

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS
172 Lenin Sarani, Calcutta - 700013.

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING HELD AT
NEW DELHI ON 10TH & 11TH JULY, 1976.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS
172 Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-700013.

Circular No: 9/1976

Dated: June 19, 1976

To All Members of the
Working Committee.

Re: Meeting of the Working Committee.

Dear Comrades,

A meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU will be held in New Delhi on 10th and 11th July 1976 to consider the following agenda :

AGENDA

1. Confirmation of the Minutes of the meeting of the Working Committee held at Madras on 10-12 November 1975.
2. Opening speech by Com. Jyoti Basu, Vice-President CITU.
3. General Report by Com. P. Ramamurti, General Secretary CITU.
4. Statement of Accounts for the year 1975.
5. Resolutions.
6. Any other subject with the permission of the Chair.

The meeting will commence at 10 A.M. on 10th July, 1976. All Comrades are requested to reach Delhi sufficiently in advance so as to enable them to attend the meeting in time.

Comrades should report their arrival at 4 Ashok Road, New Delhi-1 (Phones: 38-2870, 38-4807). They will be informed there the place where residential arrangements have been made for them.

The venue of the meeting will be informed on the arrival of the members at New Delhi. All members are requested to attend the meeting positively.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

(M.K. Pandhe)
Secretary.

172, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta 700013.

Minutes of the Working Committee Meeting
held at Madras on 10-12 November, 1975

A meeting of the Working Committee of CITU was held at Dharmaprakash Madras on 10-12 November, 1975. The following Comrades attended the meeting :-

1. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury, 2. M.K. Pandha 3. P. Ramamurti
4. Md. Ismail 5. Nrisingha Chakraborty 6. A. Nallasivan
7. Karmegham 8. Ganashyam Saran Singha 9. Rabin Mukherjee
10. C. Kannan 11. P. Ramachandra Rao 12. Gopal Basu
13. Niren Ghosh 14. V.P. Chintan 15. Harisadhan Mitra
16. Monoranjan Roy 17. Parimal Mitra 18. Samar Mukherjee
19. Jiban Behari Roy 20. Sunil Basu Roy 21. Viswanatha Menon
22. Dinen Bhattachariya 23. C. Govindarajan
24. P.K. Kurane 25. A. Balasubramaniam 26. R. Umanath
27. Jyoti Basu.

The meeting started at 4 P.M. on 10th November, 1975. Com. Jyoti Basu, Vice-President CITU presided over the meeting.

On behalf of the chair Com. P. Ramamurti General Secretary moved the resolution on Com. Bhairav Bhartiya and a condolence resolution on Com. Samsul Huda. The meeting passed these resolutions standing in silence for one minute each.

Com. P. Ramamurti then stated that in view of very short time available for the meeting, it should be conducted in a business like manner. He suggested that after Presidential speech, he would place a report. During discussion/ the report, some resolutions will be placed for adoption. Some have already been drafted, some more have to be drafted. Hence he suggested that a small resolution Sub-Committee with the following members be set up.

Com. Samar Mukherjee - Convenor, Com. R. Umanath, Com. P.K. Kurane, Com. Viswanatha Menon and Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury.

These proposals were accepted unanimously.

Com. Jyoti Basu then delivered the Presidential Speech a cyclostyled copy of which was circulated earlier to the members. He also elaborated some of the points in the speech.

Com. P. Ramamurti drew the attention of the members to the cyclostyled report already circulated. He, however, emphasised upon some of the points in the report, like recession, imposition of internal emergency, the attacks on the working class etc. He also stated that full import of the situation would have to be studied and as such he requested the Comrades to give detailed reports so that the short-comings in our work could be analysed and effective steps could be taken to overcome the deficiencies.

The meeting was then adjourned which re-assembled at 9 A.M. on 11.11.75 with Com. Jyoti Basu in the chair. He called upon the Comrades to place report in the states while discussing the report of the General Secretary.

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Coms. A. Nallasivam, Com. Ghanashyam Sharan Sinha, Com. Jiban Behari Roy, Com. Viswanatha Menon, Com. P.K. Kurane participated in the discussion on the General Secretary's report.

Com. Jyoti Basu, placed a report on the condition of the State Govt. employees.

Com. Samar Mukherjee x moved the resolution on railway workers which was seconded by Com. Nrisingha Chakraborty and was passed unanimously.

Discussion on the General Secretary's report was then resumed and Com. P. Rama Chandra Rao, Com. Rabin Mukherjee and Com. Parimal Mitra took part in the discussion.

Com. P. K. Kurane moved the resolution on victimisation and repression on Central and State Government Employees. After Com. A. Nallasivam supported the resolution it was passed unanimously.

Com. Niren Ghosh moved the resolution on emergency. Some improvements were suggested by some members which were accepted by the mover. Com. Ghamashyam Sharan Sinha seconded the resolution and it was adopted unanimously.

Com. Dinen Bhattacharya moved the resolution on the struggle of IDPL Workers which was supported by Com. MK. Pandhe. It was passed unanimously.

Com. M. K. Pandhe moved the resolution on 'Equal Pay for Equal Work' which was seconded by Com. R. Umanath and passed unanimously.

Com. P. K. Kurane moved the resolution on Bonus Ordinance which was supported by Com. Manoranjan Roy and was passed unanimously.

Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury moved the resolution on 'Bonded Labour'. Com. Viswanatha Menon supported it and was adopted unanimously.

Com. Samar Mukherjee moved the resolution on Execution of Spanish Revolutionaries and was supported by Com. Rabin Mukherjee. This resolution was also adopted unanimously.

Com. Manoranjan Roy moved the resolution on Workers Participation in Management. Comrades V. P. Chintan, Dinen Bhattacharja and Com. P. Ramamurti participated in the discussion. It was decided to continue discussion on the next day too.

Com. Govind Rajan, placed a factual report about lay-off in different industries in Tamil Nadu and the steps by the State Committee for defending the interest of the workers. As the report was considered elucidating, he was requested to submit the same in writing so that it could be circulated to members for their use. /taker

The meeting then adjourned at 6.30 P.M.

The next session of the meeting commenced at 9 A.M. on 12.11.1975 with Com. Jyoti Basu in the Chair and discussion on the General Secretary's report was resumed. Comrades Sunil Basu Roy, Com. M. K. Pandhe and Com. Kamegham participated.

of the discussions, the discussion on the General Secretary's report was resumed. Com. P. Rama Chandra Rao, Com. Rabin Mukherjee and Com. Parimal Mitra took part in the discussion. Com. P. K. Kurane moved the resolution on victimisation and repression on Central and State Government Employees. After Com. A. Nallasivam supported the resolution it was passed unanimously. Com. Niren Ghosh moved the resolution on emergency. Some improvements were suggested by some members which were accepted by the mover. Com. Ghamashyam Sharan Sinha seconded the resolution and it was adopted unanimously. Com. Dinen Bhattacharya moved the resolution on the struggle of IDPL Workers which was supported by Com. MK. Pandhe. It was passed unanimously. Com. M. K. Pandhe moved the resolution on 'Equal Pay for Equal Work' which was seconded by Com. R. Umanath and passed unanimously. Com. P. K. Kurane moved the resolution on Bonus Ordinance which was supported by Com. Manoranjan Roy and was passed unanimously. Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury moved the resolution on 'Bonded Labour'. Com. Viswanatha Menon supported it and was adopted unanimously. Com. Samar Mukherjee moved the resolution on Execution of Spanish Revolutionaries and was supported by Com. Rabin Mukherjee. This resolution was also adopted unanimously. Com. Manoranjan Roy moved the resolution on Workers Participation in Management. Comrades V. P. Chintan, Dinen Bhattacharja and Com. P. Ramamurti participated in the discussion. It was decided to continue discussion on the next day too. Com. Govind Rajan, placed a factual report about lay-off in different industries in Tamil Nadu and the steps by the State Committee for defending the interest of the workers. As the report was considered elucidating, he was requested to submit the same in writing so that it could be circulated to members for their use. /taker

Before summing up of the discussions, the discussion on the resolution on workers participation in management was resumed and Com. Jiban Behari Roy narrated the experience in Durgapur. Com. Rabin Mukherjee, Com. R. Umanath, Com. Manoranjan Roy, Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury. Com. ~~Suren~~ Ghosh and Com. ~~Kannan~~ participated in the discussion. In view of the further discussion on the resolution, the Secretariat was authorised to finalise the same by the end of the month taking into account the views expressed in the discussions, and also the opinions expressed by the State Committee.

Com. Samar Mukherjee moved the resolution on Indo-U. S. Commission. Com. A. Balasubramaniam while seconding the resolution suggested that it should be recasted. Com. P. Ramamurti explained the issues involved. He suggested that the danger should be high lighted and the resolution made sharp. The meeting authorised Com. Samar Mukherjee to finalise the resolution.

Com. M.K. Pandhe moved the resolution on retrenchment closure and lay off which was seconded by Com. Rabin Mukherjee and passed unanimously.

Com. P. Ramamurti summed up the discussion. He emphasised on the necessity of toping up of the organisation, which has become the key task. He called for more contacts with the masses. For the purpose of running the centre, all State Committees were requested to ensure that affiliation fees are paid immediately after the returns are finalised.

Com. M.K. Pandhe, informed the meeting that 20 new applications for affiliation have been received, in incomplete State. It was decided that the State Committees should be directed to take steps so that complete information is given. The secretariat was authorised to grant affiliation to these unions.

The President of the meeting then declared that the meeting was over.

(4)

State-wise Number of Strikes, Lock-outs And Strikes Followed
By Lock-outs and Mandays Lost in Private Sector During June
1975 to April 1976.

State/Union Territory	Strike		Lockout		Strike followed by lockouts	
	Number	Mandays lost	Number	Mandays lost	Number	Mandays lost
Andhra Pradesh	24	74,523	3	51,636	-	-
Assam	4	9,941	-	-	-	-
Bihar	33	58,979	5	23,822	3	5,464
Gujarat	52	47,381	3	428,970	2	4,086
Haryana	6	8,338	-	-	-	-
Karnataka	9	33,318	1	60	-	-
Kerala	37	120,553	10	10,096	-	-
Madhya Pradesh	26	4,606	1	60	-	-
Maharashtra	270	345,009	8	14,085	10	114,202
Orissa	2	3,250	-	-	1	72,070
Punjab	9	12,083	2	8,363	-	-
Rajasthan	15	35,788	-	-	-	-
Tamil Nadu	167	1185,399	17	75,550	15	357,588
Uttar Pradesh	44	162,537	16	1118,519	2	2,229
West Bengal	88	542,910	127	1902,978	13	803,348
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chandigarh	-	-	-	-	-	-
Delhi	16	7,372	-	-	-	-
Goa	2	11,988	-	-	-	-
Pondicherry	6	21,060	-	-	-	-
	810				46	

P = Provisional. The figures are based on returns received in the Bureau upto May 15, 1976.

N.B. - (1) Out of 11 States/Union Territories which are excluded from the statement, information relating to 6 States (Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura) is not while the information relating to the remaining States/Union Territories is not available (Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Lakshadweep and Mizoram).

(2) Figures given under strikes followed by lockouts are not included in the figures given under lockouts.

Source : Parliament Papers.

Total circulation of The Working Class for the month of June, 1976 : State-wise.

<u>S t a t e s</u>	<u>Total Subscrip- tion copies supplied.</u>	<u>Total Agency copies supplied.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Andamans	1	x	1
Arunachal Pradesh	1	x	1
Assam	18	67	85
Andhra Pradesh	63	41	104
Bihar	25	120	145
Gujarat	12	x	12
Goa	14	x	14
Haryana	3	x	3
Himachal Pradesh	1	22	23
Karnataka	33	163	196
Kerala	180	36	216
Maharashtra	25	120	145
Madhya Pradesh	16	133	149
New Delhi	12	47	59
Orissa	16	62	78
Punjab	24	49	73
Rajasthan	55	x	55
Tamil Nadu	85	189	274
Tripura	1	x	1
Uttar Pradesh	46	30	76
West Bengal	187	567	754
Total:	818	Total: 1646	Total: 2464
Inland complementary	.....	.....	84
Foreign complementary			28
Foreign subscription			4
Cash sale			46
Bound Volume			100
GRAND TOTAL:			2726

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1. Indian Railway Coal and Ash handling Mazdoor Union, Bandel, Hooghly	Rs. 800.00
2. Ranaghat Railway Workers	Rs. 500.00
3. A.I.L.R.S.A., Adra	Rs. 1,000.00
4. Victimised Railway workers, Shalimar	Rs. 500.00
5. Kharagpur Staff	Rs. 500.00
	Rs. 3,300.00

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List of Donors
(Paying Rs 100/- or more)

1. West Bengal State Committee of CITU		Rs 40,000.00
2. N.C.C.R.S., Santragachi	.....	Rs 500.00
3. United Committee of Railwaymen, N.F.Rly., Gauhati	.....	Rs 700.00
4. Workshop Staff Committee, Kharagpur, S.E. Rly.	.....	Rs 500.00
5. S.E. Railwaymen's Union, Shalimar	.....	Rs 1,600.00
6. S.E. Rly. Loco Running Staff Association, Adra	.....	Rs 500.00
7. N.C.C.R.S., E. Rly., Strand Road, Calcutta	.....	Rs 6,000.00
8. S.E. Rly., Garden Reach, Calcutta	.....	Rs 1,400.00
9. S.E. Railwaymen's Union, Santragachi	.....	Rs 4,400.00
10. E. Rly. Co-ordinations Committee, Kanchrapara	.....	Rs 500.00
11. S. Rly. C.L. Union, Saklaspur	.....	Rs 100.00
12. Com. Bhadra	.....	Rs 120.00
13. L.R.S.A., Malda	.....	Rs 150.00
14. A.B.T.A., Training College, Calcutta	.....	Rs 110.00
15. Darjeeling Chia Kaman Mazdoor Union	.....	Rs 228.41
16. Koyla Sramik Sangh, Surguja	.....	Rs 101.00
17. West Bengal State Electricity Board Workers' Union	.....	Rs 330.00
18. Kalinga Tube & Allied Union	.....	Rs 126.00
19. 12th July Committee, Asansol	.....	Rs 100.00
20. State Committee, CITU, Tripura	.....	Rs 577.00
21. Tripura Students' Federation	.....	Rs 200.00
22. Students Federation of India, Orissa	.....	Rs 200.00
23. L.R.S.A./S.R.C Branch	.....	Rs 400.00
24. Train Lighting Staff Council, Santragachi	.....	Rs 100.00
25. Others	.....	Rs 1,548.00

Rs. 60,990.41

(7)

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Working Committee Meeting
10th & 11th July, 1976
NEW DELHI.

A Short Report On West Bengal

- by Monoranjan Roy,
General Secretary,
CITU West Bengal Committee.

Comrade President and Comrades :

It is difficult to place a short report on trade union movement under the National Emergency but still I will try to be as brief as possible.

In the Working Committee Meeting held at Madras on 10th November, 1975 we submitted a short report on West Bengal and, therefore, this report will cover the period subsequent to Madras Working Committee Meeting.

ATTACKS INTENSIFIED :

The working class of West Bengal, particularly the organised section, had the unique experience of struggle under the semi-fascist terror that was greatly intensified after the rigged mid-term election of 1972. The experience of these workers has been further enriched under the National Emergency when the attacks perpetrated by the ruling class are all embracing and unprecedented. The National Emergency has given complete freedom to the employers to chart out their line of action and actually implement them to exact more work by arbitrarily increasing the work-load, by unilaterally reducing the wage and completely negate the labour laws and bi-partite tri-partite agreements still in force. Suffice would be to say that the employers are given complete freedom by the Government under this Emergency to exploit the working class and the employers never had it so good before as trade union rights and right to organise protests through accepted and conventional methods of meetings and demonstrations and strikes are suppressed under the Emergency. The Emergency is interpreted by the workers as a mechanism to curtail their rights and privileges and reduction of wages with consequent rise in work-load and freedom for the employers to rob the workers their rights and privileges earned through years of struggles. The workers have been charge-sheeted and suspended for taking part in protest deputations against wage cuts and increase in work-loads and also served with termination notice and there are many instances where courageous workers have been harassed by the Police with arrest warrants issued against them. The workers are not even given time-off to go to toilets to ease themselves and even to drink water and there are instances ~~xx~~ where anti-social elements recruited by the management to shatter the fighting morale of the workers, stand by the side of the machines to pressurise the workers~~x~~ to give more work.

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During first four months of the Emergency 27,830 workers were affected in West Bengal due to lock-out, closure, lay-off and retrenchment and in the next two months another 86,061 workers more than three times the number of first four months. During the eleven months of Emergency - between July 1975 to May 1976 the total number of lock-out in West Bengal was 127 and the number of mandays involved was 24,42,910.

The power crisis with attendant load-shedding and frequent withdrawal of power supply, though slightly reduced in intensity, was a continuous feature during this period with consequent loss of earnings for the workers.

The Registered unemployment in West Bengal which was 1,614,189 in December 1974 increased to 1,709,710 in Dec., '75 a rise of 95,521 in one year and the Educated Register unemployment during the same period increased from 767,442 to 833,028 - a rise of 65,586 in one year.

The number of employed workers in the industries has sharply come down due to non-employment of 'BADLI' workers, direct retrenchment and forced premature retirement. In almost every jute mills hundreds of permanent workers have been thrown out of employment while 'BADLI' workers are hardly given any employment. The workers who have been forced to take premature retirement have not been paid their retirement benefits on the plea of lack of funds. The reduction of employment strength in Cotton Textile industry, power-looms, Engineering Industry and also in Chemical and other industries are also considerable.

The wage cut due to continuing fraud in compilation of Consumer Price Index is considerable. During the Emergency it is being repeatedly claimed that price level has come down and on this plea CPI figures have been further depressed so much so that during the current three months' quarter the CPI figure has been reduced by 22 points (1960 base) resulting in reduction of Dearness Allowance of ₹ Rs.25.30 per month and also more in cases where rate of neutralisation is more than Rs.1.15 per point of 1960 base.

Since imposition of Emergency the main slogan of the Government and the employers is 'more production' and the workers are being goaded to increase production everywhere. But the general feature as seen in West Bengal is reduction of total production while per capita production of the workers are tremendously increased by abnormally increasing individual workload.

Continuing Precession :

Whatever the Government may claim, the recession in the economy still continues and its impact on industries in West Bengal is most glaring and naked. Most of the factories are working at their 50% capacities and even at below this level. Coal accumulated at the pit-heads to the extent of Rs.90 crores for want of buyers and consequently production in the coal mines has been sliced down by 15 percent and accumulated coal is being exported to Europe. According to Currency and Finance 1974-75, the accumulation of unsold steel as on 1st October 1975 was 7.40 lakh tons, 2.30 lakh tons more than the previous year. Now the quantity of unsold steel may be more than a million tons all over India. The Times of India in its editorial of 10th May, 1976 remarked.

" the fact that with a production of six million tones (of steel) the country was a net importer of steel in 1965-66 whereas with the same production in 1975-76, it had nearly a million tonnes to spare for export, speak for itself". We must notice the most significant aspect that when unsold steel accumulates in enormous quantities and steel is being exported at below cost with huge Government subsidies tremendous pressure is exerted on the workers of Steel Plants to increase production to show that National Emergency has acted beneficially in increasing production. While all out campaign is initiated to increase steel production, several departments of Durgapur Steel Plant are virtually closed for want of orders and the National Iron and Steel Co.Ltd. of Belur Howrah is closed for last four months. A detailed report on Steel industry has already been circulated by us.

The Statesman, Calcutta in its editorial of 25th June 1976 stated :

" The textile industry is clearly in a bad way and will deteriorate further unless measures are taken now to arrest this trend..... A substantial decline in the production of textiles from 4316 million meters in 1974 to only 1362.2 million metres during the first 10 months of last year and of yarn from 1007 million Kilograms to 814.6 over the same period, is understandably reflected in both domestic earnings and exports But the position is certainly serious when Indian mills exported textiles valued at only Rs.1512.48 millions during January - August 1975 against Rs.3189.54 million in the previous year".

The Railway Wagon Building industry of India has a range of production of 36000 wagons annually and the factories in West Bengal have a capacity to manufacture 60 percent of it. But for lack of orders from the Railway Board for last many years, the Wagon Building Factories are working at one third of their capacities and its effect on West Bengal continues to be most devastating. According to the figures given in the Economic Survey of 1975-76, the number of Railway Wagons manufactured in India in 1965-66 was 33500 and in all subsequent years the production sharply declined as quoted here : 1968-69 16500 Railway Wagons, 1969-70 - 14900, 1970-71 - 11100, 1971-72-8500, 1972-73 - 10800, 1973-74 - 12200 and 1974-75 - 11100. The small and medium factories in West Bengal, ancillary to Railway Wagon Building factories, employing nearly a lakh of workers are in a precarious existence.

Recently the Government of India has nationalised three major Railway Wagon Building factories of West Bengal - Burn & Co. Ltd., Howrah, Braithwaite & Co.Ltd.(two factories, one in Calcutta and one in Hooghly District) and Indian Standard Wagon Co.Ltd. at Burnpur. This seems to be a rescue operation and this will hardly bring any improvement in Wagon Building Industry. Another major Wagon Building Factory of West Bengal - Jessop is already taken over and run by the Government of India; this factory has practically ~~stopped~~ manufacturing Railway Wagons and has switched over to manufacturing Road Rollers and Paper Industry machineries but in both cases lack of demands is stalling progress.

In the jute mills, the employers increasing production by increasing individual workload ranging from 50 percent to 80 percent and after 10 months of emergency the Central Government has curtailed production by 18 percent and in some jute mills even more than that. Nine jute mills are closed in West Bengal. Now in the jute mills two shifts have been introduced in place of three and it is ventilated in newspapers that the West Bengal Government has decided to shorten the time span of first and second shifts i.e. 6 hours shift and this will lead to straightway 25 percent wage cut. According to West Bengal Labour Minister 50,000 jute workers are out of employment and the actual figure will be much more.

The production in Inchek Tyres is suspended for last one year. In National Rubber Manufacturing Co. Ltd., a factory employing about 3500 workers, the production is suspended for last four months. The Dunlop has suspended for last four months. The Dunlop has suspended manufacturing Dunlopillo and according to the speech of the Chairman of Dunlop (India) Ltd: " 1975 was a year of profound change for the industry with a transformation from a situation of shortage to one of surplus. A number of factors contributed to this - the overall improvement in the availability of energy in the second half of the year, better availability of raw materials and the achievement, by a new entrant, of full scale production - but the main factor was reduced market demand". (The Statesman, Calcutta, June 26, 1976). In Hindusthan Motors Ltd., the position as reported in Madras Working Committee remains the same and the present production is staggering at about 45% of the old normal production but the employment strength has further gone down.

Under the continuing recession more and more factories and units are facing closure. The Government loudly claim that they have checked recession and inflation but ~~xxx xxx~~ factories are facing closure for lack of order, financial difficulties and depressed demands. 278 factories are permanently closed in West Bengal".

The burden of the continuing recession is improved entirely on the workers and the emergency is utilised to subdue the workers and suppress all forms of protests.

The closed factories and mills which have been reopened with credits from Industrial Rehabilitation Corporation of India (IRCI) are running on a precarious existence and the workers are asked to accept to lesser wage on the ground that closure of the units will lead to full unemployment and complete loss of earnings. IRCI run units are hot bed of corruption and there are instances where credits obtained to run the units are cannalised with ulterior motive.

The workers of export-oriented industries are the target of most severe attacks under the emergency. The heavy loss sustained for exporting Indian goods at below cost price is compensate by (i) subsidies given by the Government and (ii) by reducing wages and earnings of the workers.

The main emphasis is given by the Government to increase export and to make this drive feasible and effective the drive is given by the Government itself to reduce cost of manufacture by way of modernisation and other means and all these measures directly hit the workers.

RESISTANCE MOVEMENT :

ATTITUDE OF THE WORKING CLASS :

In our report before the Madras Working Committee of CITU we stated :

" The Emergency has imposed a practical ban on T.U. movement. Meetings can not be held without police permission and police do not give permission. If we want to print a leaflet that require approval of the censor. We are not supposed to do anything which the Government do not approve".

From that experience we summarised the position in the same report :

" How to face the situation created by the Internal Emergency? This is our main concern to-day". And now after eight months from Madras Working Committee Meeting and on completion of one year of the Emergency, our concern remain the same - How to face the situation created by the Internal Emergency?

At the initial stage of the emergency the workers were panicky and scared and this depressing feature is still very much there among the workers. That apart, some of the most vital industrial areas of West Bengal which were terror affected since 1972 still remain so and this factor acts even now as one of the major constraints to build up any co-ordinated state-wide movement.

But despite these facts, the workers lodged protests in various forms immediately after the initial shock of emergency was over. Against wage cut, increased workloads and curtailment of existing rights and privileges the workers protests took the form demonstrations, deputations, submission of mass petitions, cessation of work, gate meetings, gate demonstration, unannounced stoppage of work and also strikes. In a number of cases the workers reacted spontaneously and resorted to protest movements. But in many cases the protest actions were skillfully and courageously organised by our unions and these actions created very good impact and revitalised the fighting morale of the workers. It is, however, true that due to various reasons it was possible for us to co-ordinate these protest actions in a state-wide movement.

There is no doubt that these actions significantly reveal that plantwise and factorywise protest actions if co-ordinated on industry basis and state-basis will create much bigger impact. In fact co-ordinated move was taken only in jute industry by our Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union and series of protest actions were organised in the jute mills.

The workers however are not free from diffidence and a sense of helplessness. This is due to (i) lack of workers political consciousness to the level it is required, (ii) the employers are going on mounting one after another attacks and with none of the local protest actions, the attacks could be checked or stalled, (iii) the workers realise that bigger actions would invite more severe repressive measures from the Government and the employers and (iv) the role of INTUC and AITUC who openly side with the Government and oppose in almost all cases joint action and united protest movement.

But inspite of this diffidence and sense of helplessness the majority of the workers in West Bengal are with CITU and they have not changed their allegiance. In a number of elections - for, Works Committee, Provident Fund Trustees, Canteen Committees - the representatives of CITU unions were returned and elected with overwhelming and enthusiastic support of the workers. We have prepared a list giving details of these elections and it is being circulated separately. Moreover, the workers have seen that leaders and active workers of CITU unions are the main target of attacks and the employers charge-sheet and suspend them and also terminate their services on any pretext to detach them from the mass of the workers.

The period of Emergency is a period of great experience for the workers. Even though they do not react boldly and courageously on every issue, nonetheless their understanding is sharpened from experience and gradually they will veer around the understanding that with back to the wall under mounting attacks of the employers and the ruling class, The struggle is the only course of survival. So, the real scope of expansion of the struggle, an effective co-ordinated struggle is opening up and we must be prepared to mobilise the mass of the workers in an effective struggle. We expect proper guidance in this regard from CITU centre.

OBSERVATIONS OF MAY DAY 1976 :

The observance of May Day this year was a challenge to the working class of West Bengal. Apprehending that no permission to hold meetings or demonstrations would be given by the Govt., preparation was started about 3 months before to observe the May Day and to hoist the CITU Flag at any cost throughout the industrial belt of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly, Asansol, Durgapur and Tea areas in North Bengal.

This was the first time that the State Committee could coordinate and centrally guide the workers after the declaration of Internal Emergency. Although permissions to hold any meeting or demonstration either centrally or locally were refused by the police, tens of thousands of workers participated in flag hoisting, small meetings (attendance ranging from 25 to 500), demonstrations and other functions on the occasion of May Day. In some places police and Goondas attacked, but the workers none the less hoisted their flags and held small meetings.

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1,35,000 May Day badges and 45,225 chain flags were purchased by unions from State Committee. 20,000 May Day badges were taken by unions in North Bengal. Never before such huge number of badges were taken and worn by the tea workers. In Darjeeling hills congress hooligans attacked the workers in some of the gardens and murdered Comrade Kumar Darjee on his way back from the cultural function organised by our Union on 1st of May. Red flags were hoisted in all the gardens, where CITU union exists, exists, demonstrations were held and workers houses were illuminated particularly in the hill gardens.

In the cities, towns and industrial areas common people including students, women and youth participated in meetings and demonstrations on May Day. Another feature was the participation of peasants in meetings and demonstrations jointly with the workers. The call given by the Kisan Sabha to observe May Day was responded by their members in many places.

Great enthusiasm and determination on the part of the working class were the special features of this year's observance of May Day.

PROTEST ACTION OF 9TH APRIL

On the decision of the West Bengal Committee 9th April 1976 was observed as a protest day all over West Bengal. Our unions were directed to hold gate meeting or gate demonstration in all workplaces and submit a memorandum to local management after reading it before the workers. The following demands were enumerated in the memorandum : -

1. Civil liberties and democracy be restored and freedom of trade union functioning be fully guaranteed.
2. All persons detained without trial and arrested on political reason be immediately released. Until released they should be given political status.
3. Workers and employees' rights and earnings wherever curtailed or withdrawn be immediately restored and abnormal increase in workload be reduced.
4. All attempts to reduce retirement age and impose premature retirement be scrapped, and ordinances enforced in this connection be abrogated.
5. Minimum bonus of 8.33 per cent should be restored and all restriction on bonus be withdrawn. C.D. Act should be repealed.
6. All closed and lock-out units should be immediately reopened with full complements. Closure, lock-out and lay off should be banned and workers should be assured of their normal weekly or monthly earnings irrespective of hours of work.
7. The fraud in Compilation of Consumer Price Index should be immediately stopped and workmen should be paid their legitimate dearness allowance.

