

# CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

## GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

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Chennai

22nd to 25th April 1998

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dear Comrades,

You might remember that after our Cochin conference, we had our Working Committee at Shimla from 25 to 28 October, 1997. We have noted the national and international developments, reviewed our work and took important decisions on organisational questions besides other issues. Now after six months, our General Council is meeting here, in this famous city of Chennai. We have to take stock of the developments during this period and decide about our immediate tasks in each area of our activity.

The South and South East Asian Currency crisis is a world shaking event. This again is sought to be used as level for merciless exploitation through the conditionalities imposed by the IMF and World Bank and also by the Transnational Corporations. This needs a closer look besides taking note of the continuing imperialist offensives, world over.

Nationally, the coming to power of a BJP led government at the Centre is another event to be taken serious note of. We have to carefully weigh the situation and formulate our policy towards the new Vajpayee's government which also needs detailed discussions.

I do not wish to deal with the international developments in details, only confine myself to draw your attention on certain issues only.

## CUBA

The arrogant US economic blockade against Cuba was a subject of discussion in all our meetings. In spite of the world public opinion and the several resolutions of the United Nations the Clinton Administration was intensifying their attack against Cuba by encouraging illegal infiltration of US agents into this small country for subversive sabotage operations, while tightening the economic blockade. Recently, Pope Poll II visited Cuba which attracted people's attention world over. Cuban President Comrade Fidel Castro has long discussions with him. Pope in his departure speech wanted relaxation of US economic blockade against Cuba. Of late, the Clinton Administration announced some sort of relaxation in the blockade in specific cases. The United States would permit resumption of direct humanitarian charter flights to Cuba, allow Cuban Americans to send money to their relatives in Cuba and make it easier sale of medicines and medical supplies to Cuba, while stressing that the economic blockade would continue. It is reported that President Castro described that these steps of Clinton Administration to ease sanctions against Cuba are "helping and conducive to better climate" in his primary reactions and added that a proper analysis can be made only after getting more details. However, this cosmetic relaxation will not be taken seriously unless the US administration wholly withdraw the economic blockade against Cuba. The present symbolic gesture is done to buttress the increasing criticism coming from European countries and the rest of Latin American nations. However, we have to continue our exposure of the US imperialist policy of imposing their dictate over a small country.

## IRAQ

We know that the 20 million Iraqi population have to suffer heavily due to the continuation of US imposed blockade in the name of United Nations sanctions for the last seven years after the end of war. They are facing inadequacy of food, medicine and dearth of other essential items for human existence. The children in this country are being perished in their thousands due to lack of nutrition and medical facilities and the country's economy has been shattered to pieces.

During February last, the country again has been brought to the brink of another military attack by US forces. US have moved from American borders nearly 400 war plains — the B52 long range bombers the sophisticated B1 stealth bombers, F14, F15, F16 and F18 fighter bombers to forward air bases near Iraq including its Diego Garcia air base in Indian Ocean. The American army was ready and waiting for orders to begin their attacks. The issue that triggered the crisis was the Iraqi government's refusal to allow intrusive inspections by the United Nations' weapon inspectors team (UNSCOM), of the presidential palaces and other restricted sites. The Iraqi government has come to the conclusion that giving in to the inspection teams, unending demands would not end the sufferings of the Iraqi people. The UNSCOM was led by a former Australian diplomat, Richard Butler, who had close ties with Washington. The UNSCOM team was also top heavy with inspectors of American and British origin, many of them having worked with American intelligence agencies. It was obvious to the Iraqi authorities that the UNSCOM would never give Iraq a clean chit and facilitate the lifting of sanctions. The last signal for the Iraqi was when the Clinton administration reiterated late last year that sanctions will not be lifted as long as Saddam Hussein is in power. The Iraqi government wanted that the UNSCOM should be changed or there must be impartial representatives of the United Nations in the team. The USA was not agreeable to this proposal and they made preparation for unilateral attack as noted above. But this time, many countries came forward to oppose this move demanding that a non military solution should be found for the problem. Russia, France and China strongly pleaded for this alternative and many countries of Arab world also came forward for a non military solution. Saudi Arabia and many countries of Arab League wanted the same and declared that their military bases will not be allowed for the new attack against Iraq. Big protest demonstrations in the United States and other countries of the world against the proposed attack of United States was also spreading.

Meanwhile, the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, intervened and have had discussions with Iraqi government leaders and finally reached an agreement to include some UN experts also to go with the inspection team to oversee their operations and they will be allowed to go to the sites which are supposed to be hiding explosive military weapons. Accordingly by this team went to Iraq and inspected the presidential palaces and other restricted places. But they could not find any substantive evidence of the storage of biological weapons in these buildings. The American lie which spread world over that Iraq is hiding biological weapons etc are found to be a myth. Even then the United States is not prepared to agree for the withdrawal of sanction against Iraq and they are manipulating for new grounds for continuing the blockade against Cuba.

The illogical continuance of the US blockade against Iraq has the following hidden objectives:

- 1) Control the oil rich regions of the middle east.
- 2) Suppress the Arab national movement and to prevent the formation of any powerful Arab independent nation.
- 3) Maintain in power the feudal regimes subservient to the USA in Arab countries.
- 4) Show the whole world what happens to those nations that dare to defy the USA.
- 5) Test out on the battlefield its latest weapons.
- 6) Establish a permanent US military presence in the Middle East.

This time, however, the original unity against Iraq seems to have crumbled, as Russia, France, China UN Security Council members are opposed to a US military attack on Iraq, and many other Arabaian Countries.

## PALESTINE

The Oslo Peace Accords and the signing of the Declaration of Principles of Mutual Recognition

between Israel and PLO in September 19, 1993 was supposed to herald a new dawn that would convert a perpetual conflict into peaceful coexistence. Six years later, as far as the Palestinians are concerned, things have only gone from bad to worse. Statehood for the Palestinians has now become a mirage. Israel in the preamble to the declaration had recognised only the mutual legitimate and political rights” but not the national rights of the Palestinians or their right to return as enshrined in the UN resolutions: The PLO on the other hand granted full unrestricted recognition of Israel. Under the right wing Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu who came to power in June 1996, the “peace process” received a further setback. His predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin was also candid about the goals of Oslo. He had openly said that Oslo would help Israel keep its occupation intact, reorganise it and repackage it under a new label. Netanyahu was not even willing to stick to the deadline for re-deployment of Israeli troops which was supposed to have taken place by September 1997. He has managed to wrest even greater concessions that give priority to Israel’s territorial needs and security requirements. A “reciprocity” obligation was introduced whereby the Palestinian Authority had to convince Israel that it is “capable and willing to comply with its security responsibilities” before Israel is “obliged to transfer additional areas of the West Bank to Palestinian jurisdiction.” Today, irrespective of party labels, Israel excludes Palestinian sovereignty, removing settlements, negotiating Jerusalem’s status, repatriating the refugees and dismantling the occupation. As of now Israel has withdrawn from only three percent of West Bank and Gaza. Israeli settlements meanwhile are being built at a feverish pace in the occupied territories. The economic conditions in Gaza and the West Bank after Oslo has deteriorated markedly. The main reason for this is the frequent closure by Israel of its borders with Palestinian territories. Closure drastically restricts the movements of goods and labour resulting in high unemployment. Israeli policies had made the Palestinian economy almost totally dependent. Before Oslo, 70 per cent of the labour force was working inside Israel and 90 per cent of its trade was confined to Israel. Between 1993 and 1996, on an average, for almost one-third of each year, Palestinians were banned from any physical or economic movement outside their own territory. Real GNP in the Gaza strip and West Bank has slipped by 19.4 per cent in the last four years. The average wage has fallen by 17 per cent.

All this is done with the support of United States. the Arab world is supporting the Palestinians fight for their legitimate rights. And they are increasingly recognising that the aim of the US authorities is to keep the Arab world divided and use the Israelis fully armed even with nuclear weapons to impose US dictates over the middle east. This treacherous gameplan of US imperialism needs to be exposed thoroughly. I do not wish to deal with the continuing imperialist offensives ealswhere.

## THE WORLD ECONOMY

The new captions appear in the print media about the capitalist system is noteworthy. To quote some “vulture capitalism”, “canibal capitalism”, “capitalism is the enemy of open society” etc. These articles and comments are from bourgeois economists and business experts. According to them, the capitalist system is facing very serious crisis, which is shaking its foundation. However even let us examine the situation a little.

1. Europe: The European ‘Common Currency’ is coming into existence by next January according to the decision of European Commission. The eleven countries which are its members. Australia, Belgium, Finland, France, Ireland, Germany, Italy, Luxumburg, Netherland, Portugal and Spain. Britain and Denmark have decided not to be among the first wave of entrants. The heads of states on to meet at Brassil on May 2nd to give final approval for the scheme. The common currency which is coming to existence from January, is supposed to boost European economy as a whole, will increase gross domestic product, and ensure more employment. The Finance Ministers of these

countries are expected to meet in May and will decide the rate at which the existing currencies be converted into the European currency. They also claim that by developing a Euro currency they will reduce inflation, ensure high profitability of investment and sustain external demands so that the economic recovery will be a continuous process. The government leaders of these countries are very much enthusiastic about the new arrangement through which they can compete with United States in the field of commerce and trade and boost their industrial production.

However, the other side of the picture also needs to be noted. The European workers in general have coined a slogan "A social Europe". In France, Italy and Germany, this has become a catch phrase for growing demands to set aside the fiscal austerity that has been a hallmark of the drive towards economic and monetary union. The leaders of European union are worried about the increasing awareness shown by the working class throughout Europe around the demand of social Europe which means "higher wage cost and higher unemployment benefits". Huge demonstrations are taking place in Europe in the recent weeks.

Tens of thousands of workers have marched in many cities of Italy. The government was forced to announce certain concessions because of the pressure exerted by the workers under the leadership of Communists. The government have agreed to bring a legislation which would cut the work-week from 40 to 35 hours. In France, the government introduced a legislation mandating a 35 hour work week and they had to agree for increased unemployment benefit. In Germany, like France and Italy, the unemployment is more than 12% and the trade unions are demanding action to curb unemployment. The pressure of the workers are on the increase and the austerity measures which are part of the European Union exercise is confronted with the demand of "Social Europe" Already 18 million workers are unemployed to day in Europe. The conditions agreed for launching the new Euro currency will only aggravate the unemployment in these parts and finally it seems that the workers are preparing for a direct confrontation.

## SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIAN CRISIS

The south and south east Asian economies were projected as the models for capitalist development. Dr. Manmohan Singh and others to justify their World Bank dictated new economic policy, were citing the example of these very country's economic resurgence. The World Bank too was all in praise for these economies and projected them as models. The 1997 Annual Report of the IMF praised "Korea's continued impressive macro economic performance" and "enviable fiscal record". Simultaneously, it was all in praise for "Thailand's remarkable economic performance and consistent record of sound macro economic policies".

But now the new currency crisis put these economies in doldrums. From the first week of July till the first week of December, Thailand's Baht has been devalued by 42%. Indonesia's Rupiah by 36%, Malaysia's Ringgit by 30% and South Korea's Won by 28%. The currency devaluation in these countries is accompanied by severe economic crisis. Many industries have been forced to close down. There is large scale job cuts leading to unemployment. Several banks and financial institutions have been declared bankrupt and prospect of negative growth looms large in horizon.

The experts who analysed the South and South East Asian countries' economic crisis concluded that it was largely due to high current account deficit, rigid exchange rate, loose banking practices which led the investment in the unsound business ventures. Besides, currency trading and currency speculation has been the major reasons for collapse of south east Asian currencies.

Over the past one decade, while the volume of international trade has grown two times, the foreign direct investments has grown three times. The currency trading has grown 10 times. Prior to the liberalisation of world capital market during the seventies, the currency trading was only six times,

the value of global trade. Today, the currency trading is 50 times the value of trade. A large part of it is for speculative purposes.

The currency devaluation has forced most of the East Asian countries to seek bail out packages from IMF. Thailand's package is for 17 million dollars, Indonesia 23 billion and Korea 60 billion. These packages are with strict conditionalities which include reduction of budget deficit, curtailing public spending, reduction of subsidies, privatisation of state-owned enterprises, and easing restrictions on foreign investment. These conditionalities means loss of economic sovereignty and the total administrative policies will be controlled by IMF. The net effect is that tens of thousands of factories are being closed down and millions of workers are going to loose their jobs. Many economic experts world over are questioning the efficacy of these World Bank prescriptions.

Today, an average of 45 companies are being closed in Korea. Though it is a very bad for the Korean people, but quite advantageous to the transnational corporations. They are buying up the valuable Korean assets and the assets of these Asian countries who agree with the conditionalities at a rock bottom prices. The transnational who buy these companies of South Korea and other Asian Countries are starting production with drastic cut in the number of workers and with less than 50% of the American wages. Thus they earn huge profits.

This crisis-ridden South and South East Asian countries will begin aggressive exports to United States at dead cheap cost and they will become main competitor in the American market which will affect the total industrial production in United States. Also these countries will drastically reduce the imports to their countries which will also have adverse impact in the developed economies of the world including United States. Thus though the crisis is termed as an Asian Phenomenon it has its impact on the World Economy as a whole.

Mr. George P Shultz the secretary of the State under President Reagan. William E. Simon the secretary of treasury under Nixon and Ford. Walter B Writson the chairman of City Corporation and City Bank, these three have jointly written an article in the Wall Street Journal dated February 3, 1998. They have strongly criticised the functioning of the World Bank and stated that after the Asian crisis, the continuance of the World Bank is unnecessary. Mr. Ranjit Sau in an article with the caption, "Capital Cannibalism, Currency Chaos and the IMF", summerised the points made by them. Let me bring the same to your notice since I consider these are very serious observations.

First, the IMF infringes upon the sovereignty of a nation state, ie, they are dictating terms, dos and donts to the countries who are the recipient of IMF loans.

Secondly, the IMF induces the illusion that they will come forward for resque in case of economic difficulties; this leads to careless financial transactions and complete opening up, encouraging investors to seek out risk portfolios.

Thirdly, the IMF prescribed tax increases and austerity measures are inflicting pain on the people of Asian countries. They will finally endorse resentment against the western nations and they will treat this as a conspiracy.

Fourthly, in comparison with the gigantic currency market, the turnover of which today is Two Trillion Dollors a day, the IMF's largest bail out programme for Asian bail out was 118 Billion. The second was the Mexican rescue package of 30 billion dollars. India's IMF loan of 20 billion dollars in 1991, pales into insignificance.

Therefore, they argue that the IMF cannot be a remedy for sustained economic development. The article gives so many other details which I do not wish to restate here.

Japanese economy is also facing difficulties. They have lost a big market in this Asian crisis-ridden countries which affects them badly. Besides, the total economic development is also seriously com-

ing down and I do not wish to go into details of this, now.

The working class is the most affected sections due to the new conditions imposed by IMF to bail out these countries from ruining. It is estimated that in Korea, the job loss is about 1 1/2 Million, in Indonesia it is about 2 millions and in Thailand over 1 millions, in Malaysia, one and a half lakhs, in Philippines 1 lakh and 20 thousand in Singapore. These are the rough estimate. Job security is the first casualty together with cuts in wages and cut in amenities enjoyed by the working class. Naturally against this working class, resistance is developing in Indonesia and Korea and in other countries. In Korea, the independent trade unions having membership of 5,50,000 has called upon the working class to fight against the new policies being implemented under the dictates of World Bank and IMF.

In Japan also pressure is on the government for the relaxation of labour protection laws and for the abolition of the so called life-time employment system prevailing there. Thus the working class is faced with very serious problem. Thus the working class is put on serious stress in these countries. For us in India, many experts have come out with complete facts that the policy of liberalisation is finally going to push us in the debt-trap.

We have to take note of the fate of the strongest two economies of the world, Japan and Korea and so-called tiger economies of East Asian countries which are facing serious crisis. The stability of the capitalist system itself is under question. Many bourgeois economists are openly coming forward to say that "the capitalism is the main enemy of open society".

Inter Press Service has published a summary compilation of the famous economists' viewpoint in this regard. It is published in the Pioneer dated 20th March, 1998. A brief summary of which I wish to bring before you.

The eminent French economist Jacques Attali, former president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development — the West's principal lending institution to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, said: "Unless the west, and particularly its self appointed leader, the United States begins to recognise the shortcomings of the market economy and democracy, western civilisation will gradually disintegrate and eventually self-destruct". Attali enumerates several "inherent contradictions" between the free market and democracy.

While democracy enshrines individual rights and majority rule, the market views the individual as dispensable and inter-changeable; the corporation makes no pretense of being a democratic institution and is accountable only to its shareholders.

Whereas democracy seeks to assure equal rights and opportunities to all citizens, capitalism by its very nature intensifies inequality and concentrates wealth in the hands of the few who already have it.

Democracy is most effective when most local and decentralised, but capitalism tends inexorably toward centralisation, globalisation and monopoly.

Finally, democratic institution can only function in societies where individuals view themselves as citizens with responsibilities to one another and the common good, whereas capitalism ignores or overrides citizenship by treating individuals solely as consumers whom it seeks to make dependent on its products and services.

Attali predicts the emergence of a kind of market dictatorship without strong democratic institutions to serve as countervailing powers.

An another powerful critic of post-Communist capitalism from within its own ranks is the eminent mainstream American economist Lester Thurow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). "To put it in its starkest form" Thurow writes, "capitalism is perfectly compatible with slavery ....

Democracy is not compatible with slavery.

Indeed, fascism fits disturbingly well with capitalism, with the state essentially serving not as a counterweight to the excesses of the market but as the servant of those who dominate it. In this sense, democratic principles and processes are largely an impediment to the efficient operation of unbridled capitalism.

Thurow argues that citizens in successful societies need "to unite around a powerful story with a sustaining ideology ... But what is the story that capitalism tells the community to hold the community together when capitalism explicitly denies the need for community?"

In fact, capitalism not only denies the need for community but effectively destroys it, as has been painfully witnessed by countless towns and cities the world over.

