

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

THIRD CONFERENCE

DRAFT RESOLUTION

SHANMUKHANAND HALL

Bombay

May 21-25 1975

DRAFT RESOLUTION :

1. On Condolence

The Third Conference of the CITU expresses its deep sorrow at the death of the leaders and active workers of trade union and democratic movement who passed away since the last Conference of the CITU held in Ernakulam and revered Comrade Muzaffar Ahmed, member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M), the great pioneer of the Communist movement and a builder of trade union and peasant movement in our country.

This Conference offers its homage to the memory of Comrade Harekrishna Konar, an outstanding leader of the Communist movement, a member of the Central Committee of the CPI(M) and General Secretary of All India Kishan Sabha.

The Conference condoles the death of Comrade K. G. Bose, an outstanding leader of the Central Government employees and a front ranking leader of the trade Union movement.

The Conference deeply mourns the death of Comrades Chandrasekhar, Member Delhi State Committee, CITU, K. I. Rajan, a member of the General Council of CITU, John, Working President of the Hindusthan Steel Employees Union, Bilal, Sunkana, a member of the Andhra Pradesh Committee of CITU.

The Conference pledges to carry forward the work left unfinished by them during their life time.

2. On Martyrs

The Third Conference of the CITU pays its homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives for the cause of the working class and the toiling people since the last Conference of CITU.

These martyrs were killed by police bullets, murdered by by Congress hired gangsters.

This Conference offers its salutation to Comrades Tilak Raj (Delhi), Sankaran, Bhaskran (Kerala), Ranjan Biswas, Ajit Dey (Durgapur), Robin Sen, Mansur Ali, Nikhil Bose, Milan Mukherjee (Raniganj), Tilakdheri (Maharashtra), Ramaswamy (Madurai), Vijay Singh, Kisan Lal Varma, and Ganapat Singh (Bharatpur) and many other fighters of different States.

This Conference pledges to carry forward the sacred task for which these martyrs laid down their precious lives.

3. On Chile

The Third Conference of CITU expresses firm solidarity with the heroic Chilean people who are courageously carrying on their struggle against the fascist military junta of Chile and U. S. imperialism which backs it.

The fascist military junta which staged the counter revolution in Chile was backed by the CIA to protect American interests. To-day in Chile, civil liberties and democratic rights of the people are brutally suppressed, hundreds of communists and revolutionary elements are persecuted, the Secretary of Communist Party of Chile is awaiting death in prison, trade union and democratic organisations are ruthlessly suppressed and thousands of freedom loving people kept behind the bars are languishing in most inhuman condition and are being brutally tortured.

The experience in Chile has revealed that even after its defeat in Vietnam, the U. S. imperialism has not given up its pursuit of organising counter-revolution in other countries nor its ambition to dominate over the world.

This experience has once again exposed the myth of peaceful transition to socialism.

This Conference of CITU joins the democratic and freedom loving people all over the world in strongly condemning the crimes of U. S. imperialism in Chile perpetrated through the Fascist Junta and demanding immediate restoration of civil liberties and democratic freedom in Chile and release of all people arrested by the present regime.

This Conference calls upon the working class and all democratic people of India to organise solidarity movement in support of the Chilean people and consistently carry on the anti-imperialistic struggle.

This Conference of CITU pays its homage to the memory of President Allende and the martyrs of Chile and expresses its firm hope that the struggle of the Chilean people now being carried on against heavy odds will grow from strength to strength leading to victory in not too distant a future and this blood bath will not be in vain. The Conference also extends warmest greetings to the Communist Party of Chile and the Socialist Party for leading the valient fight of the Chilean people and demands of the military junta the immediate release of Comrade Carvalho and other leaders.

4. On Nagaland And Mizoram

This Third Conference of the CITU condemns the brutal repressions and suppression of democratic and civil rights of the people of Nagaland and Mizoram by the Government of India. In the name of pacification of the so-called 'rebel' Nagas and Mizos, the Government has extended the hated Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act to Nagaland and Mizoram. The Army, BSF and CRP personnel have been given a free hand in choosing their own sadistic methods of enforcing this so-called 'pacification' programme. Local papers in both Nagaland and Mizoram carry innumerable reports of unprecedented repression, of torture and pillage, of rape and molestation of women, by security forces while carrying on punitive raids in villages suspected to be sheltering hostiles. Even school going children are subjected to cruel tortures. Women are not secure even in their homes.

The Conference is firmly of the opinion that it is this policy of brutal repression and suppression of democratic and civil rights which is responsible for making the Naga and Mizo people more and more hostile to the Government and people of India. Even the Governments of Nagaland and Mizoram

have demanded the withdrawal of this repressive policy and starting of dialogue with the underground Nagas and Mizos.

The Conference emphatically demands that the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act be withdrawn and all repression stopped immediately and dialogue be opened with the underground Nagas and Mizos to arrive at a political settlement which will restore peace and safeguard the democratic rights and fulfil the legitimate aspirations of the people of Nagaland and Mizoram.

5. On Sikkim

The Third Conference of the CITU voices its protest against the Government of India's decision to arbitrarily absorb Sikkim as part of India and thus deny the people of Sikkim their democratic right to manage their own affairs. It demands of the Government of India immediate repeal of the Constitution Amendment Act and amendment of the reactionary provisions of the Sikkim Government Act of 1974 so that the democratic rights of the people of Sikkim to manage their own internal affairs are established.

This Conference further condemns the posting of Indian Military and CRP personnel in Sikkim which constitutes a clear threat to the democratic rights and civil liberties of the people. It also condemns the repression recently perpetrated on the students of Sikkim by the CRP personnel and demands the immediate withdrawal of Indian military and CRP personnel from Sikkim.

6. On Withdrawal of Emergency, Defence of India Rules And Maintenance of Internal Security Act.

The Third Conference of CITU protests at the continuance of the Emergency and the DIR by the Government of India despite the end of the war with Pakistan about 5 years ago.

