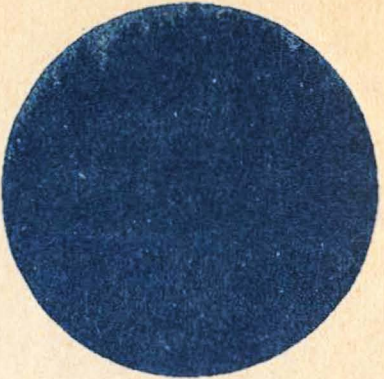
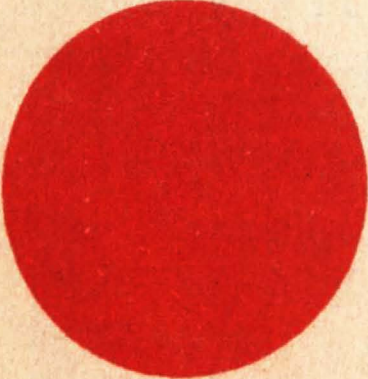




A CITU Publication



THE ORGANISATION AND OUR TASKS



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REPORT ON ORGANISATION

1.1 Since the emergence of the CITU in the trade union scene of India twenty three years ago, it has played an important role in building a united movement on common issues facing the working class. During this period the CITU came in the limelight as the foremost champion of the working class interests.

1.2 The CITU consistently upheld the principle of class struggle and socialism and fought against ideologies inimical to these lofty ideals. Even at times, it was alone in taking certain positions, but it never gave up the struggle to protect the class interests of the workers.

1.3 In the Foundation Conference itself, the CITU laid emphasis on united trade union movement. When the INTUC, AITUC, and HMS formed the National Council of Trade Unions in 1971 at the behest of Government of India, the CITU immediately took initiative and brought together all other trade unions and industrial federations and the formation of United Council of Trade Unions (UCTU) became a reality. This organisation launched several joint movements on many issues facing the working class, and fought with determination the offensives against the working class, the emergency rule of Indira Gandhi Government and the depredations of the national apex body. When the bonus was cut from 8.33 to 4 per cent through legislative enactment, it was the UCTU which conducted countrywide struggle to fight against it. As a result of this, the National Council of Trade Unions became a defunct body and ultimately HMS joined the UCTU.

1.4 The unity built up by the UCTU was further strengthened when a new Industrial Relations Bill was introduced in Parliament by the Janata Government in the year 1978 and at our initiative, the National Campaign Committee against Industrial Relations Bill

was formed involving INTUC, AITUC and BMS. As a result of this campaign, the Bill died a natural death. However, when the Congress Government came back to power later the INTUC backed out of the commitment. But the issues continued to keep the working class unity together which was further cemented during the glorious 80 days strike of Bangalore based public sector workers. The National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions formed in 1981 at the Bombay convention was joined by eight Central Trade Unions and 40 Industry-wise Federations. Practically all the Central Trade Unions except the INTUC joined the NCC. After a series of campaigns, the NCC continued to consolidate the working class unity further and could defeat number of onslaughts of the Congress Governments. The first ever national strike organised by the NCC in 1982 was a major success which increased immensely its popularity .

1.5 The public sector employees' movement took a militant turn during the eighties and the CITU organised a national convention of our unions in 1985 at Bangalore. The independent campaign launched by us all over the country created a favourable atmosphere for Public Sector Employees' movement. The secret Arjun Sengupta Committee report published by us alarmed all the workers highlighting the need for coming together to fight the menace. A National Convention of Public Sector Workers in New Delhi laid the foundation of the Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions (CPSTU) which received the widest possible support of 23 lakh workers of the public sector undertakings. It successfully fought against the BPE guidelines for wage negotiations and organised nationwide strikes including one 3-day strike in 1987 on the problems facing the public sector workers.

1.6 When the struggles against the economic policies of the Government of India took a new turn after the IMF dictated policies, the BMS was not prepared to join the movement against these policies of the Government of India, as a result of which the functioning of the NCC received a setback. Therefore to create a new forum, we launched a countrywide movement against these policies and on common demands. The CITU played a leading role in the formation of the Sponsoring Committee of Indian Trade Unions (SCITU). This Committee launched a massive campaign throughout the country against the new economic policies of the Narasimha Rao Government and organised two nationwide strikes on 29th November, 1991 and 16th June, 1992. The massive March

to Parliament on 25th November 1992 was the biggest ever united demonstration of the working class of India.

1.7 On all major national and international developments, the CITU organised united actions wherever possible. The CITU participated in every anti-imperialist movement and for defence of socialism and on several occasions the CITU had to campaign alone but it always stood by the side of the workers. The CITU's support to all anti-imperialist movements and national liberation struggles has impressed several foreign organisations and the CITU's contacts in all the continents have been increasing gradually. Despite setback to socialism in the former USSR and East European countries, the CITU continued to develop bilateral relations with more and more organisations irrespective of their affiliations.

1.8 In today's world context, when socialism has received a severe setback, the US imperialists are taking the full advantage of the situation and have launched ferocious offensive against all national liberation movements and the forces who want to preserve peace. The gross interference by the US imperialists in the internal matters of several third world countries has increased phenomenally and direct military intervention by them in the garb of United Nations have increased in all the five continents. As a matter of fact the U.S. Government's foreign policies became more aggressive all over the world and U.S. armies are assuming the role of world policeman. However the world wide recession that has engulfed the capitalist world has become more long drawn than in the past and the advanced capitalist countries are making frantic attempts to pass on the burden to the third world countries. Under these circumstances without a powerful resistance by the working class and the people in the Third World countries, the machinations of the US imperialists cannot be checked. Never before the task of organizing powerful international solidarity was so important as it is in today's conditions. Forces who believe in socialism and democracy must come together and fulfill the international obligation that is falling on their shoulders in this critical juncture.

1.9 In India, the IMF dictated economic policies are playing havoc with the livelihood of the people. The sovereignty and integrity of the nation is at stake. The Congress Government led by P V Narasimha Rao is succumbing to the imperialist pressure and shamelessly accepting of the conditionalities for getting loans from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The multi-

national companies never had such a favourable atmosphere in the country since India achieved independence. Against this the growing resistance of the working class was a welcome development. However, it should be further strengthened bringing together all patriotic sections of the people to force the government to give up these policies.

1.10 It is in such a situation that the communal and divisive forces in our country have deliberately planned divergence of the attention of the people to other frivolous issues. The demolition of Babri Masjid on 6th December, 1992 and the communal holocaust that raged all over the country particularly in the industrial centers has led to killing of thousands of innocent lives. Several honest elements were affected during this fratricidal war posing serious challenge to the national unity itself. The virus of communalism has penetrated deeper in the working class itself and we have to do our utmost to campaign for communal harmony. We must fight all shades of communalism and fundamentalism if we have to achieve broader unity of the working class. There is no scope for complacency in the matter and we must reorientate our activity so that we can defeat this danger squarely. The imperialists are gleefully backing these communal and divisive forces who have been helping the fissiparous tendencies in Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Assam, and several other parts of the country. The forces propagating casteism also pose serious challenge in building the unity of the working class. Campaign for jobs to the local people also further obstructs the class unity. This situation has posed serious challenge to our organisation and unless we mobilise all our strength and streamline our organisation we will not be able to meet this challenge and defeat the reactionary and divisive forces.

1.11 The National Convention of Mass Organisations Against New Economic Policies of the Government of India and Communalism in New Delhi on 15th April 1993 was a remarkable success in which not only the trade unions were united but the organisations of all affiliations of agricultural workers, peasants, students, youth, women, writers, artists etc. were brought together on a common platform. The unprecedented unity achieved in the country called for a nationwide protest actions for mass courting arrests on 19th August 1993 and Bharat Bandh on 9th September 1993 which received wide response all over India. These developments indicate a new surge of radicalisation among the working class for

playing a leading role in united mass actions.

1.12 In spite of the progress achieved by the CITU in its activities, we have not been able to pay proper attention to develop necessary organisational framework for consolidation and further advancement of our movement. We have been mentioning some of these weaknesses in several of our reports in all India meetings, but we have not discussed them in depth in any of these meetings and not taken any steps to overcome them. Several shortcomings have crept in our functioning which have created many bottlenecks in our future advancement. Due to this weakness, many tasks go by default and we were unable to tackle them in the interest of the workers. We have reached a plateau of our strength and stagnation is facing in our organisational development. Our all India meetings are sometimes overwhelmed by the current problems that we do not get adequate time to discuss the organisational lapses. As a matter of fact, it is not merely a question of time but a question of attitude towards organisation. This is the real cause of this neglect which we have to overcome.

2. ORGANISATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 The CITU constitution has correctly spelt out its aims and objectives which makes it basically different from the other central trade union organisations. While fighting for day to day demands of the workers the CITU is also meant for educating the working class for social transformation. Without abolishing the capitalist system there will not be lasting improvement in the living conditions of workers. The fact is again vividly demonstrated in the erstwhile socialist countries of USSR and Eastern Europe, where restoration of capitalism has led to indescribable miseries of the concerned people in the form of unemployment, price rise and end of all social security measures so long enjoyed under socialist system. On the other hand, in the face of deepening crisis and recession the working class and the common people even in the advanced capitalist countries are facing severe attack on their life and living in the form of rising unemployment, cutting down of job opportunities, inflation, slashing down of all social welfare benefits, increasing casualisation of workforce and terms of employment in the name of liberalisation. The very concept of permanency in tenure of job is being sought to be given a go-bye and hi-tech

'jobless growth pattern' is being pursued. In such a context the need for abolition of capitalist exploitation and intensification of our effort to educate the workers in that direction has assumed enormous importance. For achieving this and fight back the new offensives by the ruling class, the entire toiling masses are to be brought together effectively. This is the stupendous task facing the working class and the CITU.