### THE GENERAL ELECTIONS AND AFTER

The coming to power of BJP Led Government at the Centre after the 12th Lok Sabha Election denotes a right wing shift in the Indian politics. The BJP could get 25% of the polled vote and with their allies 37%. It shows that 63% of the people have voted against the BJP platform. Their combination got 252 seats and they managed to form the government mustering support from other parties which were not part of their alliance. This is a coalition Government, led by the BJP, which is controlled by RSS, an aggressive Hindu Communal outfit. Its ideology and practice in very many ways has fascist overtones. Suffice to remember the calculated murder of Mahatma Gandhi the father of the nation on 30th January, 1948 and the demolition of Babri Masjid at Ayodhya on 6th December, 1992. The BJP's election manifesto is quite vocal about the "Cultural Nationalism" "One Culture" "Hindutwa" etc. which exactly project RSS ideology i.e. only Hindu Culture is national and others are alien. I do not wish to elaborate this, since, it requires a detailed treatment. The aggressive Hindu communalism will encourage muslim minority fundamentalism, the result of which we have witnessed in Coimbatore and other areas of Tamil Nadu. The Hindu and Muslim fundamentalism are diametrically opposed to each other. But they supplement each other in helping communal polarisation and disrupt peoples unity. Also this is a serious threat to the secular foundation and country's unity, disrupts working class unity and divide them too on communal lines which cuts the very root of the trade union movement. Thus, a new situation emerged after the coming in to power of BJP.

### SHAKY STABILITY

The BJP led government from the very 1st day is faced with contradictory demands from its constituents. Ms. Jayalalitha wants immediate dismissal of the Tamil Nadu Government and removal of all the Ministers who are undergoing trial for corruption charges, since one of her party Minister had to quit since he was charge sheeted by the courts. Other parties too are making many demands which the government cannot accept. Thus stability of the government is under serious threat.

### THE NATIONAL AGENDA: A HOAX

The National Agenda of the BJP-led govt is a vague document which can be interpreted differently. The agenda assured that they will continue to pursue the reform process with a 'Swadeshi' thrust. However the Swadeshi claim is exposed when the government came out with the New Export Import policy announced on 13th April, 1998. Through this new policy the government have agreed to a large scale liberalization by shifting as many as 340 items to OGL. These items which range from video cameras and camcorders to safety razor blades, toilet soaps, Shrimp, Crabs, oysters, clams, complete wigs, and kitchen waste disposers are neither essential commodities for the people of the country, nor necessary inputs for export promotion. It also includes agricultural commodities like green pepper, onions, vegetables preserved in brine, mushrooms, cassav, apricots, cherries,

peaches, strawberries, grapes, apples, guava, other fruits and juices like apple juice and mango juice, and cotton etc. This will adversely affect the interests of the peasants in the country. There is simply no justification for liberalization of their imports. A claim has been made by the Commerce Minister Mr. Ramakirshna Hegde that the country's export will improve by 20 per cent, because of the liberalisation, he is pushing through. The export outlook continues to be bleak, with the Asian currency depreciations having an adverse effect. Even the IMF, in its just released "World Economic Outlook", expects sluggish export growth for India in the coming year. With the rupee under speculative pressure owing to the domino effect from South East Asia, it is imperative to keep the trade deficit in check. This new policy is intended to accommodate the United States demands for phasing out of quantitative restrictions. So the Swadeshi agenda is now being replaced by the "Videshi agenda by the Minister for Commerce Mr. Ramakirshna Hegde.

The Finance Minister Yeswant Sinha goes on explaining that "Swadeshi" is not against globalisation and not against liberalisation. Therefore, the so called Swadeshi agenda is only for talk and the speedy implementation of the World Bank prescription is the real Agenda. The government of Mr. Vajpayee did not take into account, the effects of the South and South Asian crisis which resulted in the ruin of the many giant economies, which was the fall out of the implementation of the World Bank policies. If India pursue the same path, the results can not be otherwise, it will naturally push India in the same sort of crisis. The working class must take note of this since they will be the first victims. We know that his New Agenda include opening up of the financial sector - Privatisation of Public Sector and closing down of all the sick industries - above all cruel attack on wage and amenities of the workers besides pauperization of large sections of the peasantry and the people.

Comrades,

I wish to bring before you a disturbing fact that in many areas a section of the working class especially the high salaried ones have not shown the required alertness in the elections, had fallen victims to the communal and castist propaganda and voted for their parties. This brings to the fore that though we have fought many a battles of these sections, we failed to raise their political consciousness. Realising this we have to gear up our ideological work among the working class especially in the present context of aggressive communal forces being at work and wielding state power. We must spare no efforts to unify the working class from below and top and try to bring to the fore the working class as a class to fight back this communal offensive as well as the World Bank dictated Economic Policies.

Comrades,

Before I close, let me record our deep appreciation on the victories scored by the left front and left and democratic front in Tripura, West Bengal and Kerala - and with these words I conclude.

Thank you,

E BALANANDAN  
PRESIDENT

# REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

Dear comrades,

We are having a meeting of the General Council of the CITU for the first time after the last Conference of the CITU at Kochi. Meanwhile, the Working Committee met at Shimla in the month of October 1997 to review the situation and decide the course of action.

1.2 While we were preparing for this meeting we were shocked to learn the ghastly murder of Comrade Bimal Sinha, Vice President, CITU and Minister of Urban Development, Government of Tripura, by extremist forces in Tripura. He was brutally killed along with his brother on 31st March, 1998 in front of his family residence in Kamalpur. He was elected Vice President in Kochi Conference. Comrade Sinha played an important role in building CITU in Tripura. His murder is a great loss to CITU.

1.3 The passing away of Comrade EMS Namboodiripad, a veteran revolutionary and CPI (M) leader on 19th March was another loss to the left and democratic movement in India. A great freedom fighter, a well known theoretician and a prolific writer, EMS made his impact on Indian political scene for several decades. He came to the forefront in 1957 when a first elected Communist Government was formed in Kerala and he became its Chief Minister. His simple style of living had endeared him to many. His valuable writings will continue to inspire many even today. Let us pay our heartfelt homage to his revered memory.

1.4 Recent events in the country have long term repercussions on India's political and economic development. Even the national unity and integrity will be at stake. A review of the new situation in the country and our immediate tasks arising out of it is extremely important for us to-day. The deliberations of this meeting has therefore acquire special significance for all of us.

1.5 Our President E. Balanandan in his Presidential Address has already covered international situation and its impact on our country's developments. He has also dealt with some of the urgent tasks, we have to implement in the light of these developments. I therefore propose to deal with some major aspects of the national developments in the present context.

## A NEW POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA

2.1 Immediately after the Shimla meeting of the Working Committee, the country was thrown into turmoil by the Congress Party after withdrawing its support to the United Front Government on the plea that the interim report of the Jain Commission on Rajiv Gandhi Assassination case has castigated the DMK Government for their role in Rajiv Gandhi murder. The announcement of withdrawal of support was made even before the report was submitted to the Parliament. Sita Ram Kesari, the Congress President, on the basis of just press reports announced his decision and staked the claim to form a Congress led government asking the UF to support it. Earlier he asked the UF to throw out the DMK Ministers from the Government, a demand which could not be accepted by the UF since it had no basis whatsoever. The BJP also tried the game of defection within the Congress Party and claimed the support of 40 Congress MPs who were prepared to support the BJP led government at the Centre. This gimmick failed to get response and the country was left with no alternative but to go for another mid term poll within 18 months of the last general elections. The country was thus forced to go for polls due to the obdurate policies of the Congress Party.

2.2 The country was faced with 3 groups of combinations, first one led by the Congress Party, second by the BJP and the third the United Front. The BJP in its anxiety to grab the power at the

centre by hook or crook, made all types of opportunist alliances. In Tamil Nadu, they joined hands with Jayalalitha's AIADMK who was involved in several cases of corruption, when she was the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu. In Panjab it had already built an alliance with Akali's, in Orissa with Biju Janata Dal in Andhra with Laxmi Parvathi's TDP, in Bihar with Samata, in W. Bengal with Trinamul Congress in Karnataka with Lokshakti etc. BJP agreed to become even junior partner at state level provided it could get sizable support at the centre. This unprincipled alliance at various states brought to the fore the fallacy of the BJP's tall talk of value based politics.

2.3. A powerful section of the big bourgeoisie and multinational companies backed BJP fully in the electoral battle. The print and the electronic media also boosted BJP with massive coverage about the possibility of its electoral victory. The media was specially focussing attention on Valpayee as the prime minister in waiting and practically endorsing him through wide publicity to his speeches.

2.4. BJP's election campaign was better financed than any other political parties in India due to the backing it received from big business, both Indian and foreign. Several aeroplanes and helicopters were engaged throughout the election campaign while road vehicles were liberally used during the campaign. Money power and media contributed greatly in BJP's electoral victory.

2.5. The Congress with its declining morale was finding it difficult to face the electorate but got some relief when Sonia Gnadhi entered the electoral fray and mobilised support for the Congress Party. Though she could attract the crowd, she could not win the sizable support of the masses behind the Congress Party. The faction ridden party with its candidates tainted with charges of corruption failed to attract the masses during the election campaign. Defection of several ex-Congressmen to BJP camp further eroded the mass base of the party in the election.

2.6. The UF entered the fray with several defections in the Front. In Orissa, the Biju Janata Dal formed a separate entity and joined hands with the BJP. The Rashtriya Janata Dal of Laloo Prasad Yadav had an open conflict with the UF in Bihar. In U.P., the Samajwadi Party of Mulayam Singh Yadav could not come to an understanding with the Janata Dal. In Karnataka, the division in Janata Dal led to the formation of Lok Shakti under the leadership of Ramkrishna Hegde who joined hands with BJP. In Tamil Nadu, the DMK-TMC combine did not agree to have seat adjustment with CPI (M). The Janata Dal did not give any seats to CPI(M) in Karnataka. The continuation of the economic policy of liberalisation by the UF Government and its disastrous consequences on the people of India alienated the mass of people from the UF policies. The UF could not inspire the people in the election and create a favourable atmosphere for defeat of Congress and the BJP in the electoral battle.

2.7. The election results, however, showed a big boost to the BJP strength and enhanced the strength of the Congress Party while the drastic reduction in JD strength. In Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, both the State ruling parties, TDP and DMK-TMC combine received a severe jolt resulting in gains for Congress in AP and AIADMK front in Tamil Nadu. The Left Front as a whole was weakened both in terms of votes and number of seats won in the elections. There was anti-incumbency atmosphere everywhere except left led states W.Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. In Rajasthan and Maharashtra BJP and its allies lost heavily. In Haryana HVP also lost in the polls.

2.8. The emergence of BJP as a dominant party was not an ordinary threat to political development in India since the BJP cannot be considered like any other bourgeoisie party due to its RSS background. The BJP resorted to every form of corruption to purchase support of various MPs by giving them all possible assurances. Money was flown like water while offer of Ministerial berths were freely given to lure the disgruntled MPs. Even a party winning one MP was offered a Cabinet post. BSP leader Mayawati openly stated in Parliament that she was offered the post of Home

Minister and huge financial allurements. Even the constituents of the UF started vacillating due to various assurances given to them to support the BJP Government. The UF received a big jolt when the TDP leadership vacillated and decided to remain neutral due to pressure from their own MPs.

2.9. The BJP went to the extent of joining hands with Sukh Ram in Himachal Pradesh. This rank opportunism of BJP should be seen from the fact that 13 days of Parliament proceedings were blocked on the question of Telecom Scam in which Sukh Ram had a major role. The BJP even joined hands with Kalpanath Rai who was notorious in the Sugar Scam involving over Rs.250 crores. The Hawala tainted Buta Singh was also persuaded to join the BJP band wagon. All this explains the meaning of stability plank trotted by the BJP with fanfare and publicity.

2.10. In short, the BJP resorted to all clandestine devices earlier used by the Congress Party in keeping itself in power. The machinations of Narasimha Rao have paled into insignificance behind the deals by the BJP in winning support of various MPs to ensure passing of the Confidence motion in the Parliament. The downgrading of values in politics by the BJP governments has brought shame to the parliamentary democracy in India and BJP lost every right to speak about value based politics. Shri Promod Mahajan went to the extent of openly ridiculing morality and ethics in the present political frame work.

2.11. The delay in submitting the list of MPs supporting the formation of Government at the centre under the leadership of Vajpayee took a dramatic turn when Jayalalita failed to give the letter of support to the BJP led Government. After openly attacking BJP she had to give support to the Government but it caused considerable embarrassment to the BJP leadership. Ultimately behind the curtain talks led to a compromise and the issue was temporarily settled.

2.12. However, the issue against came to the forefront when AIADMK Surface Transport Minister had to resign. He was given chargesheet for corruption by the Court. Within 20 days of formation of the Government the Minister had to go on charges of corruption. Demand for Buta Singh's ouster from Vajpayee Government on the ground that he was involved in JMM corruption case has already been raised. Subramanyam Swamy a supporter of BJP Government has been almost every day criticising Ministers of Vajpayee Government. A Government which came in the name of stability had to face most unstable situation in the country.

2.13. However, once in power one should not underestimate the dangerous role the RSS is likely to play behind the screen. Its penetration in administrative apparatus, in the army and various other organisations, including media has a sinister implications even after the Government collapses after some period. The caucus has already developed close links with multinationals which have developed vested interests in keeping BJP in power. A strong section of Indian big bourgeoisie has shifted its loyalty for the BJP while the overwhelming landlord lobby is already siding with BJP's policies.

2.14. The National Agenda published with fanfare by the BJP is a bundle of vague promises which do not convey any meaning. For working class it has practically offered nothing. Even the assurances of ensuring recognition of trade unions through secret ballot which was mentioned in the BJP Manifesto was not included in the National Agenda of Governance. There is no mention of overcoming the sickness of industrial undertakings both in Public and private sectors. Though it talks of generation of more employment, it does not spell out how employment will be generated after continuation of the policy of liberalisation and globalisation. Despite tall talk of Swadeshi, the BJP welcomed investments by the multinational companies which has made mockery of the Swadeshi movement initiated by Lokmanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi during the freedom movement. There is no wonder that World Bank and IMF has correctly understood the meaning of Swadeshi of BJP and welcomed the National Agenda. The National Agenda, does not speak about land reforms and

advocated continuance of feudal domination in rural land relations.

2.15. Though the National Agenda does not mention the question of dropping Article 370 from the Indian Constitution or question of construction of Ram Temple at the disputed site at Ayodhya or Common Civil Code for all religion, it is only a ruse to cover up their real intentions. The BJP seeks to implement this agenda through the agencies of RSS, Bajrang Dal, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Durga Vahini etc. and create an atmosphere all over the country to implement this agenda through gangster methods. In sum, the national agenda, is an out and out a reactionary programme to protect the interests of multinationals, Indian big business houses and the rural rich and hit the working and living conditions of the common people of India.

2.16. In the name of appointment of Constitution Commission the National Agenda seeks to make constitution more reactionary and carry out BJP's hidden agenda in the country. This will have dangerous consequences for the unity and integrity of the country.

2.17. When the poverty in the country is increasing, elementary needs of human existence are not available for majority of the people of the country, the National Agenda talks loudly about the Nuclear option which practically threatens to manufacture the Atom bomb to divert the attention of the people on the wrong channels. Apart from rousing national jingoism, the National Agenda seeks to intensify tension in the sub-continent in order to divert the attention of the public from the urgent economic issues facing the country.

2.18. Several speeches made by BJP spokesmen including ministers about the dismissing governments in Tamil Nadu, Bihar and interfering in working of government in West Bengal have clearly shown the eagerness in the ruling circle to use Article 356 to dismiss the democratically elected governments in the states. As a matter of fact, the law and order situation in Maharashtra is worse than in other states in the country. Shiv Sena hoodlums are openly taking protection money from every employer. People are forced to vacate their flats under threat of murder. Gang war and killing of people of different gangs is going on in which Shiv Sena is directly involved while the State administration is seething with corruption. Despite all this, the Centre is keeping quite and the government is allowing irresponsible statements by ministers and official spokesmen in case of Tamil Nadu and Bihar and other opposition led governments. This will lead to posing serious threat to the very concept of democracy in the country. Already the Attorney General of India has hinted tampering with the article 356.

2.19. The inordinate delay in publishing Srikrishna Commission's report which investigated into the communal riots in Maharashtra has raised several doubts in the minds of people in that state. It is known that BJP-Shivsena govt tried its best to wind up the Commission but due to public reaction and intervention by Parliament the Commission was allowed to continue its work.

2.20. The govt of Maharashtra by resorting to dilatory tactics in publishing the Report is trying to make a cover-up exercise and the left and democratic movement in Maharashtra has rightly demanded its early publication. It is however, an issue which has a nationwide concern and we should immediately raise our voice to make the report public. The report may expose the ramification of communal forces in India and their links abroad.

2.21. The imperialist forces are openly encouraging the fundamentalists and divisive forces within the country. The BJP led government keeps mum on these developments and is trying to topple down the opposition governments by misusing Article 356 of the Indian Constitution, but if this is allowed to continue, it will develop authoritarian regime in the country which is immensely harmful to the democracy in India.

2.22. It is, therefore, necessary to expose the economic and political policies of the BJP Govern-

ment and involve larger and larger number of people in the struggle against these policies.

2.23. The working class of this country must understand the significance of this dangerous development and we must educate the working class and the masses about these developments. The CITU must campaign among the working class that the present government is just not like any other bourgeois government but the government with sinister motives which will threaten the very existence of democracy within the country. The BJP govt has already shown its sinister design to introduce a different Prasar Bharati Bill which will smuggle in its ideas about media. The electronic media is being sought to be used as BJP mouthpiece for its communal propaganda. Obscurantist ideology is likely to be popularised through various dubious means. Already I&B ministry is being revamped with yesmen of BJP and secular elements are being shunted elsewhere. These are certainly dangerous portents for the country's cultural advance.

2.24. The meaning of communalism and fundamentalism in the Indian political situation is yet not properly understood by our working class. There is, therefore, a need for ideological education of the working class on these issues so that they realise the gravity of the situation. This alone will lead to their joining our movements with more and more intensity. This is the need of the hour.

