



# CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

CENTRAL OFFICE

172, LENIN SARANI, CALCUTTA-13

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

By Hand

29th December. 1970.

Com. P. Ramamurti,  
General Secretary,  
C I T U,  
9, Talkatora Road,  
New Delhi-1.

Dear Comrade,

Please find enclosed minutes of the meeting of the Working Committee of the C I T U held at Jaipur from 2nd to 4th October 1970.

Please send your suggestions for improvements preferably within two weeks of receipt of this letter so that the minutes can be finalised at an early date.

With Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

M.K. PANDHE

(M.K. Pandhe)

Secretary.

Encl: as above.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF  
THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF  
C.I.T.U.

( Jaipur, October 2-4, 1970 )

The meeting of the Working Committee of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions was held in Jaipur on October 2-4, 1970 to consider the following agenda :

1. Adoption of the Draft Constitution of C.I.T.U.
2. Report of the C.I.T.U. activities after the All-India Trade Union Conference.
3. Reports of industry-wise meetings held during the All-India Trade Union Conference.
4. Consideration of applications for new affiliations.
5. Resolutions.
6. Any other subject with the permission of the chair.

The meeting began on October 2, 1970 at 9.00 A.M. The following members were present :

- |                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Shanti Ghatak        | 19. Sudhin Kumar        |
| 2. Ajit Kumar Mukherjee | 20. A. Balasubramanyam  |
| 3. Rasal Sarkar         | 21. C.A. Peter          |
| 4. Biren Ray            | 22. S.Y. Kolhatkar      |
| 5. Honorenjan Ray       | 23. Biren Bhattacharya  |
| 6. Mohammed Ismail      | 24. Hari Madhan Mitra   |
| 7. Boney K. Chowdhury   | 25. K. Prasanna Rao     |
| 8. Biren Ghosh          | 26. G. Bharathan        |
| 9. Rabin Mukherjee      | 27. A. Vallasivan       |
| 10. Jyoti Dasg          | 28. Anwar Mukherjee     |
| 11. S.T.E. Nadive       | 29. M. K. Pandhe        |
| 12. P. Rameshwarthi     | 30. Mohan Panania       |
| 13. S. Balanandan       | 31. Ran Arsy            |
| 14. S. Dasgupta         | 32. Ravi Sinha          |
| 15. Bimal Chatterjee    | 33. Chandu Prasad       |
| 16. K. Ananda Mambiar   | 34. Parimal Mitra       |
| 17. P. Satyanarayana    | 35. T. Ayyappan         |
| 18. Rabin Chatterjee    | 36. S. Trilok Choudhury |

The following comrades attended as special invitees :

1. B. H. Kuttappa (Karnataka)
2. Shanti Sekhar Bose (West Bengal)

On behalf of the chair, Com. P. Rameshwarthi moved a condolence resolution on the death of Wasser. All comrades stood up for one minute in silence to pay their homage.

Com. Monoranjan Roy moved a resolution on the murders of some trade union leaders in West Bengal.

He noted that police were not taking any action against Naxalites and anti-social elements but when we defend ourselves police intervene in their favour and attack us. It was becoming extremely difficult for our T.U. leaders to move among the workers unprotected, he said.

Com. Sudhin Kumar suggested that the concept of political murders of opponents ~~xxxx~~ as such should be condemned. He mentioned some more political murders in West Bengal and suggested they also should be included in the resolution. Com. President pointed out that we are confining ourselves only to U.T. murders in West Bengal. If necessary other resolution can be adopted on them.

Com. Jyoti Basu said that in West Bengal more than 90 people have been murdered. It is more deeper than mere TU rivalry. In West Bengal, the Government, top police officials, certainly guided by the Centre through some directives are making middle rank cadre as a main target of their attack. Involving them in cases, arresting them and liquidating them. Police complicity in murder of our leaders is clearly seen in some cases. A combination of Naxalites and the police is taking place in various parts of West Bengal. Need for giving protection to our leaders and cadres participating in the TU movement.

Com. S.Y.Kolhatkar suggested that Shiv Sena murder in Maharashtra should be mentioned which was accepted.

The resolution was then put to vote and adopted unanimously.

Then the Time Table of the sittings of the Working Committee meeting was discussed. Com. Mohan Punamia submitted the following proposal for consideration.

On 2nd October, there should be two sittings - first from 9.00 A.M. to 1.00 P.M. and second from 4.00 P.M. to 8 P.M.

On the 3rd October, there should be two sittings - first from 9.00 A.M. to 1.00 P.M. and second from 4 P.M. to 6.00 P.M. There will be a rally in the evening.

On 4th October, there should be only one session from 9.00 A.M. to 1.00 P.M.

The proposal was accepted by the Committee.

Com. M.K.Pandhe proposed the following names to function as the Credentials Committee :

- 1) Com. Monoranjan Ray (Convener),
- (2) Com. A. Nallasivan,
- (3) Com. N. Prasada Rao, (4) Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury

(5) Com. E. Balanandan.

The proposal was endorsed by the Working Committee.

Com. M.K. Pandhe proposed the following names for the Resolutions Committee :

- 1) Com. Sudhin Kumar (Convener), (2) Com. S.Y. Kolhatkar,
- 3) Com. Keshto Ghosh, (4) Com. Samar Mukherjee, (5) Com. N. Prasada Rao, (6) Com. M.K. Pandhe, (7) Com. Biren Roy,
- 8) Com. Niren Ghosh, and (9) Com. R. Umanath.

The proposal was accepted by the Working Committee.

With regard to the agenda of the meeting, Com. Nambiar suggested that the railways question should be included and it was accepted.

Com. Ramamurti then gave a brief Report of the CITU activities since the All-India Trade Union Conference.

Com. P. Ramamurti : It is not possible to give a written Report before this meeting for which I am expressing my apologies. Some time was taken to establish a proper centre due to initial difficulties. I was constantly on tour and reports from states were also lacking, despite good activities on the part of our comrades.

Since the last session in Calcutta the country witnessed a period of series of working class struggles in West Bengal and other states.

Though official estimates showed a bumper crop the prices of agricultural commodities have not come down. Vegetable, cloth, chillies and other essential commodities do not show a decline in prices. Inflationary trends continue to haunt the economy and the Government has been repeatedly warned by Reserve Bank of India from time to time.

During this period CITU was able to attract more and more militant workers within its fold. Alarmed by this development the Government is taking more severe steps to suppress the T.U. and democratic movement. West Bengal T.U.s. had to face tremendous repression. Increasing use of CRP, Border Security Force, CISF and army during industrial disputes. Introduction of CI SF in public sector undertakings like Durgapur Steel Plant, Alloy Steel Plant and MAMC to intimidate workers. A new challenge to the entire T.U. movement in the country.

Political murders of T.U. leaders in West Bengal has been on the increase. A conspiracy has been hatched at the highest level at the connivance of the Union Home Ministry. A deliberate attempt to cow down the people of Bengal to the dictates of the Central Government.

The working class in West Bengal resorted to series of strike action after the Calcutta Conference. It is not possi-

possible to mention all the struggles but some should be mentioned.

Protest strike of tram workers (June 4)

Pay boycott of OHGC employees (June 1)

Strike of Durgapur Steel Project workers (June 12)

Municipal Employees State-wide strike (June 17)

State wide textile strike against closure (June 26)

Port and Dock workers strike (July 1)

Bata workers' strike (July 8)

General State wide strike on July 14 demanding dissolution of Assembly.

Non-teaching employees of Govt. colleges strike on July 31.

