

# CITU

## 13<sup>TH</sup> ALL INDIA CONFERENCE



### CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS

**A CITU PUBLICATION**



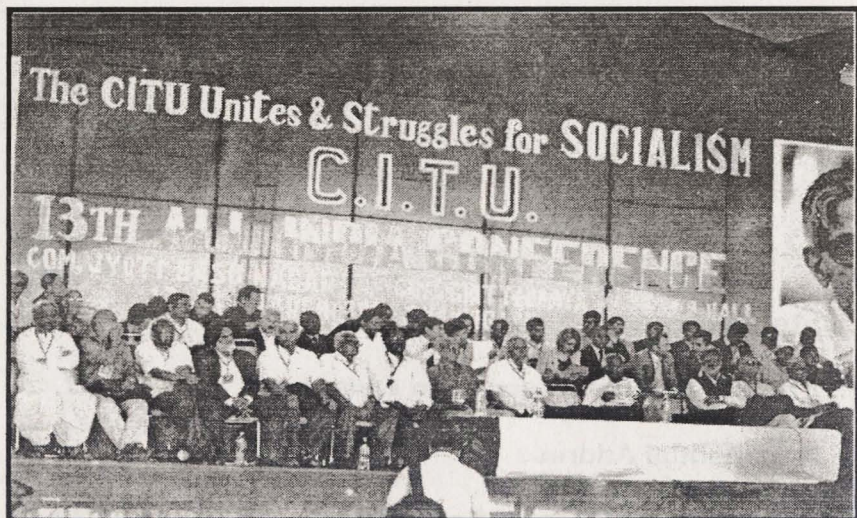
**CITU**  
**13th All India Conference**

**March 17 - 21, 2010,  
Chandigarh**

**DOCUMENTS**

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# FOREWORD

As has been the practice since several all India Conferences, this time too the CITU is bringing out this publication, which is a compilation of the documents adopted by its Thirteenth Conference, held at Chandigarh on 17 – 21 March 2010. It also includes the report of the 9th convention of the All India Coordination Committee of Working Women held in Thiruvananthapuram on 8-9 January 2010 which was ratified by the Thirteenth Conference of CITU. The papers discussed in six Commissions and adopted by the Conference will be published separately soon.

All these documents incorporate the outlook and approach of CITU to the contemporary national and international situation, to the problems faced by the Indian working class and the people in general and the tasks that CITU has set before itself in its efforts to fulfil its objectives in organising the working class. We are sure that these publications will serve as a guide to action for all CITU activists and cadres. We also hope that these documents will be of interest to all the others working on the issues of the working class.

As the Thirteenth Conference of CITU pointed out, the period ahead is a period of challenges. The UPA II government, feeling 'unshackled' from its obligation to heed the sane voices of the Left parties in the Parliament, is in a haste to complete its unfinished agenda of neo liberal 'reforms'. In the process it is imposing unprecedented burdens on the common people and resorting to increasing attacks on the working class. The period ahead is, as the Conference pointed out, a period of opportunities. The failures of the capitalist system are being increasingly exposed all over the world. Increasing sections of workers and other toiling people are getting disenchanted with the government and its policies and are coming into struggles. These opportunities need to be utilised to build a strong unity of the working class at the grass root level and intensify the

struggles to protect their rights.

We believe that all the state committees of CITU, the affiliated unions and industrial federations will utilise all these publications to educate the rank and file of the organisation and help them in implementing the tasks set out by the Thirteenth Conference of CITU and in building a strong CITU.

Let us all together make the Thirteenth Conference of CITU a milestone in the trade union movement of the country.

**A K PADMANABHAN**  
**President**

July 8, 2010

# Thirteenth Conference of CITU – AN OVERVIEW

The 13th Conference of CITU was held on 17-21 March 2010 in Chandigarh, Punjab. 2410 delegates including 357 women from 24 states representing a membership of 50,50,942 attended the conference. In addition, 12 fraternal delegates, 13 observers and 32 foreign delegates from 16 countries including 2 delegates from ILO also participated in the Conference.

The venue of the Conference was named Jyoti Basu Nagar after the veteran leader of the trade union and democratic movement of the country and Vice President of CITU; the hall where the delegates' session was held was named E Balanandan Hall after the former President of CITU.

The Conference started with the hoisting of the CITU flag by its President, MK Pandhe, at 10.00 AM on 17th March, and paying of tributes to the Martyrs' column by the delegates.

Chairman, reception committee welcomed the delegates in the inaugural session in which MK Pandhe delivered the Presidential address. Leaders of all the major central trade unions who attended the inaugural session, George Mavrikos, general secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions and Andre Bogui from ILO spoke in the inaugural session.

Mohammed Amin, general secretary of CITU placed the report. Kanai Bannerjee, Treasurer, placed the statement of accounts. 59 Delegates including 10 women delegates participated in the discussion on General Secretary's report and Statements of Accounts and broadly endorsed the formulations and observations made in the General Secretary's Report. The overall level of discussion in the conference reflected the increase in the consciousness of the delegates. Political and organisational issues, challenges envisaged and critical comments on the activities comprised the main contents of deliberations, reflecting the seriousness of the whole conference.

The Conference discussed six important topics – ‘Revolutionary Ideology of the Working Class – Neo Liberal Offensive and the Trade Unions’, ‘Unity of the Working Class and Our Approach’, ‘Safety, Health and Environment’, ‘Organising Working Women – Our Objectives’, ‘Challenges, ‘Challenges in Organising Unorganised Workers’ and ‘News Media and the Working Class’. The discussions in the Commissions were lively and evoked much interest and enthusiasm. 255 delegates took part in discussions. Many delegates gave their suggestions/ views in writing. The deliberations in the Commissions as well as the written suggestions broadly endorsed the analysis and formulations made in the Commission papers.

A session of the Conference was devoted for the discussion on the ‘Declaration on the Tasks of CITU Among Working Women’, which was based on the recommendations made by 9th Convention of All India Coordination Committee of Working Women (CITU), which was held on 8-9 January 2010 in Thiruvananthapuram. The ‘Declaration’ was unanimously adopted after 27 delegates participated in the discussion.

The report of the Credential Committee was placed by Kanai Bannerjee. The Conference noted the need to increase the proportion of the actual workers and also the representation of women in the total delegates.

The General Secretary’s report along with the Statement of Accounts was unanimously adopted after Mohammed Amin summed up the discussions. The Conference also unanimously adopted several important resolutions including on ‘Trade Union Unity’, ‘Against Maoist Trinamool Attacks in West Bengal’, ‘On Price Rise’, ‘On Agrarian Crisis and Worker Peasant Alliance’, ‘On Unemployment’, ‘On Centenary of International Women’s Day’, ‘On 50th Anniversary of Cuban Revolution’, ‘On Solidarity with the People of Palestine’ etc.

A new team of 35 Office Bearers with AK Padmanabhan as the President, Tapan Sen as General Secretary and Ranjana Nirula as Treasurer, 16 Vice Presidents and 16 Secretaries was unanimously elected by the Conference. 20% of the new Office Bear-

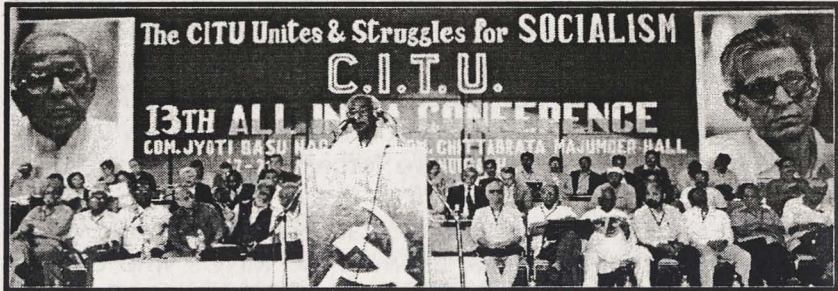
ers including the Treasurer were women. MK Pandhe and Mohammed Amin will continue to guide the movement as Vice Presidents.

The autobiography of Mohammed Amin in Hindi, 'Jeevan ki Dhoop Chaaon' - an inspiring tale of his life and struggles as part of the trade union movement and CITU, was released by MK Pandhe in the Conference. MK Pandhe concluded the thirteenth conference with his inspiring speech which outlined the future course for strengthening the organisation and advancing the trade union movement in the country.

The Punjab State Committee of CITU, with the cooperation of several other mass organisations made good arrangement for holding the conference and for the stay and transportation of delegates. A large number of volunteers, particularly anganwadi employees, worked tirelessly for the successful conduct of the Conference.



# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS



**Dear Comrades,**

Since we met in 12th Conference of CITU at Bangalore several important developments have taken place in national and international arena that we have to analyze in depth and decide our future course of action. We are meeting at a time when the world is at crossroads and the working class has to make a positive contribution in shaping the destiny of the world.

The nature had been very unkind to CITU since the last conference. Five top leaders of the CITU have departed from us since we met at Bangalore. Jyoti Basu our revered Vice President since the inception has left us at the age of 95 in January last. Chittabrata Majumdar our former General Secretary passed away soon after the last Conference. E. Balanandan our former President and prominent trade union leader of India breathed his last in January 2009. Ranjit Basu our treasurer passed away in September 2008 after prolonged illness. W.R. Varadarajan our Secretary for a decade is no more due to his committing suicide making us extremely sad and dejected.

## **GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS**

The recent global capitalist crisis has brought to the forefront

the inevitability of the periodic crisis in a capitalist system. It did not remain confined to one country alone but spread in all the capitalist countries, making it a general crisis of capitalism. The roots of crisis therefore can be clearly seen in the way capitalism operates. Despite development of new technology and automation the average growth of production in the whole capitalist world does not exceed 2 to 3 per cent per annum indicating inability to the capitalist system to use new technology to strengthen the productive forces.

As a result of globalization speculative trade got a powerful boost whose real beneficiaries were the MNCs who operate through worldwide financial institutions. During 2007 for example, speculative trade in commodity market was five times bigger than the total trade in stock market. It has reached a scandalous proportions when it was revealed that it was ten times larger than the world GDP.

In their thirst for higher profits the Finance Capital at a global level resorted to the use of creation of artificial economy by using mortgage backed securities whose real value was much below their face value. Many of these securities became insecure which were characterized as sub-prime mortgages. (A sub-prime loan or mortgage is a deal by the bank where as the capacity of the borrower to repay the loan is not verified). The value of such sub-prime mortgages reached a colossal figure of \$ 1.2 trillion (Rs.47 lakh crores). This development was correctly characterized by some U.S. economists as casino economy or bubble economy. Since this formed a sizable portion of the U.S. mortgage market of \$ 10.2 trillion (Rs.4794 lakh crores). The tycoons who operate the financial market did not even properly care to see whether the borrower had capacity to repay which resulted in money getting locked up and bank coffers became empty which ultimately led to a collapse of the market leading to virtual bankruptcy.

The journal "Thought" published by Forum of Scientists, Engineers and technologists, Kolkata while pointing out the growth of sub-prime mortgages in U.S.A. noted, "In 2001, the share of sub-prime loans in total mortgages obtained in a particular year

was 7%, it rose to 11% in 2004 and to 20 per cent in 2006. But simultaneously volume of sub-prime loans outstanding jumped from \$140 billion, in 2000 to approximately \$350-400 billion in 2006. In 2000 only about 15% of the sub-prime loans were undocumented having no documental evidence of place of work, income level etc. By 2006 the share of undocumented sub-prime loans increased to 45%”.

The prosperity of U.S.A. was partly based on “unreal economy” created by widespread speculation. Many U.S.A. citizens lived on borrowed money. Some economists estimated that the expenditure of US. citizens was 60 per cent more than their income, mainly because of borrowed money. The U.S. public debt reached the level of \$10.3 trillion, highest in the world which increased twice during the regime of President Bush alone! The imperialist war in Iraq cost about \$3 trillion to U.S. exchequer. The current account deficit in U.S. budget during 2008 reached over \$ 1 trillion, highest ever in U.S. history!

The deceit and fraud by the Financial tycoons in U.S.A. was witnessed in the most glaring manner when Bernard L. Madoff former Chairman of NASDAC, an agency which works out the share price index, was arrested by Federal agencies on the charge of allegedly running “Panzi Scheme” which has now been exposed as a scheme fraudulently offering unusually high returns with early investors being paid off with money from later investors. The total fraud was estimated to be \$ 50 billion and all investors lost their money. He was also involved in running a hedge fund racket and defrauded several investors. If found guilty, he would be imprisoned for 20 years and a huge fine.

An attempt is being made to-day to explain that the economic crisis in U.S.A. was the result of acute greed of some Chief executives of some financial companies. They purposefully ignore that it was a crisis of system and such crisis would occur again and again so long the capitalist system prevails. The drive towards privatization and market economy always leads to speculative tendencies and capitalist mode of production is bound to create such a crisis. In 1999 the US Government passed a Financial Services Modernization Act which gave

complete freedom to financial institutions to go by the mechanism of market economy.

In a deregulated market economy the Finance Capital created artificial boom in the economy by pumping money, both real and unreal, into the market through unrestricted and unscrutinised loan in the housing sector. In the early stages the home prices rose to 80% in a short span which provoked competition among the financial institutions to become more liberal in granting loan. For instance, by 1982 home purchaser had to deposit 20 per cent of the sale price of the house as a condition to get loan from the bank which came down to 15% then to 10% and ultimately it reached the bottom level of 5% of the sale value of the house. This developed a craze among the population to purchase houses by depositing a small amount without thinking whether they would ultimately pay the amount. It was thus an artificial boom which created a bubble to burst after some time.

A large number of mortgaged bank securities were purchased by financial institutions and traded in the share market. Though the face value of these securities was more than the real value, it helped boosting share market artificially for some time. However, the borrowers of the housing loan could not repay them and the borrowers were prepared to handover the house instead of loan amount. This led to bringing down the prices of housing all over America. In many cases the value of the houses became much less than the money borrowed by the persons who preferred to surrender the house than repay the loan. This created a chain reaction all over U.S.A. which was known as Sub-prime mortgage crisis. The banks had no money to pay to the depositors. All this triggered a crisis in financial banks in U.S.A. and created a situation when banks had to declare that they faced bankruptcy.

The U.S. economic bubble busted when Lehman Brothers, owners of the topmost investment bank became bankrupt. Another giant U.S. investment bank Merrill Lynch also faced bankruptcy which could be saved only when it was taken over by Bank of America. Morgan Stanley and Goldman Sachs were

also hit by the crisis and with the U.S. Government's financial help they were merged and functioned as ordinary commercial banks. The largest U.S. insurance company AIG faced repayment crunch and it could be bailed out only after the Govt. injected \$ 85 billion from U.S. treasury. Some of the giant financial companies had turnover more than GDP of some developing countries. Those who opposed Government intervention in economic matters had to ask for nationalization of toxic assets of the bankrupt companies. U.S. Government had to shell out \$ 700 billion from tax payers' money to save those companies from collapsing.

With the advent of globalization several foreign companies had invested in U.S.A. while several U.S. companies had investments in other countries. The crisis in U.S.A. thus spread to other countries and soon acquired the shape of a global crisis. U.K. Government had to provide £ 400 billion of tax-payers money to save the banks from collapsing. All countries in European union had to prepare a bail out package of 1.8 trillion euros (\$ 2.4 trillion) to save the bankruptcy of their banking system while Iceland had to nationalize all the banks to save them from utter bankruptcy.

The crisis was of bigger magnitude than 1930 world capitalist crisis. The GDP of most of the capitalist countries declined due to the crisis. Several industrial units had to close down due to the shrinkage of market. Obama had announced action against employers outsourcing of jobs to developing countries like China and India. The Capitalist Governments announced some regulations to govern the banking operations but could not restore the loss suffered due to the global economic crisis.

The capitalism attempted to put the burden of the crisis on the shoulders of the working class and the poor people. ILO estimated that as a result of the global crisis the unemployment level in the world is likely to reach 20 crore! The bailout package was given to MNCs and financial tycoons but no relief was given to the workers who lost their jobs due to severe recession engulfing the economy.

The tax burden of the bail out packages ultimately fell on the working class and the common people. The collapse of the share markets in leading capitalist countries resulted in workers losing trillions of dollars of their pension funds, which were invested by the pension authorities in speculative activities. In several countries wage cuts were imposed on the workers, adversely affecting their living standards.

Consumers who constitute bulk of the common people were fleeced by the capitalists by charging them higher prices for their production under the rules of market economy which further adversely affected their living standards. According to UNESCO Report food prices increased by 80 per cent during the last five years. Downsizing of manpower and enhancing the workload on the workers in the name of cutting down costs became a global phenomenon.

To blunt the edge of working class struggles, attack on their trade union rights acquired a global character. Elementary trade union and democratic rights of the workers were undermined to suit the interests of the capitalist class. Those who were not responsible for the global crisis suffered most while those who created the crisis received all the protection by the capitalist state power.

The global economic crisis had several impact on the Indian economy. Indian exports were drastically reduced and the textile and garment, leather, engineering goods, jewellery, diamond cutting industries were seriously affected. There was a drastic slowdown in Indian economy and there was a reduction in industrial output. According to the Assocham about a crore of workers lost their source of livelihood due to the global crisis.

Indian banking industry did not collapse because the banks were owned by the Government. Even the Life Insurance Corporation was not affected since it was in the public sector. If the UPA Govt. would have succeeded in privatizing these sectors, the impact of the crisis in India would have been more severe.

In line with other advanced capitalist countries, the UPA Government announced liberal "Stimulous" package estimating Rs.5 lakh crore to save the Indian industry. However, no relief was given to the workers who were the worst victims of the crisis. The experience of bail out package has shown that the amount pumped in, only fattened the big business houses, both Indian and foreign.

Imposition of 12 hours day work, enhancement of workload on the workers, closing down industrial units without following the legal procedure, retrenchment of workforce without paying statutory compensation became the order of the day. The Government of India callously connived at these depredations to save the big business houses and their profitability.

### **MYTH OF CAPITALIST RECOVERY**

The champions of globalisation and market economy have started claiming at the top of their voice that the bottom level of the crisis has been reached and a recovery of the economy has started. They ignore the high rate of unemployment that is prevailing in all capitalist countries and the price rise of all essential commodities which has considerably brought down the standard of life of the common people. The collapse of General Motors, one of the largest car manufactures in the world, has once again blown up the myth that the crisis is gradually coming to an end. These champions are hiding from the public that the character of the crisis has changed due to billion of dollars given to the MNCs and big business houses form the public exchequer.

The advanced capitalist countries have passed on part of the burden of the crisis of the developing countries by enhancing their exports and restricting the imports from the developing countries.

As we have noted earlier in India, about Rs.5 lakh crores were given to the capitalists on a platter in the name of bail out packages. The UPA Govt is not withdrawing stimulous packages completely since it knows that profitability of the under-

takings in private sector depends on mainly the money injected by the Government into the coffers of these companies. The higher profitability in rise in GDP is reflected in the bail out given by the Government to the corporate houses. The unemployment and price rise continues to be high in India. It is nothing but transfer of money from the pockets of poor to the rich strata of society.

The situation in Europe continues to be grave which was clearly seen in aggravating the economic crisis. The Wall Street Journal in its issue of 13th February 2010 noted, "Europe is entering unprepared into a serious economic crisis – and the nascent global recovery could easily collapse – due to unsustainable build up of Government debt in weaker counties," The article was referring to the acute debt crisis in Greece which resulted in foreign investors leaving the country and its banking system verged near collapse. The bank credit financed rapid expansion over the past decade, while in late 2008 these bubbles collapsed.

The journal noted, "Greece's dysfunctional economy is now at the heart of rescue effort that could be disastrous to the entire continent – and the rest of the world". However, the situation was not confined to Greece alone. The European central bank found it difficult to provide fund to all the countries of Europe. As the journal observed, "other countries also can be cut off from easy ECB funding, so worries have spread through the euro zone to Spain and Portugal, Island and Italy are also up for hostile consideration by the markets, and Austria and Belgium may not be far behind. If these problems are not addressed quickly and effectively, Europe recovery will be derailed with serious, if hard to qualify, implications for the rest of the world".

The Report therefore concluded, "Financial markets are telling us - euro zone is under threat, but real message is much broader. Unsustainable debt dynamics can undermine us all". The spokesmen of the Govt. of Greece however criticized Germany for interference in their internal affairs since it was advised to privatize public sector and cut the wages of public

sector employees which was resolutely opposed by trade unions.

Though U.S.A. continues to be the largest capitalist economy in the world its role in global capitalism is declining which is also reflected in waning influences of the U.S. dollar as a global currency. It has a near monopoly position in the international transactions till the mid fifties of the last century. However in 2009 U.S. dollar accounted for 44 per cent of the global financial transactions. The Euro has emerged as a new international currency at the beginning of 1999 and today it accounts for 25 per cent of the global transactions. The value of U.S. dollar has been continuously declining. In 1999 when euro emerged, its value was equivalent to \$0.80. Now euro is equivalent to over \$1.50 indicating the decline in the value of U.S. dollar by about 50 per cent as against euro. China has already called for another global currency to replace U.S. dollar in view of its unstable character.

### **WHITHER OBAMA'S POLICIES?**

The euphoria created in U.S. and world over after Barack Obama, a black American with muslim origin, for the first time became President of the world's largest imperialist power. His call for "change", created a feeling among millions all over the globe that he would strike for a new world order based on social justice. Within a short span of his assuming office he was given Nobel Prize of peace. However, events have shown that he remained true to the class which brought him to power.

Though he expressed sympathy for the people of Palestine he did not insist that Israeli settlers should vacate the land of Palestine forcibly occupied by them. Even he failed to act firmly after the UN report on illegal settlements was published. He continued military occupation of Iraq and refused to give up the MNCs oil interests in that country. He increased 30 thousand U.S. troops in Afghanistan and killed a large number civilian population through Drone attacks. In Sudan he continued to carry forward aggressive policies of Bush administration and interference in internal affairs of that country. He gave military

assistance to Taiwan and created difficulties in peaceful unification of Chinese motherland. He openly encouraged the Dalai Lama in his splitting activities in Tibet by meeting him despite Chinese protests.

Despite universal opinion of the people in Latin America regarding lifting of decade long economic blockade of Cuba Obama administration continues to carry forward the blockade and he has refused to give up help to reactionary forces in Cuba against the Socialist Government of Cuba.

In Honduras, Obama administration refused to recognize the democratically elected President and gave legitimacy to a coup leader by holding the force of another election. In Columbia the Obama administration continues to bolster the drug lords and the stooge Government to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Columbian people. Obama administration continues to endorse the derogatory clauses of the Indo-US nuclear deal which has adversely affected India's sovereignty.

Obama continues to establish anti-missile defence system in Europe though the location of the anti missile defence has been changed which was strongly opposed by Russia. He continues anti-Iran policies and keeps tension in the middle east.

U.S. has 130 military bases all over the world. Obama administration has not taken any step to dismantle any of these military basis and thus he in essence is carrying forward the Bush administration's hegemonistic policies of becoming a world policeman.

## **NEW UPSURGE IN LATIN AMERICA**

The special summit of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) held in Rio Negro (Argentina) on 28th August 2009 decided to oppose foreign military basis in the countries of Latin America. The participants opposed the agreement between the stooge Government of Columbia and U.S.A. granting long term access to three air bases, two army installations

and two naval ports. The main purpose behind the deal was to fight the revolutionary armed forces of Columbia (FARC). The participant countries demanded reinstatement of ousted President of Honduras Manuel Zelaya.

Another grouping called Bolivarian Alliance for the Americans known as ALBA came into existence to counter the U.S. led Free Trade Agreement by Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia. Later on Nicaragua, Honduras, Ecuador and smaller Caribbean nations joined for economic co-operation and integration.

In a meeting of organization of American States (OAS) which included USA and Canada but excluded Cuba, most of the Latin American countries demanded inclusion of Cuba in the organization and opposed blockade of Cuba.

In Ecuador, after the election of Rafael Correa as President, he demanded withdrawal of U.S. military bases. Ecuador is giving shelter to 5-6 lakh refugees from Columbia and supporting their liberation struggle. Venezuela has already opposed U.S. imperialism strongly and taken first steps against U.S. oil companies operating in Venezuela. Bolivia elected Eva Morales as President who has nationalized foreign oil companies and chalked out the path of independent economic development. In Brazil Lula Government has already taken steps to develop independent economy and opposed the policies of globalisation

Except Columbia and Chile in most of the Latin American countries Leftists have either formed Governments or have strengthened their position in national situation

Latin America which was considered as a backyard of U.S. imperialism has now become front runner in the struggle against globalization and U.S. imperialist machinations. An international conference Against Globalization and for T.U. Rights (SIGTUR) is being held at Sao Paulo from 18th to 23rd April 2010 to strengthen the international struggle against globalisation The CITU welcomes this proposal and wish it a grand success. We are sending a delegation to participate in this important conference.

## **SPECTACULAR ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES**

Since our last Conference the Socialist countries have made spectacular achievements, despite worldwide downturn of capitalist economies. China with its 130 crore population is being characterized even by the capitalist economists as engine of growth of world economy. As a result of global economic crisis Chinese exports suffered a jolt, but by introducing a pro-people stimulus package China had overcome the disadvantages and continue to grow its economy by 9 per cent per annum. China produces more than 550 million tonnes of steel while U.S. does only 100 million tonnes. It has surpassed Germany as the largest exporter of goods and is on the verge of overtaking Japanese economy to become the second largest economy next to U.S.A. If the present trend of economic growth continues China may overtake U.S.A. by 2030 as visualized by several U.S. economists. Chinese economy is facing problem of uneven growth and the Govt. is taking steps to develop weaker areas to ensure all round development of the country.

The economy of Vietnam has also progressed remarkably and standard of living of the people has improved drastically during the last 3 years. Like China Vietnamese economy has recorded growth despite slowdown in global capitalist economy.

Valiant Cuba continues its economic progress despite inhuman blockade imposed by U.S. imperialism for decades. We have just observed 50th Anniversary of Cuban revolution. Five heroic heroes of Cuba who are being vindictively penalized by U.S. imperialists in U.S.A. are receiving wide support and demand for their unconditional release is being raised all over the world. Advances made by Cuba in Socialist construction despite adverse conditions has no parallel in the world. Yet Cuba is expressing solidarity with other countries by sending doctors to various developing countries. On behalf of all the delegates we salute the heroic people of Cuba and their beloved leader Fidel Castro!

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is resisting the

U.S. imperialist machinations and nuclear blackmail. The people of North Korea stand erect despite repeated threats of U.S. imperialism. We support the just struggle of the Korean people for national unification and demand withdrawal of the U.S. troops from South Korea.

The Socialist countries are a source of strength for the world wide struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation and for achievement of lasting peace and socialism.

## **BRIC ALLIANCE**

The emergence of alliance formed between Russia, China, India and Brazil (BRIC) on May 14, 2008 in a meeting of foreign Ministers in Yekaterinburg (Russia) was an important development in multilateral international relations. These countries constitute 40 per cent of the world population and their combined GDP is half of it in G8 countries. These major emerging countries in the world have a big potential to challenge the supremacy of G8 countries at a global level. These countries have potential to surpass GDP of G8 countries by 2020 which will acquire a significant factor in the shape of world events. The communiqué issued by the BRIC alliance stated, "The Ministers noted that sustainable development of the global economy is the long term perspective, as well as finding solution to the acute global problems of our time, such as poverty, hunger and disease are only possible if due account is taken of the interests of all nations and within a just global economic system."

Earlier the Shanghai Group formed by Russia, China and Central Asian countries have built a powerful strategic alliance challenging the very existence of the unipolar world. India has an observer status in this alliance. Strengthening of this alliance will powerfully counteract the imperialist machinations and hegemonists ambitious.

## **SITUATION IN OUR NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES**

The recent visit of Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina

to India in the month of January this year had been a landmark in India's relations with its eastern neighbors, as she herself spoke about historic opportunity to build a new and forward looking relationship with India. A significant development in Bangladesh in the recent past was the bringing to justice the heinous killers of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman after decades of inordinate delay due to the machinations of fundamentalist forces in Bangladesh.

During the visit of Sheikh Hasina, five important agreements were signed relating to tackling cross border crime and combating terrorism, one billion U.S. dollar credit to develop infrastructure in Bangladesh, commitment to supply of 250 megawatts of power to Bangladesh, duty free access for goods into India and Indian investments in Bangladesh. A proper implementation of the agreement will certainly strengthen the ties of friendship between the two countries.

Our Southern neighbour Sri Lanka witnessed a bloody military action against LTTE by Mahindra Rajapaksa Government. The army Chief Sarat Fonseka played an important role in the protracted action that led to annihilation of LTTE and V. Prabhakaran was killed in the armed action. Rajapaksa highly praised Fonseka for his leadership in defeating LTTE and announced early polls with a view to capitalize on the favorable situation. He rarely expected Fonseka would be his opposition candidate. The electoral battle was full of charges and counter charges against each other and ultimately Rajapaksa won the elections hands down. Fonseka charged irregularity in conducting the elections but Rajapaksa involved Fonseka in criminal cases. Meanwhile three lakh civilian population, most of them of Tamil origin, continue to suffer from lack of elementary needs of human existence. Several people fled to Tamilnadu whose rehabilitation was a big problem. Indian Government sent symbolic relief but the problem of full rehabilitation of the Tamil minority and their demand for a genuine autonomy still remains to be settled.

