

THE WORKING CLASS

C
I
T
U



MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE CITU

VOL I. No 5

JANUARY 1972

40 Paise

In This Issue

- The 1971 Spring Struggle of Japanese Workers
- P & T Employees struggle for Organisational Unity
- CITU Memorandum on Unemployment
- Earnings of Factory Workers in 1968
- CITU calls upon Working Class to denounce US Imperialist blackmail
- On Pakistani Aggression and the Working Class
- Govt.'s bid to impose Industrial Truce foiled
- Another paltry Interim Relief by the Third Pay Commission
- How a Section is repealed by Judicial Interpretation/Legal Notes
- United struggle of Kerala toilers in the face of Repression
- Anti-social Elements run amok in Raniganj Collieries
- DIR used against Hindustan Teleprinters Workers
- Murderous attack on T.U. Leaders by anti-socials.

Editorial Board

- B. T. RANADIVE (Chairman)
- P. RAMAMURTI, MANORANJAN RAY
- NIREN GHOSH, SUDHIN KUMAR
- M. K. PANDHE (Editor)

Bangladesh Is Born WHAT NEXT ?

B. T. Ranadive
President, C. I. T. U.

The war over Bangladesh is over. The occupation army enslaving the people of Bangladesh have been routed by the combined operations of the Mukti Bahini and the armed forces of India.

Imperialist Game Not Over

But the struggle is not over. Only the first phase is over. The American imperialists are conspiring to undermine Bangladesh and restore Pakistani rule in one form or other. They are offering their protection to the collaborators and murderers guilty of inhuman crimes against the people of Bangladesh.

The working class of India, the organised trade union movement has an important role to play in defeating the machinations of American imperialism, in making the other contingents of the world working class realise the sinister role that American imperialists are playing.

Working Class Caught Napping

It has to be again admitted that the working class and the organised trade union movement were caught napping when the vital battle for Bangladesh was going on, and when American imperialists threatened to intervene with the 7th Fleet.

The appearance of the American Task Force in the Bay of Bengal with the shameless excuse to protect the murderers and genocide-perpetrators was a direct threat to the people of Bangladesh and people of India. The main enemy of the world working class, the perpetrator of inhuman atrocities against the heroic people of Vietnam, was threatening us. Yet the organised trade union movement failed to rise in angry denunciation and forge a united protest. The Unions affiliated to the CITU also cannot

New Year's Greetings

altogether escape their responsibility.

Throughout this magnificent struggle of the Bangladesh people, the working class and peasantry, and other sections, the organised trade union movement have at best played the role of a sympathetic spectator, following the banner of others, but failing to put its own stamp and character on the solidarity struggle. Continuation of this attitude spells danger for the Bangladesh struggle as well as for the trade union and democratic movements in our country.

Strengthening of Democratic Forces in Bangladesh—Responsibility of Working Class

The working class in supporting the Bangladesh struggle, in demanding that the Govt. should recognise the Bangladesh Govt. and render it all help including armed help, had definite democratic objectives. It wanted the defeat of the forces of occupation, the freedom for the people of Bangladesh and complete liberty for the democratic and trade union movements in Bangladesh. Its objective therefore is not ensured only by the rout of the forces of occupation. Its international outlook, its solidarity with the toilers of Bangladesh demands that new vested interests should not curb and curtail the liberties of working class and the people and that every peasant and worker must feel the glow of the new freedom.. Strengthening of the democratic forces in Bangladesh inevitably helps the working class and democratic movements in this country.

The working class of India cannot remain silent if freedom fighters

in Bangladesh are attacked, if those who bore the brunt of the struggle, went through inhuman sufferings and trials, are now hounded as criminals for demanding punishment for the enemies of the people.

The presence of the Indian armed forces on the soil of Bangladesh enlarges the responsibility of the working class. The task of the armed forces whose members shed their precious blood in the fight against the occupation army is to complete the rout of the remnants of the military junta's para-military and military forces. If under the pressure of American propaganda they are to accept further responsibility in the name of maintenance of internal order, it will lead to harmful consequences undermining the fraternal feelings that have developed between the two peoples.

The working class must express its feelings of solidarity and fraternity with the working class and toiling masses of West Pakistan whose military rulers dragged them into a war with India. The trade union movement has no doubt that the democratic forces there will succeed in putting an end to all legacies of the martial administration and usher in a popular rule responsible to the aspirations of the people. There is no doubt that they will soon see through the appeal to religious frenzy meant to divert their attention from the democratic tasks facing them and keep in being a state of tension between the two countries.

The working class cannot forget the great danger represented by American imperialism to the security of our country, and the freedom of Bangladesh. American arms helped Yahya Khan to butcher the Bangladesh people by lakhs, and kill Indian fighters by thousands in the

recent encounter. And American imperialists threatened India with direct reprisals against its forces in W. Bengal.

Demand Greater Friendship with Socialist Countries.

The working class must realise that it was Indira Gandhi's Government that was all these years presenting the American Govt. as a friend of India because of the loans and credits granted by it. The virtues of American democracy were being taught in our colleges and schools while socialism was being described as totalitarianism.

Only the advance section of the working class has been demanding a policy of friendship with the Socialist countries and exposing the danger from American imperialism.

In this critical period the Socialist Soviet Union and other Socialist countries stood by the people of Bangladesh and India. It is a matter of profound shock that China supported the Yahya Khan's regime and refused to recognise the freedom character of the Bangladesh struggle.

Realising the danger from American imperialism, the working class must raise the demand for a change in foreign policy, for greater friendship with socialist countries; and further demand nationalisation of all American monopoly concerns beginning with the oil companies and immediate moratorium on all American debt payments.

Resist offensive of Ruling Class In The Name of Help To Bangladesh.

While exercising vigilance on the Bangladesh developments, the working class must get ready to face the immediate offensive that is likely to

(On Page Nineteen)

The 1971 Spring Struggle of The Japanese Workers

By Makoto Ichikawa,
President of the General Council of
Japan's Trade Unions (SOHYO)

In November and December of last year the government, in common accord with monopoly capital, launched an attack on the workers through the application of an incomes policy and a wage freeze, based on the principle of productivity norms. As far as the incomes policy was concerned, the government was forced to retreat to a certain extent following on the joint stand taken against this policy by the four national centres, and also because of a divergence of opinion which appeared in the capitalist camp.

The incomes policy was, nevertheless, again forcibly put forward when the decisive action was started by the National Council of Unions of State Enterprise Employees (Korokyo), which was the culmination of the struggle led by the Liaison Committee for the Spring Struggle.

This committee, it should be recalled, was set up in October 1970 and was made up of 7,300 local unions representing 8.5 million trade unionists, organised in 162 industrial federations. During the meetings and discussions which took place between November 1970 and January 1971, the committee grouped together the workers' demands on the basis of a political line faithful to the working masses and aiming at strengthening the participation of young workers.

In February a demonstration was organised to the Diet demanding a budget which would guarantee living standards. It finished up on March 26 with the first joint action

under the slogan: "10,000 yen increase in wages for everyone".

The second united strike took place at the beginning of April, the third one in the middle of April, the fourth on April 22 and 23 and the fifth on April 27 and 28, following on the inadequate wage increase granted to the National Federation of Steel and Iron Workers (Tekkororen).

The Spring Struggle continued after May 1 and lasted for an exceptionally long period until the sixth united strike from May 10 to 15 and until the united action carried on by transport workers and those belonging to the National Council of Unions of Employees in State Enterprises (Korokyo) which took place from May 18 to 21.

The offers of wage increases put forward by the employees immediately following the first united strike were lower than those won last year. This demonstrated the considerable influence exerted by the Union of Japanese Employers (Nikkeiren) on the bosses. In connection with the campaign for local elections to be held on April 11, the unions carried on coordinated strikes from April 8 to 10. In the middle of April, as they did last year, the iron and steel employers gave their final reply, but they stiffened their stand because the National Federation of Iron and Steel Workers (Tekkororen) did not assert its right to strike. It was then that the workers belonging to a number of unions grouped themselves around the National Union of Metal and

Engineering Workers and carried on the struggle until the end of April for an increase in wages of more than 10,000 yen per month, combining this action with one for the restitution of Okinawa.

Because of the delay in solving the negotiations in the shipbuilding and electrical equipment industries the General Federation of Private Railway Employees (Shitetsusoren), the Express Train Employees Union (Zennittsu) and other unions in these occupations were not able to win their demands within the period foreseen and the decisive phase of the Spring Struggle took place much later than the beginning of May. The joint action carried on by the workers in the public and private sectors, particularly by the transport workers' unions and the National Council of Unions of State Employees (Korokyo) developed about the middle of May, and finally Korokyo won its demands before a solution was found to the dispute in the privately-owned railways.