### MASSIVE SLOWDOWN IN ECONOMY

3.1. As a result of nearly seven years of implementation of structural adjustment programmes in India, the Indian economy is facing acute crisis situation and the country is heading towards a massive slow down in key sectors of economy. In a recent survey conducted by Association Council of Confederation of Indian Industry (ASCON) during the 11 months since April 1997, of the 49 sectors of economy, 33 sectors have recorded a massive slow down. This slow down is prominently observed in sectors like automobiles, construction, consumer electronics and steel. The ASCON predicted that the slow down is likely to continue for some more time and some industries are likely to show even a negative growth, particularly, the sectors like machine tools, diamond tools, pumps, alloy steel, cold rolled steel strips and chemicals are likely to be seriously affected. This gloomy picture, according to some economists, is likely to deteriorate if the South East Asian countries do not come out of the present mess which they are facing because of the implementation of the package of the World Bank and the IMF.

3.2. Though some of the economists are trying to paint a rosy picture by stating that the recession will be short lived, the indications are pointing out the recession to be a long drawn affair since the slow down is also taking place at the global level.

3.3. On the export side the performance of the Indian economy was much below the mark. According to the RBI, India's current deficit of balance of payments is around 12.5 billion dollars (Rs.50,000 crores). As Reserve Bank of India pointed out that a large number of unscrupulous exporters and importers are indulging in underinvoicing and over invoicing of import and export bills which is also resulting in frittering away of huge foreign exchange out of the country. The failure of the RBI and the Enforcement Directorate to stop the pilferage of foreign exchange has adversely affected Indian economy considerably when the country is short of financial resources for development. The value of Rupee is falling day by day and it is feared that this will continue to slide in future making imports much costlier for the country.

3.4. The serious revenue deficit of over Rs 10,000 crores is viewed as a serious matter. When former Finance Minister Chidambaram granted concessions to big business houses he assured Parliament that by reducing the rate of taxes, the incidence of tax evasion will be reduced and realisation will be substantially increased. The shortfall in revenue collection has only proved that his assessment was totally incorrect. Another serious feature which was experienced recently was that the

drastic reduction in customs duty has put several Indian industries in serious crisis. The shortfall in customs duty due to cut in duty was expected to be Rs.3,000 crores which was to be realised by increasing the excise duty on various products. This has put Indian industries in great difficulties and they have to give way for cheaper foreign goods and slow down their own production programmes. Some of the foreign companies in electronics and telecom, have been dumping goods in India at prices less than the prices of raw materials which Indian companies had to pay. This has put them in acute difficulties and the Govt. of India has totally failed to protect the Indian industries from the depredations of MNCs.

3.5. The Indian laws relating to dumping are so complicated that the responsibility of proving the dumping is on the Indian complainant while in many other countries, this compulsion is not prevalent. As a result we find that the Germany and some European countries have imposed anti-dumping duty on Indian goods while American Government also has banned some Indian products to enter their market on the plea that child labour was involved. However, Govt. of India could not take any step against several dumping products introduced by various multinational companies to capture Indian market and throw out Indian companies from their own markets.

3.6 The negative agricultural growth in India will further worsen the situation. In the absence of land reforms and distribution of surplus land to the landless, the agricultural production will continue to suffer serious setbacks and also for its dependence on vagaries of nature. The shortfall in agricultural production will also affect the exports. However, the failure of the Government to take any positive step to boost agricultural production has aggravated the Indian economic crisis. The peasantry and agricultural workers have suffered greatly due to these economic policies. Considerable erosion in their living standard has been reported in the past. Cases of suicide in Andhrapradesh and Karnataka have shocked the country. Recently some suicides have been reported in Maharashtra. The conditions of rural poor in some parts of orissa is perhaps the worst in the country. Symbolic relief measures accompanied with verbal sympathy by the official spokesmen have not contributed anything in improving their lot.

3.7. The growing sickness of the industrial undertakings has further worsened the economic situation. The total negative attitude of the Govt. of India in helping revival of sick industries both in public and private sectors and unofficial implementation of Exit Policy has also hit the full use of production capacity. The unutilised capacity in several industrial undertakings was reaching alarming proportions and the deregulation of industries have brought in several competitors in the same sector which has also been responsible for growing unutilised capacity. This has resulted in huge wastage of national resources which could have been better utilised with a planned programme of investment.

3.8. The public sector continues to be under heavy attack by the Central Government's policy. The seven reports of the Disinvestment Commission have practically prepared a blueprint for gradual liquidation of the public sector undertakings. It is going beyond its terms of reference and even started recommending selling of some undertakings. Without taking into consideration its implication the Commission has asked SAIL to dispose IISCO to a private party knowing fully well that its modernisation under SAIL is under consideration. If the Commission is allowed to continue its activities for 4-5 years the Commission would practically sell off most of the public sector units to private sector undertakings and foreign companies. The World Bank lobby in India even thinks that the present pace of privatisation is very slow and has proposed that the Disinvestment Commission should be given statutory power to sell shares of the public sector to the private units, many of which are likely to fall in the hands of multinational corporations. The UF Government had stripped some

powers of the Disinvestment Commission but the BJP Government is restoring the lost powers and seeking to give more arbitrary powers to the Commission which would expedite the process of privatisation. The Disinvestment Commission would sell out the well run undertakings while BIFR would close down and hand over the sick units to private sector. Both of them together constitute a grand design of dismantling the entire public sector undertakings. The TU movement should therefore strive to scrap the Disinvestment Commission and take out the public sector undertakings from the clutches of the BIFR which alone can save the public sector. Much of the public sector has already been lost, the rest of the portion should be saved from further disintegration by the united movement of public sector employees movement and the trade union movement in general.

3.9. The structural adjustment programme has now come home to roost and even the industrial houses have now started talking about the lack of wisdom of economic reforms initiated by the World Bank and IMF.

3.10. Taking over of large number of industrial units by multinational companies which number 60 during the last two years is also helping the multinational companies to expand their control over the Indian economy and use the facilities developed by the Indian industries to augment their super profits. The so-called level playing field demanded by the Indian industries is not being given by the Government due to the pressure of the IMF and World Bank. Unless the pressure from the democratic movement is increased at a faster speed, it will not be possible for the Indian economy to come out of the present economic crisis and advance on self-reliant path.

3.11. The chief economist of the World Bank and senior Vice-President Joseph Stiglitz in a recent speech in Finland has questioned virtually the entire package of conditionalities. He said, "I do not believe in blanket statements like, 'government is worse than markets.' I have argued that government has an important role in responding to market failures, which are a general feature of any economy."

3.12. Stiglitz while explaining the success in China noted, "China has managed to sustain double-digit growth by extending the scope of competition without privatising state owned enterprises.

3.13. He criticised World Bank and IMF policies which created unemployment. "In the short run large-scale unemployment is clearly inefficient." He called for "a greater degree of humility, the frank acknowledgment that we do not have all the answers."

3.14. This admission by the top expert of the World Bank has underlined the bankruptcy of the structural adjustment programme being pursued by IMF-World Bank duo.

3.15. DANGER OF MAI; The multilateral Agreement on investment (MAI) is being negotiated since 1995 by the 29 OECD member countries. If this dangerous proposal becomes successful, it will hit the sovereign rights of all the countries and make multi-national corporations supreme in everything.

3.16. The MAI will make WTO more retrograde. It does not put any obligation for the MNC's but imposes a number of restrictions on the states. No state will have any right to deny entry to a multi-national company to invest in any industry except some areas of defence production. The proposed agreement clearly seeks to lift all restrictions that might lead to losses in terms of profit opportunities for investors. The multi-national companies will be placed above the national laws and take legal action against "guilty" states or local authorities trying to protect the national interests.

3.17. The proposed agreement provides for all investments that are commercial or non-commercial (including culture and health) natural resources, energy and mining etc. Thus, practically every form of economic activity will be covered by the agreement and no Government can obstruct the entry or operation of any multi-national company.

3.18 The Agreement, if accepted as an addition to WTO will negate to strike or collective bargaining. States or regional grouping like SAARC would have no possibility whatsoever of linking investment to employment, social progress, development or environmental balance.

3.19 The MAI will introduce unabashed neo-colonialism in the world and the developing countries will be disarmed to resist the depredations of the multi-national companies. Therefore, the developing countries must come together to resist the danger of MAI which will keep them in bondage of the worst type. The trade union movement all over the world must come together to resist the new machination of the worst type so that the economies of the developing countries can be protected from further disaster.

## EFFORTS TO BUILD UNITED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

4.1. After the general elections are over, the need for reviving the united trade union movement on common issues concerning the working class is being strongly felt by the trade unions. The question of Public Sector employees was also at the forefront. A meeting of the Core Group of the CPSTU was held on 24th March to consider the problems faced by the Public Sector workers. As was decided in that meeting a Memorandum was submitted to the Prime Minister, Finance Minister, Minister for Industry and Labour Minister highlighting the problems of Public Sector workers such as payment of Interim Relief, problems of sick industries, question of pending wage revision, opposing privatisation etc. And a representative delegation has already met the Industries and Labour Ministers on 7th April. It was further decided that the extended meeting of the CPSTU will be called in New Delhi on 12th and 13th May so that a joint movement of the Public Sector workers can be charted out. It was also agreed to involve the INTUC and BMS in these movements so that a complete united movement can be built on these issues.

4.2. A meeting of the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions was held on 26th March to consider the revival of the activities of joint movement in the trade union front. The meeting felt the need for starting joint movement on several pending issues facing the working class. The meeting also considered the need for revival of the activities of the National Platform of Mass Organisations and a preliminary meeting of the Platform was called on 11th April to consider the problems faced by various Mass Organisations and chalk out programmes of joint movements. The Sponsoring Committee again met on 11th April to consider the issues to be considered by the National Platform of Mass Organisations.

4.3. It has also been possible to have a joint consultation between the five major Central trade union organisations on a monthly basis and chalk out the programmes of joint movements on agreed issues by all the organisations. During the election campaign period, such a meeting could not be organised and the first such meeting has been held on 12th April to discuss the present situation and consider the possibilities of strengthening the united movement.

4.4. On the question of Pension Scheme, we have been able to form a separate front of trade unions opposed to the Government Pension Scheme. This front was inactive during the election campaign. As a result of fall of the United Front Government, the strike that was called to oppose the Pension Scheme on 17th December, 1997 had to be postponed. In the meanwhile, the discontent against the Pension Scheme among the workers has increased. The promises of the Government to review the pensionary benefit periodically has also not been properly implemented. The bureaucratic handling of the Pension Scheme has also resulted in adding to the discontent among the workers. It is necessary to review the situation and chalk out some programme of joint movement against the Govt pension scheme so that we can mobilise the workers. Our case in the Supreme Court is likely to be taken up shortly and all the High Court cases have been brought before the

Supreme Court for final consideration. The Supreme Court case will require heavy expenditure and help is required from CITU unions so that the case should not suffer for want of funds. These various movements are to be properly coordinated and bigger and bigger mass movements are to be launched all over the country.

4.5. However, in the new political situation, we have to see the feeling among the workers and move in a planned manner so that the workers participation is properly ensured in various programmes when chalked out. There is, however, an urgent need of intensive political education of the workers about the impact of the economic policies and the difficulties faced by the working class so that workers are properly educated on these issues.

4.6. All the CITU State Committees and Industrial Federations have to be more active in this sphere so that the education of the workers on the impact of the various economic policies of the Government is properly organised. There is a proposal to hold a National Convention of the National Platform of Mass Organisations followed by State level conventions so that proper favourable atmosphere is created for countrywide struggle on burning problems faced by the workers. In this connection, the State Committees and Industrywise Federations will have to play a crucial role in mobilising the workers in these activities.

### INDEPENDENT MASS MOBILISATION BY CITU

4.7 To prepare background for bigger mass mobilisation on common issues facing the working people the CITU must lay stress on our independent mass mobilisation. Without our initiative at local and national level it will not be possible to lay the basis of powerful struggles. It is our experience in the past that the united movements have developed powerfully only in areas where our unions have taken initiative in organising mass movement. Some of the state committees have not been very active on the national calls which resulted in lack of adequate state level movements on the common issues.

4.8 The CITU unions will have to organise independent actions on pressing issues which would create favourable atmosphere for others to join the movement. We have seen in the past some of the organisations which support the nationwide calls in the central level meetings, do not make any attempt to implement the calls. Here, the initiative by our unions and independent actions by us will create a favourable atmosphere for others to join in the common struggle. The vacillators also have to show their readiness to join the struggles when they see their ranks also press for united struggle on these issues.

4.9 We should properly review every united movement of an all India character in the All India meeting and study the independent activities conducted by us on every issue and the role played by our state committees and District Committees to build united movement. It is only through this process that we can involve more and more masses in our movements.

### QUESTION OF WORKERS-PEASANTS ALLIANCE

5.1 The CITU has been emphasising since its inception on the need to build a workers-peasants alliance so that the working class solidarity with the peasantry in their struggle for the land is properly worked out. Many CITU comrades have pointed out that there should be a national programme on this question to strengthen this alliance. In this regard, a formal discussion with the leaders of AIKS is welcome and we should have a joint meeting of the CITU leaders and AIKS to consider ways and means to build a proper workers-peasants alliance at all levels and work out a concrete programme of building such an alliance at national and local levels. This will give directives to both the organisations or workers and peasants to work together in a systematic manner to build a genuine workers-peasants alliance in the country. After the General Council meeting, we may pur-

sue this and hold such a meeting so that this slogan is given a concrete shape for our day to day guidance. The strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance have to be taken up with all seriousness which would contribute immensely to our common struggle against the economic policies of the Government of India and give the struggle a new dimension.

## STREAMLINING THE ORGANISATION

Dear Comrades,

6.1. A round of useful discussion in the last Working Committee meeting in Shimla in October 1997 on the progress of implementation of the Bhubaneshwar document on Organisation, may well be regarded as a modest achievement. However, the political turmoil that emerged shortly afterwards leading to the declaration of mid term polls did not permit of follow up activity. Thereafter there is little to report to the general council beyond what transpired in this regard in the Working Committee meeting at Shimla. It is appropriate that the General Council is apprised of the discussion as it will be considering the follow up steps.

6.2. As noted in the discussion paper some earlier attempts did not succeed because most of the state committees failed in sending their reports inspite of a questionnaire circulated at least twice to facilitate preparation of state reports. Even this time the situation showed little improvement. Reports were received only from 6 state committees before the compilation of the discussion paper for the Shimla working committee. The secretariat however took a firm decision to go ahead with whatever material was available. In addition to the 6 reports, reports from 2 more states which were received earlier were made use of in preparing it. The redeeming feature is that some more State Committees made their reports available before or during the meeting. This point is being so much stressed because the failure to send report is itself a major organisational weakness which we must overcome in the shortest possible time.

6.3. The discussion paper, after making a self critical reference to the functioning of the Centre dealt with a number of aspects of the state of organisation at the state and lower levels and had drawn some conclusions. As for the functioning of the Centre it enumerated four major weaknesses. Firstly, the inadequacy of strength of the Centre persists. Remedy lies in the State Committees releasing suitable comrades. Some comrades have been identified but yet to be released from the States. Secondly, notwithstanding some improvement, collective functioning in true sense and all aspects which can contribute largely in ensuring optimisation of the centre's role is yet to be attained. Thirdly, although several meetings of Hindi belt comrades have already been held and some useful discussion on their problems have taken place, but a "well knit plan for further growth" as stipulated in the document for the Hindi belt as a whole or for the individual states is still eluding us. Neither has there been any attempt to prepare such plan for priority industrial sectors. And lastly, no material worth mentioning has been planfully produced for "ideological moulding of the working class." No trade union class has so far been organised at the initiative of the Centre. Even the syllabus/lecture notes for trade union classes which were announced 2-3 years back are yet to be circulated.

6.4. On analysing the state reports the following aspects were recorded in the discussion paper:  
6.4.1. At least half of the number of states including some major states show evidence of lack of consciousness about the importance of sending their reports to ensure monitoring at the centre and for review.

6.4.2. Those reports which were received were detailed and systematic. For constraint of time everything could not be included in the discussion paper.

6.4.3. By and large the reporting states had taken the initial steps for implementation of the

Bhubaneswar document by circulating the document, translating in local languages, holding discussion at different levels and so on. While some state committees started the process right after the adoption of the document, some state committee took a late start.

6.4.4. The idea of self-critical reports prepared in the light of the document to serve as basis for discussion both at State and district level was not taken with due seriousness by all. Even those states who had prepared such reports did not send them to the Centre alongwith the reports of discussion. Those reports might have been valuable feedback for the Centre.

6.4.5. Reports show some improvement in the frequency of meetings at State and district levels as also in attendance. Some states are however yet to reach the target laid down in the document.

6.4.6. Secretariat of some states and even some district committees place written report to committee and council meetings. Only on written reports the discussion can be comprehensive and to the point and it raises the quality of functioning.

6.4.7. The State Committees are more or less conscious about the importance of District Committees in the structure of the CITU particularly for the role they are required to play for expansion of CITU activity.

6.4.8. All State Committees have not yet set up proper machinery for state level coordination of activity in various all India industries particularly in public sector.

6.4.9. Weakness in respect of organising the working women still persists. Only some states carry on the work in this regard in an exemplary manner.

6.4.10. While the centre has major failure in the matter of education and training, in several states classes for different standards of workers are occasionally organised often taking help of Centre comrades. But in no state it is a part of their regular activity.

6.4.11. As regards democratic functioning, much emphasis has been laid on this question both in the Bhubaneswar document and specially in the 9th conference commission paper. But the reports are generally cryptic in this regard. It appears that there is some effort on the part of the state committees to develop functioning in a democratic manner. Democratic functioning is not ensured by some organisational arrangement alone, the main thing is the cultivation and development of democratic spirit.

6.5. Besides, the discussion paper also dealt with the importance of the whole timers in the CITU organisation and proposed to take a sort of census of whole timers to collect all relevant information regarding the condition in which they are working, their aptitude, problems, etc.

6.6. Comrades in their oral report and the opinion expressed by them generally confirm the trend revealed by the written reports. However, pointed out by one comrade, there is marked unevenness in development and for the matter in implementation of the document. While the general trend is that of improvement, in the case of some states improvement is marginal, in some cases it may also be negative at least in some respects.

6.7. Several pertinent points were raised during the decision which demands attention:

6.7.1. Most participants rightly criticised the Centre for its failure to prepare syllabus/lecture notes. It was also stressed that there should not be further delay in publication of the history of CITU which was decided to be published in connection with the silver jubilee celebration. The state committees needed help even to organise education in the states.