Employees of Mercantile firms, Birla firms, solicitors' firms and two lakh jute workers' strike on August 10.

Several local strikes of railway workers on Eastern, S.E. and N.F. Railways.

Three days' strike of State Govt. employees demanding implementation of Pay Commission recommendations and withdrawal of C R P.

Three ~~days~~ lakh engineering workers' strike.

Jay Engineering workers' struggle ended in victory.

Durgapur was the struggle of foremost importance. Forcible posting of CISF without even terminating services of the former security-staff. Provocative arrest of Com. Dilip Mazumdar and others. The workers were attacked and they resisted heroically. Strike in Smelting Shop after withdrawal of indefinite strike shows that workers were not defeated.

Struggles in other states were on the increase.

EID parry Sugar Co. workers' strike ended in victory. Use of convicted labour in Madhavaram Dairy Farm workers. 40,000 Beedi workers struggle in North Arcot Dist. Tamilnadu State Government employees' struggle.

Rajasthan State Govt. employees' strikes - severe repression but workers fought well. General strike in Kerala on July 13. Longdrawn struggle of GREAT workers. New Victoria Mill struggle resulted in reopening of the mills. Hindusthan Teleprinters' struggle resulted in several concessions. Punjab teachers' struggle despite rightists betrayal.

LIC Employees agreement - Steel workers industrial settlement. Role of AITUC leadership in both the issues was in favour of the employers. They were prepared to settle for lesser amounts.

CITU unions played a prominent part in most of these struggles.

The decision to introduce Industrial Relations Commission. Widest powers given to the so called judiciary in the matter of industrial relations. Need to fight the menace unitedly.

Advance in Hopal - Hosi Daji and Bhowmik expelled from the unions.

Scope for advance in railways.

Many state committees have not sent reports on the observance of Unity of Action Week. Share of centre has not been paid so far. Our unions should immediately write to the Govt. about disaffiliation from the AITUC so that we can write to the Government about our representation.

Report of the office-bearers in the centre. Intervention of CITU leaders and M.Ps. in various disputes.

Lack of Reports from states. Need to send regular reports to the Centre.

Com. B.T. Renadive delivered his written speech on the draft constitution of the CITU which was circulated among the members before hand. He emphasised the following points while explaining the implications of the new draft.

To understand the present draft it is necessary to take into account the background of the constitution of AITUC and with how the reformists and revisionists were trying to restrict the growth of TU movement in the country. We also have to see how the constitution of AITUC served the purpose of reformist leadership. Mass unions were given less representations while smaller unions were in a position to bring in the conference comparatively large delegations. State Committees were only nominal bodies while all functions were controlled by the central leadership; State Committees were not functioning bodies and were mostly manned by one person only.

In 1938 reformists again made an attempt to control the central organisation. It was decided that no political decision could be taken without 2/3rd majority. The AITUC was virtually made a non-political organisation.

Due to revisionist understanding in the past no effort was made to change the constitution of AITUC. It was convenient for revisionists to keep their control over the organisation.

In several states no state conference was held for 7 - 8 years. No initiative left with the rank and file workers in the matter of organisation.

When mass movement was growing the influence of AITUC was declining. As an organisation AITUC became more and more weak in the course of time.

The new draft tries to overcome these defects. It seeks to link the TU movement with the direct aim of building socialism in the country.

Consciousness of the working class has to be taken into account while preparing the new constitution.

Why we have mentioned day today demands in the constitution of CITU and not left them to be framed by local unions according to their needs. It is necessary to underline some country wide common demands and mobilise the working class behind those demands. CITU believes in socialism but immediately fights for day to day demands. A link between final objective and immediate issues is necessary.

On the question of democratic functioning we had to fight Dangeites in the past on several occasions. Due to undemocratic functioning of AITUC there was complete chilling and suppressing feelings of mass of workers.

Many of us do not take the constitution seriously. No implementation of a constitution regarding norms laid down on democratic functioning. No regular union executives are held few persons trying to control the union. We ourselves thus violate the constitution knowingly or unknowingly. This practice should be stopped and full implementation of the constitution should ensured in future.

The new draft, guarantees protection to minority view point. First collective functioning and correct understanding is essential on this question. Proportionate representation to be given if minority wants it.

On the three-fourth majority question the majority in the organisation should be permitted to take decisions by simple majority. It should be left to the descretion of the majority whether to exercise that majority or not. Majority whould also take into account the need to preserve the unity of the organisation and use that descretion judiciously.

We have provided for disciplinary actions. No anti-working class actions can be permitted by any office-bearer or member of the higher committees. Non-participation in some political action by an individual or a group due to political differences can be understood but supporting avowedly anti-working class position is harmful to the organisation. Our opposition to Dangeites so called disciplinary action was due to their following anti-working ~~xxx~~ class policies. They themselves were violating working ~~xxxx~~ class discipline.

We have given special emphasis on functioning of the state committees in this constitution. The AITUC constitution completely ignored the importance of state committees.

The concept of equality of all states in the matter of representation is not correct. There should be differentiation according to the strength of the movement. The decision in this regard should be taken by the Working Committee or the General Council keeping in view the importance of every state.

22nd October 1970

Second Session.

4 . 00 P.M.

Com. Sudhin Kumar moved a resolution on Greetings People's China on the occasion of its Twentyfirst anniversary.

It was suggested that a special paragraph on the role of working class in China should be added. There should also be mentioned of Chinese assistance to the Arab people.

The resolution was accepted.

The President then announced that the reporting from different states would be taken up to supplement Com. Ramamurti's Report.

Discussion on P.Ramamurti's Report began.

Com.R.Umanath : Reporting of the All-India Trade Union Conference was organised in 11 centres in 8 districts of Tamil Nadu. Evening rallies were also held in several places in which Com.Ramamurti and myself participated.

A meeting of representatives of all affiliated unions in the state was convened on 3rd August last to constitute a state committee as per decision of the General Council. I was elected as Secretary and Com.Nallasivan as Assistant Secretary. It was decided to have the headquarters in Madras. Apart from Com.Nallasivan another comrade (Minakshi Sundaram ) with some TU experience was asked to work in the centre. The office is in the residence of Com. Balasubramanian in MLA quarters but this is a temporary arrangement. Soon we would have our own arrangements.

The state centre printed forms of letters to AITUC and CLC regarding disaffiliation from AITUC and distributed them to all the unions. All the unions, however, have not sent the letters so far. 31 unions have yet to pay arrears of affiliation fee to the CITU centre. Six new unions have paid affiliation fee but we have not yet received their forms.

CITU Week - we planned meetings in 34 places but according to reports it was observed in 18 places. We organised big rallies covering 10 districts where leading comrades addressed meetings. 1 lakh 15 thousand flags were distributed out of which about 60 thousand have been sold. Rs.920 have so far been sent to the centre as share.

It has been decided to organise a state conference in December next. We propose to organise 120 buses from different parts to bring delegates and workers. The dates of the conference 18th, 19th and 20th December. Proposal to organise one lakh strong rally. Our decision to invite Com. BTR, PR and Jyoti.

Thirty mills were closed in Tamilnad of which 18 were reopened.

6 were reopened by textile corporation and 6 by mill-owners. Many marginal mills are threatening the workers with wage cuts.

Workload has also been increased in some factories, 12 mills have imposed wage cut up to Rs.40 per month. State Government has passed a bill enabling Government to impose a wage cut in factories taken over by it. In some cases Government is secretly keeping contacts with the employers and assure them of its support if wage cut is imposed on the workers.

In Madurai, the management leased out the company to some relative who appointed new workers discharging old ones. Police gave protection to the employers but the former employees struggled against new recruitment. Later on the mill was closed.