On May 20 the Commission for Industrial Relations in State Enterprises and Companies made a proposal for a provisional increase in wages of 8%, plus 2,300 yen. On the basis of this amount of May 21 the General Federation of Workers in Privately-owned Railways (Shitetsuroren) accepted the sum of 9,700 yen and the National Federation of Workers in the Electrical Apparatus and Allied Industries (Denkiroren) entered the final phase of negotiations.

On June 1, however, about 20% of the unions were still continuing their action. On May 25 the average amount being demanded by the unions was 10,161 yen while the average increase accepted or being offered by the employers was 9,850 yen.

Provisional results for this year show increases of 1,000 yen more than those for 1970. Nineteen industrial federations and 2,254 local unions obtained an increase of more than 10,000 yen.

Characteristics of the 1971 spring struggle

As the development of the struggles show, the 1971 Spring Struggle gave rise to extra-ordinarily intense strikes, since the Government and monopoly capital, attempting to put into operation a militarist policy in accordance with the Joint Japanese-American Communique, openly imposed on the workers their incomes policy and policy of low wages based on the principle of productivity norms. The increased fighting spirit shown by the workers in the course of strikes is the expression of their indignation and their discontent in the face of the sufferings that they are undergoing because of the huge price increases, intensified speed-up, control of employment in violation of human rights, etc.

Although the Government and the monopolies put pressure on the workers to accept reduced wage offers under the pretext of future economic difficulties, the workers rejected these proposals and carried on a fierce struggle until victory, organising strike actions in all sectors of industry. Lengthy strikes took place in the metalworking industry, in chemicals and public transport, while repeated strikes were organised by the National Union of Railwaymen (Kokutetsuroso), the National Nihond Union of Automotor Railways (Doryokusharoso), the Federation of Workers in Privately-owned Railways (Shitetsuroren) and by Korokyo, etc for "10,000 yen increase for everyone"; the workers in these occupations achieved results

one after the other which exceeded those won last year.

Workers in privately-owned railway companies organised a second united strike, but they only won their demands towards the middle of the third united strike. Workers in State and privately-owned railways organised a strike lasting 19 hours, an action which was unprecedented. Their actions were made possible because of the militancy with which they faced up to deteriorating living and working conditions. The main factor in their victory was that they organised their forces in a united way by sectors of industry.

In the proposals that they put forward before the strike, the Government and the capitalists offered wage increases which were lower than those conceded last year. The owners of private railway companies and the managers of State enterprises offered the same wage increase as that conceded in 1969. This attitude of the government and the employers in no way took into consideration the workers' demands and drove them to strike action.

We carried on our action against the employers step by step, continually organising strikes until the middle of April. However, we were not able to settle the negotiations by the end of April, as we usually do. The majority of unions in most sectors of industry continued their action during the month of May. We can say that the amount offered by the employers as a wage increase had a close relationship to the number of strikes held.

Mention should also be made of the unjustified interventions of the government in relationships between employers and workers with the aim of having the policy of the Govern-

ment relating to incomes and wage accepted, as was the case in the mediation by the Central Committee of Industrial Relations in the dispute between the railwaymen and the privately-owned railway companies, and by the Commission for Industrial Relations in State Companies and Enterprises.

The Spring Struggle of this year allowed the people to understand better the full aims of the strikes carried on by workers employed in State and privately-owned railways. That is why the people expressed their sympathy towards the workers who were on strike not only for increased wages but also to defend the living conditions of the workers, against harmful effects on the environment, for a solution to the problem of housing, against high taxes and rising prices, for improved medical care and so on. This support came as a shock to the Government and the capitalists.

Consumer Price Index Numbers

(Working class)

All India

Year	Base 1949	Base 1960
1966	184	151
1967	209	172
1968	215	177
1969	213	175
1970	224	184
Oct.	230	189
Nov.	230	189
Dec.	226	186
1971		
Jan.	224	184
Feb.	224	184
Mar.	224	184
Apr.	224	184
May	224	184
June	227	187
July	231	190
Aug.	236	194
Sep.	238	196

P. and T. Employees' Struggle For Organisational Unity

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

Yet another attempt to split a united organisation of the workers and employees is being made by the forces of disruption. This time it is in the National Federation of Posts & Telegraphs Employees representing five lakhs P & T employees of India. On each and every turning point in its onward march to bigger and militant struggles against the anti-worker policies of the Union Government, it had to face the dangers of disruption connived at by the Government. The movement of the P & T workers started its strides with the declaration of Babu Tarapada Mukherji—a founder of the trade union in P & T service, that "petitions and memorials and supplications will count for nothing so long as you do not organise yourselves in a manner to convince the Government that you will no longer stand nonsense". The disruptive forces under one cloak or other, have been persistently attempting to put back the clock of progress and to inculcate the worn out ideas of economism as against the resurgent ideas symbolised in the new leadership.

In 1946, when the strike-struggle of the P & T workers on economic issues, faced with the obstinacy of the then British Government, emerged into a national battle against the British imperialism, these forces attempted to scuttle this glorious struggle by condemning the strike as politically motivated and broadcasting their condemnation over the All India Radio. These forces however were thrown into the dust-bin, and a united organisation of the P & T

workers emerged. In 1949 again, taking advantage of arrests and dismissals from service of a large number of the new and resurgent leaders and activists, these forces raised their ugly heads and tried to circumscribe the trade union activities within the ideas permissible by the Government. But they failed too and in 1954, dashing the hopes of the Government and the old guards collaborating with the Government had to give in to the radicals and resurgents, and the NFPTE—the mighty united voice of the entire P & T workers of the country under one banner, heralded.

Since then, in every struggle and strike of not only P & T workers but also of entire Central Government employees of India, the NFPTE have assumed the leadership withstanding all attacks perpetrated by the Government.

Having failed to break the growing militant trade union movements of the P & T workers, the Union Government immediately after 1968 token strike, patronised the scab Unions/Federation. But that, too, failed. And, hence, the responsibility of circumscribing the trade union movements of the P & T as well as other sections of the Central Government employees and disrupting their united strength and organisation, fell upon those who deserted the camp of left-democratic forces and forged alignments with the ruling classes.

This is not a sudden development but evolved over a number of years in the past. Since the betrayal by these forces in the militant

anti-victimization "work-to rule" struggle, which followed immediately after one-day strike of 19th September, 1968, they were systematically pursuing a line of emasculating the militancy of the P & T as well as other sections of the Central Government employees' movements and were gradually taking their organisations into sheer inactions. Lest they were thrown out of leadership, they were not holding the annual conference and were keeping themselves in power willy nilly. At last under pressure from the ranks, they had to hold the annual session of the Federal Council of the NFPTE, after three and a half years, in August, 1970. Notwithstanding their manipulations to debar the duly elected Federal Councillors from attending the session, their nominees for all the posts of Office-bearers including a Congress (R) MP, Mohan Dharia, sponsored by them for the post of President, were defeated at the hands of the progressive candidates.

With the leadership of the NFPTE so slipping away from the hands of these forces, they have during the last one year indulged in disrupting the onward march of the NFPTE on one plea or the other. But having seen that in a democratic way they will not succeed in recapturing the leadership of the NFPTE, they have now openly taken the path of disrupting the unity of the P & T workers and splitting their hitherto united organisation—NFPTE, thereby serving the interests of the ruling classes.

It is under these circumstances that the Federal Council session of the NFPTE was held in Calcutta from November 28 to December 3. Prior to it, they tried to block the smooth proceeding of the Conference of the All India

Postal Employees' Union-Class III held recently in Jamshedpur (Bihar) and subsequently, in the face of opposition from a huge majority of the delegates, they walked out of the conference, held a parallel one and floated a rival list of office-bearers and federal councillors of the said Union. Again in the Howrah Conference of the All India Postal Employees' Union-Postmen and Class IV, having seen that the Jamshedpur tactics would not fructify because of their delegates being in negligible minority, they did not participate in the proceedings of the conference. Their delegates stayed in the camp, and floated a parallel list of office-bearers and federal councillors of this all-India Union. All these they did in their vain hope that in the Federal Council session in Calcutta, they would get these rival federal councillors recognised and consequently, would inflate their votes. In the event of their failure to do so, they had a plan to block the normal proceedings of the Federal Council session on the issue of recognition of the Federal Councillors of these two Unions. But faced with the firm handling of the situation by the President, they had to concede defeat and hence, finally they walked out of the Federal Council session and floated a parallel list of office-bearers of the NFPTE. And thus they split the united organisation of the entire P & T workers of the country—the NFPTE.

The Federal Council despite these disruptive moves decided to call upon the entire P & T employees of India to observe Demands Day by the second week of February, 1972, to press upon the Central Government for grant of balance of Interim Relief, full neutralisation of cost of living index which has exceeded 10 points on a 12-monthly

average and vacation of all kinds of victimizations. Amongst the programme suggested was Dharna, One-hour Cessation of Work and Mass Demonstrations. The Council also decided to make all efforts to mobilize all central Government employees and workers in this programme through the Confederation.