The Third Conference of the CITU is of considered opinion that the emergency is being continued and the D. I. R. is being

used in to suppressing all opposition to the corrupt and oppressive rule of the ruling party. They are instruments of enforcing one party dictatorship. The working class has been specially under attack. In recent times, D. I. R. was used against Corporation, Jute, Port & Dock and other strikes. D. I. R. was used against the recommendations of Bhattacharya Commission to deprive lakh of workers from their legitimate due of Dearness Allowance. Moreover, thousands of active workers of trade union and other democratic movement are being detained without trial under the lawless law MISA.

This Conference strongly condemns the Government of India for using these measures against the toiling people.

This Conference demands immediate withdrawal of Emergency, D. I. R. and MISA.

This Conference appeals to all Central Trade Unions and other democratic organisations to build a powerful united movement and to force the Government of India to withdraw emergency, the DIR and the MISA.

7. On Bihar

The Third Conference of the CITU views with grave concern the unprecedented repression unleashed on the people of Bihar who have been carrying on a movement for more than a year on various demands which include dissolution of the Bihar Assembly, end of corruption, release of arrested, electoral reforms, end of DIR, MISA and other black acts.

This Conference congratulates the struggling people of Bihar who have been courageously fighting braving all repressive measures of the State Government.

This Conference demands immediate withdrawal of all repressive measures and releases of all those arrested. It further demands immediate dissolution of the Bihar Assembly.

The CITU assures full solidarity with the fighting people of Bihar and calls upon the working class of Bihar to support the demands and play its role.

This Conference urges the advanced sections of toiling masses in Bihar to take the initiative in building up a powerful and wider movement on the basis of the basic demands of the toiling masses and appeals to the working class of India to organise solidarity campaigns in support of the fighting people of Bihar and against the violence and repressive measures of the Congress and its Government.

This Conference is of the opinion that association of reactionary parties like Janasangh, Congress (O), with the leadership of the movement plays into the hands of peoples' enemies and is going to harm the movement. A progressive alternative to corrupt Congress rule can emerge only through left and democratic parties.

8. On Unemployment

This Conference of the CITU expresses grave concern at the phenomenal rise in unemployment in recent years among all sections of the people—industrial workers, educated middle classes and rural poor. The alarming situation created by it has been further aggravated by the spiraling inflation causing untold misery and destitution among the working class and the rural masses and had produced frustration and gloom among the educated middle class youth.

Due to the callousness of the Government, the real magnitude of unemployment in the country has never been assessed properly. The number of registered unemployed in the country is now as high as 87 lakhs a rise of nearly 18 lakhs in the last two years. Of them, more than 40 percent constitute educated unemployed. According to unofficial estimates, the total number of unemployed both rural and urban, would now exceed 4 crores.

Unemployment has reached astronomical proportions in our rural areas where more than 30 million are either unemployed or under employed. Evicted from land, deprived of all other sources of income, the mass of poor peasants and agricultural workers is reduced to destitution. Breaking of

the land monopoly of the landlords and redistribution of land to the tiller will give immediate relief. But the bourgeois-landlord Govt. refuses to do so. It announces fake petty schemes of relief and taxes the poorer section of the urban population and tries to play the game of pitting the city poor against the rural mass. The Conference demands genuine big schemes for giving job to the rural unemployed and demands that the finance for such schemes should be raised by placing taxation burdens on the big landlords and the big capitalists and monopolists.

The Conference wishes to warn the unemployed millions that while the Government is shedding mock tears for the unemployed and talking loudly about measures to check it, it is taking all sorts of job-killing measures. By financing textile and jute capitalists for 'modernisation' of their mills, by encouraging automation in certain industries, by further mechanisation of agriculture and planning large-scale production of computers in the country, it is paving the way for large-scale retrenchment and further shrinkage of existing employment potential. The proposals for 'employment oriented schemes' and provision of specified amounts for creation of employment in the Fifth Plan are mere palliatives which will not solve the basic problem, and are really intended to screen the job-killing measures with Government encouragement and backing.

The Conference demands :

1. The right to work to be included as a fundamental right in the Constitution.
2. Compulsory registration of all unemployed and under-employed in rural and urban areas.
3. Compulsory recruitment through employment exchange in accordance with seniority.
4. Provision of work or unemployment relief to be made a Government responsibility in the rural and urban areas for which finances may be raised by taking the land monopolists and the industrial monopolists.

5. Prohibition of all evictions of peasants—land to the tiller.
6. Aid and loans to cottage and small-scale industries, expansion of rural reconstruction work, and introduction of compulsory free primary education and free Secondary Education.
7. Prohibition of retrenchment, lay-off, lock-out, closures and automation and also of use of other labour-saving devices ; and
8. Utilisation of full capacity in all industrial establishments.

The Conference also draws the attention of the working class champions the right to work of the unemployed, the very existence of the T. U. movement will be jeopardised.

The Conference calls upon the unemployed millions to unite and fight for the above demands and to integrate their movement with the broad stream of democratic movement in the country working for fundamental social changes which alone can ensure a real and lasting solution to this problem. The Conference also warns them not to fall prey to reactionary slogans like 'sons of the soil' through which the ruling classes are constantly trying to disrupt their unity and continue the sinister plan.

9 On Fraudulent Index

This Conference of the CITU condemns the Government of India and different State Governments for their continued manipulation of the cost of living index with a view to defraud the working class of the legitimate rise in Dearness Allowance.

That such manipulations in the compilation of index has been going on in different States has been conclusively substantiated in the findings of expert committees in Bombay and Ahmedabad and an unofficial Committee in Tamil Nadu. The findings of the Bhattacharyya Commission appointed by the West Bengal Government in 1973/74 also supports this fact.

The fraudulent index has become a weapon in the armoury of the Government in its wage freeze offensive against the working class. Even when the findings of expert committees expose the fraud and recommend revision of the Index, the Government imposes DIR and other repressive measures to ban its implementation. Recently, in December 1974, the west Bengal Government invoked the DIR to impose a watered down version of the recommendations of the Bhattacharyya Commission on Consumer Price Index, thus depriving lakhs of workers of their rightful D.A. to the tune of Rs. 2.5 crores per month.