Situation in Pakistan continues to be uncertain. The suicide attacks by Taliban continue to kill several innocent persons.

Lakshar-e-Taiba and other fundamentalist forces have raised their ugly head and intensified their activities. The direct action by the U.S. armed forces by using drones to hit Taliban bases have resulted in civilian casualties causing tension among the people. Growing incidences in Kashmir have added to the tension between India and Pakistan. Absence of any meaningful dialogue between the two countries is only further aggravating the situation. The Zardari Govt. is ineffective in tackling the national problems. It is in conflict even with the Judiciary.

The Government of India and Pakistan both have adopted pro-U.S. policies and imperialists are using both the Governments to achieve their goals in Asia. Strategic alliance of both the Govts with USA is further helping the U.S. imperialism which is trying to advance their proposals to settle the outstanding disputes between the two countries including the Kashmir question.

The U.S. imperialists have evolved a common policy for Pakistan and Afghanistan called Afpak policy. India is supporting this policy. The recent killing of 9 Indians in Afghanistan by suicide bomb attack by Taliban forces has evoked strong reactions in India. Al Quieda is active in both the countries and India is being made target both by Al Quieda and Taliban. The sending of additional U.S. troops in Afghanistan has not improved the situation for U.S.A. It has only made the conflict bitter.

Our northern neighbour Nepal is facing complex problems. The political agreement arrived at for drafting a new Republican constitution for Nepal is getting delayed due to internal controversies. The resignation of Prachanda Government led by Maoists, the largest single party in Nepal and constitution of UML led Government of Madhav Nepal have created new tensions in the country. Maoist are charging that Madhav Nepal Govt. is functioning at the behest of Indian Govt. and is refusing to co-operate with the Govt. Maoist have started country-wide agitation against the Govt. The question of absorbing Maoist army in Nepal's army is also raising new controversies.

The revision of India-Nepal treaty also is being demanded by the Maoists.

Without arriving at a political settlement in Nepal and commencing the work of drafting a new Republican Constitution of the country, the situation in Nepal is likely to deteriorate further. The gain of the struggle against monarchy will not be made available to the people of Nepal without a political understanding to implement the road map chalked out earlier.

### **U.P.A. GOVT'S POLICIES**

When all over the world firm opposition to the U.S. aggrandizement was witnessed which has hit hard the very concept of unipolar world, U.P.A Government has accepted subservience to U.S. imperialists' global machinations. No Prime Minister of India in the past had accepted any form of strategic alliance with U.S. imperialism. The joint military exercises between India and U.S.A – Air forces at Kalaikunda, Naval exercises in Malabar and infantry exercises in Madhya Pradesh have tied India's strategic interests with U.S. bandwagon. India's refusal to pursue Iranian gas pipeline deal, U.P.A. Govt.'s support to the sanction imposed by UN against Iran, India's commitment to U.S. goal in Afghanistan, India's watering down its policies in Copenhagen climate summit, India's growing defence ties with Israel, India's determined pursuing of the anti-national nuclear deal with U.S imperialism, Manmohan Singh Govt.'s liberal concessions given to the U.S. capital facilitating their faster entry in Indian industries etc. are some of the indications of clear right ward shift in foreign policy of the Govt of India.

Abjuring, the concept of Independent foreign policy, the Manmohan Singh Government has clearly assumed the role of a secondary position in U.S. imperialism aggressive designs in its policy in Asian continent. This stance of Indian Govt. has considerably weakened India's position within the non-alignment movement.

The UPA Government is often trotting with its claim that India is the second largest growing economy in the world with about 7

to 8 per cent annual growth of GDP. The growth has reached only the coffers of the corporate houses due to several concessions offered to them with the advent of globalisation. As noted by the World Wealth Report 52 dollar billionaires in India control one fourth of the national income. The benefits of the economic development could be seen from the observation of the World Hunger Report that India ranked 66th among 88 countries surveyed by it. As we have noted earlier, the Report of Dr. Arjun Sengupta Committee noted that 77 per cent of the unorganized labour in India live on less than Rs.20 per capita per day. The fact is further substantiated by the UNDP Human Development Report 2009 which found that India ranked 134 among 182 countries surveyed by it. Five years ago India ranked 123 by a similar report, indicating deterioration in the human development in India. The Govt. of India is however manipulating statistics to show that poverty is declining in the country and the people below poverty line are being deprived of BPL ration cards. Even the reports recommending enhancement of the number of people below the poverty line are being purposefully ignored by the UPA Government!

After achieving success in Parliamentary elections, UPA Government is pursuing the policy of globalization and market economy with more determination. It is no more dependent on the support of the left parties which is making Government arrogant in doggedly pursuing their pro-World Bank and IMF policies.

The prices of essential commodities have increased sky-high making the life of toiling people more difficult. The Govt. refuses to ban forward trading in essential commodities while traders were permitted to purchase essential commodities in open market, reducing Govt. procurement. Minimum support price was fixed so low that peasants find it uneconomic to produce food grains. The sugarcane growers were also denied adequate price for their sugarcane by sugar mill owners. The collapse of public distribution system has made the matter worse. The new food security Bill proposed by the Govt. would supply only 25 Kg. per month per family instead of 35 Kg already available in many states while the price would be raised

to Rs.3 per Kg. from the present Rs.2. The recent rise in Petrol and Diesel prices have only added fuel to the fire.

The growing unemployment in the country has crossed 16 crore mark and drastic reduction of manpower is taking place in central services, public sector and corporate sector. Due to the policy of import liberalization several small scale and traditional industries are closing down adding to the gravity of the situation. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme though promised 100 days work per year in practice on an average, only 52 days job was made available and no unemployment allowance was paid to anyone. There is acute form of corruption prevailing in the Government which prevents assistance to reach the needy persons. The demand of the Central trade unions demanded in the last Indian Labour Conference that the scheme should be extended to urban areas as promised in the National Common Minimum Programme in 2004. Their demand that as per ILO recommendation 180 days work should be provided in a year, remain unattended by the Govt. The unanimous recommendation of the ILC that there should be employment insurance to be introduced in India, is curtly ignored by the UPA Govt.

The violation of the Labour Laws by the employers have become the order of the day. Increase in the hours of work, closing down factory without approval of the Govt., non-payment of lay-off and retrenchment compensation, victimization of trade union leaders without following any legal procedure, non-implementation of minimum wage Act, non-registration of a trade union despite completion of all formalities, failure to take cognizance of the illegal acts of multi-national corporation on the plea that it would affect the investment by MNCs, discriminatory treatment given to working women in various aspects of working of the undertakings despite legal provision, non-reference of industrial dispute for adjudication by the Govt. despite its genuine character, engagement of child labour in hazardous industries despite prohibition by law, engagement of contract labour in permanent and perennial nature of job, are some of the aspects of labour law violations in the country. Dilatory character of the legal machinery of the Government is

practically denying justice to the workers. Even registration of a trade union is invoking vindictive action by the management. Non-implementation of all labour legislation in Special Economic Zones and Export Processing Zones has created new islands of jungle law. Govt. of India itself is violating the provisions of labour laws and trade union movement had to fight a grim battle for implementation of labour laws. There are several cases of brutal police repression on workers demanding implementation of the labour laws.

The Govt of India has been showing lip sympathy for the cause of the vast multitude of the unorganized workers in India. It is officially admitted that 93 per cent of the workforce is coming in the category of unorganized workers. It is the Govt. of India who made them unorganized by denying them the benefit of the labour laws. The Bill brought out by the Government of India does not provide any benefit to the unorganized workers. In this connection the UPA Govt. bypassed the recommendation of Parliamentary Standing Committee on Labour as well as the recommendation of Dr. Arjun Sen Gupta Committee on this subject.

Central trade unions have therefore demanded creation of a special fund by taxing the corporate sector and provide social security to the unorganized workers. It should cover the entire unorganized sector in a phased manner so that all workers get benefit in a time bound manner. The UPA Govt. in its budget for 2010-11 provided only Rs.1000 crores for arranging social security for the unorganized workers. This amount will not touch even the fringe of the problem and the Government must provide larger sum for granting genuine social security benefit for the unorganized workers.

The disinvestment drive of the UPA Government will ultimately lead to privatization of all public sector undertakings. The total reserves of the public sector have reached Rs.5.50 lakh crores while the number of loss making units have reduced considerably during the last 5 years. The performance of public sector undertakings shows much improvement and hence there is no justification for disinvesting the profit making public sector un-

dertakings. The public sector undertakings have played an important role in building a self-reliant economy in India and World Bank wants to give up this role by the public sector. The central trade union have opposed this move of the Govt. However, the UPA Govt. is determined to mop up Rs.25000 crore from the public sector to meet the budgetary deficit. This policy has to be resolutely resisted by the untied movement of the workers.

## **REMARKABLE TU UNITY**

A remarkable trade union unity has been built in India on the above five issues and all the central trade union held a convention in September last year have decided to have a joint movement at a national level. On 28th October 2009 A National Protest Day was observed all over India while on 16 December 2009 a massive Dharna was organized before Parliament. On 5th March 2010 a Jail Bhara movement was also successfully observed. We have to chalk out future programme after consulting all the trade unions.

We must take steps to ensure that the all-in unity built from above should be strengthened at grassroot level so that the struggle can be intensified in the forthcoming period. There is strong urge among the working class of all affiliations to unite in the struggle against the policies of globalization and market economy. This sentiment should be utilised to strengthen the unity of the class as a whole and further consolidate organizationally.

There were other issues like the Pension Bill which privatize the pension fund and put the workers money in the share market. This gives up the character of the pension scheme as a social security measures. It is only beneficial to pension fund managers who would make workers pension scheme as a profitable venture. Then outsourcing, contractorisation and casualisation have become a problem which is making labour as a cheap commodity and will impose new slavery on the working class on India. Hence, this policy being advocated in the name of labour flexibility has to be opposed tooth and nail by

the entire trade union movement so that right to decent work is to be established. Without building a strong CITU with devoted and educated cadres and active membership the strengthening of the class struggle cannot be achieved. Hence, we have to give top priority to this task in the forthcoming period to meet the challenges posed before us by the capitalist class.

Indian struggle against globalisation cannot assume a powerful shape unless the vast masses of peasant and agricultural workers are drawn into it. We held a Convention in 2007 and observed Demand Day but the matters should be pursued vigorously to build a countrywide worker peasant alliance in a common struggle against globalisation. We have to take up this question on a priority basis which alone will achieve reversal in the policy of globalisation. The CITU is meeting here at a time when there are big challenges before the working class movement. We have a stupendous task to build strong unity in powerful struggles so that we can reverse the policies of the Government.

At the same time we have to educate the working class that without abolition of the capitalist exploitation and establishment of a socialist system, there would be no material improvement in the working and living conditions of our working class. An ideological struggle in the trade union movement is of paramount importance to eliminate bourgeoisie ideology prevailing among the working class. Let us dedicate ourselves to this historic task so that massive struggles are built up in the forthcoming period against capitalist onslaughts. Armed with revolutionary ideology of the working class let us move forward despite heavy odds, in the direction of achieving the goal of socialism on the Indian soil.

**Long Live CITU!**

**Down with imperialist machination all over the World!!**

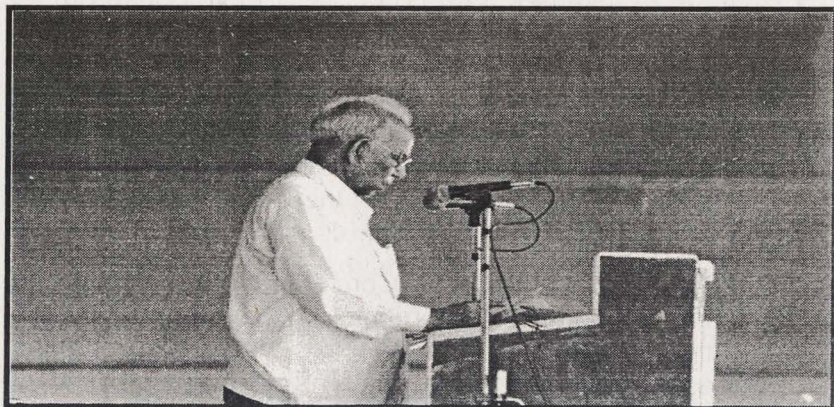
**Workers of the World Unite!!!**

**M.K PANDHE**  
**President CITU**



# REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

(Adopted by the Thirteenth Conference of CITU, Chandigarh,  
17-21 March, 2010)



**Comrades,**

The thirteenth conference of CITU is taking place at a time when one of our founder leaders, Vice President of CITU for last four decades, a stalwart of the Indian working class movement, Com Jyoti Basu is no more with us. He breathed his last after prolonged illness just two months back on 17th January 2010 at the age of 95. In his death, the country lost a great leader of the working class and the democratic movement, a great political visionary and one of the tallest political personalities. For CITU the loss is irreparable.

We remember with a heavy heart that we have lost Com Chittabrata Majumdar in February 2007, almost within a month of his re-election as General Secretary of CITU from its twelfth conference. Com E Balanandan, Vice President CITU, who led CITU as President during 1995-2004 and had been one of the founder leaders of CITU breathed his last after prolonged illness on 19-01-2009. Com Ranjit Basu, Treasurer CITU also left us owing to illness on 25-09-2008. The most recent loss

as well as a great shock is the sudden and tragic demise of Com W R Varada Rajan, Secretary CITU on 11th February 2010. We have lost during the intervening period Com Harkishen Singh Surjeet a veteran freedom fighter, a towering communist leader and one of the tallest personalities in the movement of the toiling people who expired on 1st August 2008 creating a great vacuum.

I begin with paying homage to our departed stalwart leaders, while presenting before you the General Secretary's Report before the 13th Conference.

## **2. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**

**2.1** The Presidential address by Com Pandhe has dealt in detail on the international developments. In the international scenario, in the background of deepening global crisis of capitalist order and accompanying recession signifying almost a collapse-like situation even in the advanced capitalist countries, forthright criticisms against the manner capitalism operated under neoliberal doctrine of unregulated, speculation-prone free market economy are being loudly voiced from all quarters – putting all doctrines of neoliberalism on the defensive. This is no doubt a positive development for the working class movement and the basic ideology of the toiling masses for which CITU stands for.

**2.2** The developments in the international arena since our last conference have shown that in the face of the rising opposition to its economic political and military hegemony and its increasing isolation particularly in the Latin American region and the Middle East, the US has become desperate to expand and consolidate its influence in other areas. It has now focussed its attention on Asia and the Indian sub continent. While continuing its arrogant designs on Palestine, the cruel and illegal sanctions against Cuba and the offensive against Iran, the US leaves no stone unturned to tighten its grip over the ruling polity in the developing countries in the eastern hemisphere including the Indian sub continent. The strategic military cooperation and the Indo US nuclear deal are the expressions of this intent. US

imperialism has redoubled its conspiratorial attempts to weaken the opposition to its manoeuvres by the Left and other progressive forces in the developing countries, including India.

**2.3** The outbreak of the global economic crisis and its fall out on the economy of USA and other countries in the west has made imperialism more aggressive. In the background of such crisis, the imperialist forces have become all the more desperate to continue with its hegemonist strategy both on economic and political front in order to rope in the developing economies as capitulating partners to their neoliberal design. This has become extremely urgent for the imperialist powers to facilitate the early recovery of their crisis-stricken economy. The role of US imperialism and the advanced industrialised nations in various multilateral agencies on trade related and climate related issues are testimony to such strategy of imperialist forces.

**2.4** This new dimension of imperialist designs have to be taken note of while examining the national situation and coming to a proper understanding in order to develop appropriate strategies to address the challenges unfolding before us.

### **3. NATIONAL SITUATION**

**3.1.1** The 13th Conference of CITU is taking place in the background of serious challenges before the working class movement thrown up by the present politico-economic situation. In the post Parliamentary elections situation, in the background of weakening of the Left forces in Parliament, the ruling combination led by Congress has become more desperate to push through the neoliberal policies of total deregulation hitherto hurdled by the Left and the working class movement during the UPA-I regime. On the other hand, the same desperation is also being demonstrated in the hot pursuit of building a wide-ranging strategic alliance with the US imperialist power by the UPA-II regime much to the detriment of our self reliance and sovereignty. Particularly after the outbreak of the global economic crisis inflicting a severe recession on their economy and financial system, it has become all the more urgent for the US imperialist power to make the ruling combine in India to capitu-

late to the US strategic designs faster and more comprehensively.

**3.1.2** The Left forces in the country are the only opposition to such pro-imperialist and anti-national designs of the ruling class and the working class movement is the lifeline and manifestation of such opposition. And the post elections scenario in the country is witnessing the hell bent effort of the forces of right reaction to engineer grievous all round attack on the Left through administration, media and all the agencies of capitalist order. The attack is concentrated more on its strongest bastion, West Bengal which is taking both the routes of malicious campaign through media network and also physical and murderous attack on the Left organisations through gang-up of right-reaction-ultra Left combine. Thus, it is now the biggest challenge before the working class movement to overcome the weakening of the Left inside Parliament to mount stouter opposition to imperialist designs and neoliberal order through massive mobilisation of the toiling people outside against every anti-people move in the economic and political front.

## **3.2 Intervening Period**

**3.2.1** The 12th Conference of CITU was held in January 2007 when the UPA Govt was in power with the support by the Left parties from outside. It may be noted that the forth-right opposition to neoliberal agendas by the Left demonstrated before the people through numerous militant actions and mobilisations by the working class throughout the country on every aspects of neoliberal drives by the NDA regime could isolate substantially the BJP and its NDA allies on the one hand and substantially increase the strength of the Left parties including CPI(M) (in the strong hold states of the Left movement) in Parliament to the highest ever numbers in the post independence period.

**3.2.2** After reviewing the developments during the two and half year's regime of the UPA Govt, the 12th Conference of CITU set the tasks before the working class movement, inter

alia, as under:

1) to articulate more loudly the expectations generated among the mass of people following defeat of NDA and installation of the UPA Govt dependent on Left support through vigorous campaign, mobilisation and struggle; this will make intervention of the Left more effective and will play a crucial role to isolate the BJP and communal forces on the one hand and strengthen the correlation of forces in favour of pro-people policies on the other.

2) To expose the anti-people character of the neoliberal and pro-imperialist economic policies being pursued by the UPA regime with greater vigour through united mobilisations and struggles and thereby expose the anti-people character of the capitalist order itself.

3) To mount pressure on the UPA Govt for implementation of the pro-people commitments laid down in the NCMP through united struggle and simultaneous campaign among the masses on the achievements made explaining the effectiveness of Left-intervention.

4) To consistently fight and mobilise against the pro-imperialist tilt in the foreign policy regime by the UPA Govt in violation of the NCMP already getting manifested by that time through advancement of strategic cooperation with USA through 'ten year military framework agreement', support to USA in the IAEA against Iran, compromises being made in the talks on Indo-US Nuclear deal etc. It was noted that "such pro-imperialist tilt in the foreign policy regime, if allowed to continue without opposition, is bound have ominous portents for and ramifications on the internal policies as well, both on economic and political front.

**3.2.3** During the UPA regime since 2004, the dependence of the UPA Govt on the Left forces and intervention by the Left backed by the campaign and mobilisation by the working class and democratic movement, compelled it to undertake number of pro-people measures like enactment of NREGA, Forest

Tribal Act, Right to Information Act, halting of disinvestment for the time being, loan-waiver for the farmers etc which were contrary to their neoliberal paradigm.

**3.2.4** There have been other failures as well. The UPA Govt could privatise two major airports in Delhi and Mumbai, and closed down the public sector airports in Bangalore and Hyderabad to facilitate operation by airports built up by private players in the same cities. The Left parties opposed the move. The trade unions of the Airport employees also took initiative to resist such disastrous move but that resistance-effort remained limited within the employees and the workers only that too of the Airport Authority alone. We could also not effectively resist the SEZ policy of the Govt and ensure speedy revival of many of the sick but potentially viable PSUs.

**3.2.5** On the whole, the UPA Govt continued to pursue the same neoliberal policies of deregulation of financial sector, liberalisation of foreign and private participation in vital, sensitive and strategic sectors of economy, neglect of public investment in agriculture and infrastructure under the garb of PPP, promoting speculation in the commodity market etc having its ramification in the form of intensification of poverty and inequality along with GDP growth and amassing of wealth with the handful of corporates both domestic and foreign.

### **3.3 Pro-Imperialist Tilt in Policies**

**3.3.1** Simultaneously, the UPA Govt continued to pursue with greater vigour its project of building wide-ranging strategic alliance with the US imperialist power despite opposition of the Left and working class movement which have its reflections not only in the foreign policy regime but also in the economic policy front and on various other domestic matters. To put it more comprehensively, it is an integral part of, rather a follow up of the overall neoliberal politico-economic policy architecture the US administration seeks to put India in, with the Indian rulers playing an obliging role.

### **3.4 Indo-US Nuclear Deal and After**

**3.4.1** The Indo-US Nuclear deal has been concluded and operationalised which finally resulted in withdrawal of support to the Govt by the Left. A close scrutiny of the 123 Agreement would reveal that so called benefit for India on nuclear fuel supply promised by the deal will be wholly dependent on US Govt's sweet will, which in turn will be regulated by The Hyde Act passed by US Congress. The Hyde Act expects India to have a foreign policy "congruent" to the United States. In the background of the Hyde Act, the US can terminate nuclear deal any time and deny nuclear fuel supply but India would continue to be bound by the provisions of IAEA safeguards and restrictions in respect of its nuclear sector in perpetuity. In totality, the nuclear deal in its present form in the context of Hyde Act may subject India to become easy victim of US blackmail not only in the matter of nuclear projects but also in wider area of US hegemonistic design.

**3.4.2** The 123 Agreement necessitates a separate agreement with US for the supply of enrichment and reprocessing technology for the spent fuel. Even after five rounds of Indo-US talks, no agreement could be reached as yet owing to US pushing though other conditionalities and the whole game plan is to force India to sign NPT and CTBT and also to accept such terms as would bind India in more dependence on USA. On the other hand, after having already finalised the purchase reactors of 10000 mw capacity from USA, the access to enrichment and reprocessing technology and equipments for India is a must for addressing the cost factor of nuclear energy production and also for avoiding the severe hazard of storing the spent fuel. Interestingly, in the bilateral talks with Russia and France, no such conditions have been put forth by those two countries. Similarly, under the pressure of US Govt, Govt of India is bringing legislation before Parliament to insulate the nuclear-reactor suppliers from liability to compensate in case of accident in the reactors supplied by the US. Such a position clearly exposes as to how the blackmailing process has already started working besides exposing the servility of the Indian rulers to US imperialism.

**3.4.3** The process of Indo-US Nuclear Deal was preceded and followed by huge increase in procurement of defence equipments from the US, allowing US authorities the end-use inspection of sensitive defence installation set up with US supplies, and a lot more compromises on economic and political front to the detriment of India's national interests. On the whole this desperation of the ruling polity to oblige the US administration and international finance capital at any cost and by any means (as seen in the cash for vote scandal in parliament during the confidence vote) indicates strengthening of the grip of imperialist powers and the transnational corporates on the Indian rulers of all hues. This is indeed a matter of alarm for the Left and progressive forces in the country and also for the working class movement as it poses a severe threat to our self-reliance and sovereignty.

**3.4.4** Such pro-US tilt in the overall policy approach has increased further after the last General Elections as reflected in UPA-II Govt's subservient role in the multilateral forums like WTO and Climate-Change deliberations. In WTO Govt of India sought to take a mediating stance to end the so called stalemate in Doha round talks which had arisen owing to developed countries insistence to further increase their access in the market of the developing countries keeping the non-tariff protectionist barrier in the developed countries virtually intact. Owing to firm stand taken by other major developing countries like Brazil, South Africa and China creating a compelling situation for India to join them, the WTO level talks could not proceed much as yet. In the Climate Change talks at Copenhagen also, the legally binding obligation to cut carbon emission by the developed countries under Kyoto Protocol has already given a wide window for dilution whereas pressure is now being mounted by the European Union and UN forum on the developing countries to make the commitments made by them legally binding and subject to international scrutiny.

## **3.5 Role of BJP**

**3.5.1** On the other hand, the dubious role of BJP has to be taken into serious account. As the principal opposition party,

the BJP and its allies in the NDA have failed to firmly oppose any of the anti people economic policy measures of the UPA government, except making occasional noises on the issue of price rise etc. In fact, on almost all the anti people policy issues like liberalisation of the financial sector, airport privatisation, closure of the Hyderabad and Bangalore airports of the Airport Authority of India etc, the BJP practically sided with the UPA government. This is but natural given the class character of the BJP, which is not different from the Congress. It is only the Left parties that have opposed these moves both inside and outside Parliament and supported the agitations against these measures.

**3.5.2** BJP has always been pursuing its communal agenda in various forms and garbs depending on the situation. At times its communal ploy got camouflaged in its postures of so called opposition to terrorism, talks of internal security etc and sometimes directly and aggressively as has been seen during the intervening period since last Conference. In the face of the bomb blasts in Maharashtra, Hubli, and Jaipur the BJP lost no time in raising the demand to bring back POTA. The BJP government in Rajasthan started harassing the Muslim minorities on the pretext of purging the so called Bangladeshis. They had even made a heinous attempt to communalise the anger and concern of the people against the grievous terrorist carnage of 26-11-2008 at Mumbai. Creating communal divide is the basic theme of the politics of the Sangh Parivar and its political front BJP.

**3.5.3** Because of our weakness in effectively explaining this dubious game of the BJP to the people, it had been successful in benefiting from the people's resentment towards the UPA government in the elections to several major state assemblies and came to power in the states like Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Gujarat and the municipal poll in Mumbai and Delhi as well.

**3.5.4** In the post general election scenario, it is becoming evident from the restructuring that has been taking place within BJP under close supervision by RSS, that they will make the

disruptionist and communal agenda the main plank of their political strategy as they have practically nothing to oppose in the economic policy front nor in the foreign policy front.

**3.5.5** In this context we must also take note of the role of other bourgeois parties divided between the UPA and NDA camp during the intervening period. Their role has been quite lukewarm in opposing the aggressive pro-imperialist postures by the ruling polity. Rather at times majority of bourgeois political outfit demonstrated rabid unprincipled opportunism facilitating the ruling polity to push through its pro imperialist anti-people design and project a broad consensus on their basic economic and political paradigm between the political forces barring the Left forces. And such opportunism got glaringly demonstrated by the role of those political formations during the period of intense debate on Indo-US nuclear deal. Some of those parties while taking a stance of opposition to Indo-US nuclear deal in successive debates in Parliament made a somersault at the time of trust vote in Parliament. This is quite natural given their class character and unprincipled tie-up with various interests groups and corporate lobbies. Only through strengthened assertion by the Left forces backed by militant mobilisation and movement by the toiling people against the policies of the ruling polity can create conditions for such parties to side with the Left forces.

### **3.6 Parochial Conflicts**

**3.6.1** Another disturbing feature during the intervening period has been the parochial conflicts created by the divisive forces of various brands in different parts of the country. Incidents of attacks on the Hindi speaking migrants in Assam, the north Indian workers in Maharashtra by the Shiv Sena and its breakaway group, MNS are examples of some such trends. The alarming unemployment and increasing poverty are being utilised by these forces for their own narrow political gains. In Maharashtra and Rajasthan, Bengali speaking workers are subjected to witch-hunting on the pretext of containing infiltration by Bangladeshis or combating terrorism. While the-then BJP government in Rajasthan directly patronised such attacks,

the Congress NCP Maharashtra government in Maharashtra has been taking an opportunistic stand of indulgence towards these divisive forces. The working class movement must be alive to the dangers posed by these trends to the working class unity and national integration and effectively combat them.

**3.6.2** Ongoing violent Gorkhaland agitation in West Bengal demanding a separate state is the reflection of such divisive and parochial politics, which seeks to disrupt the unity of the working class in that area, particularly in the tea gardens, tourism, and trade besides creating disruption and disorder in the Left ruled state with an ulterior political motive. The overt and covert support to the agitation extended by some bourgeois parties only exposes their opportunism. Added to this have been the activities of divisive forces of different hues in the name of Kamtapuri, Adibasi Parishad etc trying to create disruption in the state and build a polarisation against the Left forces. Our comrades in West Bengal are doing their best to fight back such divisive and disruptive forces braving attacks from them but the situation that has arisen is a matter of serious concern.

**3.6.3** The situation got more complicated after the agitation on bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh to form separate Telengana state and the opportunist response to the same by the Govt of India. This has besides adding momentum to the disruptive agitation for Gorkhaland in West Bengal also brought the demands for separate states in Vidarbha, Bundelkhand etc to the surface allowing the separatist and chauvinist forces to raise their heads. Our comrades in Andhra Pradesh in the midst of the Telengana agitation resulting vertical split among all political forces and its impact on the people are trying their best to defend the unity of the class and the people.

## **3.7 Set Back in General Elections**

**3.7.1** The severe setback for the Left forces, particularly in their traditional strongholds, in the 15th Lok Sabha elections has to be taken note of and appropriately analysed. This brought forth a serious challenge not only for the working class

movement but the entire progressive movement as well with the US imperialist intervention and their handiwork becoming more aggressive in pushing the correlation of political forces in the country in a more rightward direction.

**3.7.2** This has also led to alarming trend of 'corporatisation of politics' in India where big corporates and their captive media are trying to fix the agenda of the nation in nexus with bourgeois political parties. The use of unprecedented money power in recent assembly and parliament elections and presence of a huge number of "crore-paties" (354 in Lok Sabha only) in the legislatures of different levels is an ominous trend which can make mockery of democratic polity.

