are most conspicuous in the engineering and metal trades.

Along with the problem of fixing the minimum and the grades, is the problem of raising the floor of the minimum, as now in terms of the Delhi Tripartite resolution and not leave it at the level of the sweated industries minimum.

Then the difference between the minimum and the maximum has also to be looked into.

In the matter of grades, it is not only a question of determining them and their value. There is also the question of reducing their inordinate number where they have grown in a haphazard way.

The First Pay Commission, for example, found innumerable categories of grades and wages in the Government services, including their factories and wanted to reduce them to 156 scales of pay. But it failed since the Government prescribed 517 scales of pay. Twelve years after the Second Pay Commission took it up. The Government could not act on its recommendations for two years, until the strike came. That should show the difficult nature of the problem.

The old time tribunals had not much of a problem on this score when they just put three grades - skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, and put all the differential skills in this wide undefined classification and awarded wages with a difference of a rupee or two between each. That was the method followed by the Bengal Tribunal in Engineering. There are trades, where the grades and differentials run into hundreds. The mere intellectuals of the lawyer or the professor of economics type are unsuitable for such jobs and create more problems. From experience of several years working, some of the intellectual cadres of the Tribunal benches have developed knowledge of the industry, its jobs and grades, in the person of people like Jeejeebhoy or Merchant, Gajendragadkar and a few others. Quite a large body of literature has now sprung up through these Boards and Tribunals.

The trade unions are faced with a big problem in this sphere. As our trade unions are not manned by workers direct from the job, the TU leader, negotiating an agreement or appearing before a Board has to go through a lot of study and training. Some find it very difficult to take decisions on negotiated agreements, whether to accept an offer or not, as they are doubtful of its outcome. Some hesitate for just the fear that it is a commitment with the devil of an employer! Hence the trade unions have to have trained new type of cadres, who are both fighters and negotiators, if our unions have to lead the workers in the new conditions.

Many AITUC unions nowadays enter into collective agreements. In some cases, I have seen our leading people, even after negotiating a good agreement, have recoiled from signing it lest there be a catch in it, lest it may contain some unknown evil. Some recoil perhaps because it is as if an "unholy pact" with the bourgeoisie. The best thing in all such cases is to put the negotiated draft before the workers concerned and take their opinion. Generally, they react correctly and properly. I have seen the method tried in some important cases. The workers overruled some of their dissenting leaders and agreed to the draft. In these cases, all agreed that the workers were right and those who sided with there were also right.

Received of the Treasurer of the State of New York the sum of \$1000.00

for the purchase of land for the State of New York

in the County of Albany

the sum of \$1000.00

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Let us not hesitate to make collective agreements, where we can seize the problem boldly and settle, with the knowledge of the rank and file workers. For this, greater contact with them and more detailed functioning is necessary and if in spite of this, an agreement turns out bad, call for its revision and fight to get it.

To get the minimum and fix the grades and differentials is to get the worker the proper value of his labour power, to each one according to his skill and the cost of acquiring it and in relation to the surplus he yields to his employer. Therefore, the struggles, negotiations and collective agreements we do, are a necessary part of our day-to-day class-struggle, to enhance the value of the workers' labour power and reduce his expropriation by the capitalist, a struggle carried on in concrete terms in the factory and at the job level.

The Third Plan is going to heighten this problem of the wage structure. New factories will be coming up. Prices are going to rise, and the Government and employers both raising the slogan of "wages linked to productivity". If it had the straightforward meaning, that the backward worker will be trained to do a better job and get a higher wage, one would have no objection. But, as we have said before, productivity and rationalisation become only so many instruments to retrench people or simply increase workload and a device not to give a rising wage for the same job. There are cases in which scheme of productivity can be so fitted as not to lead to any of the bad results but leads to more employment, increased production and wages without greater fatigue. In such cases which have to be individually studied, there should be no objection to the scheme. In our conditions, where we have to develop an underdeveloped country fast towards industrialisation, we agree to do all we can. But it has to be a mutual obligation of benefits on either side. Productivity, speed-ups, rationalisation are only instruments of increasing exploitation under capitalism. As such we oppose them. Their modification in Indian conditions can be and should be given consideration on the merits of each case.

I have taken long on this question. Let it suffice to mention here the fourth element in our wages structure - the system of various kinds of bonuses. This also is a feature of backward capitalism, which refuses to pay the proper wage, but is made to surrender a part of its profits as "ex-gratia" payments or gives "bonus" to drive the worker harder. Profit-sharing bonus has, however, become an established part of the wages-system in India. How to distribute the profits is now under argument on the question of the "bonus formula". The production bonus and incentive bonus are, however, not very healthy systems.

The fifth aspect of the wages question is that of piece-rates which are now being pushed forward more and more.

From this cursory review of the wages problem, the tasks that stand out before us seem to be the following:

- 1 The struggle for the sliding scale of D.A., with full neutralisation, in all organised industries, trades and professions, continues to be the central task on the wages front.
- 2 Wage Boards: To get Boards for the organised industries not covered so far. To fight for good awards, and for their quick decisions and applications.
- 3 Fight for raising and fixing the minimum and fixing the grades and proper differentials in all trades and industries and make collective agreements thereon.
- 4 Fight against rationalisation or productivity that leads to retrenchment, to greater workload and no commensurate rise in wages.
- 5 Fight for a general rise in basic wages and against high prices.

.../...

IV

s t r u g g l e s -

u n i t y o f t h e c l a s s

In the recent period, we have had to fight big battles for our just demands. And in these struggles, working class unity advanced further, both from below and from the top.

There were united strike struggles in several industries and trades. The State Bank employees fought a strike and the other bank employees had a sympathetic one-day strike. There were cashewnut workers in action in Kerala, all organisations uniting in one common action for securing minimum wages. There was a united tramwaymen's strike struggle in Calcutta. There was a fifty-day stay-in-strike in the big India Fan works as the quarrels among the partners deprived the workers of the wages dues, until the Government took over the factory. The Textile Wage Board award was given last year and the millowners started delaying tactics and tinkering with the question of giving the awarded wage increase. The AITUC called a consultation of its leading comrades in the textiles and decided on notices and then strike action throughout India. This had its quick effect in Bombay and there the award was applied. In other places, workers had to struggle in order to secure agreements. In Bengal, there was a protest action and also in Tamilnad and Rajasthan.

The plantation workers of W.Bengal and the jute workers had united protest strikes. When the Bengal Government wanted to introduce an obnoxious law against the trade unions, there was a united protest action and the Bill was withdrawn. Along with this report, we are giving a **Struggle Diary** which records all the strike struggles of the workers in all industries.

The Indian Labour Journal, published by Government, has constructed an interesting table regarding strike struggles and disputes and the leadership of these struggles by each of the central TU organisations. It appears from the table that 46.2 per cent of the disputes were led by unions of the AITUC, while the INTUC led 26.9% and HMS 18.3% and UTUC 8.6%. But according to the number of workers involved, the INTUC disputes covered a larger number, namely 1,98,371 and the AITUC covered 1,54,100. But the disputes in which the AITUC unions were involved were more prolonged and cost 20,86,758 mandays, while the INTUC cost 9,51,568

mandays. These figures require further study and could give useful conclusions if the results of the disputes were also known. The present figures, however, show one thing clearly that the AITUC unions are lagging behind in leading the workers' struggles in a determined way. And the second conclusion would be that the INTUC unions also have to resort to strike struggles, though with what results one does not know. But they are happy enough to have their disputes more quickly settled than the AITUC.