There are reports in other spinning mills the management introduced high speed motors. Since we are opposed to the scheme of rationalisation the management started negotiating with a union rival to us.

In sugar industry, of late, mechanisation and modernisation are being introduced speedily. Cane yard work also is being mechanised. Danger of large-scale retrenchment. Earlier the workers were getting Rs.5/- as interim relief after the recommendation of Second Sugar Wage Board. However, due to strike we got Rs.10 more. The final Wage Board report has now been submitted to the Government. AITUC, INTUC, & HMS met in Delhi and unanimously decided to reject the Report. However after a month when a tripartite meeting was held in Delhi AITUC took the position that if the Government tell the employers to pay the retaining allowance to the workers they would consider supporting the Wage Board. Sanjivayya gave some time to employers to pay the interim relief. But the employers refused to pay. Now the Central Govt. has accepted the recommendations of the Suga Wage Board Report. Tamil Nadu Govt. also has taken the position that the Wage Board Report should be implemented. We are planning a conference of Sugar workers and a demonstration of 2,000 workers is also likely to be organised in support of workers' demands.

Another notable struggle was of North Arcot Beedi Workers and Madras Beedi workers numbering about 40,000 workers, Rightists tried to sabotage the strike but failed. The demands of the workers - Guaranteed six days work, no lay-off, bonus, withdrawal of High Court cases. Remarkable feature of the strike was initiative of rank and file workers for 18 days period. Picketing by hundreds of workers in front of Excise office. Management tried to shift factories to Andhra Pradesh. But workers picketed in places at Chittoor to prevent the factories from working and foiled their game. A procession of 10,000 workers was organised. Several solidarity actions were organised. Hartals and strikes took place in 9 districts in support of Beedi workers. After 18 days of strike the management agreed to concede some demands of workers and the strike was settled.

E.I.D. Parry Sugar Company, Melikuppam - workers went on strike for 61 days. Twenty years before such a strike was organised in the company. Our influence among workers increased during the strike and Com. Govindarajan was elected as president of the union. This time the entire staff also joined the strike while a good hartal was organised in the town in support of the sugar workers. 4,000 workers marched in a procession 12 miles to desackration before the collectorate -workers successfully prevented blacklegs from entering the factory.

The D M K asked the cane growers to supply unskilled workers and Government agreed to supply skilled workers to run the factory with the help of blacklegs but failed. Government then referred bonus issue to adjudication and the strike was prohibited. After one week the issue of wages etc. was also referred to adjudication. Again prohibitory order was issued. Section 144 was imposed but we decided to defy the ban and state-wide strike action was planned. Then the Government came down and the strike was settled.

The question of closed mills - difficult to organise strike. Cambodia mills after closure taken over by Textile Corporation. Wage-cut was imposed. Hence workers reduced production and the management agreed to restore part of the wage-cut. Textool - twice closed and reopened. Present lay-off is not paid which brought 1200 workers into action against it.

A successful strike in Hindusthan Teleprinters. Agreement signed with our intervention. Unskilled workers will get ₹.240/- and some more fitment benefits will also be obtained. Union came to CITU after the strike. 900 CITU flags were sold during Unity of Action Week.

Co-operative sector of the textile mills - Award of D.A and workload. D.A was not implemented but workload was implemented. D M K minister openly justified the action of the management. In 4 co-operative mills we got some concessions.

In Government Dairy Fara the basic wage was only ₹.15/- while the total emoluments were ₹.100/-. When the workers went on strike the Minister took charge of the situation and workers were lathi-charged. Convicted prisoners were used to run the fara in violation of I L O convention. Ultimately Government was forced to come down but after withdrawal of strike efforts were made to keep the blacklegs on jobs. The workers immediately struck work again even after resumption of duties.

There was also a complete strike in Goenka's tablet factory. He brought new workers but we forced the Minister to give the undertaking that the new recruits would not be given police protection.

Wage cut offensive is being faced by handloom workers. 12,500 powerlooms are being introduced in the state while the workers are fighting against this menace.

Electricity workers movement is also coming up in the state. Their demand is that balance sheet should be prepared on commercial lines. The existing system deprives them from adequate bonus. The present wages of the workers are more than the recommendations of the Wage Board. In Tamil Nadu, D.M.K. is trying to form new unions in electricity industry while rightists are trying to weaken the Federation. From our side 8 electricity workers unions with 10,000 membership have decided to form a co-ordination committee.

State N.G.O's deputation was insulted by the D.M.K. Ministers who were hooted in some rallies. Ultimately Rs.10 was declared as interim relief, and some other questions also were settled through agitation. Now movement is developing for Second interim relief. In Pondichery even police have been brought in the struggle. They are planning a demonstration on 5th October.

In Tamil Nadu, major base of the AITUC in working class has cracked and CITU has been strengthened considerably. Recent AITUC conference in Tamil Nadu in which 1000 delegates. Out of these, 150 were press workers and harbour workers. In public meeting less than 1000 attended. Though Dange was Madras, he did not address the meeting.

Com. Balanandan : After Calcutta Conference we had district conference. A centre has been established at Trivandrum.

In private motor sector we demanded wages at par with state transport. Even according to Wage Board Report we get Rs.40/- more - so we decided to have one day strike on 23rd August. In 6 districts complete paralysis of transport. Next day, an agreement was signed on implementation of Wage Board recommendations.

In Cashew industry linking D.A. with production - an agreement was signed by INTUC. We are fighting for linking with prices. 50% D.A. cut was restored in July 1970.

Electricity Engineering conducted struggle for 60 days. Government banned the strike and it was withdrawn. 12,000 workers of N.M.R. went on strike in support of engineers.

Electric and Allied Industries (Public sector) secured Rs.60/- increase in D.A.

In State Transport, INTUC, AITUC and CITU jointly gave the call but the AITUC withdrew the strike call. Yet the workers joined the strike.

15,000 Alleppey coir workers' strike - all organisations supported the strike and bonus has been increased.

In oil refinery, workers were dismissed. Several workers

suspended. 230 workers fought strike. The management retrenched all the workers. In Ernakulam all the unions joined in support of workers.

45,000 leaflets were distributed during the Unity of Action Week. 80 public meetings were held. 2 lakh g flags were sold. But money has not been collected.

In Mavoor Rayon, we organised a strike for about a month. But ultimately it was not successful.

CITU gave a call for general strike in the state demanding resignations of Achutha Menon Government.

Port Workers' Struggle - we have now decided to have a new union.

Com. Prasada Rao : Rice Mill Struggle -

Spinning Mill workers' struggle.

CINEMA Employees'.

Transport workers' struggle - Drivers got more than the Wage Board Recommendations.

Paper Mill workers Strike - after the agreement they got less than what they were offered earlier.

The State Committee of CITU has been formed.

Some more unions sent affiliation forms. We have 12 - 13 more unions which could be affiliated to CITU.

New unions have been formed in Motor Transport. Adoni Textile we have formed a new union 600 out of 1200 joined the union.

CITU Week - we have issued a circular. In Hyderabad, and Rajamundhry all the days were observed. In all the other centres only one or two days were observed.

17,000 flags were sold but only Rs.200/- were received by the State Centre.

On Andhra Industrial Relations Commission Bill, we have published a book.

Several meetings were held after Calcutta Conference. Now we are organising active workers' meetings.

In Port workers, we have comrades. The unions controlled by AITUC but our comrade is the Vice-President.

In Singareni, we have no strength to form a union.

In Hyderabad, we have united with S S P in H M T.

