



THE WORKING CLASS

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE CITU

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Overseas Organisation Of Spanish Workers Appeals For Solidarity

THE EXTERIOR DELEGATION OF WORKERS' Commissions of Spain has issued the following appeal to all Spanish emigrants, to international organisations, trade unions and political and democratic organisations :

"The Basque Country is presently living under a State of Exception. Unprecedented in its brutality, it has taken on the form of outright gang warfare which the Armed Police, the Guardia Civil and the Political Police have resorted to in an attempt to subdue the Basque people through terrorism.

But since the repressive machine of the Regime is incapable of silencing an entire population, fascist gangs are being organized behind the scenes, and at their head are members of the Politicosocial Brigade. Armed with bombs and machine guns, they have attacked buildings belonging to the families of dissidents of the Franco regime and persons suspected of sympathizing with the cause of the Basque people.

Repressive measures have reached such proportions that the government went so far as to order its Secret Services to assassinate Basque patriots who succeeded in fleeing the repression unchained in their own country. The antique dealer from Barcelona discovered in Bayonne, France, is only one such example. It is through these Secret Services that crimes of this sort are carried out by persons whose previous police records are promised to be "forgotten" subsequent to the execution of these "jobs".

Thus, the assassinations of Ignacio GARAY and his wife Blanca SALEGUI, of Jesus Maria MARQUIEGUI and Luis ARRIOLA, the thousands of persons detained and beaten in police precincts, the hundreds of others tortured and imprisoned, the bombing of homes and stores, the setting fire to cars with French or German licence plates—all of this summarizes the feverish brutality unleashed in the Basque Country, under the protection of the "Law".

And under this same "Law" the press has been reduced to silence, since it is now explicitly prohibited to make any mention whatsoever of police activities practiced in the Basque Country.

But even all of this does not seem to satisfy Franco and the "liberal"—minded head of the Government, Arias Navarro. They are now attempting to give a juridical basis to what can only be considered as terrorism of the State through Military Tribunals who are to institutionalize political assassinations.

Jose Antonio GARMENDIA and Angel OTAEGUI are two young militants of E.T.A. who will be put to death through such procedures if the workers' organizations—both union and political—and the democratic organizations throughout the world do not act in time and get a massive movement of solidarity and protest under way.

Jose Antonio Garmenda, practically unconscious as a result of the wound he suffered at the time of his detention (a bullet was fired in his head) was subsequently administered a heavy dose of drugs in order to obtain a signed confession. According to the medical reports submitted in his file, his intellectual capacities have been reduced to those of a three-year old infant. Both Garmendia and Otaegui are accused of the death of a member of the Guardia Civil.

If we permit the perpetration of these new crimes, those against Eva FOREST, Antonio DURAN, Mari-Luz FERNANDEZ and many others who are fighting for freedom in Spain are bound to follow.

As of yet we are not certain of the exact date that the trial of these two youths will get under way before the War Tribunal at Burgos, although it is generally believed that the hearing should be opened on or about June 20th through June 25th.

But we can not wait until the official date has been fixed. We can not wait until we find ourselves before an irreversible situation as was the case with PUIG ANTICH.

We must from this very day on mobilize ourselves with no further delay. And just as worldwide public opinion was alerted during the War Tribunal at Burgos in 1973, we must do all in our power to prevent the sentencing of these two young militants. In 1970 we were able to do so. And today this is once again possible provided that we lay aside our political and tactical differences and mobilize ourselves in unison, without losing any more time.

The Exterior Delegation of the Workers' Commissions appeals to all Spanish emigres, to international public opinion and to develop a campaign of protest which would force Franco and

Arias Navarro to take a step backward.

No to the State of Exception
No to the death sentence
No to political assassinations

organised in governmental ranks
No to state terrorism

LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY FOR SPAIN

[Source: Bulletin issued by the Exterior Delegation of the Workers' Commissions of Spain.]

CITU Foundation Day Observed

The sixth Foundation Day of the CITU was observed on 30th May last in different offices and centres of the CITU. At the CITU Central Office at Calcutta the CITU Flag was hoisted in the morning by Com. Samar Mukherjee, Secretary CITU. Explaining the significance of Unity and Struggle given by the 3rd All India Conference held a few days back in Bombay, and said that in order to give correct leadership in the coming days the CITU must strike to develop the political consciousness of the working class.

The CITU flag was also hoisted at the West Bengal State Committee Office at Calcutta by Comrade Krishnapada Ghosh, Working Committee member of the CITU.

Background Of Japanese Spring Struggle 1975

Wage policy of the Government and Capital

THE Employers' Association of Japan (Nikkeiren) in November 1974, issued a report compiled by its "Research Committee to Investigate where a big wagehike will Lead". This is, so to speak, Nikkeiren's wage White Paper. Nikkeiren in this report hammered out a policy, which stated, dovetailing with Government's price trend estimation, that the wage increase rate in 1975 should be less than 15 per cent. The figure of 15 per cent has been laid down purely out of political considerations. The report argues arbitrarily that in the era of low economic growth the annual wagehike margin should be less than 10 per cent. The 15 per cent rate had been set simply as a compromise between this future rate of less than 10 per cent and the 1974 spring struggle achievement of 30 per cent. This figure therefore reflects not a bit of economic reality but only a wishful thinking of capitalists. If we trade unions should accept the figure it would be tantamount to accepting, together with it, Nikkeiren's policy of pressing down the annual wage increase rate to less than 10 per cent in 1976 and ahead.

Thus, the collusion between the government and big business has become complete. Now they form a single community sharing the same destiny. They have come to cooperate not only in effecting plutocratic rule and big business

favoring policy, but also in coining their common wage policy toward the forthcoming spring struggle of workers.

By now the government policies have been exposed as vicious in all respects. People now see through the deceptive nature of the three non-nuclear principles (the real nature of the U. S. Japan Security Treaty System). Similarly, the corrupt plutocratic rule has been laid bare, together with the government's utter incapacity to take proper price policy. Their sheer neglect of public welfare, too has been exposed. Wage freeze thus is no longer a problem involving the interests of the employers and labour but has emerged as the government's most serious economic task, capital's gravest economic policy and the sharpest political focus as well.

Frame of Conservative Line and That of Progressive Line

At the present stage where the demand for stability of monopoly rule and LDP political rule and the demand for stability in people's living, clash head on the most important prerequisite for workers struggle is to transform the frame of Japanese politics and economy. Individual struggle of workers and working people should be channeled into integrated efforts to abolish the government's and monopolies' frame to replace it with the working people's frame of politics and economics. If we operate within the frame set by

the conservative government and big business we shall never be able to see our diverse demands fulfilled, for then different strata of people will be easily induced to fight each other to achieve their individual demands at the sacrifice of others.