**3.7.3** The State Committees of CITU and other units might have reviewed the role played by the CITU activists in particular and working class in general in the general election. The election results and the severe setbacks suffered by the Left forces even in their strongholds clearly reflected our failure to address effectively the issues relating to working, living and social conditions of the toiling masses. This demonstrates our failure to rally a sizable section of the toiling class in support of our Left and secular alternative even in the stronghold states, not to speak of other states where Left votes remained very poor and indicate a trend of decline. The results of the municipal elections in West Bengal held in June 2009 reflected a similar picture. Even in most of the working class dominated constituencies in both West Bengal and Kerala, loss suffered by the Left is quite revealing and alarming too.

**3.7.4** The only exception is Tripura where the Left has recorded a steady advance, retained their strength and increased their vote-share. And in the three tier Panchayat elections and bye-elections in the urban municipality and Tribal Autonomous District Council held after the Lok Sabha elections, the Left front led by CPI(M) retained their overwhelming dominance winning all the seats in municipal bi-election and more than 85 per cent seats in all the tiers of Panchayats and the tribal autonomous district council.

**3.7.5** There are several factors behind such setbacks -both political and organisational in character and this report is not the place to articulate them thoroughly. But the election result in general and the involvement of CITU in the election campaign in particular demonstrated serious political organisational weakness of ours to carry the campaign to reach the widest section of the toiling people with the required focus, depth and commitment and also the failure to convert the mobilisation in the struggles organised by us into committed political support. In essence, our campaign failed to win the confidence of the major section of the toiling class in general and at least a sizeable section of them even in our stronger states. The root of such failure has to be searched in the lapses in political-ideological and class-orientation of our work in every tier of our organisation-- weakening and infecting our organisational initiative and capacity itself to effectively combat the political onslaught by the ruling class. And such quest is needed at all levels of the organisation.

**3.7.6** One thing must be noted in particular. During the UPA regime since 2004, the dependence of the UPA Govt on the Left forces compelled it to undertake number of pro-people measures like enactment of NREGA, Forest Tribals Act, loan-waivers for farmers, halting of the privatisation drive etc which were contrary to their neoliberal paradigm. But we or in that matter our organisations working in the concerned segment of population failed to take the required organisational initiative and make ourselves visible organisationally for the implementation of NREGA or in the process of delivery of loan-waiver benefit to farmers or benefits of the Forest Tribal Act to mass of the tribal population in greater part of the country.

**3.7.7** Owing to consistent opposition by the Left forces in the background of united struggle by the working class, the financial sector of the country could not be privatised or deregulated and the country's economy could be saved, at least partially, from inevitable collapse and disaster in the midst of global economic meltdown. We failed to focus on this great achievement of the working class in our campaign. Thus, we fought many successful struggles, mobilised a big section of

the toiling people in those struggles but failed to carry the ideology and politics of those struggle to grass root masses owing to our own ideological disorientation and resultant organisational incapability.

**3.7.8** The root of our failure also lies in our undermining the role of imperialism which played a key role in organising the gang-up against the Left forces. US diplomats and embassy officials were in regular contacts with the anti-Left forces and other right-wing elements and had number of meetings with different interest groups prior to elections and played a proactive role in bringing together all anti-Left forces in a single platform and help them in all respects both materially and financially. The imperialist force's involvement in the 15th Lok Sabha elections was also seen in US diplomatic officials' initiative to contact TDP, PRP and other parties in Andhra Pradesh immediately after the voting was over in AP. Their main interest had been to ensure a smooth passage for such a government in the centre which need not depend on the Left forces.

**3.7.9** We failed to gauge the seriousness and depth of these imperialist interventions and reflect this appropriately in our campaign. Even the most crucial task of exposing the bankruptcy of the capitalist order revealed through the global economic meltdown as outlined in the General Secretary's Report adopted by CITU Working Committee in January 2009 did not get much priority in our political campaign in the period preceding and during the elections.

**3.7.10** In sum and substance, basic issues of the working class, viz., price-rise, spectre of looming joblosses, wage-cut and deteriorating working conditions because of global recession, disinvestments, contractorisation & outsourcing, deregulation of financial and petroleum sector, FDI in retail, insurance, telecom, banks, pension sector and defence etc affecting the workers as well as the nation at large could not be effectively put in the political agenda of the nation during election. This gave opportunity to bourgeois parties and the ruling class in particular to ensure this "labour not on the agenda" scenario during the election.

**3.7.11** In fine, the working class movement have its share of failure in the set back of the Left forces in the last Lok Sabha elections. Our failure had been basically political-ideological in character reflected through our organisational incapacity to reach the mass of the working people with the class politics. Such failure also exposed the increasing disjoint of our day to day work of CITU with the basic politics of CITU enshrined in its constitution in major part of its organization almost at all levels.

### **3.8 Onslaught Against The Left Forces**

**3.8.1** At the same time, it should also be noted that an well orchestrated anti-Left tirade by the reactionary forces and the bourgeois media have been visibly active for quite a long period during the recent times as we have already noted and analysed at the time of successive General Council and Working Committee meetings held during the intervening period. And such anti-Left tirade has been concentrated on the Left Front Govts in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura in various forms. And in the intervening period such all out attack against the Left took a more aggressive and virulent form in West Bengal, the strongest Left bastion in the country.

**3.8.2** And it need to be further understood that the recent attacks against the Left Front Govts are mainly being built up in the veil of so called left wing slogans which need to be exposed while combating such attacks. The situation has become complicated with the mounting onslaught against the Left forces, in the form of organised malicious campaign, by the reactionary forces of every hue and the bourgeois media, along with physical attacks on the leaders and activists of the Left movement, with the ultra-left outfits joining the bandwagon.

**3.8.3** The working class movement and the Left forces had been consistently opposing and blockading, the pursuit of the anti people neoliberal policies and this deterrent role of the Left has come to surface more prominently in view of dependence of the UPA combine in power on the support of the Left parties. Left's forthright opposition to Indo-US nuclear deal and the grand plan of the imperialist forces to enlist active partici-

pation of India in its design to strengthen its political and militarist hegemony in the Asian continent as a whole has also been a source of irritation to the imperialists and their Indian cohorts. In such a situation, it is but natural that the all anti-Left forces would be up in arms in its malicious campaign against the Left. The imperialist forces also are not expected to sit idle in such vigorous anti-Left tirade. The Working class movement has to combat this everincreasing malicious campaign against the Left forces by the bourgeois media and the ruling class, meticulously designed to push the present correlation of forces towards more rightward direction.

**3.8.4** After election-results and the set-back of the Left parties in the same, the physical offensive against the Left forces has increased particularly in West Bengal and already hundreds of comrades laid down their lives braving the brutal attack of the Trinamool-Maoist combine. The so called Maoists in India who have refused to abandon the path of ruthless acts of terror and individual assassination, have since long been indulging in nefarious activities like extortion, robbery and money laundering. They have forged links with political parties with different hues for patronage and protection in states like AP, Bihar Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh where they have been found threatening or even killing candidates of one political outfits on behalf of another and also indulging in booth-capturing at the time of elections. In West Bengal, they have found a willing ally in the Trinamool Congress. The Maoist leaders have confirmed that this nexus has been in operation since the Nandigram episode in 2007.

**3.8.5** Number of comrades killed by these attacks have already crossed several hundreds since the election results have been declared and almost every day the number is increasing. Union offices are being burnt, looted and even captured in many places by the Trinamool-hoodlums and in many areas leading trade union comrades and comrades from other mass organisations are being murderously attacked. This anti-Left gang-up has been trying to drive away our supporters from many areas through armed onslaught with the design of creating many Left-free zones through unleashing terror, extortion,

forcible fines etc on the common people. Our comrades have been trying to build up resistance to such annihilation campaign against the Left. But it is not a battle to be fought by them alone.

**3.8.6** We must note that the attack on the Left forces is synonymous to the attack on the working class. It is the foremost task of the working class movement of the country to stand firmly with their comrades in West Bengal in their struggle to defend the fortress of the working class and democratic movement and unleash a solidarity campaign throughout the country to combat the attack of the reactionary forces and the misinformation campaign by the media.

#### **4. GLOBAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM**

**4.1.1** The global financial meltdown in mid 2008 accompanying a deep seated recession and a virtual collapse of the economies of advanced industrialised countries manifested worst ever crisis of capitalism. This crisis has been the inevitable culmination of the international finance capital driven neoliberal imperialist globalisation where everything in the economy and all matters of economic governance are subordinated to finance capital's lust for quickest possible gain. This crisis thoroughly exposed the extreme fragility of the world capitalist order, unclothed the bankruptcy of the protagonists of "There Is No Alternative"(TINA) theory. Also the much-touted idea of considering certain aspects of the neoliberal package as "opportunity for development", sought to be popularized by the ruling class which infected even a section of progressive movement in the pre-crisis phase of neoliberalism stands totally exploded.

**4.1.2** The crisis led to bankruptcy like situation for almost all the financial institutions and agencies of USA and Europe besides creating such recession in the concerned economies turning the GDR growth rates for most of the concerned countries almost negative in 2008-09. Unemployment and joblosses rose to an alarming height. The major financial institutions of the rich industrialised nations turned almost bankrupt in the process of reckless speculation with public savings were sought

to be bailed out through liberal funding from public exchequer. But the suffering public from joblosses, lay-off, closure, wage-cut etc got no relief at all.

The world witnessed growing protest mobilisations and strikes etc by the toiling people opposing the bail-out of the speculators by public money and demanding concrete action against massive job losses, wage cuts etc and for employment and income generation. Several international forums including the ILO in particular and even several heads of State from the advanced capitalist world pointed fingers to the policy of de-regulated finance aggressively pushed through at the behest of the imperialist powers and the multilateral agencies and the speculation fuelled by such policies.

**4.1.3** The IMF in its latest update of the economic outlook in January 2010 has expressed optimism about the recovery of the world economy. But what is being witnessed is nothing but a partial slowing down of the pace of decline owing to huge bail-out packages and fiscal measures funded by the public exchequer and not the recovery as such. The industrial output in USA in December 2009 was 2 per cent less than that in December 2008. GDP in the Euro area contracted by 4 per cent between November 2008 and 2009. Unemployment rate is still quite high in both the US and Euro area at 10 per cent – almost doubled in two years period. This ought to be the case since the major economic powers appeared to have been pursuing the same neoliberal model seeking to create artificial bubbles here and there for quick profit instead of containing the dominance of finance capital termed sometimes as casino economy over the real economy.

**4.1.4** The Nobel laureate Paul Krugman ridiculed the misplaced optimism on a prospect of recovery saying “As you read the economic news, it will be important to remember, first of all, that blips — occasional good numbers, signifying nothing — are common even when the economy is ... in a prolonged slump. ...Such blips are often ... statistical illusions. But ... they're usually caused by an “inventory bounce.” When the economy slumps, companies typically find themselves with ... excess in-

ventories, [and] they slash production; once the excess has been disposed of, they raise production again, which shows up as a burst of growth in G.D.P. Unfortunately, growth caused by an inventory bounce is a one-shot affair unless underlying sources of demand, such as consumer spending and long-term investment, pick up.” (The Hindu, 4th January 2010)

**4.1.5** Actually, all noise of recovery is being made by the imperialist agencies as a plea for not reversing their speculation-driven neoliberal path in the face of severe criticisms to such policies. Such noise is also being made to rope in the developing economies more firmly with their pursuit of aggressive finance-capital-driven neoliberalism and get their economies totally deregulated to the advantage of the rich industrialised economies.

**4.1.6** The General Secretary's Report adopted by the working committee meeting of CITU held in January 2009 dealt in detail about the genesis and all facets of the global crisis. The Presidential address to this conference has also dealt the issue. Only, we should note here that this crisis exposed the dubious mode of operation of modern capitalism under neoliberal order which perpetrates deception and fraud on mass of the people at the behest of Finance Capital. When there is a boom, there will be no regulations and the speculators will reign, touting free market paradigm. They will create artificial boom by fraudulent methods using public funds for their personal or cartels' gains. When the boom bursts, the government will rescue the collapsing institutions by public funds, but the people will continue to lose through unemployment, loss of savings, wage cut etc. This is the real face of present day capitalism under free market neoliberal globalisation, which is nothing but a loot and fraud on the people and the economy, inseparably built-in the working of the capitalist system; the system breeds crisis from within at frequent intervals.

## **4.2 Impact on India**

**4.2.1** The global economic crisis and its impact on Indian economy have made the life of the people more miserable.

The GDP growth rate declined to reach around 6.5 per cent in the current year but more than 50 lakh people in the export oriented sector lost their livelihood and several lakhs more had to face wage cuts or increase of unpaid working hours, lay-off, closures etc. Details sector wise impact of the crisis on Indian economy were dealt in details in the General Secretary's Report adopted by the CITU working committee meeting held in January 2009 at Mumbai.

**4.2.2** But certain issues need to be taken note of. The impact could have been much more disastrous had the country's financial sector been allowed to be deregulated further as per the original designs of neoliberal ideologues, through full convertibility of rupee on capital account, allowing 49 per cent FDI in the insurance sector, raising the limit and voting cap for FDI in private Indian banks, dismantling the hitherto existing restrictions on the exposure of Indian banks to global speculative markets and privatising the pension funds by passing the PFRDA Bill and privatising the nationalised banks through doses of disinvestments of their shares in phases. All these could still be stalled owing to firm opposition by the Left Parties in the background of militant united struggles by the financial sector employees and officers.

**4.2.3** Secondly, the impact of the global crisis was not only restricted to the export oriented sector. The global recession also impacted some of the non-exporting sectors as well particularly in construction and engineering. Notable is that the employers even in the sectors which remained unaffected by the crisis took the opportunity of the crisis for drastically cutting down the workforce, reduce the wages and benefits of the workers, increase the unpaid working hours etc under threat of closure and lay-off.

**4.2.4** Workers were the worst affected by the global crisis. But the response of the Govt to such situation had been extremely biased in favour of the capitalist class while the jobless workers were left in the lurch. The Govt of India has released liberal bailout packages for the crisis-ridden sector through reduction of taxes and duties, tax-holidays, easier term for credit

and repayment thereof and many other means having a financial implications of Rs two lakh crore or more. But those bailout or stimulus packages, whatever name one may call it, funded out of the public exchequer helped the employers' class to retain their profit or at least defend their bottom-line. But the said package did not give any relief to common members of the public-- the millions of workers who lost their livelihood in thousands of workplaces. This also exposed the shameless bias against the mass of the people by a corporate driven Govt.

**4.2.5** During 2008-09, i.e., the year of immediate impact of global crisis in Indian economy, as per the report published by Financial Express, the industries like sugar, fertilisers, construction and sponge iron minted a net profit ranging from Rs1000 crore to Rs3600 crore on the average and in these segments the joblosses and wage-cuts, closure etc took place in a big way. During the same period as the Financial Express reported about the performances of the top 500 companies, " despite global meltdown and a domestic slowdown, the number of the sectors with positive results far outnumbered the negatives". What does this mean? It means the brunt of the crisis and recession was wholly borne by the workers and the people, and the companies could arrest the decline of their profit through the liberal bailout/stimulus package from the public exchequer contributed by the same suffering public. This is the real face of capitalism which perpetrates consistent loot on the working people. Neoliberal policies have made this process of loot more aggressive. Despite consistent increase in value added per worker through the decades of eighties and nineties till the last year of the present decade, the share of wages in value added has been consistently declining from around 32 per cent in the eighties to around 12.4 per cent till 2004 and during the present crisis the share must have further gone down given the widespread informalisation of workforce and sharp decline in quality of employment.

**4.2.6** Thirdly, immediate fall out of the crisis on the Indian economy had been the drying up of private sector investments caused by the rising trend of risk-aversions by the private investors in the prevalent economic gloom. Various scheduled

investment programmes in different projects had been postponed/ halted by the private sector investors despite availing liberal concessions in the name of so called stimulus packages. During the entire period of 2008-09, and particularly during its second half and also during 1st half of 2009-10, the national economy was kept afloat mainly by investments by the major public sector units.

**4.2.7** As per the report released by "Projects.Today.Com" in April 2009, "The impact of the global meltdown with ripple effects felt in the domestic markets was so great on the private sector, as it depended largely on external funds to execute high ticket projects that during the second half of the fiscal 2008-09, both number of new projects and investment envisaged therein slumped by 62 per cent..... The infrastructure sector meanwhile continued to be the key growth driver with a share of 36.1 per cent in total investment.... the share of public sector in this sector remained very high at 71 per cent with bulk of its investment concentrating in building roads, laying railway lines and putting in place systems for providing potable water.....The Electricity sector while maintaining its share at around 31.5 per cent for the last two years saw improvement in project implementation ratio from 35.3 per cent to 37.1 per cent."

**4.2.8** During the crisis, the private sector despite consuming the stimulus withdrew from their committed investments in the national economy and the public sector companies despite having been kept away from such stimulus, stimulated the national economy with huge capital investments and helped the national economy to weather the crisis. Still then, the public sector units are being targeted for gradual privatisation through disinvestment of shares. If this is not anti-national, then what else?

**4.2.9** The Indian rulers appeared not to have learnt any lesson as yet. They are shamelessly preaching the same idea of financial sector deregulation and trying to push through the measures for further deregulation of the financial sector and promoting private sector in the banking business besides car-

rying ahead of their programmes of disinvestment in profit making PSUs.

**4.2.10** Owing to consistent opposition by the Left forces in the background of united struggle by the working class, the financial sector of the country could not be privatised or deregulated fully, privatisation of public sector units could be halted and the country's economy could be saved, at least partially, from inevitable collapse and disaster in the midst of global economic meltdown. We failed to focus on this great achievement of the working class in our campaign and interventions, because we failed to gauge the political-ideological implication of such achievements and lacked the concern of exposing capitalism at a time when the capitalist order itself has been in deepest ever mess.

## **5. ECONOMIC SITUATION**

**5.1.1** During the entire span of intervening period since the 12th conference of CITU, the economy was featured by certain paradoxes. GDP has been growing and at the same time poverty and inequality also has been growing faster owing to the acute maldistribution of the fruits of growth inbuilt in the neoliberal model of economy management. Govt did not hesitate taking pride in growing GDP and buoyancy in revenue generation but allocation of such revenues in the successive budgets remained structurally biased against the mass of the people to favour handful of corporates. Only exceptions are the enactment of NREGA and loan-waivers to farmers but those were political compulsion of the Govt owing to its dependence on Left support.

**5.1.2** Even if we look at the period till the outbreak of the global crisis, when the GDP was growing at a fairly high rate, the conditions of the common people have been deteriorating. Prices of essential commodities have been rising since 2007 itself, unemployment has been growing and at the same time increasing informalisation of workforce is leading to sharp decline of average earnings of the workers as a whole who contribute to GDP growth. On the other hand, the crisis in the agrarian economy providing livelihood to around half of the

country's population led to speedy impoverishment of rural masses. And the same period also witnessed phenomenal increase in the number of Indian millionaires and billionaires making India the home of four out of ten richest persons in the world as on 2008.

**5.1.3** The anti-people and pro-corporate bias in the distributive policy of the Govt is glaring from the fact in successive years since 2006-07 the huge concessions doled out to big corporates, both domestic and foreign have been increasing at a high rate exposing the total captivity of the ruling polity by the corporate class. The revenues foregone through concessions to corporate lobby increased consistently from Rs 2,39,712 crore in 2006-07 to Rs 2,76,644 crore in 2007-08 and it almost doubled to reach around Rs 4.1 lakh crore in 2008-09 and more than 5 lakh crore in 2009-10. In 2008-09 as per the statement placed along with the budget papers in Parliament, the revenue foregone through such concessions is around 68.5 per cent of the aggregate tax collections. And over and above such huge concessions, the huge unpaid tax arrears by the big business lobby increasing every year almost in geometric progression has already reached Rs 1.5 lakh crore.

**5.1.4** And how does such huge give-aways from public exchequers to the handful of corporates and big-business houses compare with subsidies given for the common people on different heads viz. food-subsidy, fertiliser, petroleum product etc. The Govt of the day and the corporate media have been crying hoarse on the increasing subsidy bill of the Govt and every successive budget sought to put an axe on the same because they are meant for mass of the common people. The total revenues foregone as on 2008-09 was 323.5% of the total subsidy bill of the central govt meant for the aam admi. After the current budget the subsidy on common people will go down drastically further on account of increased price of petrol/diesel and fertilisers but the revenue foregone owing to concessions to rich people has already increased by around Rs 90,000 crore within a span of one year between 2008-09 and 2009-10.

## 5.2 Price Rise

**5.2.1** The intervening period since 12th Conference of CITU has been a period of continuing rise in the prices of essential commodities. At the initial period since the last quarter of 2007 or early 2008, rise in the prices of essential commodities, particularly the food items was accompanied by a low inflation rate calculated on the wholesale price indices where weightage of food items and other essentials is quite low. Even during the period when the general inflation rate was 4 to 5% the food-price inflation rate was more than 8%. But gradually with the passage of time, in the face of shameless indifference of the ruling polity to contain the price-rise of essentials, the general rate of inflation has also shot up and is now approaching double digit level as the food-price inflation is approaching 19 per cent or more.

**5.2.2** Initially, the Govt sought to explain the price rise as an international phenomenon and wanted to make people reconcile with the same which is nothing but a deceptive ploy. After the global melt down since mid 2008 leading to a recession in world market, prices are down worldwide as confirmed by the report on "Macroeconomic & Monetary Development (2008-09)" released by Reserve Bank of India. But prices of food grains and other essential commodities never looked downward in Indian market and probably that may be one of the reasons for the developed countries and Europe and America desperately pressurising India for greater market access, both in agriculture and non-agricultural segment. The Govt of the day has also been passing the blame on to the state governments for their inability to contain hoarding and thus to contain price-rise.

**5.2.3** The price movement during last three years clearly revealed that the ongoing price rise is not a seasonal nor a cyclical phenomenon but maps out a continuous upward spiral. This is also not merely because of the demand-supply gap of the food grains and essential commodities in the market. This is basically fuelled by the speculation friendly policy of the Govt to allow the big landlord/traders combine a windfall gains out

of deprivation and hunger of both the major section of agricultural producers as well as the mass of common consumers. This has been further facilitated by the so called targeted public distribution system which excluded mass of poor from the purview of PDS owing to faulty parameter of poverty line and gross administrative failure. Continuity of agrarian crisis reflecting the disastrous effect on peasant agriculture and agricultural productivity led to decline in agricultural production creating shortage and threatening food security besides aggravating price rise to the benefit of traders and big-landlord/business combine.

**5.2.4** The Govt of the day has been trying to manage the situation playing on their announcement to legislate Food Security Act at the earliest to provide foodgrains at subsidised price to peoples below the poverty line. But the official poverty line is so ridiculously low that it excludes overwhelming majority of the poor out of its coverage. As per official definition in India, poverty line corresponds to Rs 11.3/- per capita per day consumption in the rural areas and Rs 18.5/- per capita per day consumption in the urban areas and around 26 per cent of population are below the official poverty line. On the other hand as per Report of the NCEUS appointed by the same UPA Govt, more than 77% of the population live below Rs 20/- per day thereby accounting for around 51% of the people living between Rs 18 to Rs 20/- per day consumption level which also cannot be considered anything else but a situation of extreme poverty. An expert panel appointed by the Rural Development Ministry under the Chairmanship of N C Saxena, the Commissioner appointed by Supreme Court, has given another estimation of more than 50% of the population remaining below the poverty line based on Rs 700/ per capita monthly income in rural areas and Rs 1000 monthly income in urban areas. The Tendulkar Committee appointed by another Govt agency has given a different estimation of poverty line which is much above the existing official formulation. In totality, the official poverty line estimate which has been made the ceiling for so called targeted public distribution system and other social security and welfare schemes is nothing but a nefarious design for excluding the majority of the extreme poor from the benefits

of the schemes and measures touted in their name by the ruling polity to get a political mileage. On the same poverty line parameters, the Govt seeks to deprive ninety per cent of the unorganised sector workers from the benefits promised by the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act 2008.

**5.2.5** The working class movement has raised the concrete demand for universalisation of public distribution system to supply 25 essential commodities at subsidised price and complete ban on futures trading on the essential commodities as the only avenue to contain present phenomenon of continuously rising prices. Entire trade union movement irrespective of affiliations are united behind this demand. As per estimate, the cost of universalisation of public distribution system is at best Rs 1,70,000 crore a year which is much less than the revenues foregone by the Govt in favour of handful of big businessmen amounting to Rs 5 lakh crore in 2009-10.

**5.2.6** But owing to the commitment of the ruling polity to the big business/traders lobby, the Govt of the day is refusing to accept the just demand of the workers and common masses despite frequently mouthing the rhetoric of aam aadmi. Rather their commitment and loyalty with the big business traders lobby made them so insensitive and inhuman that even in the face of continuously rising prices, the Govt has been taking one after another measures which would further add fuel to the fire of inflation. As for example, in the face of acute shortage of sugar and its rising prices, the Govt has shamelessly allowed export of sugar to please the sugar barons while simultaneously importing sugar at a much higher prices to please the sugar baron abroad. This is no less than a big scandal. Secondly while prices of food-grains are rising high, the Govt clandestinely removed the ban on futures trade on wheat which were earlier banned owing to popular demand. These are all measures on the part of the Govt to allow traders and big landlords to make bigger fortune in an inflationary market.

### **5.3 Union Budget 2010-11**

**5.3.1** Just before the presentation of budget, the Govt an-

nounced increase in urea price with the intent of completely decontrolling the fertiliser prices which is going to increase the cost of production in agriculture and add to food-price inflation. And in the Union Budget 2010-11, the Govt has reintroduced customs duty on import of crude oil and petroleum product and increased excise duty on petrol and diesel by Re1/ per litre which together would increase the price of petrol and diesel by more than Rs 2.50 per litre. This is also going to have cascading impact on the prices. S

**5.3.2** The Union Budget 2010-11 is also expression of shameless bias in favour of the rich and corporates by the Govt completely unconcerned about the conditions of the mass of the people. In continuity with its policy of remaining captive to the interests of big capitalists, the budget doled out concessions in direct tax mostly to the big business lobby to the tune of Rs 26000 crore while extracting from the common people Rs 60000/-through indirect tax-excise and customs duty. Food subsidy has been reduced by over Rs. 400 crore despite the commitment to enact a food security legislation. Fertiliser subsidy has also been cut by a whopping Rs. 3000 crore from what was spent last year. These moves to reduce subsidies in the name of targetting comes at a time when inflation is galloping and agricultural output growth has become negative. The anti-people approach of the Government in reducing subsidies was laid bare in the Economic survey, which has prescribed the dismantling of the PDS and initiating a "coupon system" for food and fertilisers. Moreover the so called Nutrient based scheme (NBS), besides increasing and deregulating the prices of all types of fertilisers is specifically designed to push up the profits of fertilizer manufactures/importers and lead to higher cost of production of all agriculture products.

**5.3.3** Added to this has been the proposed cess of Rs. 50 per tonne on coal which would not only increase the price of coal but also the price of electricity which is another major input for agriculture. With increase in price of agriculture inputs like fertilizer, diesel and fuel, the food security of the country is being put in jeopardy.

**5.3.4** Budget displayed a tokenism and crude joke as well while allocating only Rs 1000 crore for the Social Security Fund for 47 crore workers of the unorganised sector. At the same time the budget speech by the finance minister did not miss to mention about the restrictive conditionality of “below-poverty-line” in this respect which itself excludes 90 per cent of the unorganized sector workers from the purview of such social security benefit. Similarly budget totally ignored the plight of 2 million anganwadi employees and need for universalisation of the ICDS scheme by way of making meagre increase of Rs 538 crore in allocation compared to revised estimate of last year.

**5.3.5** Finance Minister’s statement that disinvestment in PSUs would lead to expansion of peoples’ ownership in PSUs is nothing but a false pretext designed to befool the people. Overwhelming majority of shares disinvested in PSUs has gone corporates, FIIs and financial institutions while a very negligible fraction of shares sold have gone to individuals. And announcement to mobilise Rs 40000/- crore through disinvestment on the plea of funding the social sector expenditures does not make any sense since within a span of last one year, the PSUs have added to their reserves another Rs 50000 crore (total reserves & surplus is Rs 5,35,840 crore) a part of which could very well be diverted for social sector expenditure without diluting the equity of the PSUs. The evil design of transferring the ownership of the resource-rich PSUs to private hands in phases is the hidden agenda behind the present disinvestment programmes and that is why disinvestment in PSUs must be opposed tooth and nail by the trade union movement.

**5.3.6** On the whole, the successive budgetary exercises of the UPA Govt and interim policy measures executed in between have one hidden agenda which must be understood comprehensively. The neoliberal model driven by the international finance capital seeks to ensure quickest possible maximum return to the capital. In that direction prices of crucial inputs and commodities are sought to be linked to prices prevailing in international market, without any consideration on its actual cost of production. The pricing of petroleum products, natural gas

and fertilisers are being sought to be decided in that fashion as seen from the recent moves of the Govt. The logic is being given that such import parity pricing will attract investments for development of the concerned sector. And such import parity pricing of the commodities produced in the developing countries including India will ensure windfall profit owing to lower wages and other input costs normally prevalent in the developing countries. This policy of global pricing and suppressed domestic wages in the developing countries means greater exploitation of cheap labour and input for super profit for the investors mostly foreign along with their domestic partners. This deprives the people of the developing countries of their natural advantage of a comparatively lower price because of lower production cost on the one hand; on the other same people as workers in the concerned industries are subjected to much greater exploitation through extraction of much greater margin of profit out of their labour power. For the national economy, it means no gain except personal gains to those in governance.