Com. Ravi Sinha : We had a membership of 20,000. We have not yet been able to pay the affiliation fee. ~~xxxxxxvxxxxxxx~~ We are trying to bring some unions in the CITU. Affiliation fees etc. have not been secured. We have decided to hold the conference some time in Deceseber.

Many major unions have not paid their affiliation fees in Calcutta.

In Mohan Nagar textile, we have formed a new union.

In I C I fertiliser, we have formed the union.

Balraily, - we have formed some unions and they are seeking affiliation to CITU.

In Odra, there was a strike which was successful.

Struggle for reopening of the Victoria Mills, - 600 - 700 workers only got jobs with half wages. Unemployed workers were on the move. We gave a call for Kanpur Bandh. Cut in wages was restored.

Engineering Wage Board - We have been put in 5th Category. State Government did not implement the Wage Board Report. Joint strike committee of workers were formed where all organisations participated. Demonstrations and meetings were organised.

Sugar Workers - Season extended up to July. Demanded for summer allowance. All the unions jointly organised demonstrations.

Electricity Workers' Struggle - Kanpur electricity workers' present total wages are Rs.155/- while in Textile the workers get Rs.152/- as D.A. The Wage Board does not give any benefit to the urban workers but hydel workers get some benefit. The Government set up a tripartite committee. The revisionists were prepared to join the committee. We supported the strike but the revisionists wanted to withdraw it. We have not been able to expose the leadership. There was two days' strike at Mugalsarai. That was settled with our intervention. Shunting porters were on strike in protest against CRP atrocities.

Bareilly Synthetic Plant - The management offered 4% bonus, We demanded 20 %. We demonstrated and after two days we got 20%.

Jaboyr - Tundla sections electrification work was complete and workers were retrenched. 350 workers were arrested during their struggle against retrenchment. Some of them have not yet been bailed out.

Tannery workers are still fighting for implementation of Wage Board Report submitted in August.

J.L.Rayon - We demanded wages at par with Centuray Rayon. We led work-to-rule movement in August. 70 workers were suspended.

CITU Week - 3000 badges were distributed Baranasi, Kanpur, Bulandshar, and Meerut. Com. Umanath participated in rally and gate-meetings.

Com. Chandi Prasad : Activists' meetings were organised in several places after Calcutta conference. 3000 hand-bills distributed at Hatia which was written on the basis of Com. Ramamurti's Report. 5000 badges and 5000 booklets were sold.

Cambodia Day was observed in Patna. 2000 booklets sold.

In Patna demonstration was organised on the 19th and

500 workers participated in torch-light procession.

In Jamshedpur - Gua, mass-meetings were held on the 15th-19th. A demonstration also was organised on the 19th.

The people of Adityapur engineering area participated in the demonstration. 1000 badges have been sold out but no money received. On 19th July, ~~was~~ a mass meeting was held at Sindri. Com. Hiren Ghosh addressed the meeting.

In Hazaribagh District, there were factory-meetings during the CITU Week. 3000 workers participated. Mica-coal workers also participated.

NCDC - 500 flags were sold in Giddi.

In Patna, two mass-meetings were held on the 15th and 19th. 1000 workers participated in the meetings Press, Bidi, Rickshaw workers participated. No report on badges. 1000 posters were pasted on all.

A convention of state TU activists was organised (from 26 to 27 July). 14 unions participated. 6 unions were new. Some unions showed less membership, because they had no money at the time of the Conference. 14,000 membership in our real membership.

On the 11th, 12th and 13th December - the State Conference is to be held in Ranchi.

Patna Press workers' struggle for minimum wages - Government fixed  $\text{Rs. } 75$  but not implemented. The workers has launched a strike for 10 days and then it was implemented.

500 workers of Medical Research Institute have been continuing a strike for one month on their demand for increasing wage and D.A. Government is not moving. This institute is a semi-government organisation. State Government and Central Government subsidies are given to this organisation.

Jamshedpur - Adityapur area - INTUC and AITUC agreed for  $\text{Rs. } 60/-$  as minimum wages in factories employing 50/- or less workers.

7 factories went on strike and it resulted in an agreement for  $\text{Rs. } 100$ . Bihar tripartite agreement was opposed. In Ranchi there was an increase from  $\text{Rs. } 75$  to  $\text{Rs. } 100$  as a result of an agreement. The union is not led by us. Most of the members are Adivasis.

Sri Ram Ball-bearing Union is led by R S P. Last year 10% bonus was given. This year, workers demanded 17% and they went on a tool-down strike and consequently, 12% bonus was agreed to. We are in the new union.

Jamshedpur Tinplate Union is led by INTUC - anti-John faction of Dr. Akhoori. He gave call for strike. The strike continued for 14 - 15. He was arrested. We led the strike at the base level. When it could not be settled we had to withdraw. Kedar Das, at that time returned from Moscow and was in Patna. But he did not

come to Jamshedpur. Workers went to him. Revisionists acted as strike-breakers. Struggle Committee was formed and our comrade was appointed as convener.

Sindri Fertiliser Wage Beard implementation. We were launching campaign. INTUC signed agreement to be based on Pay Commission. 5000 worker workers demonstrated in protest against it. A. K. Roy is still in Jail. He is M.L.A. He was sentenced to 9-10 months' imprisonment in connection with 5/6 cases. No bail has been granted. High Court granted bail on conditions that he would be in Patna and not be in Dhanbad. Some lawyers gave advice to bring him out.

Colliery - our main fight has been against goondas and contractors. On 18th September, we observed Martyrs' Day. We organised several meetings, two of which were good. Thousands of workers took part in the procession. Meetings were attended by about 2500 - 3000.

Attacking comrades on street by goondas. When a comrade was going for a case, goondas attacked him in our pocket-areas. Then our comrades were mercilessly beaten up. Comrades are in the hospital. It has been made difficult to move in Dhanbad.

TU centre in Ranchi - 500 rupees was agreed to be paid by unions but only 2 unions paid.

Central circular was circulated in Hindi. However many unions have not yet sent letters to C L C (central).

In bekare rightists have become contractors. (Chinmoy Mukherjee). He was gheraoed for non-payment of wages.

Some of our comrades are released on bail and we have started activities again. Some comrades are going there. It is felt that we should have our own union.

National Coal Organisation Employees Association. We have our comrades in to position. They want to remain there to convince others about affiliation to CITU. In February, they have conference. This organisation has 10,000 members.

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THE SECOND DAY.

3rd August 1970, Morning Session at 9 A.M.

Com. S.Y. Kolhatkar moved a resolution on Increasing Use of Anti-Working Class Measures.

Suggestion : Repression on DVC workers and use of Territorial Army should be incorporated in the resolution - suggestion accepted.

The discussion on the Report of Com. P. Ramamurti continued.  
Com. Mohan Panania: Electricity workers' struggle. A section of INTUC entered into an agreement with management. Discontent among

the workers. We are in minority in the Rajasthan State. Electricity Workers' Federation, which is affiliated with AITUC. We are asking our unions not to affiliate with the CITU at present. We have unions in electricity with w 2000 membership.

Cement - We are working in INTUC unions. The quarry branch of INTUC is controlled by us. They observed CITU Week also. These unions are also not affiliated to CITU for obvious reasons.

The CITU Week was observed by all centres in Rajasthan. We observed 17th July as anti-Preventive Detention Act Day. In 17 centres the day was observed. We decided to sell 10,000 flags. 9,200 have been distributed. 250 rupees have been received. In Kota, charge-sheets were given to several comrades were arrested during the week. 2,500 flags could not be sold. The total sale is about 6,000.