The Council decided to formulate a Charter of Demands and demanded publication of the Pay Commission's Report by 31st March, 1972. In case the Pay Commission does not publish their findings by that date, the Council directed the Federal Executive to meet soon thereafter to call for a Special Session of the Federal Council in June, 1972 and to consider the programmes of direct action including strike.

The Council discussed all the items of the Agenda and adopted suitable resolutions. It urged for reinstatement of three P & T employees who are still out of employment in connection with the 1968—strike and reinstatement of eight employees retired compulsorily in connection with what is known as Kurnool Case. The Council decided to resist the victimizations of trade union functionaries under Articles

310 (1) and 311 (2) (c) of the Constitution of India.

The following Office-bearers were unanimously elected for the ensuing year: President—K. G. Bose, Vice-Presidents—R. Munirathnam and R. S. Yadav, Secretary-General—A. S. Rajan, Secretary—R. P. Chatterji and Treasurer—Sacaram Tanwar.

Now being defeated and routed in Jamshedpur, Howrah and Calcutta, the disruptors have taken the shelter of the patronage of the Union Minister of Communications. In presence of this Minister, they have asked for the fifty-fifty share in the NFPTE leadership and approached the Minister to use his good offices in bringing this share to them. The re-elected President, K. G. Bose and Secretary General, A. S. Rajan while counselling these forces to see reason and accept democratic verdict in good spirit, have called upon five lakhs P & T workers to be on alert and vigil so that no forces whatsoever can break the unity of the P & T workers and to see that the Minister cannot take away their democratic rights and thrust upon them some of his 'yes-men' as their leaders.

Anti-Social Elements Run Amock in Raniganj Collieries

Mine-owners in the Raniganj Colliery Belt, working hand in glove with local administration and anti-social elements, are taking full advantage of the emergency situations following India's war with Pakistan and trying to suppress the trade union movement in the area.

The main target of their attack is the unions affiliated to the Colliery Mazdoor Sabha (CITU), the vanguard

of the T. U. movement in the colliery belt in recent years. A former General Secretary of the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat-led union who has now applied for membership of the Congress(R) is in overall charge of these operations. He has collected and elaborately armed a gang of about 500 toughs with the blessing of colliery owners.

On December 3, the day when
(On Page Sixteen)

CITU Calls Upon Working Class to Denounce US Imperialist Blackmail

Just when the valiant freedom struggle of the people of Bangladesh against the tyranny and oppression of the West Pakistan military Junta is on the point of final victory, the American Imperialists, who for long nine months allowed the West Pakistani hordes of Yahya Khan to continue their bestial atrocities on the people of Bangladesh, now threaten to send the U.S. Seventh Fleet to intimidate India and to crush the freedom struggle of Bangladesh. Calling upon the entire working class of India to raise their united voice to denounce this US imperialist blackmail, Comrade B. T. Ranadive, President of the CITU issued the following statement on 14th December :

The CITU calls upon all the central trade union organisations and the entire working class of India to denounce the American imperialists for their threats to the Indian people. In the midst of a war that has been imposed on India by the military dictators of West Pakistan, American imperialists have been conspiring against India and the people of Bangla Desh. Nixon and his associates have condemned India and covered the crimes of West Pakistan military junta. In the Security Council, in the UNO Assembly, and again in the Security Council, they have attacked India and proposed a solution which would help Yahya Khan to behead the freedom movement of Bangla Desh.

Failing to secure his ends in the Security Council because of the Soviet opposition and veto, Nixon now threatens to send a naval task force armed with nuclear weapons to intimidate India and bale out

Yahya Khan's regime. The working class of India must protect against this open threat to our freedom and security, this attempt to blackmail us and crush the Bangla Desh people. The CITU calls upon all its unions

to stage demonstrations and protests at the factory gates and denounce American blackmail. Let the united voice of the working class tell the imperialists that the working class and the people of India will not bow down before American dictators ; it will not let down its class brothers fighting the martial law regime in Bangla Desh.

D.I.R. Used Against Hindustan Teleprinter Workers

About 1500 workers in Hindustan Teleprinters, Madras went on strike on 8th November to press for their demands relating to job evaluation, victimisation, etc. When the strike was about to be settled for which the negotiations were going on, the Government of India evoked the DIR to suppress the workers' strike. In this connection R. Umanath, President, Hindustan Teleprinters Employees' Union has issued the following statement to the Press on 10th December :

The conduct of the Govt. of India in banning the strike of the Hindustan Teleprinters' Employees, under DIR, especially, when the strike was almost settled by the State Government Labour Commissioner, deserves the most severe condemnation of all Trade Unionists and democrats.

Only 2 days before the ban, the State Labour Commissioner, who was conciliating in the dispute had made the following recommendations to end the strike. (1) On a mere warning being administered to the seven suspended workers, their suspensions were to be cancelled and disciplinary proceedings dropped.

(2) No action is to be taken against any employee in connection with the agitation and strike.

(3) Fresh Job Evaluation should be undertaken after 2 years.

(4) Other demands contained in the strike notice will be settled by conciliation after withdrawal of strike and resumption of work by employees.

(5) On resumption of work, the employees should work as per Status Quo prior to the agitation.

The management of the HTP Ltd. asked time to consult their higher authorities on these terms and withdrew. It was open to the Government of India to advise the management to accept the Labour Commissioner's recommendations and thus end the strike itself. Instead the Government chose to ban the strike under Defence of India Rules, leaving the disputes unresolved, thus leaving the door open for continued agitation and friction between the employees and management.

With this the management also communicated their rejection of the Labour Commissioner's proposals to end the strike. Is it not devious that the DIR has been used not to protect the Nation's interest, but to buttress and further the anti-working class and vindictive bias of a bureaucratic management and to suppress the strike ?

(On Page Thirteen)

CITU Memorandum on Unemployment

In its 42-Page Memorandum, submitted to the Expert Committee on Unemployment, set up by the Government of India, CITU makes a penetrating analysis of the basic causes of unemployment in India, which has reached menacing proportions. The Memorandum also suggests remedies, basic and transitional, adding :

“When we stress **basic** remedies, we have no intention of neglecting any transitional measures to relieve the distress of the unemployed. While we stand for every measure of genuine relief, we insist that it should not be paraded as an effective fight against unemployment... even the proclaimed and intended transitional measures do not produce the desired effect because of bureaucratic control and the interference of vested interests.”

Unemployment “Unknowable”

Charging the authorities with attempts to evade the problem, the Memorandum asserts :

“The unemployment figures have reached such huge proportions that the Government and the Planning Commission have decided to conceal its real magnitude. Every successive plan revealed the inefficiency of Planning to meet the problem and ended in an ever larger number of unemployed. Finding this verdict on their bankruptcy embarrassing, the Government and the Planning Commission started suggesting that there was no precise definition of the unemployed, and therefore, no proper estimates about their total number could be made.

These are dishonest efforts to conceal the real incidence of unem-

ployment and they show that the Commission has no intention of dealing with the problem seriously.”

Further, “it has been estimated that unemployment might reach the colossal figure of 29 million. Official figures themselves underline the gravity of the problem :

Backlog of Unemployment. (Million)

	First Plan	Second Plan	Third Plan	Annual Plans 1966-69.
At the beginning of Plan	3.3	5.3	7.1	6.6
At the end of Plan	5.3	7.1	9.6	12.6

It will be seen that between the three years 1966-69, one million was being added every year to the number of the unemployed.”

“Huge as the figure is, it itself constitutes a gross under-estimate as it does not include vast sections of the under-employed or even sections of the unemployed in rural areas.”

The memorandum refers to the visible and steady growth in the Live Register, showing a 33% increase between 1968 and 1970. The number of the employed in the Private Sector has declined sharply between 1967 and 1969, from 65.7 lakhs to 65.2 lakhs, and even in the Public Sector the rate in the growth of employment has declined. This has happened despite increased production. Employment has declined in factories—brought about by closures in coal mines, in the jute industry, in the plantations. The number of seamen has gone down. The situation is acute in West Bengal and Kerala, where workers in rural and small industries are

facing ruin. Women, who are being forced to enter the labour market through economic pressures, are increasingly becoming unemployed. Another notable feature pointed out by the memorandum is the enormous increase in the number of the educated unemployed.

The Contrast

The Memorandum contrasts the situation in India with the progress

made by the Soviet Union immediately after the Revolution, and the remarkable achievement of China :

“The conditions under which the People’s Republic of China was founded were perhaps more backward than those obtaining in India. The backlog of unemployment was perhaps more serious in China than in India. The problems facing the leadership of the People’s Republic of China were at least as stupendous as those facing India, yet the achievements of the two countries stand out in sharp contrast to each other.”

“In India, the means of production were left in private hands, and the public sector became only an instrument in helping the growth of capitalism. The so-called land reforms did not shake the basis of land monopoly and land concentration continued to exist. National Planning which supposed to reduce economic disparities and take the nation forward on the road to prosperity, actually ended in growing concentration of economic power

in the hands of monopolists, increasing unemployment and impoverishment for the mass of workers."