6.7.2. It was also pointed out that the centre is yet to initiate the special study of industrially advanced Western India.

6.7.3. There are unions, in some states whose number is sizable, which are run by pro-CITU leaders but they do not affiliate them to the CITU. Effort should be made for formal affiliation of such

unions.

6.7.4 It was pointed out that often there is a tendency for some leaders responsible for state committee functioning to remain just the leaders of the union they originally belonged to instead of becoming leaders of the state, with the result that state functioning suffers.

6.7.5. Problems of unions which are spread over two or more states needs to be sorted out since their jurisdiction is not properly decided.

6.7.6. Issues of dalits, tribals, etc should be taken up by CITU and attempts should be made to bring them under the fold of CITU in more numbers.

6.7.7. In Kerala our potentiality for expansion in organised sector has reached its end, as the sector itself is going down, membership is increasing in unorganised sector. The opinion was also expressed by one comrade that an all India organisation of unorganised sector as a whole cannot serve any useful purpose.

6.7.8. In states with predominance of feudal culture, democratic functioning is more difficult to attain. More vigilance and check up from the centre is necessary.

6.8 Now that the elections are over, it is hightime we resume our work on streamlining the organization with due seriousness. The political changes that have taken place do not promise sunny days for the working class. Gearing up of the organization, the principal weapon in the hands of the working class, for meeting any situation has therefore assumed paramount importance. The Secretariat is making constant effort for improved collectivity in its functioning. As promised in the Working Committee the drafting of the lecture notes on some subjects have been completed and are being circulated. The secretariat has decided to organise a central trade union class and another class for the Hindi belt for which necessary preparation will be started immediately after the general council meeting. We hope that the state committees concerned will cooperate in augmenting the strength of the Centre which will enable it to discharge its responsibilities better. We hope that the state committees will also make similar effort to register substantial improvement in the state of organisation at all levels including the unions in the respective states so that during the next review a better picture emerges.

6.9. One major weakness in our Shimla exercise was that our review remained confined to states/districts. But again it is the nonavailability of reports of self critical review conducted (if at all) by the federations - 12 in number - that this sector has remained totally out of the purview of our discussion. In the case of the federations also some reports were received while most of the organizations defaulted for which justice could not be done to the reports received. We hope all the federations will now adopt a timebound programme to complete the incomplete job.

## ON FUNCTIONING OF THE INDUSTRY-WISE FEDERATIONS

7.1 The review of the work and organisational position of the all India Industrial Federations have been long overdue. At the time of finalisation of the 'Report on Organisation' in 1993, this important task of ours was reiterated and thereafter, at least twice the Industrial Federations were requested to send a review report of the work of respective federations in the light of the "Report on Organisation." But most of the federations did not send any report barring a few and reports received were too generalised except one, on the basis of which it becomes extremely difficult to prepare a meaningful review report. With whatever reports that could be gathered by CITU Secretariat through the functional association of the secretariat members with the work of various federations, some general observation can be made on the functioning of various all India industrial federations.

7.2 Twelve all India industrial federations are there directly under CITU. Among them the Sugar Workers Federation of India and All India Jute Workers Federation are practically

defunct so far as the functioning is concerned, although at the enterprise level, the unions both in sugar and jute industry are quite active. Among others regular meetings at the federation level are not being held in the All India Plantation Workers Federation and All India Road Transport Workers Federation, and mostly the meeting of these two federations are generally tagged with either the General Council, Working Committee or some other meetings of CITU or the CITU Conference, and held for shorter hours and not in an organised manner.

7.3 In case of most of the federations, the all India Working Committee meetings are generally held without well prepared written report, and those meetings generally deal with the immediate problems and organisational matters receive least attention. Perhaps in very few of the federations there had been a full-fledged discussion on the CITU's organisational document and identification of the shortcomings and tasks as repeatedly insisted upon by CITU Centre.

7.4 The spread of membership of CITU over different parts of these industries scattered all over the country, if scrutinised properly would reveal that in considerable areas of the industry, CITU is extremely weak and the overall growth of membership is minimal, rather stagnant. The weakness of the functioning of the federations is one of the factors responsible for such tardy growth of organisation.

7.5 And all these weaknesses is contributing towards our failure to convert the general influence of CITU within the workers of the industry into organisation and membership. Coal industry can be cited as glaring example. On the single handed call of CITU more than 4 lakhs coal workers could be rallied round in the countrywide strike action more than once, but our membership in coal industry remained only around one lakh. Similar examples can be cited in other industries as well. And in all those industries, the class collaborationist and opportunist activities of the leadership of other central trade unions have been resulting in fast erosion of their support base but at the same time we are failing to draw them to CITU in sufficient numbers and wherever we could draw them, to some extent, effective steps are lacking to sustain the new force within the organisation. As a result, the trend of so-called independent trade unionism and localism are gaining momentum particularly in the organised sector. Our federation leadership must feel alarmed about the pernicious trend.

7.6 One of the major problems is our failure to develop our industrywise federation as a true all India platform of the workers of the respective industries. Instead, in the industrywise federations, we remained busy in only coordinating the movement and activities of different enterprise/area level unions within the concerned industry, that too not much effectively. The comrades comprising the all India committee of the particular federation, including those in the headquarters of the federation mostly continue to act generally as only representatives of the particular enterprise/unit/area they are represented from and rarely as an all India leader of the concerned industry. We have yet to develop effective team of all India leadership in most of the cases who can oversee and address the problems of uneven growth within the industry and also the task of developing a cohesive all India approach on the movement throughout the industry despite the fact that in all those concerned industries, we have number of strong unions in unit/enterprise/state level and have no dearth of effective leaders.

7.7 The weakness in the effective functioning of federation headquarters is also one of the major factors contributing to lack of organisational compactness of respective federations as such. The whole idea of industrywise all India federation was envisaged to develop a unified/common understanding on the approach and outlook and also a compact countrywide living organisation of the workers of the particular industry on the basis of which a stronger countrywide movement can be carried forward and an organised process can be launched to advance the level of consciousness in the organisation in the background of an uneven and diverse situation. The effective functioning of

the centre of the federation can make immense contribution in this regard and also can help pooling the resource/skill/experience from the various segments of the industry to the desired direction.

7.8 After the formation of the industrial federations, though we have made advancement in the respective industries and despite the fact that most of the federations played important role in building and strengthening countrywide industrial action of the workers, we must admit, that we are yet far behind in fulfilling the cherished objective of organising the industry based all India federations.

7.9 In many of the industries CITU unions had earned the negotiating status through prolonged struggle and that process of struggle had also given birth to many industry based federations. It was also expected that our negotiating status in those industries would also help us further in expanding and strengthening our organisational base. In many cases this expectation has not been fulfilled. Rather the most disturbing feature is being noticed in some industries that representation of the comrades in the apex negotiating forum of the industry instead of increasing the pace of activities has contributed to decline of mass activities. In many cases, outcome of the meeting of the negotiating committee is not being properly reported to the workers. Instead of organising movements, activities got oriented only toward negotiation resulting in loss of contacts, limitation within the boundaries of economic issues only, leading to erosion of support base. All the federations must view such trend seriously and must make objective review of our role in the negotiating committees vis-a-vis the mass organisational activity. We must keep in mind, without building up strong united movement, we cannot play effective role in the negotiating committees to protect the interest of the workers as also of the industry and sheer negotiation orientation in trade union movement would lead us to worst-victims of economism and erosion of support base.

7.10 However, all the industrial federations are required to seriously review the organisational situation in the light of the Report on Organisation at the earliest and send a comprehensive report to Centre, so that in the future meetings we can come out with a more specific and objective review report on the activity of the federations to identify our future task. The All India Coordination Committees functioning in some of the multi unit industries, institutions also are advised to do the same within the Coordination Committee framework.

7.11 There is urgent need to improve the Co-ordination between industrywise federation and State-Committees. Some state committees have complained that they do not know the decisions of the industrywise federations with the result that they are unable to supervise the implementation of these decisions. Some of the industrywise federation do not pay proper attention to arrange proper publicity to the programme of movement chalked out by the Federation. Even at time the CITU journal are unable to publish the reports in the absence of timely reports.

## FUNCTIONING OF TRIPARTITE COMMITTEES

8.1 There are number of tripartite committees constituted by the Union Labour Ministry. But the Government is taking them in an extremely casual manner, at times only to fulfil the statutory requirement. Good number of committees were constituted years back and are over due to be reconstituted. Trade Unions' representation in these very old committees has been taken on the basis obsolete verification results of the year 1980 which was boycotted by the CITU. Ignoring the membership strength of the central trade unions on the basis current verification result, the CITU has not been granted representation in many important committees. We have asked the Labour Department to furnish a complete list of tripartite committees and include the representation of CITU in the unrepresented ones.

8.2 While the meetings of these committees are not convened regularly, many such committees are

not meeting at all. Thus burning issues which are expected to be addressed to by these committees are continuously remaining unresolved. Further, the decisions of these fora are not properly implemented and even in some cases tampered with. Even the top-most bodies like the Indian Labour Conference and the Standing Labour Committee are not taken seriously by the Government. These fora are converted into talking shop or at best debating societies. This situation should not be looked as an isolated development. Under the scheme of globalisation and deregulated market economy, the importance of the tripartite committees are rather planfully reduced in a callous manner. It is necessary to increase the assertion of the trade unions to press the Government to take serious note of the unfortunate situation in the matter.

8.3 On the other hand, the functioning of our comrades in these committees also needs to be reviewed by the General Council and Working Committee meetings periodically. Unless nominated in due process, any comrade attending a particular meeting should not be considered to have been permanently nominated in the committee concerned. The Bhubaneswar Resolution on Organisation has directed us to review our work in the tripartite committees and work of our members so that necessary corrective steps can be taken. "Our members on these committees should acquaint themselves with the problems thoroughly and place CITU view points more effectively ... Reports of these meetings should be circulated to the state committees so that they can keep the concerned unions informed about them ... 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." Further, there are identical committees both at the states and centre. For evolving uniform approach, meetings of the comrades representing CITU at the state level and national committees should be arranged so that proper guidelines are given to the comrades functioning in these committees.

## DISCUSSION ON ESI SCHEME

9.1. The CITU Secretariat decided to have a comprehensive debate on the working of the ESI Scheme and decide issues on which we should have a countrywide campaign. The Employees State Insurance Act needs to be amended so that it can serve the interest of the working class more effectively. At present, there is acute discontent among the workers about the working of the ESI Scheme. Workers do not get adequate medical treatment in ESI hospitals. Due to rampant corruption and nepotism, the real benefits do not reach the workers while the bureaucratic administration is eating vitals of this organisation. Many State Governments as well as the Central Government do not show much concern with the working of the Scheme. If the scheme is made voluntary, no worker would join the scheme!

9.2. Unless the Trade Union movement comes forward with joint movement with concrete proposals for improvement of the scheme, it is bound to deteriorate further. The arbitrary enhancement of ESI ceiling limit for coverage has evoked strong resentment among workers of several Public Sector and well organised private sector units.

9.3. One of the major cause for this sorrowful situation is that the trade union movement is not taking keen interest in fighting malpractices in the scheme. We have rarely made working of the ESI an issue of agitation for improvement in working of the scheme. Now the Central Govt wants to form state level corporation and handover the entire administration of the scheme to state level corporations. Mere administrative changes will not improve the situation. It is clear that without a big united countrywide movement the improvement in the scheme and its operation cannot be brought about.

9.4. The General Council should discuss the paper prepared by com Kali Ghosh so that we can draw conclusions for developing joint movements for radical improvements in the Scheme.

## **ON UNORGANISED SECTOR WORKERS**

10.1. The CITU has been giving more emphasis on strengthening the work among the unorganised sector workers which constitute over 90 per cent of our workforce. We have been able to pay more attention to the sector and some improvement in the membership has taken place during the recent past. However, a large part of the workforce is beyond our reach and CITU should take up the work more seriously. Some State Committees have made good beginning which has yielded positive results. Recently, Tamil Nadu State Committee organised one day strike which received support from workers of other affiliations.

10.2. However, many State Committees have not taken up this task seriously which is hampering the growth of CITU in these States. The decision to form Co-ordination Committee has not been taken seriously by some of the State Committees. The meetings of the All India Co-ordination Committee are not attended by many States. There is urgent need to pay more attention to the work among this neglected strata of our working class. Hence, the CITU Secretariat has decided to have a special discussion in this General Council meeting so that we can evolve methods of working among this sector with more concern.

## **OUR WORK IN THE PARLIAMENTARY FRONT**

11.1. Several delegates who spoke in the last CITU Conference noted that our work in Parliament was not satisfactory. They complained that several issues raised by the Trade Union movements were not properly focused in the Parliament. Many of them complained that they do not get full report of the activities of Members of Parliament in various Parliamentary Committees. A point was made that several Parliamentary Committees visited several Centres in which our MPs were members, but they do not meet the Trade Unions while visiting these centres.

11.2. The CITU Secretariat considered this issue and decided to coordinate the activities of the MPs connected with the Trade Union movements so that they can work more effectively inside and outside the Parliament. We have got three Members of Parliament in the Rajya Sabha, viz. E.Balanandan, Jibon Roy and Dipankar Mukherjee while in the Lok Sabha we have eight members viz. Anand Pathak, Vikas Chaudhury, Tarit Torpadar, Basudev Acharya, Lakhan Seth, Ashim Bala, Ajay Mukherjee and Abul Hasnat Khan.

11.3. As per the decision of the Secretariat, a meeting of these MPs was called in the CITU office on 30th March, 1998 to consider the question in depth. E.Balanandan presided over the meeting. It was agreed that the CITU Centre and Members of Parliament will properly coordinate activities so that the issues raised by various trade unions are focused in the Parliament more effectively. Concerning Bills which come up in Parliament, it was agreed that we should move amendments in all these bills and put across our views more effectively. In the Standing Committees of Parliament attached to various Ministries, CITU Centre should help the MPs by giving policy guidelines. Even on the question of representation on struggles of workers under trade union banners, they should be a coordinated approach and matters should be taken up in a more concerted manner. The Members of Parliament who attended the meeting welcomed this proposal and suggested that periodic meetings of MPs with the CITU leadership will help in improving our activities in this regard. The meeting felt the need for a proper secretarial assistance to Members of Parliament. It was decided that CITU should make efforts to build up a proper machinery in the CITU Centre to help the MPs to discharge their responsibilities more effectively which will also meet the requirement of the TU movement. The suggestions by the General Council Members to further improve our work in the

parliamentary front are welcome.

## OUR WORK AMONG WORKING WOMEN

12.1 The Coordination Committee of working women has been formed over 20 years ago and it is necessary to review the work of this Committee in the light our document on Organisation. The Secretariat has decided that the Coordination Committee should review its activities in its next meeting so that steps can be taken in the light of the discussion in improving our activities on this neglected front.

12.2 Though some state committees have formed co-ordination committees all are not functioning while some state committees have not taken up this task in right earnest. It also must be noted that without formation of Sub-committee of women workers in unions where sizable number of working women are working the coordination committee will have no activities to co-ordinate. It is generally observed that state committee in general do not check up the activities of the Co-ordination Committees. In some states where members of the Co-ordination Committee are office bearers of the state committees, they do not take keen interest in involving more and more women in union activities and bring them to leading position in the unions.

12.3 It is also seen that in some unions the women are taken in working committee but they merely act as silent spectator and are unable to contribute in the discussion. It is only through suitable training programmes that these working women can be educated to play a leading role in the union. Our activities among working women are more confined to clerical employees than on industrial workers. The work among the Anganwadi Workers is perhaps in only exception to this. We have to identify certain industries such as plantation, bidi, construction home based workers so that we can strengthen our activities in this area with special initiative. The state committees should identify such industries so that they can give special priority to improve our work among the working women.

12.4 Though there has been some improvement in the circulation of Voice of the Working Women we should still make attempt to increase it further in order to make it a real mouthpiece of the working women's movement. Its quality should be further improved and more reports of activities should come from the states.

## CITU'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

13.1 Since the last Working Committee meeting, CITU had a series of international contacts and fraternal exchanges of delegations. At the invitation of Asian Women Workers Centre of Network Organisation of Committee for women (CAW), M.Rajeshwari, Member, CITU General Council from Tamilnadu addressed a symposium at Tokyo on behalf of CITU on 25th October, 1997. She spoke the problems of women in the unorganised sector, impact of structural adjustment programme and the role of CITU. The symposium was preceded by interactions and visits to various industrial centres and enterprises in Japan from October 16 onwards.

13.2 At the invitation of Cylon Federation of Trade Unions, Com.A.K.Padmanabhan, Secretary, CITU, attended 23rd Delegate Conference at Colombo on 29th November, 1997. He took the opportunity to meet other Central Trade Union leaders in Sri Lanka with a view to develop fraternal ties with them. The CITU should pay more attention to develop these relations with Sri Lankan Trade Unions. A two member delegation from Indian Workers Association, Great Britain, consisting of Sohan Singh Sandhu and Avatar Singh Jouhl visited CITU Centre and discussed issues of mutual interests. A three member delegation from Japan came to study the working and living conditions of the workers in Japanese Joint Ventures in India and held discussions with CITU leadership. They visited New Delhi and Chennai and met workers of Japanese Joint Ventures with a view to find out ways and means of development of cooperations by Trade Unions. The CITU

extended all possible help to these delegation.

13.3 Santoshri Chatterjee, President, Hindustan Motors Employees Union West Bengal, and working committee member of CITU represented CITU at the International Conference of Automobile Workers held at Paris from January 28 to 30, 1998. The Conference was organised by CGT France and was successful in strengthening the cooperation between the trade union movement of Automobile industry in different countries. An International Conference of Trade Unions of transport workers was held in Demascus, Syria. CITU and allied organisations sent 11 member delegation covering water, air and railway transport. The delegation actively participated in the Conference. M.K.Pandhe was elected to the Presidium of the Conference. Sadan Kanchilal, General Secretary of the Forward Seamens Union of India was elected as a member of the General Council of TUI. A two member delegation of the All India Plantation Workers Federation consisting of Vimal Randive, Amal Ghosh Dastidar attended the 5th National Conference of Bangladesh Agricultural Farm Labour Federation at Dacca from March 10 to 12, 1998. The delegation had wide range of discussions with Trade Unions in Bangladesh and also participated in the Seminar.