8. All unemployed persons in cities and villages should be paid unemployment allowance.
9. Abolition of landlordism in all forms and land to the landless labourers and poor peasants free of cost. Minimum daily wage of agricultural labour should be Rs.8/- with means and strictly enforced.
10. Act on Equal Wage for men and women workers should be implemented without increasing any workload.

This protest day was observed in the industrial areas of Calcutta and 24 Parganas (except in the terror affected areas) and also in the entire districts of Howrah and Hooghly. It, however, could not be observed in Burdwan District and in the tea-garden of North Bengal.

The protest day of 9th April was the first state-wide protest action organised by us after the bonus movement during the Emergency. The programme by itself was a significant step and was a source of encouragement to the workers.

STATE APEX BODY

The State Apex Body constituted with the representatives of INTUC, AITUC and HMS has failed to create any impact. Its only function is to endorse the measures taken by the Government.

Since formation of the State Apex Body the State Government has not called any meeting of the State Labour Advisory Board (SLAB) where CITU is a member. SLAB was the only forum where representatives of Central Trade Unions could discuss and criticise the policies of the Government and employers and we have effectively used this forum since 1972.

After SLAB has been made defunct since Emergency CITU has not been called by the West Bengal Government in any tripartite meeting. In one occasion State CITU leaders were called individually by the State Government in a meeting where leaders of UTUC, TUCC and UTUC (Lenin Sarani) WERE ALSO CALLED INDIVIDUALLY, but this meeting was cancelled a few hours before.

The present stand of the State Government is that as Central Trade Unions they recognise only AITUC, INTUC and HMS, the members of the State Apex Body.

The Central Commerce Minister called an industry meeting on Jute in Calcutta and in this meeting our affiliated union - Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union (BCMU) was officially invited. But the State Government has not called BCMU in any industrial meeting on jute since declaration of the emergency. But over affiliated unions in the tea-gardens were invited in the tripartite meeting recently called by the State Government in Tea gardens.

INTUC bluntly support all measures taken by the Government under the Emergency. AITUC, however, tries to be "tactful" in as much as outside the Apex Body they try to take a critical stand on Government measures. While a section of

HMS jointly move with us, INTUC and AITUC carefully avoid us in all matters and do not acknowledge or reply to our letters.

Even in cases where our unions organise movement at the base jointly with AITUC and INTUC unions, INTUC AND AITUC do not show any eagerness to maintain contact with us centrally and when we approach, they either do not respond or maintain complete silence.

BOTH INTUC and AITUC are looked upon by the workers with a feeling of indignation and both these organisations are getting isolated from the workers. AITUC leaders feel this isolation in as much as they are now taking great pain to maintain contact with the workers and explain to them why they support the Emergency. National Labour Co-ordination (NLCC) - a faction of congress, formed after 1972, is now very active applying strongarm method even against INTUC and AITUC and they condemn both INTUC and AITUC leadership publicly to expand their influence. Our unions are also victims of attacks perpetrated by NLCC in various places. Both State and Central leaders of Congress are trying to resolve the feud in their Labour Front and a move is afoot for merger of INTUC and NLCC. The fight between INTUC And NLCC is a reflection of factional quarrel in Congress itself and as long as this quarrel is not resolved, the fight between INTUC and NLCC will continue.

The leaders of the State congress and the State Ministers have failed again and again to resolve the feud between INTUC and NLCC unable to solve this organisational difference, the State Minister often declare that restrictions should be imposed on registration of unions in order to avoid multiplicity of unions and this move is also endorsed by the centre. This is a very serious development and if implemented, will lead to cancellation of registrations of non-congress unions and registration of genuine new unions will become impossible. So long we have effectively opposed this move but what shape it takes in future is to be seen.

CHASNALA MINE ACCIDENT :

As soon as the news came on Chasnala Mine Accident, our State Committee issued a statement condemning the negligence of the authorities and demanding a thorough enquiry with a view to strengthen safety measures inside the mines. Our statement was published in a number of newspapers.

We wanted to hold a public meeting on Chasnala Mine Accident jointly with UTUC, TUCC, HMS (One section) and HMP, But police refused us permission and the meeting could not be held.

We directed our affiliated unions to hold general meeting or Executive Committee meeting and adopt resolution on Chasnala Mine Accident and forwarded copies of it to Central Governments Labour Ministry and Ministry of Mines, the Government of Bihar and West Bengal Government. A Number of unions complied with our directives.

We have collected Rs.2300/- from our Unions in aid of Chasnala victims and have already given Rs.1000/- to Com. Bamapada Mukherjee of Asansol to meet the expenses for conducting the case before Chasnala Enquiry Committee. Our State Committee leaders also visited Chasnala Mine after the accident.

Detailed reports were published in a number of issues of our Bengali Journal - Shramik Andolan on Chasnala Mine Accident to inform the unions and the workers about the actual situation and to high light the demand for proper safety measures in the mines.

INDUSTRY POSITION AND MOVEMENT :

JUTE TEXTILE : We would give a summarised position on this industry as Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union has prepared a detailed report which is being circulated in this meeting.

The Indian Jute industry earned abnormally high rate of profit during 1971-73 following political and military conflict in Bangladesh when production of jute mills in Bangladesh was crippled. Immediately after this boom period the Indian jute monopolists raised a cry that synthetic products (Petroleum based) had made a considerable inroad in the foreign market of jute goods, particularly carpet backing and to tide over this completion they demanded (i) remission of export duty on jute goods particularly carpet backing and (ii) funds to modernise jute mills to reduce cost of production. The Government of India sent a team headed by Mr.S.G.Bose Mullic, Secretary of Commerce Deptt. to U.S.A. to survey the position. This team suggested in their report that if the industry could cut the price of secondary backing by 2 cents to 2.5 cents per square yard, it could not only recover the lost market but also expand the usage jute in this particular area after 1976 when the U.S. economy was expected to revive: (ref. Jute Chronicle, Morch/April, 1975, page 25). So, the main concern was to make carpet backing competitive.

But, after emergency the Central Government eliminated export duties, one after the other, on all jute goods and not only that, the Central Government also sanctioned 10(ten) percent cash subsidy on export of carpet backing. The total value of concession thus given to Indian Jute Monopolists will be Rs.40 crores a year. This financial concession is not being reflected in the selling price of Indian jute goods in the international market. We pointed out this matter to the Central Commerce Minister but he deliberately maintained silence about it.

And now the jute monopolists demand further concession (i) elimination of Central Excise Duty on jute goods which will be about Rs.40 crores a year, and (ii) sweeping authority and funds for further modernisation of jute mills. The intention of the jute monopolists is to reduce employment by 1,00,000. Both the Central Government and the State Government have publicly announced their stand supporting further modernisation in the jute mills. This is one side of the picture.

The other side of the picture reveal ruthless measures taken by the Jute Mills employers after emergency to reduce employment, existing service facilities and wage and earnings of the jute workers. In each and every jute mills hundreds of workers have been thrown out of employment. The workers forced to take premature retirement have not been paid gratuity and retirement benefits. Workload have been increased ranging from 50 to 80 percent. A system is introduced rather encouraged that where workers cannot cope with the increased workload, they may bring their own helper for which no additional wage is paid. So two men are made to work against wage of one worker.

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Nine jute mills of West Bengal are closed. In most of these mills the workers protest against increased workload and the employersx resorted to closure on the plea of labour trouble. According to the statement of State Labour Minister, 50,000 jute workers are out of employment. But actual figure of retrenchment and unemployment in the jute mills will be much more than this.

Recently the Central Commerce Ministry has reduced 18% production in the jute mills. In some mills actual production cut is much more than 18%. Following this measure two shifts have been introduced in most of the mills. This has already led to further reduction of employment and depressed price of raw jute grossly affecting the jute growers.

The latest decision taken by the State Government, as reported in newspapers, is for shortening the duration of first and second shifts in the jute mills from 8 hours to 6 hours and this will inevitably lead to straightway reduction of 25% wage cut and further depletion of employment.

This year a bumper crop of jute is expected. So, the production cut and reduced working hours in the jute mills will result in a sharp decline in the price of raw jute causing ruin to the jute growers. The Government has fixed raw jute price at Rs.135/- per quintal but the jute growers do not get this price. The jute corporation of India purchase raw jute from the market but its quantity is hardly 10 percent of the total and therefore does not help the jute growers to have a better price of raw jute. We demanded fixation of raw jute price at Rs.100/- per maund (37.5 kgs.) and purchase of entire raw jute by the Government direct from the jute growers.

The jute workers have participated in a series of protest actions against the unprecedented offensive of the employers. The details of their movement are given in the report of BCMU.

COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY : As in jute, workload in cotton Textile Mills of West Bengal has been abnormally increased. In Kesoram Cotton Mills 2000 Budli workers have been retrenched. In Dunbar Cotton Mills 250 permanent workers have been thrown out of employment. In Jaysree Cotton Textile 25 percent workers have been reduced. In Annapurna Cotton Mills the Workers strength was 2000 in 1972 and now it is only 1200. In Kalyani Spinning Mills - a Government of West Bengal Undertaking police verification of the antcidents of the workers has been started with a view to victimise our workers. We lodged a strong protest against this move when the State Government said that they are doing it to ensure security of the plants. In Mohini mills 60 percent production has been reduced and 350 workers have no work. A few thousands workers have been retrenched in the powerlooms and a number of powerlooms are closed. The handloom workers are in a grave xix crisis for lack of work and reduced wage. 18 cotton Textile Mills operated by IRCI and NTC are working five days a week.

ENGINEERING INDUSTRY : We have mentioned about Railway Wagon Building industry of West Bengal earlier. This year the Railway Board has placed orders for 8000 Railway wagons against production range of 24000 wagons in West Bengal 36000 all over India. Moreover, introduction of concrete sleepers in place of iron sleepers (for Railway lines) has affected the iron sleeper manufacturing factories of West Bengal.

During the last three years the employment strength in TEXMACO, one of the biggest Railway Wagon builders and owned by the Birlas, the employment strength has been reduced by 1100. Recently Texmaco has introduced premature retirement and a number of workers have been thrown out of employment under this scheme. It is further reported that Texmaco plans to retrench 1800 workers. Individual workload has been abnormally increased in Texmaco and anti-social elements recruited by the company are used to pressurise the workers to give more production.

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In Jay Engineering Works, the Management has announced its plan to reduce 1000 workers in the Sewing Machine unit and modernisation and rationalisation measures to reduce production cost. Our union has opposed this move and approached INTUC and AITUC for joint movement. Both INTUC and AITUC unions are silent about our approach for joint movement and their intention is to make a compromise with the Management. This factory is situated at the centre of a terror affected area and open functioning of our union is still impossible here.

The Management of Jay Engineering has drastically reduced wage by completely violating the agreement on production bonus.

In Jessop the workers strength has depleted by 1000 during the last three years. The Sen-Raleigh cycle factory at Assansol, presently taken over by the Government and run with IRCI finance is facing a near collapse situation for huge accumulation of unsold cycles valued over Rs.1 crore. In Braithwaite factory at Kidderpore, Calcutta 93 workers including four leaders of CITU union have been charge-sheeted and suspended (just before its nationalisation) in connection with a fight between two factions of Congress with which CITU union members were in no way connected. In Industrial Plant 25 CITU leaders and workers were suspended just before closure of the factory. A member of heavy electrical machinery manufacturing factories like ECE are closed. ELVOC has closed its factory at Ballygunge from 4th May. Panday Industries is closed for last 5 months affecting 150 workers. In Maya Engineering the Management employed NLCC men who are forcibly preventing leaders and active workers of CITU union to resume duties while 30 workers are already retrenched. In various small and medium engineering factories workers have been retrenched under the so-called voluntary retirement scheme.

In Metal Box the Management declared lock-out after the emergency and continued it for 84 days. After reopening the factory 8 workers were retrenched (three of them were detained under MISA) and 462 workers were forced to take premature retirement. NLCC is now in the leadership of the union in this factory though a number of CITU representative are there in the Executive Committee.

In Universal Electric the Management refused to implement the agreement on 20 percent bonus. Subsequently the Management advanced Rs.600/- to each worker on account of bonus and agreed to start negotiation. In November 1975 the company started deducting workers wage against advance for bonus. The workers unitedly protested against this move when the Management declared lock-out and suspended 14 leaders of CITU union. The company signed a secret agreement with NLCC in December 1975 and reopened the factory. 36 workers were not allowed to resume their work.

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In Hanuman Foundries 16 workers have been retrenched and 150 laid off. In Shalimar Industries(P) Ltd. 80 workers are laid off since March 1976 and they are being asked by the management to take premature retirement. In J.K.Steel the Management has unilaterally stopped incentive scheme in Hoist Block. The workers have recorded their protest by going on strike from 5th June 1976. Britannia Engineering a big engineering factory is closed for a long time.

POSITION IN HINDUSTHAN MOTORS : The position in Hind Motors has further deteriorated since we reported in the Working Committee meeting at Madras. The employment strength in this factory was as follows in 1974-75 : -

Automobile Division	-	10,868
H.E.D. and Steel Foundry-		1,306
Badli	-	2,000
Contract Labour	-	1,000
Staff	-	4,000(Approx.)

Now Badli and contract Labour are all thrown out of employment. Besides, 2500 workers have been forced out of employment on premature retirement and other ground. In average 3900 workers are laid-off everyday(based on 5 day work in a week) without payment of any lay-off compensation. The workers get hardly 12 to 13 days work in a month. Since Madras Working Committee meeting the production in this factory has slightly improved and it is now between 40 to 45% of the original production.

The workers are asked to work longer hours. For reduced production the workers feel helpless but even in this situation they organise protest movement in some form or other. Hardly a day pass, when workers do not organise a protest deputation or tool down strike in some sections. To suppress this protest movement of the workers the Management has suspended a number of workers and charge-sheeted 25 workers on the ground of inefficiency. CRP forces have been deployed inside the factory and the canteen has been made their camp. The Management has asked for Government's permission to lay-off further 3300 workers.

In the TEA GARDENS, the women workers are still not paid equal wage- equal to male workers. Continuous agitation is going on ~~and~~ for equal wage for women workers. The employers insist that women workers will be paid equal wages only when they agree to undertake same work load and all types of jobs(some being physically impossible for women workers) performed by male workers. In Doors the employers are asking the women workers to pluck fine leaves by changing the rotation from 'once in 15 days' to 'once in seven days' and this involves more labour. In other words, the workload has been increased.

The women workers are also asked to do such work which so long have been done by male workers.

Indian Tea is now getting highest ever price in the international market but workers do not get any share of it.

A sizable number of our workers in the tea-garden are detained under MISA.

When the sick garden reopens the new employers do

do not accept the liabilities of the old employers in respect of workers rights and entitlements. Moreover, on retirement the workers are asked to immediately vacate their houses of the garden but it takes very long time to collect retirement benefits. Moreover particularly in Darjeeling hills the workers have no other home then in the gardens where they have been living for generations.

On various local issues and also against retrenchment, our unions organised mass demonstrations, gheros and also strikes.

On major economic issues INTUC jointly move with our unions in the tea-garden but they take a very tolerant attitude in case of small gardens.

Our unions have increased their strength and consolidated their positions in the tea-gardens.

In the COAL MINES after 15 percent production cut the workers are transferred to far-off mines in order to suppress the growing discontent. Attempts are again being made to introduce contract labour in the mines. The money lenders and userers are being encouraged as it was in the past.

BATA WORKERS STRIKE :

The biggest struggle of this period was the strike struggle of 12,000 Bata Shoe Factory workers which continued for 39 days. A few years back there was an agreement with the Bata Management on Bonus linked with production. When the management violated this agreement, the workers unitedly launched the strike. There is only one union in this factory and people of all political opinion jointly function in it. In this strike, the workers supporting CITW, congress, AITUC and other left Trade Unions - all unitedly conducted the strikes and all decisions were taken jointly and unanimously. As local congress supported the strike, the Government could not take repressive measures. It should be mentioned here that unity at shop level was so effective that congress elements did not dare to oppose the strike. But Government directed the censor authorities not to pass any news on this strike and as such no news were published in the news papers. The strike culminated in an agreement broadly conceding the demands of the workers. The State Committee organised a solidarity campaign in support of Bata workers strike.

OTHER STRUGGLES : For last four months the Management of National Rubber Manufacturing have suspended production and the workers are paid only basic pay and D.A. The loss of earning of the workers is about Rs.100/- p.m. on account of production bonus. Our union is carrying on agitation for immediate resumption of production and nationalisation of the factory. Our union approached INTUC and AITUC for joint struggle but they did not respond.

The workers of Ritz Continental Hotel in Calcutta faught against closure for months. The Management secretly signed an agreement with NECC and then reopend the hotel. There was a clause in this agreement that the Management will deduct Rs.15,000/- per month from workers earnings to meet the loss during closure. Majority of the workers led by our union opposed this clause. The Management retrenched. 152

152 workers including 32 women workers. The issue is now pending before the Labour Directorate. In National Tobacco Co. 1200 workers have been retrenched.

In Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation our union jointly with the unions of INTUC and AITUC are effectively carrying on a movement opposing instalation of a computer and for wage rise. The State Government has set up an Expert Committee to determine as to whether computerisation is necessary in Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation.

In a number of factories as in Kesoram Rayon, leaders and active workers of our unions have been victimised.

In Calcutta State Transport Corporation the conductors are constantly harrassed and charge-sheeted on flimsy ground. Early Retirement on 25 years of service or at 50 years of age has been introduced. Compulsory Medical Examination at 45 years of age - to determine physical fitness has been introduced. Ex-military personnels have been placed : at the top management of this organisations

In Calcutta Tramways Co., the working hours of conductors and drivers have been increased and they are being harassed on various pretext. In Hindustan Gas workers are being constantly harrassed.

In Kolay Biscuit Co. 32 workers of our union have been retrenched. In Bunge & Co. Ltd., Calcutta 54 employees have been recently retrenched.

In various factories and mills canteen facilities are being curtailed by the employers. This actually leads to more expenses for the workers and reduction of their take home pay.

The workers in two cinema Houses in Calcutta launched a prolonged strike on wage demands and for withdrawal of suspension orders issued to workers.

The Bedi workers are carrying on their movement for implementation of Minimum Wage and enforcement of the Bedi & Cigar workers (condition of employment) Act. The Bedi workers of Purulia district and Bankura District launched strike on the demand for minimum wage. So far minimum wage for Bedi workers in Jalpaiguri (Rs.6.26 per thousand) and Bankura (Rs.6.40 per thousand) has been realised. The Bedi workers all over the State held demonstration on their demand.

ON PROPOSED CONSTITUTION AMENDMENT :

The State Committee has discussed in detail the information so far published in news papers on proposed amendment of the Constitution of India and its possible effect on working class. Small meetings are being held in different working class areas to explain to the workers the effect and significance of the proposed constitutional amendments. We have already sent a protest telegram to the President and the Prime Minister of India and copies of it has been sent to all political parties in the Parliament and all Central Trade Unions.

ATTITUDE OF LABOUR DIRECTORATE:

Since imposition of the Emergency the Labour Directorate of West Bengal Government has taken a more rigid attitude towards CITU unions. It sometimes takes months effort to prevail upon the officers of Labour Directorate to convene conciliation meetings. In the Conciliation meetings employers are usually supported by the Conciliation officers.

This year the Registrar of Trade Unions imposed several restrictions on filing of annual returns by our Unions. A special table was set up for scrutinising the returns of CITU unions and on various pretext returns were returned and not received even. The Register of Trade Unions insisted that unions must hold annual general meeting before submission of the annual returns and where annual returns could not be held returns of the unions were not accepted. Some of our Unions' registration have been cancelled and in some other cases explanation has been asked or so-called irregularities in returns submitted as back as 1972 or 1973.

FUNCTIONING OF STATE COMMITTEE :

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During the Emergency the State Committee issued two leaflets after censor. The first leaflet was issued in January 1976 in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu - and the total number was 68,000. The second leaflet has been this month in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu. In the first instalment 66,000 leaflets have been printed and total distribution is expected to go up over a lakh. According to our system the affiliated unions purchase the leaflets from State Committee's office at cost price.

Our monthly organ - 'SHRAMIK ANDOLAN' is also working as a link between the State Committee and the affiliated unions.

We have directed our unions to keep close contact with the workers and hold small meetings as many as possible. On Chashala, on Bata workers strike, on the struggle of the employees of Ritz Continental Hotel - our unions were asked to send protest letters and this was complied with by many of them.

The State Committee has printed in Bengali '30 Years history of Trade Union movement in Vietnam' and it is still in circulation.

Six circulars have so far been issued by the State Committee during 1976 and three meetings of the State Working Committee have been held during the Emergency. The Secretariat of the State Committee regularly meets on every Wednesday.

The State Committee submitted a detailed memorandum on Jute industry to Bose-Mullick Committee when it called the representatives of CITU West Bengal on 8th Feb., '76 in Calcutta. copy of this memorandum is being circulated in this meeting.

The State Committee also made a study on effect of computerisation in Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and the report prepared on it was widely circulated.

Comrade Dilip Mazumdar collected some valuable information on steel industry and compiled a report. The State Committee widely circulated this report.

ORGANISATIONAL POSITION AND OUR TASK :

The Internal Emergency has created a new situation. It would require considerable efforts to properly utilise the experience of the working class gained by them under the emergency. We will have to see the whole thing in a long perspective and streamline our organisation accordingly. The workers are some times panicky, some time they are scared and sometimes they are restless also. We will have to understand the frame of mind of the workers and put up with it with patience. Our approach during the first year of Emergency has borne fruits in as much as it was seen during May Day observance of 1976 that given the proper lead, the advance section of the working class are in a position to respond to it and carry with them the mass of the workers.

We must frankly admit here that our organisation is still not tuned to meet the requirement of the situation. How to reorient the organisation and maintain more living contact with the unions and the workers is a pertinent question before us and while we wish to address ourselves to this task, we seek proper guidance from CITU Centre.

From the foregoing pages of this report it will be seen that in most of the big factories & mills where we were consolidated and strong, the employers have launched fiercest attacks and with depletion of the strength of the workers, the membership and strength of our unions are also depleted. We are conscious of this position.

During the last one year - despite the Emergency and unprecedented attacks perpetrated by the Employers and the Government, series of protest actions were organised in various industries at plant level. There is a possibility today to co-ordinate these protest actions and prepare ground for a more effective movement. We must harness this possibility.

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Enclosure to Report on West Bengal :

Details of results of elections held in West Bengal during Emergency - for P.F. Trustee Board, Works Committee and Co-operative Credit Society.

1. Election of Bata Mazdoor Union :

The election was held on 30th July '75 . Out of 41 in the Working Committee of the union, the Left united Front secured 30 seats. C.P.I.(M) candidate Robin Sinha was elected General Secretary of the Union. Congress and C.P.I. made an alliance and they were utterly defeated. The sitting General Secretary of the union Sri Santosh Ghosh, Local CPI leader Dilip Ghosh, Congress MLA Sri Rampiwere Ram and NLCC leader Pankaj Banerjee - all were defeated. Total votes (Workers) - 12,137. Nearly 95 percent voters participated in the election and cast their votes.

2. Cheveot Jute Mills, Chitraganj, Budge Budge (24 paraganas), Trustee Board Election (P.F.).

In all the five seats CITU candidates were elected on 11th August, 1975.

Votes polled :

1	<u>CITU candidates</u>	<u>Vote</u>
	Manager Singh	2014
	Dulal Biswas	1947
	Madhusudhan Gyan	1934
	Nitai Naskar	1872
	Bimal Das	1628

II Congress-CPI Alliance Candidates:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Vote</u>
Sibnarayan Mandal	844
Uday Narayan	670
Mahananda Naskar	754
Prasad Ch. Das	635
Azad Zamadar	487

II Candidates of Phani Ghosh's Federation (a faction of HMS)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Vote</u>
Biswanath Halder	487
Nayeb Alikhan	317
Lakshman Purakayat	199
Gobinda Ghosh	288
Kisore Das	139

3. Kinnyson Jute Mills, Titagarh, 24-parganas P.F. Trustee Board Election :

CITU candidates elected in all the five seats on 26th Aug., '75. Congress, INTUC and AITUC jointly set up their candidates and all of them were defeated.

4. Kinnyson Jute Mills, Titagarh, 24-parganas Works Committee Election :

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Election held on 26th Aug., '75.

Result :

CITU	-	Elected in 3 seats
Congress	-	Elected in 3 seats
AITUC	-	Elected in 2 seat
Independents	-	Elected in 2 seats
		<u>Total : 9 seats</u>

5. Union North Jute Mills, Calcutta P.F.
Trustee Board Election (29.8.75) :

When CITU candidates went to file nomination papers, goondas sorrounded them and took away the nomination paper threatening to murder them if they stood for election. On hearing this incident the workers ~~reacted~~ reacted and filed nomination papers on behalf of 5 workers belonging to CITU union. Then the employers postponed the election.

The Election was held on 7th Sept., '75 when CITU candidates were elected in all the five seats.

Votes polled by CITM CANDIDATES Votes passed by INTUC candidates.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Vote</u>
Binoy Kumar Sen	1365	Milan Dutta	600
Ainul Haque	1275	Qumruddin	138
Dharamdeo Tewari	1100	Pinman	60
Gangasagar	1060	Ranjit	50
Haripada Ghosh	960	Manick	40

6. Ichapore Rifle Factory's Co-operative
Credit Society's Election (24 parganas) :

Election held on 11.9.75. Out of 56 seats, 32 seats were secured by candidates of Co-ordination Committee of Central Government Employers Union and Association. CPI and Congress alliance secured 22 seats. Two seats were secured by a rival group of INTUC.

7. Premchand Jute Mills, Howrah :
P.F. Trustee Board Election.

Election held on 18th Sept., '75. CITU candidates elected in all the three seats.

Votes secured by CITU candidates :

<u>Name</u>	<u>Vote</u>
Kamal Baksi	2662
Dilip Das	2567
Suresh Das	2424

8. Anglo Indian Jute Mills, Kankinara, 24-Parganas
Works Committee Election.

Election held on 1.10.75

Out of 9 seats, CITU candidates seuced 6 seats, INTUC secured two and independent 1 seat.

9. Anglo -Indian Jute Mills, Kankinara, 24-Parganas
P.F. Trustee Board Election :

on 2.10.75

Out of two seats, CITU secured one, and INTUC one.

10. Indian Iron & Steel Co.Ltd., Burnpur, Burdwan IISCO Employees Co-operative credit Society election on 13.12.1975.

Out of 12 seats, CITU candidates secured 6 seats.

11. Gondalpara Jute Mills, Hooghly P.F. Trustee Board Election : 19.12.1975.

Out of 4 seats CITU candidates secured 3 seats.

12. Victoria Jute Mills,(Telenipara, Hooghly Works Committee Election (17.1.1976)

Out of 9 seats, 6 seats were secured by CITU candidates. AITUC secured one seat and Independents two seats.

13. Binani Metal Works, Howrah P.F. Trustee Board Election (31.12.75)

CITU candidates elected in all the four seats.

<u>CITU Candidates</u>	<u>Votes secured</u>
Md.Hanif	315
Badan Rai	282
Santu Dusad	269
Birkumar Sengupta	264

14. Fort William Jute Mills, Howrah Works Committee Election (5.2.76) :

Out of 9 seats CITU candidates secured 6 seats.

15. Ambica Jute Mills, Belur, Howrah P.F. Trustee Board Election (30.1.1976) :

CITU candidates secured all the 8 seats (5 among workers and 3 among staff).

16. Durgapur Steel Plant, Burdwan Co-operative Credit Society Election :

Election held on 5.3.76.

Out 72 seats, CITU candidates were elected unopposed in 40 seats. In 32 seats there were election and CITU candidates secured 31 seats, In one seat the nomination paper of CITU candidate was cancelled for some defect.

17. Angus Jute Mills, Hoogly

Canteen Committee Election (23.5.1976):

CITU representatives secured all the five (5) seats.

CITU Candidates:

Votes polled:

Joginder Singh -Finishing Dept.	1502
Basudev Ghosh - Mistry Section	1285
Ramdeo Pandey - Spinning Dept.	1265
ABdul Gaffor - Loom Dept.	1233
Kashinath Mukherjee -Clerical staff	996

18. METAL AND STEEL FACTORY, ICHAPORE, 24-PARGANAS:

Election of Co-operative Credit Society:

Election held on 22.5.1976.

Out of 83 seats, the representatives of the Co-ordination Committee of Central Government Employees Unions and Association secured fiftythree (53) seats. AITUC and INTUC and Congress jointly put up their candidates and secured 30 seats.

19. CHITTARANJAN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS, BURDWAN :

STAFF BENEFIT FUND ELECTION :

Election held on 28th June, 1976.