2.2 The task cannot be fulfilled unless the working class, the most advanced detachment, plays a leading role. Unfortunately, we have not made this class aware of its role in the present period which is primarily responsible for its inability to discharge its responsibility. We have to work in the key sector of economy as well as in the unorganized sector. Without bringing them together in a well knit organisation this class will not be able to play the destined leading role.

2.3 How far we have progressed in bringing this class together will enable us to understand how far we have to go ahead. We will also be able to realise the stupendous task lying before us. Understanding the size of this class itself will underline the utter weakness we are having today. According to the Census Report (1991) the total wage earners in the country are 16 crore 39 lakhs. Leaving aside the agricultural workers, the rest of the working class works out to be at 8 crore and 26 lakh. 1.2 crores constitute the household industry workers, while 4 crore 54 lakh are working in small non-agricultural establishments and industries. The 1990-91 Economic Survey has estimated the organised sector of the working class to be 2 crore 60 lakhs of which 75 lakhs are employed in the private sector while 60 lakhs employees are working in state and central government public sector undertakings. One crore and twenty five lakh workers are employed in state and central government services, consisting of 70 lakh state government employees and 55 lakh central government employees including defence personnel.

2.4 As the data shows, the unorganized non-agricultural sector constitutes 5 crore and 66 lakhs of workers. Our weakness in this sector is most glaring. Though recently we have taken certain steps to organise the unorganised and recently we held a successful All India Convention in Calcutta our strength can be considered as symbolic. This strata is most exploited with appallingly low minimum wages and no job security. Big possibility of development of movement in this sector is clearly seen in the one day

successful All India strike of unorganised workers on 14th July 1993 at the call of CITU. It is high time the CITU should take up the work in right earnest on a priority basis so that this vast chunk of the working class is brought into the mainstream of the TU movement.

2.5 As a result of struggles conducted by the working class over decades the trade union movement has been able to achieve some legislations to give some rudimentary protection to the workers. Social security to a limited extent has also been made available to them. They enjoy some welfare facilities and TU rights. However, in a period of crisis the bourgeoisie is trying to curtail them as much as it can. Wherever TU movement is weak these facilities are denied to the working class though they are entitled by legal framework. The slow progress in this sector can be seen by the fact that in the year 1961 there were 278 workers in the organised sector in India per one lakh population, the number has gone up to 319 only in the year 1991. During the same period we see that due to so called rationalisation measures the share of private sector in the organised sector has declined from 41 to 29 percent, while the share of public sector increased from 59.7 per cent to 71.8 percent. This was due to growth in public sector employment in the country. The Government of India is now trying to reverse this trend at the cost of loss of jobs to several lakhs of workers. According to census figures in 1991 the overall employment in the public sector stood at 1.85 crore while in private sector it was 74 lakhs. The sectorwise distribution of the working class in the organised sector in 1991 was as follows:

2.5.A Organised Employment in 1989 (in lakhs)

Sector	Public Sector	Private Sector	Total
1. Agriculture & Hunting.	5.65	8.7	14.35
2. Mining & Quarrying	9.57	0.97	10.54
3. Manufacturing	10.48	43.89	62.37
4. Electricity, Gas & Water.	8.66	0.41	9.07
5. Construction	11.80	0.64	18.44

6. Wholesale or retail trade.	1.44	2.86	4.03
7. Transport storage & Communication.	30.26	0.51	30.77
8. Financing, Insurance, etc.	11.16	2.43	13.69
9. Community & social services.	88.13	14.29	102.42
Total :	185.16	74.70	259.86

2.6 If we see our organised strength in each sector, we can find out how far we have yet to march ahead to organise these vast sectors. Our membership compared to the employment in the industry gives a varied picture. Textile - less than one percent, Iron & Steel - 13%, Engineering - 23%, All Transport - less than one percent, Mining and Quarrying - 10%, Plantation 18%, Sugar 10%, Cement 3 %, Construction - 3%, Port and Docks - 10%. The position in the unorganised sector is further deplorable.

2.7 There are difficulties in comparing CITU's membership strength with other central trade union organisations. Since the list of verification has been submitted to Government of India some Trade Union Centres have made exaggerations which makes comparison difficult. After the decision to include agricultural workers for the purpose of verification, despite pointing out the difficulties in verifying it, there is a spurt of membership of agricultural workers in India. During 1989 the claims of all the Central TUs in agriculture has reached 43 lakhs. Moreover, the membership of all the Central TUs who have submitted list for verification is about 2 crore and 40 lakhs. In some of the establishments the membership claims of all the unions exceed twice the size of the establishment. This aspect has to be kept in mind when we compare the membership claims of different organisations. The claims of various Central TUs is as follows: INTUC 54 lakhs, HMSó44 lakhs, BMS—41 lakhs, AITUC—30 lakhs, CITU—24 lakhs, HMKP—16 lakhs, UTUC(LS)—12 lakhs, UTUC—8 lakhs, NLO—7 lakhs and TUCC—5 lakhs.

2.8 The membership of agricultural workers shown by different organisations is as follows: INTUC-9 lakhs(17%), HMS 7 lakhs(16%), BMS 4 lakhs(10%), AITUC 8 lakhs(27%), CITU 92,000(4%), HMKP- 1.19 lakh(7%), UTUC (LS) 6 lakhs(52%), UTUC-3 lakhs(40%), NLO

2 lakhs (25%), TUCC 2.3 lakhs(46%). The CITU's membership in agricultural sector is mainly belonging to the state owned farms.

2.9 Since the verification of agricultural workers membership is not strict and the claims are easier to make and substantial rise in membership is claimed by some trade unions. However, we need not enter into competition for showing inflated membership. We have to take positive steps in strengthening our own membership base. The size of the working class in different sectors highlights the stupendous task lying before us to cover larger working class under our influence. We have not decided priorities in strengthening our work in different important sectors of economy. There is a need for moving in a planned way in the matter so that our organised strength is raised in a concerted manner all over India. The CITU should therefore prepare a systematic plan of developing the organisation in different sectors and check up how far successfully we are implementing the plan. Similarly statewide strategies are also to be prepared so that within the state we can move in a planned manner within the frame work of the overall all India plan.

2.10 We may have to give special importance to certain states. For instance in Maharashtra where the leftists in the TU movement were having a dominant position once upon a time, now we have gone in the background and upstart reactionaries are occupying the places of importance. Similarly our weakness in public sector employees' movement in Bangalore and Hyderabad based industries is a serious problem and we have to make efforts to create a dent in the situation. Without improving our work in Bombay and Ahmedabad textile centres any talk of all India movement of textile workers becomes meaningless.

2.11 Thus the CITU should chalk out a well knit plan of expanding the organisation in different sectors so that we are able to pay special attention to areas where we are weak, which alone make powerful national impact of the movements which we launch from time to time. The special emphasis has to be given to the question of building a powerful T. U. unity all over the country. The CITU Centre in consultation with the State Committees should decide priorities in this regard so that the task of our advance towards the final goal can be successfully implemented.

3. OUR ORGANISATIONAL WEAKNESSES

3.1 In the Foundation Conference of the CITU, our major strength was in West Bengal and Kerala followed by Tamilnadu. In the rest of the country, except in Andhra Pradesh and Punjab where we have recorded some progress, we could not emerge as a powerful force to mobilise the working class in an effective manner. This uneven development not only continues even today, but it has become sharper. Our two third strength emerges from three major states since the very foundation of our organisation. These three states have comparatively advanced faster than the other states where we are still moving at a slow pace.

3.2 In the industrial map of India, our strongholds in West Bengal and Kerala do not occupy a crucial place. Maharashtra alone accounts for over 20 per cent of industrial production in India where we are extremely weak. A large chunk of the working class is led by chauvinistic, communal and opportunist elements. In Gujarat, the second industrial state in India the presence of CITU is just symbolic. Due to influence of class collaborationist leadership there, the striking power of the working class is not effective. The sizable strength of modern industrial working class in Bangalore and Hyderabad industrial complexes in public sector have come to the forefront in the map of India. During the recent past Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have comparatively developed faster.

3.3 In Tamilnadu though we have a sizable presence, our strength is lower compared to the increase in the number of workers in the State. In Delhi metropolitan complex there has been remarkable industrial growth, but our presence is mainly among the unorganised sector. Unless we develop capacity to move millions of workers concentrated in these states, impact of our nationwide actions will not be effectively felt by the central government.

3.4 Therefore in our strategic planning we have to give due importance to these areas where concentration of working class is prominently seen. We have to analyse deeply why this weakness continues to dominate our organisation so that we can tackle this problem suitably. The CITU centre in consultation with the committees in these states should prepare programme of strengthening our activities in these states on a priority basis so that the striking power of the working class on an all India basis is

reflected more powerfully.