The Memorandum points to the inevitable consequence of the capitalist mode of production. "Marx pointed out that in every step forward of industry, the constant capital increases, and relatively, the variable capital decreases. Thus, as capitalist society advances, productivity of labour increases, total production increases, but the hands required for this total production relatively decrease and create the problem of unemployment."

This is seen in the progress of capitalist factories in India also.

All Industries—All India.

	1946	1952	1955	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Productive Capital employed per worker	2645	4897	5424	7748	8669	11902	13459	16214
Gross input per worker	2882	5823	6209	8858	9878	10600	11571	12674

Ref: Statistics of Selected Manufacturing industries—Part I—National Commission of Labour.

Every step forward of modern industry requires a larger amount of capital for employing the same number of workers. It shows that without a very high rate of progress, the tendency will be to add to the number of the unemployed. But such a high rate is not possible under the present planning.

Planned Growth in Disparity.

The planning, being based on capitalist principles, has led to greater and greater acquisition of wealth by capitalists who exploit labour. Among the capitalists, the bigger ones have benefited most and it is ironical that after 15 years of proclaimed struggle against economic inequality the Government was

forced to appoint a commission on monopoly concentration of wealth.

Rural Partner of Capitalism—Feudalism

Simultaneously, the Government's refusal to deal with the old landlords summarily and its reliance on these very landed elements to run the State Administrations has led to a situation in which the upper crust in rural areas—the big landholders, the rich peasants, the capitalist elements, has reaped the benefits of the Government's expenditure on agriculture, credit facilities and community development schemes.

Every project undertaken by the Government has helped these sections.

The Bureaucratic Sector.

"Simultaneously, the corrupt bureaucratic administration, which dominates the public sector, has created a situation which is absolutely unfavourable to the growth of production and security of employment. The fact that a number of public sector plants are running into losses is almost entirely due to the corruption of the bureaucrats in charge of them. Official circles give a false picture of the situation and hold the workers responsible for this. But it is on record that even when cases of bureaucratic corruption

have been brought to light by workers or official committees, no action has been taken. On the contrary, workers who have pointed such cases out have themselves been victimised. This creates a situation which does not foster a healthy growth of industry."

Denying that the pitifully modest growth of heavy industries, with low employment potential, is responsible for unemployment, the Memorandum goes on to say :

"To find an explanation for unemployment in the modest growth of heavy industries is totally wrong. Unemployment is inevitable because of the nature of the system ; secondly because the rate of total growth is extremely low ; thirdly, because the class policies of the Government, which enrich the exploiters at the expense of the masses, led to a shrinking of the purchasing power of the people on which alone development of small and big industries could in the final analysis be based. If along with the heavy industry, we could have planned a bigger growth rate and greater impetus to mass production enthusiasm this situation would not have arisen."

The majority of our unemployed, never purposefully counted, are in the villages. The Memorandum points out what a vast transformation is possible in the rural scene :

"As regards unemployment in agriculture, it is primarily due to the fact that the Government has not liquidated the antiquated land relations, and has made no serious attempt to distribute land to the tiller. Once this is done, efforts at cooperativisation and Government help for inputs and introduction of new technology will lead to far greater employment of the available labour power and naturally to greater

(On Page Thirteen)

Earnings of Factory Workers in 1968

The Indian Labour Journal, published by the Labour Bureau, Simla in its October 1971 issue has published Study on Earnings of Employees in Manufacturing Industries during 1968. This type of study is published every year and the data is also used for the purpose of calculating the indices of money wages and real wages of the workers. There are some serious limitations in the data. The figures do not include the employees of Railway workshops and industry groups of seasonal nature consisting of Food, Beverages, Tobacco and Gins and Presses, though they include Defence Installations. Moreover, the figures of average daily employment, total wage bill, etc. are obtained from returns submitted by factories under the Payment of Wages Act. Due to the failure of the Government to enforce the provisions of the law strictly all factories do not submit such returns or do not submit them in time. For instance, out of a total of 715 factories in Orissa in 1968, covered by the Factories Act, only 83 factories submitted returns. This obviously results in presentation of highly distorted picture of the conditions prevailing in that State. Again, the delay in submission of returns by factories results in inordinate delay in the publication of the Statistics. For instance, the data pertaining to 1968 were published only towards the end of 1971, thereby reducing their utility. However they throw some light on the living conditions of the workers.

The percentage of basic wages to per capita annual earnings for all States comes to 55.44. The percentage of basic wages is the highest in Punjab (93.79) and is also high (above 70) in Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh and Goa. All States exceed

the All-India average of the percentage of basic wages except Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Compared to 1967 the All-India average of per capita annual earnings has increased from Rs. 2,271 to Rs. 2,449, i. e. by 8%. Almost all States, excepting Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, registered such increase. However, the real earnings during the same period did not rise to the same extent. Whereas the Index Number of Money Earnings (base 1961) had risen from 151 in 1967 to 160 in 1968, Index Number of Real Earnings had risen from 91 in 1967 to 94 in 1968. The trend of money earnings and real earnings as shown in the official Statistics is as follows :

Year	All-India C. P. I. Numbers (Base shifted to 1961 = 100)		Index Numbers of	
	1	2	3	4
1962	103	106	106	103
1963	106	109	109	103
1964	121	114	114	94
1965	132	128	128	87
1966	146	139	139	95
1967	166	151	151	91
1968	171	160	160	94

The wage structure presents an anarchic picture in India since there is no uniform system of wage payments. The employers granted every wage rise only when they have been forced to do so through the organised T. U. movement. In many places the demand for merging of D. A. in basic wages is not accepted by the employers with the result that the basic wages constitute a small part of the total wages. There are variations between State and State and between industry and industry within the same State. It is to be noted, that on an average about 40 per cent of the annual per

capita earning comes from D.A. and other allowances, which constitute the most unstable part of the earnings of workers. Since the quantum of D. A. and other Allowances depend to a great extent on the organised strength of workers to secure concessions from the employers, the percentage varies from State to State depending on the relative strength of the working class movement there.

Excepting Assam (5.67%), the percentage of money value of concessions to the annual per capita earning is very low (0.08 to 1.53 per cent) in almost all the States. Workers in some states like Orissa, Jammu & Kashmir, H.P., Goa and Tripura do not enjoy any such concession at all or the quan-

tum is negligible. This shows the hollowness of the claim by employers that they allow various fringe benefits to their workers and which they very often advance to counter the demand of workers for higher wages.

The percentages of bonus to per capita annual earnings of workers in different States reveal some significant facts. Whereas the Payment of Bonus Act makes it obligatory on employers to pay a minimum bonus of 4%, the table reveals that total percentage of bonus in the total earnings (All-States) is only 3.68% and excepting Kerala

(5.60%). Maharashtra (4.68%) Tamil Nadu (5.58%), Mysore (4.65%), and Goa (4.39%) it is lower than 4% in all other States. In some States like Jammu and Kashmir, M.P., U.P., H.P., and Tripura it is lower than 2%. Even in West Bengal, where T.U. struggle for Bonus is stronger than many other States, it is only 2.65%. The percentage of bonus is low in some States mainly due to the exclusion of many factories from the Act and payment of only minimum bonus in most of the concerns covered by the Act.

The total employment in factories covered by the Factories Act, now stand at 40 lakhs, whereas the figures on which the study is based cover an average daily employment of 28.69 lakhs only. This is partly accounted for by the fact that out of a total of 36,645 factories in the country covered by the Factories Act, in 1968 only 25,827 factories (70%) submitted returns.

The per capita annual earnings of factory employees covered by this study comes to Rs. 2448.80 for all the States of India including Union Territories. This is exceeded only by Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Delhi, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. Among them, excepting Maharashtra and Gujarat which have 5,698 and 3,924 factories respectively, the other States have less than 1500 factories and Himachal Pradesh only 85 factories. Whereas States like West Bengal, Tamil Nadu Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, which have factories numbering 4732 to 2602, have per capita annual earnings ranging between Rs. 2381.94 and Rs. 1689.81, much below the All-India average.

It is only through united struggles that the working class will be able to fight effectively the wide disparity in their wages.

Distribution of per capita annual earnings by components in respect of workers in Manufacturing Industries drawing less than Rs. 400 per month during 1968 by States.

(In Rs.)