By our alternative frame we mean a frame of society in which not only wage demand is met but also all livelihood-related difficulties of working people can be basically overcome. It is already well known that the super-economic growth was carried out at the sacrifice of people's welfare and generated new sufferings of people in the form of pollution. We are marvelled to find so many contradictions thus created on all sides of our living.

Anti-Inflationary Policy

Our immediate goal is to fight against inflation to protect people's living since inflation is the crux of contradictions/and also because inflation serves to hamper solution of these other contradictions.

As has been already said, the capitalist world today is generally suffering from inflation. And therefore it would be completely free from it. But Japan is hit by particularly serious inflation because of the past super economic growth and misgovernment by the Tanaka Cabinet. To protect ourselves from this inflation in Japan, we definitely need two sets of measures—one alleviating the

effects of inflation through drastic wage increase and improvement in social welfare and the other helping to slow down the pace of inflation.

We have been insisting on the need of such counter-inflationary measures, and we must make it clear that the government and monopolies deliberately avoided taking them. The responsibility for this should be pinned on them. To put it differently, drastic wagehikes and price stability can be compatible if the government and monopolies accept our proposals. But if they should ignore our proposals, the need for us gets all the keener to fight for large wage increase and improvement in welfare because we then have to protect our living for ourselves. Whichever the case, it is impossible for us to sit still under the threat of stagflation.

They claim that big wage increase would lead the Japanese economy to bankruptcy, but that they have to say so only indicates that the social order centering on the particular interests of big business and the economic rule of monopolies have by now become utterly incompatible with demands of workers.

Our choice therefore is by no means between "wagehike" and "inflation" between wagehike and unemployment. The choice before us is whether a monopolies-dominated society (the status quo) or a society dedicated to the interests of working people.

People's Spring Struggle and Strengthened Unity

As long as we thus demand transformation of the present economic system and in no way the preservation of the present state of affairs, our demand for higher wages cannot be put forward as separate from other anti-inflationary demands. Especially when we pay attention to the fate of 20 million unorganized workers, unemployed workers and low income strata of the population, we must link our hands with these people in the spirit of solidarity and organize joint struggle with them for the protection of all working and suffering people from inflation. We must do so in confrontation with the onslaught of the monopolies.

We put forward a demand for the establishment of a national uniform minimum guaranteed wage system at the top of our list of demands precisely because it has become a keen and urgent task to win for all unorganized workers an institutional guarantee of their livelihood. In the same vein, we are urging our member union leadership to successfully win the rank-and-file mandates giving them the power to issue strike directives not only on wage questions but also on other issues including the minimum wage system, anti-inflation struggle and recovery of workers' right to strike.

If on the contrary organized labour should limit themselves to struggle, that will have the effect of frustrating the unity of the people at large. Demand for

higher wages is of course a just demand stemming from day-to-day sufferings of workers, but it can win a firm social support only when it is combined with the struggle of broad sections of the people against inflation and for higher welfare. In this sense the line of People's Spring Struggle adopted for the first time in the 1974 spring struggle must further be enriched and strengthened. Joint struggle should be developed with the struggle of democratic organizations, especially in anti-inflation campaigns, and liaison strengthened with progressive political parties and outside labour unions, thus to expand the front of people fighting against the Liberal Democratic Party and against monopoly capital.

The last but not least important task is to strengthen solidarity and unity of trade unions as the mainstay of the people's struggle. The stagflation we face presents the most virulent situation our spring struggle has ever experienced. Naturally the capital side is prepared to resist with all their might, and this requires us to muster our strength and fortify our struggle setup by spending far more energy for this purpose than we did in past spring struggles during economic booms. In Europe and the United States it is customary that workers resort to longer-term strikes during stagflation than during economic prosperity, and in Japan we know that wage will be determined this spring not only by the intra enterprise situation but

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Agriculture and Industrial Disputes Act.

IT is well known that capitalist formations are fast encroaching into the agricultural field, though by and large, even today, the predominant relations in the country side are feudal. The most obnoxious forms of feudal exploitation, namely, bonded labour, are also to be witnessed in the country side of India, as would be found from the monograph on bonded labour published by the Indian School of Social Sciences, Calcutta.

Partly due to the influence of feudal relations predominating in the country side, agricultural labourers employed even in capitalist farming are not yet regarded as workers within the meaning of the Industrial Disputes Act, not to speak of the agricultural labourers employed in non-capitalist farming.

But struggles are arising off and on, now and then, for recognising the agricultural labourers as industrial workers. As was to be expected, the struggles have had their reflection in legal battles too. Some concessions have also been wrested.

The Courts have agreed only to this proposition that where agricultural operations are organised as an industry and where they bear "the definite character of trade or business or manufacture or calling or an undertaking resulting in material goods or material services" (See Maheswar Rao v. State of

Orissa-1), agricultural workers employed therein may be considered to be, and treated as, workers within the meaning of the Industrial Disputes Act.

As early as March 21, 1963, the Supreme Court presided over by Gajendragadkar, J., had to grapple with this question in the case Harinagar State Farm v. State of Bihar & others (2). In this case, the workers of Motipur Zamindar Company (private) Ltd. and Harinagar Cane Farm raised an industrial dispute which was referred for adjudication by the State of Bihar to an industrial tribunal. Both the concerns then moved the Patna High Court for a writ to quash the reference. The Patna High Court held the reference to be perfectly valid and repelled the contention that the agricultural operations carried on by the companies did not constitute industry under the Industrial Disputes Act.

The Patna High Court, relying on the decision of the Supreme Court in D. N. Banerjee v. P. R. Mukherjee (3), made these observations on the case (then entitled Matipur Zamindari Co. v. State of Bihar-4) :—

"In D. N. Banerjee v. P. R. Mukherjee, it was held by Chandrasekhar Aiyar, J. that the words 'industry' and 'industrial dispute' in Act 14 of 1947 must be given a wide and comprehensive meaning in order to meet the requirements of modern

technological progress and in order to bring about a fair and satisfactory adjustment of relations between employers and workmen for the promotion of industrial peace and harmony...It was pointed out by Chandrasekhar Aiyar, J. that neither investment of capital nor profit making motive is an essential element in the modern conception of industry".

In the case under consideration, it was found that the company owned 4400 bighas of land and carried on cultivation of those lands by employing 358 permanent workers in addition to a large number of temporary or casual workers. A large amount of capital to the extent of Rs. 10,00,000 was also found to have been invested. The Company maintained annual balance sheets and they showed that there was profit-making motive.

In the appeal to the Supreme Court, it was argued on behalf of the workmen that section 2(J) of the Act should not be cut down and restricted in its scope and should include agricultural operations for, if the legislature had intended to exclude such agricultural operations from the definition of industry, it would have expressly done so, as in section 4 of the Australian Commonwealth Arbitration Act, 1904, which make it clear that industry "does not include dispute relating to employment in any agricultural, viticultural, horticultural or dairying pursuit".