In Rajasthan AITUC has completely joined with INTUC in breaking the strike struggles. Joint flags of AITUC, INTUC and Jana Sangh union in Metal Engineering Industries in Jaipur. ~~xxxx~~ The Govt. is fully supporting these unions in hunger strike.

The INTUC and AITUC have formed Action Committee in August to break the strike in Jaipur Spinning & Weaving Mills.

In Kota, we are facing a combined strength of Jana Sangh and INTUC. Several police cases launched against us.

On 8th September, we gave a call for strike against police cases. 14 factories involving 10,000 workers in Jaipur participated in the strike. Warrants were issued against 65 comrades. 19 were arrested. New cases launched against several of our comrades.

On the question of bonus, we have launched struggle. We decided not to accept 4% bonus and organised struggles. We gave stress on settlement outside the Bonus Act. 8 to 10 per cent bonus and ~~xx~~ Strike Day Wages were paid in some cases. In some engineering factories negotiations for more than 8% bonus. In Kota, some strikes were fought and 10% Bonus and half the wages of strike period. Cases against the union leaders were also withdrawn. In all 930 cases were instituted against the workers. In some cases two/three cases were instituted against one worker. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I would request CITU Working Committee to adopt a special resolution on this struggle and against police repression.

Com. Monoranjan Roy : The formation of CITU and convening of All-India Trade Union Conference in Calcutta inspired the working class of West Bengal to a great extent. A number of important struggles took place :

- + State Transport Employees' strike on 27.8.70
- + Electricity Board employees' strike on 11th & 12th August.
- + Teachers' strike from 26.8.70 to 1.9.70.
- + Dock workers' struggle for implementation of Wage Board's Recommendations.

- + Shore workers' strike
- + Mercantile employees' Strike on 10th August
- + 6,000 Solicitor Employees' strike
- + Jute workers one day strike
- + Tea worker' one day strike
- + State Government employees' 3 days strike from 26.8.70
- + Railway workers' strike
- + Durgapur Strike

In the period preceding formation of CITU the attack on the workers' rights and their gains achieved during U.F. rule was intensified. At the same time repression by CRP was extended and further repressive measures were enforced. At the beginning of President's rule CRP repression was seen mostly in villages perpetrated against the landless peasants who occupied benami and vested lands. But soon the repression was extended to the urban areas.

Tripartite agreements during U. F. rule - implementation either delayed or denied.

Jute - Tea - Cotton textiles - Engineering.

Wage Fixation Committee of first Three Industries not finalised. In case of cotton textile, the employers refuse to honour the agreements after paying the benefit for about a year.

Coal-fields - Repression and gangsterism.

Jadavpur incident on 24.7.70. Bihar firing on 24.5.70 when four kisans were killed. Enforcement of non-bailable provisions of Cr.P.C. (not enforced since Independence). Enforcement of Bengal Suppression of Terrorist Activities Act, 1932 introduced by the Britishers in suppression of National movement. Combing operations by CRP at Behala - when the whole area with a population of about one lakh was encircled by CRP early morning and it was announced over the mike that curfew was declared from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. and 1600 houses were searched by CRP.

Incident at Krishna Nagar when CRP and Police suddenly attacked the innocent passengers at the Railway Station and also inside the Cinema House in retaliation to the murder of one Police Officer. Repression in other places.

New type of repression at Durgapur. Vindictive action and all out police mobilisation against State Government Employees to foil the strike. Sec.144 and other restrictions were imposed on Martyrs' Day. Army alerted.

Police started killing innocent people. Indiscriminate firing. Torture in police lock-ups. One person died. All these were done by police and CRP in the name of controlling the Naxalites.

General strike and hartal on 14th July, 1970 all over West Bengal. People fought pitched battle against CRP. Local bands and hartals were organised. Martyrs' Day was observed on 31st

August and the whole city of Calcutta was paralysed on this day

Simultaneously attacks came on the TU movement. Important cadres and important leaders of the field were attacked by Naxalites and anti-social elements.

Strike of the Railway employees - N.F. Railway, S.E. Railway Eastern Railway.

Repression at Alipurduar.

Conference of Rashtriya Sangram Samiti held on 16.8.70 in Calcutta.

The role of AITUC during this period.

- + Strike breaking roles in Durgapur struggle
- + Conspiracy with the Birlas in Kesoram Rayon Lock-out to stop inroad of our Union in this factory.
- + Anti-Birla struggle - Strike on 10th August opposed by them in the Birla units where AITUC is strong - Kesoram textile.
- + Opposed Teachers' strike
- + Dubious role along with 8 Party Combination on fixation of the date of General Strike and Hartals on 14th July.
- + Strike breaking role in State Government Employees' strike.
- + Disruptive role in Engineering workers' strike on 3rd September - Regarding fixation of date.
- + During Unity of Action Week 90,000 coupons sold - a few thousand badges sold on credit - amounts still not realised. Account will be finalised as soon as this money is realised and payment will be made to Central Body.

We could not devote much time for observance of this week for the preparatory work, for hartal and general strike in West Bengal held in the intervening period i.e. on 14th July. Only one central programme - mass demonstration on 17th July before Writers' Buildings under the joint call of R S S and Mercantile Federation.

- + 60,000 copies of Resolution of "Unity of Action" adopted in CITU Conference was printed in Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and Oriya and was sold at cost price.
- + Vietnam-Cambodia Day was observed on 20th July, 1970 at the joint call of R S S, 12th July Committee and Mercantile Federation.

It was originally decided that State Conference should be held in November, 1970 in Durgapur - Asansol - Raniganj Belt. But due to prevailing political situation in the State it is not possible. Moreover the workers of Durgapur and Raniganj belt are fully pre-occupied with current struggles and they also wanted postponement. Immediately after CITU Conference the old West Bengal Committee was converted into the State Committee of CITU with Com.Md. Ismail as president.

- + Relief arranged by CITU unions - Sen Raleigh Workers' Union alone contributed Rs.30,000 - CITU directed all its unions in West

Bengal to deposit donation collected for flood relief to Peoples Relief Committee.

Com. S.Y. Kolhatkar : After CITU conference reporting made to about 600 union activists. An ad-hoc State Committee was formed as per decision of the last General Council meeting. Unity of Action Week was also observed. Meetings were held in Bombay, Anbarnath and other places. Badges printed 15,000, distributed 12,000. Leaflets distributed 15,000. Report was sent to CITU. State Conference will be held on 20th, 21st and 22nd November, 1970. I would request Com. B.T.R. and P.R. to attend this conference.

At the time of CITU Conference, membership was 19,700 against 17 unions. Some more unions are coming. Salt Tank Workers' Union with 3,000 will join, Garden workers numbering about 1500 have formed a union and will join CITU. at the time of State Conference, they all will join. Metal & Engineering Workers' Union is in our fold now. Out of AITUC membership including Andheri Union 3,500 workers will join CITU. We are trying to form one industry union for engineering workers comprising small units and will be registered soon with a membership of 6,000. Recent struggles: GEAT factory workers' struggle was led by us. It continued for 120 days. Now in every strike in Bombay, Shiva Sena work on political lines and break strikes. Employers - small and big are using them. Some Shiv Sena workers however don't oppose the strikes.

Mukund Iron strike was for 3 months, Colgate was 3½ months, Supreme Industries 3½ months. Strikes were mainly against the victimisation and not for economic demands,

In textile mill - 4 strikes have taken place. Century Mills (13-14 thousand) stay-in-strike. There was a quarrel between supervisor and head supervisor. He was summarily dismissed. Hence the strike.