Out of 14 seats, the representatives of Chittaranjan Locomotive Works Labour Union secured 8 (eight) seats. The election was held in a tense situation of terror in the township. The representatives of Labour Union secured 70 percent votes. Highest votes secured by the candidate of Labour Union in Electric Loco Shop was 1313 votes against his nearest rival (INTUC) who secured 421 votes.

Report submitted by Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union
Kamal Sarkar, General Secretary, B.C.M.U.

(Circulated in CITU Working Committee Meeting
NEW DELHI, July 10, 1976)

Report of Workers' Resistance Movement
against Onslaughts in Jute Mills of West Bengal :

Since the internal emergency, proclaimed in India on 26th June, 20 1975, a new onslaught has started against Jute workers, as was done in other industries.

In the name of economic crisis and lack of foreign trade, the jute barons tried to economise on the cost of production by deducting all the economic gains earned by workers during last 5- years' struggle. All the agreements whether industrywise or at the plant level or otherwise, drawn in favour of workers since 1969 general strike, were thrown into the waste paper basket.

In regard to Budli, the IJMA do not recognise them as worker. They openly accused Sri K.V.Raghunatha Reddy for his Award. In their Memorandum dated 7th April 1976, before the Apex Body, the IJMA has brazenly asserted that "Budli" workers are "nothing but job-seekers", and are not entitled to any relief. Not only that, the Managements are openly declaring to the workers that they will rob the workers of all they gained during the U.F. Government, and even depress their position further.

Employers tried to get sanction from Government of India to close the mills by rotation to regulate production. This proposal of Block-Closure though not officially sanctioned, was in practice, carried out by arrangement. On an average, ten to fifteen mills in every week remained closed throughout the period. Some mills, in particular such as (a) Khardah; (b) Premchand; (c) Union North; (d) Meghna; and (e) Bharat Jute Mill remained closed for longer periods.

According to management, and Dr.Gopal Das Nag, the reasons for closure and lockout are two fold : (1) to restore economic ~~va~~ viability, which was at stake, and (2) Labour trouble (which means refusal on the part of workers to agree to the abnormal workload, wage cut and retrenchment). In all cases of dispute the Labour Commissioner and Labour Secretary have given their verdict in favour of employers. Practically the increased workload as was mentioned in their notices by the individual mill managements has been recommended by the Labour Directorate. (3) Dr.Gopal Das Nag has stated to the press that 50,000 workers has already been affected by the decision to seal machines in the jute mills (Jugantar Patrika 29th June'76.). This admission, together with the 30/40 thousand earlier reported retrenched, would bring the total jute workers freshly unemployed to nearly 1 lakh.

In a year's time, working conditions in all jute mills have deteriorated. While total annual production has increased from 11 lakh tonnes to 13 lakh tonnes, total number of workers decreased from 2.50 lakh to 1.80 lakh.

Contd.....2

Workload has increased in every department. Now workers are forced to work in double looms and multiple ~~a~~ spinning machines, who earlier worked in single loom or single spinning machine. There is no time for rest. Even for attending nature's call workers are chargesheeted or suspended. Norms of production per worker were increased from 45 per cent to 75 or even to 90 per cent. As a result of which workers earnings have fallen. Workload has been increased in such a way that in some of the mills, workers are even forced to resign from their service due to inability in carrying out the workload.

The Jute Commissioner who has asked the employers to cut 18% production, has in practice asked individual mills to cut production to the extent of 40%. Daily rated workers were thrown out and their work was given to Contractors. Women workers are out of job in jute mills. Women as budlies and temporary still working in mills and they are to work for 14 to 16 hours a day with a very small wage. In some of the mills due to inability of workers to complete their abnormally increased workload, they are asked to bring Bhagawalla (helpers from outside), who is to be paid from the concerned worker's wages.

To revive the industry the Government of India has committed itself to a subsidy of Rs.100 crores and the employers has asked for more subsidy, and drastic reduction on bank rate.

Not only were workers monthly earnings curtailed, even their bonus will be nil this year.

Against all these attacks workers tried to resist.

Resistance started from the beginning. On 1st July 1975, at a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the BCMU, CITU leaders explained the significance of emergency (a) Organisational task assumed supreme importance; (b) Workers were asked to build united front to resist all offensives and to demonstrate, gherao or to go for departmental or unit-wise strike whenever any offensive take place; (c) Time to time mass deputations were to be organised along with other central trade union organisations; (d) Increase Union membership; (e) Group meetings were to be held regularly among workers on political issues - which means that steps were to be taken to raise the political level of workers.

During one year under emergency attacks were launched in two phases: (i) increase of workload was first phase, (ii) retrenchments and increase of norms lead to wage cut, were the next. Jute workers did not at all cease resistance. As the management and the State Labour Secretariat brought out new orders to curtail workers' rights and privileges, the workers had to record their protests in various forms.

Apart from mass deputations and gate meetings workers to lightning and departmental strikes in 217 jute mills.

Deputations against repression and economic issues were organised by B.C.M.U. were 4 in number and one by C.I.T.U. along with 4 other central trade unions on withdrawal of emergency and restoration of democratic and trade union rights.

Local mill-wise deputations to managers to ask for immediate remedy were several. Series of deputations or protest demonstrations were organised.

Gate or mass meetings without mike and without asking police permission were held almost in every area of Howrah, Hooghly, Barrackpore and Budge Budge and in Calcutta.

UNITED ACTIONS IN JUTE MILLS : Unity at the base and some time with left trade unions could be achieved in time of actions. INTUC refused to have any joint action with CITM though at the mill level their followers very often work with GITY workers. AITUC though professing in favour of joint action - never actually came forward and participated in any action. On one occasion to suit their time we had to change date (from 27th March to 2nd April) for a joint deputation to mill managers, but they did not join. They wanted to come to an united action if INTUC agrees.

BCMU's influence is spreading. Since the betrayal by INTUC in the last 48 day industry-wide general strike INTUC is marked as "dala". But it would be wrong to think that they have no influence. INTUC in the Apex Body, due to its liaison with Government & Management is still a force. AITUC has become an appendage to Congress / but still they are consolidating their forces in AITUC Unions. Others like UTUC, HMS and BMS (Jansangh) - all exist in name only.

Though our influence has gone deep to the grass roots and workers respond to our calls - yet the membership of our union has decreased. The membership figure for 1975 is 81,291 against 1,01,148 in 1974. Main obstacle to recruit membership is (a) terror and general demoralisation and also because no economic gains could be achieved by 48 days general strike in 1975. (b) Legal restrictions in enrolment of membership inside the mill (c) the earlier practice in enrolling members at the time of bonus payment, was suddenly discontinued in 1975 enrolment due to Bonus Boycott movement and (d) lack of political vigilance.

We have issued two central leaflets and one poster in the name of BCMU during last 6 months. Local leaflets and hand written posters were issued by several branches.

Level of political consciousness has been raised ~~xx~~ through group meetings, though not sufficiently.

In the period of internal emergency ~~xxx~~ wherever there were any election in jute mills either of Trustee Board of the Provident Fund or Works Committee or Canteen Committee, B.C.M.U. candidates returned with thumping majority. Only in one case, in Ganges Jute Mill of Bansberia(Hooghly), all our

candidates were defeated to Laxmi Bose's N.L.C.C. candidates (reasons yet to be investigated). Except this case general victory in Committee Election enhanced our prestige.

May Day 1976 was observed in all centres of jute areas with mass participation and with militant enthusiasm.

According to Press News during the first week of July 1976 the Government announced shrinkage of the time span of the shifts in the jute Mills, According to this announcement the first and second shifts will be each of six hours (instead of eight hours) from 6.00 a.m. to 12 noon and 12 noon to 6.00 p.m. and the operation of the mills will remain closed for 4 hours from 6 p.m. to 10 p.m. and the night shift will be for 8 hours from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. The Government created an impression as if this arrangement is worked out to ensure maximum employment and tide over the power shortage. This arrangement will immediately lead to loss of 2 hours wage for the workers in first and second shift equivalent to 25% wage cut whereas in actual practice the workers will be made to give output of 8 hours xx in 6 hours work and the workers already retrenched will not be given employment either.

(Enclosure to Report to Kamal Sorkar on Jute)

RESULT OF ELECTIONS HELD AFTER THE INTERNAL
EMERGENCY IN DIFFERENT JUTE MILLS OF W. BENGAL.

W.B. Jute
Enclosure I :

1. Cheviot Jute Mill (Chitrigunge-Budge Budge): Election was held for Provident Fund Trustee Board on 10.8.75. BCMU captured all the five seats defeating INTUC, HMS and AITUC.
2. Premchand Jute Mill (Chengail-Howrah): Election was held on 19.9.75. CITU Candidates captured all the 3 seats with thumping majority defeating INTUC, TUCC and N.L.C.C.
3. Kinnison Jute Mill (Titagarh & 24 parganas) : Election in P.F. Trustee Board was held on 26.9.75. BCMU Candidates won in all the 5 seats defeating INTUC, AITUC and TCMU(Local Congress).
b) Works Committee Selection : Election was held on same date. BCMU won in 3 seats out of 9 previously we had only 2 seats. Others are as follows : - (i) INTUC-3(ii)AITUC-I (iii) TCMU(Sukla Congress) - 1 and (iv) Independent -1 seat. It should be noted here that in the beginning the Congress hoodlums snatched away the nomination papers and threatened our candidates with dire consequences only 5 candidates submitted their nominations. We won in 3 seats.
4. Ludlow Jute Mill (Chengail-Howrah): Election was held in the Works Committee in the month of September 1975 and CITU candidates won in all the 10 seats with overwhelming majority of votes defeating INTUC and Independent Candidates.
5. Union North Jute Mill (Calcutta) : Election was held on last 5th Sept. in the Provident Fund Trustee Board. While submitting the nomination papers by CITU candidates & the Congress hoodlums snatched away the papers and threatened our candidates with dire consequences and as such our candidates compelled to withdraw the nominations. But after that another set of workers of our union came forward and filed nomination and won in all the 5 seats with overwhelming majority of the votes.
6. Hukumchand Jute Mill (Hazinagar - 24 parganas): Election was held in the month of February 1976 in the Provident Fund Trustee Board. B.C.M.U. Candidates captured all the 5 seats defeating INTUC, AITUC, NLCC, BMS(Janssangh) and Independent candidates. It may be mentioned here that after 1972 rigged election we could not function here properly due to terror created by Congress Party. In spite of that CITU's influence is growing day by day.
7. Fort William Jute Mill (Sibpur): Election were held in P.F. Trustee Board on 2nd February 1976. BCMU Candidates won in the 6 seats out of total 9 seats.
8. Victoria Jute Mill (Telenipara, Hooghly) : In the Works Committee Election held on 17.1.76 CITU Candidates won in 7 seats out of 8 seats.
9. Naihati Jute Mill (Hazinagar, 24-parganas) : Since 1971 end we cannot function openly in the area. We cannot even open our Union Office due to unprecedented terror let loose by the Congress Party. In spite of that in the election of P.F. Trustee Board held on 20.3.76 we won 5 seats out of 8.
10. Angus Jute Mill (Hooghly) : Election were held in the Canteen Committee on 23.5.76, the BCMU Candidates captured all the seats which is 5 in number defeating INTUC, AITUC and others.

(Enclosure to Kamal Sarkar's report on Jute)

Deputations to Government and Employers

W.B. Jute

Enclosure II: Memorandums submitted by mass of jute workers to the Jute Mill Managers and to the Government after the promulgation of Internal Emergency.

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A list of dates with some details as given here below :-

1. 2nd Sept.'1975 : A Memorandum was submitted to the State Labour Minister enumerating the natures of attacks upon the jute workers with 21 point demands. This Memorandum was also submitted Centrally.
 2. 24th September 1975 : Second Memorandum submitted by mass of the jute workers in plant level with mass signatures and deputations through their respective mill managers to the State Labour Minister. This Memorandum has also been submitted to Union Commerce and Labour Minister. Workers of different mills submitted this Memorandum to Mill Managers by ceasing work for about an hour.
 3. 27th Sept., '75 : A Joint Memorandum was submitted by BCMU, UTUC, TUCC and HMS jointly to the State & Union Labour Ministers in protest against Bonus Ordinance. It is to be noted here that the jute workers unitedly boycotted the 4% bonus for about 3 months. This bonus boycott movement is still continuing in some of the mills of Barrackpore Sub-Division.
 4. 2nd April, 1976 : This Memorandum was submitted jointly by Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union, Bengal Provincial Chatkal Mazdoor Union; Paschim Banga Chatkal Mazdoor Federation (TUCC) and All India Jute Textile Workers' Federation (HMS-Bibhas Ghosh) with about 50,000 signatures of the workers of different jute mills with 10 point demands.
 5. 22nd June 1976 : This Memorandum was submitted in plant level by mass signatures and with huge demonstrations against cut in D.A. to the State Labour Minister through individual mill managers. This Memorandum has also been sent to Union Commerce and Labour Minister respectively.
- Apart from the above following memorandums have been submitted by the jute workers to the Government and Mill managements and also to I.L.O. : -
6. 28th Sept.'75 : A Memorandum was submitted to I.L.O. by C.I.T.U. Centre enumerating the natures of attacks upon by the jute workers in West Bengal by the jute barons taking the Internal Emergency as a garb.
 7. 8th Feb., '76 : Industry-wide Memorandum on jute was submitted before the S.G. Bose-Mullick Committee by the C.I.T.U. West Bengal Committee.
 8. 9th April '76 : This Memorandum on withdrawal of Internal Emergency and for securing democratic and trade union rights was also organised by the jute workers in all the jute mills in West Bengal through gate meetings and mass signatures. This programme was initiated by CITU along 4 other Central Trade Union Organisations.
 9. 22nd May 1976 : This is the last Memorandum submitted before the Union Commerce and Labour Minister respectively by BCMU, UTUC and TUCC, in the tripartite meeting held at Calcutta convened by the Union Commerce Minister.

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M E M O R A N D U M
O F

CITU West Bengal Committee

Submitted to:

The Committee

O n

Jute Industry

appointed by

the Commerce Ministry

Government of India.

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Calcutta
8th February, 1976

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Centre of Indian Trade Unions
West Bengal Committee
53, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road
Calcutta-16

Memorandum of CITU West Bengal Committee
submitted to the Committee on Jute Industry
appointed by the Government of India :

1. Centre of Indian Trade Unions (West Bengal Committee) takes serious objection to the method adopted by the Ministry of Commerce of the Government of India in constituting this Committee on Jute Industry. In the Memorandum issued by the Ministry of Commerce of the Government of India bearing No.16/1/76-Ex.VII dated 24th January 1976 it is clearly stated that the purpose of constituting this Committee is to 'formulate an integrated approach to the problems of Jute Industry' which means it is not an Enquiry Committee or a Fact Finding Committee. This Committee is actually an instrument for implementing an executive order in subserving the interests of Jute Barons and monopolists and this is more than clear from the conclusive nature of the terms of reference to this Committee. The terms of reference are framed in such a manner that it direct the Committee to reach a specific conclusion which seems to be already determined by the Government.
2. Before constituting this Committee by the Commerce Ministry of the Government of India in their memorandum of 24th January 1976, the Union Commerce Minister Dr. D.P. Chattopadhyay himself issued warning to the Jute Mills owners publicly asking them to reduce the cost of production of jute goods (Vide the news given by the Statesman, Calcutta, on 18th January 1976) which in practical implication means a direction for reducing wages and earnings of workers and sharp reduction of existing employment strength. The formation of this Committee immediately after the Minister statement is, therefore, most meaningful and shows an unabashed desire on the part of the Commerce Ministry and the Government of India to serve the Jute monopolists taking full advantage of the prevailing situation when it is difficult for the workers to voice their protest due to withdrawal of their democratic and constitutional rights under the Internal Emergency. It is apparent that this Committee has been set-up at the prompting of the Jute monopolists.
3. The basic concern behind constituting such a Committee should have been to safeguard the interests of over 300,000 workers employed in Jute Industry all over India and over a million jute growers in the States of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura who are being constantly attacked and reduced to extreme poverty by the monopolists. But the attitude of the Government as reflected in constituting this Committee and the Government policy strengthen the same monopolists to further sharpen their attacks on jute workers and jute growers and further endanger the national interest involved in jute industry.
4. When 250,000 Jute workers of West Bengal launched their strike struggles unitedly and continued the strike for 33 days in 1974 and for 48 days in 1975 on their long standing vital economic demands (which have not been conceded even today), both the West Bengal Government and the Central Government pulled their entire weight in support of the jute monopolists and did not intervene in support of the workers. And today the Central Government has asked this Committee to submit an interim report within a month and final report within two months as it relates to the interest of the same Jute monopolists. The undue haste in constituting this committee and asking it to hastily conclude its work portends most damaging consequence to the jute workers and jute growers and betrays the accepted norms of natural justice and fairplay. Centre of Indian Trade Unions (West Bengal Committee), therefore, records its strong protest against this attitude and policy of the Union Commerce Ministry and the Government of India and requests this Committee to take due note of it.

5. In 1969-70 the United Front Government of West Bengal had set up a high powered Enquiry Committee under the Commission of Enquiry Act to investigate into all aspects of jute industry from raw jute trade to export of jute goods with a view to recommend measures for safeguarding the interest of jute growers and Jute workers and enquire into the nature and extent of manipulations in various sphere of trade and industry in order to protect the national interest. After the fall of U.F. Government in West Bengal this Enquiry Committee was scuttled by the Government of India at the pressure of Jute monopolists. The Enquiry Committee recommended in its interim report for complete take over of raw jute trade by Government Agency for directly purchasing raw jute from Jute growers at a fixed remunerative price. But no action was taken by the Government on this recommendation. If the Union Commerce Ministry and the Government of India are really serious about the future of Jute Industry and the Jute workers and jute growers, they should revive this Enquiry Committee and allow it full scope to function and complete its work. A copy of the terms of reference of this Enquiry Committee is enclosed vide Annexure - 'A'.

6. About functioning of this Committee, the Jute workers unions are kept completely in the dark. You have also not informed us how this Committee will function. Every Committee, even a Committee constituted under the Commission of Enquiry Act, formulate its own procedures and method of functioning but it is always formulated in the presence of contending parties and with their consent. In the present case the Jute Mills owners in the one hand and the jute workers and jute growers on the other represent opposite interests and are contending parts and, therefore, they should have been called together. Moreover, we understand, this Committee has not called all the Central Trade Unions and this is a very serious lapse. This Committee has also not called the Kissan Organisations. We demand that all Central Trade Unions and Kissan Organisations should be called together. That apart, the organisations of jute workers and jute growers should be given the copies of statements and memoranda filed by the employers' side and vice-versa. This exchange of documents should be done as a matter of procedure and there should not be any secrecy in the functioning of this Committee. The Organisations of Jute workers and Jute growers should be given full scope and opportunity to verify and challenge the contentions of the employers before this committee and if this is not done, this committee will become a tool to promote the interests of the employers.

7. The most important items of the terms of reference before this Committee are as follows:

- (i) Nature and extent of difficulties faced by the jute industry on account of high cost of production, low prices of jute goods and poor off-take;
- (ii) Measures necessary to improve off-take, ensure reasonable prices of jute goods, reduce cost of production and improve the economic viability of the industry;
- (iv) The needs of the units for modernisation and replacement of the machines and sources for the required funds.

It is apparent that these terms of reference are framed with the sole objective of hitting the Jute workers and Jute growers.

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8. The Jute monopolists carried on an intensive propaganda during the last one year that oil-based synthetic products have posed a big challenge to Indian foreign trade of jute goods and demanded in the first stage complete remission of export duties on carpet backing. According to 'Jute Chronicle' (March/April 1975 issue, page 25) the Bose-Mullick delegation which visited U.S.A. in 1975 on a fact-finding mission had also suggested 'the abolition of export duty on carpet backing.' But in actual fact export duty on all jute goods have been abolished covering a total of Rs.15 crores a year. In the Second stage the Jute monopolists have obtained from the Government a cash subsidy of 10 (ten) percent on export of Jute goods and this is also a substantial amount. So, the Jute monopolists have obtained enormous financial concessions, much more than they asked for and Bose-Mullick delegation recommended. And there is practically no case to give them any further concession and in any form-either in the name of reducing 'cost of production' or in the name of making jute industry 'economically viable.'

9. The financial concessions that the Government of India have given in the name of making jute goods more competitive in the international market are almost entirely grabbed by the jute monopolists and the prices of Indian jute goods have not been lowered commensurate with the concessions given. If the Government cannot discipline the Jute monopolists, the jute workers and jute growers should not be penalised for it.

10. Mr. S.G. Bose - Mullick, Secretary, Export Production and leader of the fact-finding delegation on jute felt after returning from U.S.A. that 'if the industry could cut the price of secondary backing by 2 cents to 2.5 cents per square yard, it could not only recover the lost market but also expand the usage of jute in this particular area after 1976 when the US economy was expected to revive' (ref: Jute Chronicle, March/April 1975 page 25). The financial concessions given by the Government of India are much more than what Mr. Bose-Mullick suggested. So, what is the necessity of this Committee again.

11. Mr. J. P. Goenka, Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association (IJMA) in his presidential speech said on 13th April 1974 in Calcutta.

" Towards the end of 1973, the global oil crisis brought about a marked improvement in the prospects for exports of jute goods. From October to December 1973 exports were 58,000 tonnes per month compared to an average of 45,000 tonnes per month during the preceeding nine months.

" The steep rise in the price of crude and acute shortage of petroleum products have given a competitive advantage to jute goods over synthetics. India has now the opportunity to step-up exports of jute goods and recapture lost markets. Already Japan and Australia, which have hitherto been lifting only nominal quantities of our jute goods, have shown keen interest in our products and increased their off-take substantially. Exports to Japan increased threefold over their previous levels and exports to Australia increased by over 60% in the last quarter of 1973'.

(ref: IJMA's printed report for the year ended 31st December 1973, Page 3).

But surprisingly the IJMA now takes an opposite position and the international market compared to 1973 but IJMA contend that it has not affected the prices of petroleum based synthetic products which, according to them, even now offer stiff resistance to jute goods. This whole argument of IJMA is ridiculous and there is no substance in it. Perhaps sensing this position the Union Commerce Ministry has not mentioned or included the question of synthetics in the terms of reference to this Committee.

12. When there was abundance of oil in the international market and there was practically a glut with price at one-fourth of the present price, petroleum-based synthetics did not pose a bigger challenge to Jute products than the present time - looks like a nicely woven fiction and it is a pity that the Union Commerce Ministry and the Government of India have pegged their entire justification in constituting this Committee on this canard systematically and tactfully propagated by the Jute monopolists.

13. Mr. B. H. Singhanian, the Chairman of IJMA in his annual speech on 10th May 1975 categorically said :

" The industry exported 6,16,000 tonnes of jute goods which were marginally higher than its exports during 1973 totalling 5,91,000 tonnes. Though in terms of quantity we did not achieve significant improvement, in terms of value we fared much better. We earned Rs.295 crores worth of foreign exchange in 1974 compared to Rs.241 crores in 1973"

(ref: IJMA's printed report for the year ended 31st December 1974, page 5)

So, when according to IJMA Indian Jute goods faced most acute competition from synthetic products, the prices of jute goods were raised and Indian trade increased both in volume of jute goods and foreign exchange earnings. How this reality fit in with the object of setting up this Committee ?

14. Since enforcement of internal emergency in June 1975 work-load on Jute workers have been abnormally increased ranging from 20 to 50 percent and the existing rights and privileges of the workers have been drastically curtailed violating all accepted norms of justice and the subsisting agreements. The employers have even reduced the wages of workers on various pleas and violate the provision of guaranteed minimum wage i.e., fall back wage. Over and above, strength of workers have been drastically reduced and in every jute mills hundreds of workers have been retrenched by various means and they have not been paid retirement benefits. This is one side of the picture after the imposition of emergency. And the other side is - increased production and despatch in each Mill. The Financial Express in its publication of 24th December 1975 have summarised the production position in a news item as follows:

" JUTE GOODS DESPATCHES UP

Financial Express Bureau, Calcutta, December 23 -

" Despatches of jute goods from mills reporting to the Indian Jute Mills Association improved to 109,900 tonnes in November from the previous month's 85,200 tonnes.

The improvement was mainly due to the increased buying of sacking materials by domestic consumers including the DGS and D. Export offtake was, however, marginally higher following the resumption of hessian buying the USSR.

" Shipments of jute goods in November totalled 42,300 tonnes compared to 41,700 tonnes in October, comprising 23,400 tonnes (21,300 tonnes) of hessian, 3,700 tonnes (5,100 tonnes) of sacking, 14,200 tonnes (14,700 tonnes) of carpet backing and 1,000 tonnes (600 tonnes) of other items.

" Internal offtake rose sharply to 67,600 tonnes from 43,500 tonnes with sacking alone improving from 34,100 tonnes to 57,000 tonnes. Hessian increased fractionally to 5,700 tonnes from 5,300 tonnes. while other goods from 4,100 tonnes to 4,900 tonnes.

" Total despatches of hessian were up by 2,500 tonnes to 29,100 tonnes, sacking by 21,500 to 60,700 tonnes and miscellaneous items by 1,200 tonnes to 5,800 tonnes. Despatches of carpet backing declined partially by 500 tonnes to 14,300 tonnes. "

15. The monopolists who control jute industry garner fabulous profits but it is always hidden from the public eye. The well known columnist Mr. Ranajit Roy wrote in the Business standard, Calcutta on 3rd Dec. 1975.

"WHF ER the " audited balance sheets of the companies concerned have shown it or not, the jute industry ,ever since its inception a century and a half ago, has always been about the highest profit-yielding industry in the country. Those who trade in raw jute and jute goods have prospered no less. These profits have come at the cost of the jute farmer.

"Even for such an industry the years 1971 to 1974 were from all accounts extraordinarily good ones. This year's measures along with other steps taken in the previous years promise to turn 1975 into the industry's most fabulous year so far."

The statesman, Calcutta in its publication of 21st October 1971 gave more revealing facts, quoted below:

" The mills are therefore earning very high profits on the manufacture of goods. It is reported that the profit on hessian is more than Rs.1,200/tonne while Δ while it is still higher in carpet-backing which is being sold at about Rs.800 a premium a tonne over the registration price. Even in sacking the profit is believed to be not less than Rs.700 a tonne."

This position is supported by the contention of IJMA's own Chairman where he said in the annual conference on 13th April 1974 in Calcutta.:

" It is of course true that jute goods prices have risen sharply in recent months and one can understand the Government's desire to divert to the Exchequer a part of what looks to them like windfall profits. But when account is taken of the steep rise in conversion costs, the loss of production due to crippling power shortage, the 33 day labour strike in jute mills and the increase in the industry's wage bill, the apparent profits are not actually realised by the industry. Moreover, the entire history of the jute industry has been characterised by vicissitudes, with occasional bouts of profitable working interspersed with many years of unprofitable operation. Such spells of profitability help the industry to build up resources for modernisation and expansion of capacity. "

(ref: IJMA's printed report for the year ended 31st.....6 December 1973, page 5)

16. Mr. Ranjit Roy - quoted from the 'Economic and Political Weekly' of Bombay in his write-up (vide Business Standard, Calcutta 3rd December, 1975) the following portion:

" Official agencies have not cared to study the real position in the industry. If such a study is ever made, it will have to take into account the amount of foreign exchange that the country is actually (and not notionally) earning from jute goods exports, the amount that is leaking out abroad and the amount that is being eaten up by the overseas agencies of the Indian parties. Only then will a clear picture emerge. . The erstwhile Minister of State for Finance, Mr. K.R. Ganesh, once almost spilled the beans when he said that the country was losing to the extent of Rs.400 crores on its jute exports due to various manipulations."

It is pertinent to mention here that one of the main objective of setting up an Enquiry Committee by the United Front Govt. of West Bengal in 1969-70 (which was subsequently scuttled by the Government of India) was to enquire into and recommend measures to stop illegal drainage of foreign exchange through clandestine and manipulated deals in foreign trade in jute goods.

17. In view of these facts there is no justification in giving further scope to jute monopolists to further increase their profit through measures in the name of reducing production cost and making the jute industry 'economically viable.' The foreign trade of Indian jute goods can be retained and further expanded by (1) lowering the selling price of jute goods commensurate with the fiscal concessions and support given by the Government of India, and (2) lowering the selling price of jute goods by lowering the profits of jute monopolists. The Government of India can easily take these measures against the jute monopolists. It is unwarranted and completely unnecessary to hit the workers and jute growers in the name of economic viability of jute industry.

18. It is to be noted here that all these years when the jute monopolists earned fabulous profits, they did not pay a proper share of this profit to the jute workers and did not concede 20 percent bonus and even refused to increase wage and improve service conditions of the workers. The wage and service of jute workers are one of the lowest of all organised industries in India. The minimum wage in jute industry is now ranging from Rs.380/- to Rs.385/- per month but they are entitled to a need-based Minimum Wage which would be between Rs.650/- to Rs.700/- per month (for three consumption units - husband, wife and two children) at the present market price under the formula accepted by the 15th Indian Labour Conference. Due to continuing fraud in compilation of Consumer Price Index the workers do not get proper dearness Allowance and this acts as a constant wage reduction scheme. The Jute workers were deliberately denied the financial benefits based on the recommendations of Bhattacharjee Committee on Fraud in Consumer Price Index and this was done by the Government to help the jute monopolists to rob workers Rs.20 crores a year. On top of this jute workers earnings are now reduced by various means and also by increasing workload. This Committee must realise that jute monopolists can not be allowed to thrive by further depressing the total wage and individual wage in jute industry in the name of reducing cost and making the industry economically viable.

