

अखिल भारतीय ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस
ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Rani Jhansi Road, NEW DELHI.

File No. _____

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R. Sugathian. K.S.P. Member

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

KERALA STATE COUNCIL

TRIVANDRUM-14.

Ref: No. ind.

Date 9/12/63

To the Gen. Secretary, A.P.
A.I.T.C. office
New-Delhi.

മുഖ്യമന്ത്രിയേ,

1963-ലിനുവേണ്ടി 12-ആം

അംഗീകാരത്തിനായി അയച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന

അപേക്ഷകളുടെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള

വിവരങ്ങൾ അയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. എ.എ.

കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് പാർട്ടി ഓഫ് ഇന്ത്യയുടെ

P.T.O.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
REMAIN STATE SOCIALIST
THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE

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കമ്മ്യൂണിസ്റ്റ് പാർട്ടിയിൽ,
എന്നും.

മുൻ, അദ്ധ്യക്ഷൻമാർക്ക്

15 - 21 വരെ,

എ.ടി.എസ്.സി.എ.

Chundery.

തോണി തൊഴിലാളികളെ പട്ടിണിയിലാക്കുന്ന ലൈററേജ്
 കോർപ്പറേഷന്റെ നടപടിയിൽ പ്രതിഷേധിക്കുവാൻ
 14-12-63 ശനിയാഴ്ച ഉച്ചയ്ക്ക് 12 മണിക്ക്

പൊതുയോഗം



സ്ഥലം: ആസ്റ്റിൻവാൾ മൈതാനം (കൽവത്തി)

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പ്രസംഗം: ടി. എം. അബു, കെ. ഏ. രാജൻ

പ്രിയപ്പെട്ട തൊഴിലാളി സഖാക്കളെ, നാട്ടുകാരെ,

മെ: പോൾ അബ്രാഹാമിന്റെ വക തോണികളിലും ബർത്തുകളിലുമായി നിരവധി വർഷക്കാലം തൊഴിൽ ചെയ്തു പോന്നിരുന്ന തൊഴിലാളികൾ, കഴിഞ്ഞ 1962 ജൂൺമാസത്തോടുകൂടി രൂപീകൃതമായ ലൈററേജ് കോർപ്പറേഷന്റെ വരവോടുകൂടി പലവിധ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളും ക്ലേശങ്ങളും സഹിക്കേണ്ടതായി വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു.

കഴിഞ്ഞ 9 മാസങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളിൽ 16 വാഹനങ്ങൾ കരക്കും, വെള്ളത്തിലുമായി പണിയെടുക്കാൻ സാധിക്കാത്ത നിലയിൽ മാറിയിട്ടിരിക്കുകയാണ്. ഇങ്ങിനെ മാറിയിട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന വാഹനങ്ങളുടെ റിപ്പയർപണി ഈ ഭവനത്ത് മാസങ്ങൾക്കകം ആരംഭിക്കാനുള്ള നടപടികളെടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. കൂടാതെ ബാക്കിയുള്ള വാഹനങ്ങൾ തീരെ പണിയെടുക്കാൻ സാധിക്കാത്ത നിലയിൽ മോശമായിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുകയാണ്. ഇതിന്റെ ഫലമായി, ഈ വാഹനങ്ങളിലെ തൊഴിലാളികൾ—സ്രാക്കനാടും ലസ്കർമാടും—യാതൊരു പണിയുമില്ലാതെ നട്ടംതിരിയുകയാണ്. ഇങ്ങിനെ വാഹനങ്ങൾ റിപ്പേയർ ചെയ്യാതെയിട്ടിരിക്കുന്നതെന്നാണെന്നു തൊഴിലാളികൾ ചോദിക്കുമ്പോൾ, രണ്ടുളുടെ പക്കൽ പണമില്ലെന്നും, വാഹനങ്ങൾ ഇങ്ങിനെ കിടന്നു നശിച്ചുപോകുന്നതിൽ രണ്ടുൾക്കുത്തരവാദിത്വമില്ലെന്നും, സർക്കാർ ശ്രീ. പോൾ അബ്രാഹാമിനെ സമീപിക്കുകയാണ് വേണ്ടതെന്നുമാണ് മറുപടി. ഇതേ സംബന്ധിച്ച് യൂണിയൻ അയച്ച കത്തുകൾക്ക് ഒന്നും മറുപടിപോലും തരാനുള്ള സാമാന്യ മര്യാദ ലൈററേജ് കോർപ്പറേഷൻ മാനേജ്മെന്റ് കാണിക്കുന്നുമില്ല.

പണമില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ് റിപ്പേയർ ചെയ്യിക്കാത്തതെന്ന വാദം വെറും പൊള്ളയായ ഒന്നാണെന്നു കാണിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു ഞങ്ങൾ അവർക്കു എഴുതുകയുണ്ടായി. കാരണം, 42 ടണ്ണ് കേവലരമുള്ള ഒരു വാഹനം 17 മാസത്തെ പണികൊണ്ടുമാത്രം 10000ൽ പരം (പതിനായിരത്തിൽപരം) ഉറപ്പിക സമ്പാദിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു കണക്കുള്ളതാണ്. നേർപകുതി തൊഴിലാളികളുടെയും സ്രാക്കിന്റെയും ഓഹരിയായി മാറിയാൽ പോലും 5000ൽപരം ഉറപ്പിക ലൈററേജ് കോർപ്പറേഷനു കിട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. 80 ടണ്ണ്മുതൽ 15 ടണ്ണ്വരെ കേവലരമുള്ളതാണ് ഇവരുടെ 40 വാഹനങ്ങളും. അതുകൊണ്ട് 42 ടണ്ണ് വാഹനത്തിന്റെ സമ്പാദ്യം ഒരു വാഹനത്തിന്റെ ശരാശരി സമ്പാദ്യമായി ഏകദേശം കണക്കാക്കുന്നതിൽ തെറ്റില്ല. എന്നുവെച്ചാൽ, $5000 \times 40 = 2,00,000$ (രണ്ടുലക്ഷം ഉറപ്പിക) തോണിക്കുലിപകയിൽ മാത്രം ഈ കോർപ്പറേഷന്റെ പെട്ടിയിൽ ചെന്നുചേർന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഒന്നുകൂടി വിശദീകരിച്ചാൽ മാസം

ശരാശരി 12000ക. ചരങ്ങിയത് കോർപ്പറേഷനു ആദായമുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. 16 വാഹനങ്ങളും ഈ കാലഘട്ടത്തിൽ റിപ്പയർ ചെയ്തിരുന്നവെങ്കിൽ കൂടിയാൽ 40000ക. (നാല്പതിനായിരം ഉറപ്പിക) ഈ വരുമാനത്തിൽനിന്നു കുറവുവരും. എന്നാൽപോലും തോണിപ്പണിയിനത്തിൽ മാസത്തിൽ 10000ക. (പതിനായിരം) അറ്റാദായമായി ഇവർക്കു കിട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഈ കമ്പനിയുടെ എസ്റ്റാബ്ലിഷ്മെന്റ് ചാർജ്ജ് (ശമ്പളം, വാടക മുതലായവ) എങ്ങിനെ പെരുപ്പിച്ചു കാണിച്ചാലും നല്ലൊരു തുക സമ്പാദിക്കാൻ ഒരു പ്രയാസവുമില്ലെന്നു കണ്ണുപൊട്ടന്മാർപോലും സമ്മതിക്കുമെന്നു ഞങ്ങൾക്കുറപ്പാണ്.

ഈ പരിതഃസ്ഥിതിയിലാണ്, പണമില്ലാവാദവും പറഞ്ഞു ഇവർ തൊഴിലാളികളെ കമ്പളിപ്പിച്ചു രസിച്ചുനടക്കുന്നതു്. അർദ്ധപ്പട്ടിണിയും മുഴുപ്പട്ടിണിയുമായി നടക്കുന്ന തൊഴിലാളികളും സ്രാങ്കന്മാരും ഒരു അഡ്വാൻസ് ചോദിച്ചാൽ മനുഷ്യത്വപരീനമായി അവരോടു പെരുമാറുകയാണ് ഈ കമ്പനി മാനേജ്മെന്റിന്റെ മയ്യാദ.

ഖൈറാറേജ് കോർപ്പറേഷനു തന്റെ 40 തോണികളും 2 ട്രക്കുകളും (അവയിലെ തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ അപകാരങ്ങളുൾപ്പെടെയുള്ള ബാല്യതയോടെ) താൻ വിറ്റൊന്നെന്നാണ് ശ്രീ. പോൾ അബ്രാഹം 2-12-63-ലെ കത്തുമൂലം അധികൃതന്മാരെയും യൂണിയനെയും അറിയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ ശ്രീ. അബ്രാഹം തൊഴിലാളികൾക്ക് നോട്ടീസൊന്നും മുൻകൂട്ടി കൊടുത്തിട്ടില്ല. ഈ വാഹനങ്ങളും അതിലെ തൊഴിലാളികളെയും ഏറ്റെടുത്ത കോർപ്പറേഷനും അക്കാലത്തു് മറ്റുള്ള ഒന്നും പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. കൂലികൊടുക്കൽ, പണിപറയൽ, അച്ചടക്കനടപടി ഇതെല്ലാം 1962 ഫ്രണിനുശേഷം കോർപ്പറേഷനാണ് ഏറ്റെടുത്തു നടത്തിപ്പോരുന്നതു്. എന്നിട്ടാണ്, ഈ പരിതഃസ്ഥിതിയിൽ, കടുമാരിദ്ര്യത്തിൽ കിടന്നു പൊരിയുന്ന തൊഴിലാളികളുടെ മുഖത്തുനോക്കി അവിടെയും ഇവിടെയും പോകാൻ പറയുന്നതു്. ഈ ധിക്കാരം നിറഞ്ഞ കളി നല്ലതിനല്ലെന്നു അവരെ ഉണർത്തിക്കുവാൻ ഞങ്ങൾ ഈ അവസരം ഉപയോഗിച്ചുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

കൂടാതെ, ഇങ്ങിനെ ഇന്നു ഭൂരിതത്തിൽപെട്ടുഴന്നതു് ഏറ്റവും പഴക്കക്കാരായ തൊഴിലാളികളും സ്രാങ്കന്മാരാണ്. ഇതു് എല്ലാ നിയമങ്ങൾക്കും കീഴ് വഴക്കങ്ങൾക്കും എതിരായ ഒരു നടപടിയാണ്.

ഈ സ്ഥിതിഗതികളിൽ, കോർപ്പറേഷന്റെ ഈടുശനടപടികളെ ശക്തിമത്തായി പ്രതിഷേധിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും, തൊഴിലാളികളോടു നീതിചെയ്യാനവരെ നിർബ്ബന്ധിക്കുന്നതിനുമായി ശക്തിമത്തായ ഒരു പ്രക്ഷോഭം ആരംഭിക്കേണ്ടതു് അനിവാര്യമായിത്തീർന്നിരിക്കുന്നു.

ഈ പ്രശ്നം എല്ലാ തൊഴിലാളികളെയും ഒന്നുപോലെ ബാധിക്കുന്ന പ്രശ്നമാണ്. അതുകൊണ്ടു്, മറ്റ് എന്തെങ്കിലും വ്യത്യസ്തങ്ങളും ഈ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ മാറിവെച്ചു തൊഴിലാളികൾ ഏകോപിച്ചു മുന്നോട്ടുവരണമെന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നു. ഞങ്ങളുടെ സഹോദരസംഘടനകളോടും, അതിലെ അംഗങ്ങളോടും ഈ കാര്യത്തിൽ യോജിച്ചു നിലപാടെടുക്കണമെന്നു ഞങ്ങൾ വിനീതമായി അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നു.

വിധേയൻ,

കൊച്ചി,) ടി. എം. അബു,
 11-12-1963) ജ: സിക്രട്ടറി, കൊച്ചിൻ പോർട്ട് കാർഗോ ലേബർ യൂണിയൻ.
 ലേബർ പ്രസ്സ്, കൊച്ചി-2.

Telephone
26-2185

HIND MAZDOOR SABHA

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HINDMAZDUR-BOMBAY

(Affiliated to International Confederation of Free Trade Unions)

President :

BASAWAN SINHA

General Secretary :

MANOHAR G. KOTWAL

Secretaries :

RAM DESAI
PARITOSH BANARJEE

Treasurer :

K. A. KHAN

Nagindas Chambers,
167, P. D'Mello Road,
BOMBAY 1 (India)

December 11, 1963.

12

Ref. 3017/63

The General Secretary
All India Trade,
Union Congress,
5-E Jhandewalan,
Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi.

Dear Comrade,

Sub: Proposal to Convene all-India
Conference to discuss problems
relating to revision of consumer
Price indices, D. A. and bonus.

I am referring to your letter dated 18th November 1963,
received in my office on 29th November, 1963, in the above
connection.

You may be aware that Hind Mazdoor Sabha has already
started nationwide agitation on the above issue at both
local and state levels. In Bombay particularly a big conference
attended by about 10,000 worker delegates from all over
Maharashtra, was held jointly by HMS and Hind Mazdoor Panchayat.
Further possibility of a nationwide action is also not ruled
out. This will however be decided by our General Council
which is scheduled to meet early next month. While thanking
you for the invitation to join the conference convened by you,
I have to state that HMS cannot join. It is the policy of the
Hind Mazdoor Sabha not to have any joint front with your
organisation for various reasons known to you.

With greetings,

Respected Sir
11/12/63

Yours faithfully,

Manohar Kotwal
Manohar Kotwal
General Secretary.

ON LIFTING OF THE EMERGENCY

809
11

This ~~Special~~ Conference of Trade Unions ~~convened by the All India Trade Union Congress~~ urges upon the Government of India to lift immediately the ~~Emergency~~ proclaimed last year. It is universally admitted that conditions in the country today are such that the ~~Emergency~~ has practically ceased to exist except in name. Under these conditions, continuation of the ~~Emergency~~ has degenerated into just a weapon to be used against the working class and democratic movement, rather than being used against the activities of anti-social vested interests.

This Conference, therefore, demands the immediate lifting of the ~~Emergency~~ and restoration of democratic rights in the country.

GREETINGS TO BOMBAY CONFERENCE

FROM U. T. U. C.

In a message to the AITUC, the General Secretary of the United Trade Unions Congress (UTUC) has expressed sympathy with the all-India conference on D.A., bonus and national

The telegram from ~~XXXXXX~~ Sudha Roy, General Secretary of UTUC, ~~XXXXXX~~ dated 14 December, stated:

"REGRET INABILITY TO ATTEND CONGRESS. EXPRESS OUR
REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS = SUDHA ROY, GENERAL SECRETARY

LETTER FROM H.M.S. ON ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE

In a letter to the General Secretary, AITUC, in reply to the invitation to join in convening an all-India conference to discuss problems relating to revision of consumer price indices, D.A., and bonus, the General Secretary, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, stated on December 12:

"You may be aware that Hind Mazdoor Sabha has already started nationwide agitation on the above issue at both local and state levels. In Bombay particularly, a big conference attended by about 10,000 worker delegates from all over Maharashtra, was held jointly by HMS and Hind Mazdoor Panchayat. Further, possibility of a nationwide action is also not ruled out. This will however be decided by our General Council which is scheduled to meet early next month.

"While thanking you for the invitation to join the conference convened by you, I have to state that HMS cannot join. It is the policy of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha not to have any joint front with your organisation for various reasons known to you."

Dange emphasised the need for a minimum bonus irrespective of profit and loss. He appreciated the feelings of many unions ~~which have demanded that the~~ which have demanded that the report of the Bonus Commission should be published early. "Trade unions will have to struggle hard even to force the employers to implement the recommendations of the Bonus Commission," he said.

Dange stressed the need to intensify the campaign for nationalisation of banks, oil and sugar industries, export-import trade, with a view to mobilise the resources for national development. Trade unions have to play a prominent part in mobilising public opinion behind these slogans.

"Without an all-India action of the workers, employers and the government will not come to senses and hence the working class has to prepare for it. The strike of August 20 in Bombay has shown that such an action is necessary and feasible."

Dange concluded his report by emphasising the need for building TU unity behind these slogans. "No working class action will be successful unless we build unity from below."

The members of the General Council while supporting the main formulations of the Report narrated the experiences in their States. Comrades pointed out the growing discontent among workers in every State and stressed the need for concerted action. The Report of the General Secretary was adopted after discussion.

The General Council ~~in~~ at the commencement of the meeting adopted condolence resolutions on the sad demise of S.Guruswamy, former President, AIRF; Suresh Saxena of Bank Employees Union, M.V.Varpey, leading worker of Nagar, as well as Dr.Saifuddin Kitchlew, Baba Kharak Singh, Sardar Panikkar, Chief Minister Kannamwar and five military officers who died in the helicopter crash.

The General Council by a resolution directed unions to observe ²⁰December ~~20~~ as Solidarity with Vietnam Day.

AITUC GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

The General Council of the AITUC which met at Bombay on 12-13 December unanimously adopted the Charter of Minimum Demands which was later submitted to the Conference on D.A., Bonus and Nationalisation. S.S.Mirajkar, President, AITUC, presided over the meeting.

S.A.Dange, General Secretary, AITUC, briefly reviewed the developments in the country since the last General Council meeting. He pointed out that the bottlenecks of the plan were the results of the policy followed by the bourgeoisie and the remedy lay in changing these policies.

Dange sharply criticised the taxation policy of the Government and the CDS which evoked tremendous discontent among the workers. He said:

"The Great March resulted in repealing the CDS and modification of the Gold Control Order. It also had thrown overboard the Ministers who were responsible for these measures. But the policy of taxation is still there and we have to defeat ~~with~~ that policy with all the strength in our hands."

He referred to the rising level of prices and castigated the Government for its failure to hold the price line. "When the Government has violated the provisions of the Industrial Truce Resolution, how can it insist that others ~~xxxx~~ should follow it?", he asked.

The fraudulent index has deprived lakhs of workers of their rightful D.A. and employers were benefitted to the tune of crores of rupees. The Bombay workers have exposed the fraud thoroughly and unions in other centres are also coming forward to point out the glaring inaccuracies of the indices in their centres.

Dange continued: "The struggle for D.A. is now acquiring an all-India character. To correct the present index and link the D.A. with the index wherever it is not so linked have become one of the key slogans today."

REVIEW OF WORK FROM
APRIL TO NOVEMBER 1963
NOTE TO A.I.T.U.C. GENERAL COUNCIL
(Bombay Session, 12-13 December 1963)

- 1 review of work
- 2 note on struggles
- 3 note on D. A. in variou
- 4 index of real wages
- 5 consumer price indic
(TABLES, 1958 to 1963)

Price
rupee one

ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS
5-E Jhandewalan, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

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(April 1963 to November 1963)

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GOA WORKERS' STRIKE ON MAY DAY - Demanding holiday on May Day, the port and dock and other workers of Goa struck work on May 1. The workers joined in a big rally held on May Day which was addressed by Com. S.A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC.

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There were in July-August strikes in Sankey Electricals, Bombay and by saloon workers.

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AMBALA AGITATION AGAINST VICTIMISATION AND C.D.S. - Joint Secretary of the MES Workers Union, in Ambala, went on hunger strike on August 21, protesting against victimisation and CDS. He and four other workers were arrested under DIR. The wife of the Secretary of the union was also arrested by the police.

KEYMORE CEMENT WORKERS STRIKE - Led by the INTUC, the cement workers of Keymore (M.P.) went on strike for ten days from 22 August. The strike was withdrawn after the disputes about wage increments, etc., were referred to a Conciliation Board.

STRIKE IN BIRLA'S STAPLE FIBRE FACTORY - Over 1500 workers in Birla's staple fibre factory near Calcutta went on strike on August 20, protesting against the repressive policies of the management.

GREAT PETITION AND MARCH TO PARLIAMENT - SEPT. 13 - The biggest ever demonstration seen in the Capital City was the March to Parliament on September 13, to present the Great Petition signed by a crore of people. Trade unions and workers were most active in the signature campaign on the Great Petition and in sending volunteers for the March to Parliament.

KANPUR TEXTILE WORKERS' DEMONSTRATION - Five thousand textile workers of Kanpur demonstrated in front of the Labour Commissioner's office on August 23, protesting against increased workloads and the improper implementation of Sampurnanand Award.

STRIKE IN HINDUSTAN ALUMINIUM FACTORY - Workers of the aluminium factory in Rejkut in U.P. went on strike on Sept. 11, demanding better wages and amenities.

98-DAY STRIKE IN E.M.C. FACTORY, DUM DUM - Demanding settlement of their outstanding demands, workers of the E.M.C. (an engineering factory) in Dum Dum went on strike for 98 days. The strike was withdrawn on 10th September on the assurances given by the Union Labour Minister.

WEST BENGAL HARTAL - There was complete Hartal in Calcutta and in many district centres in W. Bengal on September 24, protesting against the food policy of the Government and against rising prices.

HARTAL IN RAJNANDGAON - Rajnandgaon observed a hartal on September 7, protesting against failure of government to get the B.N.C. Mills re-opened. The mills were closed last December, throwing three thousand workers unemployed.

RAIPUR MUNICIPAL WORKERS' STRIKE - Six hundred municipal workers struck work on Sept. 7 in Raipur demanding benefits following from recommendations of the Tarachand Pay Commission for State Government employees.

BIRLAGRAM WORKERS' STRUGGLE - Protesting against the bonus agreement signed between the management and the INTUC and demanding higher quantum of bonus, the workers of Birलगram and Nagda conducted hunger-strikes, satyagraha and hartal from 9th September. A Joint Action Committee with representatives of all parties, including some congressmen led the agitation. There was a complete hartal on 21st Sept.

STRIKE IN JAY ENGINEERING, HYDERABAD - The workers of the Jay Engineering company's factory at Hyderabad went on strike for 12 days, to press settlement of their outstanding demands.

DURGAPUR DEMONSTRATION - About 7,000 workers of Durgapur steel plant demonstrated on Oct. 15 before the General Manager's office demanding a month's wage as Puja Bonus.

BONUS MOVEMENT IN W. BENGAL - The Puja bonus movement in W. Bengal was fairly widespread and intensive this year. There were over 2,500 bonus disputes. There were huge demonstrations, marches, and stay-in strikes in some factories.

STRIKE IN ASHOKA HOTEL, DELHI. Employees of Ashoka Hotel went on strike on Nov. 7 night demanding rise in wages, bonus, D.A., etc. The strike was called off on Nov. 9 when the management agreed to refer the disputes to arbitration.

with the cost of living index, even if there is no full neutralisation provided for, itx has been possible to check the erosion of real wages to an extent. But on the whole, the downward trend in real wages noticed since 1956 has not been halted. The latest available government figures for 1961 show the real wage index at 114.6 on base year 1951. As we have seen earlier, the price rises during 1962 and 1963 have been phenomenal and their impact on real wage standards cannot but be considerable.

When the Plan is not being fulfilled, when concentration of wealth is taking place, when real wages are falling, when public sector managements, in certain respects, are behaving even worse than some private employers, a question is bound to be raised as to why we should continue to support the Plan and Public Sector.

Hence we have to distinguish ourselves from those reactionaries who are opposed to planning, growth of public sector and building of heavy industry.

While agitating for the removal of the defects in the method of implementation of the Plan, while fighting against wastage and bureaucratism in Public Sector and realising that building of heavy and basic industries like steel, oil, heavy engineering, etc., is very necessary not only for our defence and independence of the country but also for raising the living standards of the people, we must support planned development and the basic policies involved in it. There is so much opportunity for private sector to grow in our country and in the process, the tendency of concentration of wealth will assert itself. If not checked through heavy taxation and other measures, concentration of wealth will continue to grow. To reduce it and to ensure that the workers' real earnings do not fall, the working class will have to continue its struggles, widening their sweep, for the achievement of realisable demands. The working class will also have to take lead along with other sections of the people in the fight against wastages and bureaucracy in Public Sector and establishment of democratic initiative in the implementation of the Plan. The struggle for nationalisation of banks, oil, export-import trade and other industries like textile and sugar should be continued more vigorously. In the case of industries where shortfalls in target are seen, the unions should study the causes, expose the shortcomings in time so that progress is not halted.

UNITY

Some unity in showing common approach on common issues in the tripartite meetings as between AITUC, HMS and UTUC reappeared in the meeting of the Indian Labour Conference in July 1963 on the question of opposition to the CDS and to the ban on strikes in the name of Emergency. In the Bonus Commission, the AITUC and INTUC representatives have more or less moved unitedly. Similar was the case in the Jute Wage Board. In the struggles of Bombay and the Calcutta hartal, all TUs except those of the INTUC were united. Of course, this was not from the same platform. In Kerala, there were joint struggles along with unions of various affiliation, including INTUC.

In Ahmedabad had a record strike on 8 August on a call given by the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad and workers participated in thousands. Since then, the textile workers of Ahmedabad are becoming members of the Sangram Samiti in thousands to agitate for their demands. The INTUC base has been weakened.

Efforts were continued in the recent period by the ICFTU to bring its two affiliates, INTUC and HMS nearer. In the first phase of the emergency, they were nearer but the pressure of workers forced the HMS to keep its independent identify and attitude on various issues vis-a-vis the INTUC.

In Madhya Pradesh, Labour Minister Dravid and INTUC chief, Ram Singh Bhai Varma are fighting each other bitterly. Mill gates in Indore and the 'Shram Shivir' (INTUC building there) are the scenes of trial of strength between the two factions. The intervention from the INTUC central office has not proved successful and this struggle for capturing the M.P. unit of the INTUC which began with the Indore textiles has now spread to other centres in M.P. also.