3.5. Our weakness in Hindi speaking areas has been a perpetual factor in our slow advancement which is also affecting the overall movement led by us. During the last two years, our activities in Bihar, UP, MP, Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan have developed to some extent in terms of membership and struggles, yet the development in this region has been extremely slow. One of the major factors of our weakness is the absence of powerful democratic and agrarian movement in this region. A strong feudal and semi-feudal influence over the mass of oppressed people and existence of communal and casteist appeals among the large chunk of people in the region has also been a hunting ground for the communal and divisive forces in the country. Even the working class is partly affected by the influence of this pernicious element which is also adversely affecting unity of working class and the peasantry. There is no wonder that both the issue of reservation and Ayodhya have taken a grip among the section of the working class and the people while the oppression of Harijans and lower caste people in its worst form is existing in this region.

3.5.1 A large chunk of the unorganised workers, agricultural labourers and poor peasants belong to lower castes and tribes and are also victims of both capitalist exploitation and social oppression. Even several Muslims and Christians in this area are socially oppressed. Our trade union movement has not analysed this phenomena properly with a view to find out ways and means to counteract it. The workers in this region have become victims of extremism of the divisive forces like Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Uttarakhand agitations etc. Whenever struggle against economic policies was reaching higher and higher pitch, the communal riots have created a serious set back to our movement in this region.

3.5.2 We have never taken the question of social oppression on the lower and the poorer strata and launch struggles against the exploitation and depredations by the upper caste people. The Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes and minorities are not enthusiastically participating in our trade union activities.

3.6 In view of the above it is necessary that the CITU should seriously consider positive steps to overcome the weakness of our organisation in Hindi speaking region. We propose the following steps to overcome these difficulties.

3.6.1 We should coordinate the activities of Hindi speaking region so that periodically we can review our working in this areas and take positive measures to strengthen them.

3.6.2 Organising of systematic campaign of education among the general workers in the Hindi speaking region particularly among the unorganised workers so that they are brought in the main-stream of the struggle.

3.6.3 Special steps to be taken for the development of cadre particularly among the backward sections of the society and the minorities so that through them we can approach the most downtrodden sections among the working class in the Hindi speaking regions.

3.6.4 Holding a special classes for Hindi speaking states so that systematic education programme can be chalked out.

3.6.5 Preparation of a plan for one or two years by fixing certain targets of membership, development of cadre, determining priorities of industries and centres, programme of movement by the state committees in cooperation with the CITU Centre.

3.6.6 Periodically discussing in the General Council and Working Committee the progress made by us in developing our mass work and organisation in the Hindi speaking region.

3.6.7 Use of Hindi in publications, correspondence, circulars so that non-English-knowing comrades will have access to CITU literatures and policies in a more concerted manner.

4. FUNCTIONING OF THE CITU CENTRE

4.1 The Central Head quarters of the CITU has to play a crucial role in building the organisation from top to bottom. A proper functioning of the central office is therefore very necessary if we have to discharge our organisational responsibilities in an effective manner.

4.2.1 The following steps have been taken by the CITU centre with a view to improve the functioning. Daily meetings of the available members of the Secretariat were introduced to discuss the day to day matters. In these meetings generally the tour programme of the Secretariat members were also to be considered. Reports of various meetings attended by the Secretariat members were also to be submitted in these meetings which are not held on

regular basis. Of late, there has been some improvement in the situation and the meetings are less irregular. This has no doubt helped in improving the functioning of the CITU Centre. However, it must be noted here that the implementation of the decisions taken should be more prompt and check up should be regular.

4.2.2 After detailed discussions, job division among the Secretariat members has been worked out. However, there are several shortcomings in implementing the allotted jobs. The Secretariat has not done a proper review of the implementation of the job division. The engrossment in other pressing activities cannot be of any justification for this lapse. The overall functioning of the CITU Centre largely depends on coordinating role played by the General Secretary. Without his proper supervision the work may suffer and despite hard work done by comrades working at the centre the focus of priorities may get lost. The collective functioning of the Secretariat to a considerable extent has to be the responsibility of the General Secretary. His tours outside Headquarter must be organised in such a manner that the work at the Centre is not adversely affected.

4.2.3 We had decided to hold regular meetings of full Secretariat once in three months so that overall review of our activities is taken and necessary policy matters are considered. These meetings were extremely useful on taking policy decisions on urgent matters. Though the CITU has 31 member Secretariat (2 comrades have passed away) average attendance is only about 15 in these meetings. It is necessary to take measures to ensure participation of large number of office bearers in these meetings. Some of the office bearers do not keep regular contacts with the CITU Centre and give their opinions and suggestions on pressing problems. Secretariat members not functioning from the Centre should make themselves available for taking assignment in other states or helping the centre in tackling some all India problems. This would ensure more cohesive and collective functioning of the Secretariat.

4.2.4 In order to ensure better involvement of all comrades working in the CITU Centre it was decided to hold monthly meetings of the staff members and take their suggestions into consideration in improving the office work. However, regular monthly meetings could not been held. This system should be given due importance so that the office functioning could be improved still further. The education of the staff members should be given due importance.

4.3 The CITU has to perform multifarious tasks to coordinate the all India activities and discharge several other duties. The following jobs done by the Centre are only indicative of the responsibilities being performed by the CITU Centre.

4.3.1 Bringing out two monthly journals. The Working Class(English) and CITU Mazdoor(Hindi) and two journals, once in two months The Voice of the Working Woman(English) and Kamkaji Mahila(Hindi).

4.3.2 Representing cases referred to the Centre by unions, state committees and federations to Central and State Governments as well as to managements.

4.3.3 Giving guidance to several unions whenever the matters are brought personally or through letters referred to the CITU Centre.

4.3.4 Attending to State Committee or industry-wise federation meetings whenever approached and guide them in their deliberations.

4.3.5 Participation in conferences, conventions, seminars workshops having state level or all India importance.

4.3.6 Giving guidance to wage negotiations in several industries and even participating in important national level wage negotiations.

4.3.7 Issuing periodically circulars to the State Committees, Industry-wise Federations on various issues of current importance.

4.3.8 Taking policy decisions on matters of urgent importance and refer special matters to the full secretariat for suitable policy decisions.

4.3.9 Issue press statements on matters of national and international importance as and when they arise and express CITU viewpoints on these issues.

4.3.10 Keeping regular contacts with other central trade unions and industry-wise federations. Taking active interest in activities of the Sponsoring Committee of Indian Trade Unions, the Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions and the platform of mass organisations.

4.3.11 Giving guidance to the CITU representatives participating in the tripartite meetings on various subjects and to actively participate in major bipartite and tripartite meetings of national importance.

4.3.12 Secretariat members who are in charge of some industries or some special branches of activities have to play a major role in them. The Centre has to monitor these activities regularly.

4.3.13 Taking up the matters relating to labour in Parliament with the help of MPs and brief them on these issues. Arranging visits of MPs whenever there is repression on workers and whenever demands for M.Ps made by T.U.s. during agitation.

4.3.14 Attend to verification of membership of central trade unions, keeping up to date record of affiliation and issuing affiliation certificates to the unions.

4.3.15 Keeping liaison with the ILO, WFTU and CTUC.

4.3.16 Keeping regular contacts with fraternal trade unions outside India, arrangement of delegations abroad and assistance to comrades regarding passport, visa, etc. Briefing to comrades going abroad.

4.3.17 Submitting memorandum to various commissions, committees, ILO on problem concerning labour and trade unions.

4.3.18 Maintain library and press clippings on problems of working class and other related matters.

4.3.19 Helping the non-affiliated unions such as railways etc.

4.3.20 Making preparations for the meeting of full Secretariat, Working Committee, General Council and the Conference in advance.

4.3.21 Bringing out publications in English and Hindi on current problems and organising their circulation.

4.3.22 Organising and conducting trade union classes whenever approached by the State Committees, Federations or Fraternal TU organisations.

4.3.23 Enquiring and intervening into the disciplinary matters referred to the Centre.

4.4 Considering the nature of responsibilities being undertaken by the Centre, the present apparatus is far from adequate and there is urgent need to strengthen it if we have to fulfill all the tasks allotted to the Centre effectively. At present many of these jobs are performed in an haphazard manner or going by default.

4.5 A review of the job division made by the CITU Centre revealed that decisions are not timely implemented. Without ensuring regular check-up of the work done by each office bearer

functioning from the Centre, it would not be possible to ensure full implementation. There is urgent need to introduce more team spirit in discharging the responsibilities. At times due to lack of proper co-ordination and information sharing the matters are not properly attended to. Sum total of individual work cannot effectively ensure collective functioning and there is urgent need to show more alertness by the Secretariat members functioning from the Centre in this regard. Unless the weaknesses existing in the central functioning are overcome the capacity of the Secretariat to ensure compliance at the lower levels would be greatly affected. It is also noted that several jobs cannot be attended by the Centre due to non-availability of capable comrades to function from the Centre. Unless State Committees help the CITU Centre by sparing some leading comrades it would be extremely difficult to expand the activities and implement the tasks before us more efficiently.

4.6 Affiliation Fee: The present affiliation fee of 20 paise per member is totally insufficient to meet the expenses of the Centre. Since the inception of the CITU the affiliation fee remained the same. It was only at Bombay conference that the entire amount was given to the CITU Centre, while the state committees were required to charge additional levy. Yet since 1970 prices have gone up 5 times and with the paltry affiliation fee it is not possible to run the CITU Centre effectively. To induct more comrades to do specialised job the centre requires financial support from the unions. In the next conference we should propose amendments to the CITU constitution providing for 50 paise per member as affiliation fee of CITU from the year 1993 payable in 1994.