19.. The Jute employers have an unparallel record of violating agreements signed with the unions. And now after Internal Emergency imposed since June 1975, violation of agreements by Jute employers have become more rampant. Even the Jute employers refused to honour the award of the Central Labour Minister on giving retaining allowance to Budli workers for the period of 'no-work' and went to court to

stall its implementation. In 1972, the Jute Mills owners entered into an agreement with the Trade Unions in jute industry agreeing to maintain permanent workers at 90 percent and special Budli workers at 15 percent but this was never implemented. Therefore, it is necessary to take measures to protect the rights and earnings of jute workers and ensure full implementation of the agreement by the jute employers. We would request this Committee to take due note of this position.

20. Modernisation in the Indian Jute Mills have already gone a long way and its baneful effect on employment gave a new awakening to the trade union movement in our country. In the 1950s rationalisation and modernisation in the jute mills of West Bengal alone led to retrenchment of over 100,000 workers and the safeguard of no-retrenchment provided in the Model Agreement on Rationalisation of 1957 proved to be a big bluff as none of the employers accepted it. In the Hand Book and Directory of the Indian Jute Industry, IJMA publication, the position is explained in the following manner:

" A massive modernisation programme started in the late "forties" was put through in the preparing and spinning stages of manufacture at a cost of some Rs.500 million. The installation of high-speed machinery and the adoption of improved technology and other methods of rationalisation have helped the industry to expand its production without having to increase loom capacity."

During the last few years the tempo of modernisation in the Jute Mills was further intensified so much so that employment registered a fall when production and export increased. If further modernisation is undertaken, it will create a havoc in the employment field and thousands of workers will be thrown out of employment. This measure is neither necessary nor will be useful in the interest of jute industry or the national economy. Further modernisation in Jute industry will ruin the workers and accentuate the problem of unemployment which is already very acute. On behalf of CITU West Bengal Committee we oppose any move of further modernisation in Jute industry and imposition of any burden on the workers through reduction of employment or retrenchment or in any form in the name of reducing cost and making the industry economically viable.

21. This Committee should take note of the fact that quality of jute goods depends on the quality of jute fibre and to ensure better quality of end products human touch and personal attention is necessary. This cannot be done simply by modernisation. This aspect was accepted by the Wage Board through introduction of guaranteed minimum wage i.e. Fall Back Wage and precisely for this reason wage in the jute industry can not be linked with volume of production. This is a very vital aspect and this should not be neglected on any consideration.

22. At present three jute Mills are closed in West Bengal. Other Mills are running at full capacity. These mills are closed for mismanagement and excessive greed of the owner who want to impose abnormal workload on the workers. The Government should take over these closed Mills and reopen them with full complements and this our contention on item No.3 of the terms of reference to this Committee.

23. The items No.5 and 6 of the terms of reference are vague and hazy. As long as jute industry remain in the grip of monopolists Research and Diversification of Products will be always neglected. In 28 years since independence the jute monopolists consistently neglected this aspect.

The new cess introduced by the Commerce Ministry is also not a solution. Jute is a versatile fibre and its manifold use is possible. Similarly manipulation and speculative movement of prices of jute goods and raw jute will never end as long as jute monopolists remain powerful. If the Government is really serious about these matters, the jute industry should be nationalised without delay.

24. In the terms of reference before this Committee raw jute trade is not covered, and the demand of the jute grower for fixing raw jute price at Rs.100/- per maund and purchase of raw jute by the Government at this price direct from the growers is completely neglected. The boastful claims of the Government on the operations of Jute Corporation of India do not stop ruining the jute growers who are compelled to sell raw jute at a loss and even at a price below the Government rate. The poor jute growers are being cheated by the market manipulators despite promises of Government measures every year. The JCI purchased only 10 percent of the jute grown in the country in 1973-74 and even less than that in 1974-75 which was only 450,000 bales. The operation of JCI is completely ineffective to stop manipulation in raw jute trade and give required protection to jute growers. CITU West Bengal Committee reiterates its position that lack of proper measures for protection of jute growers economic interest affects the industry through fluctuating production of raw jute and, demands that (a) raw jute trade should be taken over by the Government and Jute Mills should buy raw jute compulsorily from the Government, and (b) the Government should directly buy raw jute from the jute growers at a remunerative price which should be Rs.100/- per maund at present.

25. The JCI has become actually a money lending organisation - lending to jute monopolists. There are instances where the money advanced by JCI are not timely repaid and raw jute purchased with JCI's fund have been misappropriated. The outstanding of advances made by JCI run to the tune of Rs.140 millions. It is, therefore, necessary to review the functioning of JCI and take appropriate corrective measures.

26. CITU West Bengal Committee is of the firm view that Indian Jute industry is economically viable and no measure should be encouraged either for reduction of employment or retrenchment in any form. The Monopolists who control this industry earn fabulous profits both by legal and illegal means and they constantly project a picture of crisis and competition to hide their profits. These monopolists are running this industry and the jute workers and jute growers and the Government should Nationalise this industry without further delay. We however categorically state that vulgarisation of nationalisation due to mis-management and bureaucratisation as evidenced in various cases cannot minimise the importance of the demand for nationalisation jute industry from raw jute trade to export of jute goods.

27. It is our experience that jute monopolists maintain complete secrecy about jute industry. The Government also do not disclose to the workers what is known to them. It is, therefore, necessary that the Government should compel the Jute Mills owners and the IJMA to disclose all facts demanded by the workers and the facts known by the Government should also be disclosed. A fact finding Committee should be constituted and the representatives of all unions in the jute industry should be included in it and this committee should be given required powers to compel the Jute Mills owners to supply all relevant information and details and make extensive enquiry including visiting foreign countries at Government cost.

/ and all kisan Organisations

28. In conclusion we contend that setting up of this Committee will not help anybody other than the Jute monopolists. If the Government is really serious about Jute industry, it should take the jute workers into confidence as a matter of policy and agree to eliminate the monopolists from this industry in order to safeguard the interests of jute workers and jute growers and above all the interest of the people of India.

(NIREN GHOSH)
Vice-President

Calcutta
8th February 1976.

(KAMAL SARKAR)
Secretary

(S. S. BOSE)
Secretary

ANNEXURE - 'A'

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE
APPOINTED BY THE UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT OF
WEST BENGAL IN 1969-70.

To enquire into the following matters relating to the affairs of Jute Industry in West Bengal and allied matters, namely:

- (i) the present state of affairs of Jute Industry generally from raw jute cultivation to manufacture, sale and export of jute products the condition of jute workers and jute growers, and their effects on the national economy ;
- (ii)(a) the present cost of jute cultivation and the return received by the jute growers by selling raw jute ;
- (b) the effect of prevailing institutions such as land tenure system, pattern of financing and the rate of interest exacted, forward and speculative purchase of raw jute, market mechanism in the purchase of raw jute, role of intermediaries in procurement of raw jute, etc. on the jute growers and the measures to be taken to fix a minimum price of raw jute to ensure a fair return to the jute growers and a steady and intensive growth of jute cultivation to achieve self-sufficiency in raw jute production;
- (iii) the nature and extent to which there exist interlocking of interests (a) between jute factory management and trading within Jute Industry,
- (b) between Jute Industry and other industries, and (c) between jute trading groups with other trading groups and the role played by each interlocking of interests in diverting and concealing the real position of Jute Industry including financial position and profit generated and the measures to be taken to stop such practices;
- (iv) the role of speculation, forward trading hedge trading, share market operations, "benami" transactions, etc, in Jute Industry and their effect raw jute production, jute manufacture and trading including export and ultimate effect on jute growers, jute mill workers and national economy;
- (v) the nature and extent of concealment practised through under-invoicing, over-invoicing, supply of sub-standard jute goods and similar other malpractices and its effect on volume of jute export trade and foreign exchange earning and resultant effect on jute workers and Government revenue earning;
- (vi) the role of conflicting interests, if any, among the various organisations and groups in Jute Industry and their effect on Jute Industry as a whole;
- (vii) the cost of production of jute goods and the extent to which, if any, the jute workers have been deprived of their legitimate share of the wealth produced in the industry during the post-independence period;
- (viii) the factors, person or persons and industrial or business groups responsible for the present state of affairs of Jute Industry in West Bengal and the measures necessary to ensure stable growth of the industry in the interest of jute workers, jute growers and national economy ;
- (ix) the role played by Government and semi-Government Organisations on the development of Jute Industry and trade and the extent to which the functional changes of these organisations are necessary to effectively protect the interest of jute growers and jute workers.

Information Document

June 10, 1976.

STATE OF INDIAN ECONOMY

The condition of the economy - recession and how the bourgeois-landlord ~~Government~~ Government manoeuvred against it - it the danger of growing dependence on the west.

In spite of the anti-American protestations of Indira, the World Bank dominated by the USA is all praise for Indian achievements and has called for greater aid to India. The consortium countries including the close friends of the USA ~~xxxxxx~~ West Germany, Japan, and U.K. who completely sided with the USA at the Nairobi Conference- has promised increased aid. The World Bank boasts India's economic achievements, hails her success in controlling inflation, though it knows that the food prices have eased because of a good season. It praises India and recommends her case for more ~~xx~~ aid. The carrot and stick policy is seen with the USA slowing off its contribution while its close allies increase theirs.

Why this praise ? Firstly in the name of controlling the inflation the Indira Government has launched a successful big attack on the incomes and earnings of the working class and the masses- the impounding of DA, curtailment of bonus, freezing of wages, refusal to increase DA, manipulating of cost of living figures, illegalisation of strikes and increased work-load; the attack is ~~a~~ equally successful against the incomes of the lower middle classes- the teachers, employees, professionals, the mass of poor peasants and agricultural workers, while every relief is given to the tycoons of the private sector. The danger of radical shifts among the people due to the collapsing economy has been arrested for this successful economic manoeuvre aided by direct repression. The World Bank praises the Government of India.

The praise is all the more due because while protesting anti-American anger, the Indira Government has docilely followed all the prescriptions laid down by the World Bank to lift the economy.

All these years the Bank has been insisting greater liberty for the private sector, and greater freedom for private foreign capital, for multinational, has been critical of the public ~~of~~ sector- its corrupt management and scandalous functioning supplied a ready made ammunition- it was opposed to the development of heavy industries and of late has been insisting that India should first fully use here productive capacities before venturing on new concerns. In the October 1975 Report of its Indian mission it promised further aid to India if she went slow on the garibi hatao programme and concentrated not on producing for the needs of the people but for exports. "India should reshape her industrial development programme, and leave away from heavy and capital goods industry, and go in for massive exports production during the coming decade. In terms of this prescription by the World Bank Study team (1975) exports and massive foreign aid should form the major part of saving investment and growth for boosting India's flagging industrial growth rate. I

This is the policy Indira Government is following. It has been laying stress on utilisation of existing capacity, of prading the increased production in public sector, taking desparate measures to promote exports, liberalise imports so ~~xx~~ that foreign capital finds a larger market in this country a liberalisation adopted at a time ~~xxx~~ when India's balance of payments deficit shows a steep rise. Her export purchasers seem to have demanded scuttling of some of the restrictions of imports. All these are being done because the economy is in desperate need of both foreign loans and exports; because under the Congress policies India cannot ~~xxx~~ purchase the goods produced by her - crores of rupees worth of cloth, sugar, fish, fruits and exported while Indians go naked, go without sugar and are forced to take a proteenless diet.

The World Bank seeing the plight of Indian economy under the Congress rule has spread its net to integrate India in the world capitalist market so that its dependence on the West grows daily.

It is because the Government has been accepting the World Bank policies by and large that it earns the encomiums of the organisation, gets more loans, and on more favourable terms.

Aid India Consortium in its communique of 28th May emphasised these policies including insistence on family planning. "At the same time the meeting stressed the need for the Government of India to take advantage of the present favourable situation and gave proposals for the economy to pursue policies leading to sustained long-term growth, of particular importance in this respect, in its view, are expansionary inflationary policies (read checks on investments in new profits) and appropriate adjustments in import policy" 2 (read liberalisation of foreign imports when every other country facing balance of payments deficits restricts them. It also means allowing imports which compete with Indian goods.) The consortium expressed the hope that the Government of India would continue to strengthen its efforts in priority areas of exports, agriculture and energy and lay stress on the importance of effective family planning." (Emphasis added.)

Indian Goods :

One also sees here the origin and tainted source of the mass sterilisation drive of the Central Government and the State Ministers. Family Planning has been demanded by the Bank and the USA for a long time. The insistence seems to be very pressing in recent time. People are being denied food, ration, shelter and housing by the State Government supported by the Central Government. People are threatened with rigorous imprisonment for years if they do not sterilise. Teachers are thrown out of jobs if they do not procure customers for sterilisation. Employees are threatened with loss of jobs if they have more than two children, if they do not produce sterilisation certificate. All these unlawful, illegal means are undertaken under Emergency. The people are doubly humiliated. They are exploited and impoverished by the capitalist- landlord Government combine. And then they are told that they are the cause of their own misery because they have produced too many children. All this humiliation, this outrage is there only to earn a few million dollars for the tottering economy. Karan Singh's population policy stinks of foreign dollars and sterlings.

The main cause of Indian poverty is the basic class structure of society- the monopolisation of the means of production- land, capital in the hands of the landlords and capitalists. Unless this is removed poverty cannot be eradicated. Neither France, England or the USA is plagued by a high birth rate, or population growth rate and yet in the advanced capitalist countries more than 10 million people were without work, last year unable to maintain themselves and many of them living on dog's food. In normal times in the USA 6 to 7 million continue to be unemployed, depending on charity or state aid. Under a planned system of economy, there will be population planning, but it will not be an instrument of class oppression, to keeping the oppressors in power. Even today ~~xxx~~ voluntary family planning, educating the people about, is ~~isn't~~ welcome. But to use it as a weapon of class repression, on the false basis that population is the source of poverty and economy stagnation must be combated. Make the people the masters of the economy, and they will understand how to plan population growth. The present family planning drive is only to earn a few ~~xxx~~ million dollars, and ease the situation for the exploiting minority.

For faithfully implementing its policies the Aid India Consortium pledged a total of about 1,700 million for 1976-77. The Contribution of.....

nations of the consortium is nearly I,000 million in bilateral aid or about the same as last year. The remaining 700 million has been promised by the World Bank group.

The total figure of bilateral and multinational aid commitments given by Mr. Stern, Vice-President of the World Bank was I,800 million, including 250 million as debt relief. All the countries have increased their assistance according to him. Besides there is improvement in terms of aid Belgium has reduced the rate of interest from two per cent to one per cent. The new West German loan will be given on the basis of a ten year grace period and repayment over 50 years. France has increased her aid by 8 per cent and improved the grant element in it. British aid will consist of outright grants. Japan has slightly increased the quantum of its aid and reduced the rate of interest. The USA has made no commitments as it did last year but it has signed a PL 480 agreement with India.

These are the dividends of the Emergency, and the 20 points programme.

Recession :

This helpless dependence on foreign loans when only a couple of years back self-reliance was the catching slogan of the ruling party, was rendered inevitable by the ruination of Indian economy, its internal crisis aggravated by the biggest post world war crisis of the world capitalist system. Though the Government machinery has been advertising spectacular fall in wholesale prices, it has not affected the retail prices. Now the wholesale prices are also gradually rising. This failure of prices to drop commensurately at the retail level has intensified the crisis of the market and added to the intensification and prolongation of the recession. There should be no surprise if the rate of industrial growth goes down to less than 4 per cent in 1976-77 compared to 4.5 per cent in the last year.

According to Dr. Hazari, Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, recession was telling upon the public sector undertakings. For example Bharat Heavy Electricals had no orders in hand for the Sixth Plan period. In fact it has nothing in hand for 1978. 3

One million tonnes of steel and 10 million tonnes coal had piled up with no internal demand. There is also accumulation of 15 million tonnes of foodgrains, but it cannot be said that the mass of agricultural workers and poor peasants, the city and urban poor are able to have two square meals a day. In fact the overall rate of consumption has been falling. The Jute, the cotton textile industry, the handlooms employing lakhs and a number of other industries like mini-steel plants, engineering factories are in doldrums. The number of sick cotton mills exceeds 100 and is now followed by sick tea gardens, sick jute mills and sick engineering concerns. The terrible shrinkage of the internal market is a fact which ensures under utilisation of industrial capacity and stagnation of the economy.

The only way out is exports and more exports- even when your own people are starving, naked, without houses and shelter. The capitalist economy can survive only if you produce cloth, sugar, fish in huge quantities etc. for foreign markets, if you utilise your skills, engineering, technical in electronics, in the service of foreign paymasters rather than your own people. Exports have become the basis of survival. The figures of rising exports are paraded by the Government as great Indian achievements, as betokening to the maturity of India as an industrialised country, on the contrary they are a witness to the country's inability to consume the products of its own labour, due to poverty, to the dependence of the economy on the Western capitalist markets. They are not the triumphs of a flourishing economy selling abroad to enrich its own mass, its economic life. They.....

represent deprivation and denial to the mass to keep the capitalist economy going.

This necessity is leading to certain important changes in the policy and status of Indian big capitalists, under the direction of the Congress Government. It is in the first place leading to further dependence on the West, a greater integration with the capitalist market. Secondly this is already leading to the demand for further concessions from foreign multinational companies and private & foreign capital and their acceptance by the Government. Thirdly it is leading to releasing of controls over Indian big capital, further concessions to the private sector, the collapse of the anti-monopoly Acts, opening of new avenues to the monopolists and big houses, export subsidies to the export houses and so on.

Above all in the desperate effort to capture foreign markets, this is leading to joint ventures abroad, export of capital, sub-contracting with foreign monopoly firms in third countries. This is creating new economic interests, new economic allies. The content of the entire process, of exports imports, of offering concession at home and seeking them abroad, is the striving for collaboration and partnership with foreign monopoly capital. This is the trend that is being established through it is also accompanied by similar measures and concessions in relation to socialist countries, and new relations with Third World countries. A new phenomenon of joint ventures with ~~socialist~~ socialist countries in Third World countries is arising.

Last three or four years the Government has been parading the ~~big~~ big jump in exports as its achievement. India badly in need of foreign exchange to sustain her economy was able to take advantage of the inflationary conditions in the advanced capitalist countries and elsewhere. Even under these favourable conditions the advance was secured through high inflationary prices (higher earnings per unit) and not much quantitative increase in exports. The quantum of Indian goods exported increased only partially. For instance in 1974-75 the quantum of exports went up by 6.4 per cent while the value was up by 31 per cent. (The quantum of imports in the period declined by 12.3 per cent but the value went up by 51.2 per cent, revealing the adverse terms of trade. The value of exports rose by 22.5 per cent in 1972-73, 28 per cent in 1973-74 and 31 per cent in 1974-75. In 1975-76 there was a rise of 16 per cent. The rise in terms of volume for these years respectively has been 12.1 per cent, 4.2 per cent to 6.4 per cent and 7 per cent for the final half of the year. 4 The crisis of capitalist economy abroad, and the restrictive measures taken led to a certain fall in export prices forcing India to export more goods even at lower prices or laying hold on good not previously exported in large quantities (sugar etc.). With the aid of huge export subsidies, cutting the Indian costs of production, financing under-selling of Indian goods through the State Trading Corporation, the Government succeeded in meeting the situation at the cost of the Indian people.

Now with the gradual revival of the world capitalist economy and the possibility of increased world trade, the Indian bourgeoisie and their government seek to capitalise the situation and launch a big export drive. They see alluring markets in oil countries which are mostly linked with the Western world. They find big sections of the world capitalist market already under the control of the West. A number of third world countries are tied to the EEC, a large number of third world countries are tied to the EEC, a large number of them have reactionary governments suppressing their people mercilessly. They are prepared to be friends all of those - no matter whom - from South Korea to Cuba for exports for export of capital, for joint ventures.

The socialist countries are also in the arena in this struggle for world trade. They also are offering India not only commodity markets, but offers of joint ventures abroad.

The common man had to bear the burden of this export promotion. In 1969-70 grants and export promotion schemes including cash subsidies ~~together~~ together with reductions and drawbacks for export promotion are estimated to have been Rs. 65 crores. The revised estimates of 1975-76 budget show this amount at Rs. 274 crores. Under the 1976-77 budget proposals the amount is likely to reach Rs. 290 crores. The announcements and concessions made since then have gifted many more crores to the exporting capitalists. A subsidy of more than Rs 300 crores for export capitalist accompanied by the impounding of Rs. 1000 crores belonging to the toiling workers sums up official policy. 5

This organised underselling of Indian goods at the expense of the Indian people is one of the main planks to sustain the economy proposed by the World Bank and accepted by the Government of India.

In a desperate bid to diversify her exports to western countries, India is wooing country after country to accept non-traditional exports and offers joint collaboration for processing or promises import of processing capital from these countries. At the same time she is trying to increase her exports to other areas - third world and socialist countries. In the recent years though the western countries continued to share a larger part of the trade, export to Asian countries are increasing and Japan, and Iran are emerging as major buyers. India's exports to Asian and Oceania have increased in the last eight years by 325 per cent, Africa by 227 per cent and East Europe by 200 percent. The increase in exports to West Europe was 139 per cent and North American by 67 per cent. Recent data reveal that West Europe is growing in importance with a relatively high compound rate of growth of Indian exports. 6

Some recent instances of exports of new commodities to the Western developed countries may be cited.

India is to export 400,000 tonnes of coal to European Countries (EEC) and 200,000 tonnes to Japan. Till recently coal exports were made only to Bangladesh, Nepal and Burma. Indian coal is also to be exported to several south East Asian countries. The export target for the year is 1.4 million tons. 7

India will for the first time export electronic equipment and forgings and castings to Sweden during the current year reports inquiries. A 20 member delegation bagged firm orders worth Rs. 11.15 lakhs for these items. In addition it received inquiries worth Rs. 15 crores. For leather goods inquiries were ~~in~~ about Rs.5 crores.

Indian sea food has become a major exchange earner with exports during 1974-75 crossing the Rs. 100 crore mark, the main buyers being Japan and other Western countries. 9

These hectic efforts to expand the markets to the West is leading to the proposals of joint ventures, economic tie ups, collaboration agreements between Indian and foreign capital. The government while pretending to restrict the activities of foreign companies is permitting collaboration in all kinds of industries. It has to placate foreign capitals to enter their markets.

The efforts to promote exports of leather goods led to proposals for tie ups with foreign capital. Joint ventures with Italy in the field of leather goods and ready made garments may become a reality shortly. The Trade Development Authority is understood to have received a number of enquiries from Italian manufacturers for collaboration in these areas. The proposals even envisage complete transfers of machinery and equipment to this country. 10

For the Italian the allurements are cheap Indian labour-freedom to exploit it. "Thus, Italian shoes manufacturers find Indian conditions ideal for production - labour is cheap and readily available and level of craftsmanship is fairly high." II

Steps in consonance with this outlook are already being taken in other industries. Foreign collaboration is to be permitted for developing tune fishing for exports, which has a sizeable international market. The collaboration will be permitted for setting up of joint ventures. Disclosing this Mr. A.P. Shinde, Minister of state for Agriculture said the government has decided to allow foreign fishing companies in the field of tune fishing, since full expertise is not available in India. I2. Restricting foreign capital to certain sectors requiring high technology etc. these hypocritical excuses have now vanished. Inviting foreign capital for exports to exploit human and natural resources so that the Indian capitalists and government earn foreign exchange that is the new slogan.

Tomato paste, apple concentrates, gramophone records, leather shoes and porcelain gift articles are among the fields in which foreign collaboration proposals involving foreign equity were approved last year. Export obligation in these cases is limited to a period of five to 15 years and forms a percentage of total production. I3

The retreat on the application of foreign exchange regulation Act under the pressure of multinationals, the various other concessions given to them all betoken to the necessity of wooing them, without their good will and protective umbrella, at least the umbrella of their governments,. India's exports drive cannot be successful.

Indian capital and government therefore are angling for joint ventures with Western countries abroad in third countries, especially in ~~six~~ oil rich countries i.e. they wish to join the Westerns in exploiting these countries in collaboration with multinational and others.

Joint ventures abroad occupy an important place in the new strategy to boost exports. It was spelt by the Commerce Minister, D.P. Chatteropadhyaya in the Lok Sabha on the 3rd of May. I4 . There are two types of joint ventures envisaged. First is collaboration with local capitalist of a third world country. Second is joint ventures with Western capitalists in the third world countries. There is also a ~~xxx~~ third type- joint ventures with Soviet and other socialist countries in Third World countries.

Joint ventures or sub-contracting with Western firms-the fall out of exploitation from their rich table such is the idea of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce also. They underline the fact the mere export of commodities, traditional or toehrwise, is not ~~enough~~ enough. Other goods and servicing must be exported at cheap costs- the western companies must be offered Indian service at cheap cost, so that they can replace the ~~g~~ high costs they will have to pay otherwise. "Apart from export of goods, considerable scope also exists for export of consultation services, turnkey projects and undertaking other large value contracts and for sub-contracting arrangements between Indian and developed country firms, especially in West Asia in the fields of construction and engineering." Draft Resolution on Role of Exports - Annual Session of the Federation of Chambers and Commerce. I5.

Sub- contracting, this junior partnership with foreign firms in Third World countries is the new ambition and design of the Indian capitalists, a necessity arising from the capitalist path. It will be a potent weapon of integrating Indian economy with the capitalist markets and its exploitative processes.

The design is rendered feasible and practical because a certain modicum of industrial development useful for the purpose has taken place in India. It is accompanied by engineering skill and a big advance made by Indian technical intelligentsia in several fields. The product of the modicum development are available at cheap costs thanks to the starvation wages here; Indian technical skill is also available at much cheaper rate than in the west. Then multinationals, out for huge profits, will be prepared to use these opportunities, provided other bargains and concessions are made. Hence contracts are sought for construction - which does not require very sophisticated processes and for other such purposes. Hence there are offers to supply export technical skills at lower prices. The skills and products cannot be used for the good of the Indian people. They are to be put at the disposal of the foreign capitalists - to be exploited, as well as to become an instrument of exploitation of others. Indian capital will gather its own profits or commissions out of this process. This is called export promotion.

The process has already started. It is understood that one of the major U.K. firms - power Gas - which has won a contract for setting up a prestigious fertilizer project in Qatar has awarded sub-contracting work worth about Rs. 5 lakhs to an Indian company, engineering construction corporation Bombay, a subsidiary of Larsen & Toubro.

An additional construction job worth Rs. 1.5 crores has also been given to the Indian company for the same project. It is hoped that this kind of sub-contracting arrangements will multiply itself as a result of the forthcoming negotiations, 16 On April 7. Mr. Maurya, Minister of State for Industry, told the Lok Sabha that advanced countries like the USA, Canada and France have made proposals for joint ventures. He said that up to the end of March 1976, 12 proposals had been received for setting up joint ventures in Canada, Indonesia, Muscat Dubai, the U.S., Kenya, France, Malaysia and Abu Dhabi. 17

The greatest activity is being displayed towards the markets of third world countries. Trade and exchange between countries of the Third world should constitute a legitimate progressive activity if it checks and restricts the power of the multinationals and the West to exploit these countries. If this activity helps the people of these countries to build an independent economic life, it is all the more welcome and contributes to the world struggle for advance.

But the process that is now taking place is not just one of trade and exchange. In the first place joint ventures with local capitalists and export of capital are coming into prominence. The India Government is looking upon joint ventures (export of capital) as a sure means of retaining its export hold over the partnering country. This has been bluntly put in the following words, The Annual Report of the Ministry of Commerce for the year 1975-76 states "Besides the usual advantages of providing a ready market for capital goods recurring exports of raw materials, semi-processed manufactures, spare parts and components the investment..... in the joint ventures abroad effectively serves to retain the export markets and open up new areas for exports. 18 (emphasis added)

Attaching importance to this form of economic relationship as an instrument of promoting exports, the new strategy offers further facilities for export of capital and permits cash equity participation in joint ventures abroad if necessary. Till now participation through export of capital goods only was permitted. The Government has further asked the Indians not to insist on majority share in the joint ventures.

In March the Union Commerce Minister specifically pointed out the areas of joint collaboration. He said the possibilities of investments and collaboration were sufficient particularly

in developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The West Asian countries with substantial oil revenues offered special opportunities.

In May he said that 268 joint ventures abroad has been cleared involving an investment of Rs. 40 crores in the form of capital goods exports. If necessary the Government would in special cases, permit participation through cash investment in equity also. 19

The majority of these projects are located in African and South East Asian countries. They compose of textile mills, jute mills oil mills, sugar mills, pipes and pumps, hard board, coke products, steel furniture, pharmaceutical products, cosmetics, paper plants, rerolling steel mills, glass factory, electric motors and transformers diesel engines, vanaspati plant, confectionary and setting up of Indian hotels and restaurants (Ministry of Commerce). 20

This of course is just the beginning. The investment has just started Rs.40 crores estimated in 1975-76 is not a big investment. But the process is getting accentuated and joint ventures. Export of capital goods (capital) is becoming official policy.