Thus, the pattern of unity turns out to be: Unity at the Top in tripartite bodies and unity from below in action. Unity in action must develop further.

The Punjab INTUC, in the presence of its President, Shri Kashinath Pandey, has demanded 25 per cent increase in workers' earnings. The W. Bengal INTUC has supported bank nationalisation. Especially on the issue of action against rising prices and on the demand for nationalisation of banking, there is possibility of wider unity in the country and we must attempt for it.

JOINT CONSULTATIVE MACHINERY FOR CENTRAL GOVT. EMPLOYEES

The Government has published their proposals regarding setting up of a Joint Council at national, departmental and regional level to settle the disputes of Central Government employees. Failing agreement in the council in respect of (i) Pay and allowances; (ii) weekly hours of work; (iii) leave of a class or grade of employees, there is provision for referring them to arbitration.

The scheme has many drawbacks. The Central Government employees' unions and federations met in Delhi on 5 November 1963 and have appointed a committee to meet the Home Minister and seek clarifications and modifications in the scheme.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES (AMENDMENT) BILL 1963

The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill 1963 introduced in the Rajya Sabha recently is said to be meant to encourage arbitration and bring it on par with adjudication proceedings. This is sought to be done by keeping arbitration depending on agreement of both parties and not giving reference to arbitration on either party's demand. But as far as prohibition of strikes and lock-outs and application of Sec. 33 of the Industrial Disputes Act are concerned, the statutory provisions are sought to be invoked in the case of arbitration too as in the case of adjudication. A provision of appointment of umpires when arbitrators are evenly divided has been introduced. But what is certainly objectionable is the move to enforce arbitration awards on all workers, irrespective of their being parties to arbitration, provided the appropriate government is satisfied that the parties to the arbitration agreement represent the majority of each party. The Bill also takes away the right of workmen, upheld by the Supreme Court, to terminate awards (by a group of workmen acting collectively through a union or otherwise) if they find such awards harmful to their interests.

We have enough experience of how the "appropriate governments" decide about recognition of unions and how they go about in referring disputes to adjudication. In the circumstances prevailing in our country, it is clear that unless agreements are ratified by the majority of workers on whose behalf they are entered into, the rights sought to be conferred on the so-called "representative" unions will not actually benefit the workers. The provisions of the Bill in this respect, it would appear, is an attempt to curb the open expression of discontent by workers against anti-working class agreements entered into specially by the INTUC unions. We must oppose this move and demand that agreements be ratified by the majority of the

of the general body or at least a democratically-elected executive of the union of the workers whom the parties to the agreement claim to represent, before it becomes operative. Similarly about termination of awards.

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Other important developments in this period were the formation of the formation of the Port, Dock and Waterfront Workers' Federation in a conference of the unions in Goa (28 April to 1 May 1963) as per the decision of the AITUC General Council and the holding of a Women Workers' Conference in Bombay. The conference of women workers in Bombay was held in preparation for the world conference which has now been postponed. Over four thousand women were enrolled as delegates for the Bombay Conference which adopted a charter of demands. A signature campaign is currently being undertaken.

The verification of TU membership which was suspended for two years due to general elections and the emergency has been resumed by the Union Labour Ministry. The verification of the membership for the year-ending 31.3.63 is now proceeding. We are sure the AITUC unions will fully participate in it and establish their membership.

BONUS COMMISSION

The Bonus Commission held several sittings during this period to hear the evidence of employers and workers organisations. The AITUC delegation appeared before it in June. For the last few months, discussions are going on amongst the members of the Commission about the final report. From the beginning, it will be remembered, over an year was wasted in discussing about the chairman of the commission and the terms of reference. Employers are more and more taking up an attitude of not paying bonus unless there is a struggle. Public sector employers are not paying any bonus to their workers, except in probably one or two isolated cases. It is time that workers agitate for early publication of the report of the Bonus Commission, for doing away with the LAT formula and for bonus in all public sector undertakings.

ASIAN-AFRICAN T.U. CONFERENCE

The last meeting of the General Council had passed a resolution on the initiative taken by the Indonesian TU centres for convening an Asian-African TU Conference. The Council decided to insist upon inclusion of USSR trade unions in the work of the preparatory committee and on the guidance by WFTU.

The WFTU called a consultative conference to discuss this subject in Prague on 27-29 August 1963. Com. Dange and Com. Sriwastava attended on our behalf. Com. Louis Salliant, WFTU General Secretary, agreed with our criticism of the Indonesian TU centres about the manner in which the initiative was taken without consultation or even informing WFTU and he also criticised the exclusion of Soviet trade unions as well as the formulations contained in the draft documents of the proposed conference.

Meanwhile the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee had taken an initiative to call an Afro-Asian Workers' Conference.

A delegation of the Indonesian trade union centres visited India and met the Secretariat of the AITUC on 16 August 1963. We placed our viewpoint before them.

.../...

A meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the proposed Conference was held in Jakarta on 27 October to 2 November 1963. The Soviet trade unions were represented in the meeting and have been included in the Preparatory Committee, along with the representatives of the Vietnamese TUs. It has chalked out a programme for holding the conference in middle 1964. We have not received any information from WFTU or the Indonesian centres about this. We hope the WFTU Bureau meeting to be held on 15-17 January 1964 in Prague will discuss and decide about this issue.

*

The International Trade Union and Legal Rights Commission for the defence and Extension of TU Rights met in Prague from 17 to 19 August 1963. Com.K.G.Sriwastava attended on our behalf. The Commission adopted a Declaration of T.U.Rights.

The IV International Conference of Building, Wood and Building Materials Workers was held in Budapest on 24-28 September 1963. No delegation could be sent from India since passports were denied to our delegates.

The World Trade Union Committee for Consultation and Unity of Action Against Monopolies met in Leipzig on 28 November. Com.Mahendra Sen attended on our behalf.

- AITUC SECRETARIAT

7 December 1963

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BHILAI WORKERS' DEMONSTRATION - About 15,000 workers demonstrated in Bilai on August 11, demanding T.U. rights and reinstatement of victimised workers, and speedy settlement of workers' pending demands.

AMBALA AGITATION AGAINST VICTIMISATION AND C.D.S. - Joint Secretary of the MES Workers Union, in Ambala, went on hunger strike on August 21, protesting against victimisation and CDS. He and four other workers were arrested under DIR. The wife of the Secretary of the union was also arrested by the police.

KEYMORE CEMENT WORKERS STRIKE - Led by the INTUC, the cement workers of Keymore (M.P.) went on strike for ten days from 22 August. The strike was withdrawn after the disputes about wage increments, etc., were referred to a Conciliation Board.

STRIKE IN BIRLA'S STAPLE FIBRE FACTORY - Over 1500 workers in Birla's staple fibre factory near Calcutta went on strike on August 20, protesting against the repressive policies of the management.

GREAT PETITION AND MARCH TO PARLIAMENT - SEPT. 13 - The biggest ever demonstration seen in the Capital City was the March to Parliament on September 13, to present the Great Petition signed by a crore of people. Trade unions and workers were most active in the signature campaign on the Great Petition and in sending volunteers for the March to Parliament.

KANPUR TEXTILE WORKERS' DEMONSTRATION - Five thousand textile workers of Kanpur demonstrated in front of the Labour Commissioner's office on August 23, protesting against increased workloads and the improper implementation of Sempurnanand Award.

STRIKE IN HINDUSTAN ALUMINIUM FACTORY - Workers of the aluminium factory in Rejukut in U.P. went on strike on Sept. 11, demanding better wages and amenities.

98-DAY STRIKE IN E.M.C. FACTORY, DUM DUM - Demanding settlement of their outstanding demands, workers of the E.M.C. (an engineering factory) in Dum Dum went on strike for 98 days. The strike was withdrawn on 10th September on the assurances given by the Union Labour Minister.

WEST BENGAL HARTAL - There was complete Hartal in Calcutta and in many district centres in W. Bengal on September 24, protesting against the food policy of the Government and against rising prices.

HARTAL IN RAJNANDGAON - Rajnandgaon observed a hartal on September 7, protesting against failure of government to get the B.N.C. Mills re-opened. The mills were closed last December, throwing three thousand workers unemployed.

RAIPUR MUNICIPAL WORKERS' STRIKE - Six hundred municipal workers struck work on Sept. 7 in Raipur demanding benefits following from recommendations of the Tarachand Pay Commission for State Government employees.

BIRLAGRAM WORKERS' STRUGGLE - Protesting against the bonus agreement signed between the management and the INTUC and demanding higher quantum of bonus, the workers of Birlagram and Nagda conducted hunger-strikes, satyagraha and hartal from 9th September. A Joint Action Committee with representatives of all parties, including some congressmen led the agitation. There was a complete hartal on 21st Sept.

STRIKE IN JAY ENGINEERING, HYDERABAD - The workers of the Jay Engineering company's factory at Hyderabad went on strike for 12 days, to press settlement of their outstanding demands.

DURGAPUR DEMONSTRATION - About 7,000 workers of Durgapur steel plant demonstrated on Oct. 15 before the General Manager's office demanding a month's wage as Puja Bonus.

BONUS MOVEMENT IN W. BENGAL - The Puja bonus movement in W. Bengal was fairly widespread and intensive this year. There were over 2,500 bonus disputes. There were huge demonstrations, marches, and stay-in strikes in some factories.

STRIKE IN ASHOKA HOTEL, DELHI. Employees of Ashoka Hotel went on strike on Nov. 7 night demanding rise in wages, bonus, D.A., etc. The strike was called off on Nov. 9 when the management agreed to refer the disputes to arbitration.

A NOTE ON

DEARNNESS ALLOWANCE

Dearness allowance constitutes an important component of the present wage structure in India. The failure of the Government to check the rising prices in the country has increased the importance of this component to such an extent that in some industries, the D.A. constitutes the major component of the wages of workers.

In many industries, the working class has been successful in winning D.A. from the employers but so far it has not been able to force the bourgeoisie to implement a uniform system of D.A. payment all over the country.

As the trends clearly indicate, the price level in the country is going to increase more rapidly than during the post-independence period so far. If workers are not protected from these rising prices, there is a danger of depression in their living standard as time passes by.

At present various systems of D.A. payment are existing, some of which are as follows:

- (1) D.A. paid at uniform flat rate for all categories of employees.
- (2) D.A. being paid at different graduated rates for different basic pay slabs.
- (3) D.A. being expressed as uniform percentage of the basic wage, provision being made for maximum and minimum allowable under this system.
- (4) D.A. expressed as percentages of basic wages, the percentages being different for different pay ranges.
- (5) D.A. being linked to price index, rates varying for different slabs of index.
- (6) D.A. linked with price index which varies for rise or fall in the index number every month. The percentage of neutralisation is not the same in every centre where this system exists.
- (7) D.A. linked with price index, but the payment determined over a 10 point rise on an average during a 12-month period.
- (8) D.A. linked with price index, but adjustments made over quarterly averages or half-yearly averages.
- (9) Flat rate of D.A. which varies in the case of male adults, females and children.
- (10) Combination of two or more systems mentioned above.

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In many industries like handloom, bidi, etc., the workers are even now paid a consolidated wage. In the small-scale engineering units in Punjab and in some other States also, consolidated wage payments prevail. When the prices go up, workers have to fight for a straight wage rise.

The position regarding the D.A. systems in various industries is detailed below. The information is by no means complete in respect of all industries in India but an attempt is nevertheless made to get a comparative picture at least as far as major trades and industries are concerned.

COTTON TEXTILES

The report of the Central Wage Board for Cotton Textile Industry while recommending the linking of D.A. to the price index stated:

"The Board recommends that dearness allowance should be linked to the cost of living index in all centres and if any centre has no such cost of living index, the index of the nearest centre should be taken for the purpose. The Board has also come across some cases where there is only a consolidated wage or a fixed D.A. In both cases, we have found that the total wages are comparatively lower. We recommend that in these cases also, the D.A. should be made adequate and linked to the cost of living index number by a suitable machinery."

The Board recommended the following with regard to Madras State: "In the case of Madras State, the D.A. now paid neutralises less than what would be justified by the rise in the cost of living with 1936-39 as the base. The Board recommends that for Madras State, the D.A. should be increased so as to give full neutralisation for the rise in the cost of living to the worker on the minimum basic wage with 1936-39 as the base."

The Textile Wage Board did not go into details beyond this on the question of D.A. nor did it recommend any all-India measure for linking D.A. with index numbers. The quantum of D.A. given to the workers in some textile centres is as follows:

Centre or State	Minimum Basic Wage	D.A. in Aug. 63	Rate of D.A.
	Rs	Rs	
Bombay	40.00	97.10	2.09 pies per day per pt.
Ahmedabad	38.00	86.14	2.84 pies per day per pt.
Sholapur	34.00	71.50	1.75 pies per day per pt.
Baroda	36.00	77.53	90% of Ahmedabad D.A.
Indore	38.00	65.25	
Nagpur	32.00	65.95	1.2 pies per day per pt.
Madras	36.00	83.22	
Kanpur	38.00	68.37	
West Bengal	36.17	52.38	

CEMENT

The Cement Wage Board fixed Rs. 1.50 as D.A. for workers other than Gujarat and Saurashtra and Rs. 38.50 for workers of Gujarat and Saurashtra which was linked to the all-India index 123 for July 1959. It was further provided that D.A. in case of the former would rise or fall at the rate of Rs. 1.47 for every two points in the index and in the case of the latter at Rs. 1.59 for every two points.

The Board further awarded that the clerical and lower technical and supervisory staff should be paid D.A. at 10 per cent of their basic salary plus Rs.40 per month in the factories and quarries in the regions other than Gujarat and Saurashtra; and in the region of Gujarat and Saurashtra, the D.A. for these categories was fixed at 10% of the basic salary plus Rs.47 per month.

JUTE TEXTILES

The Jute Wage Board recommended the following on the question of D.A.: "The present d.a. of Rs.32.50 should be considered as the D.A. fixed at the working class consumer price index number of 425 for Calcutta with year 1939 as 100. The D.A. should be a variable D.A. and the rate of increase or decrease should be at 20 nP per point rise or fall in the average working class consumer price index number for Calcutta. The D.A. should be revised every six months of February and August on the basis of the average consumer price index number of the previous half years - July to December and January to June respectively.

BANKS

The Bank Tribunal (1960) awarded cent per cent neutralisation to subordinate staff of banks and 75 per cent neutralisation for clerical staff. The D.A. was linked with the all-India index, 1949 base. According to the award, the clerical staff should get D.A., at the rate of three per cent of pay for every rise of 4 points above 100 in the quarterly average of the all-India Index. For the subordinate staff, D.A. should be four per cent of pay for every rise of four points. For this purpose, 'quarter' will mean the period of three months ending on the last day of March, June, September or December.

SUGAR

The Sugar Wage Board recommended graduated rates to the workers in different regions. For the aggregate minimum basic wage of Rs.60, D.A. for central, north and south regions are Rs.6, Rs.16 and Rs.21 respectively while in Maharashtra, the D.A. is Rs.27. This allowance was related to 123 points in the All-India Consumer Price Index (1949 = 100).

The Board recommended linking of D.A. to the index in the following manner: "For rises over 123 points of cost of living index or fall below this level, adjustments in dearness amount shall not be made for less than 10 whole points. Once there has been rise or fall by 10 or more whole points, adjustments will be for every point of the rise or fall. Once an adjustment has been made, future adjustment shall be made for further rise or fall of ten or more whole points.

"The adjustments in D.A. amount related to cost of living index, although automatic, shall be made only once a year on the basis of the average monthly cost of living index calculated over the twelve months period from 1st July to 30th June. The adjustments, if any, shall however be effective from 1st October each year, following the twelve months period."

For employees drawing upto Rs.100, the D.A. rate shall be 55 nP per point rise of index. Employees drawing more than Rs.100 will get D.A. at 65 nP per point of rise over 123.

During July 1962 and June 1963, the index went up by 9 points on an average and hence sugar workers have been deprived of D.A. despite rise in prices. According to the Wage Board report, they are not entitled to claim additional D.A. till October 1964.

IRON & STEEL

In all the steel plants, D.A. is not linked with the price index. A flat D.A. is given on an ad hoc basis.

In the HINDUSTAN STEEL LTD. plants at Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur, the D.A. Rates are:

Salary upto Rs.150	-	Rs.15.00
" from Rs.151 to 300	-	Rs.30.00
" from Rs.301 to 320	-	Rs.320 minus basic wage
" from Rs.321 to 390	-	Rs.10.00

In TISCO, D.A. rates are different for various basic pay slabs. For example, a worker drawing upto Rs.75 gets Rs.45 as D.A. which goes on increasing as the basic salary increases, while an employee drawing a salary above Rs.600 is paid Rs.114 as D.A. per month.

The IISCO scheme of D.A. is as follows: Monthly salary upto Rs.50 or Rs.1.92 per day - Rs.35 per month; Monthly salary of Rs.50 to Rs.100 or Rs.1.92 to Rs.3.84 per day - Rs.45.00; Monthly salary slab Rs.100-150 or daily rated Rs.3.84-5.77 - Rs.50.00; Monthly salary slab 150-200 or daily rated Rs.5.77-7.69 - Rs.55.00; Monthly salary above Rs.200 or daily rated Rs.7.69 and above - Rs.60.00. There is no provision of sliding scale.

CENTRAL GOVT. EMPLOYEES

The Second Pay Commission awarded D.A. only to those employees drawing pay below Rs.300 per month on the following rates:

Basic pay below Rs.150	-	Rs.10 per month
Basic pay between Rs.150-300		Rs.20 per month.

D.A. was fixed at 115 points on the All-India Index (1949=100).

The Second Pay Commission did not accept the principle of automatic adjustment of D.A. with the price index. However, it said: "A substantial and persistent rise in prices, however, normally creates a prima facie case for compensation and it should be the Government's endeavour not to allow the standard of living of their employees in the lower range of remuneration to fall."

Therefore, the Pay Commission recommended: "If during a period of 12 months, the index remains on an average ten points above 115, the Government should review the position and consider whether an increase in the allowance should be allowed and if so, at what rate."

The increase in D.A. was granted in November 1961 when the average index was 125 points. A rise of Rs.5 in D.A. was awarded to employees earning less than Rs.150 while Rs.10 was awarded to employees earning Rs.150-300. Employees in the pay range Rs.300 to 400 were grouped with those in the pay range below Rs.300.

This rise instead of granting full compensation at 125 points came to adjustment upto average index of 122.5 points. Employees have demanded arbitration for the full neutralisation.

The Pay Commission's recommendations are applicable to 20 lakh central government employees including railway workers. Administrations of Ports and some public sector units and statutory corporations generally follow the practice of the standards laid down by Government for its employees, including in the matter of revision of D.A.

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INSURANCE EMPLOYEES

According to a bipartite settlement in Life Insurance Corporation, the D.A. corresponding to the cost of living index 126 (1949 = 100) will be 26 per cent of the basic salary for class IV employees and 19.5 per cent for class III employees from 1 January 1962. Neutralisation of the rise in the cost of living is 100 per cent in the case of class IV employees and 75 per cent in the case of Class III.

For every 10 point rise on the average over 126 during a period 12 months, the D.A. shall, with effect from the first of the month following such period of 12 months, stand automatically increased by 10 per cent of the basic salary in the case of the Class IV employees and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the basic salary in the case of Class III employees. Such adjustments will continue for every further rise of 10 points.

ENGINEERING

There is no uniform system of payment of D.A. in engineering factories in the different centres. In some units in Bombay and Madras, D.A. rates are linked with price index, as per the textile D.A. rates, in most cases slightly lower. In Coimbatore engineering factories, the D.A. rate is $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas per point (1939 base) as against 3 annas in textiles. In Punjab, there is no D.A. system in engineering industry which is mostly small-scale in nature. According to some recent agreements in Bombay, workers in a few concerns are getting D.A. at rates 10% higher than the textile rate.

In West Bengal, the major engineering tribunal awarded a graduated D.A. rate for the engineering workers: Upto Rs.50 - Rs.36; Rs.51-100 - Rs.47; Rs.101-150 - Rs.53; Rs.151-200 - Rs.59; Rs.201-250 - Rs.65. These rates were related to the cost of living index number 364 (1939 base) and for every annual rise or fall of 5 points in the index, the D.A. will also rise or fall by Re.1 (20 nP per point). The neutralisation provided was only upto 65 per cent.

There is considerable disparity in D.A. rates in engineering concerns as between the office employees of the company and the mass of engineering workers, in West Bengal. While the workers get D.A., as per the tribunal award, the employees are paid as per the Bengal Chamber of Commerce formula which is as follows:

For first Rs.100 in basic salary	-	130% D.A. (minimum Rs.79)
For increase of 10 points in middle-class cost of living index (computed by BCC)	-	5% additional D.A.

The latest report is that under the BCC scale, the employees get 165 per cent of basic wages as D.A.

Accordingly, a clerical employee drawing a basic wage of Rs.70 would get 165% or Rs.122.50 as D.A. while a skilled worker of the same concern, in the adjoining factory, drawing the same basic wage would get only Rs.47. The workers in the factories get some production bonus, depending upon their work performance but the discrimination in respect of D.A. is quite evident.

The Bengal Chamber of Commerce formula provides for a maximum neutralisation, it is said, of 80 per cent.

MUNICIPAL WORKERS

In most of the municipalities and corporations, D.A. is not linked with the index numbers and a flat rate of D.A. is paid. The settlement on D.A. is always done by collective bargaining by raising a dispute.

COAL MINES

Under the Coal Award, for every rise of 10 points in the all-India consumer price index number, above 102 (1949 base), a sum of Rs.4.88 is paid as additional D.A.

IRON ORE MINES

There is no D.A. system in a majority of cases. Even in the Rajhara iron ore mines under the Hindustan Steel Ltd., miners are paid daily wages without any D.A.

PETROLEUM

In Bombay, sliding scale of D.A. prevails. In Port Okha also, Burmah-shell employees are paid on the basis of the Bombay index.

According to a recent agreement in Burmah-Shell in West Bengal, the D.A. is paid at the following rates for every 10 point slab over middle-class cost of living index 300 (1939 base) for clerical employees:

On the first Rs.100 of the basic wage	-	4 per cent
On the second Rs.100	"	2 per cent
On the third Rs.100	"	1 per cent
On the remainder	"	0.5 per cent

PLANTATIONS

In West Bengal tea plantations, there is a flat rate of D.A. There was some agreement on a sliding scale arrangement linked with the index but this has never been implemented. The rates of D.A. vary for adults and children. For example, in Docars, adult male and female workers get 60 nP per day as D.A., while a child worker gets 37 nP per day. In South India, rates of D.A. in Tamilnad vary from region to region. In Karnatak and Kerala, flat rates of D.A. prevail. Wage Boards are now engaged in fixing wages in plantations and hence it may be expected that some uniformity in D.A. rates may be introduced.

HEAVY ELECTRICALS, BHOPAL

The D.A. rate in HEL, Bhopal, is Rs.5 and Rs.10 and there is no system of linking with cost of living index.

In other public sector plants also, the D.A. rates are fixed quanta and there is no linking with index.

KERALA TILE & CASHEW, ETC.

The Minimum Wage Committees in Kerala have invariably recommended a D.A. linked with consumer price indices while fixing statutory wages in various industries, as for instance, in cashew, tile, etc.

JOURNALISTS

In an award by the National Tribunal at Bombay, the wage-scale of lowest paid workers of the Press Trust of India (PTI) was fixed at Rs.35-2-43-3-70 and D.A. at Rs.55 was granted to employees getting upto Rs.150 per month as basic wages.

The Wage Board for Working Journalists awarded flat rate of D.A. varying according to the classification of cities. For metropolitan cities, the minimum quantum of D.A. was fixed at Rs.50 on the basic wage range of Rs.65 to 100. The corresponding figures for towns above five lakh population and other places were Rs.40 and Rs.30 respectively. The Wage Board recommended a graduated scheme of D.A. depending on the range of basic pay. It however did not recommend linking of D.A. with price index.

CINEMA THEATRES

In a dispute between the management of three cinema theatres in Bombay and their workmen, a minimum basic wage in the scale of Rs.35-2-65 per month to hamals, sweepers, peons, etc., was awarded. D.A. of Rs.50 was also awarded to the lowest paid workers.

ROAD TRANSPORT

Nowhere in the country is D.A. in this industry linked with the index numbers. In some States, a flat rate of D.A. is paid to the workers while in other States, even now a consolidated wage is paid. In Andhra Pradesh State Transport undertaking, new scales of pay were recently introduced wherein 50 per cent of the D.A. has been merged with the basic wage. There has been a graduated rate of D.A. for various categories of workers:

Conductors, record tracers, ticket checkers, drivers, junior clerks	-	Rs.27.50
Watchmen, peons and khalasis	-	Rs.20.00
Clerks, Class I and Stenographers	-	Rs.32.50
Accounts & Audit Inspectors	-	Rs.35.00

In U.P. Roadways, drivers of new grade are paid a flat rate of Rs.20, while clerks and drivers of old grade are paid Rs.25 as D.A. The Gujarat State Transport Corporation workers drawing a pay upto Rs.50 are paid Rs.40 as D.A., while those getting pay above Rs.50 are paid Rs.45 as D.A.

In Himachal Government transport undertaking, drivers, booking clerks, inspectors, foremen, head mechanics, mechanics, fitter, etc., get a D.A. of Rs.40 per month, while cleaners, conductors and fitter-mazdoors get Rs.30.