S. No.	States/Union Territories	Per Capita Annual Earnings	Basic wages	Cash Allowances including Dearness allowances.	Money value of concession	Bonus	Arrears
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Andhra Pradesh	1830.40 (100.00)	1105.25 (60.38)	675.41 (36.90)	2.42 (0.13)	37.05 (2.03)	10.27 (0.56)
2	Assam	2107.90 (100.00)	1332.73 (63.23)	514.29 (24.40)	119.63 (5.67)	72.44 (3.44)	68.81 (3.26)
3	Bihar	2432.24 (100.00)	1624.97 (66.81)	675.48 (27.77)	37.22 (1.53)	91.18 (3.75)	3.39 (0.14)
4	Gujarat	2696.35 (100.00)	1209.20 (44.85)	1374.38 (50.97)	2.68 (0.10)	102.39 (3.82)	7.16 (0.26)
5	Haryana	2219.26 (100.00)	1877.17 (84.59)	273.86 (12.34)	1.65 (0.08)	60.07 (2.70)	6.51 (0.29)
6	Jammu & Kashmir	1531.74 (100.00)	1369.28 (89.39)	141.64 (9.25)	— (—)	17.71 (1.16)	3.11 (0.20)
7	Kerala	2125.41 (100.00)	1216.65 (57.24)	780.21 (36.71)	3.08 (0.15)	119.08 (5.60)	6.39 (0.30)
8	Maharashtra	2825.91 (100.00)	1411.44 (49.95)	1264.26 (44.74)	5.63 (0.20)	132.20 (4.68)	12.38 (0.43)
9	Madhya Pradesh	2690.79 (100.00)	1475.36 (54.83)	1170.22 (43.49)	1.41 (0.05)	37.93 (1.41)	5.87 (0.22)
10	Mysore	2293.82 (100.00)	1467.48 (63.97)	670.43 (29.23)	9.31 (0.41)	106.69 (4.65)	30.91 (1.74)
11	Orissa	2333.44 (100.00)	1306.15 (55.98)	713.01 (30.56)	— (—)	58.03 (2.48)	256.258 (10.9)
12	Punjab	1689.81 (100.00)	1584.88 (93.79)	40.63 (2.41)	23.87 (1.41)	38.58 (2.28)	1.85 (0.11)
13	Rajasthan	1852.59 (100.00)	1307.27 (70.56)	486.15 (26.24)	3.62 (0.20)	46.29 (2.50)	9.26 (0.50)
14	Tamil Nadu	2297.09 (100.00)	1123.26 (48.90)	1029.05 (44.80)	7.92 (0.34)	128.23 (5.58)	8.63 (0.38)
15	Uttar Pradesh	2157.14 (100.00)	1349.75 (62.57)	756.81 (35.08)	5.50 (0.26)	36.42 (1.69)	8.66 (0.40)
16	West Bengal	2381.94 (100.00)	1326.06 (55.67)	970.18 (40.73)	14.44 (0.61)	61.30 (2.65)	9.96 (0.42)
17	Delhi	2787.79 (100.00)	1755.45 (62.97)	929.72 (33.35)	4.56 (0.16)	85.70 (3.07)	12.39 (0.45)
18	Himachal Pradesh	2850.76 (100.00)	2506.45 (87.92)	318.54 (11.18)	— (—)	12.34 (0.43)	13.43 (0.47)
19	Goa	2241.94 (100.00)	1723.66 (76.89)	401.39 (17.90)	— (—)	98.32 (4.39)	18.57 (0.83)
20	Andaman & Nicobar Islands.	1790.63 (100.00)	1148.22 (54.12)	633.89 (35.40)	1.58 (0.09)	3.88 (0.22)	3.88 (0.17)
21	Tripura	1944.55 (100.00)	1271.18 (65.37)	664.39 (34.17)	— (—)	8.98 (0.46)	— (—)
22	All above States/ Union Territories	2448.80 (1000)	1357.64 (55.44)	979.20 (39.99)	10.23 (0.42)	90.18 (3.68)	11.55 (0.47)

N. B.—Figures in brackets are percentages to the total earnings.

How a Section is Repealed by Judicial Interpretation

A. P. Chatterjee

In our last Legal Notes, we referred in passing to a recent decision of the Supreme Court on the operation and effect of section 33 of the Industrial Disputes Act in the case of the Hindustan General Electrical Corporation Ltd. vs. Biswanath Prasad and another. The full report of that case has since been published in 1971 Labour and Industrial Cases at page 1396 and 1971 (2) Supreme Court Cases at page 605. In that case, the Supreme Court has said that the order of dismissal or discharge has to be considered in the light of the principles laid down in Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. vs. Their Workmen reported in 1958 Supreme Court Reports at page 667, namely, that the Tribunal will interfere (i) where there is want of good faith, (ii) where there is victimisation or unfair labour practice, (iii) when the management has been guilty of a basic error or violation of a principle of natural justice and (iv) when on the materials the finding is completely baseless or perverse.

In the bourgeois way of life, appearance is more important than reality. The bourgeois is therefore more interested in keeping up appearances. Lord Chatterley, a bourgeois, in "Lady Chatterley's Lover" of D. H. Lawrence, says to Lady Chatterley that His Lordship would not mind Her Ladyship bearing an illegitimate baby but that she should make it appear that the child was by him. It may be mentioned that Lord Chatterley was paralytic in the lower limbs.

The Supreme Court cannot cut itself off from the world of illusion

counterposed ideally by the bourgeois to reality. Therefore, if only appearances are all right, there is nothing more to be done. If the paperwork of the employer prior to his discharge of the employee is impeccable no blame can attach to the employer. The bourgeois is regarded as a sovereign in his workshop and the court cannot interfere in his internal affairs, if only the appearances are maintained. If the employer even falsely charges his employee with theft and takes precaution to issue a chargesheet and examine even a single prosecution witness who may be suborned even, and yet if the bourgeois "in good faith" believes this "honest" prosecution witness, the Court will not examine the case on merits and not lift the veil to discover what skeletons lie concealed behind.

LEGAL NOTES

Section 33 of the Industrial Disputes Act, when it was first enacted first gave an appearance that at least the employee would be protected and an order discharging or dismissing him for misconduct would not be valid, when a proceeding was pending before a Conciliation Officer or a Board or an Arbitrator or a Labour Court or Tribunal unless the prior conditions laid down in that section were fulfilled. If it was for a misconduct connected with the pending dispute, express permission of the authority before which the proceeding is pending would be required. If it was for a misconduct not connected with the pending dis-

pute, he must be paid wages for one month and an application must be made by the employer to the authority before which the proceeding is pending for approval of the action taken by the employer.

One should have thought from the wording of the section 33 that, unless those prior conditions were fulfilled, the discharge or dismissal would not be valid. This was a plausible interpretation but the first erosion thereof happened when the Supreme Court interpreted the identical provisions of section 22 of the Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act in Equitable Coal Co. Ltd. vs. Algu Singh and another (All India Reporter 1958 Supreme Court at page 761) wherein the Court held—

"In an enquiry held under section 23 two questions fall to be considered: Is the fact of contravention by the employer of the provisions of section 22 proved? If yes, is the order passed by the employer against the employee justified on the merits?...If the first point is answered in favour of the employee, but on the second point the finding is that, on the merits, the order passed by the employer against the employee is justified, then the breach of section 22 proved against the employer may only be regarded as a technical breach and it may not, unless there are compelling facts in favour of the employee, justify any substantial order of compensation in favour of the employee...."

In the latest Supreme Court case under consideration, the Hindustan General Electrical Corporation Ltd. vs. Biswanath Prasad and another, the question raised on behalf of the workman was whether there was any contravention of section 33 because the workman had

been dismissed during the pendency of a Conciliation Proceeding. The Supreme Court held that "even if there was any such proceeding, it would make no difference to the result in this case. The Tribunal would still have to consider whether the employer's action was justified in the light of the decision in the Indian Iron and Steel Company's case."

The result of the decisions is as if section 33 of Industrial Disputes Act were not there in the Statute Book at all. It is a classic case of repeal of a statute by the Judge, who have acted almost as a Third Chamber.

In the words of the Supreme Court—

"The object of section 22 of the 1950 Act like that of section 33 of the 1947 Act as amended is to protect the workmen concerned in disputes which form the subject matter of pending proceeding against victimisation by the employer on account of their having raised industrial disputes or their continuing the pending proceedings. It is further the object of the two sections to ensure that proceedings in connection with industrial disputes already pending should be brought to a termination in a peaceful atmosphere and that no employer should, during the pendency of those proceedings, take any action of the kind mentioned in the sections which may give rise to fresh disputes likely to further exacerbate the already strained relations between the employer and the workmen."

Alas, the object is now gone with the wind along with the sections themselves.

CITU Memorandum on Unemployment

(From Page Nine)

ter production. Investment, advanced technology, agro-industries, small-scale industries, could all play a role in fighting unemployment only on the basis of liquidation of the present land relations and transfer of land to the real producer. Then alone his interest in production will be roused 10 times and he will reap full benefits of the technical advance."

The memorandum refers to all fields of our economy where the dead hand of stagnation and unemployment is visible. It speaks of the problems in backward areas, the small, household and rural industries and the artisans, the self-employed persons, the educated unemployed and suggests immediate relief and remedial measures. It calls for the introduction of more than one shift in all factories, for combating the hoarders who cripple industries by cornering industrial raw materials, for abolishing private intermediaries between the primary producer and the industries and other consumers, for breaking the stranglehold of bureaucracy in vital economic sectors such as the industries. It points out the need for unleashing productive forces throughout the land and so create the real basis for a true export policy, by producing genuine surpluses over and above the basic needs of the people. It calls for immediate and effective steps against closures, and reiterates that the CITU strongly advocates all interim measures which can relieve unemployment, while the real solution lies in what it calls the "Basic Measures", a fundamental change in the existing capitalist and semi-feudal property relationship.