**5.3.7** The import parity pricing of petroleum will mean much higher burden to people in the form higher price of petroleum products once petroleum price is deregulated as per Kirit Parikh Committee recommendation. The import parity pricing of natural gas produced under our own soil means higher price for natural gas to the consumer, much above the actual cost of production. This will mean higher profit for Reliance but higher cost of fertilisers for higher input cost, so also higher price of electricity and other products using gas as input. Import parity price of fertilisers would mean higher input cost for agricultural product which will allure the foreign agro companies to plunder the Indian agriculture and its natural resources. The same is being sought to be made a system particularly in the area of almost all natural resources including coal and all crucial industrial inputs—the area which is being targeted by all major MNCs with the Indian Govt playing an obliging role. Import parity pricing is thus one of the crucial instruments of neoliberalism to loot the Indian people both as workers and as consumers comprehensively to the detriment of the interests of the national economy. Such conspiratorial ploy of loot and plunder must have to be exposed by the working class move-

ment. ...

**5.3.8** In this context, we should also note the fall out of the pro-imperialist tilt of the ruling polity in their economic policy designs. The pro-imperialist content of their economic-policy designs are quite visible from their fast-track effort to deregulate the financial sector and thrust towards full convertibility at a time when the entire world economy is reeling under recession and collapse of the financial giants in the advanced industrialised economy under imperialist domain. The quicker revival of the recession-stricken economy in the advanced imperialist countries is possible only at the cost of further deregulation of the economy and the market of the developing countries including India. The strategic alliance of the Indian ruling polity with the imperialist powers, the US imperialist in particular, stands further exposed by their economic policy designs which are more tuned in the interests of the imperialist economies than the interests of the national economy and the people at large. The Indian ruling polity is thus making a disservice to national interest through their pro-US alliance which has been pushing India towards a neoliberal trap. CITU has to play the frontline role in mobilising the people against this nefarious design of the US imperialism and also the capitulating stance of the Indian ruling class.

## **6. CONDITIONS OF LABOUR**

### **6.1 Attack on Labour Rights**

**6.1.1** Neoliberal economic order brought with it a repressive labour regime sponsored and promoted from the seat of governance. The Governance worth its name is supposed to put in place a rule of law for the entire society. But under neoliberalism, violations of labour laws is being promoted and sponsored through Govt-employer combine to start with to finally ensure altogether overhauling or change of the pre-liberalisation labour laws in favour of the employers.

**6.1.2** The rate of unemployment and underemployment has been increasing to alarming proportions. Organised sector

employment is shrinking and whatever new employment is generated in the extremely low paid jobs with extremely fragile working conditions. All labour laws, specially pertaining to the working hours, minimum wages, maintenance of employment registers, PF, ESI, deployment of contract labour etc are blatantly violated. In fact, more than 90% of the conflicts and industrial disputes in the organised sector are related to the implementation of basic labour laws. The labour law implementation machinery has become totally ineffective in most of the states as well as at the central level.

**6.1.3** And when the workers attempt to collectively raise their voice through their unions, demanding nothing more than enforcement of basic labour laws, they are tackled with brutal attacks on their life and livelihood and in this game, the employers and state administration move together in collusion. It has become a general phenomenon throughout the country, in almost all the states that the employers in most of the private sector establishments, particularly those emerged during the 1990s onward, resist tooth and nail the formation of unions at workplaces through repression and victimization with the direct patronage of state administration.

**6.1.4** There are several examples of mass scale dismissal and victimization immediately following formation of the trade union in the workplaces. Only in the state of Tamilnadu, around 360 workers including leading functionaries of the unions have been dismissed on fabricated charges in ten major companies including both the MNCs like Hyundai Motors and Indian Corporates like, MRF, Godrej or CRI Pumps, immediately following the formation of trade unions in those places within a span of last one and half year during 2007-08 besides there being indiscriminate pay-cuts, suspensions and other vindictive measures; around 109 workers have been implicated in criminal cases there including under section 307 (attempt to murder) of Cr Pc. Such brutality by employers-administration combine has been a daily phenomenon in the states like Haryana, Punjab, UP, Rajasthan and other places. In Delhi, even a central public sector company like Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC) dismissed the President of the union on

flimsy ground immediately after formation of the union there and other office bearers have been subjected to major-penalty charge-sheets on false pretext. In fine a kind of barbarism is ruling the industrial relations scenario in the country with active patronage of the law-enforcement machinery and the goal of this corporate-captive Govt is to have trade-union-free workplaces everywhere. The trade union movement has to survive and advance by combating such state-sponsored brutality of the employers almost everywhere.

**6.1.5** Since the onset of liberalisation, such state sponsored violation of all basic labour laws pertaining to minimum wages, working hour, social security, contract employment etc has become a regular order. And an orchestrated project has been undertaken not to allow formation of trade unions in the organised industries, mostly owned by MNCs and big corporates an alliance between the big corporate lobby and labour administration in almost all the states has been operating to crush any effort to form trade unions in organised industrial sector, particularly those emerged after 1991 onward. The experience of Hyundai and MRF in Chennai, Toyota-Kirloskar in Karnataka, Mahindra & Mahindra in Maharashtra, Pepsico in UP, Honda, RICOH and Liberty in Haryana confirms such a situation prevailing in the industrial relations scenario of the entire country. What needs to be focussed here and taken up is the issue of right to association and formation of trade unions demanding concrete statutory provisions for mandatory recognition of trade unions at the workplaces.

**6.1.6** In majority of the private sector units, fake employment registers are maintained in which not even thirty percent of the total workers on roll are recorded. In a recent survey conducted in the five-industrial areas of national capital of Delhi covering 367 industrial units, it was found that less than 25 per cent workers' name are recorded as regular workers in the employment registers and in only 28 per cent units minimum wages are being paid and in more than 50 per cent of the units surveyed, 12 hour working is in vogue without any overtime payment. As per statistics released by Labour Bureau, out of 1,36,352 factories registered under Factories Act, only 36002

factories fulfilled the statutory requirement of submitting annual returns with labour department in 2005. This speaks volume about the proactive patronage given by the law-enforcement machinery under Central Govt and most of the State Govts to deliberate violation of laws by the employers' class. This also clearly indicates that the majority of the industrial workers, even in the organised sector are being deprived of their statutory minimum rights pertaining to minimum wages, working hours, safety and social security benefits.

**6.1.7** Simultaneously active move is afoot to gradually render the labour department itself superfluous in most of the states. In Special Economic Zones throughout the country, the labour department has been stripped of its responsibility to handle the labour related issues and the same has been handed over to the Development Commissioner as administrative head of the special economic zones. In Noida and Greater Noida, both notified industrial area under Uttar Pradesh, functioning under concerned Development Authorities, entire labour administration was taken away from the State Labour Department and handed over to the Collector or District Administrator.

**6.1.8** In this backdrop, the corporate-captive Govt of the day has been working overtime to completely overhaul the existing labour laws to establish the employers' Raj in the workplaces. The government of India has already introduced a bill in Parliament, which seeks to exempt the employers of all establishments employing up to 40 workers from their obligation to submit regular returns to the labour department and maintain employment registers with all the details required as per the existing law. This means that the employers in more than 60% of manufacturing and service establishments will be allowed to blatantly ignore all labour laws. The bill could not be taken up for discussion because of the resistance by the Left MPs. But it is still alive and pending for being considered at an opportune time. The fact is that, under the neo liberal regime, the government itself is promoting labour law violations and then seeks to legalise them. Therefore, many more such bills are in the offing which aim at dismantling whatever little protection is being enjoyed by the working class.

## **6.2 Contractorisation and Casualisation of Workforce**

**6.2.1** Banishing the very concept of regular employment is the strategy with which capitalism has been operating under neoliberal order. Already, the share of contract and casual workforce in total organised sector workforce has become more than 70 per cent taking the private and public sector together. In public sector itself, it has almost crossed the 50 per cent mark. This phenomenon, besides intensifying the exploitation of workers, has severely impacting upon the trade union rights and movement. The capitalists' project of making a trade union-free workplace is being sought to be achieved through a process of desperate contractorisation, casualisation and outsourcing. The neoliberal economic order operating under the stewardship of Finance Capital is leading to concentration of wealth on the one hand and intensification of exploitation and extraction of surplus value through indirectification and increasing fragility of employment relations. The extremely mobile as well as liquid character of finance capital at the helm of affairs is thus getting reflected in extreme fragility of employment patterns and employer employee relationship which must be taken note of.

**6.2.2** The total number of contract workers in the country representing almost 70 per cent of the total workforce in the organised sector itself clearly demonstrates as to how blatantly such gross illegality is being allowed to continue under the very nose of the law-enforcing authority. Not only that, even the basic statutory provisions and procedures for contract employment provided under the Contract Labour (Regulation & Abolition) Act are being violated every day. As per a broad estimate out of around 4 crore organised sector workers, around 3 crore are contract workers. Out of them only 12.61 lakh workers are covered under the licensed contractors and the total number of licenses issued under Contract Labour (Regulation & Abolition) Act was only 9239 as on 2007-08 as per the statistic released by the Labour Department. This means that overwhelming majority of the contract workers are also deprived of whatever little rights and benefits they are supposed to have under the statutes and the enforcement

authorities in different states and the centre are deliberately allowing unlicensed contractors just to wash off their hands from their statutory responsibility of regulating the service conditions of the contract workers under the Act.

**6.2.3** The proliferation of contract workers or in that matter various forms of indirect employment is a phenomenon within the organised sector and it should no way be confused with the unorganised sector occupations. The contract system has created conditions of unorganised sector type of wage employment within the premise and confine of the organised sector and the trade union movement of organised sector workers have to address the problems and challenges arising out of contract system for their own self. Our unions in the organised sector could not yet gauge the implication of this compositional change in the employment profile in the organised sector creating a kind of dichotomy where two different sets of workers are working in the same industry/unit/premise with two different sets of working conditions, one lagging far behind the other. We failed to organise the contract/casual/outsourced workers within the confine of the organised sector movement and mainstream their movement together with the movement of the regular workers in the organised sector. In most of the places, regular workers' movement demonstrated reluctance to take up the demands of the contract workers with due seriousness and in many places the employers play successfully posing the issue as a kind of 'conflict of interest' among the two sets of workers in order to keep the entire workforce divided and unfortunately many unions fall an easy prey to such divisive tactics of the ruling class.

**6.2.4** Our failure to organise the contract workers in most of the places, our failure to make the union of regular workers' unions in any establishment to take initiative in organising the contract workers and fight for their basic demands resulted in fast decline in our membership and erosion of striking power in the organised sector which is a matter of serious concern. Such a negative phenomenon is also affecting the quality of the intervening capacity of the working class movement against policy issues at political level too.

**6.2.5** Under the present circumstances, in addition to the work-place-level initiatives, state-level and national level initiatives are also required to fight this menacing phenomenon of rampant contractisation in various forms. After 12th Conference of CITU some initiatives were taken in this direction. At the initiative of CITU, a national convention on contract workers issue was organised under the platform of Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions on 19th November 2007. Some initiatives were taken thereafter by some of the state committees. The most recent initiative has been the massive strike by the contract workers in West Bengal 12th February 2010 which received massive response throughout the state.

**6.2.6** At CITU's initiative, the issues could also be brought to the agenda of the joint platform of the workers of Central public sector, the Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions (CPSTU) which also had conducted number of agitations demanding simultaneous wage revision of contract workers along with the regular workers and payment of industry-level minimum wage to them instead of state's minimum wages. In certain industries like steel, petroleum etc some industry-level agitations were also organised including strike actions. Experience of the intervening period shows that wherever the contract workers could be organised at industry level and struggles were conducted, the contract workers could improve their wages and benefits besides attaining an assertive position in the production system. The experience of contract workers strike-struggle at Durgapur Steel, IISCO during the intervening period, in certain pockets of BHEL, BEML and certain segments of petroleum sector are the examples for the same and some of these struggles were fought by non-CITU unions also. But it must be admitted that whatever initiatives have been taken is not at all sufficient in comparison with the depth and seriousness of the problem and such inadequacy points to the lack of consciousness and concern about the gravity of the issue even among our leading comrades in various tiers of the organisation including the enterprise-level leadership. Organising the contract workers must be taken up as the foremost task in the organised sector for defending the trade union rights and right to collective bargaining from the danger of getting withered away.

### **6.3 Unorganised Sector –massive informalisation of the workforce**

**6.3.1** The unorganised sector continues to expand under the neoliberal regime. It is estimated that 94% of the total workforce in our country is in the unorganised sector. The whole purpose is to transform the workforce into a right-less and protection-less entity. As per estimates by experts this 94% of the workforce contribute around 65% of the GDP and in return they do not get back even 1 per cent as social security while the wages paid to them is a very miniscule percentage of the value created by them. They are the most exploited section among the country's workforce.

**6.3.2** The UPA government has enacted the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act on the eve of the last Parliament elections. We have rightly described the Act as a fraud. It does not provide statutory guarantee of minimum social security benefits to the workers merely confining to extending some existing welfare benefits, almost all of which are applicable only to the Below Poverty Line Category. It does not specify any time frame to cover all the unorganised workers in the country. It does not have any provision to ensure decent working conditions for the unorganised sector workers by covering minimum wages, working hours etc. It has no grievance redress mechanism.

**6.3.3** The government appointed Arjun Sengupta committee reported that around 84 crores people in our country are not able to spend more than Rs 20 a day to meet all their daily consumption requirements. But, as per the government claims, with the BPL criterion fixed at ridiculously low levels, around 26% of the population or only around 26 crores people in our country are BPL. But no financial allocations are made to provide the welfare benefits to even these people.

**6.3.4** The government has been boasting of issuing around 1 crore smart cards under the Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana. The emphasis on RSBY indicates the intention of the government to move away from providing health services directly to

provide insurance coverage by limiting its responsibility to paying the insurance premium for the BPL families.

**6.3.5** Besides, while much hype is being created about the success of the RSBY, the financial allocations for the scheme have been paltry. Even going by the Planning Commission estimates of 6.52 BPL families, the government would have to spend Rs 4,875 crores annually to pay the 75% of the annual premium of Rs 750, as per the RSBY. The scheme envisages covering the entire BPL population in five years. But, till now, around mid way of the target, the number of smart cards issued is reported to be around 15% only. The financial allocation in the Union Budget 2009 – 2010 was a paltry Rs 308 crores, which can cover around 54 lakhs families only.

**6.3.6** The allocation made in the recent budget for Unorganised Workers' Welfare Fund does not cover even 1 per cent of those below official poverty line. Though the National Social Security Board constituted under the Act has unanimously recommended that the BPL condition should be removed for coverage, the government has not responded positively.

**6.3.7** While exposing the deficiencies and shortcomings of the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act, we must also make efforts to ensure that the unorganised workers who are eligible for the benefits do get these benefits in practice.

## **6.4 Attack on Social Security**

**6.4.1** Under neoliberal regime, the social security benefits have been under constant attack. Whatever social security legislations in place are mostly meant for organised sector workers. And only a very negligible percentage of the 70% contract workers are covered by the same. This shows that even a large part of organised sector workers are out of coverage of the present provident fund and pension scheme.

**6.4.2** In the process of gradual shrinkage of the organised sector employment under neoliberal order, through both forced and voluntary separation etc, the number of subscribers of the

employees provident fund scheme has been declining fast thereby shrinking the coverage of existing social security provisions as well.

## **Employees Provident Fund**

**6.4.3** Added to this had been the sharp decline in the interests rate on Employees Provident fund from 12% to 8.5% causing huge loss to the lifetime savings of the workers. Owing to united resistance of the working class movement the level of interests rate on provident fund could not be reduced further although effort was made every year. But even at 8.5%, the real worth of the interest rate is eroding owing to inflationary pressure.

**6.4.4** Secondly, despite opposition by all the workers' representatives in the Central Board of Trustees (CBT) of Employees Provident Fund except INTUC, the government and the employers' representatives ganged up in July 2008 to decide by a majority, to hand over the operation of a large part of the employees' provident fund accumulation to the private mutual funds. The employers and government gang-up appointed three private asset management companies viz., HSBC, ICICI Prudential and Reliance Capital to handle the investment of a large part of the EPF Funds along with State Bank of India. So long, only State Bank of India was the fund manager of EPF Funds. Handing over the EPF funds to private asset management companies, which mainly operate in the stock market, paved the way for channelising the hard earned social security savings of the workers for speculation in the stock market, which would inevitably endanger the security of the fund in a highly volatile stock market. And after the experience of global meltdown and its genesis, the reckless speculation by the financial institutions including this class of asset management companies, the decision to allow the private asset management companies to handle workers' lifetime savings in PF must be reversed by the Govt.

## **Employees Pension Scheme**

**6.4.5** The Employees Pension Scheme 1995 was imposed on

the working class in the face of general opposition of the mass of the workers since all major central trade unions in the country except CITU connived with the Govt to get that introduced. In order to pacify opposition, the Govt of India committed for annual evaluation of the pension amount to neutralise the inflation. But after first four years, evaluation was discontinued unilaterally and the Govt started hell bent effort to reduce the pension benefit which was vehemently opposed by the trade unions.

**6.4.6** The Govt-assault on the Employees Pension Scheme continued for obliging the corporate masters. Despite consistent opposition by all the Trade Unions, the government unilaterally amended various sections of the Employees Pension Scheme by an executive order to dole out big concessions to employers and at the same time drastically curtailing the pension benefits of the workers.

**6.4.7** The benefits given to the defaulting employers will encourage them to further default. The damages and penalties to be paid by them for their default in timely remitting the pension contribution of the workers along with employers' share to the concerned PF authority have been drastically slashed by 12 per cent from a range of 17 to 37 per cent of the defaulted amount to 5 to 25 per cent. It is a big bonanza to the employers' class and an encouragement to them for default and fraud.

**6.4.8** On the other hand, the pensionary benefit has been drastically reduced through withdrawal of various provisions. The pension amount for premature/early retirement has been reduced by increasing the discount rate per year from 3 to 4 per cent. As per the original scheme, if a worker has to accept premature separation from work before 58 years, his pension amount is discounted at the rate of 3 per cent per year of early separation. For example, a worker separating at 50 years of age would get 24 per cent less pension (8 years X 3%) than what he would get at his retirement at 58 years. This discount rate was increased to 4% per year resulting reduction of pension for the early-retirees further (32% less for the worker retiring at 50 years). Present day reality is that a big section of workers are being forced to take early retirement or separa-

tion from work every year and early retirees constitute a substantial section out of the total number of pensioners every year. They stand to lose heavily.

**6.4.9** Moreover, the provision of commutation of pension has been withdrawn and the right of the workers to draw a reduced pension and get back a part of his accumulation in pension fund (return of capital) has also been withdrawn without assigning any reason.

**6.4.10** None of these issues were ever discussed in the tripartite Central Board of Trustees for making a change in the scheme. Nor have the Central Trade Unions ever been consulted by the government about these changes. In essence, all the beneficial options for the workers were withdrawn besides reducing the pension amount for the early pensioners and the defaulting employers are rewarded with huge relief and encouragement for the default and finally the hard earned savings of the workers in pension fund is going to foot the bill for such anti worker retrograde exercise.

**6.4.11** While Govt was overactive in curtailing the social security rights of the workers to the advantage of the corporate employers, the unanimous recommendation of the tripartite committee appointed by the Prime Minister and also the Central Board of Trustees of Employees Provident Fund made in the year 2008 to reduce the threshold limit of employment from existing 20 to all establishments employing 10 employees for the coverage of the provident fund scheme is not being implemented by the Govt.

**6.4.12** And this is not all. The Govt is preparing to revive the Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority Bill which could not be passed during the tenure of the UPA-I Govt owing to opposition by the Left. The PFRDA Bill is designed to switch over from the system of defined benefit pension scheme to defined contribution system in respect of the Govt employees where the pension corpus contributed by the employees will be invested in the share market and the pension amount will be uncertain and fluctuating depending on the income gener-

ated by such speculative investment. The trade union movement must continue to resist such nefarious design.

## **7. MAJOR STRUGGLES AND ACTIVITIES**

**7.1.1** During the intervening period since 12th Conference, there have been many countrywide united programmes of agitation and struggle besides many sector/industry based movements.

**7.1.2** As decided by the 12th Conference, the CITU along with All India Kisan Sabha and All India Agricultural Workers' Union observed 'All India Demands Day' on a common charter of demands for workers and peasants ON 18TH April 2007 through joint mobilisations at district level. This was followed by a National Convention of Workers & Peasants on 31st August 2008 at New Delhi which was widely participated by the comrades from all the states. Unfortunately this workers-peasants joint initiative could not be followed up by further programmes.

**7.1.3** In the background of controversy over Indo-US Nuclear Deal and the firm opposition of the Left forces against the deal, CITU took initiative in launching a campaign against the pro-imperialist ploy of the Govt and observed "Anti-Indo-US Nuclear Deal Day" on 19th September 2007 through countrywide campaign in all the industrial centres and workplaces about the real face of the Nuclear Deal and its implication. CITU prepared a booklet on the subject and circulated to all the state committees for circulation in local languages.

**7.1.4** National Convention on Contract Workers was organised under the banner of Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions on 19th November 2007 at New Delhi which was widely participated from all the states. As decided by the convention 'All India Contract Workers Demands Day' was observed through joint workplace-level mobilisation by the regular and contract workers on 8th January 2008. This initiative by the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions was also supplemented by the similar initiative from the Platform of Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions and in many public sector units joint agitations of

the regular and contract workers could be organised. Particularly in steel industry this joint initiative of regular and contract workers could be further advanced towards a successful two days strike in public sector steel industry on 30-31 October 2010. This initiative on the issue of contract workers also created ground for various industry level struggles by the contract workers such as 20 days strike by contract workers of vizag steel plant, about ten days strike by the contract workers of Durgapur Steel Plant and also strike action by the contract workers of IISCO Steel Plant and strike actions by the contract workers of BEML at Karnataka.

**7.1.5** At the call of Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions, countrywide Satyagraha was observed through joint mobilisations, dharna, court arrests etc in all the state capitals and industrial centres on 4-5 December 2007 on 18 point charter of demands against continuous price rise and other fall out of neoliberal policies on the workers and the people.

**7.1.6** On the same 18 point demands, the 12th General Strike against the anti-people policies of globalisation was observed on 20th August 2008 which witnessed massive participation by the workers across the sectors throughout the country. Even many INTUC and BMS affiliated unions also joined the strike call in a big way throughout the country.

**7.1.7** Besides above joint programmes and activities, there had been numerous sectoral agitations and other programmes by the workers and employees in the industries and services. They were countrywide united strikes by the Bank employees in 2007, 2008 and 2009, massive courting of arrest of Anganwadi employees in May 2007, their All India strike on 10th July 2007 followed by a massive march to Parliament on 18th February 2008, BSNL Employees Strike on 11th July 2007, All India Strike by unorganised sector workers on 8th August 2007, Strike by Indian Airlines Ground Staff on 12th June 2007 and two days strike by Airport Authority Employees against closure of Bangalore and Hyderabad Airport in 2009, Countrywide Strike by the state and central govt employees and teachers on 30th October 2007 and countrywide strike by Construction workers

on 8th December 2009 at the call of CWFI, two days strike in public sector steel industry on 30-31 October 2009 at the call of Steel Workers' Federation of India(CITU). Coal and Port and Dock workers and also telecom workers also took initiative for all India strike actions for multiple days in the intervening period but the strike did not take place as the Govt had to come forward and settle the issues owing to the pressure mounted on them in the preparatory stage itself.

**7.1.8** Besides above, at the state-level, many industry-level actions were launched by the workers in which CITU took the leading role. They were two-days industrial strike in Delhi on 24-25 April 2008 in Delhi, number of multiple days strike in various Hydel projects of Himachal Pradesh, 20 days strike by contract workers of Vizag steel plant in 2009, strikes by Jute Mill workers and tea-garden workers in West Bengal in 2007-08, state wide general strike against price rise of petroleum products in Kerala and West Bengal on 5th June 2008 and 59 days strike by Jute mill workers in West Bengal in 2010 jointly by all the trade unions and state-level contract workers strike in West Bengal on 12th February 2010.

### **7.1.9 Federation**

The industry wise federations under CITU also play an important role in the movement.

The All India Federations of Anganwadi Workers and Helpers, through regular and organised functioning both at the national and state levels could organise number of struggles including strike actions and state and all India level mobilisations which led to substantial expansion in their membership and organisation to 23 states. Not only that, anganwadi workers movement under CITU became instrumental in organising two other big sections of working women in trade union movement namely ASHA and Mid-day-meal workers.

The All India Coal Workers' Federation under CITU also through independent intervention created compelling situation among other trade unions in the industry to join the platform of struggle

which in turn compelled the Coal management and the Govt to concede to the demands of the workers. Besides, the intervention of our Coal Federation could unite all other unions in the industry in the opposition to privatisation and disinvestment. But such success could not be fully harnessed adequately expanding the membership base and this warrants more micro-level organisational initiative.

The Construction Workers' Federation of India also is a regularly functioning federation which could organise a successful countrywide strike by the construction workers on 8th December 2009 and improve its membership base during the intervening period and expand their area of influence.

All India Road Transport Workers' Federation is also active among the road transport workers throughout the country and could expand their membership sizably during the intervening period in 14 states and in one union territory.

Electricity Employees Federation of India, actively functioning in the electricity sector has played crucial role in developing united countrywide movement against the electricity policy of the Govt aimed at privatisation of this important public utility. During the intervening period the federation could expand its membership and area of influence.

Steel Workers Federation of India working mainly among the workers of public sector steel plants in the country played important role in developing the movement of both the regular workers and the contract workers in the industry on an all India plane. At the single handed initiative of this federation two days successful strike involving both the regular and contract workers could be organised on 30-31 October 2009 in all the public sector steel plants, mines and establishments except Bhilai Steel Plant. During the intervening period, the contract workers in Vizag, Durgapur, IISCO and Bokaro had gone for successful strike action under the leadership of CITU. The federation is yet to make its headway among the workers of private sector steel plants.

The Water Transport Workers Federation of India has been active among the seamen and port & dock workers throughout the country. The Federation is dominant force in the seamen's movement and expanded its base substantially. Among the port & dock workers as well, federation has considerable influence and could work in developing all in united struggle on the demands of the port & dock workers.

The All India Beedi Workers' Federation is another important federation of workers in CITU. The federation represents one of the oldest trade union movements in the country and has got immense potential to increase its strength throughout the country. The federation is required to be activated more in the all India plane. The all India conference of the federation was held recently at Kolkata to plan for the same.

The All India Plantation Workers' Federation is also one of the oldest federations working under CITU. Despite having regular plantation based activities in different parts of the country, and regional level coordination in the southern and eastern/north eastern parts, the Federation level activities are not that regular. The conference of the federation is being planned to reorganise the federation level activities.

Federation of Medical & Sales Representatives Associations of India is another all India federation having regular activities and membership base throughout the country. In different states their units also play an active role in the state level movement and organisation.

All India Fishers and Fisheries Workers' Federation is a newly formed federation to coordinate the movements of the fishers and fisheries workers being organised in different states by the CITU and AIKS and develop a nation wide movement. Some CITU state committees have taken initiative to organise the fishers after the formation of the federation. In view of the huge number of fishers, both inland and marine, and the fisheries workers, all the state committees of CITU have to make efforts to organise the fishers. There is vast potential to develop an all India movement of this section of the exploited population.

## **7.2 Changed Dimension of Struggle**

**7.2.1** So long, at least for last four and half year regime of UPA rule, the Left forces could exercise some brake on such disastrous moves of the neoliberals in governance in the background of organised opposition to those designs by the working class movement. Now, under UPA-II regime, the deterrent strength of the Left no longer exists inside Parliament and the movement and mobilisation outside the parliamentary framework have to be multiplied many times in the context of weakened intervening strength within Parliament.

**7.2.1** Secondly, despite all boasting about the GDP growth rate by the Govt, the economic situation is aggravating owing to consistent price rise of all essential commodities making the life of people miserable and mass scale loss of livelihood and earnings owing to recession thereby generating discontent.

**7.2.3** As the UPA-II Govt has been posing to be aggressive and confident in its pro-imperialist and anti-people designs in view of the new political correlation and a weakened Left, the historic responsibility has fallen on the working class to turn the table.

**7.2.4** The crisis and unrest at the ground level has already created ground for widening the platform of opposition to the grievous fall-out of their policies on the people. Coming together of all the central trade unions including INTUC and BMS in the joint platform of trade unions to raise the voice of resentment against price rise, massive job-losses owing to recession, and disinvestment and to demand concrete five point measures to address the situation is a new development signifying all in unity of the working class movement on common issues. We have to harness this opportunity of emerging all in unity in the trade union movement and carry the message of unity to the grass root level to unify the working class at the grass root level and ensure broadest mobilisation against the policies affecting the life and livelihood of the people. The crucial task is to transform the situation of coming together of the leadership of all the trade unions at the top into unity of grass

root level workers “on the issues raised and measures pressed for” which alone can pave the way for heightening the struggle for reversal of the neoliberal policies and combating the offensive of the ruling class and that is precisely the need of the hour.