While the Central and State Governments are systematically resisting the demand of the T.U. movement for rectification of the existing manipulated index, it has decided to introduce a New Consumer Price Index Series with 1970 as the base year. Moreover, the family budget studies conducted by the Labour Bureau, Government of India for this purpose are defective in character, samples of families were chosen arbitrarily and co-operation of trade unions at all levels, as provided by the I.L.O., was not done in all cases. The Conference holds that this is being done deliberately with the sole purpose of perpetuating the fraud and deprive the workers of their rightful dearness allowance.

This Conference strongly condemns the attempt to continue the fraud in the new series proposed by the Government of India and demands that before the introduction of the new series, (i) an Expert Committee with adequate representation of Trade Unions be appointed to go into the question of manipulation of index and suggest suitable remedies against it ; (ii) the earlier series in all the centres be fully rectified and the workers are given full compensation after arriving at correct index ; (iii) representatives of T.U's be associated at all stages of collection and compilation of data ; (iv) family budget studies be allowed to be scrutinised by TU's before the weightage diagram is prepared ; (v) a proper machinery be evolved with trade union representatives for supervision of compilation of the index.

This Conference appeals to the Central Trade Unions to build up a united movement to resist the move of the Govt. to introduce the new series in an arbitrary manner and to force it to put an end to the fraud and rectify all the existing series.

10. On International Women's Year

The Third Conference of CITU greets the women all over the world whose relentless fight to establish their right for equal status, equal opportunity and honourable motherhood has led to the declaration of the year 1975 by the U.N.O. as International Women's Year.

To-day, even in the advanced capitalist countries, women have not reached the status of equality. It is only in the socialist countries that women are recognised as equal partners in building up the society and have attained full freedom.

This Conference notes with grave concern the appalling condition of the women in India. Social and religious obscurantism, the pernicious dowry system, casteism and all other evils of feudal society still persist and the women are regarded as inferiors to men. Whatever meagre laws were enacted, under force of a movement, are not implemented and the Government has refused to take effective steps to eradicate these evils. There is practically no encouragement for education and employment of women.

It is no wonder that literacy amongst women stands at 18 per cent only according to census Reports.

The conditions of working women have worsened during the past twenty seven years of Congress rule. The Government refused to implement the ILO Convention relating to equal pay for men and women for work of equal value. The wage boards in Tea, Plantations etc. and the departmental undertakings have prescribed lesser wages to women who are used as a cheap source of labour to earn profits for the monopolists. The employers have circumvented implementation of Maternity Benefit Act by reducing the working force of women in many industries like Plantation, Jute, Textiles, Mines etc. Women

employed in Beedi, Cigar, Cashew, Coir and other cottage industries, and agriculture have no benefit or protection worth the name. During the past decade employment of women in these industries have gone down considerably.

Worst of it all, violation of honour of women has increased to alarming proportions during the recent past. No effective steps have been taken by the Government to check the ever increasing incidents of molestations and rape by gangsters and anti-social elements including those perpetrated in police lock-ups in West Bengal and Kerala. Most of the times, these elements are known to be under the protection and patronage of the ruling party. A situation has so arisen where womenfolk particularly the working women like Doctors, Nurses etc. can no longer move about freely. The 'untouchable' women have become a special prey of the lust of cast Hindus, landlords, police and the bureaucrats.

This Conference greets the women of the country who have been waging a fight against these evils and demands that the Govt. should take effective steps for improving the conditions of women. This Conference calls upon all the CITU unions to initiate campaigns to observe the International Women's Year and lend full support to their cause. The CITU unions should take up the issue of women workers and mobilise the entire working class behind them, building up united struggle for the demand of women workers.

This Conference authorises the CITU Secretariat to organise a Seminar on the Problems of working women during 1975 to highlight their working and living conditions.

II. On Equal Pay For Equal Work

The third Conference of the CITU notes with concern that even after twenty seven years of independence, the women workers suffer from many discriminations including discrimination in pay, though the percentage of women workers to total employment is 11 only.

This Conference notes with deep concern that the employment of women workers in various industries like plantations, mines, jute, tobacco etc. is steadily declining.

Whenever the wages of the women workers are brought at par with that of the men workers ; women workers are thrown out of employment. Though the Government of India ratified the I. L. O. Convention concerning "Equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value" in 1958, it has failed to implement it. It itself follows discriminatory practice. Its Wage Boards and departments give unequal wages. It has neither been able to force the employers not to discriminate between wages of men and women nor it has been able to stop the trend of unemployment among women workers.

This meeting further notes that after the complaint by the CITU to the I. L. O. regarding violation of this Convention, the matter was taken up for discussion in the meeting of the State Ministers held in September last and it was decided that all the State Governments should take steps to ensure implementation of this Convention by May, 1975. But this meeting notes with concern that it appears that no effective step is going to be taken for implementing the Convention but only the Minimum Wages Act is being amended to implement the Convention in name only.

This Conference demands introduction of :

1. Comprehensive legislation to ensure that all women workers are paid at par with men workers in every branch of employment,
2. Protection of the existing jobs of women by introducing ban on retrenchment of women workers.
3. Removal of all discriminatory restrictions on jobs to women workers.
4. Imposition of heavy punishment to employers for paying less to women workers.
5. Provision for supervision by trade unions to ensure implementation of the legislation.

This Conference once again stresses that our unions can no longer afford to neglect the task of organising the women.

12. On Railway Workers

The Third Conference of CITU expresses deep concern at the continued victimisation of railway workers for participation in May '74 strike despite public assurances to the contrary. In many cases, vindictive punishments including penal transfers have been imposed upon while putting the workers back to duty inspite of four High Court judgements which have declared the removal orders as illegal. In this back-ground, the recent statement of the Railway Minister that all except those charged with violence, sabotage and intimidation would be reinstated, is a cover to removing from service all active workers of different organisations in the railways. In fact, hundreds of permanent workers and thousands of casual workers stand dismissed or suspended from service inspite of such orders having been declared illegal by Several High Courts. The Government refused to recognise the railwaymen as industrial workers and also has not implemented the agreement with the Locomen entered in August '73 last. Instead of implementing ten hours duty as agreed to, Locomen are being forced to work 18 to 20 hours at a stretch violating all International norms. The intention of the Government becomes clear when it is seen that they have refused to negotiate with the NCCRS and have tried their utmost to sow dissension in the ranks.