Even this interesting argument failed to persuade the Supreme Court to give a decision

on the point. The Court evaded the real issue and declined to decide "the large question" whether all agricultural operations are included within the definition of section 2(j) of the Act, on the ground that "industrial adjudication should refrain from enunciating any general principle or adopting any doctrinaire considerations". We must ruefully observe that the Supreme Court has too often done so, so much so that, now-a-days, industrial adjudication has become one of the most complicated branches of law, which it was not meant to be when the Industrial Disputes Act was enacted. Then it was thought that the Tribunal would be able to decide disputes *tete-a-tete* with the employ-

Japanese Spring Struggle

(From Page Four)

rather by the outcome of total confrontation between the combined forces of the government and big business and the entire labour movement. Keeping this in mind, we must not confine our struggle to workshops. We must strive to achieve unity of all the working class by creating a mighty force of the entire working people. This applies not only to wage struggle. It is even more keenly required in connection with our struggle for the fulfillment of demands involving the entire working population such as those related to the uniform minimum wage system and inflation counter-measures. At no time in the past has the need for strong unity been greater than this year.

[Source : SOHYO News]

yer and the workmen in an informal manner. But, alas, those good old ideas have been nipped in the bud, mostly because of the judgements of the State High Courts and the Supreme Court which have made industrial law a professional affair.

Here, however, the Supreme Court did not decide whether agriculture was included in industry. But the appeal of the companies was dismissed on the facts of the case. The Court said, "There is no doubt that for carrying on the agricultural operations the appellants have invested a large amount of capital and it is not disputed that the appellants have invested capital for carrying on their agricultural operations for the purpose of making profits. It is also common ground that the workmen employed by the appellants in their respective operations contribute to the production of agricultural commodities which bring in profit to the appellants. Therefore, even the narrow traditional requirements of the concept of trade or business are, in that sense satisfied by the agricultural operations of the appellants. What is more important in the present appeals is that the appellants are limited companies which have been formed, *inter alia*, for the express purpose of carrying on agricultural trade or business".

On this limited ground, the Court held that the workmen of the companies were workmen within the meaning of the Industrial Disputes Act, their dispute, an industrial dispute and the

operations in which they were engaged, an industry.

An analogous question arose for decision in 1974 in the Orissa High Court in *Maheswar Rao v. State of Orissa* (supra), but that Court felt hamstrung by the earlier decisions of the Supreme High Court. It held that "unless agriculture is adopted as a business or calling, the operations cannot partake of the character of the industry".

.....

- 1) (1975) 30 FLR 262
- 2) (1963) 6 FLR 431 : (1963) 24 FLR 485
- 3) AIR 1953 SC 58 : (1953) I LLJ 195
- 4) AIR 1960 Pat 428

Arun Prokash Chatterjee

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Recession In Western Countries

Labor : The Lip Gospel

The scenario has become distressingly familiar to owners and managers of recession-battered businesses throughout Western Europe. Faced with sinking sales, the bosses decide to lay off part of their work force or close down a plant. The announcement is duly made. But then the plot takes a sudden twist: the workers refuse to heed the order. Instead, they physically seize the factory and, in many cases, form workers' cooperatives and continue to turn out the company's products themselves.

The model for the workers' new assertiveness is, of course, the French watch company called Lip (Newsweek, Aug. 27, 1973). Two years ago nearly 1,300 Lip workers defied a management shutdown order and took over the company's main plant at Besancon. Their audacious attempt at self-management appeared doomed after police invaded and recaptured the factory. But helped along by an influx of capital from sympathetic leftwing industrialists, more than 300 workers managed to start Lip's production line up again. Now, eighteen months later, Lip has bounced back as a workers' cooperative. Company salesmen have already logged orders for 100,000 watches this year and recently the worker owners presented a stylish new line of watches designed by some of France's best known artists and sculptors. As a result

of Lip's sudden burst of prosperity more than 900 of the original workers have returned to their benches.

Pattern: Just how much influence the Lip example has had is arguable. But the fact is that more and more European workers have begun to reject pink slips and pull lip-style takeovers. In a pattern emerging throughout Europe, workers pin the blame for poor sales on the ineptitude of their bosses rather than the state of the economy. Taking pride in their craftsmanship, they refuse to believe that the market for their products has vanished. Accordingly, they set out to show they can manage without managers.

This swing to self-management is especially evident in France. Some of the take-overs, like the occupation of the doomed ocean liner France by personnel last September, have failed miserably. But elsewhere in France the workers' experiments have proved remarkably successful. The textile workers at the Everwear factory near Saint-Quentin, for example, have manufactured quilts and coverlets on their own since February, while the 230 workers at the Teppaz factory near Lyons have sold the hi-fi and stereo equipment they produce for several months. A workers' take-over of the huge Titan-Coder tractor-trailer factory in Marseilles was narrowly averted earlier this year. And just this month workers at an auto accessories plant near Beziers

reacted to an announced close-down by abruptly seizing the company's factory, inventory and tools, and proclaiming their intention to "produce, sell and pay ourselves."

Workers' takeovers have been less frequent but similarly motivated outside France. In Belgium workers at the prestigious 150 year old Cristalleries du val Saint-Lambert near Liege saw the firm—once the world's largest—steadily crumble under what many of them felt to be poor managers. "This place was a museum of mismanagement" recalls one of the Company's workers. When the Belgian Government took over the Company in 1971 the workers expected some relief. Instead, the mounting layoffs continued. Then, early this year, the remaining 600 workers took over the factory. Since January they have continued under their own management to produce the firm's world-renowned crystal and glassware and claim to have doubled the company's sales. As in other Lip-style take-overs, Val Saint-Lambert workers ascribe part of their initiative to the pride they take in their traditionally intricate work. Notes one glass cutter: "Maybe we would not have had so much solidarity if we were making wooden shoes or caps. But people realise that our work must not die".

Modest: Outside of France and Belgium, however, most of the attempts at *autogestione* have turned out to be shortlived or far more modest in size. The 500 workers at a Turin auto-

parts firm, for instance, still occupy the plant they seized more than a year ago but they have been forced to halt their production lines because the Company's supply of raw materials has run out. The Turin workers have demanded that the factory be reopened with a heavy share of management responsibility in their hands. Their efforts have not yet attracted the capital to start over.

To The Readers

Despite repeated pressure of rising paper costs, printing bills, stationery etc. we refrained from increasing the price of the The Working Class all these days. With great difficulty we have been managing our budget so long.

We deeply regret to inform our readers that we are unable to carry on with the existing price of the Journal any more. We are therefore left with no alternative but to increase the price per copy from 40 paise to 50 paise from September 1975. The annual subscription will be raised accordingly from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6.

Readers who have already paid annual subscription of the journal will have to pay at the new rate from September 1975. Their subscription will be adjusted accordingly from September onwards.

We earnestly request our readers to co-operate with us in this difficult situation and help us in bringing out the journal regularly.