13.4 A delegation of 3 women Trade Union activists from India will be participating in the International meeting of women trade unionists at Havana (Cuba) from April 27 to May 3, 1998. The delegation will consist of Ranjana Nirula from CITU Centre and Bharati Som and Vanhi Sikha Acharya from Air Corporation Employees Union. Centre of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) has also convened a Preparatory Committee meeting for a Second Conference against Globalisation and Neo-liberalism to be held in Sao Palo in Brazil to be held in April 1999. Ranjana Nirula will participate in the meeting on 28th April. The delegation will also attend the May Day Rally to be held in Havana which will be addressed by Fiedal Castro. A three member delegation from India will participate in the International Solidarity Affair 1998 organised by KMU in Manila, Philippines from April 28 to May 9, 1998. A delegation consisting of M.G.Sreerangan, Member, Tamil Nadu State Committee of CITU, R.Govindarajan, Jt.Secretary, All India Insurance Employees Association and P.S.Pillai, Jt. Secretary, Bank Employees Federation of India will participae in a series of Seminars and discussions with international participants from various parts of the world.

13.5 150th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto is being observed in Paris from 13th to 16th May, 1998 and CITU has been invited to send a delegation to participate in the Conference. M.K.Pandhe and Chittabratha Majumdar have been included in the International Sponsoring Committee of this programme. India will be represented in this meeting by Chittabratha Majumdar, K.Ravindranath, Sukomal Sen, Jibon Roy and Janaki Ballabh. Some papers also have been submitted to this Conference by Indian participants. Jibon Roy will also visit Rome and will hold discussions with the leadership of CGIL. At the invitation of the Cyprass Agricultural Poultry Transport, Port, Seamens and Allied occupations Trade Unions of Sadhan Kanjilal, General Secretary, Forward Seamens Union of India visited Cypress from 11 th April, 1998 to develop cooperation and bilateral relations between the two organisations.

13.6 These growing relations are extremely important from the point of view of development of International struggle against globalisation and neo-liberalism. The CITU should strengthen its fraternal relations with trade unions of other countries in the overall interests of the international solidarity.

13.7 International travel has become expensive and involves substantial resources. Yet the workers respond magnificently wherever the drive for collection of funds is organised by the trade unions. The CITU unions should educate our working class the need for international solidarity so that we should be able to raise necessary resources for strengthening the ties of friendship with fraternal

organisations. It is also necessary to economise in other union expenses so that we can find sufficient funds for international relations. We must also keep in mind that without an effective international struggle of the working class against globalisation the machination of capitalism cannot be squarely defeated.

## OUR RELATIONS WITH THE WFTU

14.1 Alexander Zharikov, General Secretary of the WFTU during his visit to CITU Office last year discussed with the available members of the Secretariat the question of affiliation of the CITU with the WFTU. The CITU representatives informed Zharikov that CITU was co-operating with the WFTU in all activities and its friendly ties are growing regularly. They also felt the need for unity in the world TU movement and explained how the CITU has been playing a role in bringing together the affiliates of the WFTU and the ICFTU in the common struggles against IMF and World Bank dictates. Later Nguyen Van Tu, President, Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions who is also the present President of the WFTU visited CITU office and invited a delegation from CITU for a high level discussion. Accordingly, a delegation consisting of M.K.Pandhe, Chandi Prasad and Nikhil Mukherjee visited Vietnam from 1st to 7th January, 1998. The delegation has a comprehensive discussion on international TU situation and need for unity of the TU movement. The CITU also expressed its opinion on its relationship with the WFTU.

14.2 The weakening of the WFTU all over the world is a matter of concern to the CITU. The activities of the WFTU have been reduced drastically in almost all spheres while most of the TUs are not functioning on a regular basis. Owing to drying up of its financial resources after dismantling of Socialism in USSR and eastern European countries the WFTU had to curtail its staff and activities substantially and even now it is unable to raise finances even for its normal activities. The Asian office of the WFTU is practically defunct and it does not involve affiliated and friendly organisations to strengthen its activities.

14.3 The CITU assured the President of WFTU that it would give him every co-operation in strengthening the united movement of the working class in the Asian region.

14.4 With the strengthening of the international relations of CITU in the region this issue assumes immense importance. The full meeting of the Secretariat considered these developments and approved the general approach of the CITU in the matter. We are placing this before the General Council meeting so that members can react to these issues.

## ON VERIFICATION

15.1 Prior to Shimla Working Committee meeting it was intimated to the state committees that the next round of verification of membership of Central Trade Union Organisations may be started on the basis of 1996 membership. It was therefore important that all the unions should submit the Annual Returns for 1996 without any further delay. Each state committee was requested to nominate one important comrade entrusting him with the entire responsibility pertaining to records, submission of returns, collection/payment of affiliation fees etc. of his state and see that the job was done properly.

15.2 Shimla Working Committee again discussed the issue with much emphasis. A meeting of the representatives of State Committee in charge of verification was held in Shimla to discuss the immediate tasks. After the W.C. meeting, the Secretariat had decided that within 15th of January 98 the submission of returns for 1996 must be completed by all the State Committees. This was not done which is quite evident from the table annexed with the report.

15.3 Earlier I had reported to you that on the issue of quashing the verification results of 1989 in the case filed by INTUC the Delhi High Court had upheld our position placed through affidavits that

instead of quashing the verification result, it would be reasonable to proceed with fresh verifications as two verifications have already fallen due. The court had directed ITNUC's counsel to prepare a draft scheme for fresh verification after hearing all parties concerned. CITU's submission that the present set up for conducting verification with necessary improvement is competent enough and the trade unions themselves through mutual discussion can evolve out a more scientific and quicker procedure of verification was upheld by the court while negating the draft scheme placed by INTUC which suggested that the Chairman of the Committee should be a retired Judge.

15.4 In the meanwhile as per the direction of the court the Labour Minister had convened a meeting of the Central Trade Union Organisations on 6th April '98 to examine the possibility of conducting the next general verification of membership by the office of the CLC. In this context the suggestions were made regarding year of reckoning and the changes in the procedure needed. Suggestions emerging indicate that next verification may be conducted on the basis of 1996 membership. We should, therefore, make preparations and be ready for the verification. All this will only be fruitful, if we can make our total claim on the basis of Annual Returns submitted at the centre. I would request you once again to act expeditiously and remove all the shortcomings in our records as pointed out in the Shimla meeting.

#### **B T RANADIVE MEMORIAL TRUST**

16.1 In the Shimla Working Committee meeting we had informed that the building plan was about to be sanctioned and thereafter the construction work will commence shortly. Hence a serious call was given for collection of funds, so that due to paucity of funds the construction work doesn't stop. On 19th December 1997 on the 93rd birthday of Com.BTR, in a colourful ceremony, the foundation stone of the building was laid by CITU President Com.E Balanandan. On 19th January 1998 the construction work (civil) started. The work has started in full swing and is expected to be completed by the end of the year. In the meantime as the work progresses we have to make payments stagewise as per the contract. Already including the purchase of land we have spent around 43 lakhs. So whatever money we have collected so far will be insufficient to meet even the total payments required to be made for civil work. Visualising the embarrassing situation we may be put into I am giving this final "fund raising call". Observe a week or a fortnight exclusively for fund collection — complete your quotas and deposit the money immediately to BTR Memorial Fund. Please find BTR Fund updates annexed with the report.

#### **FORWARD TO UNITED STRUGGLES**

Dear Comrades,

17.1 The trade union movement of India is passing through a critical phase. What role it will play in this period will determine the future of the trade union movement in India. The structural adjustment programme seeks to marginalise the T.U. movement. Whether the T.U. movement will allow this marginalisation or will fight back the attempts of the World Bank and the IMF to dominate the World Economy is the challenge of the day.

17.2 The CITU as a central trade union in the country has to play a crucial role in the ensuing struggles. Without building a strong CITU organization we will not be able to discharge the role that we are supposed to play.

17.3 The BJP Government is pursuing the policy of liberalization and it will mean more attacks on the working class. Whatever illusions a section of the working class is having about this Government will soon be withering away and possibility of big struggles are bound to emerge in not too distant a future.

17.4 We should not wait till the workers are disillusioned. We have to make systematic efforts to

quicken the process of disillusionment. The workers will not take much time to realise that the BJP led Government is following the same dictates of the IMF and the World Bank.

17.5 Therefore from this meeting we must go back with concrete plan of action to bring together larger and larger sections of workers on common issues facing the working class. We have already discussed the major issues and after hearing suggestions from members of the General Council the CITU Secretariat will be able to finalise the line of action.

17.6 We have also to see that the National Platform of Mass Organization mobilises all mass organizations on all their burning problems. The meeting of the NPMO on 12th April ended in a positive tone and all sections wanted a countrywide programme so that all sections of toiling people jointly move in a concerted manner. The representatives of the Kisan Organization emphasized the need for powerful nationwide struggle for land distribution with the active support of all mass organizations. The response from all mass organizations was very positive. There is a good support to the proposal to have an All India Convention of NPMO at a suitable date so that a clarion call for countrywide movement can be given in that convention.

17.7 Without a powerful ideological campaign among the working class on the dangerous consequences of communalism and on the World Bank, IMF dictated economic policies, working people cannot be roused for a big struggle. The CITU unions have to take up this task in right earnest so that we can effectively prepare masses for a long drawn struggle against these twin dangers looming large before the country.

17.8 We have been developing united movement from above but at the lower level there is not adequate response in translating the aspect of unity. Thus, in our activities we must give more emphasis on unity from below which will give a new orientation to the united movement. Since there is tremendous urge among the working class for unity we should utilize this sentiment for more and more broadbased action and organizational consolidation of working class unity.

17.9 All over the world working class movement is assuming new militancy and struggle are emerging in all the continents. We have to see that India remains a proud participant in these united struggles in the World to-day.

Comrades,

18.1 This general council is meeting at a crucial time and we have to define our immediate tasks carefully so that we are able to shape the developments in the near future in favour of the working class and the common people.

18.2 Let us carefully examine the situation and not allow the events to overtake us. We must workout programmes of movements which will inspire million of toiling men and women to take on the challenges of the capitalist landlord classes.

18.3 I am sure this General Council will succeed in giving a correct directive to the working class movement of the country so that all the attacks on the working and living conditions are repulsed effectively and country is freed from the dangers of communal and divisive forces.

M.K. PANDHE  
General Secretary

# DRAFT RESOLUTION

## CONDOLENCE RESOLUTIONS

Com E M S NAMBOODIRIPAD

This meeting of the General Council of the CITU held at Chennai on 22-25 April 1998 expresses its profound grief at the passing away of Com.EMS Namboodiripad, the living legend of the left democratic and communist movement in India who breathed his last on 19th March after a brief illness, in a Trivandrum hospital, at the age of 89. During the seven decades of his public life which was full of momentous events and in all of which he was a major personality, he had left an indelible mark on the history of political development in the country which will never be erased. His total dedication for the cause of the freedom of the nation and emancipation of the toiling people, his utter selflessness and magnificent sacrifice, his modesty combined with firm adherence to principle, his simple living and his uncommon integrity in private and public life has given him a moral stature that can hardly be surpassed. His contribution in application of the basic tenets of Marxism to the specific conditions of India in general and Kerala in particular touching every facet of political social life gained wide recognition for him as a great Marxist theoretician of the contemporary world. In his death the toiling people of the country has lost one of their dear comrades, a great leader and teacher while the country has lost one of her noblest sons.

Born in 1909 in a landlord family belonging to the community of the most orthodox Namboodiri brahmmins, he began his social activity in the prime of his youth with a determined effort to reform the orthodox social customs prevalent in his community. As Gandhi launched the civil disobedience movement he left the college in 1931 to take part in it and was arrested. Not satisfied with the Gandhian trend of the national movement and with the left ward trend that had already developed in him, Com.EMS founded the Congress Socialist Party in Kerala and became its all India joint secretary. At about the same time he became the general secretary of Kerala Pradesh Congress. But he finally found the way he was groping for years only as he got acquainted with Marxism. And thus began the glorious chapter of his life which in his death he has bequitted to us for carrying forward. He along with some other comrades founded the communist party in Kerala. He was elected into the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India in 1941, and in 1950 he became a member of the Polit Bureau and in 1962 became the General Secretary of the Party. A founder leader of the CPI(M) he was from the beginning a member of the Central Committee and polit bureau, and in 1977 he was elected the General Secretary and continued to lead the party in this capacity till 1992 when he stepped down due to ill health.

His legislative and administrative activity was as varied and important. He was elected to the Madras Provincial Legislative Assembly in 1939. As Communists emerged victorious in the 1957 election of the newly formed Kerala state, Com.EMS headed the Govt which was the first elected communist govt in the history and steered it through serious trials and tribulation till it was undemocratically dismissed. He again headed a united front ministry in 1967 and continued till 1969. Some legislations enacted during his tenure, particularly the land reform legislation are acclaimed as pathbreaking. He donated the huge property that he inherited from his ancestors to the party. His income from his books and writings were deposited in the party account to the last farthing. Till his last breath he

lived in rented flat on party wage like any other whole time worker of the party. Years of his austere life was also spent on jail and underground.

The enormous volume and versatile nature of his theoretical contribution have given him a unique place among the contemporary political leaders of the country. His works include a monumental volume on History of freedom movement, a famous work on Gandhi and Ism, another on Nehru, several books on political and economic development of the country, including planning in India, a number of volumes on socio-economic and political history of Kerala. His reminiscences provide important material of historical interest. His articles in newspapers and magazine which came out in endless flow every day were brilliant and most authentic running commentary on developments that had been taking place over the decades. Even hours before he was admitted to the hospital he dictated an article on "Hung Parliament from the Perspective of Class politics" for the party daily Deshabhimani.

Com.EMS is no more. But the memory of his great life - a unique combination of the brilliance of intellect with the highest attainable moral values, a life completely identified with the cause of the people, will continue to inspire the generations of social and political workers.

The General Council while paying homage to the great leader, pledges to carry forward his unfinished task and conveys condolence to his bereaved family.

### COM. BIMAL SINHA

This General Council Meeting held in Chennai from 22 to 25th April 1998 expresses its deepest sense of sorrow at the shocking murder of Com. Bimal Sinha, one of the Vice-Presidents of CITU and Health Minister of Tripura. This meeting expresses its deep anguish at the barbarous attack of extremists in Tripura who gunned down Com. Sinha and his brother.

The meeting proudly recalls the determination and courage with which Com. Bimal Sinha all along his life fought for the democratic values and cause of the working class in particular. The meeting salutes Com. Sinha and his brother who embraced martyrdom confronting the heinous and ghastly attack of divisive forces aided and abetted by external forces in Tripura. His death is a great loss to working class movement.

The meeting while paying homage to the memory of Com. Bimal Sinha and his brother, pledges to carry forward the struggle against the divisive and disruptive forces and conveys condolence to their bereaved family.

### CONDOLENCE

This General Council meeting of CITU being held in Chennai from 22-25 April 1998 offers its respectful homage to all the leaders, cadres and activists of the working class and the democratic movement who laid down their lives during the period since last Working Committee meeting at Shimla.

This meeting deeply mourns the death of Com. Ayaldas, PL Sagar, veteran working class leaders of Rajasthan and Com. B P Kashyap, a long time Working Committee member of CITU and former Vice-President, All India Coal Workers Federation. The meeting pays its respectful homage to their memory.

During this period several important leaders of the democratic movement of the country have left us. Notable among them are Com. Tridib Chowdhury, veteran freedom fighter and General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Com. Nikhil Das and Com. Makhan Pal and Buddhadev Bhattacharya,

veteran and front ranking leaders of the RSP, and Shri Marakkar, INTUC Vice-President and wellknown T.U. leader of Kerala. This meeting pays its respectful homage to the departed leaders. The meeting expresses deep sorrow at the sudden demise of Com. Baren Bose the member of the W.B. State Committee of CPI (M) and Com. Prabhat Chakraborty, freedom fighter and a veteran CPI(M) leader of West Bengal and pays homage to their memory.

This General Council meeting deeply condoles the death of Com. George Marchais former General Secretary of the French Communist Party. A former leader of the Metal Workers Union Com. George Marchais remained committed to the cause of the working class. The meeting pays respectful homage to his memory.

This General Council meeting recalls the determination and courage with which innumerable comrades of the TU and democratic movement have embraced martyrdom confronting the heinous and ghastly attacks of the political gangster-police and employer combine. This meeting in particular expresses deep anguish at the barbarous police firing on innocent textile workers of Haryana killing six workers, and murderous gangster attack on comrades of TU and democratic movement in Kerala, W. Bengal and Tripura. This meeting pays respectful homage to the memory of the martyrs of the TU and democratic movement.

## **DRAFT RESOLUTIONS**

### **AGAINST COMMUNALISM**

This meeting of the General Council of the CITU held at Chennai on 22-25 April 1998 notes with grave concern the ascendance of the forces of communalism in the country with the consequent threat of increased communal tension and strife which in turn will, seriously jeopardise the unity of the working people and the country.

While occasional conflicts between groups of people belonging to different religions, communities, sometimes between different sects of the same religion, generally localised are not unknown in the history, however, the society can resolve such conflicts so that they do not shake the fundamental unity of the people and the country. But communalism becomes devastating when it is used as a weapon by parties and groups to further their political end. In the colonial era the British cultivated communal hatred and engineered conflicts developing into widespread riots as a matter of policy of divide and rule, with the object of perpetuating British colonial rule. In independent India particularly in the recent decades certain reactionary political forces have been systematically working for aggravation of communal animosity already nourished by the British, with a view to mobilise the support of the majority community and rouse the majority fundamentalist passion in order to reach the seat of power. Such situation provides the reactionary forces among the minority community as well, favourable condition for rousing communal passion among the minority community, by means of which these forces too seek to gain advantage of social and political nature. One major instance is provided by the recent tragic chain of happenings in Coimbatore.