This Conference realises that the massive victimisation of railway workers and denial of trade union rights are intended to strike terror in the entire working class so that burdens of the crisis can be passed on to the shoulder of the working people without effective resistance. While appreciating the role of CITU unions in making common cause with railwaymen in preparation, during the strike and thereafter, particularly through Legal Aid Committee, this Conference directs all units to continue its solidarity activities and demands that the Government must negotiate with NCCRS for bringing about an end to the victimisation and also for fulfilment of the demands of railwaymen.

The Conference warmly greets the railwaymen who have not only fought heroically during the struggle but also have stood firm against this onslaught and have been courageously facing the aftermath of the struggle. This Conference also congratulates the womenfolk in the railway colonies who faced all sorts of abuses and brutalities during the strike. This Conference appeals to railway workers to preserve the NCCRS, the symbol of fighting unity of railwaymen achieved on the eve of the strike and intensify their struggle against the policies of the Government. The CITU pledges its full support to the struggle of railwaymen for their just demands and trade union rights.

13. On Solidarity with Central And State Government Employees

The Third Conference of the CITU expresses its strong protest at the continuing victimisation and suppression of T. U. and democratic rights of Central and State Government employees, as well on the attacks on their wage and standard of living.

Following the Central Government employees' work-to-rule movement and two-day strike in May 1974 in solidarity with the striking Railway workers as well as their own demands, the Government of India virtually declared a war on its employees. Mass victimisation and penal measures from dismissals, suspensions, break-in-service and departmental proceedings to arrests under MISA have been employed by the Government to beat the employees down to submission. Several unions of Central Government employees are being threatened with withdrawal of recognition.

The Conference also takes serious note of the recent attacks on State Government employees who are carrying on struggle all over the country under the leadership of the All India State Govt. Employees Federation.

Com. P. N. Sukul, President of the A. I. Federation was arrested under DIR, along with 5 other leaders of U. P. State Government employees, for organising a meeting in the U. P.

Secretariat. Break-in-service was imposed on a lakh of State Government employees in Maharashtra for participation in the General Strike of May 15, 1974 in support of the Railway strike. Thousand of State Government employees in West Bengal and Kerala are being subjected to break-in-service and other punishments for participating in strikes and bundhs. Besides, in West Bengal they have also to face constant threats, physical assaults and intimidation by the gangsters of ruling party. In Kerala, the Achuta Menon Government even went to the extent of amending the Service Rules to deny subsistence allowance admissible to employees suspended for participation in strikes.

This Conference also notes with concern the increasing offensive of the Central and State Governments on the wage and living standard of their employees. The Central employees have been defrauded of the benefits of three/four instalments of D. A. due to them under the Pay Commission formula. Almost the entire amount due has been impounded in the Compulsory Deposit and Provident Fund Accounts, leaving a pittance to be payable in cash, which goes against the provisions of the Act.

The Government employees are also being subjected to similar attacks on their wage and living standard. Despite a prolonged struggle, including submission of a memorandum with 10 lakh signatures in 1973 and all India Strike on April 9, 1974, their legitimate demands for need-based wage, Bonus, uniform D. A. formula with full neutralisation etc. are still being denied.

This Conference notes with satisfaction the growing urge for unity among Central and State Government employees and their growing resistance to these attacks despite tremendous sacrifices and disruption by stooge unions.

While welcoming the development of united struggles, this Conference expresses fraternal solidarity with the Central and State Government employees in their fight against the offensive of the Government against their wage and living conditions, as well as attacks on their T. U. and democratic rights.

14. On Solidarity With Peasant Movement

This Conference of CITU expresses its full solidarity with the millions of peasants and agricultural workers who have been conducting struggles all over the country, for genuine land reforms, for tax relief and cancellation of debts, for fair prices for agricultural produce, for fair wages and working conditions, against eviction and gangster attacks by landlords forces. It pays its homage to the martyrs in West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and other States who have laid down their lives in the recent period, for the cause of peasants and agricultural workers.

This Conference thanks the peasants and agricultural workers for the invaluable aid they have extended to the railway workers and other industrial workers, during their strikes, by way of providing shelter, food and money. This help, the Conference feels, is an exhibition of the growing unity of both these sections of the toiling people in their common fight against exploitation and the capitalist landlord Government.

To-day the industrial workers, the office employees and the peasants and agricultural workers are subjected to the same ruthless exploitation by the monopolists and landlords. They are victims of scarcity and famine, high prices, black market, tax burdens, unequal exchange and other forms of exploitation. This Conference is gratified to note that in the campaign against high prices and black market, peasants and agricultural workers are increasingly standing shoulder to shoulder with the Industrial workers.

This Conference calls upon the working class to render all assistance to the peasants and agricultural workers during the harvest time in the struggles for higher wages, for fair prices, against blackmarket and hoarding and build solidarity campaigns in support of these struggles.

15. On Non-Implementation Of Beedi And Cigar Act.

This Conference of the CITU condemns the continued non-implementation of the Beedi and Cigar Workers' (Condition

of Service) Act, 1966, even after the Supreme Court declared the Act valid.

The Conference notes with deep concern that deliberate attempts are being made by the State Governments to delay or stall implementation of the Act and thus deny the workers even the minimum benefits given under the Act. While some State Governments have not even notified the application of the Act in their States, others have stalled implementation by not framing rules. Where the Governments have been forced to notify the Act and frame rules, it has been rendered infructuous by delay in appointment of enforcement staff. Even after the recent decision of the Labour Ministers' Conference to implement the Act within 3 months, the Act remains unimplemented.

Taking advantage of this delay, the employers are forcing thousands of Beedi and Cigar Workers to convert themselves as self-employed persons, with a view to circumvent the Act.

This long delay of almost 9 years, in the implementation of even the meagre benefits given under the Government's own statute, knocks hollow its claim of deep concern for the workers in the unorganised sector. It is now clearly seen as a hypocritical ruse to deny the legitimate demands of the organised section of workers.

The Conference congratulates thousands of Beedi and Cigar workers of Karnataka, Kerala, Tamilnadu, West Bengal and other States for their valient fight, including united mass actions, which has resulted in the recent implementation of the Act in Karnataka and Kerala and some minor concessions in other States.