Editorial Board

Similarly, Scottish newspaper workers, whose nationalist ire was aroused last year when Glasgow's Scottish Daily-News was axed by its English owners, have had a difficult time making a go of co-operative journalism. Since the Scots took over, circulation has tumbled and advertisers have been unresponsive. A shaky future also looms for workers engaged in a cooperative venture at the Triumph Motorcycl Co. Ltd in Meriden, England. They hope that a \$ 10.5 million government loan can help them find the market that their old bosses gave up on two years ago. Says Dennis Johnson, spokesman for the Triumph workers: "We're trying to save Triumph because we have invested our labour, our sweat and our effort in it."

But even if many of these little Lips fail in the end, the workers' new militancy has already made itself felt in Cabinet Offices and boardrooms throughout Europe. In Great Britain, the Labor Government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson has earmarked vast sums of money to help British workers revive failing private businesses. And everywhere, beleaguered businessmen planning additional layoffs or factory shutdowns must now contemplate the possibility of a Lip-style take-over by their employees. Explained one out-of-work German Cement worker: "We built this company with our hands and our ideas. We won't be thrown out like bums."

[KENNETH LABICH with SCOTT SULLIVAN in Paris and bureau reports—published in the June 16, 1975 issue of the Newsweek.]

Successful General Strike In Argentine

At the call of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) with a membership of 3.5 million, the working class in Argentine went on a 48-hour general strike on July 7-8 last.

The strike completely paralysed the country with public transport halted, overseas communications cut off and factories ground to a halt.

The strike was called to protest against the refusal of the Government to ratify wage increases of 100 to 130 per cent for workers in recent wage negotiations with employers. Despite sky-rocketing inflation in the country, the rightist forces inside the Government of Mrs. Peron opposed the wage increases as 'exaggerated', and a Presidential order slashed the wage increase to 50 per cent.

Massive local strikes started since July 4, within hours of the Government's failure to come to a settlement with Trade Union leaders. To suppress the workers' protests, the Government assumed emergency powers and the police let loose attacks on workers' demonstrations in Buenos Aires, La Plata, Cordoba and other places, injuring indeterminate number of workers.

The unprecedented unity of the working class and massive success of the general strike forced the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers and ultimately the Government was compelled to ratify all new wage agreements.

Japanese railwaymen fight against victimisation and for "the Right to Strike"

The top bureaucrats of the National Railway authorities and the Govt. of Japan imposed punishments upon the railway workers for their participation in united strikes in Springs 1974 and 1975, which amounted to virtual withdrawal of the Right to strike.

According to SOHYO News, the organ of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, the Joint Spring Struggle Committee and Korokyo (National Council of Public Corporation Employees Union) started preparations for a united strike on June 9 last. They also developed a large scale protest campaign and a demonstration of 10,000 workers to the Diet (Parliament) on June 3, in demand for the withdrawal of punishments and recognition of public servants' right to strike.

With these actions as the

Earnings of Unskilled Textile Workers in March 1975

Ahmedabad	Rs. 414.87 P.
Bangalore	Rs. 320.60 P.
Boroda	Rs. 387.12 P.
Bombay	Rs. 407.96 P.
Coimbatore & Madras	Rs. 444.98 P.
Delhi	Rs. 401.35 P.
Indore	Rs. 404.20 P.
Kanpur	Rs. 421.07 P.
Nagpur	Rs. 311.42 P.
Sholapur	Rs. 329.62 P.
West Bengal	Rs. 356.90 P.

(From Indian Labour Journal
June '75)

background, Mr. Makato Tanale raised the issue at the Low House Social Labour Committee on June 3 and the Japanese Government was forced to retrace its steps. Labour Minister Mr. Hasegwa, announced that "In order to end vicious cycle of strike-punishments-strike-punishments the Government and National Railway authorities are now ready to discontinue the infliction of punishments hereafter.....". On being urged about settlement of the right to strike issue, he further stated that "a free exchange of views between labour and management representatives is expected at the meeting of Kakuryokyo and Senmon I to be held shortly".

In view of these assurances, the Joint Struggle Committee decided to suspend the proposed strike on June 9, but decided to keep close watch and carry out many-sided activities as well as a powerful campaign amongst the working people. The Committee also decided to organise rallies and meetings on workers' right and to call upon overseas Trade Unions for their solidarity actions.

To Readers

We regret to inform the readers that the July 1975 issue of The Working Class could not be brought out due to unavoidable reasons.

—Editor

Number Of Registered Unemployed

Number of applicants on the live register of Employment Exchanges at the end of (in 000)

	Jan. '74	Jan. '75
Andhra Pradesh	481	574
Assam	105	124
Bihar	1,140	995
Gujarat	237	298
Haryana	132	199
H. P.	66	67
J. & K.	30	23
Karnataka	309	337
Kerala	538	601
Madhya Pradesh	422	442
Maharashtra	706	716
Manipur	31	21
Meghalaya	7	7
Orissa	341	336
Punjab	211	253
Rajasthan	176	231
Tamilnadu	591	600
Tripura	43	45
Uttar Pradesh	839	750
West Bengal	1,574	1,640
Chandigarh	25	28
Delhi	176	168
Goa	19	25
Lakshadweep	2	2
Mizoram	1	1
Pondicherry	19	15
Total	8,221	8,498

(Indian Labour Journal)

Freedom Of Association: An International Survey

The position with regard to what the Committee considers to be the main problems in the field of freedom of association and trade union rights is the following.

Right to organise without distinction

The right to organise without any distinction whatsoever, as provided for in Convention No. 87, is generally recognised in the vast majority of countries, but there are special difficulties, either in law or in fact, for public servants and agricultural workers. Public servants are still denied the right to organise for occupational purposes in several countries. It should be recalled here that during the preparatory work on the convention a specific distinction was drawn between the right to organise and the right to strike. It was about at the time that both wage earners in private industry and officials in the public services should be permitted to defend their interests by becoming organised, but the right of such officials to strike was a separate question. As regards agricultural workers, the difficulties are generally less a matter of law than the result of a combination of other circumstances. Legal recognition of the basic principles of freedom of association is not enough in itself; government should attempt to remove the impediments to real organisations, and such organisations should be encouraged by governments and the industrial unions.

Setting up organisations without previous authorisation

The legal formalities to be complied with when setting up organisations do not usually raise any particular problems. However, in certain cases the public authorities have power to refuse official recognition, or registration, or they exercise excessive latitude, thereby creating obstacles to the formation of particular organisations. This is apt to restrict the right to set up occupational organisations without previous authorisation

Choice of an organisation.