D. I. R. Used Against Hindustan Workers

(From Page Seven]

In view of the changed situation, the General Body of the Hindustan Teleprinters' Union at its meeting held on 9.12.71 decided to call off the strike and resume work and continue their efforts for a reasonable settlement of all the disputes.

The conduct of the management in meeting this gesture of the workers, by keeping out the suspended workers even after withdrawal of strike, is highly provocative and disruptive of all efforts at restoration of industrial peace in the plant. I demand of the Government of India to intervene and see that suspensions are cancelled and disciplinary proceedings are dropped and proper steps are taken to settle the unresolved disputes.

Delhi Municipal Workers Protest Against Use of D. I. R.

Devendra Chintan, General Secretary of the Municipal Workers' Union, Delhi (CITU) was arrested on December 12 under the Defence of India Rules.

The Working Committee of the Union, in a meeting held on the same day, protested against the arrest of Chintan and demanded his immediate release.

S. C. Railway Workers Demand Fair Price Shops

At a meeting of South Central Railway employees held at Bitragunta on November 25, grave concern was expressed at the abnormal rise in the prices of daily necessities. The meeting urged the Railway Minister to introduce fair price shops without delay.

On Pakistani Aggression and the Working Class

A note clarifying the CITU's stand in the Tripartite Meeting convened by Union Labour Minister on 16th December 1971

In face of the war imposed by Pakistan's military rulers on India, the CITU expresses its firm determination to meet the challenge. War has been unleashed because the people of India refused to let down the fighting people of Bangla Desh. The military rulers have been emboldened to do this because of the open support received by them from the American imperialists.

The CITU is one with the country in denouncing the intimidating and blackmailing tactics of the American imperialists who have taken an openly hostile attitude towards India. Before and after the start of the conflict, inside the Security Council and the UNO, the American imperialists have conspired against India and the Bangla Desh people and revealed their preference for a military dictatorship. They are crowning their infamous acts with the threat to send a naval task force in the Bay of Bengal.

The CITU is of the opinion that these blackmailing tactics should be countered by declaring a moratorium on all debt payment to the U.S.A. and by nationalising American concerns in India, beginning with oil companies.

The CITU calls upon the working people to frustrate this imperialist inspired aggression and ensure the success of the freedom struggle of the Bangla Desh people. In meeting the challenge of the military dictators, the working class can have no other objective than that of protecting the inviolability of the country and securing the freedom of the people

of Bangla Desh. Every step taken on behalf of the people must strictly conform to these aims. The CITU notes in this connection the declaration on behalf of the Government that India has no territorial claims on Pakistan nor any desire for territorial acquisition.

In face of the emergency created by the war, the CITU calls upon the working class and its affiliated unions to strenuously endeavour to meet the needs of defence and economic effort needed for a successful conclusion of the war.

The major responsibility for ensuring the requisite agreed norms of production rests on the Government and the employers. The policies pursued by the Government and the employers, the worsening economic conditions imposed on the workers—these are the basic causes of industrial unrest which it is the duty of the Government to remove if it is serious about the production efforts. In particular, the Government should take immediate steps to stabilise prices which erode the earning and affect livelihood of the workers and employees and other toilers. The Government should take stringent measures against speculators and ensure fair price to the peasant for their products.

It is besides essential that the Government should withdraw all repressive measures like those in

West Bengal where workers and democratic forces are attacked by hooligans with the connivance of the police. It should release all trade union leaders arrested in West Bengal so that in this vital area, full participation of the working class and democratic forces can be ensured. It should also withdraw all victimisation measures against the Railway, P&T and other Central Government employees.

It should be further ensured that the new burdens will be distributed equitably, according to the capacity to bear. There is no reason why the huge profits that are being piled up for instance by the jute magnates of Calcutta, should not be appropriated for the treasury after providing for whatever may be necessary to meet the urgent demands of the workers.

The CITU is opposed to any statutory restrictions on democratic rights of the workers nor is it prepared to surrender voluntarily any right including the right to strike. It therefore opposes the DIR which curtails the rights of the workers. Past and present experience also shows that it is used mainly against the workers and the democratic movement. To rely upon this, without creating minimum favourable conditions will be to defeat the purpose in view. However, the CITU will always endeavour to see that the workers realise their own responsibility in the present situation and act accordingly.

United Struggle of Kerala Toilers in the Face of Repression

On the understanding reached that the Government will recognise temporary service as entitlement and to make concession in the age limit and to consider sympathetically all other demands of the workers, the 210 days old Satyagraha at the Collectorate Gate at Calicut was withdrawn on 15. 12. 71. In a statement issued by the Employees' Association, it was stated that the utter negligence on the part of the State Government to concede the genuine demands of the workers was responsible for the continuation of the struggle even during the emergency period. They have congratulated all the organisations for extending their unstinted support for the long-drawn struggle.

In the joint meeting of the Cigar workers of Calicut and Malappuram it was decided to launch direct struggle against the management of "Yogi" and "Salam" for their arbitrary action in reducing the wages violating the written agreement.

The 300 Coir workers of Cheruvathur Panchayat continue their struggle demanding increase in salary and other benefits.

The 52-day old Satyagraha Struggle at the gate of Prabhat Engineering Works, Vadagara demanding withdrawal of closure and reinstatement of the retrenched employees, continues. All the attempts of the trade union leaders to put an end to the stalemate ended in failure on account of the adamant attitude of the management. Failing to obtain a decree against the President and Secretary of the Union from the High Court, the management now got the President, Comrad Krishna arrested on the charge of assault.

In addition the management have closed other 7 factories under its control today as a measure of revenge against the workers.

To protest against the illegal retrenchment of an active worker of the union Comrade Velandha, the entire toddy workers of No. 7 Range Parappangandi started Satyagraha movement in front of the toddy shop from 13th December onwards. Enraged by the united struggle of the the workers, the management issued termination notices to all the workers. To make the workers' struggle a success, a Struggle Committee has been set up.

With a view to cripple the struggle of the workers who started agitation against the non-implementation of the agreement, the management's hired goondas attacked the workers as a result of which 4 active workers were admitted to hospital. The goondas escaped in the jeep of the management.

The members of the rightist union in Firvix plywood Factory, Kottayam resigned en-masse (entirely) and joined with the CITU controlled Kottayam Plywood Workers' Union.

The one month old struggle of the Plantation workers of Mulappul, Kottapara, Valapara, Nellithavam of Kallar Vattayar area continue for the restoration of their rights and benefits.

All the workers of the CITU affiliated unions in Ernakulam Dist. observed Demand Day by wearing badges. The demands are 1) Take-over all the closed factories by the Government, 2) Introduce minimum wages, 3) Introduce gratuity at the rate of one month for every

completed year of service, 4) Arrest the rise in price, 5) Solve unemployment, 6) Protect the service conditions and wages of workers etc. etc.

The 24 days' old strike of the firewood boat workers ended in complete success. The demands of the workers such as increase in salary, security of service and other facilities have been accepted by the management. The strike was conducted by the CITU affiliated Ambalapuzha Taluq Loading and Unloading Employees' Union. The management implicated the workers in false cases and got 6 of them arrested in the initial stage as a measure to break the morale of the workers.

The management of Madras Spinning, Palaghat laid off 150 workers on the ground that the goods are not moving from the godown because of the Indo-Pak war. When the union brought this arbitrary action of the management into the notice of the District Labour Office, a conciliation meeting was called on Saturday and the management's representative accepted the offer of the Labour Officer to pay the lay-off wages to the workers even though the workers did not accept the proposal. But immediately after the meeting the management escaped to Coimbatore without paying anything and leaving the other workers who are so far not officially laid off unemployed. The important part of the whole episode is that the P. A. of the District Collector tried to justify the illegal actions of the management in the conciliation meeting held on 14. 12. 71. When the P.A. to Collector took the above stand another section of the officers of the self-styled 'protectors of the interest of the working class' are trying to implicate the workers in some other cases.

The workers of Kottayam Dis-

strict Private Bus decided in their general body meeting (CITU Controlled) to continue strike from 1st January '72 onwards for the implementation of the payment of arrear wages.

The Nelliampati Plantation Workers started continuous strike from 3rd December onwards for the fulfilment of their demands such as increase in wages, confirmation in permanent service etc. The strike is conducted under the joint leadership of CITU, INTUC, HMS, CPLU and the number of unions are 15 and workers involved are above 3000.

Simply because the workers organised themselves to resist the oppression of the management, the British Physical Laboratories, Palghat was put under lock-out. In a meeting of the workers held on 9th December to protest against the highhanded action of the management, a resolution was adopted requesting the State and Central Governments to apply the Preventive Detention Act against the management of B. P. L. which is producing defence equipments.