The Conference welcomes the formation of the All India Committee of Beedi and Cigar workers formed at the A. I. Convention held in February, 1975 which will lead to greater co-ordination of their united struggles.

The Conference calls upon the affiliated unions of CITU to extend all-out support to struggles of Beedi and Cigar workers for their demand for the early implementation of the Act.

16. On Life Imprisonment of 7 CITU Workers in Rajasthan

This Conference of the CITU records its strong protest against the barbarous sentence of life imprisonment passed against seven leading workers of the CITU-affiliated J. K. Synthetics Mazdoor Union including its General Secretary.

The workers of J. K. Synthetics were holding a gate meeting in observance of the General Strike and Haratal called by left parties on 2nd March 1974, when they were attacked by armed anti-socials hired by the management. The workers resisted valiantly and many of them received serious injuries. The gangsters ultimately took to their heels but one of their leaders, who was injured, later died in the hospital. Instead of taking steps against the culprits, the management and their hired goondas, the Police arrested the workers and all members of the Executive of J. K. Synthetics Mazdoor Union. The Government started a murder case against the workers which resulted in this sentence.

The Conference demands immediate cancellation of the sentence of life imprisonment served on these CITU workers and punishment of those who attacked the workers. It also calls upon the working class and democratic masses of the country to raise their united voice of protest against this travesty of justice and demand the immediate unconditional release of the sentenced workers.

17. On Solidarity with Doctors and Engineers Struggles

The Doctors and Engineers belonging to Government services have been agitating for more than one year for fulfilment of some of their urgent demands which included (1) Appointment of Technical and Medical officers as heads of the Government Technical/Medical departments and public undertakings. (2) Parity of pay scales and status at all levels amongst Technical/Medical and Administrative services.

The Doctors and Engineers resorted to various forms of action including continuous cease work in different states-West Bengal, Bihar, Delhi and other places, under the leadership of their Con-Federations.

This Conference condemns the unsympathetic and callous attitude exhibited by the Government towards the demands of the Doctors and Engineers who have a vital role to play in the national development.

This Conference demands of the Government of India and of the State Governments to take steps for fulfilling the demands of the Doctors and Engineers.

18. On Bonus Review Committee Report

The third Conference of the CITU express its strong resentment at the retrograde recommendations of the Bonus Review Committee which instead of granting additional bonus to the workers imposed several new restrictions on workers' right to bonus. Though the report of the Committee is not unanimous, the majority recommendations constitute a sinister attack on the hard-won existing right of bonus.

The eight and one third percent as the minimum bonus is recommended by the Committee when large number of workers are already getting more than ten percent bonus through struggle. Further, it has excluded large sections of employees including the Central and State Govt. employees, Local Self Govt. Employees and various other sections of employees like LIC, Banks etc. Thus demand of the trade union movement that bonus should be paid to all the workers irrespective of the size and type of employment has been totally rejected by the Committee.

The Committee has further recommended that Section 34 (III) of the Bonus Act should be struck off which would mean that the workers who were getting bonus more than 20% through their organised strength, will be deprived of it. The Bonus Review Committee had further maintained all the anti-

working class provisions of the earlier Bonus Act. The concept of prior charges continues to offer huge surplus to the employers and deprive the workers of their rightful bonus. The fake balance sheets prepared by the companies to avoid the taxation will be continued to be used in denying adequate bonus to the workers, while workers will have no right to challenge the balance sheets of the employers in the Court of law. They cannot even ask details of the expenses incurred by the management about which the workers have doubts.

The notorious concept of 'set off' and 'set on' will continue to bring down the bonus available to the workers even though they are entitled to get higher bonus even under the existing defective formula relating to available surplus.

The CITU while reiterating that bonus is a deferred wage demands :

1. 10 per cent minimum bonus with further provision that there should be annual increment of 1 percent in the minimum bonus for a period of five years.
2. The Available surplus should be determined by deducting depreciation charges from the gross profits. Major portion of which should be paid to the workers in the form of bonus.
3. Workers should have the right to scrutinise all aspects of balance sheets of the Company.
4. All exemptions to the companies including the first years period in case of new concerns should be withdrawn.
5. There should be no ceiling on payment of bonus.
6. Bonus should be paid to all the workers in public and private sectors including Central & State Govt. Employees, Local Self Govt. employees, casual, contract labour, shop assistants irrespective of the size of the establishment.

The CITU calls upon the working class to close their ranks and launch a powerful movement throughout the country so that the Govt. is forced to scrap the report of the Bonus Review Committee and bonus is paid to the workers on the lines mentioned above.

The Conference appeals to all the Central trade unions to come together so that the movement against the Bonus Review Committee's recommendations takes a broadest possible shape at an early date.

19. On Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill

The Indian Penal Code Amendment Bill is a further step taken by the Ruling class in India to terrorise the people, ostracise public criticism, and immunise the administration against the rule of law.

Sedition and rioting have been made more drastic to throttle criticism of the Government and prohibit assemblies and meetings. A whole crowd has been made subjects of sedition, for it means not merely attempts to engender disaffection against the Government, but also against the entire superstructure—the Constitution, Parliament, the Legislatures etc. Preparation for rioting has been made a new offence and the unscrupulous administration can take advantage thereof to come down upon any preparation for a mass industrial action. Stay-in strikes and gheraos against which the papers of the ruling class have been enjoying horse, have been visited with condign punishments under the Code.

They have prescribed externment under the new Section 74A against those who disturb public tranquillity by unlawful assembly and the like and it is imaginable that any assembly that does not take its hat off to the ruling party may turn out to be an unlawful assembly.

The most ominous part of the Bill consists of those sections which extend immunity to what are called public servants who have been defined to include members of Parliament and State Legislatures. These gentlemen can with immunity go on a spree now—maiming, raping or killing and not with any serious consequences except the pleasure.

Under Section 375A of the Bill, a public servant can seduce a woman under his official custody—with only the prospect of two years' punishment. Similarly, if the Superintendent or

Manager of a women's or children's institution having control over the inmates compels any of them to sexual intercourse, he will be punishable with only two years.