4.7 Though on record our membership stands at 25 lakhs, on an average, unions with 16 lakh membership are paying their affiliation fees to the centre. It is only at the time of the Conference that affiliation fee for larger membership is generally paid. We have to do away with this practice. In some of the state conferences the state leadership does not insist on full payment of affiliation fee as a precondition for sending delegation. This is also responsible for low rate of collection of affiliation fee. Another phenomenon is that even at the time of all India CITU conference all unions do not pay their affiliation fees. The system of election according to states should not result in some unions not paying the dues to the Centre. There is a feeling that due to direct elections of delegates by the states the smaller unions and working women do not get adequate representation. How far there is a basis for this feeling

should be properly studied so that corrective measures, if necessary, can be initiated by us.

5. FUNCTIONING OF THE STATE COMMITTEES

5.1 State Committees occupy important place in the CITU structure, since the implementation of the decisions of all India organisation largely depends on how the State Committees monitor their implementation. The task performed by the CITU Centre at the all India level are also to be fulfilled by the State Committees at the state level. The State Committees are also responsible for development of united movements at the State level on common issues facing the working class of the State.

5.2 Most of the State Committees have reviewed their functioning self-critically. They have studied it only in the context of their day to day activities. What is necessary is to ensure that they take increasingly responsibility in united working class and democratic movement of the country.

5.3 The State Committees should normally meet three to four times in a year to periodically review the activities and take decisions to suit the requirements of the movements. By and large state committee meetings are held regularly. Mere molding of regular meetings of the State committees does not signify systematic functioning. Whether the meetings are properly prepared, whether there is mere reporting of activity or detailed discussion of policy issues, whether there is proper check up of the work done by the committee, whether there is systematic struggle against erroneous ideas and policy, whether the task of further strengthening the organisation is given due emphasis in the work of the State committee is important to determine the character of functioning of the State committees.

5.4 We have to find out the causes of low attendance of the state committee members in the meetings and take steps to remove these causes. We have not introduced a system that every member who is unable to attend the meeting should inform the General Secretary of the State Committee stating reasons for his inability to attend the meeting and seeking leave of absence. Those who remain absent without prior information should be asked explanation for their absence from the meeting.

5.5 For development of common understanding, proper review

of the work done and for self-critical examination of the method of functioning of the organisation, it is necessary that written reports should be submitted to the state committee by the General Secretary. However, many of our state committees have not understood the importance of the written reports. Experience shows that level of discussion in the state committee is generally higher when written reports are submitted.

5.6 In several State Committees there is a practice of submission of oral report by each centre which takes more than half the time of the State Committee meeting. Then some time is spent on resolutions and there is hardly any time available to discuss the policy matters and review the struggles conducted by the unions. Many unions do not send in time the report of their activities to the state centre with the result that the report submitted by the General Secretary becomes a partial report. The practice of giving too many local details having no relevance to the state level problems should be firmly discouraged. There is also a tendency in some states to make the report of the General Secretary a catalogue of events without making any analysis of experience gained in the struggles conducted by our unions, so that local experience is made the property of the entire state comrades.

5.7 A cursory glance at the issues discussed in the State Committee meetings makes it clear that there is a lot of similarity in the issues discussed in the meetings. However, more emphasis is given on problems of immediate movements. The functioning of the District Committees or industry-wise federations are generally not considered. Even the check up of the work of sub-committees is not done in these meetings. Strength of different TU organisations in different sectors and how to improve CITU's positions in different industries is rarely discussed. Efforts to develop CITU activities in weaker areas in a planned way does not form part of the agenda. Though "organisational matters" are occasionally kept on the agenda from time to time, they are discussed in a casual manner and generally kept at the end of the meeting when some are eager to leave.

5.8 In some State Committees there is a practice of submitting the General Secretary's report without having prior discussion among the office bearers. This results in their criticising the report in the meeting and it militates against the spirit of collective leadership in the organisation. Such a discussion among the office

bearers will help in improving the quality of the Report.

5.9 This brings us to the functioning of the state office-bearers or the secretariat. It is directly responsible to the State Committee and has to perform multifarious functions such as implementation of the decisions of the all India bodies including united front programmes. It has also to oversee the implementation of the decisions of the State Committee/General Council meetings and act as a decision making body between two meetings of the State Committee. It is also responsible for guiding the day to day activities of the state centre and to ensure that the policies of the CITU are implemented by all the state federations and affiliated unions in the state. An effective functioning of the Secretariat largely depends on how the job distribution has been done among the Secretariat members and check-up whether the job division is properly implemented. General Secretary has to act as the main coordinator in the process.

5.10 It is generally observed that a handful of comrades are burdened with most of the jobs, while some of the office bearers are without any specific responsibilities except attending the meetings and giving opinion on issues. Collective leadership can be introduced only if a rational job distribution is arranged and check up of the work done in meetings. The tendency among some office bearers to pass on the effective responsibility on some one else should be avoided.

6. FUNCTIONING OF DISTRICT COMMITTEES

6.1 District Committees are the most important link between the state committees, state council and the unions which coordinate movements at grass root level and are largely responsible for the execution in the districts of all decisions taken at all India and state level by the CITU. The district committees play a major role in consolidating organised trade unions in the districts, guide them and are directly responsible for building cadres and leadership. The CITU constitution permits formation of district committees with the permission of the state committee if there are sufficient number of unions in the district and the objective conditions to form such a committee exist.

6.2 Many of the state committees are seized with the task of strengthening the district committees in their states. Notwith-

standing that if the country as a whole is taken into consideration district committees are yet to be formed in major areas. Even in the districts where CITU is having substantial number of unions and the movement is developing, district committees could not be formed to coordinate those activities.

6.3 District Committees should review periodically position of CITU affiliations. It should discourage the system of sending affiliation fees only at the time of CITU conference. It is the common experience that this practice is one of the prime reasons of drop out of some unions in between two conferences. It is observed that there are number of unions which are based on overwhelming support of CITU followers and join all CITU programmes, but maintain independent character. District Committees should make proper assessments and take initiative for getting those unions affiliated wherever objective situation permits.

6.4 District functioning in most of the states suffers from financial constraints. With the meager quantum of levies collected from the unions even the most essential expenses for maintaining office become difficult to meet. Irregular remittance of levy has caused further concern. Therefore, the matter of financing the district expenses demands proper attention.

6.5 The State Committees under whose guidance the District Committees are functioning should periodically keep the agenda of functioning of the District Committees during State Committee meetings and review their working periodically so that they function more efficiently. Efforts should be made to function the District Committees where they are not doing so and attempts to function through them in areas where we have not formed them despite sizable membership. In the new reorientation of our organisational set up the District Committees will certainly play an important role in streamlining our organisation all over India.

7. INDUSTRY-WISE FEDERATIONS

7.1 We have been able to form the following industry-wise federations so far since the foundation of the CITU.

1. Steel Workers' Federation of India.
2. All India Plantation Workers' Federation.
3. Water Transport Workers Federation of India.

4. All India Coal Workers Federation.
5. Construction Workers Federation of India.
6. All India Road Transport Workers Federation.
7. Electricity Employees Federation of India.
8. Sugar Workers Federation of India.
9. All India Jute Workers Federation
- 10 All India Anganwadi Workers and Helpers Federation.

7.2 Our Comrades are also working in independent united federations such as, Brooke Bond Employees Federation, Metal Box workers Federation. A very workers federation, ITC Employees Federation, Fertilizer Workers Federation of India, Tata Oil Mill and Allied Co. Employees Union. However, we have not reviewed activities in them. In addition to these we have formed Co-ordination Committees for public sector undertakings such as BHEL, NTPC, HSCL, BEL, unorganised workers, cement, non-coal mines, working women, oil, cotton textile, bidi, Food Corporation. Though comrades from the centre are directly associated with the work of these committees and periodically some aspects of their functioning are discussed in the secretariat as and when some issue arises, one cannot say that a proper review of their functioning is ever made by the secretariat. These federations have also not made any self-critical review of their functioning.

7.3 It is observed that attendance in some of the committee meetings is very poor and some states do not participate regularly. It has been suggested by some that the notice given for such meetings is not sufficient and henceforth care should be taken to give enough time for members to adjust their programmes. At times the meetings are held for short duration and adequate preparation is not made for them. This should be rectified.

7.4 Some State Committees have complained that the decisions of the All India Federations or Co-ordination Committee meetings are not informed to them regularly and steps should be taken to ensure that this is done in future. It is also necessary that the State Committees, whenever they get information about the decisions of the all India meeting, should take positive steps to implement them in their respective states. The State Committees should ensure proper attendance of the members from respective states to the all India meetings. We should also introduce a practice of submitting

written reports by all Industry-wise Federations and Co-ordination Committees to the General Council or Working Committee of the CITU so that monitoring of activities by the all India bodies will be ensured.

7.5 There is a just demand for formation of federations and co-ordination committees in various other industries. The major hurdle in the matter is the availability of comrades to take up all India responsibility of coordinating the industry-wise activities. If senior comrades in different states come forward to take up all India assignment, more can be done in this area. The CITU centre should give such responsibility to senior Comrades in this regard.