Problems arising with regard to the choice of an organisation are of a wider scope, especially where legislation allows only one trade union for each category or group of workers, or where a unified trade union structure is imposed. Free choice of trade union is essential to freedom of association, and one of the most serious difficulties in implementing Convention No. 87 is to ensure that this principle is fully observed. The difficulty is arising in an increasing number of countries. Unification of the trade union movement should result from a voluntary decision of the workers and should not be imposed. The principle of free choice laid down in the convention is not meant to express support for trade union pluralism, but it does at least require the possibility to remain open. Freedom of association

and trade union unity are by no means incompatible, but only to the extent to which such unity is established on a voluntary basis.

Interference by administrative authorities.

Convention No. 87 does not prevent an outside check on the internal activities of an organisation if such activities are thought to violate the law (which, in turn, should not run counter to the principles of the Convention) or the Union rules. If carried out by administrative authorities, a check is likely to seem arbitrary, and it should therefore be made, as a rule, by the judicial authorities. Government interference in trade union matters is not always limited to supervising internal acts but may be related to political problems or may be intended to bring unions under government control. Sometimes it is a means of imposing a trade union movement. Where intervention leads to the dissolution of trade unions by administrative authority or government decision, this is obviously contrary to the Convention and a serious infringement of the right to organise in full freedom.

Political activity

Governments should not prohibit all political activities by trade unions; instead, governments should entrust to the judicial authorities the task of repressing any abuses.

Anti-Union discrimination

According to Convention No. 98 workers shall enjoy adequate protection against acts of anti-union discrimination in respect of their employment. Numerous countries have adopted legal provision to this effect but the guarantee thus offered is often insufficient. One of the great difficulties is to prove that certain discriminatory acts are in fact motivated by trade union membership or activities. The effectiveness of legal protection depends to a large extent on the machinery of implementation and the available remedies and sanctions. Where necessary, special bodies competent to deal with these matters should be set up. Protective provisions are not always sufficient if a worker can be dismissed for union membership or activities on condition that he receives the compensation prescribed by law.

Collective bargaining

According to Convention No. 98 collective bargaining should be promoted by governments and should be voluntary. The principle of collective bargaining has been widely recognised, and various steps have been taken by governments to promote collective bargaining but restrictions on the freedom of parties to conclude collective agreements are being imposed in an increasing number of cases. Such restrictions may consist of excluding specific matters from collective bargaining or making the agreements subject to prior

approval by the authorities. Such restrictions are usually incompatible with the Convention; certain temporary exceptions to voluntary bargaining may be admitted, but when restrictions are permanent, governments should consider other means of persuading the parties to have regard to the national interest provided that the final decision with regard to collective agreements rests with the parties concerned.

Right to strike

The right to strike is recognised in numerous countries, but it seems to be subject to increasing restrictions. When restrictions are temporary, e.g. during the settlement of a dispute, or when they affect such categories of workers as public servants or workers in the essential services, they may be permitted, provided that the workers' interests are safeguarded. Legislation directly or indirectly laying down a general prohibition of strikes, applicable to all workers, is inconsistent with the principles of freedom of association.

Civil Liberties.

Finally, the committee returns to another point, namely the inter-relationship between trade union rights and civil liberties. The committee repeats that the fundamental importance of this problem has been stressed on many occasions by the ILO supervisory bodies and the international Labour Conference, and

it affirms in the light of experience that a genuinely free and independent trade union movement can develop only where the basic human rights are also respected in law and in act. As stated in the Conference resolution of 1970, the civil liberties that are essential for the normal exercise of trade union rights are freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention, the right to a fair trial, freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of assembly and the right to protection of the property of trade union organisations. The Committee subscribes to these views and reaffirms its belief in the importance of maintaining the rule of law to ensure respect for fundamental human rights in all countries, irrespective of the nature of their political, economic, social and legal system.

Organised participation in national life

In its concluding paragraph the Committee of Experts places the whole subject of freedom of association and collective bargaining in its wider setting. Two spheres may be considered. In one, the traditional process of labour-management relations, the importance of freedom of association is now generally accepted. However, since this freedom became the subject of basic ILO Conventions, there has also been an increasing trend towards the recognition of occupational organisations as major partners in another sphere, that of social and economic development. The expanded role given to these organisations, and

(On page fourteen)

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Consumer Price Index Numbers

State/Centre	1975			State/Centre	1975		
	Mar.	Apr.	May.		Mar.	Apr.	May.
Andhra Pradesh				Orissa			
Gudur	323	328	332	Barbil	320	322	315
Guntur	324	331	350	Sambalpur	347	349	352
Hyderabad	317	319	322	Punjab			
Assam				Amritsar	326	326	329
Digboi	314	325	342	Rajasthan			
Doom Dooma	280	286	296	Ajmer	325	318	319
Labac	288	310	317	Jaipur	329	327	333
Mariani	274	283	285	Tamilnadu			
Rangapara	265	268	276	Coimbatore	335	334	335
Bihar				Coonoor	321	320	324
Jamshedpur	297	299	298	Madras	323	325	325
Jharia	304	306	306	Madurai	356	354	359
Kodarma	357	364	356	U.P.			
Monghyr	333	335	333	Kanpur	317	310	306
Noamundi	336	343	344	Saharanpur	341	331	330
Gujarat				Varanasi	377	366	362
Ahmedabad	304	307	310	West Bengal			
Bhavnagar	333	329	334	Asansol	319	318	320
Haryana				Calcutta	275	280	287
Yamunanagar	332	333	333	Darjeeling	255	257	263
J. & K.				Howrah	289	286	291
Srinagar	257	260	261	Jalpaiguri	289	286	267
Karnataka				Raniganj	319	318	321
Ammathi	353	362	351	Delhi	335	339	337
Bangalore	336	336	345	Other Centres*			
Chikmagalur	343	351	352	Berhampur ('49)	465	487	498
Kolar G. F.	352	354	352	Cuttack (1949)	389	399	402
Kerala				Jabalpur (1949)	428	430	444
Alleppey	396	401	403	Beawar ('51-52)	359	365	368
Alwaye	378	391	388	Tripura (1961)	298	329	332
Mundakayam	366	377	375	H. P. (1965)	242	242	242
M. P.				Goa (1966)	213	214	218
Balaghat	357	352	364	Chhindwara	—	—	174
Bhopal	320	319	321	Bhilai (1966)	208	209	212
Gwalior	343	334	343	Bhilwara	—	—	221
Indore	353	356	362	Kothagudam ('66)	201	202	207
Maharashtra				Rourkella	—	—	232
Bombay	301	303	308	All India ('49)	390	393	397
Nagpur	332	331	336	do ('60)	321	323	327
Sholapur	345	351	360	* Figures in bracket indicate base year.			

(Labour Bureau, Simla)

Maharashtra : * P. K. Kurane, Madan Phadnis, R. M. Chatterjee, B. K. Khopkar, K. L. Bajaj, S. F. X. Pereira, B. P. Kashyap, P. P. Sanjgiri, Shantaram Garud, Y. P. Kohli, V. G. Padmanabhan, Dinkar Kadav, P. R. Krishnan.