The most outstanding struggle of the last year, one which was unprecedented in the history of our TU movement was the General Strike of the Government employees, arising out of their main demand for sliding scale of D.A. and minimum living wage in terms of the Delhi Tripartite. The AITUC has published a report on this great strike and the Working Committee has adopted a resolution, which you all know. The resolution in part states:

"The strike of July 12 was an unprecedented event in the history of our working class movement. There had been strikes of different sectors of Government services from time to time such as in railways, post and telegraph, defence, etc. But a common strike call of all services at the same time had never taken place.

"Moreover, the call had been given by the united Joint Council of Action, a body composed of the representatives of all the organisations of Government employees. This united front of all organisations in the trade union field was itself a great factor of hope and strength.

"As against this, the offensive of the Government too was highly organised, utilising as it did, not only the law and police forces of the whole State machine but also moral-political forces of the Congress and its subsidiary organisations. Over and above this, Prime Minister Nehru hurled the most astounding accusations against the strike by calling it 'civil rebellion'. With that accusation, the Government hurled its forces against the two and a half million workers, as in a war.

"Yet, it is a great achievement for the Government employees that the big centres of employment and the hub of economic political life of the country like Calcutta and Bombay had a more or less complete strike, with other centres following with lesser success. The services of the P. & T. were in the forefront of the shut-down, followed by the Civil Aviation, Defence Federation and the smaller services of Accounts, Income-Tax, Customs and so on. The railways closed in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay, with workshop closures in other places.

"Police terror on unprecedented scale was let loose. About 21,000 people were arrested of whom 17,000 were employees and the rest sympathising helpers, pickets and demonstrators from among the people and other trade unionists.

"Civil liberties were suspended, meetings and assembly of people banned. Workers' houses were broken into and hundreds were given the alternative at pistol point to march either to work or to the prison. It is to the glory of those who preferred prison to breaking the strike.

"Under such conditions, the fact that over five lakhs of workers responded to the call is no mean achievement. Despite the fact that it was not so complete and so wide and deep as was expected, it was a great action in face of the terror that was launched, the forces of blacklegging that were organised with the whole backing of the State and the absence of the leadership that took place by the arrests on the very eve of the strike.

"The opponents of the working class call this great action a complete failure, while some trade unions would call it a great success in the context of the conditions facing the workers. Without going into a debate over it, one cannot but say with truth and emphasis that the employees fought a great and heroic battle against heavy odds, that those who descended into the field were no mean in numbers or lacking in determination and courage. The strike of July 12 changed the face of all the services and the whole TU movement. The workers need not repent their great action. The whole working class had undergone a great experience and the ruling class too had learnt a lesson. History will alone show the real fruits of it."

On the question of TU unity, the role of the AITUC in the strike and the problems that face the victimised, the resolution says:

"The Working Committee feels that it was a step forward when all the organisations of the Government employees joined in one united front of the JCA and acted unanimously and unitedly. This unity, however, is likely to suffer a setback after the strike, when the whole movement now rightly sits down to assessing the gains and losses, the mistakes and achievements, not only of individuals and parties but of the whole TU movement and all its wings. . . .

"The AITUC for its part feels that the great action of the General Strike and its gains would have been still better and the losses less, if the whole TU movement, including the central TU organisations and the various Government employees' organisations had united on a common understanding, common slogan of action and common pooling of all their forces in a planned and agreed way, long before the JCA was formed and the decision to strike and its date was taken.

"One of the greatest shortcomings was that the JCA and the Federations of the Government employees had all along kept the problem to themselves as their own and had not mobilised the public in their

favour. The central TU organisations, for their part, had also not shown sufficient awareness to mobilise the general workers and the public behind the employees and made the problem and the action common for all, in time and before the strike materialised.

"The AITUC considered the question in its General Council meeting of February 1960 but it could not give any slogan of strike, as it was the question for the independent Government employees' organisations to decide. The AITUC, however, made useful suggestions to its sympathisers in these organisations and in the Convention of April 2, 1960, they proposed a one-day strike to begin with. The proposal was, however, not agreed to on the ground that it was too mild an action.

"The AITUC feels that sufficient preparations were not made and the problem was not taken seriously even by its own centre for a long time as it was not certain that the strike would not, after all, materialise. There was ground for such a feeling to some extent till June 23. But when the JCA met and actually fixed the final date on July 12, and gave notice, the strike preparations should have been taken seriously. The AITUC accepts its part of the blame in not doing all it could and should have done in this matter, though what it did throughout this period was correct and the work done by thousands of its adherents, before, during and after the strike is worthy of the traditions of the AITUC. Hundreds of its workers were arrested, including many of its MPs and MLAs, trade union functionaries and its President. The AITUC unions should review their achievements as well as mistakes, learn the lessons for the future and work for further unity to defend the victimised, to defend those whose bread-earners fell in firing and skirmishes and to defend against the coming attack on trade union rights of the Government employees' organisations and the trade unions in general.

"All trade unions of the AITUC must exert more to enroll in greater numbers the vast number of workers still out of its fold, fight for recognition of its unions and strengthen its influence in all strata of the working class. The AITUC while strengthening itself should take steps to bring all the central trade union organisations and those who are independent into one central organisation throughout the country, irrespective of political differences. All-in trade union unity alone can defend the working class and take it forward in fulfilling its tasks towards the country and its own class."

There were signs that the Government was going to bring in legislation to ban all strikes in the essential services. The Tripartite Conference (18th IIC) was due to meet on September 24-25, 1960 in Delhi. All the trade union organisations wanted the subject of the strike and all that it involved to be discussed in the Tripartite Conference. If this were not allowed on the agenda, we had decided to boycott the conference. It was feared that the very institution of the Tripartite was going to crack in this crisis, such was the mood of the unions.

But the Labour Minister, Shri Nanda, resolved the deadlock by putting the subject on the agenda and, in fact, this Tripartite discussed almost nothing else but the question of the strike, the public sector, Government's role as an employer, in relation to labour laws and conventions, the question of the right to strike and ban on 'outsiders' in unions. As a result, the legislation banning strikes has not yet been brought before the Parliament and it seems, it is not likely to be in the near future.

While on one side, the Government intended to impose Draconian laws on their employees in public services, it refuses to observe even the ordinary labour laws in many of their public sector concerns. The vital plants like those of Bhilai and Rourkela witnessed serious strikes and demonstrations last year. Apart from the question of retrenchment of construction workers, it was found that in Rourkela, the Government or the Hindustan Steel Co. was not observing any of the factory laws. There are no proper grades of pay as yet in the steel plants. The excuse is that they are not yet completed. But that is no reason to pay miserable rates to those who are working and in those departments which are running. Incomplete plants surely cannot set aside labour laws, when thousands of workers are daily in employment.

Our unions there have tried to reason with the authorities and failing to convince them, have had to take to strike action. However much we may dislike such a step in the vital public sector undertaking, we have to take that step, after exhausting other means of settlement.