7.6 Several State Committees have taken steps to form state level federations or co-ordination committees to strengthen the industry-wise activities. In Andhra, AP Lorry and Motor Workers Federation has been functioning. In Assam there is no state level federation, but co-ordination committees in plantation, road transport and construction industries have been formed. In M.P., state level union has been formed in coal mines. State level unions operate in Tamilnadu in railways and electricity while state level federations have been formed in state road transport, cotton textile, sugar, construction, handloom, beedi and water drainage board. Efforts are being made to co-ordinate the activities in unions in Khadi village units, granite quarries of Tamilnadu minerals, plantations etc. Except Beedi the meetings of other federations are held regularly. State level conferences of these organisations are also being held periodically. In UP co-ordination committee of sugar workers has been formed. In West Bengal Federations have been formed in Engineering, cotton textile, private and mini bus transport, electricity, chemical and pharmaceutical, bidi & Tobacco, Municipal and local self govt., printing press, cold storage and co-operatives. In addition to this state level units are operating in jute, handloom, shoppes and establishment, Mutia Mazdoor (Head-loader), Rickshaw and van, brick kiln, bakery, railway hawkers, railway contractors, janpath parivahan, regulated market, forest security contractor guard, rice mill, ICDS, auto rickshaw, construction lacquer, CUDP, hosiery and costumes. Kerala State Committee reported that there are 15 industry-wise federations including coir, handloom, cashew, road transport, electricity etc. some of the federations have no regular functioning and financially they are weak in carrying out day to day functioning. In Punjab four state level unions and five industry-wise co-ordination committees

have been formed. They however function on adhoc basis and collect funds whenever need arises for the movement. In Rajasthan state level federations are operating in Electricity industry and forest workers unions. State committees who have not taken steps to form state level industry-wise federations or unions, they should take early steps in the matter.

7.7 There is need for better check up of the activities of these federations. Industry-wise co-ordination of activities will give more impetus to the state level activities. We should pay more attention to this aspect of our work and allot responsibilities to different state leaders to look after industry-wise activities. The industry level activities in the state will further strengthen the all India Federations. It must be noted here that the total number covered by our industry-wise organisation is much smaller compared to the size of the working class in the particular sector.

8. DEMOCRATIC FUNCTIONING OF TRADE UNIONS

8.1. There are serious shortcomings in regard to democratic functioning of our trade unions which need to be corrected. Whatever steps we have taken during the last two decades to introduce democratic functioning of trade unions we can at the most claim that we have been able to introduce only a formal democratic functioning. However, we have not been able to grasp in full the spirit of this important aspect of our union functioning.

8.2. Trade union democracy, as it is known, is closely linked with the active involvement of rank and file members in day to day activities of the union and in the decision making process. Today in our unions the ordinary workers' participation is only passive. They implement whatever directives are given to them from above but they are not involved in deciding the policies of the union.

8.3. The rank and file member of a union is expected to be in close contact with the mass of workers and through him the union leadership can know the pulse of the workers at any moment. Wherever our rank and file workers have no close contact with the mass of workers we should take steps to ensure that such contacts are strengthened.

8.4 In the constitution of CITU, the democratic functioning has been given adequate emphasis. It states inter alia,

8.4.1 "4(b) The CITU considers that the democratic functioning of the organisation at all levels and of its constituents is essential to achieve its objectives."

8.4.2 "4(c) The democratic functioning of the organisation requires strict adherence to the provisions of the Constitution regarding periodic meetings of CITU bodies, to the discharge of the obligations of their responsibilities and the collective functioning of the various bodies under the Constitution."

8.4.3 "4(d) The minority view point in the CITU bodies, should have the right of free expression, and should be given adequate representation in all its bodies. This will be ensured by the method of cumulative voting."

8.4.4 "4(e) The CITU bodies at the Centre have the responsibility of ensuring that the State Committees and other bodies that may be elected, function democratically, according to the rules laid down, ensuring free expression, within the organisation for all sections."

8.4.5 Despite this clear cut directive by the CITU Constitution we have not been strictly following these provisions with the result that the true spirit of democratic functioning is not inculcated in our understanding and practice.

8.5 We do sometimes hold general body meetings of the union to explain its policies to the ordinary workers, though not all unions can claim that they have been regularly holding such meetings. Moreover, attendance in these meetings is only a small fraction of the membership of the union. Quite often in the G B meeting the leader of the union only explains the policies of the union and practically no time is available for the rank and file workers to express their views and experiences. Though CITU has given directive to place the draft of agreements before the general body meeting of the union for approval before signing a settlement, many unions have not followed it strictly. However, in exceptional circumstances, where it is not possible to hold general body meeting the draft agreement should at-least be approved by the Executive Committee or the General Council of the union.

8.6 Though CITU unions are generally vigilant about the anti-working class clauses in the agreement, there have been cases when unions enter into wrong agreements with the managements without placing them before the GB meeting or Executive Committee/ council of the unions. There are cases when local unions have signed such agreements without consulting the state committee leadership. We have to ensure that such practices are discarded

by all the unions to preserve the class loyalty of our unions.

8.7 Many unions are not holding union conferences regularly as per constitutional requirement. Cases have been observed when union conferences were held after 8 or 10 years. The state committees should have some mechanism of ensuring that such conferences are held regularly.

8.8 There is need to improve the method of conducting the union conferences. At times, it is observed that time allotted to the discussion by the ordinary members is very less and members are not given sufficient opportunity to express their views properly. Criticism from below is sometimes brushed aside and stereotyped replies are given by the leadership. Union conferences should not be treated as mere rituals and rank and file workers should feel confident that their views are given due importance by the leadership of the union.

8.9 The union accounts are generally in a bad shape and system of internal audit has not been given due importance by many of our unions. Though misappropriation of fund is not involved in most of the cases, improper keeping of accounts has given rise to controversies which can be avoided with some efforts. Financial condition of several unions is extremely bad. Due to low level of membership the union does not have sufficient funds to carry out necessary activities. Many unions have not raised their rate of subscription since the foundation of CITU which results in starving the unions of funds. Collection of funds on special occasions should not result in insufficient collection of union subscription. Condition of smaller unions particularly is very bad and they have to live a hand to mouth existence. Wherever necessary we should raise the union subscription for proper financing of union activities. The manner in which the accounts of the union are adopted in the union conferences is a reflection of this state of affairs.

8.10 The Executive Committee meeting of the union is another channel of T U democracy. Not all the unions are holding these meetings at regular intervals. Whenever these meetings are held the attendance is much below the mark. Even the duration of the meeting is at times much less, since it is held to consider one or two agendas of topical importance. There is no proper mechanism to check up the decisions taken in these meetings while no systematic efforts are made to make the inactive members participate in these meetings regularly and contribute in the discussion. It should be the duty of the members of the higher committee attending these

meetings to see that the backward members who are reluctant to speak are made to speak in these meetings.

8.11 The functioning of the office-bearers of the union is also suffering from similar shortcomings and the entire burden of union activity falls on the shoulders of 3-4 limited office bearers. Examples are not wanting when the entire union is managed by a single individual who does all the jobs even making the entire Executive Committee a passive spectator.

8.12 Holding of union elections is an important aspect of trade union democracy. Generally the panel is placed before the meeting and workers do not get sufficient time to think about the names. In some unions the elections are conducted separately prior to the union conference. We should not brush aside the workers' right to suggest a name outside the panel or discourage him from suggesting any name they would like to propose. Improper holding of election leads to bickerings among the rank and file in the union which retards its further growth. Though the constitution of the union provides a form of democratic functioning, in practice its implementation is faulty. To ensure full democracy in the union and workers right to elect leadership of their choice freely and without any outside influence we should encourage holding elections by secret ballot of the workers.

8.13 Functioning of the departmental committees have an important role to play in democratizing the union activities. It is in these committees the rank and file workers get more opportunity to express their views and consider the problems of the department. A proper functioning of such committees involves larger number of workers in union activities. In our organisational framework unions do not pay sufficient attention to these committees. Even some of our big unions have not paid much attention to this aspect of our functioning. This is preventing further growth of the unions and broadening their mass base. If the Executive Committees of the unions keep close contacts with the Departmental Committees and give responsibilities to them to increase the union membership there is every possibility that these committees can play a pivotal role in strengthening the union activities in all spheres. Similarly, efforts should be made to meet and address the workers in the workers colonies and townships which would also help activating workers in trade union work.

8.14 Involvement of workers in the day to day activities of the union cannot be effective unless workers know about their role in

the union. We have been doing well in our agitational activities, though its level can be improved. However, we are lacking in propaganda work among the rank and file workers as a result of which their level of consciousness does not grow beyond the sphere of economic struggle. Without making workers conscious about their rights in the union and the need for democratic functioning of a union this cannot be made a reality. It is necessary to monitor the level of democratic functioning of trade unions periodically by the State Committees and General Council/Working Committee, so that the shortcomings existing in this field can be rectified.

9. GROWING BUREAUCRATIC TENDENCIES

9.1 Growing bureaucratic tendencies in our organisation are creating serious impediments in strengthening the democratic functioning of our unions. Individualistic functioning of some of our leaders and activists have lent a helping hand to strengthen the bureaucratic functioning. Absence of collective functioning, information sharing and taking decisions individually or by a small group of persons results in lack of consultation with lower level committees.