Section 103 (d) of the Bill gives power to a public servant or any other person to kill with impunity any person who commits, or even **attempts** to commit, mischief to public property in, no doubt, circumstances of "general danger" or "grave consequences" but these phrases are vague and elastic in scope.

Previously, causing hurt to a public servant was punishable if he was engaged in the **lawful** discharge of his duty. The Amendment Bill has deleted the word "lawful".

The CITU calls upon the working people all over the country to reject this newest measure of repression and build up a movement so that the ruling party may be compelled to withdraw it.

20. Suppression of Trade Union and Democratic Rights of Workers

The 3rd Conference of the CITU strongly condemns the growing ferocity in suppression of trade union and democratic rights of the workers by the Central and State Governments and the managements in Private and Public Sectors.

Alarmed by the rising struggles of the workers, the managements and authorities are curtailing elementary trade union rights. As in case of Durgapur, the management of Hindustan Steel Ltd. refused to grant permission for the recognised union to hold the meeting in the township. During the recent jute strike, though permission was granted to address meeting by Com. Jyoti Basu, Vice-President CITU, it was withdrawn later on the pretext that a Congress Trade union decided to organise rally at the same place. In Kota, Rajathan, the workers of Atomic power project was charge sheeted for merely attending a meeting addressed by a Member of Parliament. These are only some instances out of hundreds that are taking place all over the country.

The imposition of break in service and deduction of wages for participating even in strikes have become matter of common occurrence. The large scale victimisation resorted to by the Railway Board has created a precedent for various employers to resort to similar methods to intimidate the workers.

The interference in the internal affairs of trade unions by Registrar of trade unions at the instance of ruling party was witnessed in several cases in west Bengal and in Bihar. Even the members of the Executive Committee mentioned in the Annual Returns are threatened with dire consequences by anti-social elements which was prevented large numbers of unions in West Bengal to submit complete Annual Returns. The registration of several unions have been cancelled on flimsy grounds by the Registrar of trade unions. In Bihar, the Registrar of trade unions, even went to the extent of passing judgements on internal affairs of the unions to suit the requirements of the ruling party.

The Public Sector undertakings are framing standing orders which deal with matters not connected with the working of the under taking and are taking out the elementary democratic rights of workers. The notorious system of police varification is increasingly used to penalise the trade union functionaries. In many Cases, the managements openly refused to Implement the decisions of the court while the State and the Central Governments behave as silent spectators. All these measures are ultimately directed to supress all the militant trade union movement and impose upon the workers, the unions enjoying official patronage.

The CITU congratulates the trade unions and workers who have resisted these attacks and forced the Governments and the managements to withdraw these measures.

The CITU calls upon the working class to fight these authoritarian tendencies of the managements and the Governments which hit the very basis of trade union movement. The CITU appeals to all the trade unions to take into account the menacing situation and defeat the game of the Governments to supress the militant trade union movement.

21. Withdrawal of the Wage Freeze Act

The Third Conference of the CITU emphatically condemns the Additional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposit) Act which impounds all wage increases and half D. A. increase. Though the Bill is said to be implemented only for a period of one year, the Govt. has already made it clear that it will be extended beyond July 1975. When the prices of essential commodities are increasing by leaps and bounds, this Act has made considerable inroads into the real wages of workers. This Act has hit hard nearly 2 crores of workers and employees in all Industrial establishments both in Public and Private Sectors and also salaried employees in Central and State Governments, Municipalities, Local Boards and Commercial establishments, Teachers, Professors, Doctors and other professional employees.

2. When the workers are already fighting for higher D. A. and increase in Wages, this Act imposes Wage Freeze on the workers without taking any step whatsoever to check spiralling prices. The Govt. has sought to justify this attack on the ground that Rs. 500 crores will be withdrawn from circulation in order to curb inflation. However, Government has not taken any step to touch even the fringe of profits of monopolists, speculators, landlords hoarders, profiteers who are playing havoc with the peoples' lives. The Govt. has not taken any step to check menace of black money. On the other hand increasing taxation, price rise sanctioned to various industries, dependance on foreign monopoly capital have all combined to increase inflation and rise in prices. The stagnant character of the economy has also lead to acute scarcity and consequent hoarding of essential commodities. Therefore, it is now clear to the working class that the anti-people policies of the Govt. are primarily responsible for price rise, inflation and other disastrous consequences to the economy.

—The CITU therefore, welcomes the decision of the All India Convention of the Working People Against Freeze held at New Delhi on 20 August, 1974 and fully supports the 13

point alternative programme of the tolling people to fight meanace of inflation and wage freeze.

The CITU also welcomes the formation of National Campaign Committee against Wage Freeze in which Central Trade union Organisations and National Federations having membership of over fifty lakhs are combined together to fight monopolists offensive on the living standard of the working people. It expressed its appreciation at the unprcedental unity achieved during several convention held all over India at local, regional and state levels. The CITU wholeheartedly endorses the decision of the National Campaign Committee Against Wage Freeze to convene Second All India Convention on 29th June 1974 to strengthen the struggle of the working people all over the country and chalk out a new programme of action including one day strike.

The CITU calls upon all the Unions to do everything to popularise the Convention amongst the mass of workers so that a countrywide united movement against wage freeze is strengthened at all levels and Govt. is ultimately forced to withdraw the Wage Freeze Act.

22. Non Implementation of The Report on Chemical Poisoning in Rayon Industry

The Third Conference of the CITU expresses its indignation at the callousness shown by the Union Labour Ministry in non-implementing the recommendations of the Committee appointed by the Government as early as 1958.

The findings of the Committee has clearly shown that as a result of poisonous gases like Carbon Disulphide and others, coming out in the Viscose Rayon factories is causing serious health hazards to the workers making them permanently disabled for factory work. Many workers have lost their lives due to the shocking working conditions in these factories. Though the findings of the survey, after a great deal of scientific investigations had shown that workers suffer from loss of sight, loss of apetite, Tuberculosis, impottance

and several other ailments. The report recommended 5 hours day in certain departments, and series of protective measures for the workers.