In Kerala State Transport, the scale of D.A. is as follows:

Driver, mechanic, electrician, checking inspector, welder, assistant mechanic	-	Rs.35.00
Skilled worker, Asst. Electrician, Asstt. Welder, Moulder, Fitter, etc.	-	Rs.33.00
Conductor, booking clerk, clerk, asst. fitter, liner, cleaner, watchman, helper, mazdoor, taxi driver, etc.	-	Rs.30.00

PIMPRI AWARD

While in no public sector undertaking D.A. is properly linked up with the price index for the first time in an award

BY DENYING LEGITIMATE INCREASE IN D.A.,

HOW MUCH DO EMPLOYERS SAVE?

How much are the employers saving by their refusal to pay additional D.A. despite rise in the price level? Or how much will they gain if the index is manipulated in such a way that it fails to register the actual rise in prices? It is possible to make some calculations on the basis of data published in the Census of Manufacturing Industries.

If the Consumer Price Index Number goes up by one per cent over and above the year 1958 and if the employers do not pay any additional D.A. to the workers for that particular rise, the total amount of saving to the employers as a result of this comes to Rs. ONE CRORE AND NINETYFIVE LAKHS PER YEAR IN ORGANISED INDUSTRIES ALONE. This means a net saving of Rs.12.2 per worker per year or a little more than Re.1 per month per worker.

The position regarding some industries is as follows:

TOTAL SAVING FOR EMPLOYERS BY NOT PAYING ANY D.A.
TO THE WORKERS DESPITE RISE IN CONSUMER PRICE
INDEX NUMBER BY ONE PER CENT

Indr	Total savings (in Rs. Thousand)	Annual Saving per worker (Rs.)	Monthly saving per worker (Rs.)
Cement	291	12.2	1.00
Cotton Textile	9009	13.7	1.10
Jute textile	2479	10.0	0.83
Sugar	849	7.7	0.64
Soap	89	18.5	1.50
Chemicals	663	14.0	1.20
General Eng. & Elec. Eng.	2162	12.5	1.00
Iron & Steel	1432	19.1	1.60

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INDEX NUMBERS OF REAL EARNINGS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN
FACTORIES EARNING LESS THAN Rs.200 p.m., 1951-61
(Base: 1951=100)

Year	Index number of money earnings	All-India C.P.I.No. (base shifted to 1951=100)	Index of real earnings $\frac{\text{Col.2} \times 100}{3}$
1	2	3	4
1951	100.0	100.0	100.0
1952	107.1	98.1	109.2
1953	107.7	101.0	106.6
1954	107.7	96.2	112.0
1955	113.1	91.4	123.7
1956	115.4	100.0	115.4
1957	120.8	105.7	114.3
1958	118.8	110.5	107.5
1959	121.7	115.2	105.6
1960(P)	130.1	118.1	110.2
1961(P)	137.5	120.0	114.6

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX NUMBERS FOR WORKING CLASS FOR CERTAIN CENTRES IN INDIA
(Base 1949 - 00)

State and Centre	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963 Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.
<u>ASSAM</u>													
1. Gauhati	98	103	106	112	110	110	111	112	111	110	111	109	
2. Silchar	109	109	107	111	109	113	114	126	134	133	129	120	
3. Tinsukia	117	118	118	119	122	122	123	124	125	126	128	127	
<u>ANDHRA PRADESH</u>													
4. Hyderabad	129	132	137	140	145	147	145	145	147	149	149	150	
<u>BIHAR</u>													
5. Jamshedpur	125	120	123	129	124	125	128	131	130	131	132	131	
6. Dehri-on-Sone	100	105	109	111	110	111	110	113	113	114	121	120	
7. Monghyr	97	100	99	103	105	104	104	105	105	107	111	111	
8. Jharia	108	105	109	108	110	110	111	111	112	112	114	114	
<u>GUJARAT</u>													
9. Ahmedabad	125	120	121	122	124	125	126	127	127	129	130	130	
<u>KERALA</u>													
10. Trichur	129	130	135	137	140	140	137	138	141	142	144	144	
11. Ernakulam	122	126	134	133	137	134	133	137	138	141	141	143	
<u>MYSORE</u>													
12. Mysore City	139	148	151	151	151	152	151	152	152	153	152	153	
13. Bangalore City	140	146	150	153	159	159	159	159	161	164	164	164	
14. Mercara	125	133	141	150	N.A.								
15. Kolar Gold Fields	140	145	151	152	157	155	155	158	155	152	158	-	

State and Centre	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.
<u>ORISSA</u>														
16. Berhampur	115	119	125	133	134	134	132	138	141	139	140	141		
17. Cuttack	118	127	131	139	142	146	146	149	155	151	149	149		
<u>PUNJAB</u>														
18. Ludhiana	101	102	105	111	110	112	115	116	114	115	117	118		
19. Patiala	122	124	129	135				N.A.						
20. Surajpur	123	128	130	128				N.A.						
<u>MADHY PRADESH</u>														
21. Jabalpur	108	109	111	131	132	132	133	133	133	134	135	141		
22. Bhopal	116	111	113	122	123	123	125	127	128	127	128	129		
23. Patna	102	97	101	108				N.A.						
24. Gwalior	113	112	118	124	119	120	118	122	123	124	128	125		
25. Indore	107	107	116	120	118	117	118	118	129	122	123	122		
<u>MADRAS</u>														
26. Madras City	133	143	148	150	150	150	149	149	150	150	151	151		
27. Plantation centres (covering Valparai, Kullakanoy, Gudalur and Vayitri)	125	128	130	137	(Series Discontinued)									
<u>MHARASHTRA</u>														
28. Bombay	134	137	140	145	143	142	143	142	143	145	146	146		
29. Sholapur	114	119	118	127	139	134	124	123	123	126	127	125		
30. Jalgaon	116	116	114	122	122	121	120	121	122	124	124	125		
31. Nagpur	132	136	131	133	135	131	129	132	133	138	143	144		
32. Akola	109	115	113	111	123	121	116	116	116	118	118	118		

State and Centre	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963 - Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.
<u>RAJASTHAN</u>													
33. Ajmer	106	107	113	115	111	110	111	115	117	117	121	124	-
34. Beawar	105	103	102	109	108	103	110	105	104	106	106	106	
<u>UTTAR PRADESH</u>													
35. Kanpur	98	99	102	107	102	103	104	105	106	108	109	109	
<u>WEST BENGAL</u>													
36. Calcutta	110	113	114	120	120	121	124	127	127	127	127	128	
37. Kharagpur	110	119	117	125	126	127	127	130	131	132	136	135	
<u>DELHI</u>													
38. Delhi	120	120	127	129	130	130	130	132	132	132	134	135	136
<u>ALL-INDIA</u>	<u>121</u>	<u>124</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>130</u>	<u>130</u>	<u>129</u>	<u>130</u>	<u>131</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>134</u>	<u>135</u>	<u>136</u>	<u>137</u>

किमान बोनस, पुरेपुर महागाईभत्ता,
भावकपात आणि महत्वाच्या घंट्यांचें
राष्ट्रीयीकरण या मागण्या मिळविण्यासाठी—

एक दिवसाच्या देशव्यापी निषेधसंपाची तयारी करा !

मुंबईमध्ये भरलेल्या अखिल भारतीय
महागाईभत्ता-बोनस-भावकपात—
राष्ट्रीयीकरण परिषदेंत

काँ. डांगे
यांची हांक !

(उद्घाटनाच्या सभेंत केलेल्या भाषणाचा गोषवारा)



किंमत ५ नये पैसे

पी. पी. एच. बुकस्टॉल,
१९०-बी खेतवाडी मेन रोड,
मुंबई-४.

प्रस्तावना

१९६३ हें साल भारताच्या इतिहासांत एकीकडे भाववादींचें, करवादींचें, पगारकपातींचें, जनतेच्या हाल अपेष्टा शिगेला पोहोचत असल्याचें आणि दुसरीकडे उत्पादन वाढीचें, प्रचंड नफ्यांचें, राष्ट्रीय संपत्ति मूठभर धनिकांच्या हातीं केंद्रित होण्याचें वर्ष म्हणून गाजेल.

या हालअपेष्टांविरुद्ध जनतेतील असंतोष उफाळून येत आहे. श्रमिक जनतेचे वेगवेगळे विभाग लढ्यास सिद्ध होत आहेत. मोर्चे. मिरवणुका, संपलढे, हरताळ या मार्गांनीं जनता आपला तीव्र असंतोष व्यक्त करीत आहे.

कालच बोनसच्या प्रश्नावर मुंबईच्या ६०,००० कामगारानीं संप केला; आणि संपवाल्यांवर पोलिसानीं गोळीबार केला.

मोर्चे, निदर्शनें करून जनतेनें कांहीं महत्त्वाच्या मागण्या-सक्तीची बचत योजना रद्द करणें, सुवर्ण नियंत्रण दिलें करणें, मुरारजी सदोबांना गचांडी देणें इ.—मिळविल्या आहेत.

आणि आतां जनतेचा अग्रणी, कामगारवर्ग, एकजुटीची पावले टाकीत साऱ्या जनतेचें नेतृत्व करण्यासाठीं, तिची राष्ट्रीय आघाडी उभारण्यासाठीं, सिद्ध झाला आहे. मुंबईत चालूं असलेली 'अखिल भारतीय महागाईभक्ता, बोनस, भावकपात व राष्ट्रीयकरण परिषद' याच कार्यासाठीं भरत आहे.

ही परिषद काय करणार ?

या परिषदेबाबत पत्रकारांना दिलेल्या मुलाखतींत कॉ. डांगे म्हणाले :

“आमच्यापुढें कृतीची जी कल्पना उभी आहे, तिची सुरुवात मोर्चे व सभांनीं होईल आणि तिची परिणति, जरूर पडल्यास व सर्व युनियन्सचें मतैक्य झाल्यास, सर्वानुमतें निश्चित झालेल्या तारखेला 'अखिल भारतीय निषेध संपांत' होईल. ट्रेड युनियनच्या आजपर्यंतच्या इतिहासांत अशा प्रकारचा अखिल भारतीय निषेध संप कधीहि घडून आलेला नाही. परंतु आतां मात्र जनतेच्या हालअपेष्टा इतक्या वाढलेल्या आहेत, इतक्या तीव्र झाल्या आहेत आणि कामगारवर्ग, अखिल भारतीय जागृति आणि संघटना या दृष्टींनीं, इतका संपन्न झाला आहे कीं, वेत्या दोन महिन्यांच्या अवधीत अशा प्रकारची एकजुटीची कृति शक्यतेच्या कक्षेत आली आहे. या प्रश्नावर भिन्नभिन्न विचारसरणीचे नेते एकत्र येतील आणि नवीनवीं यशें संपादन करतील, अशी अ. भा. ट्रेड युनियन काँग्रेसला फार उमेद वाटते.”

या परिषदेच्या उद्घाटन प्रसंगी, दि. १३ डिसेंबरला, कॉ. डांगे यांनीं जें भाषण केलें त्याचा गोषवारा या पुस्तिकेंत देण्यांत आला आहे.

मुंबई }
१४-१२-१९६३ }

—संपादक

परिषदेचे उद्घाटन करतांना, कॉ. डांगे म्हणाले :

आजच्या ह्या परिषदेचे उद्घाटन कॉ. इंदुलाल याज्ञिक यांनी पूर्वीच केले आहे. अहमदाबादमध्ये बोनसच्या प्रश्नावर कामगार कसा जागा होत आहे, १९१८ सालापासून कामगारांत ठाण मांडून बसलेल्या मजूर महाजन या इंटकच्या युनियनचे आसन कसे डळमळू लागले आहे, भाववाढीच्या प्रश्नावर गुजरातचा कामगारच नव्हे तर शेतमजूर व किसानसुद्धां कसे जागे होत आहेत, संघटित होत आहे, हे त्यांनी सांगितले आहे.

तेव्हां आतां आपल्या या परिषदेत आपण काय करणार आहोंत, हे सांगण्याचे शिल्लक राहिलेले काम तेवढे मी करणार आहे.

दिल्ली मोर्चानंतरची परिस्थिति

आज डिसेंबरची १३ तारीख आहे. १३ तारीख ही अशुभ समजली जाते. परंतु आपल्यापुरते बोलायचे तर ती आपल्याला शुभ आणि मालकांना आणि सरकारला अशुभ ठरली आहे. बरोबर तीन महिन्यांपूर्वी सप्टेंबरच्या १३ तारखेला दिल्लीचा २ लाखांचा महान् मोर्चा आपण लोकसभेवर नेला. या मोर्चाचा भांडवलदारवर्गावर चांगलाच प्रभाव पडला. जनतेच्या गाऱ्हाण्यांबाबत ताबडतोब कांहींतरी केलेच पाहिजे हे त्यांना कळून चुकले आणि अंशतः कां होईना पण कांहीं अत्यंत महत्त्वाच्या मागण्या आपण पदरांत पाडून घेतल्या. सक्तीची बचत योजना गेली; सुवर्ण नियंत्रणहि शिथिल झाले आणि मंत्रि मंडळांतील प्रतिगाभ्यांचे अर्क असे दोन मंत्री साफ उडाले.

भांडवलदारी अर्थव्यवस्थेवरील महान संकट

भांडवलदारी अर्थव्यवस्था आज एका कोंडीत सांपडली आहे; अरिष्टांत सांपडली आहे. भाव भरमसाट वाढले आहेत. राजकारण, प्रशासन, अर्थव्यवस्था, विचारसरणी सर्वच क्षेत्रे अरिष्टाने ग्रासली आहेत. म्हणजे हे अरिष्ट सर्वव्यापी आहे. जनतेतील असंतोष एकसारखा वाढत आहे. सत्ताधारी वर्ग हे अरिष्ट आपल्या पद्धतीने सोडवू न पाहत आहे. भांडवलदारी अर्थव्यवस्थेची उभारणी करून तो ह्या अरिष्टांतून वाट काढू न पाहत आहे. त्यासाठी तो साम्राज्यवादी राष्ट्रांकडून, आणि समाजसत्तावादी राष्ट्रांकडून, मिळेल तिकडून मदत घेत आहे. परिणामी उद्योगधंदे वाढले आहेत, कामगारांच्या संख्येतहि भर पडली आहे; संपत्ति वाढली आहे; या संपत्तीतील कामगार वर्गाचा, श्रमिक जनतेचा वाटा मात्र वाढलेला नाही.

सहाजिकच श्रमिक जनता आपल्या असंतोषाला निदर्शनें, मोर्चे, संप वगैरे मार्गांनी वाचा फोडीत आहे.

सरकारचा मार्ग

सरकार म्हणते, “जरा सबूर करा ! चुकते आहे खरे कुठें तरी ! समाजवादाची व्याख्या स्पष्ट केलेली नाही, म्हणून हा सारा गोंधळ चालला असावा ! आतां आम्हीं लवकरच ही व्याख्या नक्की करण्यासाठीं बसणार आहों ! तोपर्यंत जरा धीर धरा !” अरे बेथ्यांनो ! समाजसत्तावादाची व्याख्या करण्यासाठीं इतका वेळ रे कशाला पाहिजे ? मुंबईच्या कामगाराला विचारा ! तो सांगेल समाजवाद म्हणजे काय ते ! कारखान्याच्या मालकांना, या नफेबाजांना, जरा जेलची हवा दाखवा आणि द्या कारखाने आमच्या हातांत ! मग खुशाल करीत बसा समाजवादाच्या व्याख्येचा काथ्याकूट !

आज सारी संपत्ति मूठभर लोकांच्या हातीं एकवटली आहे. मत्सेदारी भांडवलदारांच्या हातून ती काढून घ्या. कामगारांचें पगार वाढवा, महागाईभत्ता द्या, किमान बोनस सर्व घंट्यांत द्या. व्याख्या करीत बसणें नव्हे, तर जनतेला दिलेली वचनें पुरी करणें, हा खरा मार्ग आहे. या अरिष्टांतून जनतेला सोडविण्याचा जो मार्ग आम्हीं सुचवीत आहें तो हा आहे.

सरकारी गोटांत सारीच माणसें दुष्ट आहेत, असें आमचे म्हणणें नाही. परंतु श्रमिक जनतेच्या हितसंबंधांचें रक्षण करण्यासाठीं कामगारवर्गाच्या ऐक्याची, मजबूत संघटनेची गरज असते; त्याशिवाय सरकार वळणावर येत नाही. हा तर मूलभूत नियम आहे !

योग्य डावपेंच आंखा

आमची उद्दिष्टे स्पष्ट आहेत; आमची ध्येये स्पष्ट आहेत.

परिस्थितीला योग्य असे डावपेंच लढविले पाहिजेत. परिस्थितीतील बदलांप्रमाणें डावपेंचहि ताबडतोब बदलले पाहिजेत. योग्य वेळ, योग्य डावपेंच, योग्य प्रमाण, हुडकून काढले पाहिजे. उगीच तात्त्विक वाद माजविण्याची ही वेळ नव्हे.

आणि म्हणूनच आपला कार्यक्रम निश्चित करण्यासाठीं, योग्य डावपेंच आंखण्यासाठीं आज येथें दीड हजार कामगार प्रतिनिधी देशाच्या निरनिराळ्या भागांतून गोळा झाले आहेत. अ. भा. ट्रेड युनियनच्या नेतृत्वाखाली सान्या श्रमिक जनतेचे ऐक्य, हें आपल्यापुढील चित्र आहे.

एकजुटीची हांक

कामगारांचें ऐक्य साधावयाचें तर कामगारवर्गांच्या हिताशीं इमान राखणाऱ्या सर्वांची एकजूट घडवून आणली पाहिजे. म्हणून कामगारांत काम करणाऱ्या, वर्गीय दृष्टीनें कामगारांची बाजू घेणाऱ्या, सर्व युनियन्सना आणि त्यांच्या नेत्यांना आम्हीं एकजुटीची हांक देत आहोत. अर्थांत वर्गीय दृष्टी न ठेवतां केवळ धार्मिक पायावर चालविलेल्या जनसंघीयांसारख्या युनियन्सना आमच्या एकजुटींत मुळीच स्थान नाहीं. भांडवलदारवर्ग आमच्याशीं लढतांना धार्मिक भेद ओळखत नाहीं; फक्त वर्गीय दृष्टि ठेवतो. आम्हांलाहि त्यांच्याशीं लढतांना वर्गीय दृष्टीच ठेवली पाहिजे.

अ. भा. ट्रेड युनियन काँग्रेसचा पुढाकार

आमची ट्रेड युनियन काँग्रेस हीच सर्व मध्यवर्ति ट्रेड युनियन संस्थांचा अग्रणी आहे. सरकारच्या कागदपत्रांत कांहींहि नोंद असो; प्रत्येक गिरणी कारखान्याच्या दरवाजावर जर उद्यां मतपेठ्या ठेवून, 'तुम्हीं कोणती युनियन मानता' म्हणून कौल घेतला तर तो आमच्याच बाजूनें पडेल. हें आव्हान मी पूर्वी अनेक वेळा सरकारला दिलें आहे. सर्व कामगारांचें मतदान घ्यावयाच्या ऐवजी, फक्त कोणत्यातरी युनियनमध्ये संघटित झालेल्या कामगारांचेंच मतदान घेतलें, तरी सुद्धा हा कौल आमच्याच बाजूचा होईल. सरकारला हें माझें आव्हान स्वीकारण्याची छाती कधींच झालेली नाहीं.

आणि म्हणूनच या कामांत अ. भा. काँग्रेसलाच पुढाकार घेतला पाहिजे.

समस्यांची सोडवणूक

कामगारवर्गांसमोरील, साऱ्या श्रमिक जनतेसमोरील, समस्यांची सोडवणूक कशी करावयाची, त्याला आमचें उत्तर असें आहे :

१) वस्तूंचे भाव २५ टक्क्यांनीं खालीं आणा; काळ्या बाजारांत दडविलेल्या वस्तू बाहेर काढा.

२) किमान बोनस, निर्देशांकाशी जोडलेला पुरेपूर महागाईभत्ता सर्व घंटांतील सर्व कामगारांना द्या.

सध्याचा निर्देशांक म्हणजे जनतेची फसवणूक आहे, असें आम्हीं म्हटल्याबद्दल सरकारला फार राग आला. मालक मुंबईच्या गिरणी कामगाराला दर वर्षाला ६ कोटी रुपयाला बुडवीत आहेत. अहमदाबादमध्ये ४॥ कोटीला बुडवीत आहेत. ही काय साधीसुधी 'चूक' म्हणायची? सरकारी यंत्रणा व मालक मिळून कामगारांना सरळसरळ फसवीत आहेत हाच त्याचा अर्थ आहे.

‘निर्देशांक जमा करतांना तुम्ही ‘तुपा’ ऐवजी ‘डालडा’चे भाव का दाखवितां ? ही सरळसरळ लुच्चेगिरी नव्हे काय ? निर्भेळ डालडाइतकीच ही निर्भेळ लुच्चेगिरी आहे.

३) बँका, धान्यव्यापार, तेल, साखर, कापड हे सगळे धंदे ताबडतोब राष्ट्राच्या मालकीचे करा.

यांतूनच एकीकडे कामगारांच्या जीवनमानावर हल्ले करून भांडवलदार संपत्तीचा संचय करीत आहे; जनतेला नागवीत आहे.

४) शेतीमालाचे भाव बांधून व वाढवून देणें, शेतकऱ्याला लागणाऱ्या जिनसांचे भाव कमी करणें, ग्रामीण बाजारपेठेवरील दलालांची व मक्तेदारांची पकड नष्ट करणें, शेतकऱ्यांना माफक दरानें कर्ज व तगाई देणें आणि शेतमजुरांना किमान वेतन व जमीन देणें ह्या गोष्टी करा.

शेतकरीहि जागा होत आहे. आजच त्यांचा प्रचंड मोर्चा शे. का. पक्षाच्या नेतृत्वाखाली मुंबईत आला आहे. कामगारवर्गानें त्यांना आपल्या बरोबर घेऊन त्यांच्याशीं एकजूट केली पाहिजे.

तेव्हां आपल्या परिषदेपुढील पहिलें काम म्हणजे ‘मागण्यांचा जाहीरनामा,’ (चार्टर ऑफ डिमांड्स) तयार करणें हा आहे.

हा कार्यक्रम !

मागण्या मिळविणार कशा ?

त्यासाठीं प्रथम आपण आपल्या मागण्यांची एक राष्ट्रव्यापी प्रचारमोहीम काढणार. सरकारपुढें, मालकांपुढें आपल्या मागण्या ठेवणार. त्यांना विचार करायला पुरेसा वेळ देणार. मागण्या मिळाल्या तर ठीकच. नाहीतर ही परिषद एक विशिष्ट तारीख ठरवील आणि त्या दिवशीं भारतांतील सर्व धंद्यांतील कामगारांचा एक दिवसांचा निषेधसंप घडवून आणीत आहे.

मालक व सरकार म्हणतात, “तुम्हीं लढाईची भाषा” बोलतां. आम्हीं म्हणतो, “तुम्हीं नफे कमविता. दर मिनिटाला आमच्याशीं लढून आमच्या श्रमावर नफे कमविता. आमच्याविरुद्ध तुम्हीं दर क्षणाला लढाई चालविता. मग आम्हीं लढाईची भाषा केली तर त्यांत गैर काय ? होय; ही आमची लढाई आहे. तुम्हीं सुरू केलेल्या, दर क्षणी चालवीत असलेल्या लढाईला हें आमचें उत्तर आहे.”

लढाई सनदशीर मार्गानें चालेल

ही लढाई आमची घटना, आमच्या परंपरा, लक्षांत घेऊन चालविली जाईल. शांततेच्या मार्गानें चालविली जाईल. आज सुप्रीम कोर्टसुद्धां अरिघांत

सांपडलें आहे. भारत संरक्षण नियम विधिवाह्य आहेत, असेंच त्यांना जाहीर करावें लागलें. दिल्ली मोर्चाची दखल सरकारला घ्यावीच लागली.

मी स्वतः सरकारनें नेमलेल्या 'बोनस कमिशन'चा सभासद आहे. आज हें कमिशन दोन वर्षे बैठकी भरवीत आहे. पण आपला अहवाल सादर करूं शकत नाहीं. 'वेज बोर्डाची' हीच रड आहे. अर्थात् कमिशननें, बोर्ड यांना आमचा तात्त्विक विरोध मुळींच नाहीं. मात्र त्यांना गती द्यावी लागते.

'बोनसचा अहवाल ३१ डिसेंबरच्या आंत बाहेर पडलाच पाहिजे. एकादा दिवस इकडेतिकडे! परंतु तो तसा बाहेर पडला नाहीं तर मी मात्र कमिशनच्या बाहेर पडेन' असें मी कमिशनला स्पष्ट बजावलें आहे. निव्वळ अहवाल बाहेर पडून चालणार नाहीं. आम्ही सरकारला मुदत देऊं. या मुदतीच्या आंत अहवालावरील आपला निर्णय सरकारनें जाहीर केलाच पाहिजे.

आणि ही प्रचंड प्रचार मोहीम, मोर्चे, निदर्शनें या कशानेच भागलें नाहीं तर अखेर, पूर्वी ठरविलेल्या दिवशीं, भारतांतील सर्व धंद्यांतील कामगार व श्रमिक जनता एक दिवसाचा निषेध संप करून आपल्या मागण्या पदरांत पाडून घेतल्या-शिवाय रहाणार नाहीं.

ही परिषद याच कामासाठीं भरत आहे. किमान बोनस,
निर्देशांकाशी जोडलेला पुरेपूर महागाई भत्ता, भाव-
कपात आणि महस्वाच्या धंद्यांचें राष्ट्रीयीकरण
या मागण्या मिळविण्यासाठीं नियोजित
दिवशीं सर्व धंद्यांतील कामगारांच्या
एक दिवसाच्या राष्ट्रव्यापी निषेध संपाची
तयारी करा !