9.2 Bureaucratic tendencies further result in leadership becoming isolated from the ranks. Intolerance to criticism from below also arises from their style of functioning. Such leaders refuse to learn from other comrades and at times even betray the interests of the workers. They give less emphasis on door to door campaign, keeping close contact with the workers in departments and give more stress on issuing orders mechanically. Since its inception, the CITU had to expel 3 General Secretaries and one President of the state committees for their refusal to follow CITU line, highly individualist style of functioning and indulging in several malpractices. They were functioning most undemocratically and trying to establish individual control over the organisation. Many of our State Committees had to take action against some prominent leaders for indulging in malpractices in the organisation. Our failure to struggle against their style of functioning in time led to their carrying some cadres with them. Such instances are there in several of our local unions also. Hence the struggle against bureaucratism is the bedrock of the struggle for strengthening the democratic functioning of our unions. Bureaucratic tendencies, if

allowed to continue for a long time, give rise to corrupt practices in the trade unions and we have to guard our movement from this menace.

10. OUR WORK IN STATUTORY COMMITTEES

10.1¹ Our work in statutory and bipartite committees leaves lot of scope for improvement. Our members on these committee should acquaint themselves with problems thoroughly and place CITU view points more effectively. Lack of vigilance on the part of members may lead to our comrades committing mistakes. Therefore, the work of these members should be properly checked up by the CITU centre and respective committees. Reports of these meetings should be circulated to the state committees so that they can keep the affiliated unions informed about them. Our unions should in turn use the information in their meetings so that ordinary workers are informed about the struggle carried out by the CITU representatives in these meetings. Unions also should supply information about the local situation and problems faced by the workers so that our representatives are properly briefed on the issues coming before the committee. The work of these members should be reviewed by the General Council and the Working Committee periodically of shortcomings are observed in the work of the members they can be corrected. If necessary, they can be substituted by more competent comrades. The CITU Centre should organise meetings of comrades working in identical committees from centre and states so that uniformity in approach is evolved.

11. DEVELOPMENT OF CADRES

11.1 One of the major causes of our organisational stagnation is the neglect of the urgent task of cadre development. Without a sustained availability of growing contingent of cadres discharge multifarious responsibilities facing the organisation, the required all round development of organisation cannot take place. In several meetings of the Working Committee and the General Council comrades have mentioned the question of paucity of cadres as a bottleneck they face in advancing in existing centres and expanding in newer centres. However, it must be admitted that the task of cadre development in all its aspects never found its due place in our collective consciousness.

11.2 During innumerable struggles conducted by us, we have come across a large number of workers who show interest in our organisation. It is our failure that we have not been able to involve them in day to day union activity, give them suitable responsibility after making objective assessment about their capability, extending regular guidance to them with a view to help them in discharging their work more effectively, appreciating their capabilities when they perform well and helping them to learn from their mistakes and promoting them to higher responsibility when they exhibit necessary capabilities to do so. We have amongst us comrades who behave like "burra babooes" (Head Clerks) in the offices who looked with some contempt towards their juniors and refuse to share their knowledge and experience with people below them lest their importance would get reduced.

11.3 It is not that we are not doing anything in this regard. Individually comrades at different levels may be doing so in some respect. However, a planned and conscious efforts are lacking on our part. Casual discussion also takes place at times in some of our meetings but we have never kept this subject on the agenda of any of our all India meetings and made any attempt to pool our experience in this area and prepare proper guidelines for our organisation.

11.4 We have not assessed how many cadres we have in each district and state, nor prepared a plan to develop them and giving them higher responsibilities. By this process it would be possible to release several of our comrades who are bogged down to unit level work to take more important jobs and in the end we will get comrades to do state level, all India as well as industry level responsibilities. We must make it a point to review our activities in this field, reallocate responsibilities to different cadres to make our functioning more efficient and result oriented.

11.5 Special attention should be paid to the development of cadres from amongst working women, unorganised workers and workers coming from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as well as from among the minorities. Though these are the most downtrodden sections, the activists among them are much less in our movement. The reactionary and divisive forces have penetrated deep into these sections utilising the prevalent backwardness among them. They have been successful in diverting their attention to frivolous issues and keeping them aloof from the general TU movement or forming separate unions to disrupt the

TU movement.

11.6 The question of development of full time cadres occupies a pivotal role in the cadre policies of the unions. These trade unionists who are prepared to make any sacrifice for the cause of working class and the toiling sections of the society. Their development is sadly neglected and at times they are treated just as employees and not given due status they deserve. Promoting them to leading positions after necessary training is not always encouraged. It is necessary that all the states should review the problems faced by the full-timers so that steps can be taken to fully utilise their potential for strengthening the organisation.

11.7 Overwhelming majority of the full-timers have no financial security and some of them are ill paid. Due to incapacity of the unions to pay them regularly the required wages, they are facing innumerable problems which affect their functioning in the organisation. Many comrades have given up the work as full timers when they find it extremely difficult to make their both ends meet.

11.8 The discussion on cadre development will be incomplete without properly reviewing the question of development of cadre from among the working class. We should be proud that we have thousands of good working class comrades, but they cannot reach the leadership position often due to bureaucratic tendencies in the leadership. Besides, their inability to understand and express themselves in English is coming in the way of their advance. Our TU correspondence essentially is in English and all India meetings are all conducted in English. Many capable working class comrades are unable to follow the deliberations and ultimately get frustrated or remain passive. It has also resulted in a new entrant in the TU movement with good knowledge of English getting quick boost in the organisation while the non-English knowing comrades are destined to remain as rank and file members throughout their life.

11.9 We should not ignore the fact that about one third of the delegates in the last CITU conference had practically no experience of work inside the factory or establishment. Many of our leaders are known as "Babus" among the rank and file workers. While the need for inducting educated comrades in the TU movement should not be underestimated, the task of understanding the difficulties faced by the working class comrades in taking higher responsibility in the organisation should be given necessary emphasis. Our success in future depends on how far we can bring large number of worker

comrades to the forefront.

12. TRADE UNION EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

12.1 Trade Union education is an inseparable part of the cadre development programme. Without sustained education of cadres and activists T.U.s will not be able to discharge their duties effectively.

12.2 Though several state level classes have been organised in the past the CITU Centre has not organised a single central TU school or a regional school during the last 23 years of its existence. Naturally, the task of preparing a team of teachers to conduct classes in states and districts still remains unfulfilled. Though the demand was frequently raised by the General Council members the CITU Centre has not been able to prepare a syllabus with detailed lecture notes to conduct TU classes.

12.3 The CITU Centre has been sending teachers to take classes whenever there was a demand from the state committee or industry-wise federation. We have also extended assistance to fraternal organisations in conducting classes. However, in absence of well prepared syllabus the outcome by these classes has been below the mark. However, it must be noted that one single syllabus will not serve the purpose. We have to differentiate between the task of educating ordinary workers, active workers, leaders and teachers. Even programme of industry-wise education will have different aspects of training. Moreover, there is urgent need of training specific comrades on specialist training programme in view of emerging technology in the country. Without creation of a team at the Centre with specific responsibility the task cannot be fulfilled. We have to give special priority to this work keeping in mind the urgency of the situation.

12.4 It is a sad commentary on our work that we have not been able to consider the aspect of research work and development of information system in our activities. Without periodically preparing research papers on different aspects of TU activity and supply of necessary agitational and propaganda material to our activists we will not be able to make qualitative improvement in our activities. Though we have to undertake these jobs in a phased manner, too much delay will cost us very much. We have to consider our concrete tasks in this area so that we can take steps to improve our work substantially. In a new situation when the

bourgeoisie is adopting new methods of creating illusions among the workers to counteract their ideological offensive we need such a centre. Resources and cadre problem are real bottlenecks in this regard, but if comrades cooperate we may be able to take steps in this regard also.

12.5 The CITU Centre has taken a preliminary step to establish a Library with about 2000 books. It needs further development but the costs are heavy. However, some funds are to be provided for this purpose so that we will have a proper information and documentation centre.

13. WORK AMONG WORKING WOMEN

13.1 Despite repeated criticism in the CITU conferences and all India meetings, the working women's front shows utter callousness on the part of our leaders, unions and various committees. Since 1979 when we held our 1st all India convention of working women, it has almost become a ritual to criticise our neglect in this regard and comrades put up with this criticism without making serious improvements in our approach towards working women. Some State Committees have not taken steps to form working women's sub-committees or the state level co-ordination committees. Some of those who have formed have either not met or been meeting irregularly with poor attendance. Some State Committees have not taken work among working women as agenda for discussion in the State Committee meetings. A major reason is the lack of seriousness among our unions to develop work among working women.

13.2 Inclusion of working women on state committees is rarely seen in most of the state committees. One of the reasons for less attendance to the state level and all India meetings was mentioned as reluctance of the unions to pay their traveling expenses. Since we have decided not to form a separate organisation of working women they have no separate funds and unless unions finance their traveling their participation in such meetings is bound to be symbolic. Those who can raise funds on their own can afford to participate in these meetings. The state committees have to impress upon the unions to help the working women financially to enable them to attend the all India and state level meetings. Financial assistance to the functioning of the state coordination committee is also necessary. We must give special emphasis on promotion of

women cadres so that they can discharge higher responsibility in the organisation.

13.3 We have not been able to form women's sub-committees at union level wherever sizable working women are working. In absence of local activities of unions on this front, what is there to coordinate at the state level? Without formation of union level sub-committees merely holding a state level convention once in a while or on the occasion of state conference is not going to help in the long run. As a matter of fact, the State Coordination Committee of Working Women should coordinate the activities of working women's sub-committee formed by the unions.

13.4 At the initiative of some state level committee, activities among working women in Insurance, Banks and state govt. employee have made considerable headway but our own affiliated unions are lagging behind in this regard. Without development of activities among our own class the working women's movement cannot be developed properly. In unorganised sector where large number of women employees are working we have not been able to work effectively, with the result that their involvement in the TU movement is much less.