It was also found that the effluence discharged by the Viscose Rayons Factory have also created serious health hazards to the population in the adjoining region. Though nearly 15 years have passed since the submission of the recommendations, not a single factory in India has taken steps to implement them and the Union Government had not taken any step against the defaulting managements despite several representations by the Rayon workers. This is being tolerated by the Governments because and the Government is protecting the interest of the factory which are controlled by monopoly houses.

The CITU demands that the Government should immediately enquire into the causes of non-implementation of the Committee and punish the management responsible for its non-implementation.

The CITU calls upon all the unions to support the struggle of the Rayon workers so that the Government and the employers are ultimately forced to implement all the recommendations in full.

23. On Food Crisis & Famine

The Third Conference of the CITU views with grave concern of growing food scarcity prevailing all over the country and famine conditions existing in Gujarat, Orissa, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, Tripura and other States leading to starvation deaths of several persons.

Despite tall talk of green revolution and agrarian reforms, the food production in the country is increasing at a very slow rate. The net per capita availability of food grains in the country is either not increasing or at times even showing a decline. The Congress Governments' refusal to distribute all surplus land to the landless workers and abolish land-lordism has been primarily responsible for the acute food shortage.

existing in the country. The Govt.'s reliance on the imports of food grain under PL-480 and other schemes has also increased our dependance on foreign countries for the supply of food grains. The Congress Govt. is trying its best to conceal the truth of severe food situation by making false statements inside and outside Parliament. The so called relief works organised in rural area are seething with corruption and do not give sufficient wages to the workers to take 2 meals a day. The public distribution system has completely collapsed in many states while the Food Corporation of India is fully at the mercy of landed interests. Despite slogans of taking over the wholesale trade in food grains the Govt. has surrendered before the traders and landlords who formed rural prop of Congress party.

The CITU calls upon the working class to realise that without radical agrarian reforms and distribution of entire surplus land to the landless labourers there is no possibility of solving food crisis in the country. The working class therefore should fully support the struggle of agricultural workers and peasants for seizer of land and for genuine agrarian reforms. The CITU demands that Govt. must supply all food grains and other essential commodities to the people at a cheaper price so that the people are ensured adequate supply of needs of livelyhood.

The CITU calls upon the working class to join hands with other sections of the people so that the Government is forced to take radical measures to arrest the deterioration of the food situation.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

On Electoral Reform

The CITU supports the demand for electoral reform raised by a number of opposition parties and democratic organisations.

The ruling party, in its drive for one party dictatorship, is resorting to falsification of election results and extinguishing the people's right to elect their chosen representatives. The 1972 Assembly elections in West Bengal were completely rigged. The electors in many places were physically prevented by the police and Congress goondas from casting their votes.

Since then all the by-elections in West Bengal have been rigged and falsified.

From 1972 to date, 131 supporters of the CPI (M) and democratic organisations including the CITU, have been killed by Congress hoodlums. During the same period, about 130 rape cases have taken place, in some of which Congress followers have been involved. Rarely has any investigation been undertaken by the police.

There are large areas in which opposition activity is not allowed and opposition meetings are attacked by Congress hirelings with the help of the police. There have been more than 32 such cases in recent months, including the attack on Shri J.P.'s meeting.

This atmosphere of terror and repression constitutes total negation of all democratic life and subversion of constitutional guarantees. It is necessary to end this dictatorial anarchy promoted by the Congress Government, before one can talk of a free and fair election and electoral reform.

These conditions are gradually spreading to other States also. It is well-known that Shri Gafoor's election after his elevation to the post of Chief Minister of Bihar was completely rigged.

While calling upon the working class and the people to fight these gangster methods, the CITU at the same time supports the plea that drastic reform is necessary to ensure that the election results properly reflect the will of the people and that the people continue to exercise control over

the elected representatives after the election. In order to minimise the chances of rigging, the CITU proposes that election should be supervised by a committee representing all parties at all levels. If the concensus or majority of the opposition parties feel that the elections in a particular constituency or in a booth have been rigged, the election results thereto should be cancelled and fresh voting should take place. The all-party committee should see that during the elections, all parties have access to the voters without threat from goonda gangs. If the majority of the opposition parties are of the opinion that such freedom does not prevail in any particular constituency, the election from that constituency should be postponed till such conditions are created.

In the electoral system in our country, parties with minority votes get an overwhelmingly large number of seats and are able to dominate the Government.

Also, the system does not provide any control of the electorate over its elected representatives after the election is over.

The CITU, therefore, proposes that there should be provision for proportional representation in the Election Law; it also demands that the Constitution should provide for the right to recall.

The CITU further demands that the system of taking signatures of voters and marking on the underfoil introduced recently should be cancelled.

All-India Radio and Television should, for the duration of the election campaign, be under the supervision of an all-party committee.

The counting of votes should be done in the polling booth itself, immediately after the polling is over. This will obviate the need for transporting the ballot boxes from the booth to the counting station, which involves the possibility of largescale tampering.

Lastly, the CITU supports the demand that there should be effective restrictions on the expenses incurred by the candidates for the elections. The weight of money and influence should be entirely removed from the election process so that the reflection of the popular will is not distorted.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

On Recession and the Tasks of the Working Class

The working class of India is facing an unrepresented economic situation, reminiscent of the depression years of 1930-34.

Mass closures, lay offs, retrenchment and the wholesale massacre of lakhs of temporary workers constitute the order of the day under the impact of the spreading recession though its existence is denied by the Prime Minister.

The jute, cotton textile, engineering, automobile, wagon, steel and metal industries are all alike affected by the recession in demand and have already thrown out thousands of workers on the street or are preparing to do so.

Thousands of small concerns, ancillary industries, workshops and repair shops, handlooms and powerlooms have closed or are working short-time, throwing lakhs of workers out of jobs.

This monstrous process of job deprivation is taking place in the midst of huge unemployment, which is estimated to have reached the enormous figure of 40 million, for the urban and rural areas combined.

The recession is relentlessly pursuing every section of the toilers. The small producer of the commercial crop, the jute and cotton grower is being ruined by the fall in prices. The grower of foodgrains is being turned into a destitute, the agricultural worker is harassed by high prices and the worker finds himself repressed when he protests against his lot.