One day strike in Shelapur opposed by AITUC leadership.

State Government employees' mass casual leave for one day. The strike was led by independent persons.

Newspaper employees - After the last strike the Government referred the question of balance payment to the Tribunal. The Wage Board had prescribed different scale for different newspapers of the same concern. On the question quantity, coverage etc. the Tribunal has gone one step ahead of the Wage Board. Some of the employers' plan to go to Supreme Court. If that happens first there will be one day strike and later on work-to-rule campaign.

We are still working in GKM in Bombay. In Engineering, there are various groups. In sugar, IN TUC, NMS and Lal Niskan have recognised unions. Shiv Sena unions openly act as employers' agent. (Bharatiya Karmgar Sena). Rightist have influence in Vidarbha and Maratha region. In Bombay NMF is having union mainly in Transport industry.

Com. Ramasurti move a resolution on Kerala which was adopted unanimously.

Com. Kuttappa (Karnataka) :

No major struggle after Calcutta Conference. Protest strike in Kolar mines - for bonus and recognition of the Union other demands. Two days' bonus per month was demanded.

Unions in South Kanara, Bangalore observed Unity of Action Week. One day convention was organised in Bangalore. All unions participated in the convention - AITUC, INTUC and other unions - our office bearers - in the convention there were 180 delegates. Bharat Electronics AITUC union is strongest where we are also working.

Unity of Action Week - We have realised Rs. 958.00 on account of sale of flags.

Due to absence of Com. Suryanarayana Rao work is seriously hampered. Either General Secretary or President along with Jyoti Basu should attend our State Conference. In HMT old AITUC unions has been smashed. INTUC is a strong force.

Conspiracy to topple the Ministry of Karnataka by March.

Our contacts among the non-Kanara workers are also developing in industrial centres.

Com. Ajit Mukherjee : In 1966, 9 days' strike in Durgapur, INTUC was the recognised union and was in majority. Later on we gained strength. In Durgapur 22 factories. In small factories, BSP leaders had their unions and then they turned to AITUC union. In 1969 all those small unions came to CITU unions. Asis Sen was killed by police lathis during repression in 1969.

We had experience of struggle against lockout. A year ago - we felt that when CISF would be introduced we would stop work. Some demonstrations were organised on 20th September, 1 to 2% attendance was there. On 5th there was no demonstration. After arrests on 6th some strike actions took place. In some shops complete demonstrations and in other shops demonstrations for two hours. After Bhilai convention demonstration on 7th. Despite imposition Section 144 procession and demonstration continued. On 12th 13th and 14th except Sankey Wheel, strike was complete in other factories. There was a general feeling that strike would not be indefinite. On 15 and 16th there were holidays. However, no support to AITUC, INTUC or SUC among the workers.

On 18th 35% workers joined duties. Then morale of the workers began to break down. Police repression, gangsterism of rightists and INTUC leaders. Workers started joining duties. After imposition of curfew on 20th, contact was lost with the workers. Workers then began to join duties. On 22nd the number of workers who joined duties increased substantially.

During this period, we could mobilise 3000 women to face police lathi-charge, bullets. Good morale was prevailing throughout the period. Mahila Samiti held some meetings of women workers and found the morale high. Young comrades faced all brutalities.

After withdrawal of strike mass victimisation of workers in Steell Plant. Suspension of workers due to refusal to do contractors' work. 27th was the last day to join duty. Some workers could not join duties due to domestic reasons but were not allowed to join duties. 41 workers were not allowed to join duties in this manner.

Workload increased in every department. Resistance to workload etc. is however growing. In Steel Melting Shop they could not show any production. Our Executive Committee member was suspended. All top officers attending shop but they failed to boost production. Suspension of some workers. Some superintendent was stabbed, Police lathi-charged - lock-out imposed.

Durgapur Project workers demonstrated despite repression. MANC workers also demonstrated for D.A. against suspension.

In Graphite, 31 workers were suspended. Police cases were launched against certain workers and some others are under warrants. Nobody to participate in enquiry.

Daily labour introduced in some factories, some demonstration 7,000 charge-sheets in DSP, 300 in Alloy, 900 in MANC and 400 in Durgapur Project. One worker got 4 charge sheets.

Ophthalmic Glass Project one worker was discharged.

In Coke Oven, they are increasing the production. Unburnt coal is ~~producing~~ ~~they are increasing production.~~ ~~is being damaged.~~

AITUC formed union in DSP. Some of the rightist cadre have joined our union. However, INTUC in some areas gained some some extent.

CITU leaders from West Bengal state were expected to visit Durgapur. But this could not happen.

Lowest category workers living in villages was our main weak-base. 4 of our executive union members are coming from Kisan area. Some workers who lost their land got jobs in Steel Plant. Some of the rural workers were on duty during the strike period. We could not organise resistance during the repression. Small unions - work is conducted by 2-3 leaders. Departmental leadership is not developed. When leaders were under arrest or U.G. it was not possible to contact the workers in those factories.

Our membership 22,000 and the membership of the INTUC 6,000.

AVB declared lock-out since 13th. Management refused to participate in the tripartite meetings. Management tried to form the union with AITUC and INTUC, but failed. We helped them finan-

financially.

On 13th, we collected Rs.2,800 and some grain also collected for flood victims. Help was given to People's Relief Committee and Kisan Samiti.

From the CITU, platform, some booklet should be brought out. In Delhi and Bombay, demonstration of employees of Hindusthan Steel Offices organised by our workers. In Bhilai and Vizag, demonstrations were organised by workers in support of Durgapur workers.

Com. Shanti Bose : Leaders of RSS, 12th July Committee and Com. Jyoti Basu visited Durgapur. We were not getting news regularly from Durgapur.

It was horror of repression. Police were not killing the workers but lathi-charge, beatings etc. were beyond description. Some of the comrades were injured by Durgapur leaders do not know what actually happened.

One woman told me that her husband was beaten by police in front of her. One Pujari of temple told me of his torture by police. Women resisted the police repression and one police officer had given in writing that he would not resort to repression. One woman told me how she joined the struggle.

What we had said in CITU Conference about the rightists has proved to be true in Durgapur. In West Bengal, the Engineering workers struck work on 3rd September. Leadership in Durgapur should consider about the entire struggle self-critically. It is not correct to say that INTUC has increased its influence during this period. Role of the rightists should be explained to workers all over the country. A day should be observed all over the country to explain the struggle of Durgapur workers.

Political strike was opposed by the rightists.

Workers loved their union like son, but only 17 thousand workers live in the towns. In villages, there are some workers where our work is weak. In the unions annual report, this aspect was not mentioned. The morale of the active cadre is very high.

Major working force ranging from 17 to 35 years of age.

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EVENING SESSION

3rd August, 1970 at 4:22 P.M.

Com. Usanath moved a resolution on the Demands of Sugar Factory workers. Com. Pandhe moved a resolution on Repression on Rajasthan workers. Passed. The meeting then continued discussion on General Secretary's Report.

Com. Biren Roy :

Report of General Secretary was not submitted in writing. In future a written report should be circulated beforehand. What is the position of CITU vis a vis AITUC should have been mentioned in it. Whether we have gained since last conference has to be assessed. Certain weak centres are there. What steps are to be assessed. Certain weak centres are there. What steps are we going to take to strengthen our base in these centres. Problem of unity has assumed greater importance. It is also becoming difficult due to disruption and systematic strike breaking. Whether no unity is possible at the top or only rank and file unity is possible? Certain emphasis must be given on the question of building unity. Delegate cards were issued from the party office in a certain convention. Distinction between the party and the mass organisation should be maintained.