The simple export of commodities is more and more accompanied by (1) export of capital, (2) by export of services, (3) by under-taming huge orders to build railways, factories and soon. The securing of huge orders for construction work, brings huge orders for Indian factories for their products. It is further accompanied by export of machinery and capital goods.

A number of third world countries just entering on the path of capitalist development, looking to the capitalist market to satisfy their aspirations for building a few factories find India a source of supply for their immediate needs - and a much cheaper source at that. Considering their level India is a technically advanced country. Some of them bursting with oil revenues have grand plans of building factories and industries.

Indian capitalist class and its Government seek to capitalise on this situation and are trying to seek big orders and contracts from these countries. But the governments of a large number of these countries are linked with the West, Western American influence is powerful in them, they owe huge debts to the Western world and are dependent for their further economic activities on the West. The market of these countries is thus not an open virgin field. India's progress often depends on how she succeed in overcoming the hostility of the west, how she placates it. India is willing to accept sub-contracts with the west. This is already noted.

Besides some of these governments are notoriously anti-people. They torture, kill and main their people. They have dictatorial regimes. Iron, the oil sheikhdoms, Malaysia, Indonesia, Zaira, South Korea, a number of other countries belong to this group.

India's recent advances in securing big orders from some of these countries are to be viewed from this angle. Apart from her efforts for joint ventures with the capitalists of the countries, her new trade ties are drawing her into questionable company of countries who seek firm integration with the capitalist markets and who are under strong imperialist influence.

It is known that it was the World Bank that insisted that India should go in for exports in a big way.

In this connection India's opportunist role at the UNCSTAD should be noted. Interested in promotin the export of manufactures -

primary commodities only in Western markets - India refused to take a firm stand against imperialist machinations but advised a "patient approach and avoidance of confrontation. The notorious Kissinger proposal for a resource bank-a proposal correctly described by some African leaders as a scheme for exploitation by multinationals - a proposal totally opposed by all socialist countries - including Soviet Union and Peoples' China~~xxxx~~ was described by the Indian spokesman as containing a positive element. When the proposal was voted all the socialist countries and a number of Third World countries voted against while India along with more than 30 Third World countries abstained from voting. The proposal was defeated by a narrow margin of one or two votes only. This reveals not only the opportunism of the Indian Government, how it wants to keep in the good books of the Western camp in the interest of its export drive, it also shows the influence exercised by the Western powers over the opportunist leaders of a number of Third World countries. Indian attitude was determined by the two considerations. Large markets in some of the third world countries for India's monopolies, which are accessible mainly through the goodwill of Western countries. (2) India is also interested in developing markets for her manufacture in advanced capitalist countries.

Mr. Chattopadhyaya comments on UNCTAD were in line with this approach. He expected liberalisation of imports by developed countries. He said some recent developments in global trade could greatly benefit developing countries like India. The most significant was the tariff concessions arising out of the generalised system of preferences which has been adopted by, among others, The United States, 21.

Joint ventures

One of the biggest joint ventures being located in India is the Kundramukh project for which Iran will supply the finance. The project is ~~xx~~ to be completed in four years and it is to produce 8 million tons iron ore for Iran. Iran has agreed to give a big loan in dollars which will supply the badly needed foreign exchange by India. This is a joint venture in India. The collaboration is with Iran whose ~~xxx~~ tyrannical shah monopolises the revenues from ~~ix~~ oil shoots down Communists, keeps the people in abject poverty and spends billions in purchasing arms and air planes from the USA - arms which in the past have been used against India. The political and economic efforts of such deal is to create vested interests in this alliance with a ~~xxxxxx~~ notoriously reactionary government.

The Kundramukh joint venture to which Tehran has committed a huge loan of 630 million and which guarantees Iran supply of 120 million tons iron ore over twenty years is the first big investment of petro dollars in India. This same Iran has bought 25 per cent shares of the West German Krup concern and the economic ties of its government with the world exploiters are clearly visible. It will be a profound mistake to screen all this under the name of developing relations between third world countries. These new money barons seeking with petrol are exporting capital without giving up their reactionary allies.

There is a similar scheme for processing of alumina in Gujarat with the help of Iranian finance for export to that country. There are other schemes also on the anvil. They include the establishment of captive sugar plants in India for Iran, the supply of automobile ancillaries, the setting up of a textile machinery plant. A joint shipping venture for production of refinery and paper manufacturing facilities. The Iranian Commerce Minister told Samachar that the alumina plant to be set up in Iran with Indian cooperation would be a joint venture with India also participating in equity. This is a two way process. Iran financing ~~xxxxxx~~ concerns in Iran and India exporting capital to Iran for joint ventures. The result is growing economic ties between the ruling classes of the two countries.

37

It now seems that from the beginning you cannot escape the American in this deal. Iron seems to have laid down condition of American participation in the Kundram8kh contract. It has now been proposed to associate the American giant - the Betchal corporation for the big iron ore slurry contract. 21)a) This notorious corporation was the subject of a debate in Parliament in respect of its shady dealings in a contract awarded to it in India.

India has started promoting her exports by granting credit to her customers. The IDST has so far granted export credits totalling Rs. 150 crores to about 40 countries. Zanzibar is being offered 2 million for purchase of commercial vehicles from India. An agreement for granting ab byvers credit of 2.639 million was signed in May between Kenya Pipe Line Ltd. and the IDBT. This credit will be utilised for financing 90 per cent of the CIF value of supplies from India for erecting 26 oil storage tanks at Nairobi as a part of Mombasa Nairobi oil product pipe line project to which the World Bank has sanctioned a loan of Rs. 20 million. (Sub-contracting) 22 It should be noted that the loan is given in foreign currency - perhaps the first example of its kind by the LIBT. Engineering Projects India Ltd., a consortium of seven large public sector companies in the country, begged an order for the fabrication and erection of the main terminal building and cargo complex for the Kuwait National Airport. The project is being undertaken in collaboration with Ballest Nadam Groep Solico, Kuwait. The EPI has also entered into two agreements with Kuwait ~~xxxxxx~~ companies for the supply and fabrication of steel structure. One agreement is worth Rs.16.8 lakhs and other Rs.60 lakhs. 23

Under an agreement with Stein Surface Company of France, EPI is also supplying Rs.34 lakhs worth of pusher type reheating furnaces for its operations in Iraq. 25

Indian exports of textile machinery, components and accessories including knitting machines are estimated to have increased during April - January 1975-76 to Rs.19.3 crore s. Indonesia, South Korea, Thailand and Malaysia are the major buyers of Indian Textile machinery. These sizeable export orders have been of great benefit to the industry for the actual production in 1974-75 aggregated to Rs.72.5 crores in respect of machinery and Rs.48.8 crores in respect of components and accessories. 26

Tanzania has placed an order for 25 Diesel Locomotives with India. Taiwan and South Korea have also placed orders for railway coaches and wagons. 27

The Projects and Equipment Corporation has affected its contract with Yugoslavia for supplying 1300 wagons in "semi-knocked down condition". It has already supplied 30 coaches to the Philippines. Against 500 wagons contracted for supply to Bangla Desh, 158 were delivered during 1975-76. Also 62 wagons against a contract for 110 wagons to Malaysia were shipped. 28

The Project and Equipment Corporation has won a global tender in June for undertaking a transmission line tower project in Dubai on turnkey basis. The project will bring in foreign exchange of the order of Rs.8 crores. 29

An Indian Engineering firm was awarded another contract in May for a turn-key project worth Rs.28 crores. The contract involves supply and construction of 350 km of 220 transmission lines. India has agreed to provide equipment and machinery for 16 pilot projects to be set up in Burma. The Indian Government will spend on these projects a sum of Rs.218 lakhs which will be given as grant. 31

India seems to have achieved big success with Iraq an oil country whose friendly relations with the Soviet Union are well known. A contract in Iraq worth I billion (Rs. 900 crores) has already been secured by India. Stiff competition for the deal came from Yugoslavia. The Rs. 900 crores contract is for building a by-pass or loop line connecting Baghdad with the sea port of Basrah. India is also entering a bid for another contract for the construction of a railway line. It will be worth nearly I.5 billion (Rs. I400 crores).

Tanzania seems to be turning to India for increased scientific and technical collaboration. India has already agreed to provide long-term financing for purchase of Indian plants, machinery, and technical services for projects in Tanzania. There are more than 600 Indian experts working in Tanzania. 33

In April India and Libya signed a protocol for industrial cooperation which envisages the setting up of certain joint ventures. It also envisages provisions of consultancy services to Libya, technical cooperation, training of Libyans in various fields in India and supply of materials and equipment including plant and machinery 34. According to Samachar India's economic collaboration with Libya is already worth over Rs. I00 crores. Indian consultancy firms both in the public and private sectors, have won contracts for comprehensive feasibility studies of a major steel plant at Misratha. This contract is considered to be one of the world's biggest consultancy assignments. 35 The Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Bipin Pal Das stated in March that already some I600 x Indian experts were in Libya working on a number of projects from the building of a Rs 40 crores airport to the setting up of a modern textile mill. 36.

In Syria - the Rail India Technical and Economic Service (RITES) has undertaken three rail projects to build 500 km of rail line. 37

India has agreed to help the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to set up a steel mill and might participate in a fertilizer project here says a May 5 Reuter message. 38 Abu Dhabi has agreed to grant a loan of Rs. I5 crores for the Rishikesh Hardwar Hydro Electric project. 39

On May 5 India, Egypt and Yugoslavia have agreed that tripartite joint ventures could be promoted through extension of preferential tariff to the products of such projects. The three countries agreed to consider jointly to undertake suitable projects in other countries. 40

In Tanzania three units with Indian collaboration have been commissioned - these are wire products, corrugated board cartons and card board boxes and tyre retreading. Orders for the supply of plants and equipment for II other units have already been placed with Indian manufactures. Tanzania has also placed orders for I45 trucks, besides 50 already purchased. 41

Indo-Purma Petroleum Company Ltd. a public sector undertaking signed on May I, an agreement for a turnkey job for the supply, creation and commissioning of a plant in Zanzibar for manufacture of drums and tins. 42

India has so far secured contracts amounting to 40 million dollars for supply of goods for projects financed by the Asian Development Bank. Since then more substantial orders for procurement for goods in India are under negotiations. 43 Japan had so far held a predominant position in the matter of procurement of contracts of ADB loans. Lately there has been a slight shift, and as an industrialised developing country India has secured a significant share of contracts.

Engineers India Ltd., a public sector consultancy and engineering organisation is to execute some of the major works of the first fertiliser

of the first fertilizer plant being set up in Lanka. The international firm of Kellogg Overseas Corporation, on a subsidiary of an American firm, which is executing the main contract, has selected EIC for detailed engineering, procurement, construction, supervision and commissioning services for the offsite facilities of the plant. 44 Lanka's Minister for Transport, K.B. Rathnayake said in May that he would like Indian wagon builders to take up repair of 600 wagons on a "crash" basis. His Government was interested in buying a substantial number of wagons and buses.

In May an Indo-Kenyan industrial ~~xxxx~~ venture to manufacture industrial fasteners was finalised. The capital to be invested in the project is estimated at 40 million Kenyan shillings. The plant will employ about 2,000 persons when in full production. The amount of Kenyan private capital to be invested in the project is yet to be finalised. 45

Mr. Chipra, leader of 12 member trade delegation of the Punjab Haryana and Delhi Chamber of Commerce and Industry which visited six West Asian countries said negotiations has been entered into for setting up joint ventures in cold storage, machine made carpets and printing materials and stationary industries. 46

An agreement has already been reached with Abu Dhabi for setting ~~xxx~~ up a wholly export-oriented Rs 5 lakh joint venture in India for production of stationery items. A similar agreement with respect to machine made carpets is also in the offing, he said. 46

Nepal's Prime Minister Dr. Giri said in April in a recorded interview that his country was trying to find out a sort of joint ventures could be promoted between the two countries. He said plants for producing cement and newsprint could be set up in Nepal and the products exported to India. 47

This tally should make it clear that under the flag of exports promoting new developments are rapidly taking place. The export of commodities is being rapidly accompanied by export of capital goods as capital, financial credits, securing of contracts for construction which ensures orders for India's products, sub-contracting with western firms, joint ventures with western firms or indigenous capital in Third countries, and also joint ventures in India with free capital from oil rich countries who are firmly tied with the western world.

The total process of export promotion, already insisted upon by the World Bank is intended to tie India firmly to the world capitalist market. Another prong is the direct concessions claimed for the multinational and foreign companies operating in India.

The following observation of a Soviet writer are of importance. The Third World has recently revealed another distinguishing feature of its development, which together with industrialisation of young States, exerts a considerable impact on the strategy and tactics of imperialism in the zone of national liberation. The point is that a group of "rich oil on the world market. In 1974 the OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) got a profit of about 100,000 million dollars. In this connection, the western press clearly writes about the stratification of the Third World and the emergence of a "Fourth World". Meanwhile free capital of the oil producing countries begins to 'appear' in the entire world. Iran for instance has bought 25 per cent shares of the West German Krupp concern, Kuwait bought 14.6 per cent of the shares of Daimler-Benz firm. 'Oil money' heads for different regions of the Third world, too. To stimulate their foreign investments, seven Arab countries have set up a joint investment company in Er-Raid with a capital of 463 million dollars, the Islamic Bank has been created with a capital of 900 million dollars (mainly from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait).

"Large-scale export of capital from the developing countries is an essentially new phenomenon in the world economy. Its importance should not be exaggerated since this process involves a limited group of countries. But this trend is rather pronounced, and the imperialist circles noted and assessed it at once. The New York Times wrote on October 10, 1974, about the emergence of a "new international middle class". i.e. a new bourgeoisie. Although it mentioned Brazil in this connection, it meant mainly countries producing raw materials, and mainly oil. Meaning to suppress from the very beginning the potential competition of these countries, the newspaper unambiguously called for a class alliance between the monopolies of the imperialist powers and the new bourgeois elite of a group of the developing countries." 48

The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are also in the field to help the export needs of the Indian economy, of the bourgeois-landlord economy. Though Soviet Aid and aid from the socialist countries has been of a qualitatively high type and has made valuable contribution to the advance of Indian economy, it has not been sufficient to satisfy the profiting appetite of the bourgeois, and the needs of the situation. The latter therefore avidly grasped every aid they could get from the west. Both in relation to India and the world, the socialist countries including China could not outbid the west in the extent and ramification of aid. It has been estimated that aid by all socialist countries, including China, from 1954 to 1974 totalled less than 119 billion dollars against 24 billion dollars by the west in 1973 alone. 49

However the socialist countries have been having long term rupee payments trade agreements with India, apart from loans and credits for building vital industrial capacity. Recently new trade agreements have been entered into expanding the trade and exchange, expecting markets for Indian products, and production-cooperation. The Indian demand has been that there should be a change in the pattern of trade with socialist countries. The tilt in favour of traditional commodities should be corrected by offering more scope for articles of Indian manufactures and products of her heavy industry. New provisions are being made in this direction.

In April India and Romania agreed to double the volume of trade between them by 1980 as compared with 1975 when it was Rs. one billion.

Romania is proposing to buy equipment needed for the steel industry and some types of machine tools in huge quantities from India. Romania would like to buy whatever equipment India could supply in her steel production capacity from the present 9 million tonnes in the next five years.

In the field of industrial cooperation, it was agreed to examine the possibility of collaboration with Romania with a regard to project for finished leather, for beneficiation China clay and dolomites, and with regard to steel and non-ferrous metal industries. 50

At a meeting in April between visiting Romania Minister Mr. Agachi and the Union Commerce Minister the possibility of the two countries undertaking joint ventures in Third countries, specially in Africa and the middle east were visualised. 51

In April the State owned Bharat Earth Movers Ltd. signed an agreement with Bulgaria to export earth moving equipment worth Rs. 1.30 crores. 52

The protocol signed in April between Indian and Hungary according to official sources visualised possibilities of cooperation in aluminium and alumina, mechanisation of leather industry exchange of capital equipment of high value like coke over batteries from India and seamless tube-well machinery from Hungary and conversion of tungsten ore into power through sharing of technology. 53

The new five year (1976-1980) trade agreement between India and the USSR provides for a turnover at constant price levels in 1980 at Rs 935 crores and during the five year period of the order of Rs 4346 crores. The Soviet Union will receive from India a number of non-traditional and promotional goods in the engineering and chemical fields besides traditional goods like tea, coffee spices, oil cakes, leather shoes and jute goods.

But all this was of course not enough in view of the scramble for world market, and the openings offered by the Western world. Some kind of joint ventures abroad, sub-contracting in project undertaken by Soviet, opening of areas friendly to the Soviet was inevitable. This new development is carried under the ward world production programme. A protocol signed in Moscow in April provides for Indian supply of machinery for Soviet aided third country projects and association in civil construction (sub-contracting) and extends production cooperation on compensation basis to textiles and electronic industries. 54

The Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Arkhipov who was on a visit to India at the end of April is reported to have given a categorical assurance to make the two countries partners on a very large scale in meeting the requirements for equipment in Third countries. The Soviet Union has a number of ~~can~~ contracts in Asian, African and Latin American countries for the establishment of heavy industrial plants. 55

Within two months of the protocol signed in Moscow expert level negotiations were to be held for considering Indian participation in civil erection works at some projects- Libya, Iraq and Iran being some of the possible venues to be constructed by the Soviet Union in third countries on a turnkey basis. 56

A contract for supply of electrolyser pots from the Hindustan Machine Building Plant in Ranchi for a Soviet aided aluminium plant in Yugoslavia was signed in March last. Negotiations are also going on for supply of items for steel plants in Bulgaria and some other countries. 57

The picture is now quite clear. Side by side with the vast sums received from Iran and the sub contracting with Western firms, India has received big orders from Iraq, Libya because of Soviet influence and is also receiving subcontracting work. India's capitalist class is profiting itself by this double handed help, but at the same time its dependence on the capitalist world market definitely increases. The process of helping the export drive through a number of ways of exporting capital, neglecting the domestic market, is bound to create new relationship adverse to the interests of Indian people, the cause of democracy, independence and socialism. One must also remember the words of the Party programme.

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NEW MOVES IN RELATION TO FOREIGN CAPITAL

The serious developments taking place in the country in relation to private foreign capital, the concessions made to multinationals the retreat forced on the Indian Government by the latter form an integral part of the above process.

The World Bank has been pressing India for a long time to liberalise the import of foreign private capital. All its demands could not be easily conceded so long as the Indian bourgeoisie was busy capturing the home market (first in consumption goods) and next in certain capital and intermediary goods (import substitution). But having established a minimum wherewithal with incapacity to use it domestically and with consequent dependence on exports and foreign loans for keeping the economy going. India is compelled to yield more and more to the insistent pressure. Its earlier efforts to attract foreign capital did not produce quick results as the former was waiting for bigger concessions.

During the course of years the first casualty has been confiscation and nationalisation of foreign monopoly concerns. In a number of countries this has taken place but not in Congress India by and large. In India some concerns have been taken over but after paying excessive compensation. The taking over of oil refineries is an instance in point. This was rendered possible because the plans were worked out, the profits from imports of crude had vanished or gone down and a heavy compensation was agreed. Besides with smaller countries nationalising foreign dominated oil concerns there could not be much resistance from companies in India. The Government is also thinking of taking over the servicing and maintenance wings of the giant US multinational firm International Business Machines (IBM) which has refused to dilute its equity holding to 40 per cent in accordance with the provisions of the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act. Whether after the new amendments to the Act this will be considered necessary is to be seen.

Under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) rules which came in force in 1974 the foreign companies doing business in India were given the option of reducing their shareholding to 40 per cent (either by selling a part of their equity) shares to Indians or raising fresh capital within the country) or of exporting at least 60 per cent of their product. Companies exporting more than 60 per cent of their product had to reduce foreign share holding to 74 per cent i.e. to retain 74 per cent equity capital in their hands. All other companies were to dilute their foreign equity to 40 per cent i.e. allow majority share to Indian capital. Companies belonging to priority sectors of using sophisticated technology were allowed to hold 74 per cent equity i.e. they had to allow Indian Capital a share of 25 per cent only.

Misleading claims were made on behalf of these provisions. They were presented as a great step to control and restrain private foreign capital, and the obligation to export was trotted out as a step to make foreign capital subserve Indian interests. In reality it was a demand for junior partnership with foreign capital under government patronage with the offer of cheap labour at its disposal to invade new foreign markets. Less competition in domestic market, joint exploitation of labour and peoples, and export with the help of the Government - such was the real intent . It was also stated that India was prepared to accept majority foreign capital (a 74 per cent) in new industries using sophisticated processes. This was explained away as a measure for importing latest technology and processes.

But the foreign multinationals were not prepared to accept these conditions. They raised a hue and cry and plainly told the Government that on these conditions they should not expect a quick flow of capital nor big international bargains in exports. They knew the Indian Government sought Western foreign capital with modern sophisticated technology in core and strategic projects. Without it India's competitive capacity in the capitalist market would not last, and the bourgeoisie could not hold together their economy. The Americans, West German, British and Japanese delegations strongly objected to the export obligations at the respective meetings of the joint commissions. Mr. Orville Freeman, American Chairman of the joint Indo-American Commission demanded clarification of the FERA guiding rules and the Government surrendered and announced an amplification and clarification of the existing guidelines in Parliament on 15th April.

Under these foreign companies which were hitherto required to dilute their foreign equity holding to 40 per cent can now retain a ~~majority~~ majority share (a senior partner) of 51 per cent and more provided they fulfil certain conditions.

The statement says that if a Company's activities requiring sophisticated technology and exports accounts for at least 75% of total annual turnover, it can hold 75% of the equity capital (25% share to India, no export obligations). If the Company's activities requiring sophisticated technology plus production for exports accounts for not less than 60% per cent of the annual turnover, it can hold 51% i.e. majority equity capital. Exports must account for only 10% of the total turnover.

If the exports of a company account for more than 40% of the total turnover it will be allowed to continue its activities, hold 51% of equity capital. Here 40% export obligation is imposed on those who do not use sophisticated technology and are not in the core sector.

It has been further stated that cases of companies coming with proposals for substantial exports could be considered on merits, for higher level of equity participation. I- which means that even these exporting below 40 per cent can be allowed to have majority of equity capital. The old rule that those exporting less than 60 per cent of their product were to automatically reduce their equity to 40 per cent is gone.

Perhaps even the Government of India did not think that is earlier rules would be accepted. The Reserve Bank of India was going slow on the implementation of the rules, knowing that a dilution was inevitable. A bargain is being struck for admission of Indian capital as a minority partners once this is accepted export obligation can be relaxed and manipulated to suit the interest of both the partners.

Export obligations are watered down, majority equity participation for foreign capital is strengthened and further invitation is extended to it. Besides as will be seen later, this play upon majority and minority equity capital is misleading because now a days multinationals control concerns not necessarily through a direct acquisition of majority equity capital in each country.

During the course of this wooing of foreign capital the Government has turned upside down the accepted norms of national bourgeois policy in relation to foreign capital, Under Nehru foreign capital was prohibited from entering core industries. It was realised that to allow it to enter strategic core industries was to endanger the safety of the nation and gave a veto to the foreigners on the development of national economy.

But now the Government policy is to attract foreign capital into the core sector and make special concessions to it to invade it. If it enters the core sector, it will be allowed 75 per cent equity capital, no or less export obligations and so only on condition that there should be a 25% share reserved for Indian capitalists.

The ~~firm~~ 'flexibility' of the government was felt even before the new guidelines were announced in April. A West German delegation of industrialists visiting the country in March last observed in its report that even the government appeared flexible in implementing the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act and was considering each case on its own merits. 2 The team's leader said in his report "The hot wind of the ideologically inspired campaign against private enterprise and foreign capital has subsided and the leadership seems to grope the way towards a new balance of social controls and the requirements of a healthy mixed economy. Increased political elbowroom as a result of the recent incident is helping the development as documented by the new growth oriented budget" 3 The German delegation of course complained about the obligations to export 60 per cent of the product but was assured that the percentage could be reduced at a later stage if it was in the overall interest of the home market. In addition, import substitution would be treated like export. 4

The Indira Government indulges in anti-West demagoguery while in its economic practices is forced to accept the logic of its growing integration with the capitalist market. Its compromising moves it presents as fighting and confrontation against the West. The new international situation, the changing tactics of imperialism and multinational corporations to retain their hold, the new forces of neo-colonialism have to be taken into account to understand the full meaning of Indian moves and their compromising content. The multinational corporations are making a bid to capture the alliance of the local bourgeoisie of a number of countries by giving them a share in their subsidiaries in the developing countries, by helping traditional industrialisation by sometimes accepting minority equity share or even handing over to them concerns built by them after a time. These concessions on their part do not affect their control of the industries concerned. For a majority equity share by local bourgeoisie in one country is not in a position to control or restrict the activities of the huge multinational machine- a machine which cannot be controlled even by a powerful USA Government. They only mean a sop, to the national feelings in underdeveloped countries, and a bait to the local bourgeoisie.

" The multinational corporations, now constituting the highest stage in the development of State monopoly capitalism, seek to restructure the present international division of labour in accordance with the principle, a concentration of 'the industry of science' and the most productive equipment and technology in the developed capitalist states, with the developing countries oriented upon the methods of simple production, traditional forms of industrialisation and 'small scale' science. 5 These are new tactics to keep these countries within the capitalist market system which signifies a relation of dependence.

" The international corporations are beginning to reckon with the national places of the developing countries, to agree not to insist on excessive privileges in these countries that might complicate their relations with them in the future and agree also to revise from time to time the agreements and contracts with them." 6 (Emphasis added)

"The subsidiaries of international corporations in developing countries are being replaced with mixed companies with the participation of local private capital or even the State Sector. In isolated cases, the developing countries have managed to attract the participation of international corporations in their projects while excluding control by them or even a share by them in ownership. For instance, in Algeria, the Klachkner Humboldt Deut Company is building a diesel engine plant which will be handed over to the Algerian Government. Many of the contracts signed include a so-called "Deinvestment" reservation stipulating that the shares of the given international corporations will be gradually turned over to local entrepreneurs in whole or in part. "7 "Management Contracts" have gained a wide currency too. Under their terms an international corporation will build plant and manage it on a commission basis but will have no share in equity capital. 8

Subsidiaries to be made into mixed companies, local capitalists to be conceded majority share occasionally - how all this closely resembles what the Indian Government is asking of the foreign capitalists.

"However the tactics of adaptation to the new situation are not limited a general passive retreat. These tactics also include the regrouping by the multinationals of their forces and the launching of a new large scale social manoeuvres designed to shift the focus of the conflict with the young States from the sphere of the world market to the inner sphere of their economic and social structures. What is meant is that imperialism and the international corporations are giving up the policy of preserving the economic and social backwardness of the former colonies in favour of stepping up the effects to win over the local bourgeoisie as a class which guarantees the retention of these countries within the orbit of capitalist economy." 9

This is the new manoeuvre which with the readiness of World Bank to give easy aid to India, the provision of export avenues, the loans from oil countries, the joint ventures in these countries, and the willingness to accept mixed companies is being vigorously pursued in India also. Kissinger's Resources Bank Plan at the UNCSTAD was also part of this plan. And it called forth angry reactions from some countries who correctly described it as a plan for exploitation by multi-nationals.

In contrast India adopted a compromising approach, almost a supporting approach which led to criticism and compelled Chattopadhyaya Union Commerce Minister to hold a press conference and ~~explain~~ explain away his speech. His explanation to the press itself shows the opportunistic compromising stance of the Government. Prof. Chattopadhyaya had to reiterate his support to the Manila Declaration. He then qualified it by saying " what was important was not the name of a programme. But any international

programme had to be receptive to other ideas if they were to be consistent with the basic objectives. 10 (This was said in connection with the Kissinger proposal). Asked for India's proposal for setting up an international resources bank to promote development of mineral and other resources in developing countries, Prof. Chattopadhyaya said it was difficult to comment on the proposal without further clarification on its objectives, compensation, manner of administration and its consistency with the integrated programme. 11 And when it came to voting on the American proposal India abstained from voting.

1. Statesman, 16th April, 1976
2. Financial Express, 20th May, 1976
3. Financial Express, 20th May, 1976
4. Financial Express, 20th May, 1976
5. International Affairs, No. 8, 1975, page 129
6. Soviet Review, No. 49, 1975 page 7
7. Soviet Review, No. 49, 1975, page 7 7
8. Soviet Review, No. 49, 1975 page 7
9. Soviet Review, No. 49, 1975 page 7
10. Financial Express, 12th May, 1975
11. Financial Express, 12th May, 1976

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS
172, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-13

(418)

Circular No. 12/76

Dated 11.8.76

To
All State Committees,

Dear Comrade;

Further to this office circular No. 10/76 dated 28.7.76 I am enclosing herewith the remaining resolutions adopted in the Working Committee meeting held in New Delhi on the 10th & 11th July, 1976, for your information.

With greetings,

Yours fraternally,

Minerva Chakravarty
Secretary

Copy to All Working Committee members
with complete set of resolutions for information.

Gram: CITUCENT

Phone: 23-3708

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

172, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta - 700013

Working Committee meeting held at
New Delhi On the 10th & 11th July
1976

Resolution Against Retrenchment and
Reduction of Wages of Jute Workers.