Punjab & Himachal Pradesh : Jagjit Singh Layalpuri, Kuldip Singh.

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Tripura : Biren Datta.

Gujarat : Chandu Bhai Patel.

CITU Centre : Prakash Ghosh, Vimal Ranadive, Biswanath Dasgupta, Arunprokash Chatterjee.
N. B. Members of the Working Committee marked with asterisk.

TRANSPORT EMPLOYEES

(Malayalam)

Monthly Journal of Kerala State Road Transport Employees Association (CITU)

50 Paisa

Azhikodan Memorial Buildings Dharmalayam Road, Trivandrum

An International Survey

From Page Eleven

the recognition of the importance of organised participation in national and economic life, have given freedom of association a new significance. In the words of the Committee, "Organised participation is meaningful only to the extent to which occupational organisations are really representative of the interests of their constituents; in turn, their representative character depends on the measure of freedom with which they can be established and carry out their functions. The principles and standards laid down by the ILO continue to reflect the basic aspirations of workers and employers in regard to freedom and the right to organise. The absence of such rights and freedoms can only result in the ultimate annihilation of incentive and initiative, which are essential for human progress."

Source : FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY. INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE : GENEVA.

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The Girijans And Harijans In Andhra

NATIONAL Labour Institute Bulletin in its May 1975 issue has published an impressionistic study on the Girijans and Harijans of Parvathipuram (Andhra Pradesh). The study was jointly prepared by D Bandyopadhyay, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Labour, Government of India and B. N. Yugandhar, Special Assistant to Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. The Study gives a factual background of the appalling conditions of these workers. The article inter alia reads :

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

2. From 1958 onwards till the outburst in the early seventies, a movement was developing among the Girijans on the question of land, wages, usury, "tyranny" of petty officials and dominance of non-tribals over their economic life. In the Parvathipuram agency area the total amount of cultivable land is approximately 54,000 acres. Under fairly ancient regulation no non-tribals can have land in the agency tracts. The regulation of 1917 provided for restoration of alienated land to tribals. In spite of the existence of this old regulation, approximately 9,000 acres of land in the Parvathipuram agency area are in the hands of the non-tribals. Compared to 54,000 this figure of 9,000 may look rather insignificant numerically. But in fact

these 9,000 acres are the best wet land which produced the higher value in the valleys. Through the process of usury and informal mortgages the tribals lost control over these lands to the non-tribal 'sahukars' and they are pushed back gradually up the hill sides where inferior crop grows with utmost effort. That apart, the crop is uncertain due to either landslides or lack of water, making the life of the tribals who depend on agriculture an intolerable proposition. We were told that the entire area of alienated land is covered by proceedings under the land alienation regulations. Approximately 1,000 acres belongs to a community which was de-scheduled in 1951 and as such they have committed a technical violation of the regulations. One may have some doubts about the figures but even assuming that they are correct, 8,000 acres of good wet land in the agency tracts belong to non-tribals which, under the law, require to be restored to the tribals.

3.1 There are about 14,000 scheduled tribe families in the scheduled tract of Parvathipuram. The actual population would be in the neighbourhood of 70,000. One third of the families have no land. Their main avocation is collection of minor forest produce and farm labour. In these two fields also they have innumerable grievance. Their customary right to gather firewood, tamarind, honey and other minor forest produce is very frequently interfered with

by the forest officials in the reserved forest areas. They are threatened with prosecution for infringement of forest regulation and have to part with the petty forest officials to avoid further persecution by them.

3.2 Secondly, those who do not have fixed land try to get some crop, particularly ragi through shifting "podu" cultivation. Podu or jhoom cultivation is undoubtedly very injurious both to forest and to top soil. Forest Department, therefore tries to prevent such cultivation. Here again the traditional and customary rights of the tribals come in conflict with the established forest regulations. But there is no way out. They do not have any alternative avocation to resort to when they are prevented from having the shifting cultivation. In effect it means that they lose even that illusory sense of security which comes to them from harvesting a few bagfuls of ragi.

3.3 So far as employment is concerned, they were till the other day, totally dependent on the non-tribal encroachers of the wet lands for their farm labour. Prior to 1969, there was no public works programme in the area. As elsewhere, the farm employment was highly exploitative. Those who had land had them on dry uplands. Agriculture was and even now is non-viable to them. Due to lack of irrigation facility, chances of crop failure are very high and quite often arduous labour results in negative income through indebtedness for consumption.

4.1 The post-independence era brought in various villages self-governing institutions all over the country including the Parvathipuram agency tracts but, strangely, till very recently the Samiti President of the tribals agency tracts was a non-tribal sahuakar. The Girijans came in touch with the administration only in a state of confrontation when they were tackled for infringement or infraction of one or the other regulations which in fact abridged, annulled or tinkered with their customary rights and privileges. Thus the Girijans of the Parvathipuram agency tract found themselves totally alienated to the administrative machinery and newly set up self-governing institutions and were denied opportunities of gainful economic activities.

4.2 They suffered not only from poverty but also from a deep sense of insecurity. They found themselves deprived on each point and at each front. A deep sense of grievance and injustice enveloped the entire tribals population through decades of neglect by the local administration. The indifference and the neglect was so much that when the agency tracts were redefined, large areas of hilly tracts inhabited by the tribal Girijans and the Savaras were left outside the agency through an administrative mistake. Even now half of the tribal population of the hilly tracts of Srikakulam are outside the agency area. Later attempts by some energetic local district officials to bring them within the fold of the

agency tracts have not met with any success.

4.3 The unrest of the late sixties and early seventies made the administration quite conscious of the problem of this particular area and the Government ameliorative measures to prevent open exploitation of the tribals by the marchants and sahuakars. The Girijans Development Corporation is indeed a very fine instrument to give economic support to the Girijans. Its policy of giving a viable and economic price to the minor forest produce collected by the Girijans and to supply them with essential consumer goods at a fair price are undoubtedly helping helpless tribals to a large extent. What ails them, however, is the lack of income due to the absence of any regular gainful avocation. Large number of them are still priced out of various consumer goods even though they are supplied at reasonable prices because they have no money to buy. Since the Girijan Corporation is unwilling to give consumption loans which are essential to sustain him during the period he engaged in agriculture, he falls a helpless prey to the sahuakars and the cycle of mounting indebtedness resulting in dispossession of land continued unabated notwithstanding all the good intentions and all the good regulations against it.

4.4. We came across instances of exorbitant usury in this area. For a rupee of loan taken by a tribal, we were told that it is not uncommon for him

to return not only that rupee but also three kilograms of red gram as interest to the sahuakar. In practice it would mean that he has to pay Rs 5/- for taking Re 1/-, i.e. to say he has to pay a rate of not less than 500%. Similarly, when he takes advances from his sahuakar for consumption purposes, he has to sell his agricultural produce to him at a pre-determined low rate. When the red gram sells in the market at Rs. 130/- per quintal, the sahuakar would demand the same at Rs. 35/- per quintal, for the money that he had advanced for his consumption in the beginning of agricultural year. In the absence of an effective alternative easy consumption credit facility, the best intentions of the Girijans Development Corporation are being thwarted by the sahuakars who provide money when he needs though at a rate which he can hardly bear.