**7.2.5** From this all in united platform a massive dharna in front of Parliament was organised on 16th December 2009 and countrywide satyagraha and jail-bharo was organised on 5th March 2010. CITU has to take pioneering initiative to carry the campaign to the grass root level workers on the one hand and ensure maximum possible mobilisation in all the joint programmes and widen the unity of the workers below to retain and consolidate the united platform for further actions in the days to come.

### **7.3 Joint Campaign and our Approach to Broaden the unity**

**7.3.1** In this respect we have to seriously introspect our approach in developing unity at the workplace/unit level. Inter-union rivalry and antagonism, in a scenario of multiplicity of trade unions, generally dominates over the urge for unity at the enterprise level. The concern for class unity must make our unions demarcate themselves in such a scenario of rivalry and antagonism. We have to expose the anti-worker, anti-struggle approach of other reformist unions through our call for unity in support of just demands of the workers, by developing unified understanding among the mass of the workers on the correct class oriented approach towards the issues facing them and rallying the workers in that direction. This will keep the movement in track and at the same time create compulsion for other unions to rally round the idea of united struggle. The recent experience of coal and steel workers’ movement is an example of successful exercise of such strategy of demarcation and unity adopted by CITU.

**7.3.2** In the context of all in unity among the trade unions developing in recent times, we must not allow the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions to weaken or turned irrelevant.

After all, the Sponsoring Committee was formed in the process of anti-globalisation struggle in the initial phase which conducted 12 countrywide general strikes during the span of last two decades. Most of the constituents of the Sponsoring Committee, the central trade unions and federations together, barring a few, are having a common and unified vision on neoliberal policies and roll of imperialism behind that policy. This should be considered as nucleus of anti-globalisation struggle around which broader unity may develop at times on certain common issues of concern.

**7.3.3** Moreover, we must note that the unity of the class, we are talking about, is not just the unity of the leadership of different trade unions at the top while at the bottom their affiliates are falling apart. Unity is not for unity's sake but for united action with a class approach. Condition for such unity has to be built up from below through independent campaign reaching the entire workforce.

## **7.4 Workers-Peasants Alliance**

**7.4.1** In the changed political scenario, the urgency for the concerted and joint initiative by both workers and peasants/agricultural workers' organizations on common issues can hardly be overestimated. In the intervening period, despite some efforts made by CITU in that direction, the workers-peasants alliance could not be carried beyond an Observance of Demands Day and a National Convention without any serious follow up from both the sides.

**7.4.2** The urge for workers-peasants unity in action is there among our ranks throughout the country which was reflected in various solidarity initiative by the CITU unions in support of the efforts in organising Kisan Sabha and Agricultural workers in various states. In many states, viz., Tamilnadu, Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh etc, CITU unions are taking initiatives to organise people in support of Kisan Sabha in and around the workplaces besides rendering financial and material help. In some places, reciprocal initiatives are there on the part of our Kisan Sabha comrades.

**7.4.3** In such a context, the working class movement or CITU in that matter must take vigorous initiative to develop joint activities with Kisan Sabha and agricultural workers union in a planned manner at the workplace, district and state-level on common issues of concern. At the same time, the CITU Centre should renew its initiative for joint exercise with peasantry at mass front level. Both way initiative at grass-root and central level by CITU will definitely bear results.

**7.4.4** CITU also should work for broadening the peoples' platform of struggle by re-activising the National Platform of Mass Organisation at the national level. In that direction, we should first take initiative for joint mobilisation with the like-minded organisations of students, youth, women and other sections of people along with peasantry and agricultural workers.

## **8. FIGHT AGAINST THE DIVISIVE FORCES— COMMUNALISM, CASTEISM AND PAROCHIALISM**

**8.1** Our endeavour for unifying the class and the people must prioritise on building the capacity and consciousness at all levels of the organisation to fight against all kinds of divisive and disruptive forces, the present class divided society is breeding everyday.

**8.2** The rise of communal and divisive forces in the socio-political scenario since late eighties has posed a serious challenge to our efforts for unifying the working class and the toiling people in general. The communal forces led by RSS-BJP bandwagon has been actively pursuing their communal agenda and they have become more desperate in doing so in the face of their electoral defeat on the one hand and their internal squabbles on the other.

**8.3** We should view with concern the inroad of this communal ideology within the ranks of the working class and also our weakness in fully combating the same. The trade union movement, along with other mass organisations, had on occasions taken up campaign against communalism; but that remains thoroughly insufficient, both in terms of mobilisation, regularity

and consistency. This weakness has to be overcome, with conscious independent initiative at all levels of the organisation, to expose the communal-disruptive forces and defend the unity of the class.

**8.4** The menace of casteism also is of serious concern. Problems arising out of casteism have also posed a severe challenge to the working class unity, weakening the trade union movement. This is a problem inherited from the old feudal socio-economic order. It perpetuated the caste system and the social oppression associated with it. That is why, even today worst form of caste repression exists side by side with the so called modernity infused by the capitalist way of development. However, since late eighties, there had been a greater assertion by the down-trodden sections and oppressed castes. This assertion is also getting reflected in the socio-political arena. This is a positive development and its democratic content needs to be nurtured and integrated with the mainstream struggle against the exploitative regime.

**8.5** Interested quarters, guided by 'vote-bank politics', are making hectic efforts to confine this growing assertion, against social oppression and injustice, within the narrow confines of the respective caste, to channelise the same towards caste based polarisation. This is to keep the downtrodden sections detached from the common democratic struggle against the very root of this oppression and injustice. This also is having its reflections in the trade union movement in a big way, particularly in the areas where the democratic movement is very weak. The task before the working class movement is to make conscious and consistent efforts to channelise the growing assertion among the oppressed castes towards class-consciousness. This makes it incumbent on the trade union movement to take up the cause of social justice and lead the struggle against social oppression on a priority basis.

**8.6** The policy paper of CITU adopted in its tenth Conference noted the task in clear terms. It says, "While exposing the casteist ideology and along with it, the futility of caste based compartmentalization, the working class movement must also

with all seriousness, throw its weight against all social oppression and atrocities and all discriminatory practices against downtrodden masses, from its class platform....In order to draw the oppressed masses on to the platform of class struggle, unshackling them from various caste based formations, the class-platform needs to establish its credibility as true champions of these oppressed people.”

**8.7** In the background of severe economic crisis, parochial forces are also raising their heads in most ugly manner as reflected in different parts of the country in different manners. The attack on the examinees and candidates for interview from Bihar in Maharashtra and Assam, on the Bengali speaking migrant workers in Maharashtra and Rajasthan and recent violent outbreak of so called Marathi chauvinist forces in different part of Maharashtra are some of manifestations which also acted in casting a disruptive impact on the unity of the people and must be construed as a big challenge before the working class movement.

**8.8** In this context, intensification of the working class struggles and militant mobilisation of the class against the pursuit of the agenda of imperialism in the economic policy front has to be taken up much more seriously. At the same time we have to take conscious initiative to combat and expose all the forces of disruption—communalism, casteism and parochialism both organisationally and ideologically. Both these struggles must be carried on simultaneously, aiming at broadening the unity of class in the field of struggle. The unification of the class and defeat of the disruptive forces can be best achieved through sharpening of the class struggle only. Fight against the communal and other disruptive forces must be construed as an organic part of the working class struggle.

## **9. OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.**

**9.1** The role of CITU in the international working class movement has been expanding appreciably. Bi-lateral relations with Confederations and Industrial Federations of different countries are on the increase. Undoubtedly commitment of CITU on

working class ideology, its belief in class struggles and militant character in fighting for the causes of working class are factors which have brought accolade for CITU internationally. Moreover, in their participation in sessions of various International Fora and different occasional international meetings and conferences, our comrades have been highly successful in upholding the commitment of CITU in all respect.

**9.2** Although not formally affiliated with WFTU, the CITU, ever since its formation has been maintaining very close relations with WFTU in as much as attending all the meetings and conferences and implementing various programmes of the WFTU. Moreover, since the 15th Congress of WFTU held on 1-4 December 2005 at Havana, Cuba, the CITU has been doing its best in matching with the renewed initiative of the new leadership. The current headquarters of WFTU at Athens, Greece has been maintaining close contact with CITU headquarters, New Delhi. In the meantime leadership role of our comrades in various Trade Union Internationals (TUIs) has been remarkably increasing. CITU nominees have been regularly attending the meetings of the Presidential Council of WFTU as special invitees.

**9.3** During the period under review the CITU hosted several important international events. One of the major events co-hosted by CITU was International Coalminers' Conference held at Kolkata on 14-16 December 2007. More than a hundred delegates participated in the conference. The countries represented were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, France, Germany, Mongolia, New Zealand, Poland, Russia, South Africa, Ukraine, United Kingdom and India. ILO, Geneva deputed one specialist on Health, Safety & environment in coal mining to the conference.

**9.4** Yet another very important event hosted by CITU was 8th Congress of Southern Initiative on Globalisation and For Trade Union Rights (SIGTUR) held on 19-23 April, 2008 at Kochi. The event was unique in unifying trade unions of different international affiliations on a common platform to oppose the policies of capitalist globalisation. Eighty-one delegates from

18 countries outside India attended the congress while Indian contingent was of 99 delegates. The foreign participation in the congress was from Australia, Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Japan, South Korea, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Cyprus, Iraq, Brazil, Burma and East Timor.

**9.5** Since our last conference international activities of CITU has been substantially increased both by hosting delegations from and sending delegation to different countries on various occasions. Some of countries covered through these exercises have been China, Bangladesh, Nepal, Vietnam, Greece, Australia, Japan, Israel, Palestine, Thailand, Iran, Portugese, South Korea, Mongolia, United Kingdom, South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Spain, United States of America.

## **10. ORGANISATION**

**10.1.1** Success of united struggle crucially depends on the capacity of our mobilization. Without a stronger CITU, united struggle of the working class cannot be advanced on right track. We must thus concentrate with all seriousness in consolidating and expanding CITU among the mass of the working people.

**10.1.2** This task in consolidating and strengthening CITU ideologically and organizationally has to be viewed and understood in the light of the new situation and challenges unfolded by it. The task is one of renewing and reiterating our ideological understanding and vision of advancing the cause of our struggle against the capitalist order while taking every step in our day to day struggle for immediate demands and for defence of the rights of the working people.

**10.1.3** The task is one of building capacity in every tier of our organization, right from the centre to bottom to reach the widest section of the workers to mobilize them in united action and simultaneously carry the ideology and politics of our struggle to the widest section of the toiling people. This warrants our independent initiative of campaign among the workers on the issues of joint struggles and also to bridge the trade union

struggle with the struggle of the entire people and the struggle against the social as well as economic exploitation.

**10.1.4** Precisely, with this very understanding the last General Council meeting held at Tirupati in August 2009 decided to undertake a thorough review of our organization at all levels both by the Centre, state committees and industry-wise federations and the review report should have reached the CITU Centre by the end of November 2009. Unfortunately, no structured report on such review was received from any of the states. We have received certain inputs from the report of state conferences that too not from all the states. Hence, in such a situation, we have to review the organizational position with whatever information we have at the centre.

## **10.2 Membership and problem of unevenness**

**10.2.1** The 12th Conference of CITU was held on the basis of our membership for the year 2005. Since then CITU membership has recorded an increase of little more than ten lakhs till 2008 based on which the 13th conference is being held. At the time 12th Conference only four states out of twenty five, i.e., West Bengal, Kerala and Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh accounted for 78.39% of the total CITU membership.

Practically not much improvement has taken place in respect of this unevenness at the time of our 13th Conference being held based on 2008 membership. Now West Bengal, Kerala and Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh share 78.19% of the total membership of CITU. In 14 hindi-speaking states, the share of membership in the total was 10.72% in 2005 which has improved to 11.69% in 2008. In rest of the states, (A&N, Assam, Karnataka, Orissa and Tripura) the ratio has changed from 10.22% in 2005 to 9.91% in 2008. Of course there has been some improvement in membership in almost all the states and in some of the states besides the four major ones, like in Maharashtra, Haryana, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Assam, Orissa and Himachal Pradesh improvement was quite sizable. And the membership of the entire hindi-speaking states taken together has increased by 42% in 2008 as compared to 2005.

**10.2.2** Generally, backwardness of democratic movement, unfavourable polarization in the society, lack of cadres etc are being argued upon to justify prevalence of such unevenness. It should be noted that despite prevalence of above factors in the weaker states, continuance of the present state of unevenness cannot be explained by those factors alone. Fact remains that the trend of leaving the organizational activities to spontaneity arising out of serious deficit in the political ideological understanding in the organisation is also a major factor which incapacitates our organization from harnessing the available potential notwithstanding all weaknesses. As for example the membership profile of our Anganwadi Federation reflect a much lesser degree of unevenness as their activities are more systematic with consistent follow-up and monitoring. Both the state committees and the CITU centre have their share of failures in this regard. We have to seriously introspect this aspect as well.

### **10.3 Organised sector**

**10.3.1** There is a clear trend of stagnation, rather decline in the organized sector. This cannot just be explained by the shrinkage of the organized sector employment alone. In organized sector, regular workforce is shrinking and contract and casual workers are replacing them. They are integral part of the organized sector production process and we are failing to organize them. There are efforts here and there but the matter is yet to be taken up by our organized sector unions in its entirety. Contract workers and all kinds indirect workers in the organised sector must be organised and this job has to be undertaken by the regular workers' movement in the concerned sector and we have to work much more seriously for gradually integrating the contract workers with the regular workers' movement if we are to sustain the movement and organisation in the organised sector.

**10.3.2** Moreover, our organizational presence in the newly emerging modern industries in the organized sector is minimal. One of the reasons may be that the employers in connivance with the Govt are creating roadblock to formation of trade

unions. But that cannot be the only reason. Because in major parts of the country, serious effort for organizing the workers in the modern and major industries, whether new or old, is lacking which got reflected in our membership profile of many states.

**10.3.3** To organize the workers in high tech modern industries, what is required is the proper appreciation among the organizers and state leadership about the production process and work-practices in those industries and issues and problems arising out of them. It requires also higher skill and capability to attract the generally educated and technology-savvy workforce. In this respect, we are deficient in most of the states and that there is a trend of camouflaging such deficiency by passing on the blame on reluctance of the workers of those sectors to join unions. We must plan to overcome this deficiency instead of camouflaging them.

**10.3.4** The Tamilnadu experience revealed that despite bitter resistance by the employers-Govt combine to formation of trade unions in modern industrial units, consistent organisational intervention by the CITU braving attacks and victimization could save the unions in those areas and maintain the continuity of struggle. By CITU's intervention the employers' unlawful opposition to formation of trade unions could be made a state level issue and that could cast some influence on the state labour department. The Gurgaon experience shows that employers' opposition to formation of trade unions and the repression on the workers that followed have created restlessness and resentment among the workers of other industrial units in that industrial area which brought together all the trade unions in condemning and agitating against the same. In such a scenario, planned and steady intervention by CITU would definitely improve the situation in strengthening the workers' resistance to employers' onslaught on trade union rights.

**10.3.5** Secondly, no generalized formulation can be made how to organize the workers in the high-tech modern industries both in the manufacturing and service sector. There must be serious appreciation among the leadership of the urgent political-

organisational necessity of bringing the workforce of these industries occupying strategically crucial place in the capitalist production system in the movement. Cadres for working in these sectors have to be drawn from the organized sector movement and other appropriate sources and conscious planning and prioritization are to be made in that direction.

## **10.4 Unorganised Sector**

**10.4.1** Our work in the unorganized sector also needs a thorough review. It has been decided and appreciated in successive general council meetings of CITU that we have to develop organization on occupation/trade based unions with a micro level focus. This is crucial for stabilising organization in the unorganized sector and develop leadership from among the unorganized sector workers themselves.

**10.4.2** Our work among the unorganised sector workers has increased to some extent. At present around 60% of CITU membership is from the unorganised sector workers. Almost the entire increase of 27.81% in CITU membership in 2008 over its membership in 2005 is from the unorganised sector. However, compared to the total number of workers in the unorganised sector, 16.4 crore non agricultural workers, our presence is still among a miniscule part while a vast section of them are still could not be brought to trade unions. Besides, our membership is limited to only some sections of the unorganised sector. We are almost non existent in many segments. We have to make planned efforts to increase our strength many more times.

**10.4.3** Along with agitation on the general demands of the unorganized sector workers, our unions have to work for identifying the workers in different categories viz., those below poverty line in particular and work for registering them for existing social welfare schemes applicable to them and getting the benefits delivered to them. At the same time the demand for including the entire unorganized sector workers for eligibility and entitlement for benefits under the schemes should also be made a centre for mobilization in certain trades and occupa-

tions. There have been some successes in such micro-level work in the unorganized sector in Tamilnadu as per reports received from that state where cadres have been deployed at the grass root level to work for implementation of the welfare schemes for the mass of the unorganized sector workers and in that process cadres could be developed from among the unorganized sector workers also. Similar micro-level efforts have been made in Andhra Pradesh and Haryana also which have delivered better results.

**10.4.4** The All India Coordination Committee of Unorganised Sector met on 30th November 2009 and supplied all the relevant documents to the members and state representatives present. In order to organize our work in the unorganized sector in a more focused manner, sector-wise details and status of coverage of various state or central welfare schemes have to be prepared and activities to be planned accordingly.

10.4.5 In view of our limited resources it is necessary to prioritise our work among the unorganised sector and allot suitable cadres and financial resources. Such segments having state wide presence and related to the government like anganwadi employees, ASHAs, Mid Day Meal workers, village chowkidars, those which can create an impact on public life like transport workers, head load workers, mandi workers, garment workers in home based segments, auto industry, IT and ITES, etc, may be prioritised.

## **10.5 Working Women**

**10.5.1** It is more than 30 years since we have formed the All India Coordination Committee of Working Women (AICCCWW) to advance our work among working women. The membership of CITU among working women has increased during this period. The number of women in the committees and as office bearers of CITU in different states has also increased, though it is still highly inadequate.

**10.5.2** But, many state committees of CITU have not yet constituted the coordination committees of working women at the

state level. Even where they have been constituted, several of them are not functioning; the concerned state committees of CITU consider that their job is done with the constitution of the coordination committees of working women. The state level sub committees to monitor the functioning of the CCWW have not been constituted in most of the states. Very few unions have formed women's sub committees, though there is some improvement.

**10.5.3** The attendance to the meetings including the meetings of AICCWW is very poor. Even today, many women members face the problem of lack of funds to meet their travel expenditure to attend the meetings.

**10.5.4** All this denotes the lack of due seriousness on the part of the state committees of CITU to plan and develop our activities among working women and ensure that working women have due representation in the decision making bodies of CITU. This has to be overcome at the earliest. The state committees of CITU must ensure that all the decisions taken on our work among working women are effectively implemented.

## **10.6 Democratic Functioning**

**10.6.1.** Our successes and failures in our organizational task of expanding CITU depend on the quality and status of democratic functioning of our organization at different tiers without which collective planning and initiatives, both collective and individual, cannot be unleashed.

**10.6.2** During the intervening period, though there have been some improvement in the democratic functioning at various levels of the organization, reflected in overall improvement in our membership and mobilization in struggles, that is far short of the requirement of the times in terms of intervening capacity of the working class movement in the happenings in the economic and political fronts. And that is why a thorough scrutiny is required on this aspect to improve upon and enable the organize to confront the challenges.

**10.6.3** CITU Centre is itself at serious default in making a structured review of central functioning as per the decision of the General Council meeting held at Tirupati in August 2009. Though the available Secretariat members at the centre met many times since the General Council meeting and this aspect also figured in discussions, a full fledged structured review could not be taken up. Such failure cannot be explained by posing any problems, though there are many. Such failure only reflects the collective failure of the CITU Centre to prioritise over other work and engagements and devote required time for this most important task on organization. And this is a failure about realization and understanding on the priorities in the collective sense. This failure got reflected in every aspects of the discharge of responsibilities of the CITU Centre during the intervening period right from collective initiative and appreciation of the CITU Centre on the task of developing joint movement and play a more assertive role, monitoring the states in their organizational and movemental activities, in the matter of independent campaigns in different sectors and so on so forth.

**10.6.4** In this context, it needs to be noted also that CITU Centre requires more manpower given the existing responsibilities of the Secretariat members working from the centre and in consideration of the work supposed to be done by the CITU Centre. Such a situation leads to overloading of some of the comrades and many important works goes on default or delayed. Strengthening CITU Centre should be considered as a priority task before the entire organization.

**10.6.5** The reports received and inputs gathered about the functioning of the state committees no doubt marked some improvement. On the whole, state committees met regularly in most of the states barring a few exceptions and overall attendance in the same also improved. Functioning of district committees also marked a improvement particularly in the weaker states, particularly in Hindi speaking states and more numbers of district committees of CITU are now in functioning status since the 12th Conference of CITU. Particularly in the states where marked improvement in the membership took place such as Haryana, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Assam, Orissa and

Himachal Pradesh, such improvement could become possible owing to improved collective functioning at district committee level. Reports received from Tripura which has also made significant improvement in its membership despite a comparatively smaller size of its industrial population, reveals that the functioning of the lower level committees could be substantially improved which helped them in expanding sizably their membership besides enabling them to intervene more effectively in the electoral battle. Reports received from Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh confirm considerable expansion of collective initiatives at the grass root level and improved functioning of the district committees which got reflected in the sizable expansion of their membership base. And from the strongest centres of CITU viz., West Bengal and Kerala, though no report on organizational activities have been received, the expansion in the membership in these states confirm development in their organizational functioning. Nevertheless structured reports on their organizational functioning and problems faced by them could have enriched this report for benefit of the entire organization.

**10.6.6** But all such improvements are still inadequate, if the forthcoming challenges are to be taken into account. Although our membership increased by more than ten lakh since the 12th conference, still our total membership is a small fraction compared to the vast workforce yet remaining non-unionised even in the organized sector, not to speak of the unorganized sector. Secondly our mobilization in different agitational programmes, both joint and even independent, is far short of our membership strength and this is the general phenomenon even in our stronger states. Breaking the barrier toward bigger mobilization is possible only through developing a higher level of consciousness and realization regarding the real face of the political ploy behind the present day offensives from the ruling class dominated by the forces of right-reaction and backed by imperialist agencies.

**10.6.7** And this, we must admit, is the reflection of still prevailing shortcomings in the democratic functioning of our organizations at different level which stems from the overall organi-

zational failure to elevate the level of understanding and consciousness among ourselves and our leading ranks on the urgency of carrying the initiative of mobilization and heightening the consciousness at the widest section of our membership and also mass of the workers. Without unleashing initiatives among all concerned in every level of our leading committees up to lowest ranks of the cadres such Himalayan tasks to reach out to all our members and in that process to the mass of the workers beyond our usual peripheries cannot be achieved. The democratic functioning of the organization at every level needs to be heightened with that objective.

**10.6.8** The task of for combining effectively both the movemental and political-organisational work at various levels of organization and the unit level in particular is going on default at various levels. Weakness in democratic functioning severely impedes the initiative leading to defaults in driving the urgent political-organisational tasks at all tiers of leadership of the organization.

10.6.9 This weakness is affecting expansion of CITU and its support base on the one hand and giving rise to pernicious trend of personalisation of leadership at different tiers of organisation instead of collective functioning. This in turn leads to various other corroding practices and deviations including corruption creating alienation among the common workers.

**10.6.10** The root of continuing shortcomings in the democratic functioning of the organization/unions and persistent lacunae in overcoming this weakness lies in the lack of our realization of the political-ideological significance of democratic functioning as an instrument to build up CITU consistent with its constitutional commitment as leader of the entire working class. This weakness is reflected in the character of our membership drive, spread of the membership across the sectors and the states and also in our inability to rally the significant section of CITU membership in our mobilizations and struggles. This is also having its reflection in our inability to organize the workers in the new areas of industries and services that have come up during the last decade and also our absence in most

of the areas where the recent global recession is taking its toll in the form of widespread job-losses.

## **10.7 Trade Union Education and Cadre Development**

**10.7.1** During the intervening period, no central trade union classes could be organized by the Centre. Initiatives has been taken by the state committees in many states to organize the state level classes and at least in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Orissa, comrades from the Centre were also involved in those classes.

**10.7.2** However, several state committees organized trade union classes in the state and district levels. Some of the Industrywise Federations and their state level units also organized trade union school for their leading cadres. All India Federation of Anganwadi Workers & Helpers have been regularly holding trade union classes for the activists from Hindi speaking states.

**10.7.3** Three booklets were prepared by the CITU Centre and sent to state committees for translation and circulation in the intervening period viz., 1) on Indo-US Nuclear Deal, 2) CITU's Appeal on the eve of 15th Lok Sabha Elections and 3) On Global Crisis.

## **10.8 P Ramamurty Memorial**

**10.8.1** We have already procured the land at Saket and now we have to start building the memorial building wherefrom a permanent trade union school will be run. The All India Road Transport Workers' Federation and Electricity Employees Federation of India may also share space in that building with CITU although matter is yet to be finalized. But whatever fund is lying with us will be extremely insufficient to complete the project and maintenance. And many of the state committees have not fulfilled their commitment for the P Ramamurty Memorial Fund as usual. CITU conference has to decide to generate funds for completion and fulfillment of this project.

## 10.9 CITU Journals

**10.9.1** Not much improvement in the circulation of Working Class and CITU Mazdoor published from the centre. The circulation of the Working Class in English is 4980 as in February 2010 of which 3926 are the copies sent to the affiliated unions. The circulation of CITU Mazdoor in Hindi is slightly better at 6407 of which 885 are affiliation-copy. However of the total circulation of CITU Mazdoor, highest subscriber is West Bengal(1902 copies) followed by Himachal Pradesh(1288 copies) and Orissa (564 copies).

**10.9.2** Many of the non-hindi speaking state committees are publishing journals in local languages viz., Shramik Andolan(West Bengal), CITU Sandesham (Kerala), CITU Seethi (Tamilnadu), CITU Sandesha (Karnataka), CITU Sandesh (Maharashtra), Shramik Ekata (Orissa), Jharkhand Mazdoor, Karmika Lokam (Andhra Pradesh), CITU Bulletin(Assam), Mazdoor (Tripura) etc. But most of the Hindi speaking states, CITU Mazdoor is only trade union journal and meager circulation of this journal in those states clearly reveals that even many of the state and union level leaders in those states do not read CITU Mazdoor. Such tragic reflections speak volume about our political-organisational weakness and lack of understanding about the role a journal can play in organization and movements.

**10.9.3** The circulation of the Voice of the Working Women published from CITU Centre in English is 7740. But its circulation is also extremely uneven among the states. Kerala, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal account for 7259 copies of which Kerala alone subscribes 5886 copies. The circulation of Hindi Quarterly –“Patrika” is less than 2000 and is mostly confined to Anganwadi employees. With the development of organization among ASHA and Mid-day-meal workers, there is vast scope of increase in circulation of Patrika. The CITU State committees have to pay attention in this regard. State wise detail on the circulation of journals is being annexed.

## 11. THE TASKS AHEAD

11.1 Keeping in view the challenges before the working class movement and the to prepare CITU to combat the same effectively, the Conference undertakes the following immediate tasks :

- Intensify struggles to reverse the neoliberal economic policies and resist its onslaught on the working class and the people
- Intensify and widen solidarity actions in support of the struggles of the working class and other sections of the society in various parts of the country
- Organise solidarity with the workers and democratic people of West Bengal in their struggle against the murderous attack and violence by the so called Maoist-TMC Combine
- Raise the consciousness to fight against the imperialist offensives of all hues
- Organise regular campaign against communalism and all kinds of divisive forces to defend the unity of the people
- Launch powerful struggles and mobilisations demanding implementation of labour laws and fight back the Govt's move to dismantle and overhaul labour laws in favour of employers' class.
- Organise nation wide campaign demanding 'Right to Work as a Fundamental Right'; intensify campaign for Employment Guarantee Act for urban areas; intervene to ensure proper implementation of the NREGA.
- Make efforts to develop united campaigns and struggles of all the exploited sections of the society including the agricultural workers and peasants; intensify efforts to revitalise the National Platform of Mass Organisation by developing joint activities with our fraternal mass organisations to start with
- Make efforts to develop awareness among the CITU cadres

and activists on the inadequacies of the capitalist system in solving the basic problems of humanity and the role of the working class in affecting a change in policies

- Intensify efforts to organise the contract, casual workers etc in the organised sector
- Prioritise organising workers in the organised sector, particularly the key sectors
- Decide state wise priorities for organising the workers in the unorganised sector, allot suitable cadres and form trade/ segment wise unions
- Concentrate on development of cadres with continuous efforts to raise their capabilities and efficiency through regular trade union classes, workshops etc. Ensure effective functioning of P Ramamurti Institute for Trade Union Education at the earliest
- Pay special attention to organise working women and promote them to the leadership positions
- Reorient our work as per the guidelines in the 'Bhubaneswar Document' on organisation; Organise a national workshop on organisation to review its implementation and update
- Strengthen the CITU centres at the national as well as state levels wherever necessary to ensure effective discharging of the responsibilities
- Fulfil the target of achieving membership of 75 lakhs by the time of the next conference

## **12. CONCLUSION**

**12.1** In the changed political scenario, the ruling class will be aggressively pushing through their project for developing a consensus for their neoliberal and pro-imperialist policies

among the bourgeois non-Left political forces in the face of an apparently weakened Left in Parliament. The working class movement being the life line of the Left movement have to combat the challenge through ensuring broadest mobilization of the toiling class and intensifying class action against the flawed policy regime which alone can foil the game of ruling class.