Since early nineties communal forces of the majority community has caused much blood being flown, houses burnt, properties destroyed and looted and women raped in hundreds and even thousands during the course of series of riots engineered by them across the country. The destruction of Babri Masjid by mobilising lakhs of those whom they call Karsevaks in defiance of the law of the land, has sought to create a permanent emotional divide among communities. It is in the trail of blood and tears that the majority communal forces led by RSS and the Sangh parivar with BJP as its political

mouthpiece could come near the seat of power and managed to occupy it with a lot of unprincipled manoeuvre.

The political power of governance of the country in the hands of fundamentalist/communal forces itself multiplied the severity of the danger not only to the unity of the people but also to the democratic system as a whole. Given the track record of RSS and Sangh parivar and their style and modality of operation, it is but natural that they would try to communalise the whole administrative apparatus, media and other agencies through calculated penetration and muster the capacity to effectively perpetuate communal frenzy from within the state machinery even when not in power. Hence it will be suicidal to underestimate the depth of the danger from the communal forces more particularly after their assumption of state power and the threat posed by the same to the democratic and pluralist fabric.

As the most advanced element in society, the conscious and organised section of the working class, having no fundamental clash of interest among different communities in its rank, having the realisation of the paramount importance of unity of the class in its struggle for survival, is most capable of mobilising and leading vast masses of the toiling people in effective struggle against the communal forces.

The working class movement must also remain vigilant on the ploy of the communal forces to disrupt the class unity from within; the last poll results showed that a section of the working class got infected by the communal virus. Hence the working class have to fight with all seriousness against the communal disruptive forces along with its united struggle against exploitation.

This meeting, however, notes regretfully that while the communal forces has been making steady advance in the country, the organised working class is yet to effectively and fully discharge its responsibility for preserving the unity of the people and the country by defeating the designs of the communal forces.

This meeting considers it high time that the organised working class becomes aware of this danger and undertakes in right earnest a sustained campaign against communalism, take every possible step to preserve the unity of the class and mobilise all secular and democratic forces to meet the danger confronting the country and the people at large.

## ON POLICE FIRING ON HARYANA TEXTILE WORKERS

This General Council meeting of CITU held in Chennai from 22-25 April expresses deep shock and anguish at the barbarous police firing on the workers of Pashupati Spinning and Weaving Mill, Dharuhera (Haryana).

This meeting expresses deep indignation at the ruthless oppression being meted out to the workers in general in the State of Haryana and the ghastly incident is a naked exposure of the criminal nexus between the management and police administration shamefully patronised by the ruling VHP-BJP government.

The CITU condemns this dastardly act of Haryana police and warns the state govt to forthwith bring an end to the prevailing jungle raj in the state.

This meeting of the General Council of CITU expresses its deepest sympathies for the families of those who are killed and severely injured and demands of the govt to immediately suspend the district officials initiate criminal proceeding against the arrested culprits and pay adequate compensation to the family members of those who are killed and injured.

The CITU General Council congratulates the workers of the mill in particular and the other factory workers of the area in general who in the face of murderous attack stood stubbornly together and forced the administration to arrest the culprit. CITU expresses its total solidarity in the struggle of the workers of Pashupati Spinning and Weaving mill.

## ON THE GOVT'S MOVE TO INTRODUCE NEW SERIES OF PRICE INDEX.

The General Council Meeting of CITU held on 22-25 April 1998 at Chennai, notes with concern the unilateral move of the Govt. of India to introduce a new series of Consumer Price Index with 1996 as base year without correcting the faults in 1982 series and without consulting the Central Trade Unions. Such a move of the Govt. of India is in clear contravention with the recommendation of statistical conference of the ILO on introduction of new series and compilation of Consumer Price Index.

The trade Unions have been consistently pointing out to the Government that the present 1982 series is being carried forward inspite of there being several defects. Several cases of improper substitution of items for which prices are to be collected, have been done unilaterally which has adversely affected the price index. The mechanism to collect prices has been extremely hollow with the result that prices do not show actual rise during the month. Necessary precaution in this regard pointed out by the "Consumer Price Index Number - Monograph" have not been implemented properly. Since 1978, the Govt. has not reviewed the method of compilation of index through a tripartite committee.

In such a background, the further change in the base year and unilateral family budget study, without correcting the 1982 series would render the new series a faulty one resulting heavy loss to workers. The Central Trade Union organisations have already jointly demanded consultation on the proper methodology of the New Family budget study as well as measures for correcting the 1982 series. The Govt. however, has not paid heed to that and instead proceeded unilaterally in that direction. The selection of the Base year which should be a normal year for the purpose of collection of family budget survey is not taken into consideration. The new centres in which the family budget survey should be conducted have been selected without prior consultation with the Central Trade Unions. The methodology has also been decided unilaterally and in this regard the recommendations of the Consumer Price Index Review Committee (Rath Committee) were callously ignored by the Govt of India.

Therefore, the General Council of CITU demands that the Govt. of India must discuss the entire issue related to Family Budget Survey and the new index series with the Central Trade Unions including the measures for correction of the 1982 series instead of making any unilateral move and indulging in faulty methodology in price collection.

The CITU also appeals to all the Central TUs to come together and launch a powerful struggle all over the country against the defects in unilateral compilation of Consumer Price Index so that fraudulent price collection machinery can be rectified. CITU also appeals to all its units to carry on massive awareness campaign among the mass of workers in this regard.

## STRUGGLE ON PENSION SCHEME

This Session of General Council of CITU being held on 22-25 April 1998 at Chennai warmly congratulates the working class for participating in the struggles against retrograde govt. pension

scheme organised in pursuance of the decision of the 9th conference of CITU held at Kochi, and joint call given by the CITU, UTUC, UTUC(LS) and AICCTU and others and in the phased campaign. In the mass rally before the parliament on 2nd September 1997, the mass petition by 25 lakh workers demanding pension as a third retirement benefit and scrapping of the existing scheme was submitted to the speaker Lok Sabha and a call was given for a countrywide strike on 17th December 1997. However, the strike programme had to be deferred owing to announcement of mid term poll.

None of the commitment laid down in the govt. pension scheme has been implemented even after passage of more than two years of the scheme. The provision of yearly revaluation of pension stands flouted by the mockery of the govt to declare merely 4% interim relief after long two years. And as per govt.'s own figure, after two years only a negligible percentage of eligible (retired) workers could be given pension even as per the new scheme, thanks to the inefficiency of the Central provident Fund organization administering the scheme.

Resentment of the common workers at the grass root level against the govt pension scheme is also being reflected by the numerous court cases against the Govt scheme some of which are awaiting decision at Supreme Court.

The Government of India is blatantly refusing to grant exemption to all the scheme which have worked out pensionary benefits to the workers without touching the existing provident fund scheme. This recalcitrance of the Government is adversely affecting all attempts to work out alternate pension schemes better than the Government Scheme. This clearly indicates the motive of the Govt. to impose the pension scheme on the workers at all cost despite their opposition.

The Government of India has refused to implement the unanimous decision of the Indian Labour Conference to enhance the rate of interest from 8.5 to 12 per cent on the family pension corpus of about Rs.11000 crores.

The General Council also has taken note of the fact that all the left parties, in their election manifesto has endorsed the demand of the workers for pension as a third retirement benefit. Therefore it is expected that, some of the trade unions, who supported the retrograde Govt pension scheme forfeiting even the second benefit of contributory provident fund would review their position and join the struggle against the Govt pension scheme.

The General Council also calls upon its affiliated units and federations to work and prepare for nationwide united movement on the pension issue and appeals to all the trade unions and the working class in general to fight unitedly to defeat the fraud imposed on the workers in the name of Govt pension scheme and achieve the genuine pension scheme for the workers as third retirement benefit.

## ISSUES BEFORE THE MOVEMENT OF PUBLIC SECTOR WORKERS

The General Council meeting of CITU held at Chennai on 22-25 April '98 takes serious note of the danger of intensified attack on public sector emanating from the pronouncement of the BJP-led government to further broaden and widen the Fund-Bank dictated policies of economic liberalisation.

In spite of united opposition by the trade union movement, the unabated pursuance of the policy of liberalisation mainly directed at privatisation of public sector through the routes of disinvestment, closure of sick units, joint ventures, induction of the representatives of private monopoly capital in the boards of directors of PSUs etc. are increasingly endangering the very existence of public sector network of the country.

The reports of the Disinvestment Commission ( so far seven have been published ) have charted

out a comprehensive industry/enterprise-wise blue print for privatisation of the majority of the fifty PSUs so long referred to the Commission. Under the camouflage of restructuring the so called monolithic structure, the well-run big PSUs like ONGC, BPCL, IOC and many others are being split into different units with the ulterior motive of weakening their intrinsic strength of confronting the onslaught of liberalisation and facilitating the MNCs to gobble the small units easily.

The deliberate inaction in the matter of revival of sick PSUs also has become a matter of serious concern for the TU movement. Besides non-payment of salaries regularly to workers of some of the sick units, the operation of many such units are stalled due to refusal of working capital by the government. There is no money even to purchase raw material for some of the sick PSUs.

Moreover even the unanimously agreed packages for revival of NTC Mills and IDPL and others are not being implemented. Even, number of Fertiliser plants are languishing in sickness, alongwith increasing import of fertilisers. Same is the case with IISCO facing imminent collapse owing to inaction of the Government regarding its modernisation and revival.

Side by side owing to disastrous policy of liberalisation and mindless reduction of customs duty, alongwith pro-monopoly and pro-MNC measures, even the nonsick PSUs are in the face of severe crisis. Coal Mine Sectors are being opened for private sector and foreign companies against which coal workers are preparing for struggle.

The commitment of the BJP-led government in expediting "reform and restructuring" of the PSUs as noted in their 'National Agenda' clearly signals aggravation of the situation in the public sector. Moreover, there is no assurance for reviving the sick units.

Therefore the main question before the workers of public sector is to resist the on going operation of further diluting the role of public sector in our economy, to oppose disinvestment of PSU shares and stall the privatisation drive and the policy of liberal concession to MNCs. Apart from these, priority attention must be put to ensure revival of sick units in public sector. At the same time the question of denial of wage revision and payment of DA on revised rate to the workers of sick PSUs, pending since 1992 and regular payment of salaries to these workers must be taken up on urgent basis. Some of the units do not get even Rs. 1.65 D A per point of rise in index.

The meeting notes with utter dismay that more than 15 months have elapsed since the expiry of tenure of the last wage settlements for almost all the major public sector industries and till now effective negotiations for fresh settlement have not started. Even the circular of the DPE regarding payment of interim relief is being stalled by the Cabinet.

The meeting appreciates that the Core Group of CPSTU has already taken stock of the situation, given memorandum to the Prime Minister and has fixed the extended meeting on 12th & 13th May'98 at New Delhi. The General Council stresses the urgent need for broad based unity and wide-spread united movement of the public sector workers for effectively addressing the aforementioned issues. But at the same time, programme of action must be preceded by nationwide massive and vigorous campaign. The General Council directs the state committees and all the affiliated and friendly unions to take urgent steps to ensure massive mobilisation for successful implementation of the forthcoming struggles of the public sector workers.

## RECOGNITION OF TRADE UNIONS THROUGH SECRET BALLOT

The General Council meeting of CITU being held at Chennai on 22-25 April'98 expresses its deep concern at the deliberate failure of the successive Governments in enacting legislation on secret ballot for recognition of trade unions. It is surprising that despite commitment of the BJP in their election manifesto for secret ballot, the "National Agenda" of the BJP-led alliance Government

is silent on this important issue.

All the central trade unions ( with some reservation from INTUC ) in their written presentation to the ILC ( 1996) accepted secret ballot. In fact the ILC adopted the concept of secret ballot in principle. However, due to undue interference by the employers' organizations, the matter was referred to a bipartite sub-committee which also failed to take any effective decision. It is a matter of indignation that the issue has still remained unresolved.

The meeting reiterates the stand of CITU that the practice of identifying the majority union through paper verification by the bureaucrats is not only undemocratic and defective but prone to motivated manipulation and distortion of the real will of the workers. Therefore, refusal to secret ballot amounts to denial of democratic right to workers to elect the trade union of their choice.

The meeting is of the opinion that the leaders of trade unions enjoying recognition through the back door at the undue favour of the management and through bureaucratic manoeuvre, develop vested interest and become stooge of the management and definitely cannot protect the real interests of the workers. More so, such trade unions totally fail to conduct their activities under the norms of trade union democracy rather, on the contrary, utmost individualism develops. Such leaders develop vested interest and indulge in various alien practices.

The General Council condemns the arbitrary circular of the Ministry of Surface Transport to compulsorily introduce check-off system for recognition of trade union in Port and Dock industry despite opposition of CITU unions and demands its withdrawal.

The meeting is of the opinion that secret ballot system is rather a precondition for developing healthy, democratic and power-full trade union movement. For developing united movement of the working class, which is so vital in the context to today's challenging situation, true democratic trade unions at the grass root level is an urgent necessity.

The meeting urge upon the Government to enact a law urgently on secret ballot and take steps for speedy implementation. It further calls upon the working class to organise massive campaign to mount pressure on the Government to compel it to enact a legislation on secret ballot which is pending for years. The meeting calls upon the CITU unions to take initiative to mobilise the workers irrespective of affiliations to achieve the right of recognition of trade unions through secret ballot.

# DISCUSSION PAPERS

## NOTE ON UNORGANISED SECTOR

According to Government data, over 90 percent of the Indian workforce is in the unorganized sector. However, the CITU collected detailed about this from various authoritative sources. According to 1991 Census the total population in India was 91.4 crores. 43 per cent of the population formed the total workforce, which works out to be 39.30 crores of this workforce. 64 per cent is working in agriculture while 16 per cent in industry and 20 per cent in the service sector. Thus the workforce in the industry and service sector stood at 14.14 crores. According to employment exchange data 3.80 crores of persons are without jobs which leaves 10.34 crores of persons who are working in industry and service sector. Now the official estimates of employment in the organised sector in 1991 was 2.8 crores leaving 7.54 crores of persons as workers in the unorganized sector. The number must have gone up during the last 7 years. Thus we can say the total number of unorganized sector workers in India is about 73 per cent of the total employment in the industry and services sector.

If this vast section in the unorganised sector can be organised within trade union activities, along with workers of the organised sector of industries, the dimension of the trade union movement in its entirety can be changed. With the objective of mobilising this vast section of workers, the CITU started working in this sector since its inception. Movements spread in different parts of the country, of which the Delhi strike of seven days in 1988 on minimum wages requires special mention.

In 1991 an all India Coordination Committee was formed by the CITU from its seventh conference held at Calcutta. The Coordination Committee organised the first all India convention at Panihati (Calcutta) in November, 1992. The convention formulated a 22-point charter of demands. The Convention gave a call for an all India one day strike by the CITU in the unorganised sector. The strike was successfully observed on 14th July, 1993, in several states.

After this several other action programmes were launched. About two lakh signatures were taken and submitted to the Lok Sabha Speaker in 1993. State level strike actions, rallies and conventions were organised after 1993 in several states.

With the advent of the new economic and industrial policies in 1991 whereby the organised sector is being squeezed, increasing the number of workers in the unorganised sector, the Coordination Committee concentrated on membership drive in the unorganised sector. To work in a more organised and systematic manner to penetrate into this vast sector, the coordination committee concentrated on several particular industries in the unorganised sector to build up movements and increase membership. The industries that were particularly marked, were Brick kiln, Quarry, Agarbatti, Loading & Unloading, Carpet, Hotel & Restaurant, etc.

In the Beedi industry particularly, another Coordination Committee was formed, and later turned into an All India Federation of Beedi Workers. Beedi industry therefore has been taken out of the purview of the A.I. Coordination Committee of Unorganised Sector.

The Eighth Conference of the CITU held at Patna in 1994 discussed unorganised sector in a separate commission and finalised a commission paper on this sector. The commission categorised the workers in the unorganised sector as follows:

- a) Workers of the unorganised sector of industries.
- b) Workers and employees attached to various industries in

the organised sector like casual, contract etc.

c) Self-employed working people

d) Home based workers

The Ninth Conference of the CITU also discussed Unorganised Sector in a Commission and finalised the minimum wage demand, making it flexible according local conditions in the states.

### **Organisational Matters:**

**A**lthough CITU has made good strides in the unorganised sector and increased membership also, (about 50 percent of CITU's membership comes from this sector), yet considering its vastness, its scattered nature and the various categories, we must accept that so far we have been able to reach a very small section of the workers only. We have to penetrate into this vast sector in a planned way with assiduous work in each category as stated above, so as to strengthen our organisation and movement. The State Committees have to plan and guide the comrades accordingly.

### **Experience of All India Co-ordination Committee.**

**T**he experience of the AI Coordination Committee in monitoring the work in the unorganised sector is required to be reviewed, since it could not yet evoke much involvement of a large number of states inspite of all communications to them.

The following points require attention in this respect:

1. It is apprehended that a common understanding/clarity is still absent amongst various State Committees regarding unorganised sector. Though the Patna Conference Commission Paper had identified the areas of the unorganised sector by a meaningful thorough discussion, the required common understanding might have not yet been developed in its entirety. Proper attention is to be attached in this regard.

2. The AI Coordination Committee is neither a union, nor a federation of various organisations. It is a coordinating body. It exchanges opinions/experiences from members as representatives of the State Committees and makes recommendary programmes for the CITU Secretariat for approval. On direction from the CITU Secretariat the State Committees should take initiative to implement the programmes. This basic conception should be followed.

3) Out of 43 members in the Coordination Committee drawn from 14 States, the attendance in the meetings, which are held twice in a year (approx.) have never gone over 20, (the average is about 15) representing 9 or 10 States. Some states are very regular in attending meetings, like Punjab, Tamilnadu, Bihar, Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi and Rajasthan, although all the members from those states do not attend.

4) The states which are not regular in attending the meetings are Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, U.P., and Haryana. The states which have not attended meetings for the last several years are Assam, Himachal, Tripura, M.P., Gujarat and Orissa. MP of course have developed very fast in the Unorganised Sector, but they have not yet joined the A.I. Coordination Committee.

5) In spite of repeated decisions and persuasion reports are not being sent by the states either to convenor or to centre regarding organisation and activities. This creates difficulties for the convenor to prepare an all India report. This also creates problems for preparing the General Secretary's

report for WC and GC meetings, in which unorganised sector invariably gets a place. Besides this, we are unable to publish the struggle reports in our journals, or circulate them to all State Committees for information.