13.5 The only notable advance can be mentioned is about the work among Anganwadi workers where we have been able to bring in the movement larger number of women employees. Although the independent functioning of the Anganwadi Federation requires gearing up, we have been able to take initiative in building a united movement of these employees. The CITU's initiative in other sectors of women's employment should be seen distinctly which alone will enable us to advance the movement.

13.6 Without educating the working women activists it would not be possible to make them work more effectively in the trade unions. A special syllabus has to be prepared to meet the requirement of training of working women.

13.7 It must be admitted that the T.U. movement in general has neglected the task of fighting against social oppression of women. In several cases we find that even in charter of Demands the special problems faced by working women are rarely mentioned. We have not seriously taken up the cases of sexual harassment of women workers during our agitations. At times our leaders and activists become victims of male chauvinism while tendency is developing to look at problems of women some what contemptuously. Trade

union movement must closely link itself with the women's liberation movement if larger involvement of women in the T.U. movement. We should also educate our workers to involve their womenfolk in the democratic women's movement.

13.8 We must keep in mind the criticism made by Com.B T Ranadive regarding our neglect of work among women during the 6th conference of CITU at Bombay, ".....the major part of CITU committees either ignored the problems or made some cosmetic changes in their practices.... The problem of working women is a part of the struggle of the working class against the capitalist society and not just a question which concern women alone. "He further pointed out," What is the basis of this incorrect attitude? It is nothing but underestimation of women and their work." Com.BTR's criticism is still valid today. Unless we correct our attitude in this regard, involvement of working women in larger number in our movement is bound to be symbolic and seriously obstruct the very advance of our movement.

14. CITU JOURNALS

14.1 We have already noted that the CITU Centre is bringing out 4 journals in addition to the 8 journals published by the different state committees. They are Shramik Andolan (Bengali), Karmika Lokam (Andhra) CITU Seeithi (Tamilnadu), CITU Sandesham (Malayalam), CITU Sandesha (Kannada), Shramik Ekta (Oriya), CITU Mulajim (Punjabi), CITU Bihar (Hindi), CITU Samachar (Gujarat). Some of the journals are running at a loss while some have reached the break even point.

14.2 In addition to the state journals several industry-wise federations are bringing out bulletins. The SWFI is bringing out 'News Clip', the CWFI is publishing "Construction Worker", EEFI is publishing a quarterly "Voice of the Electricity Worker". AIPWF is publishing a cyclostyled bulletin. The Forward Seamen's Union of India is bringing out bilingual Nabik Bhikashan every month.

14.3 In Kerala 3 journals are published by CITU affiliated unions. Kerala State Electricity Board Workers Association is publishing a monthly "Electricity Worker" (6,000 copies). Kerala State Road Transport Employees Association is publishing a monthly "Transport Employee" (8000 copies), Kerala Cooperative Employees Union is also publishing a monthly "Cooperative Worker (6,500

copies). Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Staff and Workers Federation brings out a monthly "RTC Workers" (5000 copies), Electricity Employees Union periodically brings out bulletins, Kheda Jilla brings out Gujarathi monthly bulletin "Janata Yug", (1500 copies) Factory Kamdar union Mazdoor Sangram Samithi (Haryana) brings out Hindi Journal "Mashali". Bangalore Auto Rickshaw Drivers Union publishes monthly bulletin "Autochalaka." In Tamilnadu Transport Workers Federation Publishes journal in Tamil "Pokkuvarathu Thozhilali" (30000 copies) whose circulation is beyond its membership. Electricity Union publishes a journal Minkathir with 5000 circulation. Dakshin Railway Employees Union brings out a monthly "Thozhilalarasu" (2000 copies). In West Bengal, Calcutta Municipal Corporation Union, West Bengal State Electricity Board union and HFC union publish bulletins occasionally. The unorganised workers issues are focussed through a bulletin brought out in Bengali and Hindi. The list given here is by no means complete.

14.4 Despite several journals published by us we have never centrally discussed how to improve their standard. Attempts can also be made to increase their circulation. We should plan a meeting of the Editors of all the CITU journals so that we can review the contents of the journals and take steps to improve their content.

14.5 One major weakness of all our central and state journals is that their circulation is mainly confined to the CITU followers. Very few copies go to the workers outside the influence of CITU. We have seriously to ponder over the steps we should take to increase the circulation among the non-CITU readers so that the CITU journals can really be an instrument to draw in large readerships of non-CITU workers.

15 UNIFICATION OF T.U. MOVEMENT

15.1 While striving to strengthen our organisation we must take into account the tremendous urge for unity among the rank and file workers. They have learnt from their experience that the multiplicity of trade unions is seriously affecting their bargaining power. It is in this context that the slogan of one union in one industry is becoming popular among the workers. As a concept the CITU upholds the concept of one union in industry. However it is necessary, to emphasise that such a union must function demo-

cratically, hold organisational election on the basis of secret ballot and stand for firm defence of working class interests. The unions which do not function democratically cannot unite the entire class nor defend their legitimate interests. In achieving one union in one industry these aspects should be properly emphasised educating the workers. In to-days Indian context the word industry is actually means a unit or establishment.

15.2 In several industrial centres workers prefer to have a single union not affiliated to any central trade union organisation. There are cases when such a union is affiliated to non-CITU organisation. How our comrades should function in these unions is sometime left to the comrades concerned. Such comrades should be given guidance by the appropriate committees so that they can function according to our understanding without affecting the unity of the union. There is a tendency among a section of our comrades not to work in the union led by others. This also should be discarded through educating such comrades. Attempt to come out of such unions and form splinter unions without a sizable base among the workers should be discouraged.

15.3 Further, as mentioned earlier, industry level coordination committee or federation of CITU unions have been functioning in many industries. In many of those industries similar federation of unions of other affiliations are also in existence. In some such cases urge among the common workers for having one independent industry level federation of unions of different affiliations is being noticed. The CITU welcomes this urge for unity, but it is necessary for the CITU unions to see that such united independent federations become the genuine democratically run platform of struggle in defence of the interest of working class.

15.4 We should however continue to popularise from our independent platform the concept of the confederation as an instrument to consolidate the organisational unity of the working class on national scale. Essential condition for formation of a single trade union centre is yet to mature. But the urge among the workers for unification of unions or federations in plant and industry level in many places points to the gradual acceleration of the process which would ultimately create ground for formation of confederation at national level. Again the confederation of trade unions at national level would also pave the way for one union in one industry in a wider scale in the long run. Therefore our priority must be to

popularise the idea of a Confederation of unions which should be kept in mind clearly.

16. OUR URGENT TASKS

Comrades,

16.1 In the present national situation, the economic crisis is taking the country into a debt trap with increasing conditionalities by the World Bank and the IMF. The economic policies pursued by the Narsimha Rao Government are creating a hunting ground for the multinational companies and monopoly capitalists in India. Our advancing struggle against these policies in which we are involving all other mass organisations is a significant development in the present day situation. The historic National Convention of mass organisations held in New Delhi on 15th April, 1993 has given before the nation a clear cut perspective for a democratic advance. However, the communal and reactionary forces are determined to destroy the secular fabric of the society and taking the country towards a fratricidal war. Unless we effectively nip these conspiracies in the bud the country will face alarming situation. Under these circumstances we have to play a crucial role in defending the unity and integrity of the country and our cherished goal of socialism. Without a strong and well knit organisation and correct policies we will not be able to play our role effectively. Therefore the task of overcoming our shortcoming was never so much pronounced as it is today.

16.2 The international situation, after the setback to socialism in former Soviet Union and East European countries, has become more complicated. The US imperialism has become more aggressive and its intervention in the third world countries has become more vicious. Its capacity to use the signboard of UNO for its depredations has made the situation more complex. Anti-socialist propaganda by the bourgeoisie, both Indian and foreign, has become more ferocious and systematic attempts are being made to confuse the working class. The bourgeois propagandists are trying to confuse the working class by advancing the arguments that capitalism is the only answer for all the problems facing the world. They however fail to explain why despite advance in science and technology the capitalism cannot eliminate poverty and destitu-

tion. The high rate of unemployment in advanced capitalist countries accompanied by low rate of economic growth clearly explains the fallacy of the so called new economic order and globalisation of economy. This highlights the need for giving emphasis in educating the working class about our objective of abolition of capitalism and establishment of a socialist society.

16.3 In a period of deepening crisis we have to take up industry-wise and unit-wise issues separately without which we cannot evolve effective alternate policies to overcome the crisis. The bourgeoisie is trying its utmost to pass on the burden of this crisis on the shoulders of the working class and the people of India. To counteract this pernicious move we have to popularise the alternate approach among the workers so that interests of the toiling millions are protected. We will have to seriously strive to improve our style of work so that we can soberly explain the implications of the capitalist offensive which alone result in winning over non-committed sections of the workers to our side. Trotting general principles will not help us in this critical juncture.

16.4 Any corrective measure in our organisational setup must begin with the CITU Centre itself which has the primary responsibility of having an overall review of the entire organisation. The following steps will have to be taken in this regard in a time bound programme:

16.4.1 Improvement in the functioning of the CITU Secretariat. Strengthening of the collective functioning of the Centre so that team-work can be improved. Decisions taken by the CITU Secretariat regarding the functioning of the Centre should be strictly be adhered to and the work of each member of the Secretariat should be properly monitored. The check up of the decisions should be substantially improved. General Secretary will have to play a major role in coordinating the activities of the CITU Centre. The CITU Centre must periodically review the implementation of the organisational tasks laid down in this documents.