**12.2** The challenge is stupendous, no doubt but our ideology and its serious pursuit in the field of mobilization and action is the greatest weapon at our command. We must expand and consolidate our organization in that direction with the determination to combat.

**12.3** The comfort of present victory of the Congress led combine cannot continue for long as in the present crisis ridden economic situation, the policy compulsions of the neoliberal governance is destined to make the crisis more severe having its negative impact on the mass of the people and resulting speedy disillusionment among them provided our campaign is effective.

**12.4** We must be in readiness throughout the country to address such situation by mobilizing the toiling class in the fiercer struggle. For that, on the one hand, we have to work for broadening united platform of struggle and spread the unity widest at the bottom. On the other, CITU must prepare itself ideologically and organizationally at all level fighting against anti-class trends within the movement and drawing appropriate lessons from the experience of electoral struggle and subsequent developments.

**12.5** We have also to join the united programmes with all seriousness but while doing so, we must stress on our independent campaign among the mass of the workers on those issues of united movement, preceding every joint programme. This campaign is crucial, if we are to develop the consciousness and real unity of the workers at the grass-root level in the struggle against the forthcoming onslaughts of neoliberalism and imperialism.

**12.6** The inhuman face of the present capitalist order - the imperialist globalisation – stands thoroughly exposed. It can in no way be camouflaged by any talk of giving it a human face. History will move in the direction it is destined to, and its driving force – the class struggle - will grow in strength and spread, transcending the roadblocks that the ruling classes may attempt to place in its path. The working class must imbibe this dynamics of socio-economic development and direct its energy towards replacing this inhuman social order, defeating all adversaries and those who advocate capitulation and compromise.

**12.7** We are confident, we will be able to definitely overcome all hurdles to carry the working class struggle to a new height. We must remember what Lenin said in 1905, “Don’t whine comrades, we are bound to win because we are right !”

**With greetings,**

- **Long live the unity of working class and the toiling people in the struggle to defeat the policies of globalisation!**
- **Down with imperialist machinations to subjugate the world!**
- **Long live the struggle to achieve Socialism!**
- **Long live CITU!**
- **Workers of the World Unite!**

**Mohammed Amin  
General Secretary**





## Declaration on Tasks of CITU among Working Women



The 13th Conference of CITU endorses the tasks and the recommendations to CITU in the report adopted by the 9th Convention of the All India Coordination Committee of Working Women (CITU) held on 8-9 January 2010 in Thiruvananthapuram.

This Conference reasserts CITU's belief that unless the vast sections of working women in different sectors are organised and brought into the struggles, the trade union movement cannot realise its full striking power. It is of the firm opinion that problems of workingwomen are not the concern of women alone but are the concerns of the entire working class and need to be addressed by the trade union movement. Working women have to be integrated into the mainstream trade union movement not only by raising their demands but also by giving them their due role in the decision making bodies. The AICCWW (CITU) was formed to facilitate the realisation of this objective and we have achieved some progress in the last 30 years.

Today women workers constitute more than 25% of the total membership of CITU. In many states women membership in

CITU has crossed 30% while in some it is around 50% or more. Working women in almost all the states actively participate in large numbers in the campaigns and struggles of CITU. In several states they comprise more than half of its mobilisations.

However, this is not reflected in the percentage of women delegates in the conferences of CITU as well as the conferences of some all India federations with large number of women members, even though there is some improvement. Similarly, very few women are elected to the decision making bodies of CITU and its affiliated unions, though their number has increased in some states. It is necessary to urgently overcome these weaknesses, to be able to fully utilise the existing potential for strengthening our work among working women as well the CITU.

Many women workers have been active not only in their own unions but also help in organising other sections of workers. We have to train and develop them further to take up more responsibilities in the CITU. We need to promote more women into the committees and as office bearers of CITU at various levels.

The Conference reaffirms its commitment to implement the following tasks:

- Give the responsibility of the work among working women in the state to a state level office bearer of CITU
- Constitute a state level sub committee to monitor the work among working women within 6 months; include the convenor of the state CCWW wherever formed, in the sub committee
- Ensure formation of state coordination committees of working women in all the states within one year; constitute district level coordination committees wherever possible
- Ensure that all the major federations and unions of CITU with considerable women membership form women's sub committees within one year; the CITU centre and the state committees should monitor the formation and functioning of these

## women's sub committees

- Organise a national workshop to discuss the work of CITU among working women and further advance the work, in 2010
- Discuss the work among working women as a special agenda in the meetings of CITU state committees, at least once in a year; a mid term review should be conducted on the advance of our work among working women at the national level in between conferences
- Organise separate state level trade union classes for working women activists at least once in a year
- Organise central trade union class for working women activists from Hindi speaking states
- Allot a full time cadre, preferably a woman, at the state centre, for the work among working women
- Increase representation of women in the decision making bodies of CITU and its affiliated unions at all levels
- Incorporate gender issues as part of the regular curriculum in the general trade union class
- Organise the ASHAs and Mid Day Meal workers in all the states
- Observe the centenary of International Women's Day by ensuring the effective implementation of the campaign programme decided by CITU Secretariat
- Hold meetings of the CCWWs with the representatives of women's sub committees of our fraternal trade union organisations periodically to develop coordinated campaigns



# **9th Convention of All India Coordination Committee of Working Women (CITU)**

**8-9 January 2010**

**Ahilya Rangnekar Nagar, Thiruvananthapuram**

## **Report of the Convenor**

**Dear Comrades,**

This Convention of the AICCWW (CITU) is being held before the 13th Conference of CITU to be held in Chandigarh on 17 – 21 March 2010. The tasks adopted by this convention and the suggestions to the CITU for the advance of the work among working women will be placed before the CITU conference for ratification.

Before we discuss our work among working women, we need to briefly take note of a few developments of significance at the international and national level that have occurred after the eighth convention of AICCWW (CITU) in Visakhapatnam.

### **INTERNATIONAL SITUATION**

The most important development during this period that has impacted the entire world is the global economic crisis, which is said to be the worst since the Great Depression. Hundreds of thousands of workers have been losing their jobs as a result of this crisis. The ILO has estimated that 5 crores jobs would be lost by the end of 2009. Hundreds of banks and other financial institutions in USA and Europe including several giant financial institutions have collapsed. In the advanced capitalist countries including the USA, the governments had to take over and impose greater controls over the financial sector. Lakhs of old people have lost their life's savings due to the collapse of the share markets.

But the governments of these capitalist countries failed to provide any relief to the common people and the workers who lost their jobs. 14 lakh crore USD of public money was provided as bail out packages to the big corporates who triggered the crisis, while the workers who lost their jobs for no fault of theirs, were left on the streets. If the same amount of money were spent through public investment in various countries, the necessary economic and social infrastructure could have been built, while generating employment on large scale. This would have helped the global economy to come out of the recession but it would take longer for the corporates to regain their pre crisis profits. Hence the pro rich ruling classes were not willing to choose this path to come out of the global recession. Utilising the huge bail out packages, the big financial corporations have already started amassing millions of dollars of profits. It is obvious that the exploitative character of the capitalist system that puts profits before people, does not allow taking any measures to provide relief to the common people.

The global economic crisis is not the result of the greed of some individuals as is sought to be projected but the result of the failure of the system itself. It has exposed the inherent limitations of not only the neo liberal policies of globalisation but also of the capitalist system itself, which can never be immune from such crises.

In contrast, socialist China, which was also severely affected due to the drastic reduction in its exports to the advanced capitalist countries including USA, Europe etc, has provided huge amounts of money to stimulate domestic consumption by increasing the purchasing power of the people. It took serious steps to relocate the around 2 crores workers who lost their jobs due to the crisis. As a result China has been able to come out of the crisis and its economy has started registering an impressive growth again.

The election of Barrack Obama as the President of USA has raised hopes among large sections of people across the world that he would pursue policies different from those of his predecessor George Bush who was despised by people all over the

globe. But the last one year of his tenure has demonstrated that the policies of US imperialism have remained the same though the present President may be trying to make them more acceptable, one of the reasons for which is the changed world situation brought about by the global economic crisis.

## **PEOPLES' STRUGGLES IN LATIN AMERICA**

People in most of the countries in Latin America continue to raise their voice against US imperialist machinations and interventions. In Honduras, the democratically elected president Jose Manuel Zelaya was overthrown by the US backed army in June 2009 for his joining the Bolivarian Alternative for America led by Cuba and Venezuela. A powerful movement in the country against his removal was supported by the Organisation of American States; the UN General Assembly unanimously demanded restoration of Zelaya as president. But the US continues to support the coup leaders who have blocked the return of Zelaya.

In Bolivia, President Evo Morales mobilised public support for his programme of nationalisation against the US sponsored opposition. He emerged victorious for the second consecutive term in the recent elections despite all attempts by the reactionary forces to ensure his defeat. In Venezuela, President Chavez has taken up wide spread nationalisation including in the oil sector and has allocated huge amounts of resources to improve the education and health of the people.

US imperialism is getting isolated in the Organisation of American States which demanded restoration of ties with Cuba. The leaders of Bolivarian Alternative for America consisting of Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Honduras and Dominica are developing economic cooperation without any conditionalities from outside.

## **INCREASING WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES**

This period saw big working class struggles against the attacks on their livelihood and working conditions. Workers op-

posed policies of governments that were providing huge concessions to the capitalist without any relief to the workers. Millions of workers participated in countrywide demonstrations and strikes in France that paralysed the entire country. These struggles received wide support from the common people.

Militant demonstrations were held on the occasion of May Day in many countries including Germany, France, Turkey, Greece, Switzerland, Iceland etc, against the attacks on the workers' rights in the name of global economic crisis. In many countries the workers clashed with police defying bans and prohibitory orders and expressed their anger against the capitalist system.

Massive demonstrations including strikes were also reported in USA, Italy, Spain, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Argentina, UK and Ireland against wage cuts, delayed payment of wages etc.

These struggles indicate the growing disillusion of increasing numbers of workers against the capitalist system.

## **NATIONAL SITUATION**

The global economic crisis has also impacted the Indian economy. Though the UPA government has initially denied its impact and announced that India was insulated from the global economic crisis, as exports declined and jobs were being lost, it had ultimately to accept the reality. However, India was not impacted to the same extent as the advanced capitalist countries, because our financial sector was not fully liberalised as per the wishes of the UPA government, due to the stiff opposition from the Left parties on whose support the erstwhile UPA government was dependent.

It is estimated that around 50 lakhs workers in the country have lost their jobs, particularly in the export oriented sectors like gems and jewellery, garments, textiles, IT and ITES and in the construction, mining, and transport sectors etc. Wage cuts, lay offs, retrenchment, closure, forced leave without pay, withdrawal

of several benefits provided to the workers are being imposed on the workers in different sectors. As in other capitalist countries, Indian government provided the so called stimulus packages to the industry but extended no relief to the workers in these industries. It did not pay heed to the demand of the trade unions that the stimulus packages should be linked with job protection in the concerned industries.

Congress led UPA returned to power in the elections to the 15th Lok Sabha. CITU appealed to the working class to work for the defeat of both Congress and BJP, strengthen the Left, and elect a third alternative based on alternative policies. However, this could not be carried out. Though the BJP was decisively rejected by the people, UPA came to power and the Left parties suffered a serious set back, particularly in their strong holds except in Tripura.

The victory in the elections is being falsely interpreted by the Congress, no longer dependant on Left support, as a mandate to carry forward the policies of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. The Economic Survey highlighted the major thrust of the government's policies, which include disinvestment of shares in profit making PSUs to garner Rs 25,000 crore every year, sale of loss making PSUs, labour law reforms to introduce 'hire and fire' regime, changes in the Contract Labour (R&A) Act to allow contract work in all jobs, introduction of 12 hour working day and 60 hours work week in selective sectors, promoting Public Private Partnership in all infrastructure projects including the railways, privatisation of ports and airports through the PPP route, allowing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in retail sector, raising the FDI in insurance sector and defence production to 49%, allowing 100% foreign equity in rural insurance firms, deregulation of the banking sector, privatisation of the pension sector through the enactment of the PFRDA (Pension Fund Regulatory and Development Authority) Bill, doing away with administered pricing of petroleum products including kerosene and LPG, freeing fertiliser pricing from government control, lifting all restrictions on futures trade in the commodity market including the essential commodities and food grains, and lifting of price control in essential medicines etc.

The UPA government is moving fast to put into practice this policy direction.

While the government was willing to continue concessions worth Rs 4.18 lakh crore to the industry given last year in the wake of the global economic crisis this year also, it did not consider it necessary to provide adequate resources for the needs of the common people. No National Fund has been created for providing minimum national social security benefits to the around 40 crore unorganised workers; a meagre Rs 360 crore additional fund was provided for ICDS over last year, which is not at all adequate for its universalisation or providing decent wages or social security benefits to the 20 lakhs anganwadi employees; the allocations to the government's flagship programmes like National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, National Rural Health Mission, Mid Day Meal programme, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan etc have all been meagre. The government continues with its practice of utilising the unpaid services of large numbers of women workers under these various schemes.

The UPA government's decision to further deregulate the financial sector at a time when more regulations are being imposed on the private financial institutions even in the advanced capitalist countries, the agreement allowing US inspection of Indian military installations, its succumbing to US pressure at the WTO negotiations, in Copenhagen etc indicate its pro imperialist character.

The BJP has been rejected by the people for the second time in the last Parliament elections, upsetting its hopes of returning to power. While in power, the BJP was equally or even more keen to bind the country to US imperialism and in pursuing the policies of liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation and was not able to project any alternative pro people policies. It tried to garner votes by fomenting communal feelings. Soon after the Lok Sabha elections, the BJP was immersed in internal squabbles over the leadership and handed over the issue of leadership to the dictates of its parent organisation, the communal fascist Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) who anointed Nitin Gadkari as the president of BJP. The coming

period is likely to see increased attempts to bring forward its communal agenda to improve the chances of BJP to regain power. The working class must be vigilant of these attempts to divide the people and the workers on communal lines utilising the slightest occasion. Serious efforts should be made to preserve the unity of the workers including the working women by making them aware of its divisive agenda and the danger it poses to our united struggles.

Utilising the setback to the Left forces in West Bengal, the Trinamool and the Maoists have unleashed a reign of terror in the state, killing the Left parties' leaders, activists and sympathisers, particularly targeting the CPI (M). Hundreds of cadres and sympathisers of Left parties, mostly belonging to the CPI (M) have been killed since the results were declared. Many more including women and children have been injured. The administration in a few districts is not allowed to function. Hundreds of offices of CITU and CPI (M) have been burnt and ransacked. Thousands of Left party activists have been forced to leave their homes and seek refuge in the relief camps being operated by the state government. The Maoists who are threatening the people to support them or face their wrath are being supported by Trinamool Congress leaders including the Union Ministers. This is a serious threat to democracy in the country.

These attacks should not be seen as something that is confined to West Bengal. Left parties are being attacked because they are in the fore front in opposing the US imperialist domination over our country subverting our independence; because they are the staunchest supporters of the working class struggles; because they have been strongly opposing the attacks on the working and living conditions of the working class and other sections of the toiling people. The Left parties in West Bengal are specifically targeted with the intention to demoralise the Left forces and the working class all over the country and to create confusion among their ranks by weakening the Left in its stronghold. As part of the working class, we must use all our strength to defeat these machinations of the anti Left forces. We must create awareness among working women about the need to participate in the nation wide cam-

paign against the attacks on the Left parties and to support and strengthen the Left forces.

## **CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE**

The workers and the people in general have been reeling under the burden of the sky rocketing prices of all the essential commodities during this period. The prices of rice, wheat, dal, vegetables, oil, sugar etc have all increased to unprecedented levels making it impossible for the common people to meet their daily consumption requirements. But the government has done nothing to bring down the prices. Despite repeated demands from the trade unions and the Left parties, the government has not universalised the PDS and expanded the list of essential commodities supplied through the PDS. It has refused to ban forward and futures trading in commodities that lead to speculation and rise in prices. The proposed Food Security Bill restricts the beneficiaries to only BPL category and brings down the quantity of food grains to 25 kg from 35 kg and raises the price to Rs 3 from Rs 2.

While the consumers are forced to pay high prices, the farmers who produce food and other agricultural commodities are not receiving remunerative prices. The agrarian crisis in the country is continuing unabated. Farmers in several parts of the country continue to commit suicides due to the high prices of all inputs including water, electricity, seeds, pesticides, fertilisers etc, and the non availability of cheap institutional credit. The government has failed to provide adequate relief to the farmers impacted by the severe drought and floods in different parts of the country. The agrarian crisis has led to the drastic reduction in the employment in the rural areas and forced lakhs of workers to migrate to the urban areas in search of work. Lakhs of women either accompany their families or independently move to the urban areas looking for work. Though NREGA has provided some relief, it has not been able to curtail migration significantly due to lack of its effective implementation.

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While the discontent among the people against the incessant

price rise, rising unemployment, job losses etc is increasing, and people in large numbers are getting mobilised on these issues, attempts are being made by the ruling classes to divert their attention by bringing forward divisive issues. The mis-handling by the UPA government of the issue of a separate state of Telangana has created a serious situation in Andhra Pradesh with loss of lives and properties. Demands of separate states have come up in many parts of the country including Assam, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh etc. Creation of smaller states does not solve the basic problems of the people as is evident in the case of Jharkhand, Chattisgarh or Uttarakhand. What is required to improve the conditions of the people is a reversal of the anti people policies that the ruling classes are determined to pursue. We must strive to protect the unity of the working class in the wake of the attempts of the divisive forces in the name of region, religion, caste, language etc, and intensify the struggle against the policies of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation. The ccww should make efforts to take this message to all sections of the working women and mobilise them in this struggle for unity.

## **CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS**

The living and working conditions of workers including working women continue to be under attack. In spite of the increase in the productivity of the workers, the share of the wages continues to decline sharply. Wages in India at present have come down to only around 10% of value added in organised manufacturing, which is one of the lowest in the world. Thus the fruits of economic growth are being reaped by the corporates and the industry by intensifying the exploitation of the workers.

94% of the workers in the country in general and 96% of working women are employed in the unorganised sector. In the organised sector too, the number of workers having working conditions similar to the unorganised sector workers, e.g. contract, casual, part time, temporary, outsourced workers – has increased, including in the public sector and government departments. The government itself is adopting such measures

as calling its workers and employees 'social worker', 'activists', 'volunteers' etc to avoid paying them minimum wages and social security benefits. An overwhelming majority of such workers are women. Women, who traditionally have to look after the children and the elderly, cook food, take care of the sick etc in the families, are made to take up the responsibility of providing the same services to the community as unpaid labour.

The Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act does not provide any statutorily guaranteed social security benefits to the unorganised workers. It provides only for the constitution of the social security boards at the national and state levels. No fund has been constituted under the Act for the implementation of social security benefits. Only some existing social welfare schemes have been made applicable to the unorganised workers, but most of these schemes cover only the BPL category. The reported threshold for BPL categorisation is so ridiculously low that more than 90% of the unorganised workers would be left out of the purview of these schemes. However, while exposing these shortcomings in the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act, we must also make efforts to ensure that whatever benefits are available under this Act reach the eligible unorganised workers. Such sincere efforts will enable the unorganised workers to realise the inadequacies of the Act, wean them away from illusions and bring them into struggles.

Unemployment and underemployment have vastly increased during this period. Unemployment rates in 2004 – 05 were the highest ever recorded. Unemployment measured by Current Daily Status, which describes the pattern on a typical day of the previous week, accounted for 8% of the male labour force. For women in urban and rural areas it was 9 and 12% respectively. The share of total wage employment for urban male workers in 2004 - 05 was the lowest in two decades.

With the continuous rise of the prices of essential commodities, particularly food articles and no commensurate increase in the wages, for most of the workers, there is a decline in their real wages. Outside the organised sector, real wages for ca-

sual work for both men and women workers in urban areas declined in 2004 – 05 compared to 1999 – 2000, even when the government and the corporate media was boasting of relatively high economic growth.

Because of the inability to find wage employment, more and more people are being forced to take up some income generating activity on their own just to survive. There is a significant increase in self employment among all categories of workers in India. This was sharpest for rural women workers for whom self employment accounted for around two thirds of all jobs. Self employed women constituted 48% of the total urban women workers. These self employed workers, like the petty vendors, find it impossible to compete with the big corporates and business houses that are allowed to enter the retail trade. Despite stretching themselves to extremes, they are not in a position to eke out a decent living.

The NSSO survey 2004 - 05 finds that around half of all self employed workers do not find their work remunerative. As per the report, more than 40% of rural workers would have been satisfied even if they earned Rs 1,500 per month but they were not able to earn even this amount. The expectations of women workers were far below those of men; yet around half of self employed women reported that their incomes were not remunerative. This indicates that a large part of the increase in self employment is a distress driven phenomenon, led by the inability to find adequately gainful paid employment.

While organised sector employment is shrinking, the unorganised sector is expanding. The number of unorganised workers like the contract workers, casual workers, outsourced workers, temporary workers and part time workers etc in the organised sector is increasing. While most of the workers in the private sector are employed on contract basis, even in the public sector, half or more of the total workers are contract workers who perform the same work but are denied equal wages or social security benefits, even after working for decades. Lakhs of workers are also employed in various government departments as contract workers.

## **IMPLEMENTATION OF LABOUR LAWS**

For 94% of workers employed in the unorganised sector, labour laws are either not applicable or are openly being flouted by the employers with the connivance of the labour department. Attacks on the right to organisation and collective bargaining, minimum wages, safe working environment, eight hour work day, social security benefits etc are increasing. Workers are forced to go into struggles including strike, not for any new benefits, but to get their statutory rights implemented.

Despite the Equal Remuneration Act, the Maternity Benefit Act etc, vast majority of women workers do not get equal wages or maternity benefits. Even such basic necessities like separate toilets, rest rooms, and crèches etc are not available in most of the work places. Government has not enacted law against sexual harassment even after more than 12 years of the Supreme Court judgment on the issue.

## **JOINT STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS**

It is a welcome development that in the wake of the increasing attacks on the working class, 9 central trade unions including INTUC and BMS along with CITU, AITUC, HMS etc have come together for a joint campaign on the five major problems of the working class – price rise, job losses, labour laws, national fund for unorganised workers' social security and disinvestment. A well attended national convention was held in Delhi on 14th September followed by an all India joint Protest Day on 28th October and March to Parliament and demonstrations in all state capitals and industrial centres on 16th December. The trade unions have given a call for nation wide Satyagraha and courting of arrest in the first week of March 2010. Working women must be mobilised in large numbers in this programme.

## **CONDITIONS OF WORKING WOMEN**

Even today, agriculture continues to be the major source of employment for working women with vast majority of working women employed as agricultural workers. In some states like

Andhra Pradesh, women constitute around 60% of the total agricultural workers. But mechanisation and shift to commercial crops has drastically reduced the number of days of work available in agriculture.

Traditional sectors like cashew, coir, plantations, beedi, fisheries etc, in which large number of women are employed, continue to suffer because of the government's policies, the WTO and ASEAN Free Trade Agreement, the global recession etc, resulting in the loss of employment and livelihood for lakhs of women workers.

Despite the hype that was created that the liberalisation policies and export oriented industries would provide huge employment to women and lead to 'feminisation of labour', there has been no significant increase in the female work participation rates during the last three decades. Women's workforce participation in 2004-05 was slightly lower than in 1983 well before the neo liberal policies were initiated in India. It is still low even in the export industries compared to the other developing countries. Significantly in rural areas, there was a decline in work participation of younger women while in urban areas young women were joining work at lower wages than before. Open unemployment rates are much higher for young women, particularly in rural India.

Women's share in employment even in trade, hotels and restaurants, which are generally considered to attract women workers, has declined compared to 1999-2000. The little increase in women's employment was in other services, particularly in low productivity, low paying jobs just for their survival. The biggest single increase after garments has been of work in private household, the category of work that is now the single largest for urban Indian women. Domestic workers in the country now number more than thirty lakhs, and account for more than 12% of all women workers in urban India.

By reflecting the ability of women to work outside their homes and their economic contributions, work participation to some extent indicates the status of women in the society. The absence of any change in work participation reflects the lack of

progress in the conditions of and the perception about women in the country.

Lakhs of women are employed as home based workers. Hundreds of varieties of jobs are being performed by the home based workers ranging from beedi rolling, leaf plate making to garments and sports goods manufacture to assembling electric and electronic products. A recent survey conducted by CITU with the assistance of ILO found that the 82.5% of the home based workers were women. 93% of the home based workers were involved in manufacturing processes. They are among the most exploited sections of the workers with the average monthly earnings being as low as Rs 538; around 60% of the home based workers earned less than Rs 1000/- per month, despite working for more than 8 hours a day and taking the help of their family members. They do not get regular work for the whole month and when work was available, the average income of the surveyed workers was less than Rs 25 for a full day's work. Social security or any other benefits were unheard of.

Contrary to the general perception that the IT and ITES sectors and the financial sector were providing large employment opportunities for women, women workers in all IT related activities accounted for only 0.3% of the urban women workers. Similarly, women workers in all financial activities –including banking, insurance and other auxiliary financial fields – added up to only 1.4% of urban women workers. Even in Delhi, where large numbers of women get some employment, a recent survey found that almost all of the women who were regular salaried workers did not have access to paid leave, pension or provident fund, reflecting the poor working conditions even in regular work.

Retail trade used to provide employment to lakhs of women all over the country; in 1999 – 2000 14% of all urban working women were in retail trade. But this has gone down quite substantially because women find it very difficult to compete with the large corporates who have entered retail trade and because of the regulations in the cities and towns.

Large numbers of women, particularly young women with an average of 20 – 25 years are employed in the SEZs. Around 10% of them are in their teens. Though officially, labour laws are applicable in these SEZs, they are flouted with impunity with the open connivance of the authorities. The SEZs are declared as public utilities making it impossible for the workers to go on strike. Minimum wages, maternity benefit and other social security benefits are not implemented. Workers in SEZs are forced to work over time without additional wages. Women workers often face harassment including sexual harassment. Basic safety and health precautions are not observed. Workers are not allowed to organise into trade unions. Women workers in SEZs reported work related illness and disorders, such as chronic headaches, stress-related fatigue, back problems, disturbances of the menstrual cycle, loss of weight and other more serious complaints.

Discrimination in wages and promotion opportunities continues. For example, in fisheries, the job of water tanks being partially submerged in water is performed by men and women but women on an average receive less than half the wages of male workers. Similarly in traditional activities like transplantation, weeding etc in agriculture women are paid lower wages. Even in regular work in urban areas, professional and technical work in which there is no evidence of any productivity differentials at all, women employees are paid lower wages. The wage differences between men and women workers were sharpest among service and production workers- among whom regular male workers received much more than double of their female counterparts. These differences occurred across educated workers as well, so that it cannot be argued that the gender wage differences reflect differences in educational attainment. Thus in every urban occupation, the average wage of female graduates was below that of male workers who were not graduates but had only passed higher secondary along with some diploma or certificate.

## **AICCWW – OBJECTIVES**

As a part of its efforts to unite the entire working class to lead

the struggle not only to improve the conditions of the workers, but also to end all exploitation, the CITU has taken initiative to organise working women in different sectors so that they can play their due role in the trade union movement. The AICCWW (CITU) was formed with this objective. The note 'On the functioning of the CCWW of CITU' adopted by the CITU Working Committee in its meeting held in JNPT, Uran, Maharashtra on 27 – 29 January 2009 reiterated the objectives of the AICCWW as follows:

\* To help in organising women workers under the banner of the CITU

\* To help in developing women workers to take up responsibilities in the decision making bodies of the CITU

\* To popularise the policies and programmes of CITU among all sections of working women including those in non CITU affiliated unions

\* To encourage wider participation of working women in the trade union movement

## **EFFORTS AFTER CITU CONFERENCE**

Efforts were made during this period to advance the movement of CITU among working women keeping in view these objectives.

The 12th conference of CITU discussed the 'Declaration on Tasks among Working Women' based on the documents adopted in the eighth convention in a separate session and unanimously adopted it.

Despite the decision of the CITU general council that women delegation should reflect women membership of the state committees and in any case should not be less than 15% of the state delegation, the actual proportion of women in the 12th conference of CITU was only 12.17% of the total delegation. It

is sad that while most of the relatively weaker states elected women delegates as per their membership, the number of women delegates from stronger states, including some states where the CCWWs were active, was very less as a result of which the proportion of women in the conference was low.

The CITU conference self critically observed that despite repeated decisions in the CITU conferences, general council and working committee meetings etc, many state committees of CITU, particularly in the Hindi speaking states, did not constitute the state level coordination committees of working women. Even in states where they were formed, not much attention was paid to make them functional. The conference also noted the need to develop a unified understanding on the objectives, structure and functions of the coordination committees of working women among the CITU activists, both men and women, at different levels. The wrong impression among a section of CITU leadership that the CCWW was a forum of middle class women employees and the tendency among some members of CCWW to function the CCWWs as organisations independent of the CITU, were some of the weaknesses that the 12th conference of CITU identified as shortcomings that needed to be overcome at the earliest.

As per the decision of the CITU conference, efforts from the CITU centre during this period were concentrated on developing a unified understanding on the objectives, structure and functions of the coordination committees of working women.