6) As per the decision of the Panihati Convention, only a few states have formed State level Coordination Committees, despite reiteration of this decision in each meeting and circulars to the State Committees. Although members of the AI Coordination Committee are mostly important office bearers of the State Committees, yet it appears that except Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, M.P. and Tamilnadu, unorganised sector is not taken up as a regular agenda in most of the State Committees.

7) To facilitate movement of leaders for organisational work and for all India movements, etc., the question of building up a separate fund in CITU for the AI Coordination Committee has also been discussed in the Coordination Committee several times. However, divergent views were expressed.

### **Suggestions:**

**I**n view of our experience of work in the Co-ordination Committee, response of various states and the genuine problems involved in it, our work strategy in the unorganised sector requires a thorough review.

1) In our organisational effort in the vast and increasing span of the unorganised sector in the country, the focus of our efforts and initiative and monitoring thereof must be at the state level.

2) In consideration of the prevailing diversity and varying situation from state to state, the thrust should be given in developing state level or regional level struggles, which if properly monitored would have deeper and greater impact on grass-root organisation.

3) In view of the vastness of the sector and also the limited resources and cadres, states must identify certain industries/sectors/areas as priority considering the on the ground situation in the state and concentrate activities in a planned manner instead of trying everywhere. The categorisation made in the commission paper of Patna Conference may be a guide in that direction.

4) All the State Committees should take up the Unorganised Sector as a regular agenda in their meetings and draw up concrete plan of activities in the unorganised sector.

5) The state committees should form state level Coordination Committees within six months making specific job distribution to comrades in the identified categories with special attention to the working women.

6) State level Sub-committee should be formed to monitor the activities of the state level coordination committees.

7) These state level Coordination Committees and Sub-Committees should meet regularly and plan their activities down to the District and Union levels and develop organisers and cadres.

8) These state Sub-committees should place written reports in the State Committee meetings for discussion and review of work.

9) The State Committees in turn should send written reports to the Centre once in every month pinpointing on organisational and movemental plan, and also at least one month before each meeting of the A.I. Coordination Committee with one copy to the Convenor.

10) All States should be represented in the A.I. Coordination Committee. At the same time the size of the A.I. Coordination Committee should be reduced to half representing all the states.

11) Special attention should be given to organise working women in the unorganised sector. Women representatives should be nominated by the States in the A.I. Coordination Committee. At present there is only one woman member in the entire Coordination Committee, i.e. from Bengal only.

- 12) At Central level likewise, the Central Secretariat should form a Sub-Committee to monitor the activities of the State Committees. This Sub-Committee may be formed by inclusion of one state leader from some State Committees and one or two central office bearers from the Central Office.
- 13) The Central Sub-Committee should meet in between two meetings of the A.I. Coordination Committee, which is usually held twice in a year. This Sub-committee should place written reports to the Central Secretariat.
- 14) The Central Secretariat should discuss Unorganised Sector at least once in a month and also in the full Secretariat meetings.
- 15) In many cases, there are unorganised sector workers attached to or in the peripheries of organized sector industries. The number of such workers also are increasing with the increasing trend of contracterisation and casualisation of work in the organised sector. The trade unions in the organised sector have to take up the task of organising such unorganised sector workers in the respective industries or their peripheries.
- 16) A vast sector of workers are yet to be organised in mining sector - particularly in non-coal mines. In the states like Orissa, MP, Bihar, there are heavy concentration of non Coal mines, a big section of which are not organised under trade unions. Special efforts are required to be given by the respective state committees to organise Mining Workers on priority basis and the All India Coal Workers Federation also have to take initiative in this regard.
- 17) Also another sector which needs special attention is the fisheries, where a vast section of workers are unorganised and facing worst onslaught of liberalisation. Special initiative has to be taken by the respective state committees to organise them and develop movement in that sector.
- 18) TU classes should be organised both at State and Central level. The Hindi belt and the weaker states require special attention in this regard.
- 19) For all these organisational activities and movements a separate Central Fund will be necessary, otherwise the CITU's central fund will be subject to drainage. The Secretariat should be authorised to take a final decision in this regard in the light of the discussion.
- 20) During the period, the Coordination Committee decided for an all India demonstration before Parliament. However due to uncertain political situation, the plan was deferred. This plan may be taken up now. The Coordination Committee also decided to hold the second all India Convention at Ludhiana in the first week of April last. However, the Secretariat decided to defer it in view of the GC meeting. This also may be planned now, and on both the matters the Secretariat should take the final decisions.

**NB:** The present statewise number of members in the A.I. Coordination Committee: Punjab-5; Tamilnadu-1; Bihar-1; Andhra Pradesh-1; West Bengal-11; Kerala-3; Karnataka-5; Delhi-3; Haryana-1; Himachal Pradesh-2; Maharashtra-1; Rajasthan-4; UP-3; Gujarat-2. Total = 43.

The CITU Secretariat feels that between 20-25 memebtrs representing all the States may be an optimum number. However, it is for open discussion and the Secretariat should take decision in the light of the suggestions made.

## NOTE ON ESI

A note prepared by Com.Kali Ghosh, Secretary, CITU is being circulated to all General Council members for discussion in the General Council.

### BASIC ILLS OF EMPLOYEES STATE INSURANCE SCHEME

The Employees State Insurance Scheme is a multi-dimensional three-in-one Social Security Scheme. The benefits that are provided under the Scheme are:

1. Comprehensive medical benefit.
2. Sickness benefit i.e. Cash benefit for the period of sickness.
3. Maternity benefit.
4. Employment Injury Benefit.
  - (a) Temporary Disablement benefit.
  - (b) Permanent Disablement benefit.
  - (c) Dependents Benefit.

In addition, the Scheme also provides some other benefits i.e.

- (1) Funeral Expenses
- (2) Rehabilitation Allowance
- (3) Vocational Rehabilitation
- (4) Old age medical care for the retired person.

### ADMINISTRATION OF THE SCHEME

A Statutory body called the "Employees State Insurance Corporation" setup under the Employees State Insurance Act administers the Scheme. The Corporation comprises of representatives from Employers, Employees, Central and State Government, medical profession and the Members of Parliament nominated by Govt. of India. The day to day administration is carried out by the Headquarter. The Corporation has its Regional offices in different regions.

The medical care in States is administered by the State Governments.

The cash benefits for sickness and employment injury benefits are administered by the Regional offices.

### FINANCE

The Scheme is funded by the contributions from employers and employees. The rates of contribution payable are as under:

Employers' contribution - 4.75% of wages

Employees' contribution - 1.75% of wages

The State Govt. contribute 12.5% of expenditure on medical care, subject to a maximum Ceiling imposed by the ESI Corporation from time to time.

The Corporation is supposed to be an autonomous body, but all matters pertaining to recruitment of Staff and principal officers, fixation of their pay scale, service conditions, promotional avenues etc. require prior approval of the Govt. of India.

Till 1984 the Corporation was enjoying the powers to make regulations on all procedural matters pertaining to registration of Factories/Establishments and of insured persons, collection of contributions, medical certification, disbursement of benefits, constitution of medical boards and medical appeal tribunals, prescribing return, registers of record to be maintained by employers etc. as specified in Sec.97 of the Act.

In 1984, by an amendment of the Act, the absolute power of the Corporation to make these regulations has been withdrawn and subjected to prior approval of the Govt. of India . From the position of decision-making body, the ESI Corporation has been relegated to the position of mere recommendatory body. While the Govt. of India is exercising its over-all control in all matters, and utilising its reserve fund to meet their budget deficits, they are not contributing a single paisa for the operation of the Scheme.

It may be mentioned in this connection that, at the initiative of the CITU nominee in the corporation a unanimous resolution was adopted requesting the Govt. of India to contribute for the scheme at par with the State Govts, or at least to bear the administrative expenses, but the proposal was straight away turned down by the Govt. of India.

Again, in 1993, on the basis of the report of the Cash benefit Sub-Committee, the Corporation recommended enhancement of various Cash benefits, but till now most of the recommendations except a few have not received the approval of the Central Govt.

Further, the Corporation at the instance of Govt. of India deposited about Rs.2500 crores with the Reserve bank of India in the Special Deposit Account. Of late, Central Govt. have issued a directive that the Corporation will not be allowed to withdraw any amount from the said Special Deposit Account, they will only be allowed to withdraw the annual interest.

Thus, the Govt. of India is not only exercising their arbitrary power in the day to day administration of the Corporation, they are also standing in the way of extending benefits to the insured persons..

### **MEDICAL BENEFIT**

**W**ithin the parameters prescribed by the Corporation, the administration of the medical benefit is the responsibility of the State Govt.'s. But in most States the picture is very dismal.

The wage ceiling for coverage has now been raised to Rs.6500/- from Rs.3000/- per month. All concerned were very much reluctant to widen the coverage of the scheme, one of the main reasons being that the medical care provided under the scheme is very unsatisfactory. Its standard has been deteriorating day by day. The main complaints are as follows:-

- (1) Drugs and medicines are not available
- (2) Medical and para-medical staff are very inadequate
- (3) The maintenance of the dispensaries and hospitals is very poor
- (4) The facilities provided in the hospitals are much below the required norms
- (5) In many dispensaries and hospitals even the minimum equipment required are not provided or remain out of order
- (6) Diagnostic and Specialist centers are either non-functioning or not functioning properly
- (7) In many hospitals superintendents and doctors do not stay in the hospitals, even though provided with staff quarters

The out-door treatment is provided through panel system and also through service dispensaries. It

was decided that Service System will gradually replace the panel system. Not that the Service system is functioning very efficiently, but atleast there is scope for better supervision and control. Panel doctors are not amenable to discipline and a large number of them look at the scheme as a minimum source of income. The doctors at all level, whether directly in the service or doctors at the panel systems, are the lever in which the whole edifice of the scheme stands. It is not the question of dedication, it is the professional integrity, their duty towards the patient that is being questioned. By exercising various administrative and regulatory control, the Govt. of India and ESI Corporation are restricting and restraining various benefits to the workers. The workers are unnecessarily harassed. They are forced to move from pillar to post to avail of the medical as well as cash benefits.

To be entitled to sickness benefit and disablement benefit due to employment injury, a worker is to wait for two days. The inherent idea being that absence of such provision will encore absenteeism on false pretext. It is to be noted that a day's loss of earnings is much higher than the sickness benefit. A condition has been imposed on the State Governments that, if the average number of sickness exceeds 5 days (earlier it was all India average of the current year and in a year then excess payment made by the Corporation will be adjusted from the States' share. This is a panel clause, purported to pressurise the State Govt. so that the doctors restrict their medical leave certificates.

The ESI Scheme is a contributory scheme. Non-payment or delayed payment of contributions disentitles an insured person from Medical benefit, Sickness benefit and Maternity benefit (no contributory condition is applicable for entitlement to the disablement benefit for employment injury). Quite a sizeable section of the workers suffer for no fault of their own, because some errant employers wilfully disregard their responsibility to deposit the contributions collected from the wages/salaries of the workers along with employers contribution due to ESIC. The Act provides for penal as well as dues recovery action from the defaulting employers. Callous and inept handling of the matter has completely failed to give a check, rather it is on the increase. Many employers are also taking shelter behind Section 22 (1) of the Sick Industrial Companies Act. Not to speak of payment of arrears dues, they are not even paying the current dues. The ESIC is supposed to realise the defaulted amount and in many cases they do get it by certificate cases, though belated. However, it is not understandable why a worker and his family members should suffer for non-payment of contributions by their employers and when the said dues are realisable by the ESIC?

Workers and members of their families are supposed to get full medical care free of cost including free supply of drugs and dressing, pathological examination, specialised investigations like CAT scan, MRI, Ultra-sonography etc., including super speciality treatment like Heart Surgery, Neuro Surgery, kidney transplantation. If the scheme fails to provide such facilities and treatment for any reason, the cost of such treatment or diagnostic facilities or purchase of medicines are reimbursed. But due to control by the State Finance Deptt. and timely non-availability of the fund, workers are unnecessarily harassed and they are to wait for long even for a petty payment.

The administrative sector is inert, undisciplined, inefficient, self-gratifying and corrupt at important places of their activities. All conveniently forget that they earn their bread and butter from the contributions the workers and their employers make towards the scheme. The way the scheme is functioning, the workers have become very apathetic and the scheme has become very unpopular. Despite all its deficiencies and administrative lapses, the Corporation has grown and the growth is colossal. Appropriate measures should be taken to decentralise its operation. But taking advantage of the mal-functioning of the scheme by the State Governments, there was an effort to take over the administration of the medical scheme from the State Governments. However due to opposition from various quarters this attempt could be stalled.

Recently, an idea of State level Subsidiary Corporation has been mooted. We should give serious thought to this proposal. Appropriate measures should be taken to decentralise the operation of the scheme. To avoid bureaucratisation of the administration some kind of popular control with the involvement of workers has to be thought of.

The Scheme is for the workers, funded by the workers. Crores of Rupees are being spent but the benefits of the scheme do not properly reach the beneficiaries.

The trade unions can not absolve themselves of their responsibilities and it is to be admitted that we have failed in discharging our responsibilities in this regard.

In fine, unless the scheme is reviewed thoroughly and improvement in the working of the scheme is made substantially and a new approach is thought of, the scheme will not become popular and cannot succeed.

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS  
15, TALKATORA ROAD, NEW DELHI - 1  
Balance Sheet As At 31st December, 1997

LIABILITIES		ASSETS	
Funds & Liabilities:		Fixed Assets: As per Last A/c	15,67,358.45
<u>General Fund A/c</u>		Addition this year	1,31,640.00
Balance b'fd	21,44,637.21		16,98,998.45
Add: Excess of Income over Expenditure	6,80,962.21	<u>Investments:</u>	
	28,25,599.42	Fixed Deposit with Bank of India	
<u>Special Fund</u>		Pt. st. branch as per last A/c	16,33,371.00
As per last A/c.	13,09,069.00	Addition this year	5,00,000.00
Trade union workshop	20,593.00	<u>Security Deposits:</u>	
25th Nov. Rally	19,776.00	As per last A/c	10,860.00
Anganwadi Fed.	9,750.00	Addition this year	725.00
A.I.Plantation Wor. Fed.	1,000.00		11,585.00
Cuba solidarity Fund	9,024.25	<u>CITU MAZDOOR A/c.</u>	
	60,143.25	Balance b'fd.	2,37,186.35
Flat A/c Ghaziabad	3,48,880.00	Less: Amount paid this year	<u>1,18,232.35</u>
Affiliation Fee(A.P. A/c)			1,18,954.00
Received in advance	9,995.00	Add: Amount paid this year	1,63,208.00
			2,82,162.00
<u>Working class A/c</u>		<u>Voice of Working Women A/c</u>	
Balance b'fd(Dr.)	30,556.30	Balance b'fd	1,41,752.80
Add: Payment this year	<u>1,79,310.00</u>	Less: amount received this year	<u>29,885.80</u>
	2,09,846.30		1,11,867.00
Less: Amount received(Cr.)	2,28,695.00	Add: Amount paid this year	18,133.00
	18,848.70		1,30,000.00
Credit adjustment	8,167.00	Advances recoverable(schedule attached)	58,340.40
		<u>Closing Balances:</u>	
		Cash in hand	1,183.86
		Cash at Bank of India	
		Pt. st. branch	2,65,061.66

Rs. 45,80,702.37

Rs. 45,80,702.37

Signed in terms of our separate report of even date.  
(Seal)

Chartered Accountants  
Sd/-9/4/98  
(D.K. Banerjee)  
Partner

**CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS**  
 15, Talkatora Road, New Delhi - 110 001  
Income & Expenditure Account for the year ended 31st December, 1997

<u>Expenditure</u>		<u>Income</u>	
To Audit Expenses	8,259.50	By Affiliation Fees	18,85,889.40
" Bank Charges	3,531.90	" A.P. Flood Donation	4,707.00
" Conveyance Expenses	35,282.80	" B.T.R. Book Sale	3,850.00
" CITU Meeting A/cs.		" Bank Interest	17,592.00
Working Committee	9,825.00	" Contribution	300.00
CITU Conference	26,569.50	" Donation Received	10,000.00
" Cement Meeting	1,293.00	" Misc. Receipts	41,555.00
" Electricity & Water Bill	86,491.50	" Publication Sales	34,646.50
" Delegation	6,172.50	" Telephone Collection	3,000.00
" Medical	10,937.04		
" Misc. Expenses	88,905.60		
" Newspaper & Periodicals	21,596.50		
" Publication Expenses	46,244.50		
" Telephone Charges	1,46,053.00		
" P & T Expenses	31,268.00		
" Pension Rally	68,501.00		
" Service & Maintenance	33,444.75		
" Printing & Stationery	70,481.50		
" Tea & Tiffin	24,739.35		
" Travelling Expenses	52,248.00		
" Vehicle Maintenance	23,358.75		
" Wages	3,63,525.00		
" IX Conference	45,960.00		
" Donation	10,000.00		
" Rent & Tax	51,906.00		
" <u>Joint Meeting Expenses:</u>			
IORTUC	31,182.00		
CPSTUC	18,563.00		
NPMO	3,478.00		
IISCO	1,560.00		
	54,783.00		
Excess of Income over Expenditure A/c. C/o to Fund A/c	6,80,962.21		
	20,02,339.90		20,02,339.90

Signed in terms of our separate report of even date.  
 (Seal)

For D.K.Choudhury & Co.  
 Chartered Accountants  
 Sd/- 9/4/98  
 (D.K.Banerjee)  
 Partner

**CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS**  
 15, Talkatora Road, New Delhi - 110 001  
Receipts & Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1997

**RECEIPTS**

**PAYMENTS**

<u>To Opening Balance</u>			By Audit Expenses	8,259.50
Cash	48,079.55		" Bank Charges	3,531.90
Bank	<u>1,09,431.61</u>	1,57,511.16	" Conveyance Expenses	35,282.80
" Affiliation		18,85,889.40	" <u>CITU Meeting A/c</u>	
" A.P. Flood Donation		4,707.00	Working Committee	9,825.00
" B.T.R. Book Sale		3,850.00	CITU Conference	<u>26,569.50</u>
" Bank Interest		17,592.00	" CITU Mazdoor Dr.	1,63,208.00
" CITU Mazdoor		1,18,232.35	" Cement Meeting	1,293.00
" Contribution		.300.00	" Donation	10,000.00
" Donation Received		10,800.00	" Delegation	6,172.50
" Loan Recovery		51,212.00	" Electric & water Bill	86,491.50
" Misc. Receipts		41,555.00	" FDR	5,00,000.00
" Publication Sale		34,646.50	" Fixed Assets	1,31,640.00
" Phone Collection		3,000.00	" IORTUC	31,182.00
" Suspense A/c.		9,995.00	" CPSTU	18,563.00
" V.W.W. Cr.		29,885.80	" NPMO	3,478.00
" Working Class Cr.		2,28,695.00	" IISCO	1,560.00
" Credit Adjustment		8,167.00	" Loan	26,399.00
			" Medical	10,937.04
			" Misc. Expenses	88,905.60
			" Books	21,596.50
			" Publication Expenses	46,244.50
			" Telephone Charges	1,46,053.00
			" P & T Expense	31,268.00
			" Pension Rally	68,501.00
			" Rent & Taxes	51,906.00
			" Service & Main.	33,444.75
			" Printing & Stationery	70,481.50
			" Security Deposit	725.00
			" Tea & Tiffin	24,739.35
			" Travelling Expenses	52,248.00
			" V.W.W. Dr.	18,133.00
			" Vehicle Maintance	23,358.75
			" Wages	3,63,525.00
			" Working Class Dr.	1,79,310.00
			" IX Conference	45,968.00
			" Cash in hand	1,183.86
			" Cash at Bank	2,65,061.66
			Bank of India (Pt. St. Branch)	
		<u>26,07,038.21</u>		<u>26,07,038.21</u>

Signed in terms of our seperate report of even date.