Announcement:

A limited number of the following publications of the Labour Bureau ~~are available~~ on Cost of Living Index are available on sale.

1. Cost of Living Index - A Monograph.
2. Guide to Consumer Price Index Numbers.

Secretaries of the STUC who want these copies for their states are requested to contact Com. Paudhe after this meeting.

ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

5-E Jhandewalan, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 1

26 November 1963

To All Members of the
GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE AITUC

Sub: General Council Meeting - Bombay, 12-13 Dec.

Dear Comrades,

The General Council of the AITUC will meet at the specially erected pandal at Shivaji Park, Dadar, Bombay, at 4 p.m. on 12 December. The meeting will continue the next day from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. The following agenda is proposed:

- ✓1) Confirmation of the Minutes of the last meeting
- ✓2) Report and discussions on demands relating to D.A., revision of consumer price index and bonus
- 3) Any other subject with the permission of the Chair.

You are cordially invited to attend.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

K.G. Sriwastava

(K.G. Sriwastava) 24×1
Secretary

131xii/63

1. Res. on Release of
Political Prisoner by M.K.K.
Secured Nam Azh

2. Res. on Jailing & later
Cher on Tex: women
in Bombay on 12xii

By: K.T.K. Nayyaman

Secured by

Notes: G. K. S.
B.D. Joshi

3. Res. on Ending of
Emergency

By: T.B. Vithal Rao

Secured by

Kartar Singh

Res: on Solidarity with S. Vietnam Day

The local meeting of the
district is with the O'Brien

December 20, 1963 on 'Solidarity
with S. Vietnam Day' a district
of the W.P.T.U. We fully support
the ^{heroic} struggle of Vietnamese people
against the horrors of American
imperialism & the denial of
independence to their country.

Meetings should be held on
that day & resolutions passed in their
support.

RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR REDUCTION IN PRICES, INCREASE IN WAGES, DEARNESS ALLOWANCE AND BONUS, AND FOR NATIONALISATION

(Adopted by the General Council of A.I.T.U.C. on 13-12-63)

1. The All India Trade Union Conference, convened by the A.I.T.U.C. to discuss certain immediate and most pressing issues confronting the working class and the toiling people of our country and to find practical ways and means for solving their burning problems which have assumed a countrywide character, has arrived at the following conclusions and decisions:-

2. In the opinion of this conference, the biggest single issue with a country-wide impact on the day-to-day life of the common people is that of rising prices of food stuffs and essential commodities and the constantly rising upward curve of the cost of living of the masses, and this is happening despite the rise in national production and national wealth.

This development, has become even more pronounced and has assumed unprecedented proportions in the recent period. Prices have gone up by between 15 to 40 per cent all over the country. No commodity or article which enters into the normal family budget of the working people has remained unaffected. The prices of basic foodgrains have spiralled to heights beyond the reach of the poorest sections of the community in both town and countryside, while an organised black-market flourishes as never before in sugar, rice, etc. In certain parts of the country, high prices have been accompanied by an absolute physical non-availability of foodgrains, resulting in nearfamine conditions.

The suffering and privations of the toiling masses knows no bounds. Their already modest living standards are being further depressed every day.

3. This conference is categorically of the opinion that this phenomenon of high prices and scarcity, of the ever-rising cost of living and decline in the real wages of all categories of workers and also the fixed income earners, is not mainly the product of natural causes, agricultural shortfalls, or climatic vagaries as the Government seeks to make out. Where such natural causes may have arisen they have been further used by the anti-people profiteers for their selfish ends.

This crisis is essentially a man-made one. Its creators are firstly, the monopolies who control the decisive sectors of the country's industry, banking and commerce, and who are utilising their economic dominance to boost up prices of their products in a sheltered market, to create artificial shortage whenever their profits demand it, and even to obstruct and sabotage full utilisation of the productive capacity which is at their disposal, despite the requirements of the national economy and the people.

Secondly, the market in foodgrains and several crops is overwhelmingly dominated by the big, wholesale traders and their combines, by all manner of profit-hunting middlemen and speculators, by hoarders and black-market operators who are permitted with impunity to carry on their anti-social and criminal activities, with the help of bank loans, the stock-market, LIC investments and other supports.

So daring and powerful have these interests become that they have engineered a major sugar scandal in the country, a major rice shortage in West Bengal with blackmarket prices ruling higher than during the Great Famine of 1943, and a sharp rise in wheat prices of more than 25 per cent even in wheat producing tracts in North India.

A simultaneous phenomenon with catastrophic consequences is the deprivation of the small farmer of fair prices for these very foodstuffs and crops of which he is the primary producer. The peasant is constantly defrauded by

these very sharks and exploiters of his legitimate price for, and return on, his sugarcane yield, his paddy, wheat or raw jute.

Thirdly, this conference indicts the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, which is not only allowing the monopolists, price-racketeers, speculators and hoarders to play havoc with the necessities of the common man's life, but shows no practical inclination, apart from words, to use its sweeping emergency powers to protect the people from the robbery and exploitation of the profiteers.

Moreover, the Government itself has contributed massively to the rise in prices by its inflationary budgets and its deliberate policies of adding to the crushing burden of indirect taxes which directly affect the common man's pocket.

4. The sufferings of the vast toiling masses can be easily gauged from the plight of that section which is the most united and best organised, the most experienced in class battles and the best equipped to defend its interests — the working class in our factories and mines, as well as the white-collared employees of commercial and banking establishments, all of whom have learnt to follow one trade union organisation or another.

Even this great and growing working class, directly engaged in the production of wealth, stands today virtually stripped of any effective protection against the rising price levels and consequent erosion of their real wages. All their gains in money wages, secured through numerous struggles, stand in danger of being completely wiped out if the present price rise is allowed to go unchecked.

The Bombay textiles and a few other individual concerns are exceptional instances where the Dearness Allowance paid is not only adjusted on a sliding scale with the cost of living indices, but also affords full neutralisation for the rise in the index though only for the lowest-paid category of workers. But, generally speaking, the D.A. systems prevalent today are either fixed amounts at a flat rate or vary according to the cost of living indices but do not ensure more than 70 to 85 per cent neutralisation. In both these types of Dearness Allowance schemes, a very serious decline in the workers' real wages is taking place as a result of run-away prices.

In the public sector undertakings, where Government is expected to act as a model employer, either no D.A., or very low D.A., is paid, and nowhere is it linked with the cost of living index.

Further, tens of thousands of workers are employed in such industries, mines and plantations where the separate category of Dearness Allowance does not exist at all, and the wage paid has no link whatsoever with the cost of living indices.

The situation is still further aggravated by the gross manipulations in the compilation of many of the official series of cost of living, or consumer price index numbers in different centres, as a result of which the real extent of the price rise is being deliberately concealed in order to deprive the workers of their rightfully due compensation in the form of higher Dearness Allowance on a sliding scale. For example, between September 1962 and September 1963, the all-India consumer price index moved up by 3 points only, during a period in which every objective source has estimated the price rise at between 15 to 40 per cent!

This monstrous fraud, obviously perpetrated by the bureaucracy and employers acting in collusion, has been well exposed by all the main T.U. centres with reference to the Bombay indices, and the great 'Bombay Bandh' strike of August 20th has compelled the State Government to undertake an 'expert' review of its index figures and the method of their compilation.

Bogus statistics have become an important weapon for worsening the conditions of the workers. Reliance on them would mean, for example, that all those Central Government employees who are governed by the Pay- Com-

mission's award would scarcely be able to qualify for a D.A. increase on the basis of a stable 10-point rise in the index lasting for 12 months, which is the pre-condition prescribed for getting a higher D.A. Actually, this 10-point rise in the index series based on 1949 is the equivalent of no less than 35 points of the old series based on 1939.

The struggle for exposure and correction of the fraudulent index figures is therefore assuming great importance and an all-India character.

This conference also notes with indignation how cynically the employers have torpedoed with Governmental connivance the solemn tripartite agreement of 5th August 1963 to the effect that cheap grain shops should be opened throughout the country at every establishment employing 300 or more workers. Even such a measure for partial relief to the working class has remained on paper to this day both in the private and public sectors alike.

5. While the steady erosion of real wages is now an admitted fact, it must also be remembered that lakhs of workers in the small-scale and less organised, sweated sectors of industry and trade have never even enjoyed the benefit of the Minimum Wages Act to which they are entitled. In many such cases, minimum wage-fixation committees have not been appointed despite all representations; in many more, the wages prescribed by such committees are not implemented by the employers concerned, and the Government machinery does not enforce them. In still other cases such minimum wages fixed several years ago have become out of date and urgently need to be revised upwards, but no such action is taken.

Consequently the economic condition of this section of the working class which is normally covered by wage boards, tribunals, or collective agreements is the worst prevailing in the country.

6. This Conference also expresses the profound dissatisfaction of the entire working class with the injustice and anarchy prevailing in the field of Bonus payments. The tremendous profits which are being appropriated today by the bigger and organised industries on the basis of higher production in a protected monopoly market are not at all reflected in the so-called "profit-sharing" Bonuses which the employers are compelled to pay wherever the trade union organisation and movement are strong enough.

The workers' share in the surplus value which is the direct creation of labour is nowhere governed by equitable principles, and is subjected to all sorts of capitalist imposed preconditions or ad hoc awards based on a fictitious "Profit and Loss", as recorded by Company Balance Sheets. The whole position is one of uncertainty except where long-term agreements exist, and the claim for Bonus has to be agitated afresh every year. In certain sectors of industry, no Bonus is paid at all to this day. Lakhs of public sector employees, including even those productive workers in the Government-owned companies and corporations handling vital means of production, have so far remained excluded from the benefit of any Bonus Scheme, except such as lead to intensification of labour. Even though the Bonus Commission was appointed to go into the question of Bonus for both private and public sector undertakings, under its terms of reference several public sector undertakings have been unjustifiably excluded from the Commission's consideration.

This Conference voices the growing impatience of the workers at the inordinate delay in the completion of the work of the Bonus Commission which has been sitting for two years and has not yet submitted its recommendations.

7. In this situation which is daily becoming more and more difficult for the working class and the toiling people in general, the need for immediate and substantial measures of relief has become imperative. This Conference considers that the following minimum demands must be met by the Government and the employers without further delay, and necessary legislative and administrative steps to fulfil them must be initiated at once:

- (1) A 25% general reduction in prices, especially in foodgrains and all essential commodities of life;
- (2) An all-round 25% increase in the wages paid at present to all workers and employees of both the private and public sectors;
- (3) Immediate linking of all Dearness Allowances with the consumer price indices on a sliding scale; where no separate D.A. is paid, the consolidated wage to be linked up with the consumer price index;
- (4) Cent per cent neutralisation for every rise in the cost of living to be automatically ensured for workers of all wage categories through a sliding-scale D.A.;
- (5) Correction and revision of the existing fictitious and fraudulent or wrong official index figures and their calculation, through the agency of suitable tripartite machinery;
- (6) Immediate fixation, and wherever necessary, revision of minimum wages for industries and trade covered by the Minimum Wages Act, and immediate implementation of wages already fixed there under; adequate minimum wages for agricultural labour;
- (7) Publication of the Bonus Commission's report by the end of 1963, and announcement of Government's decision thereon within a month thereafter;
- (8) Acceptance and implementation of the basic principle of a minimum guaranteed Bonus, irrespective of profit or loss, to all workers and employees in all industries and trades;
- (9) Abolition of private wholesale trading in food grains, and its total transfer to the State;
- (10) Fixation and enforcement by law of fair, minimum prices to the peasant for his agricultural produce; and guaranteed supply to him at reasonable prices of essential articles for his everyday use;
- (11) Nationalisation of banks, export-import trade, and the oil and sugar industries as a first step towards furthering State acquisition and control over decisive sectors of the national economy.

the entire toiling masses of the country, embracing not only the organised

This Conference puts forward the above 11-point *Charter of Minimum National Demands of the Toiling masses* as a platform of unity and action for working class and its trade union organisations, but also all middle-class sections, working farmers, small traders and shopkeepers, and others who are groaning under the intolerable burden of high and rising prices, food shortages, black-marketing and profiteering, and the increasing load of indirect taxes.

The demands for taking over by the State of wholesale trading in food grains and progressive nationalisation of key industries, commencing with the private banks, oil monopolies, sugar mills and the country's export-import trade, correspond to the most vital interests of the overwhelming majority of our people. Their fulfilment can alone bring the anarchy in the food market under control, destroy the grip of the speculators and hoarders, bring down and stabilise prices, and strike a decisive blow at the centres of capitalist economic concentration and monopoly power, which are used today to swell the private sector's profits, rob the country of its foreign exchange earnings and resources, and exploit the common consumer mercilessly.

8. This Conference is well aware that its Charter of Demands cannot be had for the mere asking, and that its realisation, even in part will require the broadest possible unity and action of the toiling masses led by the organised working class. United organised and disciplined action mobilising the vast masses for struggle on these common demands can overcome the powerful resistance of the reactionary monopolists and their patrons inside the Government and ruling party, and compel them to heed the people's voice.

This is no easy task. At the same time, this conference reminds the people of the massive power of their united action, a striking manifestation of which was the Great Petition and March to Parliament on September 13th last, which played a decisive role in smashing the hated and extortionate Compulsory Deposit Scheme, and making the Government undertake a review of its policies and performance. This experience should generate confidence in the people's minds and hearts that once they begin to move and act unitedly, their voice cannot be ignored by the ruling classes.

This Conference, therefore, decides to initiate and launch an all-National campaign for reduction of Prices and Taxes for Increase of Wages and earnings, for D.A. and Bonus, and for Nationalisation.

The National Campaign will be launched on 1st January, 1964 throughout the country, and its opening phase will culminate in the observance of an all-India Day on 12th/13th January (the choice of date to be according to local convenience) through mass meetings, processions and demonstrations for the eleven demands listed above.

The National Campaign Day of the Toilers of India will be observed by the working people in every town and village, in every factory and office.

This Conference hopes that the Government will not sit tight and allow the situation to deteriorate still further, thereby leaving the masses no alternative but to launch direct action on an all-national scale in defence of their most elementary interests.

There is still time for Government to pay heed to the burning demands of the people and to come forward with positive measures for the relief of the masses as outlined above.

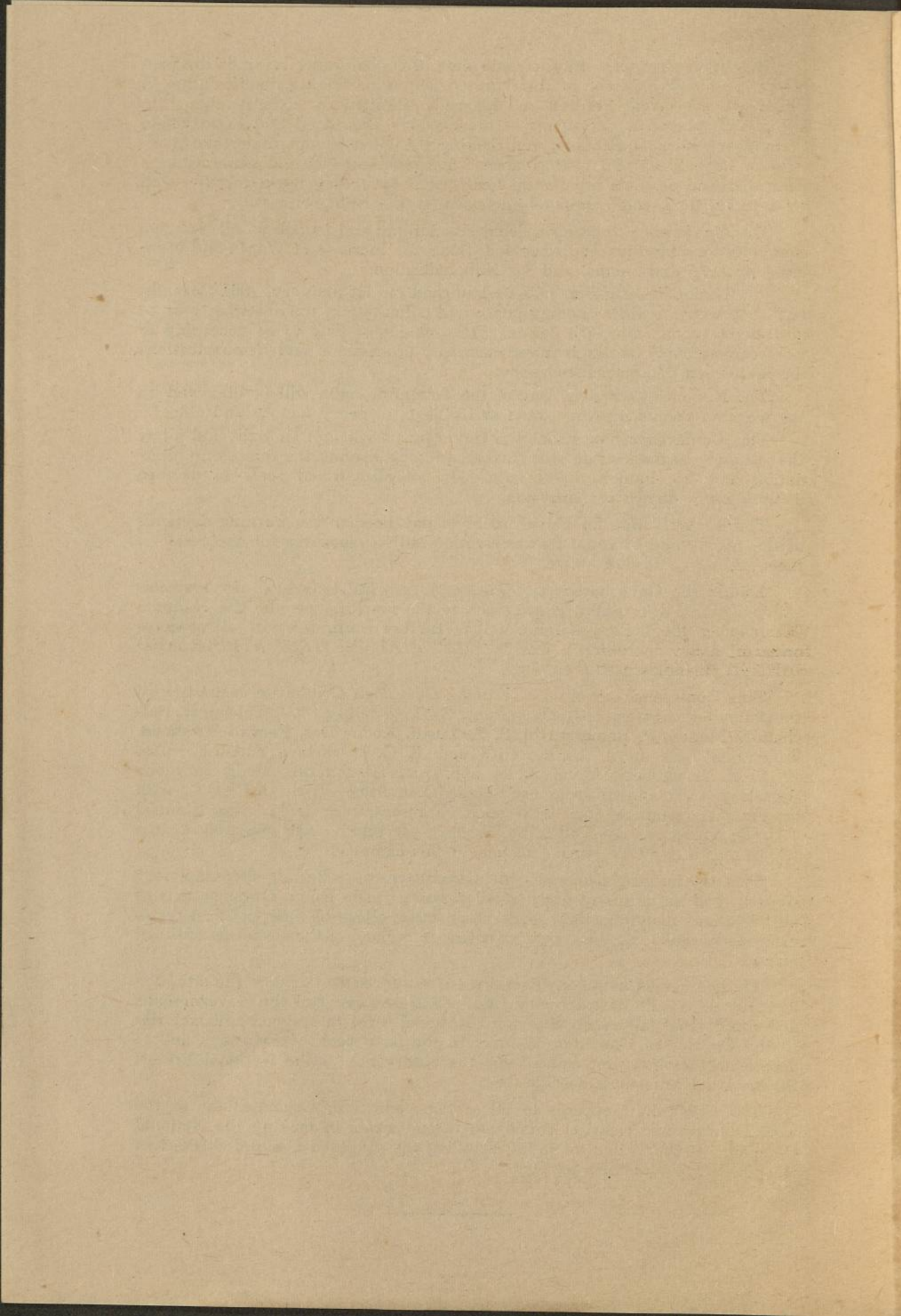
Should the Government and the employers fail to evince any response and make any substantial concessions to the working people, the National Campaign of the Toilers of India will be further continued with all peaceful forms of action including a mighty *NATIONAL PROTEST STRIKE AND HARTAL* throughout the country.

This Conference appoints a National Campaign Committee consisting of the following members namely: Coms. S. S. Mirajkar, S. A. Dange, Balchandra Menon, P. Ramamurthi, S. S. Yusuf, Kedar Das, Parvati Krishnan, Ranen Sen, T. B. Vittal Rao, Indrajit Gupta, K. G. Sriwastava, Satish Loomba, K. T. K. Tangamani, Mohd. Elias, and Dutta Deshmukh, along with one Secretary or President from each State Committee of the A.I.T.U.C. with the right to co-opt or join with such representatives from other Central T.U. Organisations and all-India Trade Federations, not affiliated to the AITUC, as may be persuaded to join in this campaign.

This Conference authorises the Committee to take all the necessary steps to build a powerful unity of all genuine Trade Union Organisations of all affiliations including their leaderships, irrespective of their political views in order to make the campaign a success in achieving the demands outlined above.

The National Campaign Committee is authorised to review the situation as it develops upto 31st January 1964, and in the event of the Government's and Employers' failure on State and National level to respond satisfactorily to the Charter of Demands, to meet in the first week of February and to decide on the final preparations for the observance of the National Protest Strike and Hartal on a specific date.

The Conference appeals to all sections and T.U. Organisations of the working class and salaried employees to co-operate in making the National Campaign of the Toilers of India including the proposed General Strike and Hartal a mighty historic success.



The conference congratulates the
-thirty thousand textile workers in
Bombay City, who had to resort to
a spontaneous protest strike
against the small quantum of
bonus which the employers ~~at that time~~
~~R. M. D. Sangh~~ declared for them.

~~The Conference without~~
This Conference ~~congratulates the 30 thousand textile workers in Bombay city~~
~~expresses its firm support to the struggle and the~~
just demand of ^{these} more than 30-thousand textile workers of Bombay
working in six units of the India United Mills, Bombay Dyeing Company's
Spring and Textile Mills, Kamala Mills, Sektaria Mills, ^{Shri Sitaram Mills}
Shri Prakash Cotton Mills, Edward Mills, Pralhad Mills, ^{Mahasudan Mills, Victoria Mills,} etc, who have struck
work since yesterday in protest against the meagre bonus of 15 to 30 days
wages fixed for them by an agreement between the Millmen's Association
Bombay and the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh, an I.M.T.U.C. organization.
The workers demand bonus equal to 3 months wages as paid to the majority
of the mills in the industry.

This Conference draws the attention of the Bonus Commission to these
spontaneous strikes and further expresses its considered opinion that only by
adopting the principle of paying ~~of~~ bonus on region cum industry basis in
such industries as the textiles, wherein the wages and dearness allowance
and other conditions of work are standardised, will it be possible to
avoid these outbreaks of spontaneous strikes which have become an
annual feature in the textile industry not only in Bombay but
in such other textile centres as Ahmedabad, Coimbatore etc.

on lifting of the Emergency.

This Special Conference of Trade Unions Convened by the All India Trade Union Congress urges upon the Government of India to lift immediately the Emergency proclaimed last year. It is universally admitted that conditions in the Country today are such that the Emergency has practically ceased to exist except in name. Under these conditions, continuation of the Emergency has degenerated into just a weapon to be used against the working class and democratic movement, ^{rather than being} ~~used as~~ ^{used as} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~cover~~ ^{used as} the activities of anti-social vested interests.

This Conference, therefore, demands the immediate lifting of the Emergency and restoration of democratic rights in the Country.

PRESIDUM MEMBERS

1. Com. S.S. Mirajkar
2. " Indulal Yagnik
3. " Mrs.Parvathi Krishnan
4. " Kedar Dass
5. " P.Balahcndran Menon
6. " P. Ramamurthi
7. " S.S. Yusuf
8. " Duttea Deshmuch
9. " Mohd. Ellias, M.P.

PRESIDIUM MEMBERS

1. General Secretary - calls Presidium members
2. Condolence Resolution
3. Introductory Remark by Com Mirajkar
4. Greetings from Ahmedabad workers
 bbb by Indulal Yagnik
5. Inaugural speech
 by Com. Dange.

Appendix:

G. C. Meekins

1. Copies of Minutes.
2. Res: ..
4. Bond .. } Taken together
3. Int. Copies.
particulars from 15 copies:
4. ~~15~~ Indorsements & yugada papers to
H.C. Copies
5. Receipts & dates of next copies.
6. names of directors scheme.
7. By whom.
8. Scheme maps: Cont, Fort & Tax:

Res:

1. Endorsement: Dr. A. Prasad
Jeevanadhar
Rahelis.
2. ~~Res: Hon. Mr. M. M. Meekins~~
3. ~~At: end of letter.~~
Res: Int. Copies: 15.
Y. D. ~~M. M. Meekins~~
Hon. Daji
Paralle Kishan
S. K. G. B.

4. Conducting Committee:-

1. K. V. N. N. N.
2. G. V. N. N.
3. M. V. N. N.

5. Res. on Art. 311 and its application.

6. Name the Art. of the Hall as per the
Museum Hall.

5. Yearly Reg. of Reg.

Disburse in the parts:-

I	244. 2/4.
II	425.
III	65
IV	6.

15th April

Dr. Sub-Committee
~~Sect~~ meeting

10.00
~~9.30~~ am.

~~10.00~~
10.00

Working Committee:

3.00 pm.

S. C. Meeting:

~~4.30~~ pm.
to
8.00 pm.

16th April

P. C.

9. to 12 pm.

"

3 to 8 pm.

17th April

P. C.

9. to 12 pm.

"

3 to 5 pm.

Personnel Meeting

6 pm.

18th April

P. C.

9 to 12 pm.

19th April

Coal Min. rpts. meet.

10. am.

Apendo

15^m

3. 20^{pm}

+ Minutes

2. Affiliations. - cont. with.

3. Res: on Art. 311.

4. Res: on naming Mt. John Hall.

5. Res: Encl Committee.

16^m

-
1. SAD
 2. Raven Gen
 3. Mch
 4. 15.
 5. Y.D.
 6. Mch

' Grams: AITUCONG
' Phone: 57787
54740

ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

5 Jhandewalan, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

March 4, 1963

CIRCULAR No. GC/1/63

To All Members of the General Council

Sub: General Council Meeting - Delhi
(April 15-17, 1963)

Dear Comrades,

A meeting of the General Council of the AITUC will be held in the AITUC Office at New Delhi on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the 15, 16 and 17 April 1963. The meeting will commence at 3 p.m. on 15 April 1963.

The following agenda is proposed:

- ✓ 1) Confirmation of the Minutes of the last meeting
- ✓ 2) Review of - (a) National Defence Fund collections
(b) Working of Industrial Truce Resolution
(c) Situation relating to arrests and detention of trade unionists.

② / 3) Proposals for sending delegations to:

- a) International Working Women's Conference (Bucharest, October 14-19, 1963)
- b) May Day delegations
- c) Conference of Soviet Trade Unions (1 Oct. 1963)
- d) Conference of Hungarian Trade Unions (May 9-12)
- e) Conference of CGT, France (May 12-17)
- f) International Legal and TU Rights Commission of the WFTU, Prague (July 18-19)

① / 4) Union Budget Proposals for new taxation and their effect on the working class

5) Proposal made by six Indonesian Trade Union Centres for calling an Asian-African Workers' Conference

③ / 6) Proposal made by eight national centres of TUs at Casablanca for a World TU Conference of all organisations, irrespective of affiliation.

7) Any other subject with the permission of the chair.