4.5. The alienation of about 5,000 acres of good land which each Girijan sees every day from his hill top shacks, makes him feel totally alien to the land where he lives. Even though the present administration is highly solicitous to the Girijans so far as some of the welfare measures are concerned, its inability to return the valuable crop yielding land to them creates a credibility gap between the Girijans and the administration. He is suspicious of every move of the administration. He cannot rely on it. Today after the experience he had of movement and its consequences, he is slightly confounded but not cowed down. He has a sullen look and defiance is

apparent. It will require just a good leadership to galvanise this grievance to mount another "jacquerie", no matter whether he gains anything or not.

5. We met a large number of tribals in the evening of 12th February, 1975 in the compound of an Ashram school near Nilkanthapuram, once the headquarters of the violent movement. They sat, rows after rows, in a disciplined manner in front of a school building. A posse of armed constabulary was standing at a distance. They squatted silently. Perhaps, they had this experience earlier also when people from afar came to see them. They were waiting with bored casualness to see what these visitors would do. When some of us tried to open conversation, they were hesitant. When they could recognise one among the visitors who had earlier sincerely tried to do something for their good, they opened up. We were overwhelmed with an avalanche of complaints, allegations and grievances. Someone said that the Girijan Development Corporation was not paying fair price for the honey and the tamarind collected by them. Other said that they wanted land to cultivate. Till such time that is available, they should be allowed to continue with podu cultivation which provided them with part sustenance during the year. Still others complained of the usurious interest collected by the sahumars for the money that they took for their consumption. By and large, all of them one demand. They wanted land for gainful occupation. The

existence of non-tribals in their midst occupying 5,000 acres of best cultivable land was a thorn in their flesh. Again and again they came back to the same story. They were happy that the administration was at least receptive now-a-days to what they were saying. They have established contacts with some of the officers who are sincerely trying to do something positive for them but they also made it clear that all that is being done is largely peripheral till the land question is settled. Our stay was short and our observation superficial. Even so one comes back with an impression that back in the mind they are suffering from a deep sense of deprivation even today and this could be cured by restoring to them their lands and preventing unnecessary tyranny of the petty officials on them on various minor technical infringements of regulations.

6. On February 13, 1975, we visited a number of hamlets in Palkunda and Tekali Taluks to ascertain the living conditions of agricultural workers particularly belonging to Harijan Community. In the Naragam village of Palkunda Taluk, there are 250 Harijan families living in 100 houses. On an average 2.5 families are living in a house. The acute shortage of living space is due to the abject poverty of Harijan families who do not have a piece of land to build a thatched house thereon. In this particular village, through an accidental fire almost all the houses were burnt a couple of weeks ago. Families were shelterless. The roofless burnt

mud structures reminded one of the grotesque skeleton of a pre-historic mammal. Of these 25 families, approximately 18 families had land varying from 50 cents to an acre. Fifty other families are cultivating about 20 acres of Government land without any lease, as a result of which each family has to pay penalty for doing cultivation as an encroacher. The bulk of Harijan menfolk earn their living as wage earners. When there are any public works in the neighbourhood either by the PWD or the roads building department, they are engaged by the contractors to do earth work. Those who work with the land owners on casual basis also get on an average a daily wage of Rs. 2/- to Rs. 2.50. The casual worker does not get any food. He has to work from 8. a.m. to 4. p.m. But a fairly large number of Harijans work as "Kambares" or attached labour. They get for the entire period of attachment of one year a total quantity of 12 to 14 "putties" of paddy (one putty is equivalent to approximately 60 kgs.), in other words, 7 to 8.50 quintals of paddy per year. Those kambares who have to work as night watchmen are given one blanket a year for the cold season. The average size of the family varies from 4 to 7. Since they do not have any creditworthiness, they do not get any loan either from the cooperative society or from Government or from any other institutional source. For the loan they take from moneylenders/sahukars, they have to pay interest at the rate of 150 to 110 per cent per annum. A large

number of them informed us that they do not get any employment for about 4 months in a year. For another 4 months they get some intermittent employment. Forest areas being near the village, they go to the forest to collect fuel-timber. A head-load of firewood sells in the market for about Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2.00. They have to walk 3 to 4 miles each way and have to give a mamul of 50 paise to the petty forest officials for illicit collection of forest produce.

7. The main food for the Harijan families consist of what they call "chaldiannam" or cold rice kept overnight in water. Before he goes out for work, a "Kambare" or a "coolie" will take this rice with an onion or chilly, and on his return in the evening he and his family will have a gruel of ragi as their dinner. Busari Kannayya, an old Harijan who works as a casual worker told us that what worried him most was a sense of insecurity. When he takes his meal of cold rice or gruel, he does not know whether he will get the same meal next day. Each day to him is a nightmare which he gets over some how only to face it over again the next day. This was also the experience of all others in the hamlet who met us. All that they wanted was some secured income from employment. They are willing to work hard as farm labourers or as unskilled earth workers, but there is no employment to go about. They would be happy to get land to raise a crop of their own, but they are

unable to get it. In spite of the promises made, those who had been cultivating the Government land for quite some time were still being persecuted by the revenue officials instead of being given regular pattas for this land.

8. The next village that we visited is called Adaru. It is in the same Taluka. The rate of wages in this village was Rs. 2/- per man and Rs. 1.50 per woman. Kambares here get 10 putties of paddy per year. Though the distance between these villages is not great, both the rates of wages for the casual worker and also for the attached worker are much lower in this village than in Nawagaon. A peculiar feature of these two villages is the fantastic rate of interest for short term consumption loans. Since they do not have any creditworthiness, they just cannot have loans of any big sums. But to stave off an imminent calamity Harijans here have to borrow a rupee or two from the sahkars. For this type of loan he has to pay 10 paise per rupee as interest by the evening of the same day. If he does not pay that, he has pay at the rate of 10 paise at compound rate per day till the whole loan is repaid in course of a week or a fortnight. Thus, for a rupee of loan taken for a day if he cannot pay the same within that week or a fortnight, he will have to pay Rs. 4/- to Rs. 8/-. If he cannot pay that amount within a reasonable time, he will be made to part with any or all of his valuable things, such as brass utensils, a piece of silver or tiny parcel of

land. The rate of interest, if it is calculated per annum will be more than a million per cent. Neither the borrower nor the lender is aware of this astronomical rate. The borrower wants either the remaining valuables or domination over borrower to make him work for him free of cost till he considers that the loan has been fully paid. It is, perhaps, the second consideration which weighs with the lender and enables him to get labour at his beck and call to serve his economic interest.