The Congress Government's criminal policy of imposing the capitalist path on the country has landed the people

into these difficulties and uncalled for sufferings. The recession in demand is the direct result of the continuous attack on the common man's purchasing power, which has been reinforced by the recent wage freeze and other "anti-inflationary" measures.

Every measure of the Government from wage freeze to the budget proposals and proposals for export promotion, from inflation to credit squeeze and new tax increases, is intended to throw the burden of the crisis on the working class and the people. None except the top sections of exploiters, the monopolists, capitalists and landlords, escapes it. Workers, employees, lawyers, doctors, engineers, peasants and agricultural workers, shop-keepers, small producers and small industry owners are all alike forced to accept new burdens to enable the monopolists and capitalists to reap big profits.

The capitalists and the Government pass on the burdens of the crisis to the workers by enforced unemployment for lakhs of workers, unemployment without compensation and relief.

This is accompanied by enforced wage cuts through wage freeze in the midst of rising prices; by proposals to increase work load, forced retrenchment for short-time work, enforcement of night work without night shift allowance, in short, every device to produce cheap at the expense of the workers.

The CITU strongly condemns this policy of solving the crisis at the expense of the people and demands that this burden should be borne by the exploiting sections.

The lowering of the food prices can be achieved by commandeering the food stocks of the landlords at reasonable prices. The demand for consumer goods produced in factories can be easily raised by lowering the prices. To ensure this the profits of the capitalist must be drastically cut. Exports of goods can be easily increased by cutting down the fantastic profits earned by a score of middlemen. With

this policy, there will be no need to close factories and no need for lay-offs and retrenchment.

The CITU calls upon the entire working class to unite to protect its jobs and wages, to fight government measures along with the employees, professionals and rural masses. With this end in view, the united working class should demand :

- (1) No layout to be permitted by the Government without previous discussion with the trade unions, full compensation for those affected by layoff.
- (2) No closure or retrenchment to be permitted.
- (3) Full unemployment benefit at the cost of the employers and the Government for those thrown out of work.
- (4) Right to unemployment relief for all unemployed, including the rural masses.
- (5) Implementation of a massive scheme for rural employment under the supervision of the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other representatives of the rural masses.
- (6) The immediate reopening of closed units and factories and full utilisation of installed capacity.

The CITU demands the immediate withdrawal of the Wage Freeze Act and the reimbursement of all the D.A. instalment of Central and State Government employees that have been withheld. The CITU further demands immediate initiation of measures to ensure a need-based wage. It also demands acceptance of the principle of need-based wage for all workers and the immediate fixation of an equitable wage for the agricultural workers and workers in unorganised industries.

The CITU denounces the food policy pursued by the Congress Government and holds it responsible for the high prices and starvation among the people. It demands the immediate taking over of all the stocks, hidden and open,

of foodgrains and essential commodities from the big landholders and wholesalers and their distribution through a public distribution system supervised by Peoples' Committees.

The CITU denounces the imposition of compulsory levy on small producers who are now being harassed by the Government officials beyond measure. It also denounces the proposals of several State Governments to restrict the scope of rationing and abandon its responsibility to supply foodgrains at fair prices to all sections of the people.

The high taxation of the Government on the necessities of life and other commodities is an important cause of the price rise and restricts the purchasing power of the people. The CITU demands the abolition of or drastic reduction in the excise or other imposts on articles of consumption and an end to deficit financing.

The CITU further demands an immediate moratorium on all foreign debt payment till the Indian economy is out of the crisis.

As a matter of major policy change, the CITU demands nationalisation without compensation of all foreign monopoly concerns, nationalisation without compensation of all Indian monopoly concerns and nationalisation of big industries like jute and cotton textiles, whose owners have exposed themselves as unconscionable profit-mongers working against the people and the workers.

The CITU demands immediate steps to abolish landlordism and for the distribution of all the lands of big landlords to agricultural labourers and poor peasants, through committees of poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

The CITU earnestly requests all central trade union organisations and federations and all kisan organisations to come together to meet this challenge of recession and forge a common front against the anti-people policies of the Congress Government.

Draft Resolution On Vietnam

The C.I.T.U. hails the epoch-making victory of the people of Vietnam and sends its warm greetings to the people of South Vietnam, the fighting National Liberation Forces, its men and officers, the people of North Vietnam and the Workers' Party that led this heroic revolutionary struggle for national liberation, and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The victory of the people of Vietnam constitutes the most outstanding historic event since the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and is the fourth biggest victory of the world working class and the peoples of the world against the world of imperialism and capitalism since the Great October Revolution of 1917.

Never before in any struggle for freedom, were the people called upon to make so much sacrifice and undergo so much suffering for every step forward of the freedom struggle. Never before were the two combatants so un-evenly matched to start with, and never before was the defeat of an aggressor so full of ignominy and shame as the defeat of American imperialism at the hands of the Vietnamese people.

American imperialists rained ten million tons of bombs on Vietnam. They resorted to poison gas and bacteriological warfare. They resorted to genocide and massacre of innocents, but the people of Vietnam, guided by the Workers' Party and relying on a broad national front based on workers and peasants alliance and fully supported by the armed forces were able to defeat the enemy in open armed combat.

The victory of the Vietnamese people is a blow struck in defence of the freedom of Asian people. It is a blow struck in defence of the world working class and the peoples of

the world. This mighty victory was facilitated by the vital fraternal proletarian help in materials, equipment and arms from the Socialist countries, the USSR, People's China and other countries and by the active working class support from all over the world. The progressive forces in the United States of America also made their contribution to this people's victory. The Vietnamese success is really the success of the entire working class of the world.

The C.I.T.U. notes with pride that at the head of the revolutionary struggle stood the working class of Vietnam led by the Workers' Party of Vietnam, standing firmly by the proletarian Marxist-Leninist banner. The working class of Vietnam played its revolutionary role, the role of leadership of the struggle and has fulfilled its mission.

The C.I.T.U. congratulates the people of Vietnam on this great victory against the common foe of all mankind and wishes them speedy success in the task of unifying their country and refashioning a united, peaceful, democratic Vietnam taking rapid steps to Socialism.

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