Arrangements for lodging and boarding of members will be made in Maharashtra Bhawan (Opp. Paharganj Police Station), New Delhi on payment of Rs.10 per head for four days (from 15 to 18 April). Intimation of arrival should be sent latest by 10 April 1963.

You are cordially invited to attend.

Yours fraternally,

K.G. Sriwastava

(K.G. Sriwastava)
Secretary

① / 8) Next AITUC
Session Venue

9) Workers' Edu. Scheme

' Grams: AITUCONG
' Phone: 57787
54740

ALL - INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

5 Jhandewalan, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi

March 4, 1963

CIRCULAR No W/1/63

To All Members of the Working Committee

Sub: Working Committee Meeting - Delhi
(April 15, 1963)

Dear Comrades,

The Working Committee of the AITUC will meet in New Delhi at the AITUC Office on Monday, 15 April 1963, at 11 a.m.

The following agenda is proposed:

- 1) Confirmation of Minutes of the previous meeting
- 2) Finalisation of proposals for agenda of General Council Session (April 15-17)
- 3) New Affiliations
- 4) Any other subject with the permission of the chair.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

K.G. Sriwastava

(K.G. Sriwastava)
Secretary

P.S. Please see circular to General Council members overleaf about arrangements for stay, etc.

1. Buregel
2. Cudhoy field women
3. Indonesian journals
4. Pen + Deek
5. Kiecingjel in Pukhi Saku
6. on case
7. Corp: Small Mues
8. Banana
9. Release of prisoners
10. on empty & Ind: Am Res
11. May Day Manifesto

Draft Resolution

ON EMERGENCY - *Ind: Time Resoln*

It is nearly six months since the President of India declared the National Emergency on October 26, 1962. All people in the country, including the working class and trade union organisations supported it. Following it, the tripartite conference of November 3, unanimously agreed to an Industrial Truce Resolution.

clear
Since then, following the cease-fire, the Colombo Powers' helpful intervention and internal mobilisation for defence, etc., the conditions which necessitated the extraordinary law and the emergency have materially ~~ceased to exist~~. This change in the situation was, in a sense, recognised by the Government when it decided to conduct the bye-elections.

The continuation of the emergency does not seem to be necessary now to fulfil the tasks of development and defence. And if the same extraordinary situation arises again, it can be revived.

with a
The General Council of the AITUC therefore is of the opinion that Government should call a special meeting of the Indian Labour Conference to discuss the present situation without delay in view of reviewing the functioning of Industrial Truce Resolution and lifting the emergency.

Proposed by: K.G. Sriwastava

Seconded by: Vajubhai Shukla

*In continuing operation
with normal life, more to
the detriment of the common
man than the big industrial
vested interests*

DRAFT RESOLUTION:

ON EMERGENCY:

The Chinese armies crossed the Macmahon Line in the Eastern region of our Northern border and there was a radical shift in the co-relationship of the social forces in the country. For the apparent reason of securing maximum mobilisation of the material and manpower resources for the defence of the country the Government of India clothed itself with emergency powers.

The defence of the country according to the later policy statements of the Government of India, means not merely the defence of the country but also the defence of the basic policies to which the Government of India has committed itself in the name of the country and the people. These declarations assume significance in the context of the growing pressure from the rightist forces to change the basic policies.

The A. I. T. U. C. to guarantee uninterrupted production of the defence material and a continuous flow of consumption goods to the people, agreed to a truce on the Industrial Front. In response to the call of the A.I.T.U.C. the working class volunteered work and money to the National defence effort.

The early military reverses revealed the basic weaknesses and shortcomings on the vital economic sector. The unilateral ceasefire, the withdrawal of the advancing Chinese armies to the original positions and even beyond in some places, and the policy of non-impediment adopted by the Government of India have brought about a certain relaxation in the situation.

However the people are concerned and feel anxiety for the defence of the country and are showing growing awareness and understanding of the deficiencies in the present economic policies impinging on the productive activity. The people actively urge expeditious removal of all that hinders the productive activity, its growth and advance. The people entertain a sense of emergency in this respect.

Initially the working class was in a dazed mood. With the relaxation in the situation, the working class on its own has started asserting itself and is forcing modification of policy on governmental machinery in regard to its rights and privileges. The Government had mainly utilised the emergency powers for launching repressive measures against militant trade unionists on false political pleas. The A.I.T.U.C. in the name of working class strongly demands the revocation of these steps by the Government and release of all trade union activists still under detention.

The working class has universally testified to its patriotic understanding of the situation and its responsibility regarding the defence of the country in a conscious and splendid way. The working class to maximise defence capacities of the country by accelerating manifold the industrial and agricultural production as an emergency measure, demands a completely unfettered enjoyment of its rights and privileges and its active and fuller participation in the official agencies created for the promotion of the country's defence and production potential.

To this end the A.I.T.U.C. in the name of the working class demands that the Government take stringent measures against those who impede the process of maximum mobilisation of resources and

that to insure resources for the implimentation of planned schemes in the fixed order of priority, steps be taken to nationalise:

The Banking Industry
The Oil Industry

and to take over the export and import trade and the wholesale trade of essential goods in the country.

Proposed by Y.V. Chavan
Seconded by S.S. Patil

.....

DRAFT RESOLUTION:

ON EMERGENCY:

After thorough discussion from the various States of India this meeting of the General Council of A.I.T.U.C. is of opinion that this emergency period should not be allowed to continue any further. This emergency hits the working class in general and common people in particular. Under the cloak of emergency the employers with the help of the Govt. are making the situation worse day by day. So this meeting urges upon the Government to withdraw this emergency per iod without any further delay and restore the normal and natural condition throughout the country.

Proposed by Hrishi Banerji
Seconded by Dinen Bhattacharya

The bank employees under the leadership of All-India Bank Employees Association have been demanding nationalisation of banking industry as they felt that continuance of this industry in the hands of private sector will frustrate our planned economy.

If the banks continue in private sector, it is but natural that one or the other group of industrialists will dominate them and that group will take extra advantage out of it.

It is but natural that an industry run with only 1.9% of its working fund as the capital paid by the share-holders, cannot avoid the risk of being mis-managed as the share-holders, and more so the few directors representing them, have nothing much to stake in the business.

Under the circumstances the tendency has been to become irresponsible and selfish. This will be borne out by the fact that even after the year 1949, when following a number of bank failures the Banking Companies Act came into existence, there were bank failures and only in the recent period, two banks viz., the Palai Central Bank and Luxmi Bank went into liquidation due to fraudulent activities by their Directors.

The recent findings of Vician Bose Commission on the administration of Dalmia-Jain Companies have revealed that in all its activities, which were anti-national and anti-social, one or the other bank was involved. Same is the case in relation to Mundhra deals. Whether in respect of spurious scrips or violation of Exchange Control Regulations — one or the other bank was involved. If similar enquiries are conducted into the affairs of other industrial Houses, revelations will be no less startling.

Positive Aspects

By regulating their advances in the right direction, banks can play an effective role to hold the price line, the need for which was never before so keenly felt in our country. In the sphere of agriculture, as well, vast improvements can take place if the banks play their due and desired role. In a country like India which needs rapid development in the fields of industry, agriculture, commerce etc., — everything that will contribute towards ushering in of a socialist pattern of society, the role of the banks has naturally come to be looked upon with keen interest by all those who are interested in a planned advancement of our country.

And today, in the context of the emergency, the need for mobilisation of all available resources for our defence and developments has assumed paramount importance and this can be achieved possibly only by nationalising the banks.

Certain facts about the character and composition of banks in India will be of great interest in this respect. There are about 304 banks in this country, 82 of them are in the scheduled list. Out of these 82, 14 are Foreign Exchange Banks. Of the 68 Indian Scheduled Banks, 11 are having working funds over Rs. 25 crores, 13 between 25 and 7½ crores and the rest below 7½ Crores.

The nationalised sector, i.e., the State Bank of India and its subsidiaries have a deposit of Rs. 661.09 crores with a paid-up capital of Rs. 10.58 crores. The top twelve private banks have deposits of Rs. 969.00 crores with a paid-up capital of Rs. 17.97 crores. The rest 269 Banks have deposits of Rs. 191 crores with a paid-up capital of Rs. 11.31 crores. The Foreign Exchange Banks have a deposit of Rs. 253 crores without any capital employed in India. The overall position is that 26 banks i.e., 8.6% of the banks in India control 85% of the bank deposits.

Out of the above deposits the

banks advanced Rs. 1,420 crores to their different borrowers. Rs. 95.88 crores have been advanced against food articles. Rs. 367.62 crores against stock exchange and bullions, Rs. 311.99 crores against hypothecation of goods including finished consumer goods and Rs. 227.84 crores against industry.

Out of a total investment of 618 crores in Government Securities, State Bank and its subsidiaries account for 267 crores — remaining Indian and Exchange banks numbering 296 have investments of 361 crores only while 25% of total advance are made for speculative ventures in "Stock Exchanges and Bullions."

There is practically no advance by the commercial banks for financing agriculture but there are advances for hoarding the agricultural produces, and other consumer goods leading to artificial rise in the prices of all consumer goods, both agricultural and industrial.

Banks have only 5,111 branches in 1,712 centres in this vast coun-

Bank of Baroda Ltd. — Walchand Hirachand Group.
United Commercial Bank Ltd. — Birla Group.
To cite few instances of Small Banks:
Hindusthan Commercial Bank Ltd. — J. K. Group.
Hindusthan Mercantile Bank Ltd. — Jala Group.

Vicious Interlinking

The aforesaid industrialists control in turn a number of industries and almost the entire private sector is owned by a few industrial houses. They are thereby enjoying a position of monopoly in their business. The deposits of ordinary people are utilised by them at cheaper rates to feed their own industries without any consideration whatsoever to the country's interest.

With the vast resources of private banks at their disposal, these few industry houses have been able to keep away their competitors, and with their comparative advantage over others, they have been able to concentrate all means of production and their distribution, in their hands.

It has been often found that a single director of a bank, is a

Indian banks for the year 1961 was 7.35 crores against a share capital of 17.97 crores. It is significant to bear in mind that the net profits in a bank have been arrived at after making provision for taxation which is 50% of the actual profits, in other words the profits are about 15 crores.

Then again, unlike other industries, disclosed profits of the banks are arrived at after making provisions for "secret reserves", which account for substantial portion of the actual profits earned. The real profits of the banks are therefore substantially higher than those disclosed in the balance sheet.

The huge profits foreign banks earn in our country after making provision for taxation and secret reserves in the lines of Indian Banks are simply staggering. As for example, Chartered Bank with only 10 Offices in India have shown a net profit of Rs. 80 lakhs for the year 1962 in its Indian branches' balance sheet.

The net profits of 14 Exchange Banks in India for the year 1961, after making all provisions as above, are 2.67 Crores, and this has been earned without employing a single naya paisa as capital. No other industry offers such a scope for so high profits.

To earn this profit, the risk of

highest impetus. Present-day "profit motive" will be replaced by "service-motive". Establishment of banking units will be of great help to our agriculture and agriculturists.

Fourthly, manipulation of foreign exchange by unlawful remittances, under-invoicing and over-invoicing, repatriation of profit of foreign banks will be completely stopped.

Fifthly, Our export-import trade will get a great fillip.

Sixthly, Banks will be effective instruments to check tax evasion and spot out blackmoney.

Seventhly, Nationalisation will enable banks to invest their resources according to the needs and norms of country's development as set out by the Planning Commission. The growth of our country's economy, industry, commerce and business will thus be set in the right and healthy direction.

Eighthly, The existing trend of concentration of wealth in a few and fewer hands will be arrested and no longer will a few private profit sharks be able to keep the entire industry under their grip. Nationalisation of banks will thus be a great step towards achievement of a socialist society, to which our country is wedded.

Ninthly, It will secure standardisation of service, stabilise confidence of the depositors leading to rapid growth of Bank deposits.

Tenthly, It will substantially slash down the existing top-heavy establishment in private banks. While, the salary paid to the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India is only about Rs. 4,000 a month, the Chief Manager of Chartered Bank in India draws a monthly salary of Rs. 10,000 exclusive of other perquisites.

From the above, the conclusion is irresistible that for all-round progress of our economy, for greater interests of the nation, for the purposes of mobilisation of all available resources for defence and developments, nationalisation of banks cannot wait any longer.

A plea has, however, been raised recently that there are no adequate funds to acquire ownership of private banks by the state.

The private banks have, as shown above, a total paid-up capital of about Rs. 30 crores commanding a deposit of 1428 crores, earning annual net profit (disclosed) of about 15 crores. Today, in the context of emergency the needs of the nation must have overriding priority and the question of paying cash compensation does not arise. In the manner, Zamindari were taken over by the Government by payment of compensation in long-term bonds, private banks may also be similarly taken over.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the amount of compensation payable for a total paid-up capital of Rs. 30 crores will be most insignificant compared to the vast resources which will as a result pass on to the State.

Before we conclude, we wish to allay one apprehension that is sometimes raised by interested quarters that in the event of nationalisation, efficiency is likely to suffer. Banks are managed and run by its officers, clerks and subordinates — employees who are to-day serving private capital with profit-motive as its sole concern.

Employees in nationalised banks will have the proud privilege to serve the nation to work for the progress of the country and hence the employees will never fail to come forward to discharge whatever responsibilities will be entrusted to them.

A CASE FOR NATIONALISATION OF BANKS

try of which 957 branches are in rural areas.

The Committee, appointed by the Government, headed by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, to probe into the distribution of national wealth at the end of the 2nd Five Year Plan, after painstaking research, based on income-tax returns, has come to the conclusion, as reported, that 1% of the country's households own as much as 75% of privately held stocks and even within this small minority the further distribution of ownership is highly concentrated.

More than half the privately owned share capital in India, the Committee underlines, is owned by only 14,000 houses. In other words, it is only 1% of India's privileged class—which in turn is 1% of the total population — that really owns and controls the bulk of the nation's wealth.

Even that is not the end of the matter. The Committee conclusively shows that the "management control" of industries is incredibly more concentrated than "ownership control". With comparatively small shareholding, individuals or business houses are able to take complete charge of the policies and operations of the companies.

In the opinion of the Committee the liberal loans by banks and other financial institutions have fostered this trend towards concentration.

The ex-Governor of Reserve Bank of India, H.V.R. Iyenger also remarked: "One of the structural features of the Indian Banking is the concentration of power which in some cases is enormous in relation to the capital employed. From time to time, we come across cases in which a family or a group has got full controlling interest in a Bank."

Almost every industrial house in this country controls one or the other bank. Take the case of the biggest commercial banks:

Central Bank of India Ltd., Bank of India Ltd. — Controlled by the Tata, Khatau, Mafatlal Groups.
Punjab National Bank Ltd. — Dalmia-Jain Group.

common director of many other industrial concerns and with his command over the bank, he has been able to turn the bank into the Power House for his industrial empire.

Paradoxically, while the development of our economy is inseparably interlinked with the development of small scale and cottage industries, the savings of the people are seldom made available to them.

In spite of the Reserve Bank of India directive, "Concentration of advance in the hands of few borrowers has increased by 47.7% in 1961 over 1960", and "the large advances to the directors, their relations and associates, and concerns in which any of them is interested" has also increased by 42.8% during the same period.

The role of the share capital in a banking company is most insignificant compared to other industries. The following table will help us to understand the position.

(Position of private commercial banks as on December 31, 1961)

Paid-up Capital	Deposits	Ratio of 1 to 2
29.28 crores	1428 crores	4.8%
(S.B.I. and its subsidiaries excluded).		

From the above one will not fail to note that with a share capital of Rs. 29 crores, private banks control deposits to the tune of Rs. 1428 crores. Of this 12 big Indian Banks with a paid-up capital of 17.97 crores command deposits of Rs. 969 crores. The ratio in this case comes to less than 2%. Then so far as exchange banks are concerned they have no share capital in India.

The earlier chapter has given us a glimpse about the insignificant role of paid-up capital, in this industry. Profits of the banks, unlike other industries, are not earned primarily by the share capital. It is the depositors' money secured at a lesser rate of interest and employed at higher rates of interest — and the difference between these rates contributes the main profits of the banks.

The net profits of the 12 top

a banking company is the least. It has no hazards of a modern complicated industry which starts from procurement of raw materials, necessary machineries for processing and for marketing the finished products. With the increased economic tempo in our country, with huge outlay of capital under the plans, the prospect for banking industry is the brightest today.

The profits of the banks have been recording a steep and steady rise and these profits will be increased by leaps the moment the nationalisation is done. The working of the State Bank of India and of the Life Insurance business after their take over by the Government and their spectacular and phenomenal growth in deposits as well as profits only indicate that if Banks are nationalised, it will stimulate the whole economy.

What Are the Gains?

The gains from bank nationalisation will be varied, manifold and immense, — immediate and future.

Firstly, all the profits of the banks, about 35 crores, will come as a revenue to the government. This amount, of course, excludes the various amounts set apart from the profits as "secret" provisions.

Secondly, by regulating bank's activities and minimising hoardings consistent with the interest of the common masses, it will substantially help in stabilising the price line. Creation of artificial scarcity of consumer goods will be eliminated.

Thirdly, Rural banking will get

April 17 was observed as ALL-INDIA DEMAND DAY for nationalisation of banks. In this statement of case, the All-India Bank Employees Association argues the justification of the demand of nationalisation of banks.

ON THE BUDGET PROPOSALS AND ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEFENCE

THE Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India has considered the budget proposals of the Union and state Governments for the current year. The urgent needs of the Plan and economy in general and of defence in particular called for a positive orientation in our budgetary and economic policies. This orientation, however, is missing.

There cannot be two opinions that for our economic development, as well as for building up of the country's defence potential, additional resources are to be raised. The real point at issue is where and how to find the needed resources.

In the recent months, it has been amply demonstrated how our people are ready to make the greatest measure of sacrifice when called upon to do so in the interests of the nation. Indeed, it is the working people of our country, suffering from many a want, who contributed most of the national defence fund and otherwise to the cause of the nation's defence.

This, however, cannot be said of the millionaires, monopolists and other sections of the wealthy people. They have, on the contrary, sought to exploit the Emergency to gather benefits for themselves. It was expected that the present budgetary proposals will be so devised as to compel these rich people to make their due contributions towards the fulfilment of our national purposes.

Instead of raising adequate resources from the rich, and adopting other effective economic measures, such as nationalisation of banking, oil industry, etc., which has become an urgent necessity for the future of our economy as a whole, the current budget proposals place new economic burdens on the masses who are already over-taxed and struck by constantly rising prices.

Lower Income Groups Hit

The greater part of the additional taxes and levies under the Central Budget is proposed to be raised through Union excise duties, compulsory deposit schemes, surcharge on income-tax of even those belonging to the lowest income brackets. Almost all the necessities of life in the country are already taxed. Yet additional levies are imposed even on such necessities of life as kerosene, tobacco, sugar, tea, matches, soap. Prices of postcards have also been increased.

While thus taxing the people, the budget proposals fail to effect any substantial economy in the heavy and even wasteful administrative expenditures.

The Union excise duties, the incidence of which heavily fall on the poorer sections of the community, have now gone up from Rs. 70 crores in 1951 to nearly Rs. 700 crores in the current year. In the states, sales-tax, surcharge on land revenue in respect of uneconomic holdings and such other levies as bus fare, school fees, entertainment taxes have been simultaneously increased.

These taxes and levies cons-

stitute new attacks on the living standards of the masses; they work as a positive disincentive in the context of the planning and they inevitably lead to further rise in prices. The worst sufferers from these taxes and imposts are, of course, the workers, peasants, middle-class employees, professional classes, artisans and smaller men in business and trade. The budget proposals not only promise no holding of the price line but give fresh impetus to rise in prices.

Apart from adding to the suffering and hardships of the masses such inequitable and ill-conceived taxation measures go to widen the disparities in income and defeat other social objectives of the Plan.

Compromising And Weak-Kneed

The Union Budget proposals are compromising and weak-kneed in regard to the monopolists and similar other vested interests. This has emboldened them to raise a hue and cry even against moderate levies such as super profits tax, which affect them. They are trying to make out that such taxes on them will ruin industry, hinder development and paralyse efficiency. Further, they are trying to delude the people by saying that they have alternative methods of raising resources, which do not hit the people. But their main so-called alternative suggestions are heavy imports of military equipments through Western military aid, scuttling of certain basic industries in the public sector and reduction in expenditures on social welfare.

Such proposals will patently increase the grip of the monopolists over our economy and undermine the country's independence.

This compromising policy is thus strengthening the same vested interests and the reactionary political forces like the Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party and diehard Rightists within the Congress itself which have in a very critical moment in our national life gone all out to attack the national policies like non-alignment and have attempted to oust Prime Minister Nehru. The mass discontent caused by the unjust economic burdens on the people is being fully exploited by the parties of Right reaction to push their nefarious ends.

The Central Executive Committee protests against these anti-people, undemocratic and harmful taxation measures and urges upon the authorities concerned to revise them, keeping in view interests of the masses and our economy. In this connection, the Committee particularly condemns the additional levies on kerosene, which was already selling at high price manipulated and dictated and

directed by foreign oil companies.

The Committee demands with all the emphasis at its command the immediate cancellation of the additional levies on kerosene which is a vital necessity for our peasants and other sections of our working people.

The Central Executive Committee is in favour of mobilising the resources of the former princes, monopolists and other wealthy people through an effective compulsory Deposit Scheme and otherwise. In fact, our Party has been, for years, urging upon such a method of raising resources.

But at the same time, the Committee is strongly of the view that the Compulsory Savings Scheme must not be enforced against the poorer sections of the people who find it extremely difficult even to balance their family budgets and many of whom have to live perpetually in debts.

Under the present Compulsory Deposit Scheme, millions of Government servants throughout the country, whose income will be deducted at the source, workers, employees, peasants and many other people will be badly and unjustly hit. Further, the enforcement of this scheme against them will mean both harassment and oppression.

The Central Executive demands that the Compulsory Savings Scheme be radically amended and modified in order, on the one hand, to exempt those sections of the people who are not really in a position to save, and, on the other, tap with greater vigour the accumulations and savings of the rich.

The Committee however, welcomes the Super profits tax, increase in Corporation tax, as well as in the income-tax in higher slabs. But here again, they do not go far enough and leave much that is to be desired. The Government should have stepped up all these taxes, particularly in view of the fact that, during the past several years, big business have been given numerous exemptions, rebates, and other forms of tax concessions. Abolition of wealth tax on companies, the so-called tax holiday, development rebates in underserving cases, the reduction of taxes on the issue of bonus share, the lifting of expenditure tax are among the reliefs that have thus gone to pamper the rich.

The Committee notes with concern the attempts of the Big Business to pressurise the Government to reduce the super profits tax and give them fresh tax concessions. The Committee hopes that no quarter whatsoever will be given to such pressures by Big Business. What is really needed is more effective measures in order to collect a larger amount of taxes from these people.

The Central Executive also notes in this connection the failure of the Government to tap the gold hoards of the millionaires, speculators and ex-rulers. Despite the Gold Control Order, these well-known hoarders of gold have so far managed to evade the law. But the Government shows no sign of compelling

them to disgorge the huge quantities of gold in their possession.

The Government, has however, enforced a series of measures against the goldsmiths and artisans, spelling ruin to trade and causing widespread unemployment and suffering among them. The situation has become so desperate that over 100 goldsmiths have already committed suicide.

The Central Executive Committee expresses its deep concern at the condition of the goldsmiths and urges upon the Government to raise gold purity for ornaments to 22 carat, while putting a reasonable ceiling on ornaments a family can possess. This will reduce the hardships of the goldsmiths and at the same time, control wasteful use of gold in ornaments. The Committee urges upon the Government to offer adequate relief to the distressed goldsmiths and help them find alternative employment.

The Central Executive Committee is in favour of the most stringent measures against gold smuggling. But in this connection the Committee wants to point out that smuggling is encouraged mainly by the fact that the monopolists and speculators find it convenient to conceal

both in imports and exports.

If only those measures were taken, a far greater amount than what all the additional taxes and levies under the current Union budget promise to bring would be easily available in a permanent

ON EMERGENCY

IT is nearly six months since the President of India declared the National Emergency on October 26, 1962. All parties and groups in the country, including the Communist Party, supported it and voted for it when it came before Parliament for endorsement.

Since then, following the cease-fire, the Colombo powers' helpful intervention and internal mobilisation for defence, etc., the conditions which necessitated the extraordinary law and the Emergency have materially ceased to exist. Its continuation and operation obstruct normal life, more to the detriment of the common man than the big obstructionist vested interests. This change in the situation was, in a sense, recognised by the Government when it decided to conduct the bye-elections.

The continuation of the emergency does not seem to be necessary now to fulfil the tasks of development and defence. And if the same extraordinary situation arises again, it can be revived.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India, therefore, is of the opinion that the Government should hold a consultation with the opposition parties in Parliament with a view to assessing the situation and lifting the emergency.

- 6 The mobilisation of bigger resources from the company finances and reserves as compulsory loans to the State;
- 7 Acquisition as compulsory loans substantial amounts

CPI Central Executive RESOLUTIONS

Delhi, April 11-14

their ill-gotten wealth in the form of gold bars and gold bullions. So long as gold hoarding by them is not effectively curbed and made impossible, this smuggling of gold cannot be easily stopped.

The Central Executive Committee is further of the view that in order to stop smuggling and wasteful use of gold, it is also necessary for the Government to enter into the trade in gold. It is Big Business, both foreign and Indian, which uses its trade connections and resources abroad to carry on gold smuggling but the Government refuses to bring these smugglers of high finance to book.