Com. Kamal Sarkar :

We are also working for united action. Kali Mukherjee Group of INTUC has supported all major struggles in West Bengal. In Engineering strike or strike of 14th July. This group supported us.

We have been able to utilise this factor for preventing the communal riots. The rightists who threatened to quit BEMU after we joined CITU have now remained in the union. This factor should also be noted.

A resolution should be passed by the Working Committee on the Discontinuance of the Jute Commission.

Com. Robin Chatterjee : Some central guidance and intervention of CITU is necessary on industry-wise problems. We have not been able to do so up till now. Either CITU should have office in Delhi or some M.P. should be in-charge of this task. The question of implementation of Coal Wage Board should be taken up more seriously. Many recommendations accepted by the Government are not implemented. Re: Code of Discipline : management does not accept. Since the management also does not accept the code we should also say that we are not a party to the Code.

Because of terrorisation in colliery areas workers are scared. We are finding it difficult to work in such conditions in some areas.

We should have an all India organisation in Coal industry and some steps should be taken in this regard.

Com. Robin Mukherjee : West Bengal is now known for engineering industry. The Engineering unions worked through some federative organisations, which made representations before Tribunals, Commissions. CITU has allegiance of about one lakh workers. Engineering industry has diverse character from units of 10 to units of 10-15 thousands. TU organisations have developed their own Federations which fought among themselves as well as fought together. Out of 3 lakhs of engineering workers, we have one lakh and the rest

together have about 50 thousand, the INTUC holding very little. Still the united action by a federation is a great need. We have great reputation but our internal organisation is in chaos. The AITUC faction is also in our Federation and they may separate in the coming conference of Engineering Federation. We have good plant level unions. But now due to standardised issues and agreements on trade level. Hence no issues could be settled at plant level. Unless there is industrywise TU movement there is no possibility of raising conditions of service. At present plant level consciousness dominates our consciousness which is a hurdle in the development of industrywise TU movement. Last time during U.P. Government, 8% bonus was obtained. But this year we have not been able to gain such. In Engineering industry, bonus movement on industry-wise basis is not possible. In the medium sized factories some bonus agreement is possible. In some cases 20% bonus was also paid.

Com. B.T. Panadive : The Reports given by comrades are useful in many respects. Our unions and committees are more or less on correct lines. Rich experience of Tamil Nadu was given by Umanath. But no conclusion was drawn.

The reporting shows that in every industry we are under constant attack. CEAT workers heroically fought against repression. Spontaneous struggles are of great importance in the initial states. Despite disruptive role, reformists and revisionists are still compelled to come together with us. In Bengal, we united with revisionists on engineering strike which shows that we do not think that possibility of unity at the top is exhausted.

The total resistance of working class to the bourgeoisie is much more than what we are doing at present.

The ruling class is systematically trying to impose new restrictions on the working class. The so called independent machinery suggested under the Industrial Relations Commission is a device to cheat the workers. Compulsory arbitration is being imposed on the workers.

The incapacity of the ruling class to give concession is also seen during this period.

In Siliguri, Alipur Duar, S.K. Ely. and Durgapur - the ruling classes rely more and more on local bureaucrats. The bureaucracy is taking more and more initiative and coming out in the open against the working class.

All the other agencies in the TU movement especially the right C.P. are being utilised by the Government to disrupt the movement. The ability of the rightists to confuse the masses should not be under-estimated.

Durgapur struggle was very heroic. A continuous struggle between the workers and the management on various issues. The factual exposure by Durgapur union should be popularised which have exposed the authorities well. Political prejudices created by the Government should be fought and workers should be fought

and workers should be fought and workers should be educated.

Durgapur was the focal point of all the steel workers. In Bhilai, Rourkela and Jamshedpur we could build some movement. In Rourkela we could even move the Jharkhand workers. In steel negotiations Durgapur union was playing important role in getting higher concessions. They fought for reducing the categories etc.

Thousands of workers taking challenge of the police. 15 thousand police laying siege encircling localities. A new phase of struggle in facing repression now started in our country.

The CITU should now attract new trade unions. CITU bodies should also take more interest in working in unions where we are in minority.

In certain important sectors we should immediately penetrate, and must take the CITU ideology to the workers. We should develop a plan of future work.

Whatever temporary set-back comes we should be prepared to rise again. In Durgapur in two shops we have again brought workers in action. Even INTUC workers joined the action and a committee was formed.

In Kerala, in industrial belt we are weak. In plantation we have won both the seats in elections. However, railway workers are neglected in Kerala. We have to devote more attention to industrial areas.

In the recent past, the right C.P. has been isolated further but we should not under-estimate their influence. In Bombay, though the Girai Kanagar Union office was closed for months, we could not function in the union. Sometimes, worker is impressed by wrong politics and still is having influence of the rightists. Due to other pre-occupations, General Secretary could not submit the written report but this would be corrected in future. The basic duty is of the State bodies to prepare and submit the report to the centre. Without the State reports the Central report cannot be given. Only thus the centre can function effectively centrally.

#### Gen. Nanbiar reports on Railways :

In N.F. Railway, the workers were not prepared for the strike but it was forced on them by the police atrocities. But, once the strike started the workers fought resolutely. The Railway workers got assurances from the Railway Minister. But the minister wanted to get out of the assurances on the pleas of Naxalites activities. That means the Government will continue the offensive. We will have to fight back. In S.E.R. the rightists surrendered. Workers are realising it now. But the CITU leadership is not evident. The electrification workers are being thrown out. These people were ultimately compelled to resort to action. They were jailed. We took up the initiative to protect these workers who have worked .....

for 15 or more years. But Railway wants large-scale retrenchment. They want to reduce the 16 lakh strength to 8 lakh by increase of works length and automation.

The organisational position in railways. In Southern Railways the position of our unions is becoming difficult. Our effective membership is 10,000 which is lowest in 21 years. We have to fight against 2 recognised unions (PSP/INTUC). The rightists are joining the PSP unions. Firemen's Council is there but they are not yet paying subscription to us. We felt the need for forming a Low-Running Staff Association. In Vijayawada, 2000 drivers and firemen participated. Working President is our supporter but the President belongs to INTUC. The rightists helped the INTUC man to break the organisation but we preserved unity by having some compromise. Now the preservation of the organisation of the depends on the work we do in the unions.

All-India Loco-artisans Association also is under our influence. We felt the need to encourage category wise organisations and start struggles.

In Western and Southern Railways, the revisionists are trying to form a new All-India Centre of railway workers. We should have some definite stand on railway workers movement.

In Northern Railway, the revisionists are forming a new union. Both the AIRF and NHR are discredited in the zone. We have not started any rival union but are encouraging rival unions.

The AIRF rally on Delhi 2 - Big mobilisation and slogan of Dange 'murdavad' was given. Right C.P. is now in a need to form a new Centre. Kalyansundaram talked to me about working together.

A meeting of comrades working among railway workers should be held to discuss our line of approach. If possible, we should form a federation with the rightists.

I had a discussion with Nanda. I suggested that the unions which have a base among the workers should be called and a formula should be evolved according recognition to different unions among railway workers.

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@ 4TH OCTOBER

Morning Session, 9 A.M.

Discussion on Constitution started.

Com. Sudhin Kumar : The idea of emancipation of the working class should be stated properly. Working class cannot be emancipated without emancipation of the entire society.

Com. BTR. : This becomes a general view point. I have no objection. You decide.

Nambiar : We are a Centre of Trade Unions. Is it necessary to emphasise elimination of capitalistic exploitation ? We need not go far.