The working Committee of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions expressess its serious concern at the mass retrenchment and wage-cut and abnormal increase in work-load on jute workers in West Bengal and other places of India since the declaration of internal Emergency. The rights and entitlements of the jute workers earned through years of struggle have been curtailed and eliminated and even legal provisions in the interest of workers have been violated by the Jute employers.

This meeting take a serious note of the fact that while production of jute goods has been increased the complement of workers has been drastically reduced and the Budli workers, whose job security was assured by the Government of India, have been straightway thrown out of employment and thousands of permanent workers have been directly retrenched. Sri Raghunatha Reddy's Award, on retaining allowance for Budli workers was stalled by the employers by taking the issue to the High Court.

This meeting emphatically protests against relief and subsidy granted to the industrialists, the value of which has been estimated to exceed Rs. 100 crores, in the form of subsidy and complete abolition of imposts of duties on export of jute goods. Concession was given to the employers when retrenchment was resorted to on an unprecedented scale. 30,000 workers were earlier thrown out of employment, one after another mill was closed or locked out on false plea of shortage of raw jute and maintaining viability of the "industry". With 9 mills closed the working force was reduced by 80 thousand out of 2.5 lakh workers employed in West Bengal. An now, the Govt. has ordered reduction of working hours by 2 hours per shift and introduction of 6 hours shift resulting in the loss of wages of Rs. 90 per month and even more per worker.

This meeting points to the severe and unbearable intensification of workload for the workers retained in the mills. Those who worked on single looms or spinning frames are now compelled to work on more than double or multiple machines. If the workers complain about workload, they are asked to bring helping hands at their own cost known as 'Bhagawalla' - or quit the job.

This meeting draws the attention of all concerned that all agreements, bipartite or tripartite, have been thrown into the waste paper basket by the employers in jute industry.

This meeting also expresses concern on the fact that the attack is not confined to the jute workers alone. The attack is equally directed against jute peasants, numbering 4 millions all over India. In the face of a reasonable demand of the jute growers for a minimum price of raw jute at Rs. 250/- per quintal the Central Govt. fixed the price of raw jute at Rs. 235/- per quintal. The Government of West Bengal recommended the minimum price of raw Jute at Rs. 180/- per quintal, but this was also not accepted. Even the statutory minimum price of raw jute fixed by the Central Government is not enforced and the jute growers are compelled to sell raw jute at a price lower than that. The whole price mechanism of raw jute is geared in the interest of jute monopolists.

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This meeting notes with serious apprehension that the INTUC and AITUC, as members of the Apex Body, have become part of the Govt.'s machinery for carrying repression on the workers in the interest of the employers in jute industry.

The Working Committee of the CITU demands that -

1. All closed mills to be reopened immediately failing which be taken over by the Government without any precondition and retrenchment,
2. Restrictions of hours of work be lifted and mills to run in full complement without any loss of wages in any case.
3. Implementations of earlier agreements be made obligatory on the part of employers,
4. Raw jute is to be bought by Government from jute growers at Rs. 250/- a quintal, jute industry and foreign administered by Government machinery and jute industry and foreign trade be nationalised without any compensation,
5. The demand of the jute workers for 20% bonus is justified, but in no case less than 8.33%, the earlier statutory minimum bonus be given this year.

This meeting calls upon all the Central Trade Unions, all workers to unite and launch a united movement against retrenchment, wage-cuts and curtailment of rights and the attack on the living conditions of jute workers and peasants.

ON RESUMPTION OF AMBASSADORIAL RELATION WITH CHINA

The Working Committee meeting of the CITU welcomes the decision of the Government of India to send Ambassador to Peoples Republic of China. Since its foundation the CITU has always been demanding improvement of relationship with China, a beginning of which could only be made by sending ambassador to China.

Since it was India which first withdrew the Ambassador to Peking naturally the initiative in sending Ambassador had to come from the Government of India. The Government of Peoples Republic of China immediately reciprocated and announced its decision to send Ambassador to India.

The CITU considers that this step will go in a big way in further improving the relationship between the two great and largest populated countries of the world covering a population of over 140 crores. Friendship and solidarity between the two peoples will strengthen the forces of anti-imperialism and world peace. The CITU therefore expresses its earnest hope that efforts would be made to strengthen the ties between the two countries in economic, political, cultural and other spheres.

The CITU reiterates its position that all outstanding disputes between India and China can be settled peacefully and people of the two countries would again be able to play an honourable role in developing Afro-Asian solidarity.

The CITU appeals to the working class of India to build a campaign for restoring India-China friendship on a firm footing as soon as possible.

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RESOLUTION ON D.A. OF STATE GOVT. EMPLOYEES.

The Working Committee of CITU notes with deep regret that four million State employees of the country are being denied Dearness Allowance commensurate with the rise in price index, in consequence of which their real wages are fast falling.

For long past the State employees had been demanding D.A. linked with price index, but neither the respective State Govts. nor the Central Govt. have ever paid any serious attention to it. After persistent struggle of the State employees at par with the Central employees pending full neutralisation, a few State Govts. had been paying at Central rates D.A. to their employees. But that too has been stopped recently barring only one or two States. The State Govts. which were granting Central rates of D.A. to their employees have now refrained from doing so on the plea of paucity of fund.

During the last one year only some paltry sum has been paid to the State employees in different States and in most cases without any bearing to the Central rates. In certain States there has been virtually no increase in the rate of D.A. for a long time. So, in respect of the State employees full neutralisation of the rise in price index is a far cry, even the interim demand of Central rate is not being fulfilled.

This meeting of the CITU expresses its grave concern at this condition of the State employees in respect of D.A. and demands that the State Government employees should be immediately granted D.A. at the rate of Central Govt. employees and steps should be taken to link their D.A. with consumer price index.

/ for D.A.

RESOLUTION ON THE WORKERS SECTOR.

The Working Committee of the CITU having considered the proposal announced by the Finance Minister, Government of India to build a new sector of economy called the workers sector feels that it is only a new device to forcibly collect money from the workers and invest it in various industries.

When the capitalist economy is in crisis and the capital formation is becoming increasingly difficult, the bourgeoisie is trying to raise capital for development of capitalism in India by reducing the consumption and standard of living of the working class.

The Working Committee is of the opinion that with declining standard of living of workers they are unable to contribute funds to start a new sector. Therefore CITU emphasises that all collection of contributions to this sector should be purely voluntary and no compulsion in whatever form should be involved in this regard.

The workers sector is just another public sector started with the money collected from the workers. The sector will be run by the bureaucrats who will be following the same anti-working class policy as is being followed in other public sector undertakings. The workers will continue to be exploited in this sector with excessive work-load. It is therefore an attempt to hoodwink the workers under the garb that workers would be owners of this sector.

The Working Committee therefore calls upon the CITU unions to explain the real nature of this scheme to the mass of workers so that they understand the character of this scheme and do not fall a victim to the bourgeois propaganda that the workers sector is a step in the direction of building a socialist economy in India.

The CITU appeals to all the trade unions to take a united stand on this question so that the working class is effectively made conscious about the proposed scheme of the Government.

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RESOLUTION ON COMPULSORY DEPOSIT SCHEME.

The Working Committee meeting of the CITU considers the amendment to the Additional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposit) Act passed by Parliament in its last session providing for extension by one year the impounding of half the rise in dearness allowance of the workers and employees is yet another attack on the workers.

When the dearness allowance of the workers is being reduced on the plea that the prices are falling the continuation of this measure will further bring down the standard of living of the working class. The claim of the Government that the deductions would be for a period of one year only will not console the workers since the Government could arbitrarily extend the period for a further term by a similar enactment, if the trade union movement does not act in time.

The CITU notes with deep regret that the AITUC leadership though outwardly talks against the scheme it does not show its readiness to join hand with the CITU and other trade unions so that a broad-based movement can be built on this question.

The situation became more complicated when the Government decided to make repayments of the earlier compulsory deposits but through official channels workers are asked to deposit the amount in some other saving scheme. The CITU demands that the saving scheme should be purely voluntary and no compulsion in whatever form should be made on the workers.

The CITU appeals to all the trade union movement to come together and take suitable steps so that the Govt. is prevailed upon to scrap the scheme and stop impounding of additional D.A. and wages of the workers forthwith.

RESOLUTION ON CONDITIONS OF WORKERS IN COAL INDUSTRY.

The Working Committee meeting of the CITU expresses its serious concern at the deteriorating conditions of workers in coal industry all over the country. The public sector management has launched all round offensive against the workers resulting in excessive increase in the workload and loss of jobs to the workers.

On the plea of implementation of 12-point plan of the Ministry of Mines multiple shift system is being introduced which has resulted in imposing higher workload on the workers. In their drive for boosting production the authorities are callously ignoring even the elementary safety measures. The number of accidents in coal mines have gone up substantially during the last one year. The production committees formed in mines are only show pieces and managements are unilaterally imposing targets on the workers. The workers who demand better safety measures are either charge-sheeted or faced with other forms of harassment.

Taking advantage of the present situation the managements are resorting to penalising the CITU workers. In Suratachar the management refused to take back the 2 CITU leaders while the Government refused to refer the dispute to adjudication. In Bisrampur collieries the CITU activists are being victimised on flimsy or fictitious grounds. Large scale charge sheets are being issued to intimidate the workers and crush the CITU union. In Dhanbad region tribal workers are forcibly evicted and in their place new workers are being recruited. Penal transfers against CITU activists in Dhanband and Raniganj region are galore and even the decisions of the courts are ignored by the managements.

When the mining authorities were forced to abolish contract workers in certain categories of mines the managements threw out of jobs thousands of workers engaged under contractors instead of

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absorbing them in the regular employment. Use of anti-social elements to terrorise the workers is in full swing and even when the police arrest the anti-social elements in dacoity and rape charges as in Birsampur colliery, the Ministry of Mines did not take action against the officers who irregularly recruited them.

A new drive for mechanisation is coming in the coal mines which is likely to lead to retrenchment of about one lakh. Despite growing unemployment in the country the authorities are doggedly pursuing their plans of mechanisation.

The coal controllers organisation is being partly wound up and the task of conservation of coal is being handed over gradually to CIL authorities who do not pay any regard to proper utilisation of coal resources. This will immensely harm the coal industry apart from loss of jobs to the employees.

The CIL authorities in Calcutta pay scant respect for representations from the representative unions while favouritism is rampant in the organisation which has greatly affected the morale of the employees.

The CITU urges upon the CIL authorities to give up their vindictive policies and withdraw all the penal measures against the workers.

The CITU appeals to all the coal employees to raise their united voice so that the authorities are prevailed upon to give up the present reckless policies.

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WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING NEW DELHI 10-11 JULY 1976

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED IN THE MEETING

1. Condolence Resolution on Comrade Chu Teh

This meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU held at New Delhi on 10-11th July, 1976 pays its homage to the revered memory of Com. Chu Teh, an outstanding leader of the Communist Party of China and a legendary figure of the Peoples Liberation Army of China, who has passed away on 6th July, 1976.

This meeting pays warm tributes to Com. Chu Teh's contribution to the Chinese Revolution. As a leader of the Red Army, from the beginning of its formation he led the liberation forces to final victory through various stages in the heroic long drawn struggle. Despite advancing age Com. Chu Teh discharged important official responsibilities till the last day of his life. This meeting shares the grief of the working class and the people of China, who have lost one of the chief architects of Chinese Revolution.

This meeting sends its condolences to the Working Class and the people of China.

2. Condolence Resolution On Comrade Chou En Lai

The Working Committee of the CITU deeply mourns the passing away of Comrade Chou En Lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China.

An outstanding leader of the World Communist Movement, a staunch fighter against fascism and imperialism, one of the key organisers of the great Chinese Revolution and builder of Socialist China, Comrade Chou En Lai breathed his last on January 8, 1976 after a prolonged fight against cancer.

As one of the founders of the Communist Party of China and Comrade-in-arms of Comrade Mao Tse Tung, Comrade Chou En Lai played a notable role in the Chinese revolution at all stages, steering the revolution through innumerable difficulties to its final victory over the American imperialism and its puppet Chiang Kaishek regime.

After the victory of the great Chinese Revolution, he was nominated as the Prime Minister of the Government of People's Republic of China - a post he held till his death. Under his brilliant stewardship, People's China overcame the age old backwardness of the economy and made tremendous advances in all fields of Socialist construction-agriculture industry, science and technology. An outstanding diplomat and statesman, his contributions in the field of international diplomacy-particularly during the Geneva conference

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of 1954 and the Bandung Conference of 1955 were acclaimed the world over.

The Working Committee of the CITU joins the working class and people of India as well as the multitude of humanity in all corners of the earth in paying homage to the memory of the great departed leader and conveys its heart felt condolences to his wife, the working class and people of China and the Chinese Communist Party.

3. Condolence Resolution on Com. Gerald Pereira.

The Working Committee of the CITU expresses its deep Condolence at the passing away of Comrade Gerald Pereira, a member of the Working Committee, the Secretary of the Goa State Committee of CPI(M) and CITU, and the President of the Waterfront Workers Federation of India.

An outstanding and popular leader of the Working Class and people of Goa, Com. Gerald was one of the pioneers of the working class movement in the State. He took a prominent part in the struggle for liberation of Goa from Portuguese colonial rule. After liberation, he took a leading role in organising the working class in Goa - particularly the waterfront, engineering and mine workers. Under his leadership, the working class in Goa developed into an organised militant force and the Goa unit of the CITU became the foremost militant Trade Union Centre in the State. His death is a great blow to the working class and CITU in Goa. The Working Committee joins the working class and people of Goa in paying homage to his memory and in conveying its heart felt Condolences to his bereaved family and the Goa State Committee of CITU.

4. Condolence Resolution on Com. S. Krishnamurthy.

The Working Committee of the CITU pays its homage to the memory of Comrade S. Krishnamurthy a veteran Trade Union leader of Tamil Nadu, who breathed his last on December 6, 1975.

Comrade Krishnamurthy was associated with the working class movement for over four decades and worked with Chakkari Chettiar, V.V.Giri, P.Ramamurti and other trade union leaders. He worked among the slum dwellers of Madras and, throughout his life, he organised and helped them in their struggle for improvement of their living conditions. He was once elected Mayor in Madras.

After the split in the AITUC, Com. Krishnamurthy joined the CITU and was elected a member of the General Council at the Foundation Conference of the CITU. He was also one of the Vice-Presidents of the Tamilnadu State Committee of CITU. At the time of his death, he was associated with over 30 Trade Unions in Madras city.

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The Working Committee conveys its sincere condolences to the Tamilnadu State Committee of the CITU and members of his bereaved family.

5. Condolence Resolution on Paul Robeson.

The Working Committee of the CITU expresses its deep condolence at the passing away of Paul Robeson, the world renowned American negro singer and a life-long fighter for human rights and world peace.

The son of a farmer slave, Paul Robeson devoted his entire life to the cause of human rights for all oppressed people. A staunch fighter against racial discrimination and colonial exploitation, he came to form deep attachment for Marxism--Leninism. For this he was subjected to worst persecution and anticommunist witch hunt in America in the period of Maccarthyism. For years he had to live in self-exile from his country and home but his indomitable spirit never flagged. He won the hearts of millions of oppressed, exploited and humiliated men and women through his memorable songs which upheld the dignity of man and the ultimate victory of liberty, equality, democracy and socialism.

The Working Committee pays its homage to the memory of this great fighter for human rights and freedom and conveys its condolences to his bereaved family.

6. Condolence Resolution on Com. Ramkrishna Bharolian

The Working Committee of the CITU mourns the death of Comrade Ramkrishna Bharolian, a noted leader of Kisan and Trade Union movement of Punjab.

A revolutionary fighter in the days of freedom struggle against British imperialism, Com. Bharolian had to undergo several terms of imprisonment and torture in jail. During this period he was attracted to Marxism-Leninism and joined the Communist Party in 1940.

After his release from detention in 1942, he began working among agricultural workers and Kisans in Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur district and build up a powerful anti-feudal movement. Later he came to be acknowledged as a front-ranking leader of Kisan movement in Punjab and was elected General Secretary of the State Kisan Sabha in 1955. He was also elected to the State Assembly from Nangal in 1955.

After the split in the Communist Party, he joined the CPI(M) and played a prominent role in reorganising the Party. He was again arrested in 1964 and was detained for one and a half years. After his release, he concentrated on organising the working class in Nangal, which he continued till his death.

The Working Committee pays homage to the memory of this veteran Kisan and Trade Union leader and conveys its heartfelt condolences to this bereaved family and Punjab and Himachal Pradesh Committee of CITU.

7. Resolution on Martyrs.

The Working Committee of CITU pays its homage to trade Union workers and leaders who have been murdered by the congress goondas since the last meeting of the working committee.

Comrade Raghavan a worker of Dinesh Bledi Factory Cannanore and a CITU activist was stabbed to death by the Congress goondas on 5th June 1976.

Comrade Lalchand Rajbhar a leading organiser of Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union Dhanbad (Bihar) was waylaid by goondas, shot from behind and killed on the spot on 25th May 1976 while returning after a meeting.

Comrade Kumar Dorjee, a worker of Bloomfield tea-garden of Darjeeling Hills in West Bengal was murdered by the Congress goondas on May Day '76 while he was returning home after attending a cultural function.

The Working Committee of CITU strongly condemns these murders and demands that armed gangsterism be stopped and freedom of trade union functioning and safety and security of the workers be ensured.

8. On Wage Revision In Vishakhapatnam Shipyard

This meeting of the Working Committee of CITU strongly condemns the move of the Government of India and the shipping authorities to impose a wage cut to the tune of Rs.25 to Rs.150 per month as per directive of the Bureau of Public Enterprises. The multi-trade allowance now paid at 20% of the moving basic wages is further sought to be fixed permanently at the rate paid in 1974. The nominal house-rent at Rs.1 or 4 or 6 per month charged on several types of quarters are proposed to be raised to 5% of the basic wage. The Visakhapatnam cost of living index is sought to be replaced by the All India cost of living index, which is always lower than the former, in determining the quantum of D.A.

This meeting calls upon the management of Hindustan Shipyard, Visakhapatnam and the Shipping Ministry, Government of India not to proceed with the proposals but to negotiate with the real accredited representatives of the workers of the Shipyard and settle the new scales of wages and other fringe benefits to the satisfaction of the mass of workers.

9. On Victimisation in H.M.T., I.D.P.L. & E.C.I.L

The Working Committee of the CITU strongly condemns the actions of the Andhra Pradesh Government and the Managements of H.M.T and I.D.P.L. in Hyderabad in victimising the leadership of the workers of three public sector factories. The Andhra Pradesh Government detained in October 1975 under MISA, the leaders of the H.M.T workers & staff union, and of the I.D.P.L. workers and 3 of the E.C.I.L workers organisations. They were neither paid any subsistence allowance by the managements nor any family allowance by the Government. Later 4 of the H.M.T and 3 of the I.D.P.L workers were discharged from service by the management. The several representations made by various organisation to the Central Government proved ineffective.

The Working Committee of the CITU considers this as an attempt to hit the workers and the organised Trade Union movement and demands that all the workers and their leaders in these concerns should be released and reinstated without any delay and that all criminal cases pending against nearly 70 I.D.P.L. workers be withdrawn.

The Working Committee of CITU calls upon the affiliated unions to protest against these attacks and demand immediate release and reinstatement of all the leaders of H.M.T, I.D.P.L, and E.C.I.L.

10. Resolution on Recent Measure Against Closure.

The Working Committee of the CITU expresses its serious concern at the continued closures of hundreds of factories and establishments and lay-offs of thousands of workers throughout the country, and considers that the recent amendment to Industrial Disputes Act providing for 90 days notice prior to the closure of the factory will not in any way improve the position.

Despite official propaganda that the recent amendment will prevent all closures in future the closures of factories and establishments continue unabated. The extension of notice period from 60 to 90 days had not acted as a deterrent against the employers. The provision to obtain prior permission of the Labour Department before declaring lay-offs also has not altered the position. The Labour Departments have been prompt in granting permission to declare lay-off and connive at when the employers refuse to pay lay-off compensation payable under the Act.

The employers can evade the provision for giving of notice by resort to partial closure of factories. Thus the enactment is an eye wash and only has resulted in closures, lock-outs, and lay-offs with the connivance of and in collusion with the Government.

The meeting of the Working Committee therefore demands a comprehensive legal enactment against closures providing, among others, the following provisions.

- 1) Ban against closures and partial closures, lay-offs and retrenchments.
- 2) Stringent action against employers who closed down the factory due to mismanagement or embezzlement.
- 3) Take over by the Government of all closed concerns.
- 4) Full protection to workers regarding their jobs and benefits as well as earned wages.

II. ON REPRESSION IN CANNANORE DISTRICT.

The Working Committee of CITU is seriously concerned at the situation in Kerala which is taking place under the shadow of emergency. The Youth Congress elements are physically attacking the democratic rights and functioning of trade unions in Kerala, especially in Cannanore district.

Youth Congress goondas have taken the law in their hands and threatening the life of workers in different areas in Cannanore district. Pinarayi, Koothuparamba, Vadakkumbad, Kayalode, Pachapoyka, Mevambayi, Ponniyam Srambi, Chettan-kandi, Tellicherry, Eripuram, Cheruthazham, Aduthila, Kandakai etc. are the main centres affected by these atrocities.

In these areas workers cannot go to the factory. Hundreds of workers have been beaten. Hundreds are forced to quit their native places.

Workers are threatened and forced to resign from their Unions and compelled to join INTUC. The Tellicherry Tile Workers Union which is under our leadership for the last twentyfive years have now been forced to join the INTUC.

It has become a daily affair that the Congress goondas with deadly weapons including hand grenades are attacking workers in the workspots, since the last six months. Our trade union offices, Kerala Socialist Youth Federation Offices, Party offices were attacked and captured and have been made as Congress Offices. A Library and reading room at Eripuram was set on fire and completely destroyed. The reading rooms at Kanadakai and Cheleri were captured and converted as Youth Congress Offices.

Due to the physical attacks numerous workers are admitted in the hospitals and many are still undergoing treatment. Hundreds of workers have been charged under the DIR and still kept in jail. The bail applications are rejected for many of them. The victims in these areas are mainly beedi workers, handloom workers, tile and factory workers and toddy tappers.

The goondas suddenly attacked a branch of Kerala Dinesh Beedi at Panthakkapara in Tellicherry Taluk on June 5th. The goondas came/Then they entered into the factory and attacked the workers. Due to this barbarous attack fifteen workers were seriously injured and Com. K.Raghavan was stabbed to death on the work spot itself. Some of them have become incapable to do any work in future.

The office bearers of Kerala Grandhasala Sangh, who had gone to enquire about the attacks on Libraries and reading rooms, were attacked by the Youth Congress goondas and forced to return. Kerala Grandhasala Sangh is a central elected body which is governing near four thousand libraries and reading rooms in Kerala.

/ in vehicles all of a sudden and threw seven hand grenades
in the factory. Cont.....7.

Most of the reading rooms and libraries which were attacked and destroyed are getting the financial aid from this Grandhasala Sangh.

These attacks against the democratic rights of trade union activities in Kerala, especially in Cannanore district are launched by the Youth Congress goondas and anti-social elements with the active connivance of police and the blessings of the ruling parties.

The CITU demands the government to stop these atrocities and the anti-social activities of Youth Congressmen against the democratic functioning of trade unions immediately.

The CITU calls upon the entire working class to come forward to protest against the atrocities committed on CITU unions and workers in Kerala especially in Cannanore district.

12. ATTACK ON BONUS

The working Committee of the CITU, while taking note of the fact that several lakhs of workers lost their bonus last year after the recent amendments to the Act, draws the attention of the workers that most of the workers would be deprived of their bonus this year due to the manipulation of balance sheets by the companies last year.

The Government by arbitrarily using the emergency situation has given up the concept of bonus as a deferred wage and has now made a legal provision to link up bonus with productivity. This is enabling employers to impose excessive work-load on the workers. The Government Labour Officers in several places physically stopped the employers from paying a higher bonus than provided under the Act. As in case of LIC, the Government even scrapped by an act of Parliament the bipartite agreement on bonus and imposed a direct bonus cut on the employees. This step has made mockery of the concept of collective bargaining itself and it would further lead to several such attacks on other sections of workers.

Though these attacks on the hard-won bonus of the workers were wiping out completely the united stand taken by all the Central Trade Unions. The INTUC openly supported the liquidation of bonus. The AITUC leaders though talk of opposition to the retrograde amendment to the Bonus Act refuse to join hands with other trade unions for a joint campaign for restoration of 8.33 per cent minimum bonus. The attitude of the leadership of these two organisations have disrupted the workers united struggle for a higher bonus. / gains achieved through the

The meeting welcomes the statement issued by several Central trade unions against the amendments to the Bonus Act and calls upon the workers of all affiliations to fight against the retrograde amendments to the Bonus Act so that minimum 8 1/3 per cent bonus is restored irrespective of profit and loss and way is cleared for a provision for higher bonus in the Act.

13. ON ARREST OF LOCO RUNNING STAFF LEADERS

This meeting of the Working Committee of CITU is shocked to learn that leaders of All India Loco Running Staff Association, Com. P.K. Barua, Secretary General, Com. N. Sarkar Working President, Com. S.K. Dhar, Jt. Secretary General and

Com. S.R. Bagga, Organising Secretary were arrested at New Delhi on 25th June '76 just a day before they were to meet the Minister and the State Minister for Railways with prior appointment. Another leader Com. Ashok Gupta, Office Secretary of Ghaziabad unit (U.P.) was arrested later.

These leaders came to Delhi to discuss with the authorities the question of non-implementation of the agreement arrived at after August '73 struggle of the Loco Running Staff and further attacks after proclamation of internal emergency. They wanted to impress upon the authorities the need to reactivate the Committee set up to implement the agreement/was unilaterally dissolved by the Railway authorities in August '74 which could not be done earlier despite several representations. /and

The Loco Running Staff have been facing serious attacks since May '74. About 350 were victimised of whom only 50% have been taken back so far. There have been curtailment of some hard won rights. Excessive duty, even at times 30 hours at a stretch was reimposed, wages and retirement dues were reduced on account of alleged excess consumption of coal and indiscriminate punishments were being imposed. These arrests in such a background only confirm that the Govt. was never serious about implementation of the earlier agreement. It also illustrates how the emergency situation is being utilised to suppress the trade union and democratic movement of the railway workers.

This meeting therefore demands that the arrested leaders should be released and the Grievance Committee be reactivated to implement the agreement and settle the disputes that have since arisen. While pledging full support to the struggle of Locomen, this meeting calls upon the entire trade union movement to stand behind this militant section of railwaymen and thus foil the conspiracy to crush this organisation.

This meeting is confident that the Locomen themselves should preserve and strengthen their unity and fight for winning their just demands including release of their arrested leaders.

14. RESOLUTION ON PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The Working Committee of CITU calls upon the working class and the People of India to take note of the grave danger in the recent amendment to the Constitution of India contemplated by Congress Party taking advantage of the Emergency. These amendments are intended to provide such powers in the Constitution that whatever basic and fundamental trade union and democratic rights are there in the existing Constitution may be abrogated and the Emergency perpetuated. This will lead to more centralisation of power and authority in the hands of the Executive. They will curtail the rights and autonomy of the States. The amendments are also pur ported to curtail the powers of the judiciary and browbeat it so that the will of the Executive prevails. These amendments are contrived to create a legal sanction for the present dictatorial and authoratarian rule and destroy Parliamentary Democracy in India.

The ruling party proclaims that the amendments are in the interest of the people and meant for removing obstacles for implementation of the Directive Principles of the State Policy as em-

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embodied in the existing Constitution. Had the intentions of the amendments been as proclaimed, the ruling party would have attacked the right to property of vested interests, made the directive principles justiciable and brought amendments to include in the Constitution the right to work and employment benefit, old age pension, free education and medical aid. But instead of bringing these improvements in the interest of the people the ruling party is going to bring amendments for practically removing the trade union and democratic rights of the People. This shows how deceptive is the propaganda and pretence of the ruling party. There is no contradiction, between directive principles and the freedoms of the citizens.

The Working Committee of the CITU firmly opposes the contemplated amendments to the Constitution of India by the ruling party and demands that people be given complete freedom and unrestricted opportunity to express their opinion on these amendments and Emergency be withdrawn.

The Working Committee of CITU is of the firm opinion that the people of India are sovereign and not the Parliament and hence the people should be allowed to exercise their sovereignty. The Parliament has no right to amend the Constitution in the matter it is suggested as it is beyond its scope and jurisdictions and moreover the existing Parliament has already lost its mandate. Therefore, the proposed amendments should not be brought before this Parliament.

The Working Committee of CITU calls upon the Working Class and the people of India and all trade union irrespective of their affiliations to actively campaign against the proposed Constitutional amendments in whatever form it is possible and demand that Emergency be withdrawn to permit free expression of opinion on these amendments.

15. ON REPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

This meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU strongly condemns the racial bloodbath perpetuated by the Vorster regime in South Africa in the past few days. These dastardly killings have left the previous black records of Sharpeville in the year 1960 far behind. The main targets of massacre of the Vorster regime in the South Africa this time were mostly the young and the school-going children, many of whom have been shot dead in cold blood.