The workers of Tyre Industry in Kozhikode decided in their meeting held on 6th December to begin continuous strike. The adamant attitude of the management to concede the genuine demands of workers for reasonable increase in salary, Interim Relief and D.A. and their (management's) refusal to attend the conciliation meetings, compelled the employees to take the decision of strike.

In protest against the anti-workmen activities of the AITUC leadership, the Secretary and President and 18 out of 22 total members of the rightist union Chittur-Thattamangalam Municipal workers' Union resigned and joined with the CITU affiliated union, the strength of which was 45.

Demanding increase in basic salary, linking of the D. A. with the cost of living, etc. 530 workers of Ogela Glass Factory, Cochin started indefinite strike from 7th onwards. The CITU and INTUC are participating in this strike.

Raniganj Collieries

(From Page Six)

Pakistan attacked India the rowdies mounted an attack on the workers of the Sri Amritnagar Colliery. Earlier on the day, the Police had searched the workers' quarters and arrested 26 men including the President and the General Secretary of the Colliery Mazdoor Sabha's Branch Committee. The Police returned on December 8 to arrest a total of 95 workers of the same Colliery. In the presence of policemen, the rowdies ransacked workers' homes and threatened them with dire consequences if they did not join unions sponsored by the Congress(R).

On December 10, the rowdies attacked the santhal workers of Sri Amritnagar at Babudanga Village and assaulted them mercilessly. Similar raids were carried out on workers of Tote Tanki, Tosi and East Temehari Collieries during this period

The role of the Police has been as curious as ever. Since it was well-known that the rowdies were operating from a well-organised base in the Lower Kenda Colliery (owned by a Congressman), a general demand was made for the search of a particular dhawra. The Police, on the contrary, ended up with the arrest of several innocent people. The workers of the Sri Amritnagar Colliery, ousted from their home and living, demonstrated in Raniganj on December 9, but the Police made no serious attempt to reinstate them.

Robin Chatterjee, General Secretary of the Colliery Mazdoor Sabha, and Bamapada Mukherjee, former MLA, called on the District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent of Burdwan, but no action has been taken so far.

Monoranjan Roy, M. P. General Secretary, West Bengal Committee of the CITU, in a statement demanded immediate Government intervention to stop these anti-working class practices. He also demanded the reinstatement of 800 Colliery workers of Sri Amritnagar, 700 workers of Nimcha, 150 workers of Selected Scoral, 54 workers of Monoharbahal and 15 workers of South Jairam Dunga who have been thrown out of their jobs in recent weeks.

All India Plantation Workers Conference

Preparations are in full swing in Vandiperiyar, Kerala for the success of the All-India Plantation Workers' Conference to be held on January, 4-5, 1972. The Reception Committee of 501 members is busy making all the arrangements to receive delegates coming from outside.

It is expected that about 200 delegates representing over 50 unions covering a membership of nearly 1 lakh are likely to participate in the Conference. Some unions not affiliated to CITU have also agreed to participate in the Conference.

B. T. Ranadive, President, CITU will inaugurate the Conference.

Monoranjan Roy, M. P., Secretary CITU and Convenor of the Conference will submit a report on the conditions of the Plantation Industry and the workers.

The Conference will also consider the proposal to form an All India Plantation Workers' Federation.

A mass rally will be held on January 5 to explain the decisions of the Conference.

REPORTS FROM UNIONS

Mangalore Beedi Owner Flouts Beedi Act

The Proprietors of Mangalore Ganesh Beedi Works unilaterally decided to start production of beedies through Contractors from December and planned to introduce the same new system in Udipi and Buntwal from January 1972. This owner has also filed a suit in the Supreme Court challenging the validity of the provisions of the Beedi & Cigar Regulations (Central) Act. This has been done deliberately with a motive to deprive lakhs of beedi workers of whatever small benefits available under the present legislation and to avoid implementation of the provisions of the Beedi & Cigar Regulations (Central) Act.

The Beedi Kelasagarara Sangha, Mangalore, has protested against this illegal action of the management. The Union has taken up the matter with the State and Central Governments and asked them to stop these malpractices forthwith.

West German Factory Management's Deliberate Provocation To Workers

On December 10 last, when the country was passing through a crisis due to the Pakistani War, the management of Gonterman Peipers (I) Ltd., a West German firm in Bishnupur, West Bengal resorted to acts of grave provocation to workers in a deliberate move to precipitate a deadlock in production. At 10 P. M. that day, it suddenly and without any justification ordered the suspension of a worker and refused him entry into the factory for the night shift. The united protest of the workers for this illegal and inhuman treatment only invoked further harsh treatment and

insults from the management. Since then the management have been threatening the workers and have resorted to further provocations by suspending two other workers including the Asstt. Secretary and an executive member of the Workers' Union. The Gonterman Peipers Workers' Union have already represented the matter to the West Bengal Governor, the Labour Commissioner and the Chief Secretary, Government of West Bengal but without any result.

Loco Running Staff Demands to stop Victimisation and withdrawal of benefits

The Loco Running Staff Association (S. E. Rly. Zone) has, in a statement, welcomed the step taken by the Government of India in granting recognition to the Republic of Bangladesh and has called upon the Loco Running Staff of S. E. Rly. to do their best to keep the wheels moving in this critical situation. The Association has, however, urged the Government of India, to stop all attempts to snatch away the benefits earned by them through struggles and to withdraw all victimisation measures against the Loco Staff without which people's enthusiasm cannot be unleashed for meeting the critical situation unitedly.

62 days of heroic struggle by N. E. Railwaymen

62 days of continued heroic struggle launched by N. E. Rly. Mazdoor Union at Gorakhpur from September 27, 1971 against retrenchment, corruption, abuse of powers and ruthless victimisation of the union activities by the authorities emerged victorious. More than 10,000 railwaymen participated ignoring the

repression of Police and RPF. Lastly due to the sustained struggle backed by the united actions of the railwaymen led by Comrade Jai Narain Singh the Railway Minister at Delhi agreed to consider the demands of the workers and assured in writing to implement the agreement latest by December 16, 1971.

First Conference of CITU Unions in Delhi

The first Conference of the CITU unions in Delhi State was held in New Delhi on December 19. About 200 delegates and observers representing 14 unions in textile, municipal, hotel, newspaper, construction and mercantile unions in the State participated.

P. Ramamurti, General Secretary, CITU inaugurated the Conference.

The Conference observed two minutes' silence to pay homage to the martyrs and adopted resolutions greeting the people of Bangla Desh, congratulating people of Indo-China for their recent victories against U. S. imperialism and condemning the use of DIR to arrest the trade union leaders including D. Chintan, General Secretary, Municipal Workers' Union, Delhi.

The Conference elected 21 member State Committee including Chacha Shadiram as President and T.M. Nagarajan as General Secretary.

To The Readers

Some readers have complained about non-receipt of "The Working Class." They are requested to immediately write to the Postmaster in their locality in this regard.

Additional copy will be sent to the subscriber only if stocks are available with us.

*Manager
The Working Class.*

Another Paltry Interim Relief By The Third Pay Commission

The Third Pay Commission instead of submitting its final recommendations in time had submitted a report on November 27, recommending second instalment of paltry Interim Relief.

The Commission has consistently refused to go beyond the retrograde recommendations of the Second Pay Commission against which the Central Government Employees had resorted to country wide strikes in 1960 and 1968. By these recommendations the Third Pay Commission has virtually rejected the very concept of need-based minimum wages.

Even while recommending the quantum of 'Interim Relief', the Third Pay Commission had considered only the question of neutralisation of rise in prices after the Second Pay Commission and recommended rates, in the first instance, which failed to neutralise the rise in prices in money value except those in pay range below Rs. 85. As a result of this, the Central Government Employees would continue to experience deterioration in their living standard with rising prices. Hence one can characterise the Third Pay Commission only as a Dearness Allowance Commission.

The Commission further sticks to the pernicious theory that wages should not be lined with prices and D. A. should be granted only after the price rises upto 10 points over a period of 12 months. The present Interim Relief covers 228 price index (1949=100) and no relief will be granted to the workers unless the average index goes up to 238 for 12 months. The index for September 1971 has already reached

238 but the employees will have to wait for one year to get a higher D. A.

Lastly, the quantum of D. A., which was reduced by Gajendra-gadkar Commission, has further been reduced in some cases as will be seen from the following table. The Central Government Employees between the pay ranges from 110 to 499 are still denied what S. K. Das Commission had granted them. Those in pay ranges between 450—499 have been given less than Gajendragadkar Award.