The situation in iron and steel and coal in the public sector is not very happy. We have already referred to this subject before. Unless the Government and management on the spot abide by laws, and settle the problem of wage-fixation, unless elected Works Committees are set up and allowed to function and the unions are given recognition, the workers will find it hard to fulfil their duty to the public sector because, to discharge that duty itself, demands must be fulfilled quickly. At the same time, the Public Sector cannot be allowed to be sabotaged due to the incompetence of the ministries or their policies. The working class and people of India must consciously intervene to preserve and develop further what belongs to the nation, built out of their money and their taxes and so vitally necessary for our future.

There are many more aspects to which reference is necessary. We have put these questions in separate reports. Questions of Code of Discipline, Productivity, social insurance and labour legislation, organisation of our unions and their recognition, verification of membership, Works Committees, etc., are there for consideration in the other sectional and organisational reports. Hence I will not deal with them here.

With the beginning of the new Plan and the new year, we shall be confronted with the same problems but with new emphasis and intensity. The Third Plan itself speaks of two dangerous features in the situation - one, the rising prices, and two, unemployment. In spite of some growth in employment, the growth in unemployment is assuming serious proportions. Concentration of wealth, power and money in the hands of the few rich is growing to the detriment of the people. No doubt, there are forces outside the working class, who also view these developments with disapproval. But to move all into action, it is necessary for the workers to have political consciousness, class consciousness, along with trade union loyalties and organisation.

We have advanced well in industrial solidarity. Whole trades and industries go into action on a nationwide scale on an issue embracing all the workers of the industry. There have been even successful general strikes in whole towns and regions in sympathy with some partial demands. Industrial and trade union solidarity has advanced to such an extent, that workers are paying money and dues to the unions as never before.

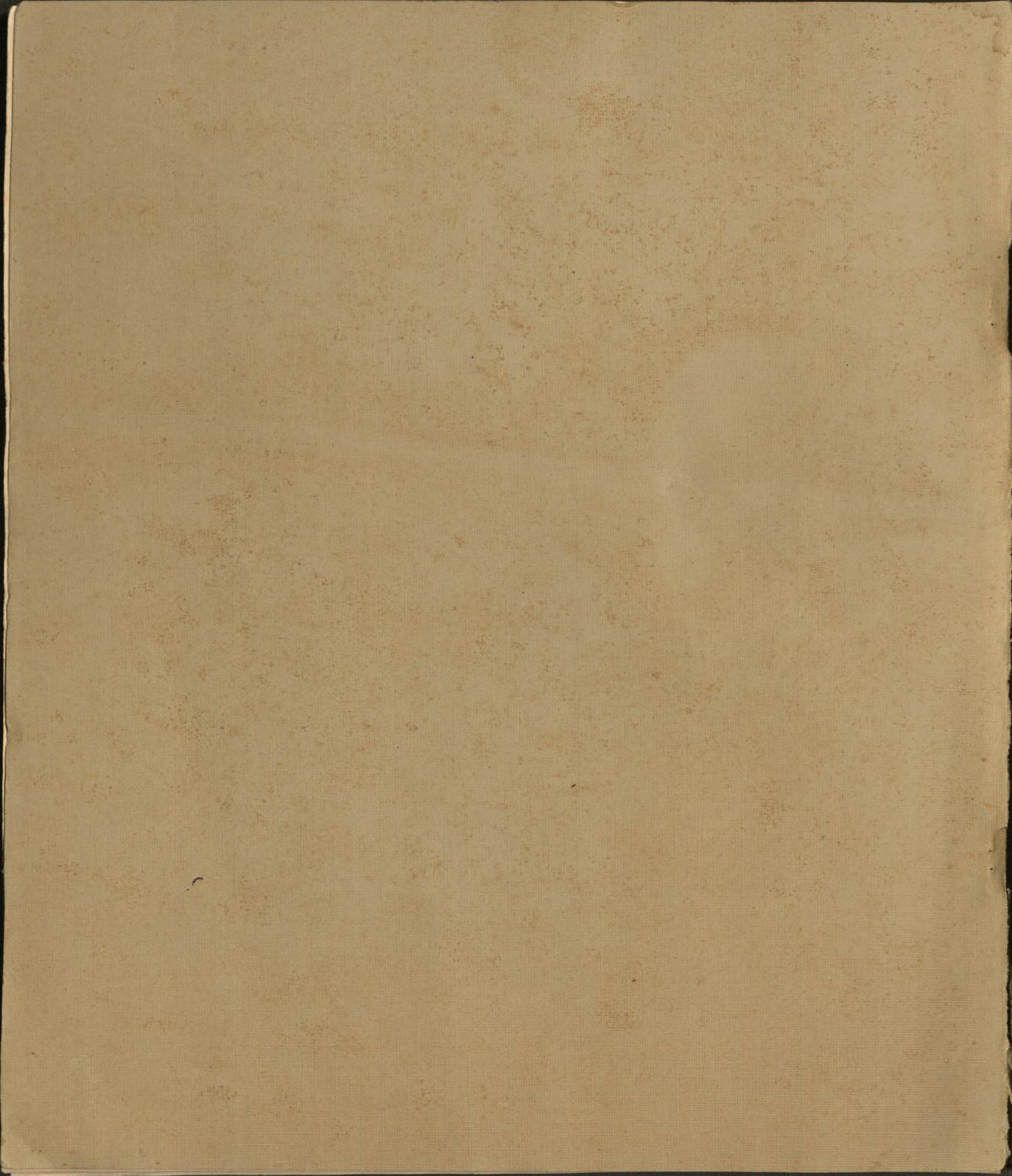
But, all this has one weakness. There is as yet not that deep general class consciousness which can move the workers as a class on a general issue affecting the whole class. Class consciousness and solidarity on a national and international level is a prime necessity, if we have to move still further. The road to that solidarity is shown by the World Federation of Trade Unions, the mighty organisation of the international working class. Our trade unions, State Committees and the AITUC centre has to take steps to move our workers on a class basis, on issues which are beyond trade, industry, wages and the like. Can we not demonstrate for Hands Off Congo or Cuba or Algeria? Can we call a powerful action on a countrywide scale against a reactionary law, a bill to ban strikes? Can we move whole factories and trades in defence of democratic rights, against manifestations of dictatorships or any obvious atrocity on the people? We have been speaking of such things. But we must educate the worker better in class-consciousness, in national and international class solidarity, in defence of the interests of the country and the class. We must consciously fight caste and communal prejudices and division. The way to do that is to take the worker to a higher level of class consciousness. While keeping legitimate linguistic and cultural pride of his language or State, the worker must fight the narrow anti-national, anti-class developments. Trade unity must not be disrupted by non-class attitudes. It is a hard battle. It has to be fought with skill and care and not with mechanical positions or mere statement of abstract principles. Only experience in action will teach us to take the right road.

The AITUC has grown in strength and influence during these years. It is proud to have been in the forefront of the workers' struggles. It has some very fine collective agreements and achievements to its credit. It has built up strong, functioning, fighting unions and federations in various industries and trades. It has helped to advance unity in the TU movement and working class solidarity. Though not free from errors, the AITUC has followed a correct policy in relation to the international working class, in relation to our country's interests and in relation to the interests of our class.

Guided by the best sons of the working class, the AITUC will always be in the vanguard of the struggles of the working class for peace, freedom, democracy and socialism!

S. A. Dange

January 3, 1961



A. I. T. U. C.
26th SESSION

COIMBATORE January 5th to 12th, 1961

FLAG HOISTING

SPEECH

by

Com. A. S. K. AYYANGAR



Dear Comrades, Brothers & Sisters,

The Flag of the A.I.T.U.C. just now unfurled by me on your behalf, is flying high aloft. It announces the beginning of the Mighty 26th Session of the A.I.T.U.C.