This meeting sends its comradely greetings to the fighters who have braved the atrocities of the fascist Vorster Govt. and raised the banner of revolt of the African people on a level higher than ever before. In fact, the death-defying agitation conducted by the people of South Africa has now engulfed the entire land.

This meeting wants to emphasise that the brutalities of the South African white fascists are a reflection of the desperation and panic they are up against following the victory of the freedom fighters in Angola and the expanding of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

Notwithstanding the naked and shameless support expanded to Vorster Government by the NATO powers and particularly by American imperialists, the meeting as well as the working people of India are confident that no power on earth can save this fascist regime

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from total destruction and collapse in no distant future.

This meeting appeals to U.N.O, the socialist countries the non-aligned world and the free states of Africa to extend all possible help to the freedom fighters of South Africa so that this last powerful bastion of imperialism in the African Continent can be liquidated and finished off.

This meeting calls upon the working class of India to develop strong solidarity movement in support of the fighting people of South Africa.

This meeting further appeals to all Central Trade Unions to build powerful united campaign in support of the freedom fighters of South Africa.

16 ON UNIFICATION OF VIETNAM.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions hails with great joy the declaration on June 24 by the Vietnamese unified National Assembly of the unification of Vietnam. Shamelessly violated and disrupted for a century by imperialism, the unity of Vietnam is once again restored and from now on Vietnam will remain united for ever.

This Vietnamese unity is the termination of a long process of arduous and dedicated struggle waged by the heroic people of Vietnam against French, Japanese and particularly American imperialism, the most perfidious and blood thirsty imperialism of them all, after struggle of epic dimensions, the like of which the world has perhaps never before witnessed. The victory and unification of Vietnam is a most convincing testimony of the all-conquering power of Marxism-Leninism as correctly applied in Vietnam by the Lao Dong Party.

This meeting as well as the working class of India, firmly believes that a glorious future is unfolding before the people of Vietnam who have already embarked on socialist construction on all fronts with the same dedication as was displayed by them on the war fronts in the past.

Vietnam's military victory over American imperialism radically changed the co-relation of class forces against capitalism, imperialism and war and in favour of Socialism, democracy and peace.

This meeting is confident that the unified people of Vietnam will always remain in the front ranks in world people's fight for freedom, socialism, peace and progress.

17. ON FRAUDULENT COMPILIATION OF CONSUMER PRICE INDEX NUMBERS.

The Working Committee of CITU expresses its serious concern at the fraud in entire compilation of Consumer Price Index Numbers deliberately continued by the Government, robbing the workers and employees all over the country to the tune of crores of rupees every month in the interest of the employers, and strongly condemns this machination.

The Working Committee further notes with grave concern that since the proclamation of Emergency, the Consumer Price Index Numbers of 1960 series have been considerably depressed

on the plea of falling prices, although in actual fact retail prices do not reflect this position and in some cases have shown further rise. Taking advantage of this manipulated Index the employers have imposed considerable cuts in the Dearness Allowance of workers and employees, thus further depressing their wages and living standard.

The new 1970 series, which has been finalised on the basis of faulty Family Budget Survey, will perpetuate this fraud unless the existing series is rectified immediately.

The Working Committee, therefore, demands immediate rectification of the fraud in compilation of consumer Price Index Numbers and calls upon trade unions irrespective of affiliations to launch a united campaign for the rectification of the Index.

18. On Withdrawal of Emergency and Release of Political Prisoners.

The Working Committee of CITU demands immediate withdrawal of Emergency and release of all political prisoners.

The Working Class and the people of India have gained convincing experience during the last one year that Emergency means complete negation of trade union and democratic rights and withdrawal of civil liberties. The Prime Minister proclaimed that Emergency was meant for fighting against right reaction whereas in actual fact the monopolists have been given unbridled freedom to rob the working class and the people and all voices of protest have been stifled with press censorship, MISA and ban on meetings and demonstrations. Thousands of workers and leaders of the opposition parties and trade unions movement have been detained without trial and tens of thousands have been implicated in fabricated cases. The employers in violation of labour laws have arbitrarily taken away the rights of the workers and employers and work-load have been abnormally increased, wage reduced and attempts are made to treat the wage earners as slave labourers while lay-off, closure, lock-out and retrenchment are going on a large scale. The tall claims of the ruling party that the Emergency has brought about economic well-being of the people and prices have gone down have proved to be a great lie.

The Emergency has established an authoritarian and dictatorial rule in the interest of the monopolists and landlords and it is all the more evident from the huge financial concessions given to monopolists and pauperisation of the working class and the peasantry.

The political prisoners are being treated in a most vindictive manner and most cruel and inhuman treatments are given to them. The prisoners are not treated as political prisoners and even rudimentary needs are denied to them.

The Working Committee of CITU calls upon the working class and the people of India to carry on a campaign for withdrawal of Emergency and release of political prisoners and appeals to all central trade unions and democratic organisations to come forward in order to build up united movement on these demands.

19. ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURS.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU welcomes the good neighbourly relations that are in the process of being restored and developed between India and her neighbours.

The restoration of normal diplomatic relations between India and China - a step for which the CITU has often in the past raised its voice, is a very welcome development, because it will help to bring closer almost the half of the world's population. The restoration and strengthening of the all round normal ties including those of transport and communications between India and Pakistan are steps in the right direction. This meeting hopes that the negotiations that are being conducted from time to time between India and Bangladesh will help in resolving complicated knots that are still plaguing the relations between the two countries. This meeting also welcomes the improvement of relations with Ceylon and Nepal.

This meeting particularly expresses its satisfaction at these developments because they help the forces of peace in a wide and vital area of Asia and of the entire world and thwart the permanent imperialist plots of developing war psychosis and creating destabilisation in order to further their nefarious ends.

The Working Committee is specially happy at these developments as it has in the past repeatedly raised its voice for establishing friendly relations with the neighbours.

20. ON ARREST OF COM. N.J.IYER.

The Working Committee meeting of CITU strongly condemns the arrest of Com. N.J.Iyer, General Secretary, All India RMS and MMS Employees Union class III and a prominent leader of the Central Government employees, under DIR by the Government of Rajasthan. The vindictive attitude of the Government was further seen by their refusal to grant him bail.

The arrest of Com. Iyer is an attack not only on the P & T employees movement but on the entire Central Government employees movement. This attack is also aimed at isolating the leadership of the Government employees movement from the mass of employees.

The Working Committee demands immediate and unconditional release of Com. N.J.Iyer. It appeals to all the Unions to raise their voice of protest so that the Government is prevailed upon to release Com. Iyer.

21. ON COMPULSORY STERILISATION.

The Working Committee of the CITU is gravely concerned at the recent steps taken by the Central and the State Governments to introduce compulsory sterilisation as a part of family planning programme. Some State Governments are already going ahead with their plans also introducing legal enactment to force such sterilisation.

While CITU supports voluntary planning through education of the people, it cannot accept the view that higher population is the only cause of poverty in India. The Government of India though talk of family planning through education, has introduced compulsory sterilisation at the dictates of world Bank and foreign monopolist Governments. People are being denied job, food, ration, shelter and housing, and are also threatened with rigorous imprisonment, if they do not sterilise.

The CITU is firmly of the opinion that family planning will never be successful by such compulsory methods and demands that all such measures should be withdrawn forthwith and

and family planning scheme should be made purely voluntary measure.

22. ON ATTACKS IN C.L.W. RAILWAY COLONY.

The Working Committee notes with grave concern the reign of terror let loose in Chittaranjan Locomotive Works (CLW) railway colony after the Bengal Bundh observed on 20th June 1975. Although the colony has been declared a protected area, armed anti-socials from outside are allowed to roam about freely inside the colony in jeeps, trucks and mini-buses. These anti-socials murdered Com. Mihir De, a leader of the CLW Labour Union, and set fire to the houses of several leaders of the Union and a jeep belonging to the Union. None of the culprits, known to the Police have been arrested. On the other hand, 52 workers of the Labour Union were involved in a false murder case, of whom 16 have been later detained under MISA. Even Com. Dilip Bose, whose house had been set fire to by the anti-socials, has been arrested under MISA.

The Working Committee further notes that, since then the reign of terror is continuing and has become a daily affair. Semi-fascist methods are adopted to disrupt all elections to the Staff Benefit Fund Area Committees, etc. and candidates of the CLW Labour Union are forced to withdraw their nomination on point of dagger. Any refusal to submit to the threats only invites arrests by Police or further attacks by anti-socials. Even the Union affiliated to NFIR was forced to protest against this semi-fascist method.

The Working Committee congratulates the workers of CLW for their determined fight against these attacks under the leadership of the CLW Labour Union and calls upon them to preserve and strengthen the unity achieved by them. The CITU pledges full support to their struggle against the onslaughts of the paid anti-socials of the authorities on their beloved union.

The Working Committee demands immediate release of the arrested leaders, stoppage of all such attacks and arrest of the culprits responsible for the murder and arson.

23. ON THE CONTINUED VICTIMISATION OF RAILWAY WORKERS.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU expresses its grave concern at the continuing victimisation of railway workers for participation in the May 1974 strike, despite assurances to the contrary given by the spokesmen of the Government.

In his last Budget speech, the Railway Minister once again assured that all those workers who were not involved in charges of violence, sabotage or intimidation would be taken back but it still remains on paper only. On the other hand, the authorities have further suspended 7 permanent employees of the SER, although their removal orders were set aside by the High Court. In the case of temporary employees, fresh notices are being served on them after payment of their back wages to the tune of lakhs of rupees.

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Since the proclamation of the Emergency, fresh attacks have been unleashed on the railway workers in the form of arrests under MISA of some leaders of railway trade union movement in NFR, ER, SER, CR and SR, removal from service under Rule I4(ii) without any opportunity of defence, forced retirements and increase in work-load. Many hard-won privileges of the workers have been withdrawn and all forms of protests are being banned. Some workers have even been removed from service for collecting subscriptions on behalf of their organisations.

The Working Committee, however, notes with satisfaction that these attempts to strike terror and disrupt normal T.U activities of railwaymen have not been able to crush the fighting spirit of the railway workers. Several forms of struggles like mass signature campaign, wearing of badges and even work-stoppages had been organised by railwaymen to protect their interests. The NCCRS spirit still prevails, although the unity achieved before the strike has been seriously impaired due to the machinations of the Govt. and the yes-men of the Railway Board in the movement.

The Working Committee pledges the full support of the CITU in the just struggle of railwaymen for their unsettled demands and for withdrawal of penal and victimisation measures. The Working Committee urges upon the Govt. to release all the arrested leaders, to reinstate all victimised workers and to give up the policy of persecution so that normalcy is restored at an early date.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS
172, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta- 700013

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING OF THE CITU HELD IN
NEW DELHI ON 10TH & 11TH JULY 1976.

ON ARREST AND VICTIMISATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU condemns the policy of victimisation followed by several State Governments against the Trade Union functionaries. The Govt. have not only refused to withdraw the punishments meted out to the employees in 1974 but also has come down on them with a heavy hand after proclamation of internal emergency.

In West Bengal 15 top ranking leaders of State Govt. employees' movement (State Co-ordination Committee) including the President had been first detained under MISA then summarily dismissed under Article 311(2)(c) of the Constitution and subsequently released. Recently, another Trade Union functionary of the Publicity and Information Department of the Secretariat had been dismissed under the same Article of the Constitution. All the sixteen leaders of the State Govt. employees are the office bearers of the different recognised Associations. Thousands of employees have been subjected to penal measures like stoppage of yearly increments, promotion, denial of confirmation, pension gratuity for participation in strike or Bandh and prohibitive orders have been issued making normal Trade Union functioning virtually impossible.

In Tripura, 47 State Govt. employees including several detenus have been summarily dismissed. The detained State Govt. employees' leaders have been sent to Vellore Jail in Tamil Nadu, over a thousand miles away from hearth and home. Normal Trade Union functioning has been virtually banned there.

In Jammu & Kashmir, the most representative organisation of the State Govt. employees has been virtually declared illegal. Properties of the President and General Secretary had been seized while 14 (fourteen) leaders had been summarily dismissed, out of them 6 (six) are still in Jail. Arrest of warrants are still hanging on many office bearers of the organisation including President and General Secretary. Recently, another round of attack was made by arresting 30 (thirty) activists of Kashmir. Though the Chief Minister of Jammu & Kashmir Govt. has assured to release all the activists and re-instate the dismissed leaders and rescind all other type of victimisation after negotiation and actually released and re-instated majority of the workers who were previously suspended yet the dismissed and recently arrested leaders (who were subsequently released) have not been back to their jobs.

In Uttar Pradesh Com. P.N. Sukul, Chairman of the All India State Government Employees' Federation has been detained under MISA. He is lodged in a sub-jail

of Benaras at present and suffering a lot. Central Home Ministry's assurance for his release has not been implemented as yet.

In Kerala, the President of the State N.G.O.s organisation who is also the Secretary of the All India Federation has been detained under VISA since about a year.

In Assam, the leader of the Jt. Action Committee has again been threatened with arrest warrant. The normal Trade Union activity there has been quite impossible. In most of the other States including Madhya Pradesh it is increasingly becoming difficult to carry out Trade Union activities.

In the background of the continuous struggle for all these years for central rates of Dearness Allowance pending grant of need based minimum wage and grant of Trade Union and democratic rights by the State Govt. employees specially the countrywide strike on 9th April 1974, these attacks are intended to strike terror into the ranks and to stifle the growth of the movement and to eliminate the Trade Union functionaries from the State administration.

This meeting demands reversal of the policy of victimisation, release of the arrested leaders, re-instatement of the dismissed workers, withdrawal of penal measures, restoration of Trade Union and democratic rights and settlement of the question of wage and Dearness allowance.

The CITU while congratulating the State Govt. employees for their determined struggle appeals to the State Govt. employees to close up their ranks and build a united struggle to win their just demands.

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MINUTES OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING
HELD AT NEW DELHI ON JULY 10 & 11, 1976

MEMBERS PRESENT.

1. Com. Jyoti Basu, 2. Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury
3. Com. S.Y. Kolhatkar, 4. Com. Mohd. Ismail, 5. Com. P. Ramamurti,
6. Com. Samar Mukherjee, 7. Com. M.K. Pandhe, 8. Com. Kamal Sarkar
9. Com. Manoranjan Roy, 10. Com. Nrishingha Chakraborty
11. Com. Shanti Sekhar Bose, 12. Com. Gopal Bose, 13. Com. Dinen
Bhattacharya, 14. Com. Hari Sadhan Mitra, 15. Com. Robin Mukherjee
16. Com. Biren Roy, 17. Com. Ajit Mukherjee, 18. Com. A.
Nallasiram, 19. Com. C. Kannan, 20. Com. G. Padmanabham
21. Com. P. Ramachandra Rao, 22. Com. P.K. Kurane, 23. Com.
Ghanashyam Saran Singha, 24. Com. Viswanatha Menon, 25. Com.
Sunil Basu Roy.

The meeting started at 10 A.M. on 10th July '76.

Com. P. Ramamurti, proposed that Com. Suhrid Mallick
Chowdhury would preside over the meeting. This was approved
unanimously.

The following condolence resolutions were moved by the
chair.

On Com. Chu Teh

" " Chou En Lai

" " Paul Robeson

" " Gerald Pereira

" " S. Krishnamurti

" " Ram Kishan Bharolia.

He requested the members to observe one minutes silence
standing to pay homage to each of the departed leaders while
passing the resolutions which was observed.

It was also decided that a delegation on behalf of the
CITU would visit the Embassy of People Republic of China and
place wreaths as a token of our homage.

Com. Suhrid Mallick Chowdhury then delivered a brief speech drawing the ~~alteration~~ of the members to the gravity of the present situation and the necessity of analysing the same and draw lessons for our future course of action. He expressed confidence that the Working Committee will take appropriate decisions to intensify the class struggle in the country.

Com. P. Ramamurti, read out letters from Com. Jiban Behari Roy and Com K. Ramani expressing their inability to attend the working committee meeting due to illness. He also informed the members that many members ^{are} behind the bars and many on the wanted list for which they could not attend the meeting. He then read out the agenda and stated that for the short time available there is a heavy agenda and the meeting should be conducted in a business like manner.

Com. M.K.Pandhe read out the minutes of the last Working Committee meeting held at Dharmprakash Madras on 10-12 Nov'75. Com. Rabin Mukherjee asked as to the fate of the resolution on Participative management and he was informed that it was finalised and sent to all state Committees. It was also published in the Working Class. The minutes were approved unanimously.

A resolution Sub-Committee with the following members was proposed and accepted unanimously.

Com. Samar Mukherjee Convenor, Com. Biren Roy, Com. Shanti Sekhar Bose, Com. P.K.Kurane and Com. Viswanatha Menon.

Com. P. Ramamurti, before delivering his report, ~~and~~ apologised at the outset that he could not prepare a written report as done earlier, because of the fact that links with various state committees have snapped due to the present conditions. Some of the Office-Bearers and members of the Working Committee visited the States and they could give the meeting oral reports. But there are some reports of struggles which have reached the Central office, which Com. Pandhe will read out. Besides the Govt. submitted in the house a statement showing strikes and lock-outs which has been circulated and printed in the working

class. Besides a report on the economic situation has also been circulated. So he proposed that after the reports are placed in this meeting, he would finalise the report taking into consideration the facts which come out in the meeting.

He then explained the direction of the economy of the country during the period of emergency. We have to study the same very seriously. This has been brought out in the information document.

The Govt. has made efforts to help the industrialists to come out of the crisis. Even after utilising only 40% of the installed capacity, the people have not been able to consume the whole production. It must be remembered that there has been no development worth the name in many industries like jute etc. So the Govt. is relying more and more on the Western Countries and granting concessions after concessions to the foreign monopolists. It is covered under a barrage of attack against the imperialists and call for self reliance. Some of liberal press in U.K. and U.S.A who have been supporting our struggle for independence and also ^{against} suppression of civil liberties, are now engaged in ~~was~~ showering praises on Mrs. Gandhi for her ~~task~~ tackling the situation in the country. These praises arise out of the fact that the Govt. has accepted all the recommendations of World Bank and the demands of several imperialist countries. In this information document all informations ^{been} have ^{been} given . The old formulas of 51 percent equity share remaining with India has now been given up. Other restrictions on the penetration ^{ed} of multinationals have been removed prop. after prop. The World Bank have been telling the Govt. to make an export orientated economy. This has also been accepted. A massive export drive is on.

Another fact has since been revealed. The Govt. has been encouraging the big industrialists to undertake joint ventures as junior partners to multinationals for investing in third countries. In many countries, such investments have now been made. ~~END~~

Our industrialists have also become sub-contractors in many ~~xxx~~ a ventures of the multinationals. There is also collaboration agreements with native capitalists in certain under-developed countries. The Govt. is also collaborating with Soviet and other Socialist states in some of their ventures in these third world countries. This trend was not noted in the last Working Committee meeting. This is also ~~in~~ an attempt to get out of the present crisis. But it is leading to more enmeshing of our economy with the imperialist economy. Many of the countries in which our Govt. have undertake these projects are undemocratic military regimes or pro-imperialist rulers.

Many of these facts can be compiled in the final report. Only our comments would have to be regulated due to censor.

There is another element of building up unlicensed capacity which has now been legalised. This is intended to keep the monopoly and pre-empting building up of further industries.

The attacks on the small rural people have also developed in this drive for exports. Previously there were 80 crores, subsidy to export now it has been raised 340 crores in the last budget. 30% of the cost of Garments is being given as incentive. In June also many concessions have been given. But the main target is to cheapen the cost of production which can only be made by attacking the wages of the workers and increasing the work load on the workers.

After wage-freeze, C.D.S. and Bonus ordinance, the Govt. is proposing workers sector, with the money of the workers which they have compulsorily deducted.

Although prices have increased by 4%, the CLI is so manipulated that workers D.A is being cut. Thus an allround attack on the workers have come.

There has been direct increase in the work load of the workers. Besides a massive programme of modernisation has been undertaken to cheapen the cost of production.

Some development rebate is also being granted with ostensible idea that the money would be reinvested which is however not taken place, I.D.R.B. which is a sub-sidiary of Reserve Bank is now giving loans to the owners for modernisation. In Textile, Jute, Sugar, Cement and number of engineering industries particularly in coal mines this modernisation is coming on a massive scale. All in export drive.

Next comes the question of disciplining the workers. As the working class have been fighting these measures, forced discipline has been imposed through emergency which the Govt. wants to perpetuate thus keeping the working class as a slave labour.

This policy has affected the peasantry as well. Today prices of all agricultural goods have gone down. This has resulted in further erosion in the purchasing capacity of millions of people. With the further denuding the common people of their purchasing powers, the Govt. is intensifying export drive. Today per capita availability of all consumer goods have been falling.

Much is being said about the raids on smugglers, ceiling in urban properties etc. This phenomenon should be understood. The speculative investments have been giving more profit than in the industry and as such a point had reached when this investment needed to be diverted to industrialisations. These raids were intended for this. But the Govt. did not succeed very much.

Along with these steps there has been continued barrage of propaganda on 20 point programme. It must be understood that a section of working class has come under influence of the bourgeois propaganda. Absence of united struggle or any struggle worth the name, has kept a section of workers under illusions.

We must understand the effect of recession. There is acceptance by the Govt. that half a million of people have been laid-off several mills have been closed and workers retrenched. The actual figure will be much more as budllis have been completely wiped out

The figures given by the Govt. can be incorporated in the report.

The Apex body is now a joke. The management continue to defy the awards of the courts and the Govt. does not invoke DIR, MISA etc. But any resistance from the worker is being ruthlessly suppressed. He quoted an instance of Bihar, where the Govt. has filed a case against the management for violation of award which brings a punishment of Rs.500/- only.

He also quoted some instances of modernisation. He also quoted instances of horrible minimum wages fixed by Central Govt. which is some times lesser than the minimum wages fixed by the State Govts. for agricultural labour. This is also linked with drive for exports.

What we have to assess now is the fact what is the reaction of the working class against such massive attack? We have to admit that in the first round, ~~the energies~~ the working class could not fight back.

Com. Shanti Bose wanted some clarification .

Com. P. Ramamurti stated that we should have prepared the working class to fight back this offensive. We have been talking of one party authoritaitation rule for years together. But we have not been able to educate the working class politically to fore see this trend of development and fight it back. Let us admit the failure in this regard. Though there have been small struggle here and there but as ~~a~~whole the working class failed to carry out its responsibility.

We must also understand that we cannot fight back this offensive by economic fight alone. Unless the workers understand the meaning of the crisis, the export drive, the class whom the Govt. is ^{Protecting} ~~prospecting~~ and unless they are forewarned about further intensified attacks, the workers will not be able to offer any resistance at all. It may be difficult to propagate the entire thing through the conventional T.U. methods. But we can surely bring small leaflets or on specific issues and propagate amongst the workers and encourage them to fight. Unless they become courageous enough to change the system, they would not be able

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to resist the offensive only on economic plane alone. It is only out of political conviction, the workers can fight back.

This raises the question of ^{arming} ~~arriving~~ our cadres politically. To day elementary type of Trade Union work cannot enthuse the workers. A horde of cadres with connection of political battle can only prepare the working class in this fight. It may be true that the employer exaggerate the crisis to get more concession. But the crisis is there. Elementary T.U. consciousness may plead for acceptance of the crisis and making only some bargains. Only political conviction can link up the whole thing to the ills of the present system and fight for a change. But refusing to bear the burden of the crisis they can start the fight.

He informed the members that Mr. Butch of Textile Labour Association had approached us for a common action (short of strike) on the Bonus issue. He had been to Bombay to contact him and other leaders of HMS, HMP, etc. He has also sent us an agreement on Wages & DA which have been merged with 8% increase. We could make this an all India issue. It is proposed to have an informal meeting with some of the Central T.U. organisation and have some common programme, even distribution of leaflets which would create enthusiasm amongst the workers. It is not proposed to associate the AITUC at the present moment. There may be other proposals as well.

He also narrated that the entire cashewnut workers about 1 lakhs have been unemployed for the past three months in Kerala.

He called upon the members to give reports on the basis of their direct experience especially about the organisation directive which was given earlier. The effect of ^{the Policies of} AITUC and INTUC on the workers also should be reported. The new orientation in organisational activities is important and report should be made on that score.

for the State Committee to channelise and co-ordinate the movement. He drew attention to page 6 of his report.

We decided to observe 9.4.76 as protest Day with a programme of submission of a memorandum. It was more or less successful. Then arrangements were made to distribute leaflets on the May Day and it was successful.

Com. Viswanatha Menon :- After the last Working Committee, there was an agitation in Kerala about Bonus Ordinance on 6-1-76 by INTUC. We took this opportunity and joined the movement. Many of AITUC and CITU volunteers were taken into custody for participating in Satyagraha while AITUC workers were released in the evening, our cadres were convicted even upto 3 months and they lost their jobs.

He specially referred to the situation in Cannanore District. Congress goondas attacked Dinesh Beedi Factory and one Comrade Raghawar was killed. There was a spontaneous strike and then we gave a call for strike which was successful. Since then offensive was mounted. Nine Co-operative Societies have been superseded. We are tackling the situation in a revolutionary way.

The Head Load workers organisation which was organised by CITU has been under constant attack from INTUC and AITUC goondas and some were forced to go to them.

May Day celebrations were held through out the State.

Com. P. R. have stated about Cashew workers. We have still to find a way.

In Plantation we are planning for a united struggle on bonus. We hope successful struggle on the bonus before ~~XXXXX~~ Onam if not a state wide struggle there would be good amount of struggle every where.

Now about re-organising our activities, we are publishing journals, even now. We have held district wise conventions and by this time most of these convention are over.

In Cochin, Harbour, we have won the elections in all the seats. After this the authorities have given up elections to the works committee.

The Iddiki project is reaching finalisation. Even now the demands of the workers have not been met. We are the powerful force. There was a strike on 2nd July even INTUC joined the strike but not the AITUC.

He had a small suggestion. Apart from the attacks described by Com. P.R. the question of National Wage Policy is going to come. Debate on LIC points thus out.

Com. P.R. asked that in a situation where the leaders are either behind the bars or under ground, press censor is there, what is the method adopted to propagate strike decision.

Com. Menon stated that we have formed small groups and communicate decisions through them. We have been conducting political classes now. The necessity for such classes arose from the fact that the workers have a tendency to walk over the other sides due to opportunism or fear.

In ~~the~~ premier files we were defeated. But whenever classes are conducted we retain ~~our~~ our influence. Such instances are also there.

Com. P.K.Kurane:- A sort of fear complex had developed amongst the workers. We expected some resistance from the textile workers on bonus. But there was no reaction due to fear complex. The workers are now coming out of this. During last 2 months 29 struggle have taken place under the leadership of CITU. The more doggedness in struggle come in cases of retrenchment. Many unions are coming out of the influence of Shibasena and other workers. A continuous movement of slow-down is continuing for the past 18 months and they are fighting doggedly. There was wage cut and we won in the court case. Management has gone in appeal. But the moral of the workers is very ~~gi~~ high. In uper industry it happened. Another struggle against retrenchment is going on. In Hindusthan Pessodow (2500 workers) the union was with Fernandes, then Shiba Sena and then it came to us. Earlier there was increase in production and the wage increase under ~~g~~ agreement. After the union came to us we ~~we~~ refused to accept increased production first. There was a ballot and strike after 10 days an agreement was reached for 10% increase in wages and 5% increase in production. He related an

He related an incident in Indian Cables which showed the spirit of resistance. So as a whole the spirit of resistance is growing. But we are a very minor force.

In Bombay no permission for meetings even hall meetings are granted. Only permission for annual general meetings is granted but under condition that no criticism of emergency or 20 point programme could be made. Hence we had to resort to illegal hand bills. We have distributed 4 such hand bills, 1. 25000 at the time of Anti-fascist convention, 2. 25000 on the question of Bonus, 3. 50000 on May Day and 4. 50000 after one year of emergency. The May Day handbill was issued jointly. BMS agreed to all of our formulations Indian and international. On May Day joint badges were also worn. We printed the entire CITU May Day Manifesto 25000 copies and distributed the same even in INTUC and AITUC meeting. The last handbill was distributed within 2 hours throughout Bombay. Later on our houses and unions were searched and some were also arrested. On the question of May Day 60000 signatures were collected requesting the Chief Minister seeking permission to hold rally and meeting on May Day. We tried to go to the workers in their ^{chawls} ~~channels~~ and their response was inspiring. He suggested that there should be mass signature campaign on Constitution amendment and the same should be presented to the Parliament through our M.Ps.

In Textile and Powerloom, our membership has gone down because hitherto the practice was to collect at the gate after continuous propaganda for about a week. Because such gate meetings could not be held membership had gone down. The total CITU membership has come down from 55000 to 50000. But some new unions are coming to us.

During the emergency the Govt. has introduced MRTU Act which was passed in 1972. The opposition had rejected this Act. When we applied for recognition in one union CEAT Tyre a staff union ~~opposed~~ opposed and the management are helping them. Now Congress and Shiba Sena goondas ~~are~~ are deputed to take signature from the workers to the effect that they have left CITU Union. Most of the workers are coming to our office and signing further statements repudiating earlier one taken under duress.