9.1 Our next village was Tekkalipatam in the Tekali subdivision of Srikakulam district. In this village there are 40 houses. There are 76 families of Harijans. 36 families do not have any houses. They live with other families. 16 families have some land. But the remaining 60 were landless. They work as farm labourers in the neighbouring villages. The rate of wages is Rs. 2/- per day per man and Rs. 1.50 per day per woman. Men are preferred for hard manual work. There is no demand for female workers. This village was particularly unfortunate this year due to partial failure of rain. As a result there was no demand for farm labourers and the farm workers were undercutting each other, thereby pushing down the already low rate of wages. Only for one month during the year when puddling is necessary prior to transplantation, the rate of wages goes up to Rs. 3/- per day per male worker, but it stays at that level for a very short period.

The agricultural workers have only three months assured employment in this particular village. Even assuming that 1.5. person per family work during the peak period, the gross income per family of agricultural workers for the period would be Rs. 135/- at the rate of Rs. 3/- per head per day. This is the only assured income for the entire year for the Harijan workers for this particular village.

9.2 Obviously, this income cannot sustain them. The results were too obvious. In the course of last three years, 50 acres of land have been alienated. Bhushakala Chinkaya, a middle aged Harijan, told us that he lost his entire land measuring about 90 cents to clear the debts that were handed down to him by his father, which amounted to Rs. 900/-. Ratni Karaya did not know how much money he had borrowed, but he was told by his sahuakar that with interest he had to pay back Rs. 500/- within two years after he had borrowed the money. He was asked to pay it off which he could not. His 25 cents of land passed on to his moneylenders. The same thing happened to a Harijan widow, Dandasi, who lost her 22 cents of land only this year. The process of alienation of land by the Harijans to sahuakars is continuing. Once all of them had some land. Today, only 16 out of 76 families have some land.

9.3 During the discussion all of them pointed out that they wanted employment for steady income. What troubles them most is the sense of insecurity and uncertainty about the future.

To get a grab a day is an act of high adventure for every family. And having got a day's meal, no one knows how the next day will pass. All of them want land—some land to fall back upon either to raise a crop or to raise a loan.

10.1 They were told that there is a law regarding ceiling on land and if that could be implemented properly, all of them or a large number of them could get some land. They were not at all aware of the existence of this Act. When they were told that they could help the Administration in furnishing information regarding excess land held by the land owners, they openly stated that they cannot take that risk. One of them who appeared to be quite articulate stated that on the day when we visited the village, he had no employment and, therefore, no income. He was hungry and he took a draught of water to satisfy his hunger. He would take some water in the evening and go to sleep. He was not interested to know who had the land above ceiling and what to do about it. His only and immediate concern was hunger and he did not know how to satisfy it. That was, perhaps, the opinion of all others, though they could not express it so succinctly. Because they are poor, they are vulnerable to exploitation, and because they are exploited, they become poorer. The process goes on and on, without any break, without possibility of any reversal.

10.2. We visited the kitchen of a Harijan family just to see

what exactly they were going to eat that evening. The family consisted of husband, wife, 4 children and one aged parent. We found that one earthen pot had a gruel of raggi. It was a sticky, thick rust coloured paste. In an iron bowl there were 6 pieces of drumstick and a few jungle beans. That was all the food the family had for their meal that evening and it was the major meal for the day.

11. None of the Harijans in this village get any financial assistance from any institutional sources. Most of them do not have any credit. A few who have bits and piece of land have creditworthiness. They get loans from the local sahuakars. The interest for them is calculated not in monetary terms but in kind. For a loan of Rs. 100/- taken from the sahuakar, they have to pay 60 kgs. of paddy as interest per half year, that is to say, 120 kgs. per year for Rs. 100/-. The result is that the little crop that they raise in their small bits of land goes away to the moneylender and they enter into another cycle of heavier debt and the process continues unabated till they are dispossessed of their land.

12. A 'kambare' with a fixed annual wages in kind of 8 quintals of paddy is definitely much better off than all other types of agricultural workers of Plankonda and Tekkali. Eight quintals of paddy would give him an assured income (on an average) of Rs. 640/- per annum (8x Rs. 80). The size of the family varies between 4 to 7

members. The average may be taken as 5. Thus the per capita annual income of a member of a kambare family would come to Rs. 128/-. The daily per capita income works out to 35 paise. A casual agricultural worker at Tekkalipatam has an assured income of Rs. 135/ per year. Assuming that he manages to double his income by fair means or foul, he would have an annual income of Rs. 270/-. With the same average size of the family this would give a per capita annual income of Rs. 54/- per member of his family. The daily per capita income would come to 15 paise. A member of a Kambare household has standard of living approximately 79 per cent below the poverty line while that of a casual worker's family has a level of consumption approximately 89 per cent below that line. Such statistical fineries which may lend embellishment to a paper for the elites, have no significance for the life of an agricultural worker of Srikakulam. Neither an "affluent" kambare nor a "poor" "coolie" can live a human life with this level of income. He just ekes out a biological existence.

13. Whether he is a tribal in the hilly uplands of the Agency area or a Harijan agricultural worker in the plains below, the main economic problem is the same, i.e. lack of steady income

due to lack of employment and land. Basically, the problem is one of land. Through a process of exploitative usury all of them have lost their lands. Those who are left with some marginal land are either unable to use them properly or are at the point of being dispossessed through the process of usury. Any development scheme for this area which does not take care of consumption loan is bound to be frustrated. Loans for productive purpose have no meaning to a Girijan or a Harijan as he cannot sustain himself for production without immediate consumption and for that he will run again to the sahuakar/moneylender who will ensure that he gets into his (sahuakar's) share or usury again and there by make over to him whatever benefit he (the tribal/harijan) might have got from the institutional sources. While in the Agency area there is a legal instrument at least in paper to give the Girijan back the land he has alienated, there is no such legal instrument for the Harijan in the plains. To that extent, he is more vulnerable.

14. Andhra Pradesh has undertaken experiments in social development through the Girijan Development Corporation and the Harijan Development Corporation. While these Corporations are trying to do a good job,

CITU Greet The Japanese Workers

On the occasion of the 50th Annual Convention of the SOHYO held in Tokyo on July 21 25, 1975, the CITU has sent the following message :

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions conveys its warmest greetings to the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo) on the occasion of its 50th Annual Convention to be held in Tokyo from 21st to 25th July 1975.

The CITU congratulates the working class of Japan for their innumerable struggles against price rise, inflation, unemployment and for wage rise. We also appreciate the role played by the SOHYO in uniting the Japanese workers in the common action against imperialism and for world peace.

The fraternal support given by the SOHYO last year to the Indian Railway Workers has inspired workers here and we convey our gratefulness to you for this solidarity action.

The CITU is confident that the fraternal relations between our organisation will continue to grow in future.

they can really have a supporting role only if the tribals and Harijans have lands to work upon.