You know of course that the Great Organisation of the Indian Working Class the AITUC took its birth way back in 1920, in that City which rocked with a great political strike of the textile workers in 1908, protesting against the savage sentence of transportation to Mandalay of the Great Patriot, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, by the then British Rulers of India.

The Lion of the Punjab, the great Lala Lajpat Rai was the first President of the AITUC. Then followed a galaxy of stalwart Patriots and National Leaders of our country, men like C. R. Das, Jawharlal Nehru, N. M. Joshi, Subash Chandra Bose, V. V. Giri, S. A. Dange, Chakkarai Chettiar, S.S. Mirajkar and a host of others who were successively Presidents of this Mighty Organisation of the Indian Working Class—the AITUC.

Under this flag, countless class battles have been fought and won, and prolonged and bitter were the struggles waged by the Indian Working class for our National Independence and Sovereignty.

The Red flag of the AITUC is dyed red in the blood of countless martyrs, brave sons of the Indian Working class who fell holding this flag high aloft.

The flag of the AITUC is a symbol of the Hopes and Aspirations, of not only of the working-class of India, not only of the middle class employees, but the entire toiling teeming millions of our countrymen.

The flag of the AITUC is the harbinger of Socialism, is the fore-runner of a better life for all and the beacon-light of all-round Progress and Peace.

It is the flag that sings to you the song of unity of working class, the flag that tells you the saga of the working-class of the world, organized under the banner of that Great Mighty World Organisation, the WFTU.

We are all proud of working under the ever galvanising influence of our General Secretary of the AITUC—a comrade whose life-story is inextricably woven with the annals of the AITUC—I refer to our illustrious General Secretary, Comrade S. A. Dange.

Comrades, the flag of the AITUC which is flying high aloft there was brought all the way from Madras, a distance of over 300 miles by volunteers of our trade unions in the city of Madras. All these comrades carried this flag proudly and came all the way on cycles to this Conference to hand over the Flag for to-day's Great Function.

The particular significance of this Flag is, that This Flag dipped in the blood of the countless martyrs of the Indian working class in the struggles then against British imperialism for national Independence and in the post—Independence period, for TU rights, peace & socialism, is further dipped in the blood of the six martyrs who fell victims to Police bullets at Madras on the very first day, the 16th June when the All India Port & Dock Workers went on a strike in 1958, demanding the implementation of the Recommendations of the Chaudhri Committee's report on the demands of Port & Dock workers.

The flag is thus hallowed with the blood and memories of the heroic sons of the working-class.

I thank you all, for the honour you have done me, in asking me to hoist the Great Flag of the AITUC at this Historic Conference, the 26th session of our Mighty Organisation—the AITUC; I consider it not as a personal one but as a tribute paid to the working-class of Tamil Nad, which incidentally is one of the strong units of the AITUC.

LONG LIVE THE AITUC.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU.

INDIAN WORKING-CLASS UNITY—ZINDABAD.

LONG LIVE SOCIALISM & WORLD PEACE.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

by

Com. M. KALYANASUNDARAM, M.L.A.



Dear Comrades, Brothers & Sisters,

The 26th Session of the AITUC, the unique organisation of the Indian Working class, commences in this industrial city to-day. I consider the honour conferred on me to inaugurate this session, as an honour conferred on the working class of Tamilnad. Only in this spirit, I have come forward to inaugurate this Conference.

We have assembled here to-day in this Pandal, erected in the CHIDAMBARAM PARK in Coimbatore city. Old memories of our peoples, heroism rush to our mind. In the struggle for freedom, the Tamil people gave birth to the hero V. O. CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI and this Park has been named after this great hero. This city had stood in the forefront both in the freedom struggle and in innumerable struggles of the Working class of our country. Tiruppur Kumaran who stood by the National Flag and gave his life in the Freedom struggle, hailed from this district. In this heroic tradition, the working class of this area had fought many glorious battles, sacrificed scores of working class heroes in defence of trade union rights and built mighty unions under the flag of the AITUC.

Textile magnates and other employers with great influence in the ruling circles live in this city, and side by side through glorious struggles, conducted by it, the working-class of this city has won the respect and support of the entire people of Coimbatore. In the municipality there are a number of Councilors from the ranks of the working-class and the chairman of the Coimbatore Municipality, Sri Boopathy is an ex President of the Coimbatore Mill Workers' Union of the AITUC. This indicates that the future belongs to the working-class and not to those who stand in opposition to the working-class.

Forty years back, on 31st October 1920, the AITUC made its appearance in our country's life. The birth of the AITUC is an important event in the working class movement and the democratic movement of our country. All these forty years the AITUC has served as the true leader and real friend of the Indian working class. AITUC has served in the cause of both natio-

nalism and Working class internationalism. Both the working class of our country and the Indian people are proud about the 40 years record of activities of the AITUC. An examination of the proceedings and resolutions and decisions of the previous 25 conferences of the AITUC will reveal that the part played by the AITUC for defending and extending trade union rights on the one hand and for winning and defending national independence and for developing national economy on the other hand is a glorious part indeed. The achievements of the AITUC in winning 8 hour working day, better wages, ensured bonus, dearness allowance to neutralise price increases, medical benefits, and trade union rights are really glorious achievements of which the Indian worker is justifiable proud.

The freedom struggle in the period 1857 to 1947 assumed various forms in various phases. Only in 1947 we were able to win our national independence. The year 1945 saw the defeat of fascism, the end of the second world war and the further victory of socialism in a number of countries. The freedom struggle in colonial countries reached new heights. In our country, the working class came forward to play a glorious part in the freedom struggle and demanded with the entire people "Imperialists, Quit India". The working class struggles rose in wave after waves, braving the tanks and guns of the imperialists. The Royal Indian Navy men rose in an uprising and turned the guns against the imperialists. The working class made it clear that 1946 was the final year in the freedom struggle of our country, and the blood of the working class and the people of India ran in streams in the cause of freedom. Against such national uprising, the tanks and guns of imperialists lost their power. The favourable world situation against imperialists on the one hand and the uprising of the working class and people of India on the other, forced the imperialists to quit India and our country became independent in 1947.

Because of the part played by the AITUC in the national struggle against British imperialism on the one hand and in the heroic struggles for bettering the livelihood of the workers of India on the other, the working class movement and the AITUC emerged as a strong force in the country's life. After independence, tasks of national reconstruction came before the people and working class of our country. All of us began to put our shoulders together in this task. But unfortunately at this juncture, certain forces were set at work sowing discord in the ranks of the working class with a view to weaken class unity and to weaken the AITUC and new trade union centres appeared on the scene.

All the same, the AITUC has been mobilising the working class and the trade unions to support every effort of the Govern-

ment which was in the interest of strengthening independence and national economy and weakening imperialist hold in all forms. As a result of this leadership of the AITUC, the AITUC has grown stronger and the movement for trade union unity also has grown in this period.