Quantum of Dearness Allowance

Pay Ranges	As per Das Commission	As per Gajendragadkar Commission	Second Instalment of Interim Relief.
Below 85	6.00	6.00	7.00
85—109	6.00	6.00	8.00
110—149	9.00	7.00	8.00
150—209	12.00	8.00	8.00
210—399	15.00	9.00	10.00
440—449	15.00	10.00	10.00
450—499	15.00	11.00	10.00
500—575	15.00	12.00	15.00

Murderous Attack on T.U. Leaders and Workers by Anti-Socials

For some time past notorious anti-social elements have been mounting repeated attacks on the T. U. Leaders and workers of Veegal Engines and Engineering Ltd, in Dum Dum near Calcutta. The management of the factory were informed of this but without any result whatsoever. On December 9, when the workers were leaving the factory in the afternoon, these anti-social elements attacked the workers at the factory gate taking advantage of the black-out and kidnapped Swapn Chatterjee, Secretary of the Workers' Union, Amarendra Rakshit, member of the Union Executive and Pradip Deb

Though it appears that the lowest income brackets have been given higher relief the higher quantum is mainly due to the higher level of money wages in comparison with those prevailing at the time of earlier Commissions.

What is most surprising is that the Government have announced that the arrears for the period from October 71 to December 71 would be credited to Provident Fund. Thus the employees have been denied the immediate benefits due to them.

The Second interim relief only highlights the need for further united struggles of the Central Government employees for need-based wage.

with the intention of murdering them. This murderous gang took them to a lonely place, barbarously assaulted them and left their unconscious bodies in the dark on Jessore Road.

The Veegal & Engineering Workers' Union (affiliated to CITU), has vehemently condemned this murderous attack on the T. U. Leaders and workers and has demanded that the management immediately take up the matter with the police and force them to take steps against these known anti-socials, arrange for the security of the workers and employees, grant special leave and medical expenses to the injured workers and grant lump financial assistance to the family of Manab Das who was murdered by the anti-socials.

What Next ?

(From Page Two)

be unleashed as an aftermath of the war.

The working class and the people of India no doubt are profoundly moved by the struggle and sufferings of the Bangladesh people and would like to do everything possible for them and for the refugees. But the Govt., exploiting this sentiment, is seeking to impose one-sided burdens on the common man, in the name of helping the refugees. As a result of official policies, prices of daily necessities are rising higher and higher, eroding the real wages of the workers. Heavy additional taxation is also cutting away a slice from his income. The fraudulent and manipulated consumers' price index number further is concealing the real rise in the cost of living. Over and above that the Defence of India provisions are being used to suppress legitimate strikes as in the case of Hindustan Teleprinters workers in Madras.

At the same time, the capitalists, monopolists, speculators, are allowed to gather huge profits—and escape with verbal sallies. The jute barons of West Bengal are making unimaginable profits. Yet the Govt. has done nothing to compel them to meet the demands of the jute workers.

The working class cannot put up with this state of affairs and must be ready to fight the imposition of additional burdens. All central organisations must come together to foil this game of making the working class and the people the scapegoat of the war.

Danger Facing The T. U. Movement

Far more serious is the situation in W. Bengal, where under the Pre-

sident's Rule, Indira Gandhi's Govt. continues its semi-fascist repression during the days of war also. Mass raids by Congress goondas with the aid of the police are carried on against working class, peasants and middle class localities. Trade union and other leaders are murdered. And the murderers escape with the least effort. Under President's Rule 97 industrial workers have been murdered in W. Bengal up to 16th March, 1970. The police often accompany the raiders to prevent any resistance. The working class of India, the CITU affiliated unions have failed to comprehend the danger facing the trade union movement of the country.

The role played by the AITUC leaders in W. Bengal is despicable in as much as they screen the Government misdeeds and help the attacks against the trade unions of the CITU.

The CITU unions must rouse the working class against this attack and demand an end to it.

Ruling Congress Using Bangladesh Issue To win Elections

The working class must realise that the ruling Congress party is using the Bangladesh issue to bolster itself. It claims all the credit for the bloodshed by the Indian forces, for the heroic deeds of the Mukti Bahini and it is using it to secure votes in the coming elections so that its bourgeois-landlord governments can again rule the States and impose their anti-people policies. It refuses to withdraw the emergency all over the country.

The fact is that the Govt. vacillated till the last before giving help to Bangladesh. It was the trade unions and democratic parties that were foremost in demanding all-out

support to Bangladesh. It was the united people and the armed forces along with the Mukti Bahini that made the victory possible. The Congress party should not be allowed to use it as its own achievement for electoral purposes. And its design to impose fresh burdens on the people under this screen must be exposed.

Annual Conference Of Oriental Power Cables Employees' Union (Rajasthan)

The Annual Conference of Oriental Power Cables Employees' Union was held in Kota (Rajasthan) on December 8. The Conference adopted resolutions greeting the people of Vietnam and Bangladesh for their heroic fight for liberation, condemning the role of U. S. Imperialism for its role in Indo-China and Bangladesh and warning it to keep its hands off Asia, condemning the dismissal of 45 leaders of State and Central Government Employees in West Bengal, condemning the semi-fascist terror let loose by the Government of India in West Bengal with a view to crush the mass movements there and demanding immediate withdrawal of CRP and Military from West Bengal. The Conference also adopted resolutions expressing solidarity with and support for the struggle of workers and peasants of Rajasthan and elsewhere, including the struggle of the Textile Workers of Sree Gopal Mill, Sree Ram Rayon and Nagpal Woollen Mills of Rajasthan. The Conference unanimously elected a 32-member Executive Committee including K.L. Jain as President and N. C. Ajad as General Secretary.

Government's Bid To Impose Industrial Truce Foiled

The Union Labour Minister R. K. Khadilkar convened a tripartite meeting in New Delhi on December 16 to discuss the situation arising out of war imposed on India by the military Junta of Pakistan. The bureaucrats of the Labour Ministry prepared a draft of the declaration by all the participants in the Conference. Though the representatives of the employers, Naval Tata, Singhanian and others, welcomed the declaration, the trade union representatives rejected it as it was almost a carbon copy of the notorious industrial truce signed during 1962 in the wake of India-China conflict.

Even the representatives of the INTUC and HMS expressed their sad experience about utilisation of such declarations by the employers for their selfish ends. The AITUC representatives, though they signed the earlier truce, rejected the draft circulated in the meeting. Representatives of these organisations however reiterated the declaration of the meeting held on December 5 under the Chairmanship of the Union Labour minister. The declaration gave green signal to the employers to increase undue work load on the workers in the name of maximising production. Several representatives however stated that they would be free to launch struggles as soon as the shooting war was over.

P. Ramamurti, General Secretary, CITU while expressing solidarity with the struggle of the people of Bangladesh criticised the Government

and the employers for not relying on the people for defence effort. He made it clear that CITU representative Md. Ismail in the earlier meeting on December 5 categorically stated that CITU was not a party to the declaration. Ramamurti demanded release of the detainees, withdrawal of DIR and other legislation that curbed the T. U. and democratic right of the workers.

The CITU circulated a note in the meeting clarifying its stand on the question (Please see page 14 of this issue).

The meeting however ended without any conclusion, and the Union Labour Minister announced that a Committee would be appointed to work out the details of the implementation of the earlier declaration.

CITU was represented in the meeting by P. Ramamurti, General Secretary, Md. Ismail, M. P., Vice-President and M. K. Pandhe, Secretary.

A.I. Plantation Workers' Conference Postponed

The All-India Plantation Workers' Conference which was scheduled to be held in Vandiperiyar, Kerala on January 4-5 1972 has been postponed for unavoidable reasons. Next date of the conference will be announced in due course. (News of the said Conference appears on page 16 of this issue.)

CITU PUBLICATIONS

Forward To Unity And Struggle
Proceedings and Documents of the All-India Trade Union Conference, Calcutta, May, 1970 Rs. 3'00

Durgapur Workers Fight Back
Repression

An Account of the Heroic Struggle of the Working People of Durgapur against Police Repression. 50 P.

Against Repression and Disruption
Resolutions of the CITU Working Committee Meeting held at Jaipur October, 1970. 40P.

Constitution of the CITU
(English & Hindi) 40P.

Indian Railwaymen Forge Ahead

By Nrisingha Chakravarty

(English, Bengali & Hindi)

20P./20P./30P.

Employees Family Pension
Scheme-A Hoax

Explanatory note submitted by Com. M. K. Pandhe to the General Council Meeting held at Coimbatore & the Resolution adopted at the Meeting. 20P.

Samyukta Trade Union Andolanki
Nayi Disha

Concluding Speech of Com. B.T. Ranadive in the CITU Foundation Conference (in Hindi) 40P.

Unmask And Defeat Anti-Labour
Policies of the Congress Govt.

CITU's Appeal to all the Central T.U. Organisations and National Federations. 40P.

Surging Tide of Working Class
Struggles

Report of Com. P. Ramamurti to the General Council Meeting held at Coimbatore June 11-14, 1971 & Resolutions. Rs. 1'25

Book Your Orders With

Centre of Indian Trade Unions

172, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-13

National Book Agency (P) Ltd.

2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Cal-12.