After discussing the issue in the CITU centre, a meeting of the president/ general secretary of the CITU state committees/ state office bearers in charge of ccww along with the convenors of the state ccww was held on 30th August 2007. However, leaders from only 11 states participated in the meeting, which was attended by the president and general secretary of CITU. This was followed by detailed discussions in two meetings of the full secretariat of CITU, after which a note on the functioning of the CCWW was adopted. The note was placed in the working committee of CITU held in Mumbai in January 2009, which adopted it unanimously along with a resolution on the basis of the note.

The note and the resolution were then placed in the AICCWW (CITU) meeting held in February 2009. The CITU working committee also decided to observe the completion of the 30 years of the formation of AICCWW by conducting proper reviews of the work among working women. As per the decision of the CITU working committee a sub committee has been constituted at the CITU centre with the general secretary of CITU, the convenor and two members of AICCWW functioning from the CITU centre to monitor the work among working women.

Reports indicate that this exercise along with wide discussions on the basis of the CITU document 'Working Women – A Class Perspective' adopted in its 10th conference, helped to certain extent in making the role and functioning of CCWWs more clear. However, these efforts need to be continued to ensure effective implementation of the decisions of CITU related to the work among working women all over the country.

## **WOMEN IN CITU**

Despite the weaknesses in the formation and functioning of the CCWWs in several states, women membership of CITU at the national level and in most of the states has continued to increase. As per the latest information received at the CITU centre, 12,69,509 out of the total 49,90,289 CITU members in 2008, were women, comprising 25.43% of its total membership, up from 22.7% in 2005. The increased activities of CITU among the unorganised workers, particularly anganwadi employees, ASHAs, Mid day meal workers, etc has mainly contributed to this increase.

While in 2005, Karnataka was the only state where women constituted more than 50% of CITU membership, in 2008 in 4 states – Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Bihar – more than 50% of CITU members are women with Himachal Pradesh having 62% women members. In 13 states, more than 25% members of CITU are women. Only in 4 states – Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh – women constitute less than 10% of CITU members.

The participation of women workers in the activities of CITU has considerably increased in most of the states. In many states including in the Hindi speaking states, women comprise around 50% or more of the mobilisation of CITU, be it in its struggle programmes or public meetings on the occasion of its conferences. For example, in the struggle of the unorganised workers in Karnataka, overwhelming majority of the participants were women; similarly in the unorganised workers' campaign in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala etc, around half or more of the participants in several districts were women workers.

The proportion of women in the leadership of CITU has also increased though not commensurate with the membership and their participation in the CITU activities. In most of the states, at least one woman has been elected as office bearer of the CITU state committees; in several states like Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal etc there are more than one woman office bearers in the state committee. In many states, women are elected to the district committees as members and office bearers. In Andhra Pradesh, women workers have been elected as presidents/ general secretaries of around 800 mandal committees out of the total around 1,100 mandal committees of CITU in the state. The number of women activists functioning as full time or part time functionaries of CITU has also increased in several states. At the same time, compared to women's membership and their participation in CITU activities, their role in the decision making bodies of CITU needs to be increased further. It is necessary to identify the women activists of CITU in different unions, train and educate them and give them more responsibilities in the unions as well as CITU. The CCWWs at different levels have to make more efforts to ensure this.

## ACTIVITIES

The AICCWW with 41 members and 3 invitees from 10 states was formed in the eighth convention. It met only three times during this period. But even then, the attendance in none of these meetings could be termed as satisfactory with the maximum attendance being 19 from 6-7 states. 11 members – 2

out of 4 from Andhra Pradesh, 1 out of 3 from Karnataka, 1 out of 6 from Tamil Nadu, 1 out of 2 from Tripura and 6 out of 11 from West Bengal and 1 invitee out of 3 from West Bengal - did not attend a single meeting. 17 members and 2 invitees attended only one meeting. Only 6 members, 3 of them from the CITU centre, attended all the meetings. Most of these members are unable to attend the AICCWW meetings probably due to their pre occupation with the local union, CITU and other important activities. This along with the past experience makes it necessary to seriously consider the need to form a smaller AICCWW with comrades who will be able to attend the meetings regularly.

An important effort by the AICCWW during this period has been to develop a nation wide movement of ASHAs and Mid Day meal workers. More than 6 lakhs women are working as Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHAs) in the National Rural Health Mission, a flagship programme of the government of India. While they are made to do jobs that require them to work full day, and even stay outside their homes for a couple of days, they are only treated as 'activists' and paid 'incentive'. Most of these women are young and educated. Around 22 lakhs workers, most of them women, are engaged in the Mid Day Meal programme of the government of India. In many states the job is given to the SHGs while in a few workers with meagre wages are employed as cooks and helpers. Because of their highly exploitative working conditions, and inspired by the struggles of the anganwadi employees under the leadership of CITU, ASHAs and Mid Day Meal workers in several states have been approaching CITU with their problems. In some states they were organised into unions and launched militant struggles under the leadership of CITU.

A note was prepared for discussion in the CITU full secretariat which called upon all the state committees to organise ASHAs and Mid Day Meal workers. A national level meeting of the CITU cadres organising ASHAs and Mid Day Meal workers was organised on 26th January 2009 in Mumbai. The Mumbai Working Committee of CITU decided to organise a national convention in Delhi on 19th February 2009. Around 514 ASHAs from 7

states and 174 Mid Day Meal workers from 10 states participated in the national convention which unanimously adopted separate Declarations on their demands. The president and general secretary of CITU were present in the convention. A memorandum on the demands of Mid Day Meal workers was presented to the Education secretary. The convention gave a call to observe 18th March 2009 as an all India Demands' Day of ASHAs and 26th March 2009 as the all India Demands' Day of Mid Day Meal workers. Both these days were enthusiastically observed in several states.

At present, ASHAs unions have been formed in several states including Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Orissa, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand etc while efforts to organise them are going on in Karnataka and Punjab. Mid Day Meal workers' unions have been formed in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Orissa, Uttarakhand etc. All India coordination committees of ASHAs and Mid Day Meal workers' unions have been formed with Ranjana Nirula and AR Sindhu as convenors. These coordination committees met on 28th November 2009 and decided to take up campaign programmes. The state ccwws need to follow up the issue of organising these working women by the CITU in their respective states.

Organising ASHAs, Mid Day Meal workers along with anganwadi employees will help us in taking the policies and programmes of CITU up to the village level.

There has been some improvement in the formation of women's sub committees in the Federations and unions affiliated to CITU. The Construction Workers' Federation of India held a national convention of women construction workers and formed a women's sub committee at the national level. State level women's sub committees of the construction workers' unions were formed in several states including Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Tripura and West Bengal etc; in Tamil Nadu, women's sub committees have been formed in 25 districts. District level women's sub committees have also been formed in Kerala. The all India

women's sub committee of CWFI met and made some important suggestions to the CWFI for advancing its work among women construction workers including formation of sub committees in all states within a time frame and organising a nation wide movement on the specific demands of the women construction workers.

The Federation of Medical and Sales Representatives' Associations of India (FMRAI) too organised a national convention of women field workers and formed an all India women's sub committee. The national convention decided to launch a nation wide campaign and agitation on the issues of maternity leave, equal pay for equal work, 8 hours work day, stringent punishment for sexual harassment, crèches etc.

In several circles, BSNL Employees' Unions too have organised women's conventions and constituted women's sub committees.

In addition to these, several fraternal trade unions including AIIEA, BEFI, AIRRBEA, AISGEF etc continue to organise women's conventions regularly along with their conferences. Women have been elected to important posts at the divisional and zonal level committees of AIIEA; around 25% posts have been reserved for women in the working committee of the All India State Government Employees' Federation.

At the state and lower levels women's sub committees have been formed in some unions in sectors like fisheries, beedi, construction, municipal, road transport, railways, plantation, medical and health employees, medical and sales representatives, electricity employees, etc in some states. The state ccwws have to make efforts to ensure that such women's sub committees are formed in all unions with considerable number of women members and also make them functional.

Working women participated in large numbers in the struggles against the adverse impact of the policies of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, including in the all India general strikes on 14th December 2006 and 20th August 2008 at

the call of the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions and also in the all India strike of unorganised sector workers at the call of CITU on 8th August 2007. The participation of working women like the anganwadi employees, health workers etc, in most of the states, of the transport workers in the trams and buses, electricity workers, municipal workers, street hawkers etc in West Bengal, of the women workers in traditional industries like cashew, coir etc in Kerala, of the tailoring workers and other sections of the unorganised workers in Tamil Nadu, in the all India strike of unorganised workers on 8th August 2007 was particularly remarkable. Large number of working women participated in the nation wide Satyagraha programme on 4-5 December 2007 and courted arrest.

Working women have also participated in the campaign against the attacks on the working class on the pretext of the global economic crisis. Good number of working women participated in the rally organised by CITU in Delhi on 20th January 2009 and in the rally organised by the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions on 18th February 2009.

Women workers also participated in good numbers in the joint national trade union convention on 14th September 2009, all India Protest Day on 28th October 2009 and dharnas before the Parliament and in national capitals and industrial centres on 16th December 2009.

## **INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY**

Every year circulars are being issued from the CITU centre on the observance of International Women's Day on March 8.

There has been some improvement in the initiative taken by the CITU affiliated unions in the observance of the International Women's Day. In Kerala, IWD was observed along with AIDWA.

In Kerala, seminars on food security, communalism, impact of neo liberal globalisation, superstitions and evil practices, violence against women were organised on the occasion of IWD

in 2008; factory and gate meetings, area level meetings were also held among fishers, cashew workers etc. Lectures on the subject 'Imperialist invasion and the working class' were also organised in all the districts on the occasion of IWD. Rallies, conventions, meetings etc were held on the occasion in 2009. In Tamil Nadu IWD was observed as Demands' Day focussing on implementation of minimum wages, equal pay, 8 hours work, pension, abolition of contract system etc; working women wearing paper/ cloth aprons with the demands written on them and wearing caps prominently displaying 'IWD' participated in the demonstrations and rallies that were held at the district level. Thousands of leaflets were distributed. Special conventions, street corner meetings and street plays were also held on the occasion.

IWD was observed in other states too including Tripura, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka etc in several towns by holding meetings, round table discussions etc. The Hindustan Steel Employees' Union and the Union of Contract Workers' Union in Durgapur organised a convention on the occasion. IWD was also held in Punjab by holding meetings, rallies, demonstrations and cultural programmes. In Orissa rallies, meetings and general body meetings were held in several towns in which working women from various sectors participated. The women's sub committee of the union in Regional Plant Research Centre in Bhubaneswar and the CITU affiliated unions in the mines in Sundergarh districts organised general body meetings. In Delhi, women workers from CEL and other industries in the industrial area of Sahibabad participated in the meetings organised by the CITU district committee on the occasion of IWD. In Chattisgarh a CITU district committee organised a meeting on the occasion in which large numbers of beedi workers, mandi workers etc participated.

Women's sub committees in several fraternal trade unions, particularly in the various divisions of AIIEA all over the country organise IWD by holding meetings. The women's sub committees of insurance employees' unions organised medical camps, blood donation camps, distributed books and study materials, clothes and other necessary articles etc in the orphanages,

old age homes etc.

## **VIMAL RANADIVE BIRTH ANNIVERSARY**

The birth anniversary of the founder convenor of AICCWW (CITU), Com Vimal Ranadive is now being observed by organising meetings, seminars, and lectures etc on a specific subject decided by the CITU centre. In 2007, the topic was 'Special Economic Zones – Concept and Impact' and in 2008 'Communalism and Neo Liberal Globalisation'.

It was observed in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and West Bengal etc by organising special lectures, seminars, conventions, round table meetings etc. In Kerala, the women's sub committee of the Kerala Gazetted Officers' Association organised a state level convention on that occasion in 2007. Classes were also held in some districts on that day in which the CITU leaders participated. In 2009, it could not be observed because of the Parliament elections; however in Kerala, distribution of booklets, pamphlets and organising family get together etc were organised on the day.

In Tripura, a big rally of working women was organised against price rise on the occasion of Vimal Ranadive Birth anniversary, in which women workers from different industries participated in large numbers.

Working women have also been participating in large numbers in several states in the processions, rallies etc held by CITU on the occasion of May Day. In Andhra Pradesh, women activists of CITU in several mandals take initiative to mobilise the workers and hoist the CITU flag on the occasion of May Day.

Large number of working women activists, particularly the anganwadi employees in several states including Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, and West Bengal actively participated in the campaign to implement the CITU directive in the elections to the 15th Lok Sabha. In some states like Karnataka, the anganwadi employees had to participate in the election cam-

paigned surreptitiously due to the threats from the Election Commission. In West Bengal, a big convention of working women from different sectors was organised in Calcutta.

## **ACTIVITIES IN STATES**

At present state ccww are functioning in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tripura, West Bengal and Karnataka. In almost all the other states wherever they have been formed, the ccww have become defunct. It is necessary to reconstitute the ccwws in all the states and make them functional.

The state ccww in Tamil Nadu and Kerala are functioning effectively holding regular meetings and planning activities. The common demands of women workers are being voiced by these ccwws.

The Kerala ccww presented a charter of demands that included implementation of minimum wages, equal pay, safe work place, prevention from and stringent action against sexual harassment, stopping of discrimination in promotions for women employees, provision of toilet facilities at work place, maternity leave, crèches, transport arrangement during peak hours etc, to the state labour minister. Similar charters of demands were presented to the district authorities also. Protest demonstrations at district level were also held in which hundreds of working women participated, against the anti worker policies of the UPA government at the centre, against price rise, against the Indo US nuclear deal and reduction in the BPL entitlements etc. In Kerala, working women were mobilised in large numbers on the occasion of the joint all India worker peasant demands' day.

The Tamil Nadu ccww has brought the problems of different sections of working women like shop employees in Kanyakumari, of women tailors, women manual labourers, rag pickers etc to the notice of the district CITU committees which led campaigns on their demands. Issues like PDS, drinking water, bus services, house pattas etc, of these women workers were also raised by the CITU district committees.

Mass rallies and demonstrations of working women were organised in all districts in Tamil Nadu on 27 February 2007 condemning the non-functioning of the labour department and demanding regular functioning of the state welfare boards of the unorganised sector workers. Memoranda were also submitted to the district authorities on implementation of minimum wages, 8 hour work day, equal wages, regular payment of wages, sexual harassment, medical insurance, safety at work place, provision of drinking water etc.

The Tamil Nadu state ccww has also decided that the district ccww should encourage and support working women who go on spontaneous struggles on their demands, as was already being done by some of the district ccww in the state.

In almost all the states anganwadi employees' unions affiliated to CITU have been actively participating in campaigns and struggles on their demands both at the local and state level as well as at the national level. Besides, the mid day meal workers, ASHAs also participated in big mobilisations and held state level dharnas in several states including Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh etc.

The state ccww and the CITU committees have extended support to the struggles of women workers in several states. Some of these are the Raj Bhawan march of khadi workers in Kerala demanding modernisation of the khadi industry, better wages and working conditions; the struggle of the private hospital employees in Tamil Nadu and Kerala demanding minimum wages, statutory protection, welfare benefits etc; the struggle of the women garment workers in Delhi demanding minimum wages and other statutory benefits facing police repression including arrests and imprisonment; the struggle of the women workers of Premier Spinning Mills in Tamil Nadu against sexual harassment by supervisors and increase in the work load; the struggle of the beedi workers, SEZ workers, coffee workers, community health workers in Andhra Pradesh, the rallies of the domestic workers demanding statutory benefits in Maharashtra; the demands of the street hawkers in West Bengal etc. In West

Bengal, a rally of working women was organised in support of the policies of the Left Front government in the state.

## **STATE CCWW AND WOMEN'S SUB COMMITTEES**

State conventions of working women were held in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Kerala during this period, while in some other states including Karnataka, Tamil Nadu etc conventions have been planned to be held after the 13th conference of CITU.

The fifth state convention of working women in Andhra Pradesh was held in April 2008. 210 working women from 31 sectors in 21 out of the 23 districts participated in the 2 day convention. A new 31 member ccww with a convenor and 6 co-convenors was constituted.

The Andhra Pradesh state wwcc made efforts to organise different sections of working women, which have resulted in the formation of several state level unions of working women in various sectors and in strengthening of some of the already existing unions in industries with a large female workforce.

The members of the state CCWW took the initiative to reactivate the beedi workers' union in the state. They played an active role in the campaign against the government order to use a skull mark on beedi packets. 70 types of leaflets were distributed on the issue. They helped in conducting a survey among 30,000 beedi workers in 600 villages and 7 municipalities; they also extended support to the 8 jathas of the beedi workers' union, which covered all the districts where beedi workers were concentrated. The state ccww also took initiative to organise the community health workers employed by the Integrated Tribal Development Agency. Similarly it started the efforts to organise the ASHAs in 2006 and taking up campaigns and struggles on their issues several times. These efforts led to the formation of strong unions of community health workers and ASHAs in the state.

The West Bengal state convention of working women was held

in Durgapur on 15th September 2008 and a new ccww was constituted with 40 members. The state ccww met six times since then with an average attendance of a little over 40%. Working women from different sectors participate in the programmes of CITU at the district level and in the activities of their own unions. The ccww has decided to make more efforts to increase their participation.

The state ccww is making efforts to ensure that women's 'teams' (sub committees) are formed in all the unions with women members, including the big unions. It has also identified women workers in printing, book binding, hosiery, home based workers, municipal workers and health workers etc to be organised. Women's sub committees have been formed in the unions of the construction workers, street hawkers, beedi workers, tea plantation workers etc in some districts. Working women in large numbers participate in the health check up and blood donation camps that are organised by the Calcutta district committee of CITU every year. The ccww has identified the need to raise the awareness among some sections of working women who confine their participation to only union activities.

The eighth state convention of working women in Kerala was held on 8th November 2009. 352 delegates from 54 sectors from all the 14 districts in the state participated in the convention; district conventions were held in almost all the districts prior to the state convention. A 95 member ccww including office bearers was constituted. In some districts trade union class was held after the convention.

The Panchayat Employees' Association in Kerala organised a state level convention of women employees in which around 250 women employees from all the 14 districts participated. The state fisheries federation also holds women's conventions and has formed a women's sub committee.

The Orissa state convention of working women was held on 29th December 2009, before the state conference of CITU.

The work among working women in Tamil Nadu was reviewed on the basis of information gathered through a questionnaire

to the district ccwws, in a meeting attended by the state leadership of CITU on 22nd June 2008. District ccww have been constituted in all the 34 districts in the state; women's sub committee was constituted at the state level and in 7 district committees of the Electricity Employees' Union; women's sub committees have also been constituted by the handloom workers' union, railway employees' union, tailoring workers' union, hosiery workers' union, construction workers' union, and several unions in the unorganised sector.

30 out of the 34 district ccww were functioning more or less regularly. In 5 districts the meetings of ccww are being held with an average attendance of 70% and in 16 districts with 60% attendance; the attendance is around 30% in the other districts. The ccww make efforts to involve working women in all the campaign and struggle programmes of CITU. In 11 districts, the working women from middle class organisations extend financial help while in 12 districts, donations are collected.

The district ccww in Tamil Nadu make efforts to meet the women workers at their door step and help in their social and family problems. The ccww adopt various methods to attract the women workers towards CITU. These include participating in negotiations on the demands of home based workers and domestic workers, dealing with child labour issues in the match factories, taking up the issues of equal wages and cases of harassment at the work place, organising spontaneous struggles on issues that demand urgent intervention, organising self help groups, helping in obtaining bank loans and welfare board grants/ incentives, conducting workshops and medical camps etc. Besides enrolling women workers into CITU unions, the ccww members also enrol the male workers.

Working women in several industries including construction, tailoring, anganwadi employees, fish vendors, race course workers, street vendors, way side vendors, beedi workers, domestic workers, laundry workers, salt pan workers, home based workers, power loom workers, cotton mill workers, match workers, steel/ aluminium vessels making workers, tannery workers, nurses, agarbatti workers, appalam (papad) workers,

and local administration/ corporation workers etc are associated with the ccww in different districts.

On the basis of the review, the Tamil Nadu ccww noted that forming women's sub committees helped in increasing the participation of women in the activities of CITU and suggested formation of women's sub committees in several other unions.

## **TRADE UNION CLASSES**

Kerala state ccww made commendable efforts during this period to organise trade union classes and workshops for working women activists. 2 days trade union class was organised in December 2007 in which 86 activists from 30 industries/ trades including in the organised and unorganised sectors from 12 out of the 14 districts in the state participated. 'Working Women – A Class Perspective' was one of the topics and this was included as a subject in all the district level classes and workshops that followed. Another trade union class was held in July 2009 in which 157 working women activists from 40 sectors from all the 14 districts participated.

A state level workshop was organised in Tamil Nadu for the convenors and joint convenors of the district ccww and the women part timers of CITU. 153 activists including 32 part timers representing organised and unorganised sector unions from 29 districts participated in the workshop.

A 2 days state level trade union class was held in Andhra Pradesh in which 130 working women activists participated. Two workshops for full time and part time cadres were held in 2008 and in 2009 in which around 50 and 35 participated.

A 2 days trade union class was also held for working women activists, mostly working in the ASHA and anganwadi employees' unions in Uttarakhand in 2009.

In view of the importance of developing working women cadres, particularly in the Hindi speaking states where a large number of working women like anganwadi employees, ASHAs and

Mid Day Meal workers etc are coming into the CITU, it is necessary to organise a central trade union class for working women activists.

## **JOURNALS**

The circulation of 'The Voice of the Working Woman' which will complete 30 years of uninterrupted publication next year has increased after the last convention, almost entirely due to the efforts of the Kerala ccww. It is at present 7,276. The details of the circulation are given in the annexure. While efforts need to be continued to sustain and also try to increase the circulation in Kerala, the ccww in other states too should make efforts to enrol subscribers to the journal.

The circulation of 'Patrika' continues to be very low at 1,600 – 1,700 and is mostly confined to the anganwadi employees. As our activities among several other sections of working women like ASHAs, Mid Day Meal workers etc have increased in the Hindi speaking states also, efforts need to be made to increase the circulation of 'Patrika' among these sections. This should be taken as one of the important tasks in view of the need to strengthen our movement in the Hindi speaking region. Besides, unless the circulation of 'Patrika' is increased to make it self sufficient, it would be difficult to continue its publication.

Keeping in view the conditions of the people, workers and women workers, and the need to develop a strong people's movement in which the working class has to play the leading role, we have to campaign on the following charter of demands

## **DEMANDS**

- Curb price rise; universalise PDS and provide 15 essential commodities through the Public Distribution System
- Effectively implement NREGA; ensure proper representation to women workers in NREGA
- Extend Rural Employment Guarantee to urban areas

- Create National Fund for Unorganised Workers by making budgetary allocations; amend the Unorganised Workers Social Security Act to include minimum welfare benefits like pension, health, maternity, accident benefits as statutory rights of unorganised workers; remove BPL criterion for implementation of welfare schemes to unorganised workers
- Ensure that the jobs of workers in sectors affected by global recession are protected; link up stimulus packages with job protection of workers in these industries
- Ensure strict implementation of all labour laws, including Equal Remuneration Act, Minimum Wages Act, Maternity Benefit Act etc in all establishments including those in the SEZs
- Make adequate financial allocations for universalisation of ICDS with proper infrastructure for the anganwadi centres; convert anganwadi centres into anganwadi cum crèches
- Ensure crèches are provided to all working women at their work places, irrespective of the number of women workers; women with small babies should be given breaks to feed them
- Improve the working conditions of all workers including the women workers working under the various government schemes like the ICDS, NRHM, Mid Day Meal Programme, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan etc
- Provide maternity benefits to all women workers including those in the unorganised sector, home based workers and agricultural workers; extend the benefits to cover miscarriages
- Immediately enact legislation against sexual harassment at work place ensuring that there is no victimisation of the complainant
- No blanket permission for night work for women; trade unions must be consulted before allowing night work for women in any sector; employers must provide transport facilities up to their residence to the women who have to work in the night and

ensure safe workplace

- Stop disinvestment of PSUs

## **TASKS**

- Take initiative to organise a national level work shop to discuss the work of CITU among working women and further advance the work, in 2010
- Make efforts for the formation of women's sub committees in CITU affiliated unions in industries with large number of women
- Make efforts for the formation of state CCWW and wherever possible district level CCWW and make them functional
- Make efforts to organise different sections of women workers, particularly ASHAs, Mid Day Meal workers, home based workers etc
- Identify working women activists and take initiative to organise trade union classes and develop them to take up more responsibilities in their unions
- Make efforts to increase the presence of women in the decision making bodies of CITU and its affiliated unions at various levels
- Observe the year 2010, commemorating the centenary of the International Women's Day by focussing on the three demands of equal wages, 8 hours working day and 33% reservation for women in legislatures
- Organise demonstrations all over the country on the demands of working women on 10th April 2010, coinciding with Com Vimal di's birth anniversary, to mark the conclusion of the observance of thirty years of the formation of AICCWW (CITU)
- Compile all CITU publications on working women into a booklet

## RECOMMENDATIONS TO CITU

- Give the responsibility of the work among working women to a state level office bearer of CITU
- Form a state level sub committee to monitor the work among working women; include the convenor of the state CCWW wherever formed, in the sub committee
- Ensure formation of state coordination committees of working women within one year, in all the states
- Ensure that all the major federations and unions of CITU with considerable women membership form women's sub committees within one year; the CITU centre and the state committees should monitor the formation and functioning of these women's sub committees
- Ensure women's specific demands are included in the charter of demands of the CITU affiliated unions, particularly in industries with considerable number of women
- Ensure women leaders are included in the negotiating teams of the unions in industries with considerable number of women
- Discuss the work among working women as a special agenda in the meetings of CITU state committees, at least once in a year; a mid term review should be conducted on the advance of our work among working women at the national level in between conferences
- Allot a full time cadre, preferably a woman, at the state centre, for the work among working women
- Increase representation of women in the decision making bodies of CITU and its affiliated unions at all levels
- Ensure that all the expenses necessary for the effective functioning of the state and district CCWWs, including the travel expenses of the members of the CCWWs and women's sub

committees, are met by the respective CITU/ Union committees

- Incorporate gender issues as part of the regular curriculum in the general trade union class
- Organise central trade union class for working women activists from Hindi speaking states
- Organise the ASHAs and Mid Day Meal workers in all the states
- Wide campaign on the demands of working women to be taken up by the CITU state committees to culminate in mass mobilisations of both women and men on the demands, on a day in April, to mark the conclusion of the observance of 30 years of the formation of AICCWW (CITU)

I request the delegates to deliberate on this report and give their valuable suggestions to advance CITU's work among working women

**Yours comradely,  
HEMALATA  
Convenor**

# RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

## AGAINST MAOIST-TRINAMOOL ATTACKS IN WEST BENGAL

The Thirteenth Conference of CITU notes with grave concern the heinous attacks on the Left forces in West Bengal, after the announcement of the results of the elections to the 15th Lok Sabha. Hundreds of cadres and sympathisers of Left parties have been killed during this period by the Maoists – Trinamool Congress goons who are specifically targeting the CPI (M) and CITU for their attacks; the number is increasing with every passing day.

Hundreds of union offices have been burnt and looted. Thousands of activists of the Left parties and trade unions are forced to leave their homes and take shelter in relief camps. The Maoists gangs are unleashing terror on the villagers and tribals through murder, arson, forcible fines and extortion without even sparing innocent men, women and children. Such attacks are a threat to democracy itself in our country.

These dastardly attacks are part of a well planned conspiracy to throttle opposition to the attempts of the ruling class to engineer a rightward shift in the country's economic policies and turn it into a junior partner of US imperialism. The Left, particularly the CPI(M) is targeted because it is the loudest voice against sacrificing the interests of the country at the alter of US imperialism; and because a strong left is an obstacle to full-fledged implementation on neoliberal reform.

The attacks on the Left tantamount to attacks on the working class. Along with the physical attacks, a serious ideological attack is also being launched by the ruling classes and a section of the media, on the Left. The Left in West Bengal is being specifically targeted because it is the strongest bastion of the working class movement and the Left forces. It is being at-

tacked under the illusion that the working class resistance to the policies of globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, to the attacks on its hard won rights, can be decimated by weakening the Left in the country.

The working class of West Bengal under the leadership of CITU is courageously resisting all these attacks. But, this is not a battle to be fought by the West Bengal comrades alone. The working class all over the country must stand as a solid rock to defend the working class movement in the country.

This Conference of CITU calls upon the working class all over the country to participate en masse in the solidarity actions being organised by the CITU and the fraternal organisations this Maoist-Trinamool attack.

## **ON TRADE UNION UNITY**

The 13th Conference of Centre of Indian Trade Unions being held on 17 - 22nd March 2010 at Chandigarh congratulates the working class of the country for their massive response to the united call by all the Central Trade Unions and Federations for countrywide Satyagraha / Jail Bharo on 5th March 2010 on five point demands against the fall -out of neoliberal economic policies. Active involvement of more than a million workers in the all in united agitation throughout the country on these demands gives a clear signal to the ruling polity in the country that the genuine concerns of the working people can no way be ignored and the working class movement is determined to fight back for reversal of the anti-worker and anti-people policies being pursued since 1991 which benefit minuscule segment of the society including the big corporates and traders at the expense of workers, agricultural labourers, peasants and unemployed youth which constitute the overwhelming majority of the populace.