At Ernakulam, at the 25th Session of the AITUC, we adopted the Two Pillar Policy of "For the Nation and for the Class". Extending Public sector, building heavy industries, not to rely merely on getting aid from Western countries but also to seek the help of Soviet Union and other Socialist countries in building heavy industries, putting a ceiling on land ownership accepting to implement socialist aims—such were the progressive aspects of the second five year plan and we welcomed and extended our support to these aspects at our Ernakulam Session. But there we also expressed the doubts of the working class—how can a party dominated by monopolists, implement such progressive aspects of the Second Plan? In that Session, AITUC underlined the fact that curbing of monopolist interests, mobilising the support of the people and the working class are necessary for the success of the Plan and for the progress of our country. But due to the policies adopted by the Government of India, inflation and price rise resulted, on the one hand hitting the livelihood of workers, peasants and the entire population and on the other hand effecting the Second Plan also. The working class was forced to wage struggles against these. The Central Government employees waged a glorious struggle demanding wage increase and dearness allowance against rising prices. The Government not only failed to protect the standards of living of the people, but it resorted to Ordinance and repression to put down people's struggle for defending their standard of living. The aspirations of the toiling people cannot be so easily crushed.

Freedom and democracy are not mere words or slogans. The working class fights for the contents of freedom and democracy. The working class wishes to know for whom the police and prisons are meant. Are they protecting our intelligentsia and the working class and the peasantry who constitute 95% of the population, or are they meant for protecting the minority industrial, magnates, Plantation owners, landlords, speculators and profiteers and help them in exploiting the toiling millions and make the poor poorer and the rich richer. Are the Plans and schemes meant for bettering the peoples lot or for safeguarding the interests of exploiters? The working class demands answers to these questions. The toiling people constitute the nation. Freedom should mean the flowering of the condition of the people. Democracy means safeguarding the rights of the

people of the country. The AITUC fights for such real freedom and democracy. The AITUC has always served as a staunch friend of all sections of people fighting for their rights.

Realising that repression alone cannot defeat the struggles of the toiling people, the rulers try to propagate false theories and notions to weaken the morale of the fighting people. The speech of our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 7th July over the A. I. R. is a good example of this attempt. In the name of increasing production, speeding up, curtailing leave facilities, adopting direct and indirect methods for increasing work loads and similar attacks are being launched by employers, and the Government is encouraging them. In such a situation, the AITUC is arming the working class for defeating the barrage of false notions and theories spread by capitalistwalas, and for forging class unity and trade union unity in defence of the national economy and interests of the working class.

This Conference of the AITUC is going to charter a path for us for rapid development of our national economy, for democratising and strengthening the public sector, for rooting out corruption and inefficiency, for real industrial democracy, or putting an end to the moves of foreign imperialists, jeopardising our national economy, for stepping up determined action of the trade union movement in defence of the interests of national economy and the interests of the working class.

Peace, freedom, democracy and socialism are the banners of the working class. Uniting the World workers under this banner, in 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions was formed. In order to fulfil the noble aspirations of mankind and to liberate mankind from war and exploitation, the AITUC lined up the Indian working class with the world Working class, by affiliating our trade unions with the W. F. T. U. To-day tremendous changes had taken place in favour of the toiling people. The economy of the Socialist countries have grown by leaps and bounds. The total production of the capitalist world will be outstripped by the Socialist world in no distant date. This development is welcomed by the entire world and especially by the peoples of Africa and Asia. The Socialist countries have come forward to extend aid in a massive scale for developing and strengthening the economy of the under developed, newly liberated countries of Africa and Asia, and Latin America. The Soviet Union and Rumania are helping our country to explore our oil resources. The rich oil basin in the Cauvery delta is going to be explored with their help. The colonial rule in the world is crumbling. In the recent session of the United Nations, ten countries of Africa who recently won their national freedom were admitted as members of the U. N. All the same, imperialists are conspir-

ing to disrupt the freedom attained by Congolese people. The Algerian peoples' struggle for freedom is being brutally attacked. The struggle for freedom by these people are bound to win soon. To put it short, to-day the forces of peace, freedom and socialism have grown tremendously and the people of the world are today strong enough to prevent the outbreak of any war. The people are determined to defeat the imperialist conspiracies and march forward. In this great struggle for peace and progress, the W.F.T.U, with which we are affiliated stands in the forefront. Today the WFTU is 101 million strong. Under the glorious guidance of the WFTU the Indian working class led by the A.I.T.U.C., will take its rightful place in the struggle for Peace, Freedom and Socialism.

With such a background of heroic record and tradition, we have assembled here in the 26th Session of the A.I.T.U.C. Our Conference will deliberate for a week over the issues before our country and the world and its decisions will guide us in our tasks. The entire working class of our country and all sections of democratic people are eagerly looking forward to the decisions of this Conference.

It is not my purpose in my speech to go into details over the issues and tasks facing us. Our respected General Secretary Comrade **S. A. Dange**, whose life all these 40 years is intertwined with our glorious organisation, the AITUC since its inception, who is one of the pillars of the Indian Trade Union Movement, will detail the issues and tasks facing us in his report. So let me cut short my speech, which has already grown longer.

I wish to say a few words on the special importance of this Conference, before concluding my speech. In this conference nearly 1,500 delegates have assembled. Differences of caste, creed, race, politics, religion and language have no place here. All of us are going to discuss issues to chalk out a better life for our people. At a time when disruptive tendencies are set at work by [interested parties to sow seeds of discord based on language, religion, caste and creed, in order to weaken the unity of toiling people, let our Conference shine as a challenge to all these disruptive tendencies. Whatever be the tongue we use, our ideas and goal are one, our path is one. We speak the tongue of the Indian working class. We chart the path of the Indian working class.

With these few words, I declare this Conference open.

Long Live A.I.T.U.C.!

Long Live the 26th Session of the A.I.T.U.C.!

Long Live the Unity of the Working Class!

1959 at level

- amendments
- amendments
- Nationalism
- Balance sheet

Chapter 1

Chapter 2. Stage (1959)

- Trade Union (1959)