Only by enforcing effective measures in all these directions can the Gold Control Order be made a real success without needlessly injuring the interests of goldsmiths and the poorer sections of the people who keep their small savings for a rainy day in the form of gold ornaments.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the view that the unjust and anti-people taxes and levies could have been easily avoided.

In this connection, the Central Executive Committee would like to lay particular stress on the urgency of the nationalisation of banks and oil industry, on the substantial expansion of state trading in the internal market, specially in respect of foodgrains, as well as in our external trade

basis to our national exchequer. Never was the need for these measures so great as at the present moment. Among other important measures which the Government should take the following would merit special attention:

1 The speedy recovery of tax arrears, particularly from the Big Business as well as the plugging of all evasion and avoidance of taxes;

2 Increase in the rate of super Profits tax and on other forms of earning;

3 Restoration of Wealth Tax on companies and enforcement of this tax against the wealthy who are avoiding it; restoration of the original 30 per cent on the issue of bonus share instead of the present 12½ per cent; restoration and enforcement of expenditure tax;

4 50 per cent reduction of profits, dividends, interest, etc. abroad by foreign private investors and businessmen in our country and tapping of amounts so available as compulsory loans to the State (the present remittances under these heads amount to nearly Rs.40 crores); increase in the mining royalties;

5 Suspension of payment of privy purse to the wealthy princes or at least reduction of such payment by 50 per cent;

of foreign assets held in banks and otherwise by Indian nationals as compulsory loans;

8 Realisation of the Government loans to the Tata Iron and Steel Company and the Indian Iron and Steel Company (Rs.10 crores each was advanced in 1954);

9 The expansion of public sector both by setting up new immediately profit-yielding units as well as by nationalisation and by taking over of the industries under the managements of the corrupt big business elements;

10 Reduction of expenditure on administrative services both under the Union and State Governments and effectual economy measures at all levels in the administration.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India appeals to all sections of our people and to all progressive forces in our life to raise their united voice in respect against all these unjust taxes and avoidable economic burdens on the masses.

It further appeals to them to unite in common efforts so that the Government is obliged to bring about the much-needed orientation in the budgetary and economic policies along the lines suggested above. Only thus can the people advance on democratic popular lines the cause of our national development and of our national defence.

ON THE DEADLOCK OVER COLOMBO PROPOSAL

DESPITE the efforts of the six non-aligned Afro-Asian countries who put forward the Colombo proposals, India-China negotiations have not yet begun, causing concern to all.

The Indian Government, true to the Panchsheel spirit, not only accepted the Chinese cease-fire proposals in practice but also accepted in toto the Colombo proposals and their clarifications. It welcomed the recent release of Indian prisoners-of-war.

The Chinese Government has, however, refused to accept the Colombo proposals. It claims that different interpretations have been given to it, though this has been authoritatively contradicted by the spokesmen of the Colombo Powers.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the opinion that the responsibility for the continuance of the present undesirable situation and for the failure to start negotiations lies wholly on the Chinese Government, which has turned down the just and honourable initiative and proposals of friendly and impartial non-aligned countries.

The Central Executive Committee deeply deplores that the Chinese Government

unreasonably persists in pressing forward its unilateral proposals and in carrying on a propaganda campaign of slander against India.

The ensuing deadlock in India-China relations keeps up the political climate of suspicion and fear of China, which the Indian Rightwing forces planfully utilise for their campaign of seeking military aid from the imperialists and challenging the progressive policies of the Nehru Government. The Chinese attitude thus strengthens the very forces which do not desire India-China negotiations and a peaceful settlement.

The adamant Chinese attitude, coupled with their threatening notes and disruptive moves, encourages the demand for ever greater military aid from the West. It is a dangerous development which weakens India internally as well as internationally.

The Central Executive Committee once again calls for vigilance against the US proposal for an "air umbrella" and its demand for bases

on Indian soil. Not only that. The US Government, however, has made no secret of its demand that the price of its continuing and increasing military and economic aid to India is our willingness to hand over Kashmir to Pakistan.

Patriotic India has expressed itself in unequivocal terms against surrender of Kashmir. Continued vigilance is necessary to see that no surrender of Kashmir takes place.

The US imperialists also seek to exploit India's need and the fact that China is a socialist country to demand that India take the lead in building a pro-west political-military alliance of Asian countries bordering on China. They seek a new SEATO minus the name, with a desire to trap India and make it act as the decoy-duck for other Asian nations.

Clear Indication

The US imperialists political aims were first expressed by the Harriman Mission and they were last driven home by the US Presidential Adviser Rostow. A clear indication was given in President Kennedy's recent message to the US Congress, where he categorically as Taiwan and South Vietnam.

Though the Government of India has rejected the US demand to change India's basic policies, yet it has made serious concessions in the name of Emergency, by agreeing to the stationing of the US Military Mission in Delhi and by granting US Military Observers the right of inspection, etc., and thus allowing them to interfere in defence matters. This cannot but encourage the US imperialists to keep up the pressure against the policy of non-alignment and threaten Indian sovereignty.

The Central Executive Committee calls upon all Party units to organise a nationwide campaign and rouse patriotic Indian people with the following slogans:

- ★ The policy of non-alignment is in the best interests of the country;
- ★ Achieve self-reliance in national defence;

FOR THIS PURPOSE —

- 1 More and more defence production factories to produce all the military equipment we need;
- 2 Get all the technical and economic aid from foreign countries;
- 3 Get urgently needed arms from any source on commercial terms.

It may be mentioned that these concerns are in many ways a progeny or have been closely associated with the other nine concerns of the Dalmia-Jain group which form the subject matter of the Vivian Bose Enquiry Commission. The findings of the Commission have brought to light the mounting malpractices, fraud and corruption on the part of the management of these Companies. But the revelations about the malpractice, corruption and swindle are by no means confined to only this group of businessmen but are indeed

typical of the manner in which the monopolists and Big Business in the country are behaving today.

In this connection it will not be out of place to refer to the serious allegations against the two Birla concerns—the New Asiatic General Insurance Company and the Ruby General Insurance Company.

The affairs of these two Companies were also investigated by the Chartered Accountants under the ins-

BUT IN THE NAME OF DEFENCE—

- a No involvement in the system of US military aid;
- b No need for foreign military missions on Indian soil to supervise our defence;
- c No surrender of Kashmir;
- d No concessions to US blackmail.

India's firm adherence to our independent self-reliant defence policy will get us all our military requirements from all friendly countries, without in any way compromising our basic policies. Weakening before imperialist pressure will encourage Indian Rightwing, damage Indian sovereignty, weaken non-alignment and cause dismay among all the peace-loving countries.

Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly stated India is opposed to a military solution of our dispute with China. The Communist Party of India extends its full support to the Government of India's offer of arbitration to settle the dispute, if negotiations fail.

In face of Chinese recalcitrance, it becomes India's responsibility to do everything in its power to secure the help of friendly countries for the acceptance of the Colombo proposals by China so that peaceful negotiations may begin.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the efforts being made by the Colombo Powers to persuade China to accept the Colombo proposals. Afro-Asian solidarity demands that the historic Afro-Asian initiative of Colombo bears fruit.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to world democratic opinion, and especially to the Socialist countries and the Afro-Asian nations to use their influence to ensure that the Colombo proposals are accepted by the Chinese Government and negotiations begin.

The Central Executive Committee welcomes the growing expression of opinion against the anti-national policies of Right reaction, particularly among Congressmen. The AICC resolution in support of national policies and warning against the reactionary forces and policies was a forceful expression of this healthy trend.

The future of our country depends upon Congressmen, Communists and all patriotic elements to get together to rout the reactionary Rightwing parties, enemies of non-alignment and advocates of military alliance with the Western Powers. Such national democratic unity is the only guarantee of effective national defence and the way to peace with honour.

Rebutt To Right Reaction

tructions from the Government. But strangely enough the Government has thought fit to ignore the findings of the Chartered Accountants, not to speak of acting upon them. Reasons for this can be well imagined when one has in mind the tremendous pull of the Birlas over the administration.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India demands the entire matter regarding these two Birla concerns be placed before Parliament.

LATIN AMERICA: BASIC FACTS

For most of us Indians, Latin America has been a closed book for a long time. The dazzling glare of the dollar-lit United States had for many years thrown a curtain of darkness across the great continent to the South.

JUST as the European "information" about India and the Orient was projected in the imperialist mythology of turbaned Maharajas and Sikhs, dancing girls and harems, snake charmers and rope-dancers, so the "knowledge" about Latin America was doped with the legend of a moon-gazing crazy people, horse riders and night clubs, the casinos and the beaches etc., etc.

But since the Cuban revolution of 1959, Latin America has emerged out of the shadows. The eyes of the whole world are now turned towards this part of the globe which has been variously described as "The Continent of Sorrow", "the disintegrating continent", "the vast American hinterland", "the joyous land of colour and beauty."

In reality it is a land of immense riches and terrible poverty; people who have many problems common with the peoples of Asia and Africa such as poverty and low living standards, economic and social under-development, illiteracy and unemployment — the common problems of all victims of imperialism.

Latin America consists of Mexico, the five Republics of Central America (Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Panama); the three Caribbean Republics (Cuba, the Dominican Republic and the Haiti) and South America consisting of Republics of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela.

It extends from Rio Grande, the Mexican border with USA down to Cape Horn, an area of eight million square miles, nearly one fifth of the land surface of the world. Its population is, however, 200 million i.e., 7 per cent of the population of the world, that too concentrated in a few places notably Argentina, Brazil, the valley of Central Chile and the central plateau of Mexico.

Over much of the whole area, both north and south of Panama canal there are hardly any roads or railways and immense spaces such as the Amazon region and Orinoco valleys, the Gran Chaco and northern Mexico are virtually uninhabited. The great centres of population are isolated from each other; there is far less travel between them than between the USA and Canada or Western Europe and only 10 per cent of the foreign trade of Latin American countries is with one another.

POPULATION

According to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, the estimated population of Latin America was as under:

Mexico	34 million
Central America	12 million
Cuba	7 million
Haiti and Dominican Republic	7 million
Brazil	67 million
Argentina	21 million
Rest of S. America	52 million

As can be seen from the above data, 60 per cent of the total population of the continent is concentrated in three countries, namely, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina.

Also, this population is increasing at a very high rate. According to the same source, the rate

of growth per year of population in Latin America is 2.5 per cent as compared with 0.8 per cent for Europe, 1.6 per cent for Asia and 1.7 per cent for North America and Africa.

It is also estimated that by 1975, the population of Latin America will be 300 million and by the year 2000 it will reach the figure of 600 million.

A majority of the peoples of Latin American countries, like their counterparts in Asia and Africa, live in rural areas and engage themselves in agriculture and allied pursuits.

According to a survey conducted by the WHO in some States of Latin America in 1958, the percentage of rural and urban population is as under:

	Rural	Urban
Honduras	69.0	31.0
Costa Rica	66.5	33.5
Guatemala	69.1	30.9
Panama	64.1	35.9
Brazil	64.0	36.0
Mexico	57.0	43.0
Argentina	37.0	63.0
Chile	40.0	60.0

Thus, with the exception of Argentina and Chile, the majority of Latin American people live in the rural areas.

There has, however, been a strong tendency towards urbanisation especially during the last three decades. Great cities like Buenos Aires (6 million), Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Mexico (4 million each), Santiago, Havana, Bogota, Caracas, Lima and Montevideo have emerged as great urban centres as well as centres of industry and administration.

MIGRATIONS

According to historians, the modern Latin America is the product of three great migrations. The first came from Asia 25,000 years ago through the shores of Bering Strait, today a 56 mile lounge of water separating American Alaska and Russian Siberia. It is said that in long past, there was a land link between the two.

The second migration came from Europe 4½ centuries ago, Spanish, Portuguese, followed by the Dutch, French and English, who became the master race in a short span of time.

The third migration, an enforced one, came from Africa, in the form of the African slaves imported into America to provide labour.

So it has come to pass that young America is the blood child of old Asia, Europe and Africa.

The present racial composition of Latin America is extremely varied. Argentina, Uruguay and Costa Rica are predominantly white, Haiti is almost completely black and both Cuba and the Dominican Republic have a high proportion of Negro blood.

In most countries there has been a great deal of inbreeding. This has taken place between the native Indian and white settlers resulting in the "Mestizo" and also between the Negro and the White resulting in the "Mulatto". There is also a small stream of Chinese blood, particularly in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, but its influence on most of the countries is negligible.

The present Latin American is an amalgam of white, brown and

★ By Lajpat Rai

black racial stocks and has inherited something from each of his ancestors — the dare-devilry of the Spanish, the sense of melody and rhythm of the Negro, as well as his superstitions and finally the mellowness and primitive nature of the Red Indian.

The language spoken in Latin America is Spanish except in Brazil, where Portuguese is spoken and in Haiti which is French speaking.

Latin America is a vast continent with immense economic resources, though most of them remain undeveloped for reasons which we shall discuss elsewhere. The vast fertile agricultural lands of Argentine Pampas, Sao Paulo, South East of Brazil, the vast table lands of central Chile and the central plateau of Mexico have no rival anywhere else in the world.

RICHES

The mineral wealth of the continent is also fabulous. In 1958, the world output of crude oil was 780 million metric tons. Of this Latin America produced nearly a quarter. It produced 613,000 tons of copper out of the world total production of 3,450,000 tons. Copper reserves of Chile are the largest in the world, some 70 million tons of metal.

The region produces one-fifth of the world production of lead and zinc, one-sixth of the world production of tin, 40% of the world production of silver, has immense reserves of nitrates, bauxite, sulphur, nickel, tungsten and many other metals and ores.

According to the World Food and Agricultural Organisation (World Forest Resources, 1955), Latin America has 890 million hectares of forest of which 329

There is deep interest among the Indian people in the struggle of the Latin American peoples against United States imperialism. The recent Congress in solidarity with Cuba held in Brazil has drawn world-wide attention to the heroic battles being waged in this continent. Several readers have asked for detailed factual information about Latin America.

NEW AGE is happy to be able to publish this first article by Lajpat Rai, which gives the background facts about the Continent. Subsequent articles will deal with the United States economic domination of Latin America.

million are "accessible". Of this only 83 million are in use. The seas around Latin America abound in fish of all types and the potential resources of this very important food are immense.

Yet in spite of all this wealth, which nature in her bounty endowed upon Latin America, the people of this region are some of the poorest in the world.

The per capita income of Latin American countries depends largely upon world prices of the products they export. Moreover most of the countries rely mainly on exports of a single commodity, which provides anything from 50 to 90 per cent of their total export earnings. Therefore, the national income and the per capita income of these countries is a variable factor, depending upon the price situation.

In 1947, a year of high prices for Latin American exports, the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) calculated the per capita incomes of some of the countries:

1947 (per capita income converted into rupees)	
Haiti	125
Ecuador	260
Dominican Republic	344
Brazil	625
Mexico	768

The above figures eloquently reveal the type of poverty that must be existing in the countries of Latin America, a poverty reminiscent of Asia and Africa, in some cases worse.

Moved by the agonizing poverty of the people, James A. Swift, an American traveller and journalist wrote as follows:

"It would seem that stoutest of hearts would melt in compassion at these poor people, starving,

eaten up by disease, ragged and filthy beyond all powers of description. In every town and village of South America, the sight is the same. Poor wan little children, half starved, without proper clothes or shoes fill the streets. Many cases are too hopeless for tears. Despair seems to have eaten out the centres of their hearts and left their eyes dry."

According to the cultural survey of the WHO, the living standards of the people are very low: "Many live on the border line of starvation without proper shelter or food. The children are the worst victims of these conditions. They roam the streets, famished with hungry looks in their eyes, their bodies covered with festering sores, begging or stealing as the occasion may demand."

Many more such passages could be quoted. The rate of illiteracy is also very high in these poor lands. According to the 1950 census, which was conducted almost simultaneously in many Latin American countries, the figures for illiteracy of persons above 10 years of age are as under:

Percentage of illiteracy	
Brazil	50
Mexico	50
Argentina	13
Chile	20
Cuba	58
Uruguay	61
Ecuador	63
Haiti	70

Thus we have a picture of Latin America — the picture of a vast sprawling continent with a small though rapidly growing population, dependent mostly on agriculture and export of farm products, living in poverty like the masses of Asia and Africa, illiterate and underdeveloped, yet hoping to stand up and build a happy future.

CPI Publications On

QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Booklet 1

Workers of All Countries Unite, Oppose Our Common Enemy

People's Daily, 15 December 1962

Strengthen Unity of the Communist Movement for the Triumph of Peace and Socialism

Pravda, 7 January 1963

50 nP

2 The Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us

People's Daily, 31 December 1962

Let Us Bring the Discussion Back to its Real Terms

By Palmiro Togliatti

The Struggle for Structural Reforms and its Revolutionary Significance

By Luigi Longo

50 nP

3 Let Us Unite on the Basis of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement

People's Daily, 27 January 1963

For Marxist-Leninist Unity of the Communist Movement, for Cohesion of the Socialist Countries

Pravda, 10 February 1963

50 nP

4 Exchange of Messages between Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China Cementing the Unity of the Communist Movement is our International Duty

World Marxist Review, February 1963

35 nP

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE NEW DELHI

Com. Shrivastava,
wishes you kindly
announce immediately after
Dange has spoken that Com.
from both industry will
meet here stay on here for
a few minutes after this
session for some important
consultation.

B. G. D. Shi

18th April

- 1. Post Dock - - - - - 10
9 am.
- 1. Dinner table
telephone met. : 11
10 am.
- 2. Sex: met : 3.20
11 am.
- 3. Coal cons : 4.20
3 pm.
- 4.20
5 pm.

1. Statement about Assets of Trade Unions. 7 top.
2. Plan coins 5 top.
- 3.
4. Industrial Profits. --- 2
5. Prices. --- 2
6. Wages. --- 2
6. Rabotnik Congress h. attitude of the N. Centre towards the --- 2
7. The Budget affecting home people 6-7 top.

Dr. Agastya M.S.
Jeevananda
Rabul

Maly's

1. Exp: + 1000
2. Cost.
3. Rev.

Res.

1. French
2. Italian
3. Cuba.

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS
(General Council Meeting - 15-17 April '63)

STATEMENT ABOUT ARRESTS OF TRADE UNIONISTS

<u>State.</u>	<u>No. arrested.</u>	<u>No. released</u>
1. Andhra Pradesh	9	4
2. Assam (report incomplete)	2	nil
3. Bihar	10	nil
4. Kerala	12	12
5. Gujerat	18	16
6. Madhya Pradesh	4	nil
7. Madras	59	about 30
8. Maharashtra	27	10
9. Mysore	14	3
10. Orissa	7	3
11. Punjab	5	5
12. Rajasthan	3	nil
13. Uttar Pradesh	9	1
14. West Bengal	114	49 (47 on bail)
15. Delhi	3	3
16. Himachal Pradesh	2	nil
17. Goa	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
	308	about 145

Note:- This list is prepared on the basis of some of the reports received in the AITUC office and from press news and is by no means complete.

The following members of the WORKING COMMITTEE are now in detention:

1. P. Ramamurti, 2. K. T. K. Thangamani, 3. Monoranjan Roy,
4. Shantaram Pai, 5. Md. Ismail, 6. Sudhir Mukhoti,
7. T. R. Ganesan, 8. Sailen Paul, 9. M. C. Narasimhan,
10. S. K. Sanyal, 11. Barin Chowdhury, 12. B. S. Dhume,
13. D. P. Ghosh, 14. Vithal Choudhari.

The following members of the WORKING COMMITTEE were arrested and later released:

1. Bhalachandra Trivedi, 2. Y. D. Sharma, 3. D. C. Mohanty,
4. Ram Asrey (released on condition that he will not stay in Kanpur municipal limits).

The following members of the GENERAL COUNCIL are now in detention:-

1. G. S. Balaji Doss, 2. P. Ramakotiah; 3. Ali Amjad;
4. Barin Dey; 5. Satyanarain Singh; 6. S. Y. Kolhatkar;
7. Krishna Khopkar, 8. Anant Nagapurkar; 9. A. B. Bardhan;
10. Hanuman Singh; 11. Diwakar; 12. R. Umanath; 13. V. Kar-
- megam, 14. A. Nallasivam, 15. Suryanarayana Rao;
16. M. S. Krishnan; 17. B. N. Kuttappa; 18. V. M. Govindan;
19. Nityananda Ponda; 20. Ghanshyam Sinha; 21. Mughal Beg;
22. Robin Mukherjee; 23. S. A. Farooqui, 24. Abul Hossain;
25. Pravat Mitra; 26. Jadugopal Sen; 27. Robin Sen.

The following members were arrested and later released:

1. Chatur Ali (released on bail); 2. Piara Singh,
3. P. Virudhagiri; 4. S. C. Krishnan; 5. K. S. Janakiraman;
6. A. S. K. Iyengar; 7. K. M. Sundaram; 8. K. P. Prabhakaran;
9. K. A. Rajan; 10. O. J. Joseph; 11. K. V. Surendranath;
12. A. George Chadayammuri; 13. Shantilal Vasa;
14. Vajubhai Shukla; 15. J. Satyanarayana;
16. M. V. Bhadram.

SATE-WISE

ANDHRA PRADESH

In Detention

1. G.S.Balajidas
2. P.Ramakotiah
- 3-5. Vittal, Afzal and Lingiah,
workers of Mandamari Mines.

Released

1. J.Satyanarayana
2. M.V.Bhadram
3. V.Srikrishna
4. V.Anantaramiah.

ASSAM.

1. Barin Chowdhury
2. Mohd.Islam Khan
(list incomplete)

BIHAR

1. Ali Amjad
2. Barin Dey
3. Naipen Banerjee
4. Satyarain Singh
- 5-10. K.C.Solanki and five others of
United Mineral workers Union,
Gua (Some arrests in connection
with the Barauni dispute have
been reported. Details not
available.)

KERALA.

1. T.V.Thomas
2. George Chadayammuri
3. K.V.Surendranath
4. J.Chittaranjan.
5. K.S.Anandan.
6. E.Balanandan
7. P.Gangadharan
8. K.P.Gopalan.
9. K.A.Rajan
10. O.J.Joseph
11. K.P.Prabhakaran
12. P.P.Krishnan.

GUJERAT

1. Hanuman Singh,
2. Abdul Razak.

1. Vajubhai Shukla
2. Subodh Mehta
3. B.Trivedi
4. Shantilal Vasa
5. P.D.Gandhi
6. Haru Mehta
7. Tulsidas Poria
8. Amrit Desai
9. Pravin Sridharani
10. Shivram Joshi
11. Karikrishna Shah
12. Manubhai Palkhiwala
13. Manubhai C.Desai
14. Rambhai Visana
15. Deva Vasta
16. Mahiman Desai

In Detention:

Released

MADHYA PRADESH

1. Diwakar.
2. Sambal Chakravarty
3. Hamid Khan
4. Dalal.

MADRAS

1. M.Kalyanasundaram
2. T.R.Ganesan
3. P.Ramamurti
4. K.T.K.Tangamani
5. S.Thangaswami
6. M.Poraikalam
7. K.Murugesan
8. K.S.Janakiraman
9. Hari Bhat
10. S.C.Krishnan
11. Bella Goundar
12. Narayanan
13. G.S.Mani
14. Ali
15. M.A.Vaheed
16. Parthasarathy, Chingleput (Handloom)
17. C.K.Madhavan.
18. A.C.Parthasarathy
19. Dr.G.Kannabiran
20. V.Kannan.
21. V.S.Sriraman.
22. P.Krishnan
23. Syed Umath
24. K.Krishnan
25. A.Srinivasa-n.
26. Alók
27. Ulaganathan.
28. R.H.Nathan.
29. C.Govindarajulu
30. Shanmugam
31. A.Padmanabhan
32. K.A.Nambiar.
33. R.Umanath
34. K.P.S.Kone.
35. K.S.Ramaswami
36. Udayavar
37. T.P.Rethinam
38. K.T.Raju
39. A.Nallasivam
40. Meenakshinathan
41. Balavinaayagam
42. S.A.Muruganandham
43. K.B.S.Mani
44. P.Manickam
45. K.Balan.
46. K.Challappan
47. K.S.Arthanari
48. K.Ramani
49. M.Marudhachalam
50. S.R.Thangavelu
51. A.Balasubramaniam
52. N.Krishnaswami
53. P.Dhandapani
54. S.Mannarswami
55. S.A.Thangaraj

The names of comrades released have not been received from the STUC. Those known to have been released are:

1. A.S.K.Iyengar
2. K.M.Sundaram.
3. M.K.Ranganathan
4. P.Vridhagiri

(about 30 comrades have been released)

In Detention:

Released

MAHARASHTRA

1. B.S.Dhume
2. B.D.Jagtap
3. Chauthmal
4. Nagapurkar
5. Vithal Chaudhari
6. S.Y.Kolhatkar
7. Samuel Augustine
8. P.K.Jurane
9. Krishna Khopkar
10. A.B.Bardhan
11. Rambhai Nagare.
12. L.K.Oak
13. Raoba Chikane
14. D.S.Vaidya
15. B.P.Kashyap
16. Prabhakar Donde
17. S.K.Sanyal.

1. Sant Ram Patil
2. B.N.Mukherjee
3. R.S.Kulkarni
4. A.D.Bhonsle.
5. S.K.Limaye
6. Y.V.Chavan
7. Madhukar Katre
8. Jayasing Mali Bhor
9. Dutta Deshmukh
10. Bhau Phatak.