For D.K. Choudhury & Co.

Chartered Accountants,

Sd/- date: 9/4/98

(D.K. Banerjee) Partner.

D.K. Choudhury & Co.  
Chartered Accountants

11, Old post Office St.  
Calcutta - 700 001

CITU MAZDOOR  
(Monthly Hindi Journal of CITU)

15, Talkatora Road, New Delhi - 110 001

Receipts & Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1997

RECEIPTS

Payments

To Opening Balance:			By Binding & Packing	3,152.00
Cash	901.35		" Conveyance & Cartage	689.00
Bank	<u>49,739.43</u>	50,640.78	" Misc. Expenses	1,388.50
" Bank Interest		2,360.00	" Postage Expenses	13,125.00
" <u>Subscription &amp; Sales :</u>			" Paper & Printing	1,50,045.00
Direct	82,994.00		" Cash in hand	27,965.85
Through CITU	17,093.00	1,00,087.00	" Cash at Bank	1,698.08
" <u>Received from CITU A/c:</u>				
(Paper, Printing, Binding, etc.)	1,63,208.00			
Paid through Bank	<u>1,01,139.35</u>			
	62,068.65			
Less: adjusted with Subscription and sales	<u>17,093.00</u>			
		44,975.65		

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1,98,063.43

1,98,063.43

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Signed in terms of our separate report of even date.

For D.K. Choudhury & Co.

Chartered Accountants,

Sd/- date: 9/4/98

(D.K. Banerjee) Partner.

**THE WORKING CLASS**

(Monthly English Journal of CITU)

15, Talkatora Road, New Delhi - 110 001

Receipts & Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1997

**RECEIPTS**

<u>Opening Balance:</u>		
Cash	1,762.70	
Bank	<u>52,585.68</u>	54,348.38
<u>Subscription &amp; sales:</u>		
Direct	29,476.75	
Citu A/c	88,695.00	
Special issue Advt.	71,500.00	
Suspense A/c	3,000.00	
Bank Interest A/c	3,050.00	

**PAYMENTS**

By Binding & Packing		3,078.00
" Bank Charges		149.00
" Conveyance & Cartage		1,312.00
" CITU A/c:		
Paid by cheque	1,40,000.00	
Paid as per contra	<u>88,695.00</u>	
		2,28,695.00
" Less: Expenses		
Adjusted	<u>1,79,310.00</u>	49,385.00
" Misc. expenses		2,567.00
" Postage Expenses		18,242.50
" Paper & Printing		1,60,089.00
" Stationery Expenses		162.00
" Cash in hand		14,030.20
" Cash at Bank		1,055.43

2,50,070.13

2,50,070.13

Signed in terms of our separate report of even date.

For D.K. Choudhury & Co.

Chartered Accountants,

Sd/- date: 9/4/98

(D.K. Banerjee) Partner.

**THE VOICE OF THE WORKING WOMEN**

(English Journal of CITU for Working Women)

15, Talkatora Road, New Delhi - 110 001

Receipts & Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1997

RECEIPTS

<u>Opening Balance</u>		
Cash	1,121.75	
B.O.I. Bank	16,730.18	
Syndicate Bank	<u>3,527.00</u>	21,378.93
Subscription & Sales		21,549.00
Bank Interest		706.00

PAYMENTS

By Conveyance & Cartage	75.00
" Paper & Printing	16,458.00
" Postage Expenses	1,920.00
" Payment to CITU	
(Adjusted)	11,752.80
" Binding & Packing	340.00
" Misc. Expenses	35.00
" Cash in hand	5,601.75
" Cash at B.O.I.	3,924.38
" Cash at Syndicate Bank	3,527.00

43,633.93

43,633.93

Signed in terms of our separate report of even date.

For D.K. Choudhury & Co.

Chartered Accountants,

Sd/- date: 9/4/98

(D.K. Banerjee) Partner.

## ANNEXURE-1

**STATEMENT SHOWING STATEWISE MEMBERSHIP AS PER ANNUAL RETURN  
RECEIVED TILL 5 APRIL, 1998**

Name of State	Unions Submitting Returns			Position of Membership according to annual returns		
	94	95	96	1994	1995	1996
A&N	6	6	2	1440(-)	1618(-)	1649(-)
AP	406	556	660	123680(14890)	148990(14762)	188565(36770)
Assam	75	86	66	37417(10809)	40269(9770)	37634(9948)
Bihar	27	29	8	67374(6646)	82617(9000)	9425(74)
Delhi	63	51	40	45671(2344)	52039(2220)	32635(1612)
Goa	7	7	6	2864(172)	3529(199)	2583
Gujrat	17	23	6	11222(182)	17185(1493)	3297(140)
Haryana	11	30	11	4444(868)	18370(3146)	4370(460)
HP	25	21	23	4920(51)	4996(1922)	6002(2843)
J&K	1	1	1	914(8)	602(9)	550(9)
Karnataka	71	101	40	54915(17854)	85618(20696)	321097(14544)
Kerala	754	844	716	640553(48300)	731096(163485)	606034(122576)
MP	57	62	41	21366(1545)	29726(3090)	20834(3582)
Maharastra	34	40	10	37021(4963)	39662(8146)	10350(6890)
Orissa	34	26	1	31935(4086)	26985(3883)	210(-)
Punjab	72	105	19	58071(340)	63361(685)	27106(20)
Rajsthan	63	63	7	26343(274)	32463(352)	5409(2)
Tamilnadu	376	432	318	190035(12482)	228869(8049)	179005(12528)
Tripura	21	23	17	27350(5110)	41349(5884)	32386(30118)
UP	93	75	54	23661(233)	19939(162)	25623(151)
WB	985	964	674	1058435(130823)	1114767(101235)	756634(20957)
	3198	3545	2720	2470131(261980)	2784050(358188)	1981398(263224)

	Total No. of Unions Submitting Annual Returns	Membership As Per Return
1983	1854	1890993
1984	2005	1575655
1985	1717	1716457(132536)
1986	2412	1844273(209348)
1987	2350	1680884(206482)
1988	2618	1919280(264507)
1989	3114	2425000(247388)
1990	2934	2095550(245060)
1991	2783	2088218(291228)
1992	3343	2381012(321620)
1993	3156	2371405(306344)

\* Figure in Brackets indicates Female Membership

ANNEXURE-2

**BTR MEMORIAL TRUST FUND**

**(Details of contributions towards the BTR Trust Fund received till 15.4.1998 is furnished here. From the table below, we can see how the State Committees have responded so far)**

	<u>Amount Received</u>	<u>Committed Amount</u>
W.B. -	45,32,615.00	Rs.1 Crore(+)
A.P. -	2,50,368.00	15,00,000.00
Assam -	40,680.00	5,00,000.00
Bihar -	37,202.00	8,00,000.00
Delhi -	97,000.00	2,00,000.00
Kerala -	13,50,000.00	50,00,000.00
M.P. -	13,242.00	2,00,000.00
Orissa -	15,119.00	5,00,000.00
Punjab -	4,47,152.00	10,00,000.00
Rajasthan -	3,00,615.00	5,00,000.00
Tamilnadu -	4,62,580.00	30,00,000.00
Tripura -	20,280.00	5,00,000.00
Karnataka -	2,03,750.00	7,00,000.00
H.P. -	7,726.00	2,00,000.00
Haryana -	6,550.00	2,00,000.00
Maharashtra -	1,11,182.00	10,00,000.00
U.P. -	1,51,450.00	5,00,000.00
Goa -	50,000.00	1,50,000.00
Gujarat -	—	1,00,000.00
Individuals/Union-	1,23,293.00	
Bank Unions/Federation	2,22,305.00	
Insurance(AIIEA)	1,00,000.00	
	<hr/> 85,43,109.00	2,65,50,000.00 <hr/>

**Contributions received by BTR Fund directly till 15th Apr.'98.**

1. Right to Work Convention/Durgapur	-	1,00,000.00
2. CITU Central Funds against collections	-	14,01,000.00
3. W. Bengal State Committee of CITU, Calcutta	-	8,65,000.00
4. Hindustan Steel Emp. Unions (ASP/Durgapur)	-	1,00,000.00
5. United Contractor Workers Union (Durgapur)	-	2,20,000.00
6. Hindustan Steel Employees Union(DSP/Durgapur)-		1,00,000.00

7. Alloy Steel plant Contractor's Emp.Un(“)	-	15,000.00
8. All India Avery Employees Federation	-	50,000.00
9. Swaraj Mazda Workers Union (Punjab)	-	5,000.00
10.Lal Jhanda AFCON Mazdoor Union (Punjab)	-	3,000.00
11.W. Bengal State Committee of CITU(Chq & Cash)-		1,20,000.00
12.G. Janardhana Rao, Hyderabad(AP)	-	200.00
13.Hindusthan Steel Empl Union, Durgapur	-	1,00,000.00
14.Township Contractors Emp.Union, Durgapur	-	22,682.00
15.DYFI Ispatnagar Zone-A LC, Durgapur	-	500.00
16.DYFI Ispatnagar, Zone-B, LC, Durgapur	-	600.00
17.Through W B State Committee,CITU(ASP Durgapur)-		1,00,000.00
18.Lal Jhanda Punjab Bhatta Mazdoor union	-	15,500.00
19.Ghaziabad Dist Committee of CITU	-	6,900.00
20.Through CITU (TN State Committee, CITU)	-	2,64,890.00
21.Assam State Committee of CITU	-	15,000.00
22.T Mukunda Rao, Hyderabad	-	502.00
23.Suner Marble & Granites Union (Udaipur)	-	5,000.00
24.Assam State Committee of CITU	-	9,000.00
25.Rajasthan State Committee of CITU	-	1,62,615.00
26.Rajasthan SC (Rajasamand)	-	50,000.00
27.WB. SC (ASP/Durgapur)	-	25,000.00
28.WB.SC. of CITU	-	8,00,000.00
29.Karnataka SC of CITU	-	17,750.00
30.CITU Centre (Kerala SC)	-	6,00,000.00
31.CITU Centre (Assam SC)	-	5,000.00
32.Com. Iruthya Raj(BEL)	-	200.00
33.MP Sc.(Indore Dist Com.)	-	1,700.00
34.Com. G. Janardhana Rao (AP)	-	100.00
35.Haryana SC (APL Workers Union)	-	4,550.00
36.Haryana SC (HHenan(Ind Workers)	-	2,000.00
37.CITU Centre (HP SC)	-	2,726.00
38.CITU Centre (Punjab SC)	-	3,600.00
39.T.N. SC of CITU	-	1,50,000.00
40.CITU Centre (total Collections till date)	-	8,76,957.00
41.W.B. State Committee of CITU	-	1,00,000.00
42.Mrs. Vimala Ranadive	-	3,000.00
43.Punjab SC of CITU	-	6,482.00
44.Acc Babcock Emp.U (Durgapur)/WB State Comm.	-	1,00,101.00
45.T.N. S.C. of CITU	-	22,290.00
46.Delhi SC of CITU	-	5,000.00
47.Bihar SC	-	4,000.00
48.WB.SC(Hindustan Steel Empl.)	-	7,000.00
49.CITU (Dewas/MP)	-	250.00

50. Mumbai Sramik Sangh(Maharashtra S/C)	-	40,000.00
51. United Contractor Workers Union(Durgapur)	-	4,620.00
52. Punjab State Committee of CITU	-	31,000.00
53. Dist. Committee.II Punjab	-	2,100.00
54. N.C.O.E.A(Bokaro)KSP Phase II	-	2,350.00
55. Samar Mukherjee/Vice President CITU	-	17,000.00
56. Punjab State Committee of CITU	-	52,430.00
57. CITU Centre (against collection up to Dec,96)-		36,900.00
58. U.P. State Committee fo CITU	-	10,000.00
59. W.B. State Committee of CITU	-	4,00,000.00
60. Karnataka State Committee of CITU	-	34,000.00
61. Punjab State Committee of CITU	-	38,000.00
62. Punjab Dist. Committee of CITU	-	1,920.00
63. CITU Centre (against collection)	-	10,000.00
64. IEL Employees Union (Kanpur)	-	95,000.00
65. U.P. State Committee of CITU	-	5,000.00
66. CITU/Nagda(MP)	-	1,761.00.pa
67. Com. Laxmi Sahgal,Kanpur	-	5,000.00
68. Com. Gurudas Chatterjee, Bihar	-	500.00
69. Varanasi Metal & Eng. Mazdoor Sabha	-	5,100.00
70. Dukan Adhistan Karmchari Union, Varanasi	-	1,500.00
71. Vikrant Ture Emp. Union, Karnataka	-	50,000.00
72. Orissa State Committee of CITU	-	5,000.00
73. Kerala State Committee of CITU	-	1,50,000.00
74. Assam State Committee of CITU	-	5,000.00
75. J.K. Ture Karmachari Union (Rajasthan)	-	50,000.00
76. Theri Dam Workers Union (Punjab)	-	1,00,000.00
77. P.S.T.C (Punjab)	-	20,000.00
78. Punjab Roadyways	-	5,000.00
79. CITU Chandigarh (Punjab)	-	3,000.00
80. BGMI Empl. Union, Karnataka	-	2,000.00
81. A.P. State Committee	-	1,00,000.00
82. U.P. State Committee	-	3,000.00
83. Maharashtra State Committee/CITU	-	69,655.00
84. Bhilai Steel Emp. Union (MP)	-	5,000.00
85. U.P. State Committee of CITU	-	12,500.00
86. Com. Gargi Mukherjee	-	10,000.00
87. CEL Emp. Union, Sahibabad (Delhi S/C)	-	41,000.00
88. BEFI, Calcutta	-	5,000.00
89. CITU Dist. Committe, Ludhiana(Punjab)	-	3,000.00
90. Syndicate Bank Staff Union, Madras	-	10,001.00
91. Bank of India Emp. Union, Calcutta	-	2,001.00
92. Com. Harcharan Singh, Punjab	-	200.00

93. Varanasi Metal & Eng. Mazdoor Sabha	-	1,100.00
94. Dukan Adhistan Karmachari Union	-	1,900.00
95. CITU Dist. Committee, Meerut	-	350.00
96. CITU, Tadepallugudan Town Com./ A.P.	-	10,000.00
97. Chembroln Rice Mill Workers Union. A.P.	-	1,000.00
98. NCOEA Katham Coal Washery, Bokaro	-	600.00
99. Ramanathan/Air Corpn. Emp. Union	-	1,700.00
100. Mineral Workrs Union, Kiribum, Bihar	-	1,070.00
101. Dharmanath Ram, Bihar	-	170.00
102. Goa stae committee	-	50,000.00
103. G. Janardan Rao	-	200.00
104. Bihar S/C of CITU	-	3,660.00
105. Fire Bricks & Ceramics Kamgar Union Ranchi	-	1,000.00
106. Bokaro Steel Mazdoor union, Bihar	-	3,520.00
107. A Well Wisher, through Com. Chandi Pd.	-	501.00
108. H.P. State Committee of CITU	-	5,000.00
109. W.B. State Committee of CITU	-	50,000.00
110. Delhi State Committee of CITU	-	4,500.00
111. Delhi State	-	3,200.00
112. Delhi State	-	5,100.00
113. Grindlay's Bank Empl. Union	-	8,833.00
114. Delhi State CITU	-	2,500.00
115. RBI Emp. Assn., Trivandrum	-	5,000.00
116. RBI Emp. Assn., Cochin	-	1,175.00
117. Indian Bank Emp. Assn. Kozhikode	-	1,247.00
118. Delhi State Committee of CITU	-	2,500.00
119. Charma Udyog kamgar Union, ghaziabad.	-	5,100.00
120. Delhi State Committe of CITU, Ghaziabad	-	9,500.00
121. Coalfield Labour union	-	1,400.00
122. Delhi State Committee of CITU	-	1,200.00
123. NCOEA (Gathara Washery)	-	200.00
124. NCOEA (Gobindpur Br.)	-	600.00
125. V. krishna Murthy, Karur Vysya Bank	-	1,000.00
126. Prasanta Kumar basu, Calcutta	-	250.00
127. G. Janardhana Reddy	-	200.00
128. J. Ballabh, CITU Centre	-	1,000.00
129. All India Insurance Empl. Assn.	-	1,00,000.00
130. Syndicate Bank Staff Union	-	65,560.00
131. Bank Emp. Federation of India/Calcutta	-	1,00,000.00
132. Basudev Chatterjee, CBI, Calcutta	-	100.00
133. Kalyan Biswas, CB/Calcutta	-	50.00
134. Singareni Colliereis Emp. Union	-	1,00,000.00
135. G.P. Sengupta, Calcutta	-	1,000.00