Stage 1. 1959

Rs 50,000/-

Stage 2. 1959

Part 1. - 1959 -

- 1959 at level

Part 2. 1959

Trade Union - 1959

- Trade Union 1959

Part 1

- Trade Union 1959

Stage 2. 1959

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Part 1. 1959

- Trade Union 1959

Trade Union 1959

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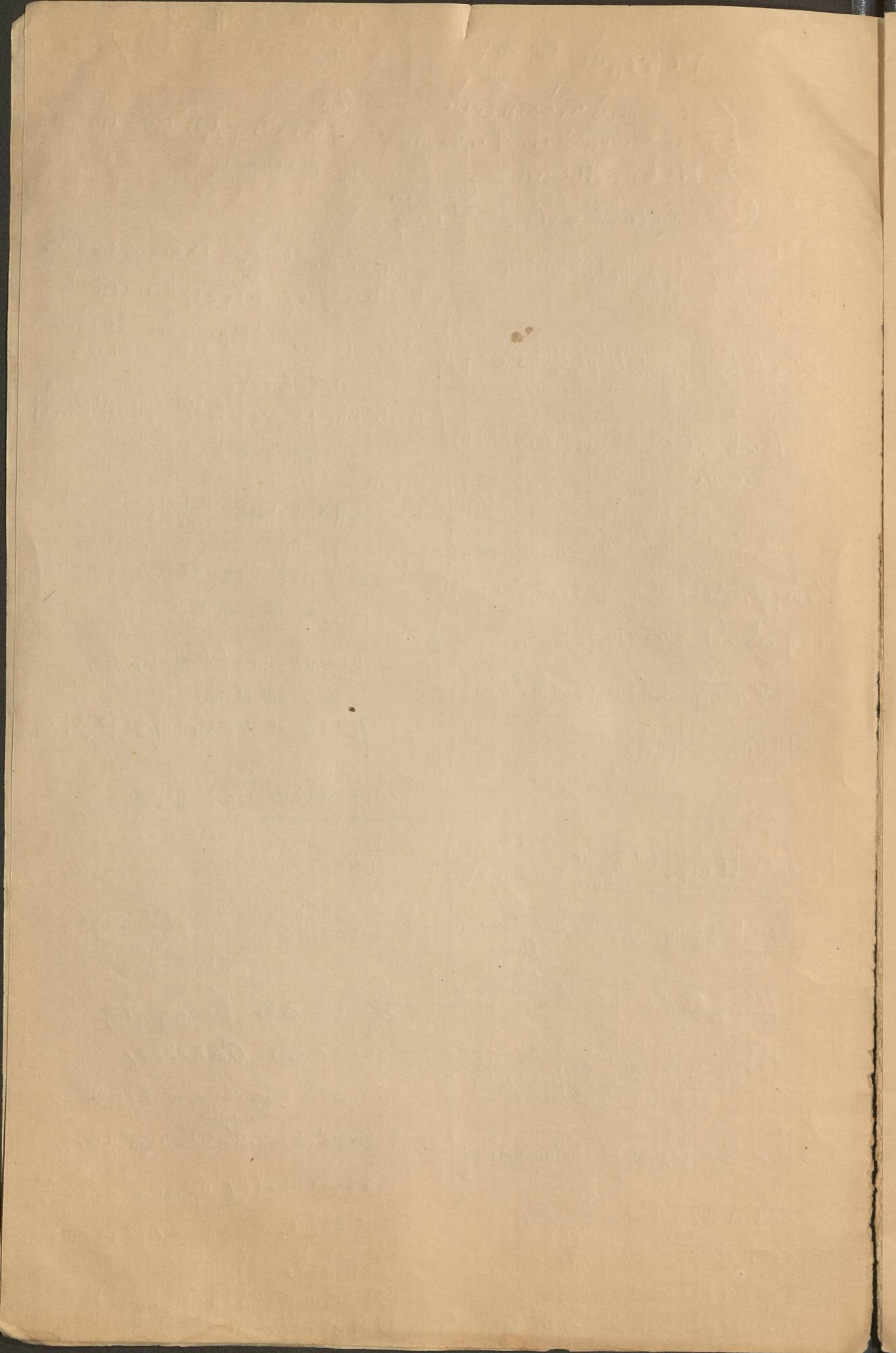
Trade Union 1959

Trade Union 1959

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Trade Union 1959



Amidst
Schedules } 9
anchored }

Report adopted by unanimous
majority with 9 votes against.

- 62 - wandering

Songs: - Super. Maiden Sweet Roman
Queen - 45 - Roman
Maiden

Election - S.S. Mirajke. President

- all to old statutes.

புதிய கடை!



குறைந்த விலை!!

கணேஷ் & கோ.,

ஜவளி வியாபாரம்

திவான்பஹதூர் ரோட்,

R. S. புரம், கோயமுத்தூர்-2

எங்களிடம் புதிய மைசூர்கிரேப், காஷ்மீர் சில்க்,
உபம்பாய் வாயில் புடவைகளும் இதர
புதிய கோட்டிங், ஷர்ட்டிங்,
ரகங்களும் மிக குறைந்த
விலைக்கு கிடைக்கும்.

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GANESH & Co.,

PIECE GOODS MERCHANTS

DEWAN BAHADUR ROAD,

R. S. Puram, COIMBATORE-2.

ஆனந்தா பிரம், இடையர் வீ, கோயமுத்தூர். P.T.O.

புதிய கடை !



குறைந்த விலை !!

பெங்களூர் எம்போரியம்

ஜவுளி வியாபாரம்

(அசோக் தியேட்டர் எதிர்புரம்)

R. S. புரம், கோயமுத்தூர்-2

எங்களிடம் புதிய பெங்களூர் கிரேப், காஷ்மீர்
சில்க் பம்பாய் வாயில், சின்னாபட்டி
புடவைகள், இதர புதிய கோட்டிங்,
சர்ட்டிங் ரகங்களும்
மிகவும் குறைந்த விலையில் கிடைக்கும்.

★

தங்கால நாகரிகத்திற்கேற்ற எல்லா விதமான தையல்
வேலைகளும் குறித்த காலத்தில் செய்து
கொடுக்கப்படுகின்றன.

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Cheap Prices!!

BANGALORE EMPORIUM,

Piece Goods Merchants & London Diploma Tailors,
(Opposite Ashok Theatre)

R. S. Puram, COIMBATORE-2.

R e s o l u t i o n

ON SOCIAL SECURITY

The Indian trade union movement has been all along demanding a comprehensive social security system without any contributions from the employees. Except for the Workmen's Compensation Act and certain provisions for lay-off, closure and retrenchment benefits under the Industrial Disputes Act, such social security as is there, is on the basis of payment by workers as well as contribution by employers. Thus, so long as the worker pays and is in employment, he can claim sickness, medical and a few other benefits. Even these schemes are full of defects and the AITUC, though welcoming such meagre provisions, as have been enacted, has all along been pointing out the various defects and demanding changes.

I. EMPLOYEES' STATE INSURANCE SCHEME:

The Study Group on Social Security appointed by the Government of India suggested in its Report made in January 1959 that some of the existing schemes of social security should be integrated and that the P.F. scheme should be converted into a pension scheme. Though welcoming some of the suggestions in principle, in view of the bitter experience of the unsatisfactory working of the ESI Scheme and the continuous refusal to concede legitimate demands of the workers, to extend the scheme to the families, to construct separate hospitals for insured workers, to reduce workers' contribution and to remove administrative defects, the AITUC at its General Council meeting in January 1960 declared its unwillingness to agree to the suggestion till confidence was restored by fulfilling these demands.

Since then restricted medical benefits to families of insured workers have been extended in a few centres in nine States out of fifteen where the Scheme has been so far implemented. This, in principle, concedes a longstanding demand of the workers but early steps must be taken to cover families in the case of all workers in the remaining States also, and particularly in Maharashtra and West Bengal which together account for nearly nine lakh insured workers.

The arrangements for the treatment of families are, however, far from satisfactory and this is true of the panel system areas as well as the service system areas.

Dr.A.L.Mudaliar, the one-man commission, appointed by the Government of India to report on the working of the ESI Scheme has expressed against the extension of the scheme to families so long as suitable improvements have not been made for the treatment of insured workers themselves. This argument is weighty but the legitimate demand of workers for extension of medical benefits to families should not be held back on this plea. As a matter of fact, inclusion of families will increase the pressure for rapid improvement of the scheme.

The position with regard to provision of hospitals continues to be very unsatisfactory. Separate hospitals are being

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constructed in some major centres like Kanpur, Madras City, Bangalore and Bombay, while annexes or wards have been provided at Delhi, Hyderabad, Nagpur and Coimbatore. The number of beds provided is extremely inadequate. The Mudaliar Report has sharply noted this failure and has advocated priority for this work.