MYSORE

1. K.S.Vasan.
2. S.Suryanarayana Rao
3. M.C.Narasimha
4. V.M.Govindan.
5. M.S.Krishnan
6. Shantaram Pai
7. M.N.Ugrappa
8. B.N.Kuttappa
9. D.V.Singh
10. Chandukutty Nair
11. G-angadhar Naoshi
12. Y.R.Satya
13. B.V.Kakilaya

1. Monna Setty
2. Mense, Gulbarga.
3. Hussain "

ORISSA

1. Nityananda Ponda
2. N.K.Bose
3. H.Behera

1. D.C.Mohanty
2. Ajit Roy
3. Nand Kishore Patnaik
4. Prabir Palit.

PUNJAB

1. Piara Singh
2. Parduman Singh
3. Tulsi Ram
4. Rachpal Singh
5. Makhan Singh .

RAJASTHAN

1. Mohan Punamia
2. Iqbal Singh
3. Radha Vallabh.

UTTAR PRADESH

1. Ravi Sinha
2. Ghanshyam Sinha
3. Harsahai Singh
4. Ashok Bose
5. Mughal Beg
6. K.C.Gupta
7. Manna
8. S.C.Dutta.

1. Ram Asrey

WEST BENGAL

1. Phani Bagchi
2. Sitaram Singh.

ON BAIL

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Monoranjan Roy2. Sudhir Mukhoti3. Mohd. Ismail4. S.A. Farooqui5. Rama Shankar Prasad6. S.N. Mazumdar7. Ratan Lal Brahman8. A.P. Pathak9. Rajen Sinha10. Bhadra Bahadur Hamal11. Provat Mitra12. Gobin Kar-ar13. Nakhatra Banerjee14. Kali Banerjee15. Robin Mukherjee16. B.N. Tewary17. Kesto Ghosh18. Jadugopal Sen19. Biren Bose20. Rajdeo Goala21. Sitaram Gupta22. Sunil Basu Roy23. Juran Ganguli24. Charu Mazumdar25. Robin Sen26. Brajala Guha27. M.A. Sayeed28. Abul Hossain29. Pratap Chandra Sinha (worker in J.K. Steel)30-34. Nur Mohammed and four other workers of Jayshree Textiles35-39. Subodh Sarkar and four other workers of Lakhinarayan Cotton Mill40. Sudhin Ganguly41. Gurupada Roy42. Kanak Sen43. Gopal Acharya44. Naresh Pal45. Amaresh Mazumdar46. Gopal Ghosh47. K.N. Dhananjayam (CMS)48-57. Ramrup Sahani and 9 others of Khas Kajora Colliery58-62. Chowthi Ahir and 4 others of Adjai II Colliery. | <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Sailen Paul2. Gour Goswami3. Nemai Roy4. Santi Chatterjee5. Sunil Das.6. T.N. Sriwastava7. Chatur Ali8. Jamini Saha9. Tarun Mitra10. Jnan Mukherjee11. Saroj Mitra12. Amal13. Moniram Sahu14. Nandadulal Srimani15. Kartik Das16. Banshi Harijan, CMS17. Ambika Pandey18-38. 20 workers of Doqars Plantations39. Paresh Das.40. S.L. Lakhra41. Pranab Chakraborty42-49. Niresh Thakur and 7 other miners. |
|--|---|

DELHI

1. Y.D.Sharma
2. Dev Vrat
3. Baldev Singh

HIMACHAL PRADESH

1. Tara Chand
2. Bhagat Ram

GOA

1. George Vaz
2. Gerald Pereira
3. Nagesh Naik
4. S.V.Moghe
5. Diwakar Kakodkar
6. Raymond Cardoz
7. Chandrakant Kakodkar
8. Gajanan Patil
9. Narayan Palekar.

NATIONAL EMERGENCY AND ATTITUDE
OF OTHER TU CENTRES TOWARDS AITUC

As was expected, the leaderships of the INTUC and HMS tried their utmost to capitalise on the situation created by the national emergency to pursue their anti-AITUC policies more vigorously. Their tactics of sabotaging the tripartite machinery, by refusing to sit with the AITUC representatives, succeeded to a large extent. Only in Andhra Pradesh and Kerala could the State Labour Advisory Boards meet in a somewhat normal manner and in all other States, the State Governments obliged them by not convening the tripartite bodies. The Central Government has also refused to convene the Standing Labour Committee as demanded by the AITUC to review the working of the Industrial Truce Resolution.

2. The main angle of the INTUC propaganda can be seen from the following extracts from the INDIAN WORKER, organ of the INTUC.

Writing editorially on October 29, the INDIAN WORKER, said: "While we have every confidence that workers and their organisations will solidly stand behind the Government at this juncture, we would like to add a word of caution about the activities of the AITUC and the Communists. Even though the AITUC and the Communists might openly declare themselves in favour of war efforts, we should be careful about their professions.....While they may not say anything openly against measures to augment production, they may try to divert attention towards minor grievances....."

3. The Working Committee of the INTUC which met in New Delhi on November 26 adopted a resolution in which the workers were asked to "Disown the AITUC": "On the labour front, the AITUC is only an extension of CPI to work out its policies among the working class. This front too has been cleverly designed to accommodate fellow-travellers who can be paraded before the masses as independents. The AITUC is affiliated to WFTU which has not and cannot condemn China as aggressor as the All China Federation of Trade Unions is affiliated to the WFTU. Trade Unions, the party and the Government are indistinguishable in the communist countries. The AITUC affiliation with WFTU along with All-China Federation of Trade Unions is proof that the AITUC can never sincerely organise the working class to fight the Chinese menace. AITUC's role, therefore, in spite of its protestations to the contrary is bound to be anti-national. It is for the working class to isolate the AITUC from the movement. This is essential to effectively organise our defence and to throw out the aggressor from our soil. The small section of the working class that is still with the AITUC should, therefore, break away from it and join national and democratic free unions."

4. The Indian Worker (Dec.3) demanded a ban on the Communist Party. In another editorial on December 17, it asked Government not to allow the AITUC to function.

5. The HIND MAZDOOR, organ of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, in an editorial in its November issue said: "Today, the AITUC and the Communists dare not preach their anti-national policies to workers openly. Nor do they dare sabotage the defence effort by inciting industrial unrest. But there is a very real danger that they will try to do precisely that when they feel that present upsurge of patriotic sentiment has subsided. They are biding their time. The free and nationalist trade unionists must be alive to this danger and prepare workers against it."

The Communists reckon that after a few months, the industrial tension will assert themselves and workers will start complaining against continued denial of their claims. That, they feel, will be the time when they can come forward and foment industrial unrest. The nationalist organisations, because of their unqualified commitment to defence will, according to communist calculations, be at a disadvantage in handling discontent of workers when it shows itself".

6. The HIND MAZDOOR went on to say: "It should be ensured that nationalist trade unions do not dissipate their strength and energy in fighting each other, but concentrate on fighting communist influences among workers, even if this involves a major reorientation in their policies and activities."

7. The "major reorientation" on the part of these "free and nationalist trade unions" was attempted in some States. In Maharashtra, they formed some sort of a joint committee but after the initial enthusiasm and slogan-mongering of rabid anti-communism, all their efforts to come to any workable arrangement between INTUC and HMS seem to have not progressed very far. An important item in forming this TU fronts was the coming together of not only INTUC & HMS but also giving platform to representatives of Bharatiya Mazdur Sangh in Bombay, Kanpur & Delhi. INTUC elements joined them in practice at some places.

8. The INTUC and HMS have, jointly with the employers' organisations, revived the discredited "Joint Consultative Board" (JCB), with a view to promote direct bipartite settlements with the employers. The JCB is reported to have urged Governments not to refer to adjudication disputes which are before that Board. But all tall talks of promoting bipartite settlements with the employers through the JCB stand in sharp contrast with the universal condemnation of the employers by both the INTUC and HMS for breach of the Industrial Truce Resolution. The labour debate in the Lok Sabha did show the INTUC and HMS leaders in somewhat militant mood as against the employers.

9. While the INTUC and HMS leaders have not given up their active policy of disrupting the workers' unity by their rabid anti-AITUC policies, recently their attacks have a bit mellowed down. They seem to have realised that despite the joint front of INTUC and HMS the arrests of AITUC activists and the repressive policy of employers and Government, the AITUC has held to its ground. A lot of realism was seen in the resolutions of the INTUC Working Committee held in February as against their rather vulgar abuses against the AITUC in November last. The INTUC in February had piped down the rabid anti-AITUC slander and had to say more about breaches of the Industrial Truce by the employers.

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

(G.C. MEETING, DELHI, April 15-17, '63)

THE PLAN IN CRISIS:

Two years of the Third Plan are already over and we have entered the Third Year now. The planned economy in our country has been in existence for more than a decade and its reappraisal is being made in all quarters in the country.

Working class cannot remain indifferent to the great debate going on in the country with regard to the assessment of planning as a whole. This is more so in view of the fact that increased defence requirements is closely linked up with the successful implementation of the plan.

In spite of tall talk of accelerating the rate of economic growth during the Third Plan period, Indian economy is not moving as it was expected to before launching the Third Plan.

The Third Plan estimated that national income should go up by about 30 per cent and per capita income by about 17 per cent over a period of five years.

Agricultural production was expected to go up by 30 per cent during the plan period. However there was absolutely no rise in overall food production in the year 1961-62 while foodgrain production actually dropped down from 79.7 million tons in 1960-61 to 78.6 million tons in 1961-62. Economic Survey 1962-63 gives the following picture of the agricultural production for the current year.

- "The total output of foodgrains is expected to be larger, though there may be some shortfall in output of rice. The production of cotton is expected to be substantially higher than in 1961-62, although there may be a further decline in the output of sugarcane. Production of jute is not expected to be maintained at the high level reached last year. Altogether, the current year's crop may not show a very substantial improvement over the peak level of agricultural production in 1960-61". (Page 13)

Thus the first two years of the Third Plan have resulted in only a slight increase in the agricultural production. Unless it goes up by ten per cent in the remaining three years there is no possibility of reaching the targets of the Third Plan. Naturally we have to depend more and more on other countries in the matter of foodgrain supply. For example imports of foodgrains in 1962 amounted to 3.58 million tons as compared to 3.44 million tons in 1961.

The estimated production of rice during 1962-63 would be a little more than 30 million tons while in 1965-66 it is supposed to reach the target of 45 million tons! The target of wheat production is 15 million tons while we are producing 13.4 million tons at present. The total production of foodgrains is expected to reach 100 million tons while in 1962-63 the estimated production is expected to be somewhere near 80 million tons only.

In the first Plan, agricultural production rose by about 17 per cent. While during the Second Plan the rise amounted to about 16 per cent. The First two years of the Third Plan have not witnessed any substantial rise in overall agricultural production. Eventhough outlays on agricultural production are proposed to be almost doubled in the Third Plan in comparison with the second Plan the present progress seems to be highly unsatisfactory. Except perhaps the Food Minister of the Union Government nobody is confident of fulfilling the target of agricultural production!

In the industrial sector we have no doubt made some progress during the last two years. But shortfalls occurred during the Second Plan period, have been extremely serious, which can be seen from the following table:-

Production Targets for 1960-61 & Actual Performance.

	Unit	Production Target	Actual performance.
Steel Finished	(M.Tons)	4.3	2.2
Nitrogen Fertilisers	('000 tons)	290.0	110.0
Phosphatic "	('000 tons)	120.0	55.0
Textile Machinery	(Rs.Crores)	17.0	9.0
Cement Machinery	(")	2.0	0.6
Paper Machinery	(")	4.0	.
Aluminium	(Lacs)	25.0	18.5
Nesprint (('000 tons)	60.0	25.0
Chemical Pupl.	('000 tons)	30.0	-
Soda Ash	('000 tons)	230.00	145.0
Caustic Soda	('000 tons)	135.0	100.0
Dyestuffs	(mill.lbs)	22.0	11.50
Cement	(mill.tons)	13.0	8.50

Thus in industries of crucial importance, it has not been possible to reach the targets.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.

The estimated Index of Industrial Production for the year 1962 comes to 149 taking 1956 as the base year. The rise in the industrial production since 1958 can be seen from the following table.

	Index	Percentage increase over previous year.
1958	108.1	.
1959	117.0	8.2
1960	129.7	10.9
1961	139.0	7.2
1962	149.1	7.2

Thus the production is estimated to have gone up by 7.2 per cent during 1962. The rate of growth was the same as in 1961. However, this rate is lower than the last two years of the Second Plan. The year 1962 witnessed actual fall in the production of sugar, cotton yarn and cloth, matches, power alcohol, lubricants and diesel engines.

NATIONAL INCOME

The slow rate of growth in the economy is reflected in the figures of national income also. The national income during the First Plan went up by 18.4 per cent at constant prices, the corresponding figure for the Second Plan was 20.4 per cent. The Third Plan envisages a sustained rate of growth in national income of around 6 per cent per annum. However, during 1961-62, the national income rose by 2.4 per cent only while the average rate of growth during the First and Second Plans was around four per cent per annum.

During the First Plan period, per capita national income at constant prices rose by 8.2 per cent, i.e. only 1.6 per cent per annum. During the Second Plan, per capita income rose by 8.6 per cent, i.e. by 1.7 per cent per annum. During the first year of the Third Plan, we find a slight reduction in the per capita national income.

Seeing the Plan in crisis, the Big Business in the country brought pressure on Government to give more concessions to the private sector and more facilities for foreign private capital to collaborate with Indian capital.

The resolution adopted at the Congress Parliamentary Party's Executive Committee meeting in the first week of January recommended that the ceiling for foreign participation in the share capital of Indian shipping companies be raised from 25 per cent to 40 per cent. This concession was granted to foreign capital when hardly 10 per cent of our foreign trade is carried in Indian bottoms and in the field of tramping and oil tankers, the share of Indian shipping is only 2 or 3 per cent.

Between April 1, 1961 to December 31, 1962, out of a sum of Rs.69.29 crores which we received from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, a sum of Rs.35.48 crores was for the Private Sector. Apart from this, during this period, Premier Automobiles were given a loan of Rs.1.43 crores; D.C.M. Rayon Tyre Cord Project - Rs.4.67 crores; Telco - Rs.6.52 crores; Napco Bevel Gear of India - Rs.1.09 crores, as from the U.S. Agency for International Development. Many more agreements for foreign collaboration have been signed during the same period.

As a token of appreciation of the shift in the official policy, this is what 'CAPITAL' has to say:

"Looking back, one has to acknowledge that official policy has veered round towards greater realism in several ways during the past year - and this may be among the few hopeful signposts for the future!" (CAPITAL, March 3, '63 P.334)

The performance of the public sector has left great scope for the private sector to take offensive and criticise it for its inefficiency. This was particularly seen in a glaring manner in the case of coal industry where the public sector directly competes with the private sector. The private sector collieries are confident of achieving the target of 49.33 million tons in 1962-63, making an increase of 2.98 million tonnes over the actual raisings in 1961-62.

How is the performance of the public sector in the coal belt? Against the target of 9.3 million tonnes for 1962-63, the NCDC produced only 5.97 million tonnes in the first nine months of the year, thus leaving a substantial gap which was not expected to be filled up in the remaining three months. Such examples are being widely used by the private sector to put more pressure on the Government to give it greater facilities.

.....
.....4.

It has to be seen at the same time that in the case of certain heavy industrial projects, as in alloy steel and fertilisers, the private sector industrialists who were issued the license failed to put up the plants and hence the Government had to revoke their licenses. This happened particularly in the case of alloy steel and fertilisers. In both cases, the licenses (Tatas in the former case) were reissued to public sector undertakings. The failure of the private sector units to utilise the licenses has to be seen in the context of manoeuvres to wring greater concessions from Government.

The significant rise in production in the three steel plants in State Sector during the period of Emergency has also to be noted. At the time, the TISCO's two million ton target remains as distant a goal as ever. Therefore, the claim of the Private Sector that it alone is efficient and can deliver the goods is not based on reality.

However, it is a fact that the Public Sector enterprises do not provide to the national exchequer the returns expected of them, because of ~~mis~~management in several cases, bad labour relations and the wide practice of contract system - the foul parasitic growth on our public Sector.

The prespective Planning Division of the Planning Commission has made some estimates regarding the future growth of our planned economy. Eventhough we take it for granted that all the plan targets are fulfilled, which of course is a remote possibility, the state will not be able to provide food shelter and clothing for the entire population. During the year 1976 India will still have a large army of unemployed workers in that year. The latest estimates show that even by the year 2001 one third of the population will still be on or below the poverty line because the population may increase upto 80 crores!

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

(General Council Meeting - 15-17 April '63)

A Note On
INDUSTRIAL PROFITS:

Despite claims by the employers that wages and other "costs of production" have gone up the industrial profits show an upward trend since the second plan. The Reserve Bank has computed Index of Industrial Profits till 1960 taking 1955 as the base year.

According to their calculation between 1955 to 1960 the gross profits (including depreciation) of all industries went up by 66.1 per cent. The index of industrial profits before tax show a rise of 60.9 per cent during the same period.

The highest rise in profits was recorded by Chemicals i.e. 225.2 per cent higher in 1960 than 1955. Jute, Silk and Woolen Textiles have also shown a rise of more than 150 per cent. Engineering industry has shown more than double the profits during the same period. Significant rise in profits was intruded by tea plantations. Sugar, Iron and Steel, Matches, Paper and Cotton Textile industry. Index of industrial profits for all the Industries can be seen from the following table.

Index of Industrial Profits. (Base 1955)

	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Gross Profits including Depreciation.	109.7	101.1	113.0	141.2	166.1
Profits before tax	112.0	90.4	102.9	138.7	160.9

(Reserve Bank of India Bulletin Jan-1963)

Reserve Bank has started calculating the new series since 1955. Therefore it is not possible to compare the profits before the second Plan period. The index of gross profits in 1955 taking 1950 as the base year was 150.8. If we convert the present index based on 1950 - 100 to the index based on 1950 - 100 we find that during 1950 and 1960 the profits went up by 150 per cent.

It does not mean that profits of every concern went up by such huge proportion. The industrial capacity of the country has gone up and new concerns have also come into existence adding the profits of the industry as a whole. Yet it shows the tremendous amount of capital accumulation which has taken place in our country during the last decade.

Figures of industrial profits after 1960 are not yet available. But the Survey conducted by the Economic Times, Bombay has given some indications of profits during 1961-62. According to this survey of 1011 big companies in India which account for about 75 per cent paid up capital of all public limited companies in India, excluding government companies 227 companies increased their dividends in 1961-62 compared with the previous year. It also pointed out the 378 companies maintained their position so far as dividends were concerned. Only 240 companies had not given dividends for both the years.

It can be said without much hesitation that industrialists in India have maintained their profitability even after 1960. The profits were particularly higher in textile and engineering industries.

Increase in production during the Emergency without rise in the wage level has resulted in increased profits for the employers. If the rise in the production does not reflect in increase in the standard of living of the workers and reduction in the price level it is bound to result in more and more accumulation of wealth with the rich sections of the community. The index of industrial production went up from 147.6 in September to 159.2 in November 1963. If the production has to go up still higher the government has to convince the workers that the rise in the production will not only benefit the capitalist class but the workers as well as the consumers.

The question acquires a special importance in view of the revelations of the Mahalanobis committee. Eventhough the Report has not yet been officially published, main conclusions have been published unofficially. According to the report in 1958 ten largest groups of industries in India Control 25 per cent of the total share capital of all non-government companies in India. The share of these companies increased by 5 per cent in the total Indian Private Sector during a period of six years.

The Report also pointed out growing concentration of wealth in fewer hands. In Cement for example ACC group industries top units accounted for 23 to 32% of production and in the engineering industries the topmost units accounted for 88% of the total of the total production.

The Report revealed the tremendous poverty existing in our country in spite all the development plans. According to one estimate 20 per cent of the population in 1958-56 had a per capita income of Rs.10 per month. This no doubt is a challenge to our planned economy and progress. The Report is a clear indication that apart from marching towards socialism our economy is drifting towards rapid concentration of wealth in the private sector.

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

(General Council Meeting - 15-17 April '63)

A Note On
PRICES:

The prices have shown a continuous tendency to rise since the Second Plan, despite assurances given by the Union Planning Minister repeatedly. The rigours of price rises hit the poorer sections harder while at the same time, the inflation helps capitalists to become richer still.

The following table shows the trend of the rise in the Wholesale Price Index:

GENERAL INDEX

	1952-53=100	1939=100
1958	111.0	422.5
1959	115.5	439.6
1960	122.9	467.8
1961	125.8	478.8
1962	127.2	484.1

The increase has been of the order of 14.6 per cent since 1958. As can be seen from the Index on 1939 base, the prevailing prices are five times as high as pre-war prices.

The Government policy as yet remains one of "preventing an undue increase in the prices of essential commodities." The Economic Survey, 1962-63, says:

"The price policy of Government during the current fiscal year was primarily concerned with preventing an undue increase in the production of these commodities which was a necessary condition for maintaining their prices at reasonable levels; and that, in the case of some commodities, marginal increases in prices received by producers would stimulate production."

Thus to stimulate production, some price rise was considered justified by the Government. Government also consented to increase the retention price of steel. Price rise was also granted with regard to coal and cement.

The Working Class Consumer Price Index has also risen gradually during the Second Plan and the first two years of the Third Plan. The price level in 1951 and in 1956 was almost identical but later, it started going up and in 1957, the General Index jumped to 111 and went further up to 116 in 1958. The rising trend continued in the later years.

WORKING CLASS CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

	Food Index	General Index
1959	125	121
1960	126	124
1961	126	126
1962	130	130

Official figures of the wholesale price index and the consumer price index since the Emergency are given below:

	WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX (1956=100)	CONSUMER PRICE INDEX (1949-=100)
1962 July ..	129.7	132
August ..	131.1	133
Sept ..	130.6	133
Oct. ..	129.9	134
Nov. ..	130.2	133
Dec ..	125.8	131
1963 January ..	126.0	131

While the workers have recently felt the pinch of the increasing prices, it is intriguing to find the Labour Bureau figures dropping down. It is equally intriguing to find that while there was a drop by 1.2 points in wholesale price index between August and October, the consumer price index actually rose by 1 point. It has been the criticism of the trade unions that the index figures do not correctly reflect the reality. The recent experience only provides a more convincing argument.

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

(General Council Meeting - 15-17 April '63)

NOTE ON WAGES

Wages has been an important item discussed in the Trade Union Conferences and Meetings. So it has been with A.I.T.U.C.

After the 15th Indian Labour Conference, Wage Boards have become an important ingredient of the wage-fixation machinery. During the Second Plan period, Wage Boards were appointed for textile, sugar, cement and jute and tea plantations industries. The Second Pay Commission also submitted its recommendations. We discussed the gains from these reports during the Coimbatore session. We also sharply criticised the delay in submitting their recommendations and failure to implement the norms laid down by the 15th Indian Labour Conference.

Since Coimbatore, we got the Wage Boards for coffee and rubber plantations, coal mines, and iron and steel industry. Separate wage boards for iron ore, manganese and dolomite mines are also expected to be appointed soon.

In respect of the Engineering industry, the Union Labour Minister announced in Parliament that a Study Group to look into the wage structure and problems involved and suggest solutions as to what sectors of the engineering industry may be covered by Wage Boards.

Interim relief has been recommended by Wage Boards for tea and coffee plantations, coal mines as well as iron and steel. What are the major gains to the workers from these Wage Boards?

The Tea Wage Board recommended 15 nP daily for adult worker and 8 nP for children from December 1, 1961. There is no difference between the rise granted to the male and female workers.

The Coffee Wage Board, however, has granted less rise to the female workers. For male workers in Mysore State, it has recommended a rise of 3 nP per day and 2 nP only for female workers. For Madras State, the increase varies from estate to estate and depends on the size of the estate. The increase is roughly from 8 to 13 nP per day for male workers.

For North India, the Board recommended a rise of eight nP per day for male workers and seven nP per day for female workers in West Bengal and Assam, except in Darjeeling and Cachar. In Darjeeling, male workers got nine nP per day as wage rise.

The Coal Wage Board recommended 37 nP per day increase in the wage for daily rated workers and Rs.9.75 for monthly-rated workers.

The Iron and Steel Wage Board recommended that excluding TISCO, all other steel plants should pay Rs.95 to the lowest paid unskilled workers. In the case of TISCO, it recommended a flat rate of Rs.10 a month to all the workers.

It is significant to note that Coal Wage Board and Iron and Steel Wage Board have granted interim relief during the period of National Emergency. The employers were granted an increase in the price of coal by 80 nP per ton while for the private sector steel industry, assurances were given that retention prices would be correspondingly raised. The TISCO refused to implement the interim recommendation of the Wage Board till retention price was increased. The TISCO has excluded a large number of workers in its Kulti Works from the purview of the interim wage rise.

Non-implementation of the earlier Wage Board recommendations has yet been a problem which the workers are facing even today. For example, out of 410 textile units covered by the Wage Board, only 396 have implemented the recommendations fully while 27 have done so only partially. 14 textile units have not yet honoured them. This has been admitted by the Report of the Ministry of Labour and Employment for the year 1962-63. Out of 173 units covered in the sugar industry, only 159 have implemented the recommendations fully while 7 have done so partially. Seven units have not yet implemented them at all. Even in cement industry, out of 34 units, 28 have implemented fully and the remaining partially.

The Union Labour Minister has estimated Rs.125 at 1958 prices as the minimum wage as per norms laid down by the 15th Tripartite. Bihar State Government has calculated Rs.185 as the minimum wage for the same year for Jamshedpur, as per the same norms.

According to the calculations of the Labour Ministry, the present minimum wages, taking note of rise in price level since 1958, should be somewhere near Rs.140. The Union Labour Minister in his reply to the Labour Debate admitted that average money earnings of industrial workers of many factory industries in 1961 was Rs.117. The minimum wage is substantially below this average figure. This shows the remarkable gap that is existing now between the present wage level and need-based minimum wage.