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A new feature is there. In all disputes now the Police takes initiative collects all information and try to settle or terrorise as dictated by the Govt.

There is an expectation amongst the cadre that there should be all India move from CITU. We expect that this time majority of the workers would not get bonus. Along with this there is modernisation and retrenchment. Hence we should utilise these issues for an all India action of some sort.

Com. Nallasivam:-

After the last working Committee meeting, there was DMK Govt. for ~~21/22~~ 2 1/2 months. In January '76 the Mill owners Association gave a notice of cut by Rs. 100/- from Jan, '76. There was 1974 settlement of increase in D.A. from January '76 @ 1 paise, which the mill owners refused to implement. A joint Campaign was run and INTUC & AITUC was ^{forced} ~~pled~~ to join. They took it to Apex Body which has referred the matter to the expert Committee. We have not accepted this and campaign is being made.

In Madras Courts, the workers went into struggle on the ^{two} occasions on the question of bonus when the management went to Supreme Court against Tribunal decision.

The people ^{except} ~~accept~~ DMK following welcomed the Governor's rule because they were exasperated by the ~~DMK~~ corruption of DMK. The people could not see the anti-democratic measure of the Govt. in dismissing the Govt. About 10000 people were sent to jail and about 20 thousand more were taken in police custody. By the end of February most ^{except} 1000 who are detained under MISA were released. Amongst them about 400 were of ours. 6 of State CITU office-bearers are underground. Two were arrested and released on bail on ^{medical grounds.} ~~medical grounds.~~ The office work is being carried on through the office Secretary. Today no meeting ^{even} ~~or~~ hall meetings etc are being allowed. So only way left for us to approach the worker is issue of leaflets.

Every democratic organisation is being taken over by the bureaucrats. Co-operative Bank Municipalities, Panchayats etc all democratic institutions are being dissolved and replaced by administrators. The DMK is not allowed to hold even hall meetings. Filmsy pretexts and excuses are being invented. Now the prices of food stuff are going up. Rice upto 2.50 or 2.80 per Kilo. So is with all other goods. From Madurai a squad of 500 workers went in Padayatra and ^{Covered} a good area. The villagers are interested for rural credit, which the Govt. is unable to arrange. There is a lot of discontentment. Another source of discontentment is due to introduction of Hindi on a voluntary basis. The people fear that it may be made compulsory. There is growing rise of anti-Brahminism in the state.

The Congress, however, has not been able to make much head way. They started to move in the old fashion of moving with the Police and authorities and hence have earned the ^{wrath} of the people who ~~are~~ comment that these people are more corrupt than the DMK.

In this back ground the struggle is gathering some momentum. In one mill the INTUC entered into ^{an} ~~are~~ agreement for running the mill 7 day a week on 24 hours ^{basis} the workers resisted this move.

In another union there was an agreement of 14% Bonus with INTUC and AITUC. One Union did not accept this and started a go slow and got 1 1/2% more in each.

In another mill the workers squatted from 5 PM to 10 PM. The police was called who threatend to shoot. Workers continued and got their demands.

These are some of the struggle in Tamilnadu. Our problem is that in Coimbatore about 15000 badli workers are laid idle. Even when the machines remain idle, these workers are not utilised. This step has been taken because modernisation is in the offing which would cause retrenchment of permanent workers.

Main Centre of T.U. activities are Bangalore, Madras, Coimbatore etc.

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Entire Sugar factories are closed except one factory-for one ye
2000 ~~xxx~~ sugar workers are idle ^{for} 9 months. Com. P.R. explained
that one element for which these factories have been closed is becau
of less price for levy sugar. Difference of Rs.130/- between Bihar
U.P. and the south.

Electricity Board has declared 24000 thousand workers as surplus
who are being paid Rs.4. or 1.50 per day. We are trying to from
united movement of the workers with DMK union. The AITUC recognised
union has been derecognised and no union is recognised. The INTUC
is trying to organise a new union with the help of an ex-CITU worker.
It is virtually a union of the management.

He also narrated the instance of other attacks. A scheme whose
conditions were relaxed by a Minister is now being cancelled and
money is being recovered.

In coimbatore the Syndicate Union is now very powerful. Workers
are generally afraid to join CITU though they have lost confidence
in HMS and HMF and therefore are going to the syndicate union. They
have 10000 membership while we have 5000 members.

An Apex Body has been formed in the state. But AITUC has started
complaining that the Labour Deptt. is not utilising this Apex Body.

Amongst the middle class employees also anti-DMK feeling is on th
increase. The NGO organisation felt that they would get help from the
administrators. But they did not get. Now they are coming to us for
guidance.

In Tamilnadu, the INTUC is making headway amongst Bank employees
All ~~xxxx~~ ^{opposed} opposition to Right CPI ladership are joining this. We
must give them a ^{line} ~~time~~ and guidance.

Many leaflets have been issued on various subjects including
May Day manifesto.

Com. P Rama Chandra Rao:-

Main Centre of T.U. activities are Bangalore Mangalore Gulbarga
etc.

Two Comrades were arrested under D.I.R. and kept in jail for 4 months. They were dismissed from service. Workers paying them assistance all the while. One more arrest has been made under MISA. One Comrade was arrested for distribution of AKG's speech he is refused bail and is in jail.

In Kola Gold Field, the ALC sent a notice to the union for verification of membership. We apprehended that it is a conspiracy to ^{re}decoignise our union. We started a campaign on recognition on secret ballot. An offer has come from some other union for merger. We want guidance in this issue.

In Bangalore, we do not have much strength. But in Coco Cola Union, there is some trouble. In ITI when Michael Fernandes was arrested there was some trouble. There was also another incident in April when there was no work on a day. As the AITUC is not running the union democratically, our forces have adopted other methods to keep in contact with the workers. They collect Rs 1/- per month and conduct their activities.

We have also staged Drama on Mother by Maxim Gorki. We have also started duplicating all matters and circulating amongst ~~xxx~~ groups.

We are concentrating in 2 or 3 main areas. In Mangalore there was a set back after emergency. After Madras Working Committee meeting we called a meeting of cadres and explained them the new method of functioning. Now in every area new method of holding meetings and contact with the people has been resorted too. This helped us to fight against the INTUC offensive. This method has helped us to organise the workers. In Factories we started this ~~xxxx~~ method. Now we extended to Beedi Workers and our work has helped us very much.

The meeting was then adjourned.

have formed a joint committee and approached the management who say that they could not declare bonus till the Balance Sheet is finalised. Approach for 4% also was denied. This has created a great resentment amongst the workers and has also affected the collection of our union.

In Calcutta and Bijnour there was some set back. We have lost one union to AITUC and another union left us under pressure.

II.7.76.

The meeting resumed at 10 A.M. on II.7.76 with Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdury in Chair. Discussion on General Secretary's report was resumed.

Com. P. Ramachandra Rao continued.

Regarding May Day celebrations we asked permission for the same through out the State. Only one meeting was permitted in Mangalore with 2000 workers.

In plantations we are now advancing. Now 6 to 7 whole timers have been in constant work. In Chikamangalore area, there is very much repression. Harijans are being appressed. We are trying to help them. One ~~HMS~~ H M S union has come over to us because we exposed the agreement entered into by them. We took up the question ^{of} equal pay for men and women. Now the Govt. is implementing minimum wages in the plantation which is now 4.80 per day. There is a port ^{at} New Mangalore. There was a strike for 8 hours in the port by the shore Mazdurs and it was settled. Now we have opened an office. All the workers are from Kerala under contractors and there is no permanent Labour Board in other Docks. Any contractor can bring in any number of ^{men} union. We are agitating on their demands and our union is the main union.

In Beedi also we have advanced. In South Kanara Dist. alone 10000 workers have come to our union. They have increased the work load and we are fighting against this. We have extended to Bolar and Mysore districts also and there is good response from the labour. We have extended an invitation to All India Co-ordination action committee to hold its meeting at Mangalore.

The Bonus issue is agitating the workers. Every year Bonus was being paid in Jan & Feb. This year they have not done so. We have formed a joint committee and approached the management who say that they could not declare bonus till the Balance Sheet is finalised. Approach for 4% also was denied. This has created a great resentment amongst the workers and has also affected the collection of our union.

In Gulbarga and Bijapur there was some set back. We have lost one union to AITUC and another union left us under pressure

Com. Biren Roy moved a resolution on Unification of Vietnam. Com. Nrisingha Chakraborty suggested a small ammendment which was accepted by the mover. Com. Viswanatha Menon seconded the resolution.

Com. Biren Roy moved the resolution on India's relations with neighbouring countries. Com. Shanti Bose seconded the resolution,.

Com. Biren Roy moved the resolution on Repression on South Africa. Com. Shanti Bose seconded the resolution.

Com. Rabin Mukherjee suggested that a separate resolution ^{Should be adopted} on our relation with China. This suggestion was accepted and all the g three resolutions subject to the suggestion placed above were passed unanimously.

Com. Nrisingha Chakraborty moved the following resolutions,

- (1) On the Arrest of Loco Running Staff Leaders.
- (2) On continued victimisation of Railway Workers.
- (3) On the attacks on Chittaranjan Locomotive Works Railway Colony

Com. Samar Mukherjee seconded the resolution and they were passed unanimously.

Again discussion on the General Secretary's report was resumed.

Com. C. Kannan. Supplemented the report on Kerala, while discussing the report of General Secretary.

On 25.6.76 they observed unification of Vietnam Day through out the state. Some of our workers were arrested who were ~~xxixxx~~ released some time after the Govt's ^{decision}.

On 26.6.76 we observed a Black Flag Day through out the state and Black Flag was raised. Some workers including one MLA was arrested.

In Cannahore Dist. semifascist methods have started. They are capturing union party offices, library and burning down of the library ^{leave} etc. workers are being forced to have CITU and join INTUC. Two Reading Rooms were occupied by the Youth Congress elements. Some enquiry was conducted by Kerala Granthashala Sangham who were also not allowed to enquire. The UF leaders were threatened, When they visited for enquiry.

Cashew and Coir workers in all Talukas organised demonstration for unemployment relief and submitted memorandums.

Now the attacks under Youth Congress ^{flag} are being increased. Police gives them protection while our workers are being arrested in hundreds and placed in jail. 2 Comrades who were elected in some co-operative were detained under MISA. Many of our Leaders in Co-Opt. Banks are also being detained under MISA. This is being done so that Right CPI could capture these co-operative Banks and Societies which are now being led by us. ~~I44~~ I44 throughout Cannanore has been imposed. The Bonus will be a serious issue before our workers. We are preparing with all seriousness. Because all previous agreements are being broken.

Com. Mohd. Ismail. After emergency there have been serious attacks on CITU unions in various states. In Madhya Pradesh, all the unions offices were locked up, many comrades were arrested and a situation was so created that CITU workers were afraid to come out in the streets or go to their places of duties. I was deputed to go there. I visited various centres and made representations to the authorities and called upon the workers to resist these attacks in whatever form they could do. I visited several coal mine unions, we have one strong union in Surakachar. They are resorting to various methods but keep ^{up} the functioning there despite attacks. Now the day to day functioning in various places have been started. But the offensive is still there.

In Rajsthan-- there was another serious attack in the same manner as in Madhya Pradesh or perhaps more. I visited there and morale of workers become high and slowly the work picked up. Now despite the unions having been captured by INTUC, the work of the CITU is going on. Workers arrested by the police, were discharged by the management. Thus serious impediments have been created. Even then the normal work has been resumed. Group meetings are being conducted at times ~~even~~ even 5 to 10 in the union office. In Kanpur there was serious attack. The Apex body was formed. Our forces were divided in two groups. As a result of this division,

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there was absolutely no work of CITU. Some unions however continued to work and I organised work in various unions and advised them to continue CITU work. There were movement in Jute and Textile unions. Now a realisation has developed amongst our cadres. Apex body was discredited. The workers called a convention, and for three days I was there. Pressure from bottom ^{has} now ^{revived} received the Co-ordination committee. In this Com. Ghanashyam has a very good contribution. Now our groups have realised and decided to work together. In J.K. Rayon most of our workers have been retrenched and there is serious attack on the workers. Police have been terrorising our workers. I made representations to the Chief Minister. I now hope that some work will be restored. The CITU state Committee may also be revived.

About Seamen, there have been denial of international wage standard. Though there have been some increase in wages but the govt. is still refusing to introduce international wage standard. A series of ~~meeting~~ campaign has been started. Forwards Seamen's Union is now becoming popular and there is demand for opening of branches. Demand for whole timers has come. We have decided to organise Dock and Port. My self and Com. Pandhe will represent in the wage Board. There is no recognised union and on our demand a verification is going on.

Com. P. Ramamurti, wanted some clarification about the situation at Kanpur. Com Ismail give details.

Com. Ghanashyam Singha- About a month and a half back I ~~went~~ went to Kanpur and called a meeting of both the two ^{groups of} comrades and started a discussion on ideological question. After 4 or 5 hours discussion, a realisation dawned on them that because of disunity, we have lost grounds and offensive has increased. This is the turning point. After this a convention was called in which a co-ordination committee has been formed and a decision to have State conference has been taken. This co-ordination (organising) committee is now active. It is meeting regularly and deciding unanimously.

In Delhi Region, we gained after the Textile strike. In Delhi area, the membership in Eng. industry ^{went} ~~went~~ up from 200 to 3000. But we lost the Textile. There was a ^{move} ~~move~~ to form Apex body and the authorities wanted the CITU in the Apex body. The Govt. refused to do so. One fine morning 450 unions were deregistered. We had only 4 unions involved. We approached other unions for a joint movement. The Govt. is now re-considering this.

We also wanted Gaziabad and Faridabad to be combined with Delhi. In both these areas, unions came to us from AITUC and INTUC. The enemy being aware of this, ~~it~~ started attacks. There is not a single day when there is no strike in Gaziabad. He gave details of such strikes. Two months back the Govt. called for a meeting and decided to suppress CITU. There is no CITU functionary in Ghaziabad who is not in jail. One Comrade is under MISA. It must be understood that the management started victimised ^{ing} our workers and when strike started the authorities refused to talk to CITU unions. After workers are involved in prolonged struggle, the unions are suggested to go to INTUC. If the workers go to the INTUC LEADERS OTHER THAN THE OFFICIAL ONE THE workers are harassed and put behind the bars. Because of this method many unions have gone to INTUC and we have lost.

In Faridabad, President of one CITU union sent a letter disaffiliating the union from CITU and sent copies to all authorities. CITU flag was taken down and Congress flag hoisted. The Executive Committee repudiated this ~~move~~ and the President had to resign and go away. CITU flag was hoisted once again.

He related incidents in other industries. Particularly rationalisation is coming in Textile industry. D.C.M. rationalisation has been imposed and thereby work load is increased and the work-force is reduced by 3000. Workers are being asked to take one year's ^{pay} ~~pay~~ and resign. In Birla Mills workers went into strike giving slogans of Indira, Sanjoy Murdabad 20 point programme Murdabad. In Haryana and U.P. all the CITU cases have been bundled up and no action is being taken. In Haryana however unions have not been de registered. In U.P. this move is already on.

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38% of the population have been sent out of Delhi by demolition of house. This has created a great discontentment as all the gains in wage rise is now being negated due to expenses on conveyance. Other difficulties are also there. A big drive on sterilisation is there and several methods of compulsion are being made. Out of 15000 Corporation ~~wrk~~ workers 11000 have been sterilised under threat of retrenchment, stoppage of increment promotion. etc.

He stated that politicalisation of workers present a problem. We have not been able to establish contact with the masses. We could ~~not convey our decision about Birla Mills to the masses.~~ We could not convey our decision about Birla Mills to the mass of the workers. In D.C.M. also where we are a majority force, our workers ~~were~~ who were detained for 13 days were retrenched. Large scale victimisation is going on in Delhi, Gazhiabad and Faridabad. In every mill there is a CRF Camp. Vigilance is increased and it is estimated that one in every ten is an intelligence man. There is retrenchment in every small factory without payment of compensation.

On May Day the manifesto was published and distributed. There was no trouble in any place except in Tailoring union. In one unit the workers wanted holiday on May Day. There was a strike as the employer refused. Our cadre was arrested and some copies of CITU manifesto were found. This led to search every where. 7500 badges were printed.

He wanted a guidance on, ^{the following} 13 points.

- 1) No legal avenue is open and our workers are victimised. What are we to do.
- 2) How to fight rationalisation.
- 3) How to approach the masses.

There is a place Gajna and Tilak a good handloom centre. We have 1000 members in the industry. Paper Mill has also applied for affiliation with CITU. In centary metals also we fought a struggle of bonus. 7 Workers were arrested 5 have been released 2 are in jail.

Com. Shanti Sekhar Bose : Some comrade raised a question as to why we have not been able to over power the goonda attacks even after 4 years. The answer is that the State Power is behind ^{the} Goondas. So if a line is given to face the State power, the matter would be easy. Otherwise we have to adopt a long drawn process. In many factors ^{is} we are able to form united struggle with AITUC & INTUC but in ^{many} other factory they do not come in joint struggle. In Jaya too, they are not coming in for united struggle. In Jute also we are engaged in a long drawn struggle. We look at the thing in this way. The workers ^{are} with us and they are going through a unique experience. Under threat also they do not change allegiance. The followers of AITUC & INTUC have more respect for us through they are not coming over to us. Two years back a West German lady refused to believe the term semi-fascist terror. Only a section of West Bengal is involved and even the rest do not understand what it is. So unless the workers go through their experience, they would not understand what terror is. Small movements are growing. One this is that worker are tempered and we can cash in on their experience.

Com. P.R. stated that the days of elementary Trade Unionism is over. We had also realised it long back. But the question is what is the next step, ^{how} slow, when and where. our cadres are also raising the question.

The difference between economic and political struggle is being narrowed down in West Bengal. The workers ^{have} now realised because of this. But the point is how to carry on with the struggle. We have already lost 1200 politicalise cadres. Our feeling is that if we quicken the pace, we would be inviting more trouble. We are progressing slowly. In many strong factories work force have gone down that has affected our membership. In spite of this we are living though there are many deficiencies.

So right now the question as to how to start the next step. Perhaps we also need the experience.

The situation is not very gloomy. We are passing through ⁱⁿ many experiences. The recession is the full swing. In a situation where productions is falling and closures are increasing. What is

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of movement should be started.

He referred to the Batu strike and jute workers strike. In some cases the employers feel that they gain in closure of the mills what should we do. The situation is very complicated. We want guidance. Lastly he stated that he did not like the formulation that the workers were defeated in the first round of attack.

Com. Biren Roy: stated that there is no written report before us. Our duty in the working committee would be to assess the situation and all other aspects. In the last working committee there was guidance to the effect that we should pursue with vigour the line of unity on immediate demands of workers. There was another formulation of broadest unity to defend T.U. rights and civil liberties. Unless we have reports also what has been done and what has been the result, ^{we cannot decide next step.} He also referred to the formulations of Com. Shanti Bose and stated that perhaps there is ^{an} ~~are~~ element of feeling that we have nothing to do in this period. So the question comes as to whether we have done anything to intervene at base level or not and what is the experience. The situation is complicated which demands more alertness on our part. The May Day celebration show that the workers still have confidence on CITU. We must assess whether we are discharging our responsibility. He felt that some indifference might have developed at many ^{centres.} ~~countries.~~ As Com. P.R. has assured that he would make out the report he requested that

- 1) illustrative reports should be incorporated
- 2) function of CITU Centre should be assessed
- and 3) Guide line also what is to be done in the present situation should be given in ^{concrete} ~~concrete~~ terms.
- and 4) Whether we are too ^{cautious} ~~cannot~~ to intervene in struggle.

Kolhatkar: Stated that ~~XXXXX~~ loss of Com. Pareira has affected Goa. He visited after the death of Com. Perina. The comrades reported that we were very strong in Mining, and Docks, we were slowly picking up in Engineering industry. Most of the Mine owners are also the political force in the state. CITU had a union amongst ~~in~~ mine workers, which was more a welfare association. This Union reorientated

its activities and George Vaz who could not tolerate the class struggle went over to the AITUC. But the entire workers came to us. Com. Pareira re organised them. CITU has a following of 25000 workers. There is a serious crisis after the death of Com. Pareira as there is none to look after the work. There is need for urgent help. We are still holding the workers. Hence some one should be sent. Our MPs Com. Ismail or Com. Samar Mukherjee could go there more often. If W.B. or Kerala or any state could send some experienced comrades there it would be a great help. He apprehended that both the management and INTUC would ^{launch} an attack shortly. Besides many middle class employees are coming towards CITU. Hence immediate assistance in the shape of sending some experienced cadre to Goa would be necessary.

The meeting was then adjourned.

The meeting resumed at 4 pm with Com. Suhrid Mallik Chowdhury in the Chair.

Com. Viswanatha Menon moved the resolution on proposed amendments to the Constitution. Com. Samar Mukherjee seconded the resolution.

Com. Kamal Sarkar suggested that some sort of directive in the shape of observing a Day etc should be given in the resolution.

Com. P.K. Kurane suggested that a mass signature campaign can be unleashed and 10 lakhs of signature could be collected.

Com. P.R. stated that such a programme was going to be suggested but before that we should know if it is feasible.

Com. Manoranjan Roy and Com. Shanti Sekhar Bose Com. Dinen Bhattachariya, Gopal Bose, Robin Mukherjee took part in the discussion.

Com. Kamal Sarkar stated that his programme was observing ^{Protest day in the} a form of collective demonstration of apposition, through a ~~protest~~ Day like.

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After consulting various comrades from the states it was found that 5 lakhs signatures could be collected. Com. Samar Mukherjee stated that observing of a Protest Day will have as impact. It was decided to have a protest day on the day the Bill is introduced.

Com. Pandhe suggested that some state Committee may undertake signature campaign. They may be permitted to do so.

Com. S.Y. Kolhatkar suggested that a firm date should be fixed. It was decided to observe 10th August as Protest Day.

Com. Shanti Sekhar Bose moved the resolution on Withdrawal of emergency and release of political prisoners. Com. Ghana shayam Saran Sinha seconded the resolution. Com. P.K. Kurane stated that the prisoners are being treated as criminals, Com. Viswanath Menon and Com. Samar Mukherjee gave also some facts.

Com. P.R. suggested that the treatment of the arrested leaders and family allowance should not be mixed in this resolution. A separate resolution may be moved.

The resolution was then put to vote and was passed unanimously.

Com. P.K. Kurane moved the resolution on Bonus. Com. P.R. suggested some amendments which ^{were} have accepted by the mover. Com. Santi Bose seconded the resolution which was passed unanimously.

Com. M.K. Pandhe moved the resolution on "Recent measures against Closure".

Com. P.R. Com. Dinen Bhattacharyya Com. Kamal Sarkar, Com. Ghanshyam Saran Sinha took part discussion on the resolution.

It was decided to rewrite the resolution and with this suggestion the resolution was accepted.

Com. Monoranjan Roy moved the resolution on Arrest and Victimisation of the State Govt. Employees. Com. Sunil Basu Roy seconded the resolution. It was passed unanimously.

The Sectt. was authorised to draft a resolution on the Central Govt. Employees.

Com. Monoranjan Roy moved a resolution on D.A. state Govt. Employees. Com. Sunil Basu Roy seconded this. Passed unanimously.

Com. C.Kannan moved the resolution on Repression in Cannanore District. Com. Rabin Mukherjee seconded the resolution. Passed unanimously.

Com. Kamal Sarkar moved the resolution against retrenchment and reduction of wages of Jute workers. Com. P. RamaChandra Rao seconded the resolutions. This was passed unanimously authorising Sectt. to redraft the same.

Com. Rabin Mukherjee moved the resolution on Fraudulent Compilation of consumer Price Index Numbers. Com. Gopal Bose seconded the resolution. Com Ghanashyam Sharma Sinha took part in discussion and suggested some modification which were accepted. The resolution was passed unanimously.

Com. Samar Mukherjee, moved the following resolutions :-

1. On victimisation in HMT, IDPL.
2. On Wage revision in Vishaka Ship Yard.

Com. A. Nallasivam and Com. P.Rama Chandra Rao supported the resolutions respectively. These were passed unanimously.

Com. Samar Mukherjee, Convenor Resolution Sub-committee read out a list of resolutions which are yet to be drafted. He suggested that the Sectt. be authorised to finalise these resolutions.

Com. Pandhe read out the account & for the period upto 31.12.75. The same was approved unanimously.

Com. M.K.Pandhe read out the list of new applications for affiliation. Only one union from W.B. has completed all the requirements. This was granted affiliation straight away. For the remaining applications, Sectt. was authorised to grant affiliation on fulfilment of the requirements.

Com. Jyoti Basu - :

Stated that we were not very much prepared for this meeting. But due to certain developments, we were forced to call for this meeting. Some Comrades wanted to have a General Council meeting. We cannot finalise the same now. But after watching the situation, we would fix up the same. Regarding resolutions we have been taking pains. But even before emergency it was not circulated amongst the masses. Today difficulties are still

But even before emergency it was not circulated amongst the masses. Today difficulties are still more . But they have to be circulated amongst the masses. For example many people do not know what is happening in Cannanore. These have to be sent to socialist countries too. Particularly in Bihar and U.P the CITU state committees do not function. So something should be done to see that the resolutions get publicity in Hindi- we may have to pool our resources. But the main point is that the resolutions must get publicity in regional languages. We should take advantage of the offices functioning and reach the working masses of the country. In Assam We donot know what is happening. Almost every one ^{of our leader} has a warrant against ^{him} our leaders. We would try to get the same. Our MPs have been meeting Ministers on various issues. But these do not get any publicity at all. We are doing everything possible. Some Comrades have a feeling that perhaps all that is possible is not being done. Som some measure of publicity should be given. If we go to the workers with these resolutions including Constitution ammendments, we would be able to develop unity from below as conditions exist for such unity.

Com. P. Ramamurti stated that this meeting was called with short notice and sufficient preparations could not be done. Even if we had delayed, we did not have reports. So we thought to hold the meeting to get reports.

I had stated that in the first round enemies of the working class had succeeded. This is not for a written a report. But this is for ~~four~~ realisation. This is stark naked reality. We must understand that the emergency was imposed to shift the burden of the crisis on the working class. It is on this score they have succeeded and the working class could not check the same. We must realise this.

Our next task is to politicalise the working class and warn them about the increased offensive that is coming out. If we could forewarn them and rouse sufficient anger, there may be a bigger burst out. It does not mean that workers will not fight on their immediate issues. A question was raised as to whether

A question was raised as to whether we have restrained the workers from going into struggle. The reports do not show that any such restraint was placed. But it is true that there was some fear for which the working class did not come out in the first instance. This was noted in the last meeting. Due to the directions given there, certain encouraging features have come out. Report shows that workers have started resisting the offensive. We have to assess the situation. The situation is not ripe for an all India action. As far as state-wide action is concerned perhaps except Kerala there is no such possibility in other States. Nevertheless when the workers would be completely denied Bonus, workers even in the backward area also would be agitated. We must anticipate that there may be burst out of resentments at the time of bonus. The Comrades must carry on the campaign on bonus and plan to lead on action, there is every possibility that in many states at least industry wise action can be given. Therefore when I stated that elementary type of trade union is no longer possible, I did not mean that such actions on the demands of the workers can not be there. What I meant was that we must now link up every issue with the economic and political situation of the country and prepare the working class. I am trying to get once again the Central T.Us to come together on Bonus question. This may be a help in our activities.

Another thing that has emerged is that the AITUC is not prepared to have any joint action with us. I saw the report of Shrivastava in the Executive Meeting in which he bemoans that INTUC is making serious inroads in their organisation in Rly, P&T, Bank etc. Instead of realising that his allies is the left and democratic movement, he has recommended that alliance with INTUC would continue. They have also adopted a programme of educating their cadres on this line. He has however agreed that in some cases, there may be local actions with the CITU. So a situation has arisen where the leadership is not revealing the attacks by INTUC on the AITUC on the other hand the followers of AITUC are getting disillusioned and even

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angry against their leadership. So we have the task to approach the cadre of the AITUC and talk to them politically so that locally united action could take place. The formulation of unity from below therefore ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ assumes highest importance. and we have to work harder in future. Because of the offensive increasing now greater opportunities will be available.

While it is true that we should take advantage of all legal forms of activities, we must also anticipate that the Govt. would not tolerate any broad movement. We should prepare for this also.

He stated that we should hold 15th August '76 as a day for Defence of Democracy and Freedom. A pledge will be finalised and given to comrades before they ~~leave~~ have short meetings should be held and pledges read out before the workers. The new ^{Colonialism} ~~colonialism~~ and danger to democracy should be explained to the workers.

He also stated that he would rewrite the report on the basis of the discussions here.

Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury stated that while we took a decision in Calcutta for holding the meeting at Delhi, we were not sure that it could be held. He thanked the Delhi Comrades practically the ladies who have given so much service to make this meeting a success.

Com. Kolhatkar proposed ~~xxx~~ a vote of thanks to the Chair. which was applauded.

Com. Ghanashyam Saran Sinha, spoke a few words and thanked the comrades for their co-operation.

Com. Suhrid Mallick Chowdhury thanked all for their co-operation and declared that the meeting was over.