A major development is the attempt of the Governments concerned and the Corporation to changeover from the Panel System to the Service System at a number of places. The changeover is being effected in the face of clearly expressed opposition of the workers and in gross violation of the unanimous recommendation of the Indian Labour Conference session at Nainital, that workers should be consulted as to which system they prefer.

The Mudaliar Report has made a scathing criticism of the working of the Panel System and has recommended the setting up of polyclinics, each having Panel doctors and at least two Service doctors, one of whom should be a lady doctor. This suggestion will be worth considering provided the polyclinics are equipped with X-ray plants and are combined with diagnostic centres and specialised treatment.

Workers have been demanding revision of the scale of contribution by raising the exemption limit, reducing the percentage charge and by making the actual earning instead of average earning the basis of calculation. The Mudaliar Report has recommended that deduction should be made on monthly averages on a slab system, instead of the present method of computing on weekly averages.

At present, workers are contributing more than the employers. For example, in the year ending 31.3.60, workers' share of the contribution was Rs.4.08 crores and that of the employers Rs.3.18 crores. The proposal of the Labour Ministers' Conference to enhance the employers' contribution from 1-1/4% to 3-1/2% in implemented areas has not been enforced though in principle, the Corporation has accepted it. If this is done, the decision about building hospitals and clinics can be more speedily implemented and medical and sickness benefits improved. At the same time, the genuine demand of the workers, about reduction of their share can be easily met. Of course, this is not a precondition for construction of hospitals, etc., since Rs.18 crores has already accumulated in the ESIC's Reserves.

A recommendation made by the Mudaliar Report which merits full support of the workers is regarding provision for industrial housing. The report points out that unless adequate housing facilities, with the provision for playgrounds, schools, etc., are provided, a health scheme loses much of its benefits. The suggestion is made that permission for new industrial ventures should not be given unless a satisfactory method and provision for housing for labour is also forthcoming. Besides, the dual control exercised by State Governments and the Corporation causes hindrance to the efficient working of the Scheme.

The AITUC, therefore, demands:

- i) Immediate extension of the scheme to all registered factories, including the seasonal factories;
- ii) Immediate extension of the scheme to families of insured workers with provision for full medical benefits including hospitalisation.

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iii) Immediate construction of hospitals in all major centres and adequate reservation of beds in places where there are no ESI Hospitals.

iv) Raising of the employers' contribution to the statutory limit of 4-3/4% in implemented areas.

v) No changeover from panel to service system or service to panel except with the prior approval of workers.

vi) Implementation of the recommendations made in the Mudaliar Report regarding provision of polyclinics and industrial housing.

vii) Waiting period of two days for payment of cash benefit should be dispensed with.

viii) Increase in the cash benefit to 75% from 50% and increase exemption limit from Re.1 per day to Rs.100 per month.

ix) The scheme should be extended to employees drawing Rs.500 per mensem instead of the present level of Rs.400.

x) Right to continued employment in cases of partial and partial-permanent disablement, as also in cases of workers who have recovered from serious and prolonged illnesses like T.B., etc.

xi) The provision for cash benefits available at present to T.B., Cancer, etc. patients, should be extended to cover cases of other prolonged malignant and chronic illnesses and of injuries received outside employment.

xii) In units where existing benefits are as good or better than those under the Scheme and workers ask for exemption, such exemption should be granted.

xiii) Adequate representation to the AITUC in the E.S.I. Corporation, Standing Committee of the Corporation, the Regional Boards and local committees under ESI; abolition of the present discrimination made against the AITUC.

The AITUC further demands that industrial employees of the Central Government should be provided with the same medical facilities and benefits as are available to non-industrial employees, as has been recommended by the Second Pay Commission.

II. PROVIDENT FUND

The Employees' Provident Fund Scheme, as on 31st March 1960, covered 27 lakhs of workers in 45 industries.

The Employees' Provident Funds Act has recently been extended to cover all factories employing 20 or more workers as against the earlier limit of 50 or more workers, and to motor transport undertakings and mica mines, as well. This concedes in part the demand of workers to bring within its purview all registered factories and transport companies.

Provision has also been made in the Act to raise the contribution to 8-1/3% instead of the previous 6-1/4%. But it has been deprived of much of its practical value by making it dependent upon the so-called "financial capacity" of each industry.

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The AITUC, therefore, demands that:

i) The Employees Provident Funds Act should be extended to all registered factories, all transport undertakings, all shops and establishments, cinemas, hospitals, hotels, etc.

ii) The rate of contribution should be compulsorily raised to 8-1/3%.

iii) Benefit should be extended to employees drawing upto Rs.1000 per mensem.

iv) No exemption to newly-established units.

v) Interest should be at 4% and in both exempted and non-exempted factories.

vi) No forfeiture of the employers' contribution in case of workers dismissed or discharged from service.

vii) Extension of the Scheme to seasonal factories and works-charged staff.

viii) Simplification of the procedure for granting of recoverable loans from the Provident Fund; no restriction on such loans.

ix) Adequate representation to AITUC in the Board of Trustees of the Employees' Provident Fund.

III. MATERNITY BENEFITS

The Maternity Benefit Bill 1960, now referred to the Select Committee of Parliament has some good provisions. These are: (a) The benefit period is retained at six weeks before and six weeks after confinement; (b) the cash benefit is fixed at a sum equivalent to the average daily wage or 75 nP whichever is higher; (c) in addition, a bonus of Rs.25 will be given at the time of confinement; (d) depending upon the doctor's report, full wages will be paid for one month.

The rate of cash benefits is too low and should be a minimum of Rs.2 per day. The bonus, meant as lump sum relief is also low and should be raised to at least Rs.100 and period should be reduced to 150 days.

In the Bill, the State Governments have been empowered to extend the provision of the Act to commercial establishments.

While these provisions are good, they do not go far enough. At the same time, the Act has certain retrograde features:

(a) Only those workers who are in continuous employment for 240 days in the 12 months before the date of confinement will be eligible for benefits. This qualifying period should be reduced to 150 days, as in the existing provisions of the Kerala Act.

(b) The State Governments have been empowered to exempt seasonal factories. Such exemption should not be permitted and the minimum qualifying period should be waived in the case of seasonal workers.

IV. GRATUITY

Gratuity is a benefit to be given to the workers at the time of retirement in a lump sum for past services

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rendered and for the retirement period. This is quite different from other benefits like Provident Fund, which is in the nature of compulsory saving with incentive. This view has been expressed by the Madras Industrial Tribunal. The AITUC demands that a legislation should be brought fixing gratuity at the rate of one month's wages for every year of service.

V. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION:

It is necessary to have suitable and long-overdue amendment of the Act to dispense with the waiting period of three days, enlarge the schedule of occupational diseases, simplify the procedure for establishing the disease and double the present rates of compensation.

VI. UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT:

There must be statutory provision for an unemployment relief scheme, which should be drawn up after full consultation with the workers' organisations.

26th Session of the AITUC

.....
Coimbatore

.....
January 1961

Speech of

COMRADE Z. DAGWA,
Vice President of the
Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions

Dear Friends,

It is indeed a great pleasure for me to extend brotherly and warm greetings of the working people and the trade unions of the Mongolian People's Republic to the 26th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress and through this Session to the glorious Indian working class, and also to express our heartfelt thanks to Comrade S.A.Dange, General Secretary of the AITUC, for the kind invitation extended to the representatives from Mongolia enabling us to participate in this great gathering today.