The Labour Minister also stated in Parliament that the overall position on Wages taking the period from 1956 onwards was that money earnings roughly increased by 33 per cent and the cost of living by 20 per cent and real wages by 9 per cent. 1956 which remained till 1959. The trend changed for the better in 1960 and continued in 1961 also. The wage level in 1961, however, was lower than 1955. The Labour Minister while making comparison has used 1956 as the base to give an impression of a rise in the real wages. But he has not mentioned the whole truth.

Shri Nanda pointed out in his speech that in 1953, wages and salaries constituted 20.3 per cent of the cost of production in all the industries which came down to 15.5 per cent in 1960. Major credit for this goes to the rise of productivity of the workers. During the same period, productivity went up by 32 per cent while real wages went up by 9 per cent only. Shri Nanda has tried to compare the rise in the money wages (24 per cent) with the rise in productivity which, of course, is not the correct comparison. The rise in the productivity should be reflected in commensurate rise in the real wages of the workers. Under the present circumstances, employers alone get the lion's share from the rise in the productivity.

Index or real Earnings of workers in India with base 1939 as 100 is as follows:-

1947	..	78.4	1955	..	113.5
1948	..	84.4	1956	..	105.4
1949	..	91.7	1957	..	104.5
1950	..	90.1	1958	..	98.5
1951	..	92.2	1959	..	97.1
1952	..	101.8	1960	..	102.9
1953	..	97.8	1961	..	109.8
1954	..	102.7			

The Budget:-

The mechanism of the budget is hitting hard the working class and the poorer section of the Community. The burden of taxation was constantly on the increase during the second Five Year Plan. The revenue receipts of the Central Govt. almost doubled during the period 1956-61. The taxation in states also showed a similar trend. For instance the total tax collection of all the states in 1956-57 amounte-d to Rs.366.73 ~~xxx~~ crores which went up to Rs.611.58 in 1961-62. Tax receipts of city corporations increased by 91.7 in 1960-61 over 1955-56. Increase in the tax receipts of other municipalities was 26.5 per cent during the same period.

Without increase in the tax burdens the new targets of the Plan cannot be reached in time. The Third Plan pointed out the need for additional tax burdens. The whole pattern of rise in the taxation is in unfavourable for the working masses as more and more indirect taxes have been levied on the people. It is interesting to note that income tax revenue which constituted 10.6 per cent. This shows that in respect of two major direct taxation the richer classes have been gradually getting concessions during the second Plan and beginning of the Third Plan.

The need to strengthen defence potential of the country has brought to the forefront the need to have additional revenue for the purpose of defence requirements. Shri H.V.R.Iengar, formerly Governor of the Reserve Bank of India even though maintained that it might not be possible to achieve any substantial increase in the standard of living of the mass of people, during the period of emergency, emphatically pointed out the need to bear the burden ~~in appropriate~~

"in appropriate measure by all sections and not merely by the Poor" (The Eastern Economist Annual Number 1963 P.No.1235).

Shri Iyengar even quoted J.M.Keynes who during the second world war advocated a Plan "which uses a time of General Sacrifice, not as an excuse for postponing desirable reforms, but as an opportunity for moving further than we have moved hitherto towards reducing inequalities".

The present rulers of our country who accept Keynesian Theories in many respects conveniently overlooked his suggestion which might have resulted in reducing the inequalities in our country.

The budget for the next year has estimated the total expenditure of the Central Government to the tune of Rs.2679.40 crores of which Rs.1852.40 crores will be on revenue account and Rs.827. crores on capital account. The main reason for the rise in the budgetary provision was naturally due to the rise in the Defence expenditure which was expected to be Rs.814.51 crores which comes to roughly about 30 per cent of the total expenditure during 1963-64.

In what way the Finance Minister has proposed to collect these huge sums. Out of a total expenditure of Rs.1852.40 crores proposed for the year 1963.64 Rs.1585.73 crores have been estimated as the income from the different sources at the existing level of taxation. There is, therefore a need for the additional taxation of Rs.266.67 crores.

To meet the shortfall the Central Government has proposed the following addition:

(in crores of rupees)

Customs ...	87.39
Union Excise	106.61
Corporation tax	31.00
Income tax	39.00
wealth tax	0.40
Other heads (Postal Rates etc.	<u>1.50</u>
Total	<u>265.90</u>

The government proposes to collect Rs.40 crores with introduction of Compulsory Saving Scheme.

Out of the total additional taxation of Rs.265 crores, Rs.70.40 crores will come under the category of direct taxation which constitutes only 27 per cent of the total rise in the taxation. Therefore it is clear that the latest budget proposals have continued the traditional policy of raising the bulk of the revenue for the requirements of the State by resorting to indirect taxation.

As stated by the Finance Minister in Lok Sabha, the new levies would result in increasing the price of tea from 3 to 9 per kilo-gram depending on the quality. The prices of washing soap would rise by 1.5 nP per bar of 45 tolas. The price of Kerosene would go up by 7 nP per bottle of inferior kerosene and 10 nP. for superior Kerosene.

The increase in the excise duty on cotton yarn by 20 per cent hit the handloom industry most adversely, resulting in mass employment.

This budget will further result in bringing a great deal of inflationary pressure on the economy and push the prices still upwards. No body will take seriously the assurances given by the spokesman of the Government regarding holding of the price line during 1962 the consumer price index number went up by 5 point over 1926 and by all indication this will shoot up further this year. The prices have already begun mounting high following the new tax proposals.

In such circumstances, the compulsory saving scheme cannot but create a great deal of hardship for the workers and salaried employees. It would be highly improper to force the workers who do not get even the need based minimum wages to participate in savings to the tune of 3 per cent every month.

While working people are being taxed heavily eventhough their capacity to pay taxes is already exhausted long back. on the other hand the capacity of the richer sections of the society is not at all tapped adquately. The affluent strata has created a row over the corporate and income tax but the main purpose was the maintain their high profitability even during a national crisis.

The much vaunted Gold Bond Scheme, despite the 6½% compound interest offered and despite the facility of not disclosing the source of gold, has brought forth a sum of Rs.7 crores -- as against the official estimated gold hoards of Rs.1850 crores. The Government totally failed to mobilise the gold resources of the country for want of sterner measures against the hoarders and smugglers.

Characterising the present Scheme of income-tax as "not progressive enough" the wellknown economist, Prof.D.R.Gadgil stated " The main reason why the yield from the taxation of incomes is non-progressive is the policy deliberately adopted of keeping the rates of the highest income brackets relatively low and giving a number of concessions such as in relation to expenses, gifts, charity etc" (The Economic Weekly Annual Number 1963).

The support his claim Prof.Gadgil quoted the Finance Minister who defended the concessions given to highest income bracket group with regard to taxation in 1957-58. The Finance Minister had stated:

"These reliefs are meant as an encouragement to larget effort and greater initiative on the basis of which above a healthy and progressive economy can be built".

The taxation Enquiry Commission had recommended ceiling on incomes and considered a reasonable range of incomes after tax to be about 30 times the average family income.

On the basis of national income statistics it can be presumed the average income of a family of four persons is approximately Rs.1200 per year. Hence the highest income which a person can earn should not exceed Rs.36,000 per annum or Rs.3000 a month - If the government decides to utilise all the surplus income for the cause of national advance and for strengthening our defence potential, crores of rupees will accrue to the national exchequer.

Draft Resolution

REVIEW OF INDUSTRIAL TRUCE.
ON ~~EMERGENCY~~

It is nearly six months since the President of India declared the National Emergency on October 26, 1962. All people in the country, including the working class and trade union organisations supported it. Following it, the tripartite conference of November 3, unanimously agreed to an Industrial Truce Resolution.

Since then, following the cease-fire, the Colombo Powers' helpful intervention and internal mobilisation for defence, etc., the conditions which necessitated the extraordinary law and the emergency have materially ~~ceased to exist~~. This change in the situation was, in a sense, recognised by the Government when it decided to conduct the bye-elections. *changed*

* The continuation of the emergency does not seem to be necessary now to fulfil the tasks of development and defence. And if the same extraordinary situation arises again, it can be revived.

The General Council of the AITUC therefore is of the opinion that Government should call a special meeting of the Indian Labour Conference to discuss the present situation without delay in view of reviewing the functioning of Industrial Truce Resolution and lifting the emergency.

Proposed by: K.G.Sriwastava

Seconded by: Vajubhai Shukla

* *In these changed conditions*

DRAFT RESOLUTION:

ON EMERGENCY:

General Council Meeting
AITUC
15-17 April 1963
New Delhi

The Chinese armies crossed the Macmahon Line in the Eastern region of our Northern border and there was a radical shift in the co-relationship of the social forces in the country. For the apparent reason of securing maximum mobilisation of the material and manpower resources for the defence of the country the Government of India clothed itself with emergency powers.

The defence of the country according to the later policy statements of the Government of India, means not merely the defence of the country but also the defence of the basic policies to which the Government of India has committed itself in the name of the country and the people. These declarations assume significance in the context of the growing pressure from the rightist forces to change the basic policies.

The A. I. T. U. C. to guarantee uninterrupted production of the defence material and a continuous flow of consumption goods to the people, agreed to a truce on the Industrial Front. In response to the call of the A.I.T.U.C. the working class volunteered work and money to the National defence effort.

The early military reverses revealed the basic weaknesses and shortcomings on the vital economic sector. The unilateral ceasefire, the withdrawal of the advancing Chinese armies to the original positions and even beyond in some places, and the policy of non-impediment adopted by the Government of India have brought about a certain relaxation in the situation.

However the people are concerned and feel anxiety for the defence of the country and are showing growing awareness and understanding of the deficiencies in the present economic policies impinging on the productive activity. The people actively urge expeditious removal of all that hinders the productive activity, its growth and advance. The people entertain a sense of emergency in this respect.

Initially the working class was in a dazed mood. With the relaxation in the situation, the working class on its own has started asserting itself and is forcing modification of policy on governmental machinery in regard to its rights and privileges. The Government had mainly utilised the emergency powers for launching repressive measures against militant trade unionists on false political pleas. The A.I.T.U.C. in the name of working class strongly demands the revocation of these steps by the Government and release of all trade union activists still under detention.

The working class has universally testified to its patriotic understanding of the situation and its responsibility regarding the defence of the country in a conscious and splendid way. The working class to maximise defence capacities of the country by accelerating manifold the industrial and agricultural production as an emergency measure, demands a completely unfettered enjoyment of its rights and privileges and its active and fuller participation in the official agencies created for the promotion of the country's defence and production potential.

To this end the A.I.T.U.C. in the name of the working class demands that the Government take stringent measures against those who impede the process of maximum mobilisation of resources and

that to insure resources for the implimentation of planned schemes in the fixed order of priority, steps be taken to nationalise;

The Banking Industry
The Oil Industry

and to take over the export and import trade and the wholesale trade of essential goods in the country.

Proposed by Y.V. Chavan
Seconded by S.S. Patil

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DRAFT RESOLUTION:

ON EMERGENCY:

After thorough discussion from the various States of India this meeting of the General Council of A.I.T.U.C. is of opinion that this emergency period should not be allowed to continue any further. This emergency hits the working class in general and common people in particular. Under the cloak of emergency the employers with the help of the Govt. are making the situation worse day by day. So this meeting urges upon the Government to withdraw this emergency per iod without any further delay and restore the normal and natural condition throughtout the country.

Proposed by Hrishi Banerji
Seconded by Dinen Bhattacharya

Resolution

This conference congratulates the workers of Hindustan Anti Biotix Ltd. Pune/Pri on having achieved a single victory in securing one of the best ~~award~~ most favourable awards after having fought to get the demands referred to the Industrial Tribunal. The credit of this undoubtedly goes to the workers who unitedly & steadfastly stood behind their Union. This was the first factory in the Public Sector to get such a reference.

From the very beginning the Board Managing Director supported by his board of directors tries to put every obstacle in the way of the workers. One whole year was wasted in deciding as to whether the factory comes under the jurisdiction of the Central Government or under the State of Maharashtra. Finally only when the workers gave a strike notice & demonstrated their solidarity the Government of Maharashtra referred the dispute to the Industrial Tribunal of Shri Meher.

This Conference however notes with regret that the Government of India has given a green signal to the Managing Director H.A. Ltd. in going in appeal to the Supreme Court against the award. The Workers know for certain that in taking the decision to go in appeal the Managing Director has been influenced by the Capitalists of the Private Sector in Punjab Area. The present award of the H.A. Ltd. has better scales have been given than the private Sector Companies. As a result the Managements of these concerns have shown great resentment. Thus however the private sector has succeeded in influencing the Public sector.

In allowing the Managing Director to go in appeal the Government has gone against its declared policy of accepting the decisions of the Arbitrator. This appeal will have unnecessary financial burden. But more still it goes against the very basic conceptions of Public Sector Industries.

This Conference therefore condemns this attitude of the Government & demands that even at this stage the appeal be withdrawn and the award of the Tribunal accepted in toto.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

1. The All India Trade Union Conference, convened by the A.I.T.U.C. to discuss certain immediate and most pressing issues confronting the working class and the toiling people of our country, and to find practical ways and means for solving their burning problems which have assumed a countrywide character, has arrived at the following conclusions and decisions:-

2. In the opinion of this conference, the biggest single issue with a countrywide impact on the day-to-day ~~life~~ of the common people is that of rising prices of food-stuffs and essential commodities and the constantly rising upward curve of the cost of living of the masses, and this is happening despite the rise in national production and national wealth.

This development, has become even more pronounced and has assumed unprecedented proportions in the recent period. Prices have gone up by between 15 to 40 per cent all over the country. No commodity or article which enters into the normal family budget of the working people has remained unaffected. The prices of basic foodgrains have spiralled to heights beyond the reach of the poorest sections of the community in both town and countryside, while an organised black-market flourishes as never before in sugar, rice, wheat, etc. In certain parts of the country, high prices have been accompanied by an absolute physical non-availability of foodgrains, resulting in near-famine conditions.

The suffering and privations of the toiling masses knows no bounds. Their already modest living standards are being further depressed every day.

3. This conference is categorically of the opinion that this phenomenon of high prices and scarcity, of the ever-rising cost of living and decline in the real wages of all categories of workers and also the fixed income earners, is not mainly the product of natural causes, agricultural shortfalls, or climatic vagaries as the Government seeks to make out. Where such natural causes may have arisen have been further used by the anti-people profiteers for their selfish ends.

This crisis is essentially a man-made one. Its **creators** are firstly, the monopolists who control the decisive sectors of the country's industry, banking and commerce, and who are utilising their economic dominance to boose up prices of their products in a sheltered market, to create artificial shortages whenever their profits demand it, and even to obstruct and sabotage full utilisation of the productive capacity which is at their disposal, despite the requirements of the national economy and the people.

Two

Secondly, the market in foodgrains and several crops is overwhelmingly dominated by the big, wholesale traders and their combines, by all manner of profit-hunting middlemen and speculators, by hoarders and black-market operators who are permitted with impunity to carry on their anti-social and criminal activities, with the help of bank loans, the stock-market, LIC investments and other supports.

So daring and powerful have these interests become that they have engineered a major sugar scandal in the country, a major rice shortage in West Bengal with blackmarket prices ruling higher than during the Great Famine of 1943, and a sharp rise in wheat prices of more than 25 per cent even in ~~North India~~ of wheat producing tracts. in North India.

A simultaneous phenomenon with catastrophic consequences is the deprivation of the small farmer of fair prices for these very foodstuffs and crops of which he is the primary producer. The peasant is constantly defrauded by these very sharks and exploiters of his legitimate price for, and return on, his sugarcane yield, his paddy, wheat or raw jute.

Thirdly, this conference indicts the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, which is not only allowing the monopolists, price-racketeers, speculators and hoarders to play havoc with the necessities of the common man's life, but shows no practical inclination, apart from words, to use its sweeping emergency powers to protect the people from the robbery and exploitation of the profiteers.

Moreover, the Government itself has contributed massively to the rise in prices by its inflationary budgets and its deliberate policies of adding to the crushing burden of indirect taxes which directly affect the common man's pocket.

4. The sufferings of the vast toiling masses can be easily gauged from the plight of that section which is the most united and best organised, the most experienced in class battles and the best equipped to defend its interests - the working class in our factories and mines, as well as the white-collared employees of commercial and banking establishments, all of whom have learnt to follow one trade union organisation or another.

Even this great and growing working class, directly engaged in the production of wealth, stands today virtually stripped of any effective protection against the rising price levels and consequent erosion of their real wages. All their gains in money wages, secured through numerous struggles, stand in danger of being wiped out if the present price rise is allowed to go unchecked.

The Bombay textiles and a few other individual concerns are exceptional instances where the Dearness Allowance paid

Three.

is not only adjusted on a sliding scale with the cost of living indices, but also affords full neutralisation for the rise in the index. But, generally speaking, the D.A. systems prevalent today are either fixed amounts at a flat rate or vary according to the cost of living indices but do not ensure more than 70 to 85 per cent neutralisation. In both these types of Dearness Allowance schemes, a very serious decline in the workers' real wages is taking place as a result of run-away prices.

Further, tens of thousands of workers are employed in medium and small-scale industries where the separate category of Dearness Allowance does not exist at all, and the wage paid has no link whatsoever with the cost of living indices.

The situation is still further aggravated by the gross manipulations in the compilation of many of the official series of cost of living, or consumer price, index numbers in different centres, as a result of which the real extent of the price rise is being deliberately concealed in order to deprive the workers of their rightfully due compensation in the form of higher Dearness Allowance on a sliding scale. For example, between September 1962 and September 1963, the the all-India consumer price index moved up by 3 points only, during a period in which every objective source has estimated the price rise at between 15 to 40 per cent!

This monstrous fraud, obviously perpetrated by the bureaucracy and employers acting in collusion, has been well exposed by all the main T.U. centres with reference to the Bombay indices, and the great 'Bombay Bandh' strike of August 20th has compelled the State Government to undertake an 'expert' review of its index figures and the method of their compilation.

Bogus statistics have become an important weapon for worsening the conditions of the workers. Reliance on them would mean, for example, that all those Central Government employees governed by the Pay Commission's award would scarcely be able to qualify for a D.A. increase on the basis of a stable 10 point rise in the index lasting for 12 months, which is the pre-condition prescribed for getting a higher D.A.

The struggle for exposure and correction of the fraudulent index figures is therefore assuming great importance and ~~xxx~~ an all-India character.

This conference also notes with indignation how cynically the employers have torpedoed with Governmental connivance the solemn tripartite agreement of 5th August 1963 to the effect that cheap grain shops should be opened throughout the country at every establishment employing 300 or more workers. Even such a measure for partial relief to the working class has remained on paper to this day both in the private and public sectors alike.

5. While the steady erosion of real wages is now an admitted fact, it must also be remembered that lakhs of workers in the small-scale and less organised, sweated sectors of industry and trade have never even enjoyed the benefit of the Minimum Wages Act to which they are entitled. In many such cases, minimum wage-fixation committees have not been appointed despite all representations; in many more, the wages prescribed by such committees are not implemented by the employers concerned, and the Government machinery does not enforce them. In still other cases such minimum wages fixed several years ago have become out of date and urgently need to be revised upwards, but no such action is taken.

Consequently the economic condition of this section of the working class which is normally not covered by wage boards, tribunals, or collective agreements is the worst prevailing in the country.

6. This Conference also expresses the profound dissatisfaction of the entire working class with the injustice and anarchy prevailing in the field of Bonus payments. The tremendous profits which are being appropriated today by the bigger and organised industries on the basis of higher production in a protected monopoly market are not at all reflected in the so-called "profit-sharing" Bonuses which the employers are compelled to pay wherever the trade union organisation and movement are strong enough.

The workers' share in the surplus value which is the direct creation of labour is nowhere governed by equitable principles, and is subjected to all sorts of capitalist-imposed preconditions or ad hoc awards based on a fictitious "profit & loss, as recorded by company balance sheets. The whole position is one of uncertainty except where long-term agreements exist, and the claim for Bonus has to be agitated afresh every year. In certain sectors of industry, no Bonus is paid at all to this day. Lakhs of public sector employees, including even those productive workers in the Government-owned companies and corporations handling vital means of production, have so far remained excluded from the benefit of any Bonus Scheme, except such as lead to intensification of labour.

This Conference voices the growing impatience of the workers at the inordinate delay in the completion of the work of the Bonus Commission which has been sitting for two years and has not yet submitted its recommendations.

7. In this situation which is daily becoming more and more difficult for the working class and the toiling people in general, the need for immediate and substantial measures of relief has become imperative. This Conference considers that the following minimum demands must be met by the Government and the employers without further delay, and necessary legislative and administrative steps to fulfil them must be initiated at once:

(1) A 25% general reduction in prices, especially in foodgrains and all essential commodities of life;

(2) An all-round 25% increase in the existing D.A. paid to all workers and employees of both the private and public sectors;

(3) Immediate linking of all Dearness Allowances with the consumer price indices on a sliding scale; where no separate D.A. is paid, the consolidated wage to be linked up with the consumer price index;

(4) Cent per cent neutralisation for every rise in the cost of living to be automatically ensured;

(5) Correction and revision of the existing fictitious and fraudulent or wrong official index figures and their calculation, through the agency of suitable tripartite machinery;

(6) Immediate fixation, and wherever necessary, revision of minimum wages for industries and trades covered by the Minimum Wages Act, and immediate implementation of wages already fixed there under;

(7) Publication of the Bonus Commission's report by the end of 1963, and announcement of Government's decision thereon within a month thereafter;

(8) Acceptance and implementation of the basic principle of a minimum guaranteed Bonus, irrespective of profit or loss, to all workers and employees in all industries and trades;

(9) Abolition of private wholesale trading in food grains, and its total transfer to the State;

(10) Fixation and enforcement by law of fair, minimum prices to the peasant for his agricultural produce;

(11) Nationalisation of banks, export-import trade, and the oil and sugar industries as a first step towards furthering State acquisition and control over decisive sectors of the national economy.

This Conference puts forward the above 11-point Charter of Minimum National Demands of the Toiling masses as a platform of unity and action for the entire toiling masses of the country, embracing not only the organised working class and its trade union organisations, but also all middle-class sections, working farmers, small traders and shopkeepers, and others who are groaning under the intolerable burden of high and rising prices, food shortages, black-marketing and profiteering, and the increasing load of indirect taxes.

The demands for establishment of State Trading in food grains and progressive nationalisation of key industries, commencing with the private banks, oil monopolies, sugar mills and the country's export-import trade, correspond to the most vital interests of the overwhelming majority of our people. Their fulfilment can alone bring the anarchy in the food market under control, destroy the grip of the 'speculators & hoarders, bring down and stabilise prices, and strike a decisive blow at the centres of capitalist economic concentration and monopoly power, which are used today to swell the private sector's profits, rob the country of its foreign exchange earnings and resources, and exploit the common consumer mercilessly.

8. This Conference is well aware that its Charter of Demands cannot be had for the mere asking, and that its realisation, even in part will require the broadest possible unity and action of the toiling masses led by the organised working class. United organised and disciplined action mobilising the vast masses for struggle on these common demands can overcome the powerful resistance of the reactionary monopolists and their patrons inside the Government and ruling party, and compel them to heed the people's voice.

This is no easy task. At the same time, this conference reminds the people of the massive power of their united action, a striking manifestation of which was the Great Petition and March to ~~xxxxx~~ Parliament on September 13th last, which played a decisive role in smashing the hated and extortionate Compulsory Deposit Scheme, and making the Government undertake a review of its policies and performance. This experience should generate confidence in the people's minds and hearts that once they begin to move and act unitedly, their voice cannot be ignored by the ruling classes.

This Conference, therefore, decides to initiate and launch an all-National campaign for reduction of Prices and Taxes for Increase of Wages and earnings, for D.A. and Bonus, and for Nationalisation.

The National Campaign will begin with the observation of 1st January 1964 as the day of launching the campaign with meetings, processions and demonstrations for the eleven demands listed above.

The National Campaign Day of the Toilers of India will be observed by the working people in every town and village, in every factory and office.

This Conference hopes that the Government will not sit tight and allow the situation to deteriorate still further, thereby leaving the masses no alternative but to launch direct action on an all-national scale in defence of their most elementary interests.

There is still time for Government to pay heed to the burning demands of the people and to come forward with positive measures for the relief of the masses as outlined above.

Should the Government and the employers fail to evince any response and make any substantial concessions to the working people, the National Campaign of the Toilers of India will be further continued with all peaceful forms of action including a mighty NATIONAL PROTEST STRIKE AND HARTAL throughout the country.

This Conference appoints a National Campaign Committee consisting of all the office bearers of the AITUC, one Secretary or President from each of the State Committees of the AITUC and the following members of the Presidium of this Conference, namely:

with the right to co-opt such representatives from other Central T.U. Organisations and all-India Trade Federations, not affiliated to the AITUC, as may be persuaded to join in this campaign.

Seven.

This Conference authorises the Committee to take all the necessary steps to build a powerful unity of all genuine Trade Union Organisations of all affiliations including their leaderships, irrespective of their political views in order to make the campaign a success in achieving the demands outlined above.

The National Campaign Committee is authorised to review the situation as it develops upto 31st January 1964, and in the event of the Government's and Employers' failure, on State and National level to respond satisfactorily to the charter of Demands, to decide thereafter on the final preparations for the observance of the National Protest of Strike and Hartal on a specific date.

The Conference appeals to all sections and T.U. Organisations of the working class and salaried employees to co-operate in making the National Campaign of the Toilers of India including the proposed General strike and Hartal a mighty historic success.

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