In the background of the global economic recession the attacks on the working class has become much more severe and there is a strong urge among the working class of all affiliations to unite in the struggle against the policies of globaliza-

tion and market economy which has led to the historic trade union unity among all the Central Trade Unions in September last year mainly against unprecedented price rise, rampant violation of labour laws, contractorisation of workforce, disinvestment of profit making public sectors and for provision of universal social security for unorganized sector workers.

The Conference strongly feels that on going concerted attack on working class warrants such a determined and vigorous initiative for all-in-united resistance by the working class movement. Unity of the working class developed through joint struggles of trade unions needs to be widened and intensified to face the challenges of the neo-liberal offensives unleashed by the present government. The conference urges that unity achieved among all the Central Trade Unions of all affiliations have to be translated in all in united mobilizations at the grass root level and must cover the vast multitude of workforce yet uncovered by the trade union movement.

The Conference calls upon all the trade unions irrespective of affiliations and the CITU unions in particular to work for widening and consolidating such all in unity of workers at workplaces and prepare for heightening the united struggle in the days to come for reversal of policies.

The Conference urges all the Central Trade Unions to decide the next phase of action to intensify and widen the ongoing agitation further and mobilize the working class for a sustained offensive struggle till the ruling polity changes its pro-rich and anti worker policies as per the neo-liberal format.

## **ON PRICE RISE**

The Thirteenth Conference of CITU, held from 17 to 21 March 2010 in Chandigarh, Punjab, expresses its deep concern on steep rise in the prices of all the essential commodities of daily use, particularly of the food items. The price rise along with the rising unemployment, underemployment, and poverty, is threatening the already meagre food security for an overwhelmingly large section of our population.

The prices are likely to aggravate the serious situation of malnutrition in the country, particularly among children and women. India has already has the gloomy distinction of having the largest number of hungry and malnourished people in the world and is ranked 66 out of 88 countries in the World Hunger Index.

The policies of the government of India, like dismantling of Public Distribution System (PDS), hike in the prices of petrol and diesel, refusal to ban futures trading in essential commodities etc. have led to relentless increase in the prices.

Despite the nationwide joint struggle of the trade unions demanding immediate measures to rein in the prices and expand the PDS, the UPA government remains utterly insensitive to the burning issues as evident from the budget declaration to increase the prices of fertiliser, petrol, diesel and coal.

The Thirteenth Conference of CITU demands the UPA government to take the following measures immediately to curb the price rise and provide relief to the people –

- Withdraw the hike in price of Petrol, diesel, fertilisers and coal.
- Ban all future trading in essential commodities
- Universalise PDS; remove the arbitrary division of the poor into BPL and APL
- Ensure de-hoarding and take strong action against hoarders and black marketers

### **ON AGRARIAN CRISIS AND WORKER - PEASANT ALLIANCE**

The 13th conference of CITU being held at Chandigarh on 17–21 March 2010 expresses serious concern on the crisis in the agriculture sector.

The sector has suffered a setback in the recent years as wit-

nessed from the growth rate of only 2% per annum during 9th plan period and about 2.3% during the 10th Plan against a target of 4%. The average economic growth during the last four years ranged between 7.5% and 9.4% per annum, but there is hardly 2% growth in the agricultural sector during this period. The last Economic Survey reports that there is 0.2% decline in agricultural output in the year 2009-10.

CITU denounces that despite such crisis, the union cabinet decided to raise the prices of urea by 10% and allow full de-control of phosphatic and potassic fertilizers after introduction of Nutrient Based Subsidy (NBS) scheme which will provide exclusive right to fixation of maximum retail price of these fertilizers to the manufacturers and importers.

The conference is concerned that food security has been endangered in the recent times with resumption of large scale import of food grains. In view of limited scope for increasing the land area under cultivation, further increase in agricultural production can be achieved only through better water management, expansion of the area under irrigation, improved farming practices, research and development in scientific use of inputs and seeds and more extensive and balanced use of fertilizers.

This conference expresses concern that the MNCs continue to retain their monopoly over seeds and there is no regulation on them. There is threat on all future seeds and Indian agriculture coming under the control of these giant MNCs that charge extortionate prices from Indian farmers. CITU agrees with the AIKS's demand of establishment of a National Biotechnology Regulatory Authority suitably empowered to protect the interest of the peasantry.

The conference notes with grave concern that all aspects of farming have been taken over from the farmers by the corporate directly or through government. Seeds, fertilizers, water and irrigation (states like Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra are enacting law to privatize water), electricity, credit, retail sales, etc. are few examples which are likely to cause a lot of distress to the tenant farmers.

This conference maintains that the most inhuman, unequal land relation in rural India is one of the major factors of all economic ills facing the country. Dominance of feudal land relation is responsible for the extreme backwardness of the rural economy and resultant breeding ground of backward social views of communalism, casteism and parochialism, casting cancerous impact on the society as a whole.

This conference is of the firm opinion that in the present situation the working class movement cannot advance much without combining it with the struggle of peasantry against exploitation and feudalism. The conference calls upon the working class to take serious step for active solidarity action with the struggle of peasantry and agricultural labourers against union government's continued inaction or actions detrimental to the interest of the peasantry and food security of the country including the demands of better water management, expansion of the area under irrigation, improved farming practices, research and development in scientific use of inputs and seeds, more extensive and balanced use of fertilizers including bio-fertilizer, regulation of prices for all varieties of fertilizers and to declare a time bound commitment to revive the closed fertilizer units in public sector.

## **ON 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF CUBAN REVOLUTION**

The thirteenth conference of CITU held at Chandigarh from 17-21 March gives a call to the workers of country to celebrate 50th Anniversary of Cuban revolution and to support its struggle to advance socialism.

Cuban revolution reached to uninterrupted fifty years establishing a history of resistance and advancement of socialism in the island nation. This conference warmly greets Com. Fidel Castro leading the revolution and also for leading Cuba for building socialism, thus he became most notable voice against imperialist aggression. Surrounded by the economic blockade and continuous conspiracy to destroy Cuban revolutionary achievement, Cuba had developed its own success model in agriculture, education and health. This achievement had be-

come a beacon for many other countries in Latin America who are coming out of the economic and political stranglehold of American imperialism.

Sanctions imposed by USA apart, with the dried up assistance from the fallen East Europe, Cuba had developed its own agriculture in most innovative way. It has now established world's largest conversion of traditional agriculture to semi organic farming coupled with breaking up in smaller cooperative of the small farmers. Thus recovering from drastic drop in per capita food production in 1993 level has now established sustainable food production.

Health care system in Cuba has become legendary. Pulling up from the miserable health system to a world class is a success story. It has given top priority to the maternal and child care and long existing communicable diseases. Apart from free check up and treatment, generous leave is provided for women workers during and after pregnancy. Steps were taken by the government to increase the number of physicians so that by 1970 some 5,600 new doctors had been trained. By 1968 there were 7,500 physicians in Cuba, 40 percent of whom were located in Havana. At present, more than 1,000 physicians graduate each year. Besides meeting its own health manpower needs, Cuba supplies doctors to assist 18 other countries.

Occupational safety and health is another area receiving a high priority. Occupational health services and facilities are integrated into the general health care system with polyclinics serving as the centers of supervision. At the national level, occupational safety and health standards are set within the Ministry of Health, and a national institute conducts research on occupational and environmental health hazards.

Cuban model has inspired many countries in Latin America who after coming out of the decades of imperialist shackles are now learning to develop prioritized agenda of land reform, agriculture development, education and health care. It is therefore, obvious that Cuba had still remained centre point of attack. In the name of counter insurgency, the US Government

had convicted five Cuban Citizens with life term despite clear declaration from United Nation working Group on arbitrary Detention that the US Govt. had violated article 14 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Right. Despite increasing voices of the nations in the United Nations' floor, the US administration continues sanctions and forbade collaterals from other countries. While evidences on record shows that from 1991 to 2004 period 38 subvertive activities and insurgency plans including association of Fidel Castro were cultivated at USA with direct involvement of the Govt. officials, they have housed many dreaded criminals in their own country of this purpose. .

Recently White House had lifted the decision of travel and spending restrictions on Americans with family in Cuba. It is yet to be watched whether the US Govt. are working to the direction of easing relation with Cuba. World opinion will need to put more thrust. This Conference calls up on the working class of India to stand firmly with the people of Cuba in their struggle for creating an exemplary advancement of socialism. It also demands that the US government should immediately release the five Cuban Citizens unconditionally.

## **ON UNEMPLOYMENT**

The Thirteenth Conference of CITU, held from 17 to 21 March 2010 at Chandigarh, Punjab, expresses deep concern and anxiety over the growing unemployment in the country, matched by apathy and failure of succeeding governments in the centre to address this burning issue involving millions of youths in the country.

The conference deplores the way the recent budget has ignored the issue of employment generation and protection of jobs which is making it abundantly clear that the present Govt. is obsessed only with high GDP growth with hardly any concern of employment growth. The neo-liberal growth regime pursued since 1991 is only capable to generating very limited form of job opportunities for a handful in the organised sector even as masses are pushed in to the informal sector and many faced self employment to live a life of insecurity and improvisement.

As per the figure available till 2004-2005, public sector employment has declined from 5.4% of the workforce in 1983 to 3.9% in 2004-2005. Private organised sector employment also shrank as percentage of total work force from 2.5% in 1983 to 1.8% in 2004-2005. The net growth of employment has been largely from the informal sector where workers have no job security, income security and social security. Bulk of working force is forced to take up these jobs simply because sufficient decent jobs are not available and the corporates are taking advantage of the plight of this huge 'unemployed force' of about 16 crore to informalise the formal sector.

The conference notes with dismay that while data on GDP growth is released every three months, reliable data on employment/unemployment is made available only after 5 years! The Conference demands that employment generation must acquire the central stage in planning process and Govt. must publish data on employment/unemployment both for unorganised and organised sector along with data on GDP growth so that Govt's performance in job creation can be assessed.

The conference further demands that, Govt should address the problem of unemployment and descent work opportunities for the youth, through higher public investment and labour intensive industries and organisations. The conference urges the Government :

- a) To extend Employment Guarantee Scheme to cover the urban areas.
- b) Fill up all vacancies in the Govt. departments and Govt. undertakings.
- c) Lift all bans on recruitment. The Conference also calls the working class to actively campaign on the demand for "Right to Work" as mentioned in the directive principle of Indian Constitution.

## **ON CENTENARY OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY**

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The Thirteenth Conference of the CITU, held from 17 to 21 March 2010 in Chandigarh, Punjab, greets women in struggle all over the world, on the occasion of the centenary of the declaration of International Women's Day, and expresses solidarity with them. The CITU calls upon the Indian working class in general and working women in particular, to observe this occasion by a nationwide campaign focusing on the three demands of equal wages, an 8 hour working day, maternity benefits and crèche and 33% reservation for women in legislatures. The demands for improvement in the working conditions and increased participation of women in the democratic process are as relevant today as they were a hundred years back.

The origin of the women's rights movement is very closely linked with the working class movement. As democratic and egalitarian consciousness developed along with the advance of capitalism, the working class and working women became more aware of the fact that the end of exploitation is linked with the capture of political power. Thus the movement for universal voting rights and the working class movement, which are interlinked, gave birth to the women's movement.

The International Women's Day has a legacy of women's struggle, for a decent life and decent work and to achieve this, their political rights. It has put the special problems of women and their rights in the development as well as political process, onto the agenda.

Now, a century later, women have advanced in many spheres, but during these years, particularly after the advent of imperialist globalisation, there is a concerted effort to strip International Women's Day of its class and political content. There is also propaganda by the feminists that the class struggle is 'non inclusive' of the problems of women and other marginalised sections. It is therefore the responsibility of the working class and working women to reassert the legacy of this day, which is one of struggle, for the rights of women as citizens, as workers and as women.

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This Conference calls upon all the state committees of CITU

and its industrial federations to start the campaign by organising meetings on 10th April 2010, the birth anniversary of Vimal Ranadive and continue it throughout the year by publishing booklets, pamphlets, organising conventions, meetings etc and conclude with mass mobilisations of workers, both men and women on these demands. This Conference also resolves to utilise the occasion for multiplying the organisational initiatives of CITU to increase women's role in its activities.

## **ON SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE**

The Thirteenth Conference of CITU, held from 17 to 21 March 2010 at Chandigarh, Punjab, expresses deep concern on the intensification of aggression of Israel backed by USA on the people of Palestine.

Age old aggression of Israel on Palestine land and people reached crescendo with their offensive on Hamas in the Gaza Strip on 27th December, 2008 which ended on January 17, 2009. This 3 week offensive claimed some 1,300 Palestinian lives mostly civilian, 400 of which were children. Another 5,000 were injured including some 1,800 children and 800 women. The offensive left much of Gaza in ruins including numerous school, hospitals and United Nations compound. The aftermath also saw a humanitarian crisis with tens of thousands left homeless and hundreds of thousands without water.

A total blockade of the Gaza Strip came about in mid-2007 when Hamas had taken control of Gaza. A few months after Hamas was elected by Palestinians in a democratic vote. But Israel and most of the West consider Hamas as militant/terrorist organization, not a political party.

The effects of the Israeli blockade have been severe. Even humanitarian basics have been not allowed into Gaza since Hamas seized power in 2007. The blockade includes limits on fuel, which have on several occasions forced shut down of the power plant that supplies power to Gaza City.

In the above context, conference demands the UPA Govt.'s growing defence relation with Israel Govt. It has negotiated

biggest ever defence deal amounting \$2 billion. ISRO had launched advanced satellite which is being used for surveillance of Iran.

This Conference expresses full solidarity with brave Palestinian people and urges upon the Govt. of India to snap defence ties with Israel Govt. including defence procurement under the dictate of US imperialism and to take proactive measures to support Palestinian cause in light of our traditional fraternal relation with people of Palestine.

### **ON MIGRANT WORKERS**

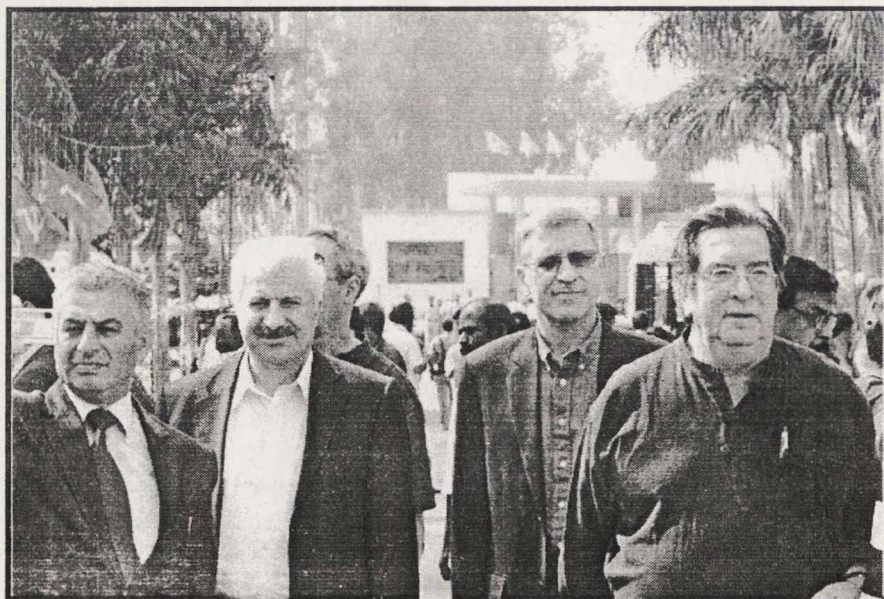
13th All India Conference of CITU held on 17th -21st March, 2010 at Chandigarh, Punjab-expresses deep concern on the plight of migrant labour and many problems associated with the abuse of migrant labour. Migration is a social phenomenon that has its roots in the capitalist system itself. Millions of migrant working people all over India and world at large have been forced to abandon their homes and their families in the search of new destinations with hope of more income and better life. In India, Millions of casual or seasonal migrant workers of rural/agricultural background move from one state to another for construction, harvesting, head loading, Gems & Jewellery, local transport, tailoring, carpet, fireworks and many other types of work.

An Act namely "The Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and conditions of Services) Act. 1979," exists to protect the inter state migrant workers. This Act. contains various provisions for protecting the interest of Inter State Migrant Workmen e.g. registration of all principal employers/contractors employing migrant labour, licensing of contractors, issue of passbook, payment of minimum wages, payment of equal wages, payment of journey allowance, payment of displacement allowance, free medical facilities and protective clothing etc. Unfortunately all these rights are denied to the migrant workers. The act only remains on paper as Centre and many State Governments are not at all keen on implementing the act

and do not pay any attention to the problems of migrant workers.

Official estimate indicates more than one crore Indians are workers in 133 countries in different industries and service sectors. These immigrants are also deprived of assured wage, social security benefits, proper working conditions, shelter, medical facilities etc. Immediate amendments of The Emigration Act, 1983 is required for protection of inter country migrant workers.

The conference demands that the government instead of being a silent spectator to the misery suffered by migrant workers should take full responsibility and concrete action to protect the interest of migrant workers. The conference also demands strict vigilance over the proper implementation of the Acts to protect the rights of migrant workers. The conference calls upon the working class all over the country to raise their voice against ongoing exploitation of migrant workers inside and outside the country.



# INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION

Thirty Delegates from 16 countries and also from World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and ILO Asia Office attended the Conference. Countries included Brazil, Portugal, Japan, Italy, Egypt, Syria, Nepal, France, China, Bangladesh, U.S.A, Vietnam, Iran, Cyprus, Sigtur. All the delegates were introduced in the plenary session. Com. George Mavrikos, General Secretary, WFTU and Andre Bogui, Director I/C, ILO, New Delhi addressed the conference. On 19 March the delegates attended a seminar on 'Effect of Globalisation on Workers" arranged at the Punjab University. In the seminar, delegates described how the Governments in their countries are shifting the burden of economic crisis on to the workers. The session was held interactive where university teachers exchanged views with the delegates.

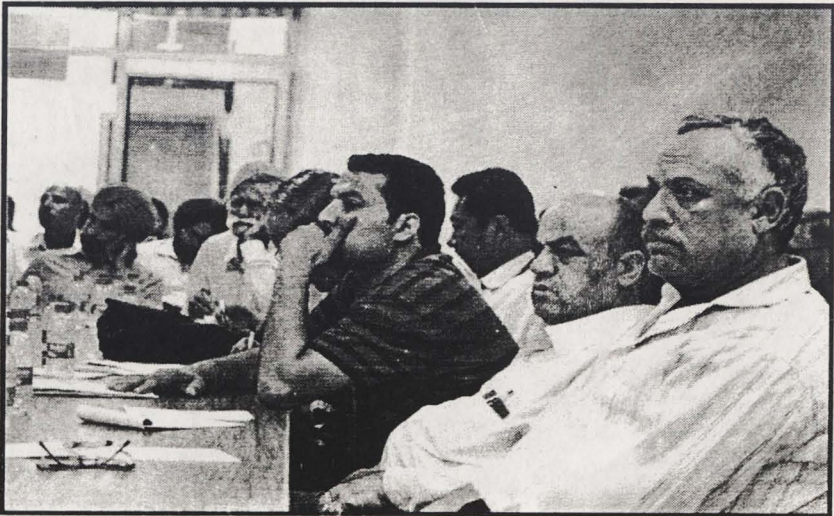
Apart from separate bilateral discussion with different delegations, on 21 March a separate meeting with the newly elected Secretariat of CITU and the international delegates was arranged. Com Swadesh Dev Roye, Secretary in-charge of International Affairs introduced the newly elected President and General Secretary of CITU to foreign delegates. While addressing the delegates Com. M.K.Pandhe spoke on how CITU is maintaining relations with trade unions in many countries and engaged in international trade union movement. He briefed them about the key decisions of the conference. Com. A. K. Padmanabhan, President and Com. Tapan Sen, General Secretary, CITU also spoke.

In course of their speeches the foreign delegates appreciated CITU for success of the conference and decisions taken for future struggles. They also briefed the meeting about the trade union struggles they are conducting in their own countries. They expressed solidarity with the workers movement led by CITU.

The presence and participation of foreign delegates in large



number from all over the world was a true reflection of widespread international relations of CITU and its popularity and sphere of influence in the world working class movement. Such stature of CITU is surely the result of our role in the struggles of the working within the country and principled participation in at various international forums.





# Credential Report of the 13th Conference of CITU

2410 delegates, including 2053 men and 357 women, 12 fraternal delegates and 13 observers attended the 13th Conference of CITU. 32 foreign delegates from 16 countries and 2 delegates from ILO participated.

592 of the delegates were attending a CITU all India Conference for the first time, while 55 have attended all the 12 previous all India Conferences. Ananda Pathak and Rajdeo Goala, both from West Bengal and aged 80 years had to spend 7 years underground, the longest period among the delegates.

Most of the delegates were educated. 688, the largest contingent, had education of +2. 662 delegates studied up to between class VI and Class X. 611 delegates were graduates and 184 were post graduates. 117 had professional degrees/diploma. Only 31 had no formal education while 110 could study only up to class V.

The largest contingent of the delegates – 987 - comprised whole timers of the CITU. 293 delegates were factory workers; 275 were office employees; 186 were self employed and 165 were retired workers or employees. 36 delegates were retrenched or dismissed from service.

Of the whole timers, 25 were working at the all India centre, 24 from the all India federation centres, 217 at the state centres, and 746 at the district centres. While 270 whole timer delegates were working from the local areas, 333 were working at the union level.

While 498 delegates were presently working among the public or government sector, 448 were organising the workers in the private sector. Largest number of delegates started their trade union life after 1977. 1002 have joined trade union between 1977 and 1990, while 805 have joined after 1991. Only 10

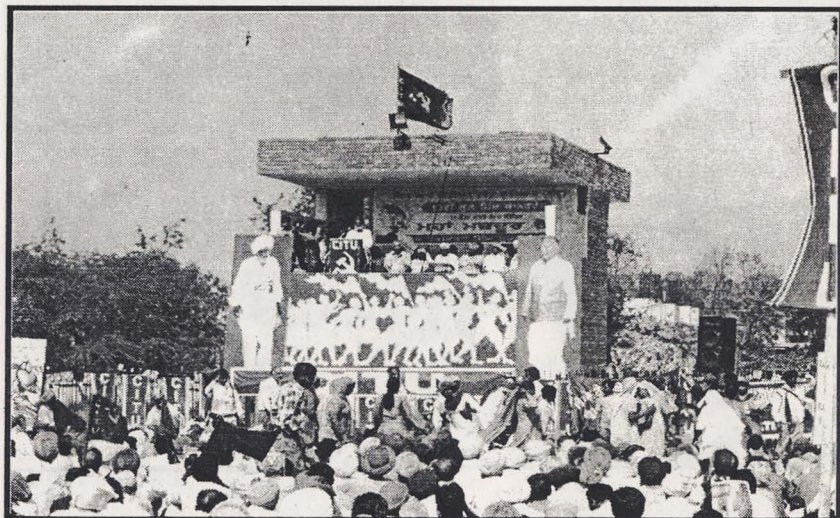
delegates were engaged in trade union work before the country attained Independence in 1947. 214 joined after 1947 but before the formation of CITU while 359 joined trade unions between 1970 and 1976.

Only 318 delegates were common members of CITU. The others were discharging responsibilities as working committee members and office bearers at different levels. 30 were All India Office Bearers; 97 were members of the all India Working Committee members and 208 were members of the all India General Council. 176 were discharging responsibilities as state office bearers and 345 as state committee members. 331 delegates were office bearers of the district committees while 527 were members of the district committees.

1363 delegates were office bearers of various federations/ unions and 474 were committee members of their respective federations/ unions.

422 delegates were victimised for trade union work; of these 119 were dismissed from service; 136 were suspended and 167 were accorded other types of punishment.

138 unions from 18 states, with a membership of 55050 were granted affiliation by the Credential Committee at the time of the Conference.





# NEWLY ELECTED OFFICE BEARERS

**President - AK Padmanabhan**  
**General Secretary - Tapan Sen**  
**Treasurer - Ranjana Nirula**

## Vice Presidents

- |    |                     |     |                      |
|----|---------------------|-----|----------------------|
| 1. | M.K.Pandhe          | 9.  | Mercy Kutty Amma (W) |
| 2. | Md Amin             | 10. | TK Rengarajan        |
| 3. | Kanai Bannerjee     | 11. | VJK Nair             |
| 4. | Shyamal Chakraborty | 12. | SK Bakshi            |
| 5. | Basudev Acharia     | 13. | KL Bajaj             |
| 6. | Arati Dasgupta (W)  | 14. | S Veeraiah           |
| 7. | KN Ravindranath     | 15. | Sukomal Sen          |
| 8. | PK Gurudasan        | 16. | S Punyavathi (W)     |

## Secretaries

- |    |                    |     |                        |
|----|--------------------|-----|------------------------|
| 1. | Jibon Roy          | 9.  | A Soundararajan        |
| 2. | S Dev Roye         | 10. | R Sudha Bhaskar        |
| 3. | Hemalata (W)       | 11. | Manik Dey              |
| 4. | Dipankar Mukherjee | 12. | Raghunath Singh        |
| 5. | Kali Ghosh         | 13. | Deben Bhattacharya     |
| 6. | MM Lawrence        | 14. | Kashmir Singh Thakur   |
| 7. | KO Habeeb          | 15. | Malathi Chittibabu (W) |
| 8. | KK Divakaran       | 16. | S Varalakshmi (W)      |

## NEWLY ELECTED GENERAL COUNCIL AND WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

(\*Working Committee Members)

### ANDHRA PRADESH

P. Roja (F) \*  
M. Saibabu \*  
N. Ramarao \*  
R. Iaxmaiah \*  
A. Aja Sharma \*  
D.V.Krishna \*  
S. Narasimha Reddy \*  
Baby Rani (F) \*  
Kotam Raju \*  
B. Bhikshamaiah \*  
Uma Maheswar Rao  
P. Raja Rao  
Lalithamma (F)  
A.V. Nageshwar Rao  
Bhoopal  
P. Bhaskar  
P. Ajay Kumar  
T. Veera Reddy  
Gaddam Ramesh  
J. Bhenkatesh  
J. Mallikharjun Rao  
Ramanjaneyulu  
Ch. Babu Rao  
Kalyanam Venkateswarlu  
Seshu Babji  
Subbamma (F)  
Sulochana (F)  
Padmasree (F)  
Imtiaz  
K. Dhanalaxmi (F)  
K. Venkateswarlu  
P. Mani (F)

Supraja (F)  
S. Rama (F)  
G. Jyothi (F)  
*To be filled latter*

### ASSAM

Ashit Dutta \*  
Tapan Sharma \*  
Prakash Rajkhowa  
Mamoni Dutta (F)  
Nagen Chutia  
Dinesh Nayak

### BIHAR

Arun Kumar Mishra \*  
Ganesh Shankar Singh

### CHATISHGARH

B.Sanyal

### DELHI

Mohon Lal \*  
Sudhir Kumar  
K.M.Tiwari

### GUJRAT

Subodh Mehta

## **HIMACHAL PRADESH**

**Jagat Ram \***  
Ravinder Kumar  
Saroj Sharma

## **HARYANA**

**Sureinder Singh \***  
**Vinod Kumar \***  
Satbir Singh  
B.S.Dahiya  
Jai Bhagwan

## **JHARKHAND**

**D.D. ramanandan \***  
**Sudhir Kumar Das \***  
Mihir Choudhury  
Mithilesh Singh  
B.D.Prasad  
B.K.L. Das  
Manju Munda (F)  
R.P.Singh  
A.K.Roy

## **KERALA**

**K.M. Sudhakaran \***  
**A. Nazi Munnisa (F) \***  
**Anathalavattom Anandan \***  
**S.S.Potti \***  
**N.Padmalochanan \***  
**V.V.Saseendran \***  
**K.K.Chellappan \***  
**V.S.Mani \***  
**V.R.Bhaskaran \***  
**K.K.Jayachandran \***  
**K.Chandran Pillai \***  
**S.Sarma \***

**M.M.Varghese \***  
**A.K.Balan \***  
**T.Sivadasa Menon \***  
**M.Chandran \***  
**K.Moosakutty \***  
**T.P.Ramakrishnan \***  
**Elamaram Kareem \***  
**K.P.SahaDevan \***  
**P.Raghavan \***  
**A.P.Vasu \***  
**P.Nandakumar \***  
**Lalaji Babu \***  
**K.C.Rajagopal \***  
**K.Prasad \***  
**C.O.Paulose \***  
**P.Ramachandran \***  
**Kattakada Sasi \***  
**E.Kasim \***  
Pattom P. Vamadevan Nair  
Thiruvallam Sivarajan  
Pulluvila Stanely  
A.Sampath  
R.Subhash  
Sayikumar N.  
Kadakompally Surendran  
V.Sivankutty  
E.G.Mohanan  
Mannaram Ramachandran  
K.Thulaseedharan  
Murali Madanthankodu  
B.Thulaseedhara Kurup  
K.Subhagan  
G. Vikraman  
S.Prakash  
P.J.Ajaykumar  
P.K.Somarajan  
B.Rajendran  
P.P.Chitharanjan  
N.Ramakrishnan Nair  
K.D.Sugunan

K.J.Thomas  
C.J.Joseph  
O.G.Madnan  
R.Thilakan  
S.Sundaramanikkam  
K.S.Mohanan  
K.J.Jacob  
P.S.Mohanan  
K.N.Gopinath  
K.A.Chackochen  
B.Hamsa  
K.A.Pushpakaran  
Baby John  
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