I am equally happy to convey our deep thanks and appreciation to the working people of Coimbatore and the Chairman of the Reception Committee as well as to all those who have made this wonderful preparation for this conference and welcomed us to your glorious city.

The Mongolian trade unions always have had fraternal feelings towards the AITUC and have watched with admiration the heroic struggles waged by this militant organisation for the good of the toiling workers in this country and rejoiced at its success and achievements. Today, we feel happier still to attend this conference for the first time, as representatives of the Mongolian trade unions and be in your midst, the leaders and members of the militant trade unions of the AITUC. It is, I believe, will no doubt be of immense help to the further strengthening of the brotherly relations between the working peoples of our respective countries.

We have gone through and heard with attention the reports, including that of Comrade S.A.Dange, on the activities of the AITUC. We hope your deliberations and the decisions taken at this session will help further strengthen the struggle for trade union unity, for improving the working and living conditions of the Indian workers and for peace.

Since its inception in 1920 at the largest industrial city of Bombay, during these forty years, the All-India Trade Union Congress has made great advance in uniting and organising the forces of the working class in this sub-continent, to defend the interests and rights of the toiling workers and fought for the national independence of India.

Thanks to the heroic struggles for the liberation of the country from the yoke of foreign imperialists and for improving the standards of living of the working class, the AITUC has become a mighty and militant organisation, fighting for the interests of the toiling masses.

The AITUC, we know well, is playing an important part in the national and international trade union movements. It is an active member of the one hundred and one million strong World Federation of Trade Unions and firmly supports the progressive activities of the WFTU.

The Mongolian Trade Unions, being a member of this

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lofty world organisation - the WFTU, the centre of the coordination of the international trade union movement, - are in full support of the noble activities of the AITUC and hope that the AITUC will achieve greater successes in the struggle for strengthening unity of the working people in this country and for the defence of their interests.

Today, under the circumstances of the increasing aggressive activities of the imperialists threatening the fate of humanity, the Mongolian trade unions actively favour the further cooperation among our sister trade unions. The Mongolian working people and their trade unions, together with all the progressive forces throughout the world, strongly condemn the shameful acts of the colonialists and imperialists in Algeria and in interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo, Laos and other countries and the attempts to bring their freedom and independence to naught.

Dear Friends, - May I take this pleasant opportunity of being present at your Session here, to say a few words about my country and about our working class and its trade unions at large? I think this would help, at least to some extent, in knowing something of each other's activities in this particular field.

Forty years back, in 1921, there was a people's revolution in Mongolia, which put an end to the internal oppressive forces and drove out the foreign colonialists and, thus, freedom and independence were brought to our country.

As a result of this Revolution, drastic changes took place in Mongolia. New branches of socialist industry and agriculture, equipped with modern techniques have come into existence and a new working class was born. Trade unions were organised. As you know, the conditions in which trade unions were organised and grew in our country were naturally different. And we work and labour in different conditions too.

At present, over 90% of the industrial and office workers are organised in trade unions. The trade union organisations are a mighty factor in the life and the development programme of the whole nation.

Trade unions in our country are always in support of the government policy and stand for carrying out every steps taken by it, because our government policy is aimed at raising the living and working conditions as best as possible.

Owing to the joint efforts of the working class and the people of Mongolia, the feudal backwardness in which we lived 40 years ago was done away with within a short historical period. Today we are building socialism, having escaped the capitalistic stage of development. We can say that socialism is making good progress in every field of life of the country.

Various branches of national industry, modern means of transport and communications are advancing today in our country. Now, 50% of the gross national product is output from industry alone. It may be mentioned that the active participation of the trade unions in these fields was an important factor in effecting the rapid transformation.

As far as agriculture is concerned, veterinary science, mechanised farming and modern agricultural techniques are now in common use in our country as against the nomadic animal husbandry which predominated formerly. The settlement of the nomadic rural population has started. The herdsmen

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are entirely different today. Until recently, in our agriculture, private ownership predominated but it has now been turned into big collective farms or cooperatives formed on a voluntary basis. In view of this change, in the field of animal husbandry, great progress has been made and the animal wealth of the country has increased. Now there are 27.9 heads of animal per capita in our country. Also the area under grain crops have been greatly expanded.

Thanks to 40 years of the tireless labour and efforts of our people, Mongolia has become an agrarian and industrial country.

There was a cultural revolution too and illiteracy among the adult population in the country was eliminated. Elementary and middle schools, specialised colleges and higher educational institutions were set up everywhere. Seven-year education and four-year schooling system has been introduced in towns and in villages respectively. Free education is provided to all. The higher educational establishments in our country turn out specialists for various branches of the national economy and culture. At present 137.6 people out of every 1,000 are able to study at one or another educational institution in Mongolia.

National arts, literature and science have advanced rapidly for the good of the people.

Every year witnesses an increase and advance in the well-being of the people. And public health service is organised well and medical science is in progress. There is hardly any corner or part in the country where no hospital or dispensary is functioning in Mongolia today. Medical service is free to all, and at present, there is one doctor for every 1,000 people of the population.

I must say that the disinterested and sincere assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was and is an important factor in the realization of these achievements attained by our country. With the further increased assistance from our friends, the Mongolian people are determined to advance their country in the direction of further development and prosperity. In the next five years, it has been stipulated that the advance in agriculture and industry should be at a tempo of rapid development, with a view to raise industrial output twice and the area under grain crops by three times. As a result, Mongolia will make great advances as an industrial and agrarian country.

The Mongolian trade unions organise the working people for the progress and advance of the nation and educate them in the spirit of high productivity and are responsible for further raising of the living standards and the cultural level of the people and in defence of their interests.

The trade unions in our country take an active part in the economic planning, and in introducing new production methods in industry and elsewhere. They participate in everything that might affect the interests of the workers, either directly or indirectly, such as fixation of working hours, wage level, or securing better living and working conditions, leave facilities, etc. Without the consent of the trade unions, no overtime work or work during holidays is allowed.

In our country, the duration of working hours in light or food industries is limited to 8 hours. Special food and clothing, and shorter working day of 7 hours, are provided

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for the workers engaged in hard labour. Duration of the working time on the days before public holidays is limited to 6 hours. Social insurance is run by the trade unions in the country. Industrial and office workers are granted 14 to 26 days of paid leave every year. There is 80% discount in the cost of having rest at State-owned sanatoria or rest homes provided for the industrial and office workers. In case of maternity, three months' leave before and after the delivery is granted, with wages paid in full. And, in the case of old age or disablement, 100% of wages are paid to industrial and office workers.

The Mongolian trade unions, in cooperation with the All-India Trade Union Congress and other sister organisations, affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions have tirelessly fought for international unity of workers, for peace throughout the world and against imperialism and the colonial yoke.

Our trade unions consider it essential to further strengthen the unity and solidarity of the workers the world over, for achieving universal disarmament, for a lasting peace and for peaceful coexistence, and in support of national independence movements, for protecting the interests of the working people and their trade unions.

Dear friends and comrades! In conclusion, I take the liberty, on behalf of the Mongolian trade unions to wish the All India Trade Union Congress every success in their work in defence of the interests of the glorious working people of your country and for peace throughout the world, and for the activities aimed at insuring the solidarity of international trade union movement.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of Mongolia and India!

Long live the brotherly cooperation between the trade unions of India and Mongolia!