16.4.2 Induction of some senior comrades in the CITU Centre with good experience of mass work and ability to guide the all India movement is needed. State Committees should come forward to propose the names of comrades who can take such assignments.

16.4.3 The quarterly meetings of the full Secretariat should be held for two days and complete review of the organisation and its activities should be made regular so that steps can be taken to

overcome the shortcomings. The work done by it should be regularly reported to the General Council/Working Committee meetings.

16.4.4 Regarding the priority regions the CITU centre should discuss the question of expansion of our activities with respective state committees and prepare a well knit plan for further growth of CITU in these priority areas as stated in this report. The Centre should prepare a plan in consultation with State Committees to strengthen the organisation in priority sector and in industries owned by multinational companies and monopoly houses. Cadre deployment to be done according to this priority. The CITU centre has to oversee the implementation of the tasks and periodically report to the Working Committee and General Council for further consideration.

16.4.5 More attention to be paid by the Centre on ideological moulding of the working class. Preparation of necessary material on a regular basis to highlight the ultimate objective of the TU movement. Systematic efforts to develop socialist consciousness among the working class should be made while exposing all the bourgeois propaganda against socialism. The CITU centre should carefully study the percolation of alien class ideology within the working class and special emphasis to be given to warn the working class about the dangerous consequences of these ideologies at all levels.

16.5 The State Committee should implement the following tasks.

16.5.1 Preparation of a self-critical review of the functioning of various organs of the CITU in the State in the light of report and organise discussion at State level in State Committee and District Committee levels and workout corrective mechanism. The State Committees who are not submitting written reports to the committee meetings should do so in future.

16.5.2 Review of struggles conducted by the unions to be prepared and widely circulated in the State to pool the rich experience gained during day to day activities and make it known to all the ranks of the CITU.

16.5.3 Launching Statewide drive to increase the membership of the CITU by fixing target of enrollment every year so that organised strength can be increased in a planned way.

16.5.4 Strengthening of industry-wise co-ordination and effective

steps to introduce T.U. democracy at all levels in the State.

16.5.5 Review of the functioning of all District Committees and concrete tasks to be given to them to implement the general tasks efficiently by regular checking up of the work done.

16.6 Regarding the cadre development efforts to be made at all levels to put comrades in proper position and give higher responsibility to comrades having merit. Regarding education, a Sub-Committee already formed for the purpose, should be entrusted with the task of preparing syllabus along with lecture notes within 3 months so that countrywide educative programme can be chalked out on the basis of the syllabus by the end of October 1993. Advanced syllabus for specialised training can be suitably developed later. Our senior leadership has also to note that they have to develop their own knowledge and equip themselves with all information so that they can contribute effectively in evolving suitable policies for the organisation. Their capacity to lead in the present complex situation largely depends on how far they become competent to tackle the problems facing our movement. Unless every senior leader becomes teacher in the trade unions as schools of socialism we cannot effectively lead our own masses, let alone the question of leading the general masses influenced by various ideologies.

16.7 The phenomenon of one senior leader associated with several unions continues to dog our organisation even to-day. This thwarts the development of new leadership in the organisation and it becomes nearly impossible for an individual leader, however competent he may be, to deal with several unions at a time. However, the change in the leadership was to be done in a gradual manner and the matter should be left to the respective bodies to decide. As a principle CITU should discard this practice and make conscious efforts to develop new leadership in the unions.

16.8 Regarding Hindi speaking areas, the State Committees in these states should prepare plan of expansion of activities in consultation with the CITU Centre. The Centre can take the help of advanced States so that the region is helped to strengthen its activities. The CITU centre should convene periodic meetings of the leadership of the state committees of Hindi speaking region to review the activities and prepare programme so that the CITU work is strengthened in this region. The B.T Ranadive Memorial Trust should make strenuous efforts to obtain the possession of

land as soon as possible. Meanwhile drive for collection for fund should commence without any delay and State Committees, should launch vigorous campaign for collection of funds. The call given by the 7th conference to collect one day wage from every CITU member and sympathiser should be successfully implemented by all our unions by 19th December 1993 the next birthday of Com. B.T.R.

16.9 Regarding working women, State Committees should ensure that every union, where sizable women workers are employed, should form women's sub-committees so that women's problems are taken up by the unions. Development of cadres from among the working women and programme of holding T.U. classes for working women activists should be implemented so that they assume the responsibility of leadership. Formation of State T.U. Sub-committees or coordination committees of working women in all the states should be given priority and they should be made active bodies. Periodic review of the activities by the General Council/Working Committee meetings should be done.

16.10 Our neglect of working among young workers is costing us dearly. Wherever we have ignored this task, the new worker is remaining away from the unions. Trade unions should take up the problems of young workers so that their involvement in union activity is further strengthened. We have been only debating the question of organising the unemployed young workers but we have not even commenced work in that direction. Huge strata of young unemployed worker is remaining outside the periphery of our movement. We should strengthen the campaign for Right to Work in co-operation with Student and Youth organisations.

16.11 Special attention to be paid to development of cadres among SC and ST workers and minorities while arranging through them involvement of larger sections in the union activities. More efforts to bring to the leading position the promising cadres among these strata.

16.12 In day to day activities, unions should give proper emphasis on Cultural activities so that genuine cultural aspirations of workers are given proper shape. State-wise programmes to be discussed to coordinate activities in the field. If possible formation of All India team to guide the activities in this field. Serious drive to increase the sale of CITU journals in all languages so that our propaganda literature goes to maximum number of readers. Peri-

odic reports to be submitted to the General Council\Working Committee regarding the increase in circulation. Steps also to be to improve the quality of the journal to make it more popular among the workers.

16.13 The emergence of a new platform of all mass organisations should be fully utilised by the CITU to develop more fraternal relations with all mass organisations in the common democratic struggle. Special emphasis should be given for building worker peasant alliance in the real sense. Our local unions should take initiative in helping the agricultural workers as well as kisan movement. State Committees and General Council/working committee should review the activities in this field so that this alliance can be strengthened systematically. At the same time we should strive our best to popularise the idea of the Confederation.

16.14 The Industrial Federations and co-ordination committees should also prepare a self-critical report on organisation so that they can prepare a programme of action to remove the shortcomings in the organisational set up. A copy of these reports should be sent to the CITU centre so that it can monitor the work of rectification and place the report before the General Council and Working Committee for further consideration. Thus the process of improvement in the organisation should be a continuous one.

Comrades,

16.15 A question is being raised by some comrades, what is the guarantee that the task would be implemented seriously. The guarantee lies in the seriousness of our leadership to implement them. It also lies in our ranks remaining vigilant so that in every committee the issues are raised and implemented fully. Merciless criticism of those, who do not abide by the guidelines given in the document is necessary. Every comrades, to whichever level he belongs must self-critically examine his work and style of functioning in the light of this report and rectify himself so that collective efforts can be made to implement these tasks. If we fail in this it would immensely harm our movement and our final objective will remain a mere dream.

16.16 If we take expeditious steps in overcoming our organisational lapses, the scope for increasing our strength manifold will be available to us. With improved organisational framework our ability to lead the working class movement will grow immensely

and our capacity to develop in weaker areas will increase substantially. We will be able to bring into the vortex of struggles thousands of conscious and devoted cadres who have come to us in the recent past. Once our striking power against bourgeois landlord classes becomes stronger we will be able to effectively contribute in changing the correlations of forces in our favour. With collective leadership emerging at various levels and deepening of TU democracy our organisation will become more vibrant to discharge its responsibilities in the present period.

16.17. Let us all work together to implement the directives stated in this report so that our organisational weaknesses are removed as soon as possible. Moreover, we have moral strength to overcome these shortcomings in the interest of our day to day tasks as well as of our achievement of our final objective of building a socialist society on the Indian soil. With rich experience we have gained in conducting the united movement of working class we will be able to meet the challenge of the emerging situation. Our organisation can say with pride that we have the largest number of cadres compared to any other central T.U. organisation in the country. If these cadres are developed properly they will emerge as a mighty force to be reckoned with. If we succeed in this task it will certainly be a historic landmark in the annals of CITU.

Adopted by CITU Working
Committee meeting held
at Bhubaneswar 4-6 June 1993

I would like to congratulate CITU for its publication entitled "Report on Organisation." We read this with great interest in the ILO, both Headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, and in India, and found it an extremely candid self appraisal. It demonstrates the capacity and dedication of CITU to review its functioning and objectives and to adapt to the changing environment. In order to maintain efficiency and effectiveness an organisation must be willing to accept the need to adapt and take courageous initiatives. . . .

The Report demonstrates your trade union's dedication to act on the conclusions emanating from the self-evaluation. You have recognised that "without sustained education, trade unions will not be able to discharge their duties effectively" and that "without educating the working women activists it would not be possible to make them work more effectively in the trade unions." You have emphasised that work in the unorganised sector is vital due to various problems such as low wages and lack of job security. You have upheld the principle of unity amongst unions. We have also noted your concern for young workers and unemployed youth in the country.

I would like to congratulate CITU for taking action so rapidly after your self appraisal and wish you much success.

Extract from the Message from Ms. Josephine Karavasil, Director, ILO (India & Bhutan)
to the 8th Conference of CITU, 3-7 March, 1994

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