Com. BTR : If the workers do not fight for elimination of capitalistic

exploitation it will reflect backwardness of the TU movement.  
Nambiar : Proposed amendment of deletion of capitalistic exploitation. Amendment lost.

Amendment proposed by Sudhin Kumar and this amendment was accepted.

Clause 3A - "complete emancipation of the society from all exploitation."

Robin Chatterjee: The letters CITU should be parallel in the flag. Suggestion not accepted.

In Section 2, "inscribed vertically on the left side" should be added in stead of words on the left side.

Sudhin Kumar : In "D" 1(a) "while supporting the democratic demands of other sections of people." should be added.

Democratic Functioning.

a) Add, "add should be given adequate representation in all its bodies. This will be ensured by the method of cumulative voting." and delete "whenever ..... representation."

Instead of the word "minorities" the word "minority" view points".

Section 6 : no amendment.

Re: Card voting it was said that minority in the union is suppressed in the card voting.

P. Ramamurti: If I have a union and the value of voting can be split.

B.F.R.: Card voting cannot be split.

Whether we should take voting on the basis of strength of the delegates. (Card voting).

4(g) delete the word "normal".

8(d) Add President along with Secretary.

9(a) Election of General Council.

The election will take place while taking into account the total membership.

Suggestion that at least one representative from each state should be included in the General Council.

B.I.R.: It is a wrong principle to grant representative to each state irrespective of membership.

9(A)(a) ~~whenever~~ substitute ~~and~~ "and" for "or". Delete "election through cumulative voting".

Delete para 7 and substitute a new section re: bye-laws.

Com. Biren Roy suggested that every state should be permitted to have Constitution. Com. Biren Roy desired to note that he does not agree with the opinion of the House.

After Section 13, add a new section.

The State Councils may frame bye-laws for its functioning ..... of the CITU.

Clause 15 stands as it is.

Clause 15(c) delete work after where ..... Council).

Clause 16(i) delete -"any contribution because due"

(ii) delete "or levies"

In section on Disciplinary action 20(a) delete "or levy"

20(b) before taking such action the person concerned shall be given opportunity to explain his conduct

15(c) where union pays only Rs.20 then 50% share.

The Constitution as amended was adopted unanimously.

It was decided that, Durgapur resolution should be redrafted. Repression against workers should be highlighted. Names of arrested leaders should be mentioned. Role of right communists should be mentioned. - Danger to production - names of other comrades should be mentioned. AVB should be mentioned.

It was agreed that a pamphlet on Durgapur should be published as early as possible.

It was decided that Durgapur Day should be observed all over the country.

Monerising Roy : Call for token fund from the union funds should be given on behalf of CITU. It was suggested whether a non-official ~~MSX~~ committee can be formed to enquire into the repressive action should be considered.

The meeting however felt that there was no possibility of forming such a committee but some symbolic contribution to Durgapur unions by all unions. The money should be given to CITU directly.

It was decided that 1st November should be observed as Durgapur Day.

Com. Pandhe moved the resolution on Industrial Relations Commission.

Suggestions for improvement. Instead of "revisionists" the "AITUC leadership" should be mentioned.

Compulsory arbitration and banning strike should be highlighted. Majority decision are binding on workers. This should be sharply brought out.

Non-judicial members in the name of experts. The character of pro-employer representations should be mentioned. - Recognition by ballot should be emphasised. The entire responsibility given on the judge to decide in industrial relations.

The revisionists have accepted face to face with the Commission. Andhra betrayal. HMS and INTUC role should be criticised. We should be prepared to have joint action in fighting this menace.

The meeting authorises the General Secretary to contact other central TU organisations and leaders of various Parliamentary Groups. to fight this impending legislation.

Com. Nambiar moved resolution on Railway workers. Passed unanimously.

Suggestions : Struggles of Northern Ry casual labour, South Central Ry workers, Eastern Ry workers should be mentioned.

Passed unanimously.

Com. Nallasivan read the Report of the Credentials Committee which was adopted unanimously.

Monoranjan Roy read out resolution on Greetings to TU leaders who are in jail. The resolution passed unanimously.

Com. Saver Mukherjee suggested some improvements in the Resolution on West Bengal.

Birendra Roy: Some glaring instances of repression should be given. The repression was not so even during the British days. To say that murders were committed by police with the help of Naxalites will not be correct. "Crossing over" of revisionists should be changed. They betrayed and are in alliance with Congress. There is controversy in Naxalite camp.

Niren Ghosh : We have information that police are helping Naxalites.

Kamal Sarkar: Gains of the movement should be mentioned. Textile Jute, Engineering struggle.

Robin Chatterjee : Resistance to the Sec. 144 should be mentioned. Only Durgapur has been stated but other places have also launched struggles. Violation of Sec. 144.

Subrid Mulklick Choudhury : Mention should be made of Right C.P. and Forward Block and section of Naxalite in West Bengal.

Shanti Chatak : Why this distinction between Naxalites and anti-social elements.

It was decided to redraft the resolution. Passed unanimously.

Com. P. Ramamurti moved the resolution on U.P. Presidential Rule. Passed unanimously.

Com. Prasad Rao moved a resolution on Land Reform.

BIR: The purpose of the Bill to highlight the decisions of the recent meeting of Chief Ministers. Soaring illusions of the right-ists should be strengthened. Earlier part should be mentioned.

The resolution should be recasted in the light of these suggestions. Passed unanimously.

Com. Niren Ghosh moved a resolution on Jute Commission. The resolution passed unanimously.

Com. B.T.R. read a list of resolutions to be moved and redrafted.

1. Bank Nationalisation
2. Keserao Rayon
3. Nationalisation of Light Railways.
4. Greetings to various struggles.

The resolutions passed unanimously.

Com. Ramamurti moved a resolution on Andhra Industrial Relations

There should be a call to other KLA's to fight the Bill in the Assembly.

The resolution passed unanimously.

Com. Sammurti suggested programme of State Conference.

Karnataka	Dec. 26 - 27.
Tamil Nadu	Dec. 18 - 20.
U.P.	Dec. 28 - 29.
Rajasthan	Nov. 13 - 15.
Bihar	Dec. 11 - 13.

Com. Samar Mukherjee suggested a meeting of General Council as early as possible.

It was decided to hold General Council meeting on 1st week of February in Kanpur.

Re : Industry reports it was decided that during the next General Council meeting there should be a provision of one day for discussion by industrial groups.

It was suggested that in Rubber and Tyre Industries - for the purpose of forming a federation we should have some discussion.

It was decided that Bombay CMT union should convene a meeting of all rubber unions in Bombay.

Com. Keshto Ghosh suggested that certain comrades should be given responsibility to study the industry:

Honoreranjan Roy	--	Plantation.
Robin Mukherjee	--	Engineering.
Robin Chatterjee	--	Mines.
Kolhatkar	--	Tyre & Rubber.
Ramain	--	Rayon

Com. Sammurti - Industrial meeting of General Council.

Secretariat should be authorised to invite certain persons to attend the meeting.

Beedi and Cigar Group meeting should be convened. Convener to be appointed later on.

Some comrades raised the question of starting of bulletin in English.

It was decided that a bulletin should be brought out as early as possible.

Com. B.T. Mansdive then summed up the meeting.

"On behalf of Working Committee meeting I congratulate the Rajasthan State Committee of CITU and volunteers. The Rajasthan TUs are facing repression of Birlas. You have made good arrangements for our meeting. We are confident that our movement in Rajasthan will continue to grow in future."

The meeting concluded at 2 P.M.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

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1. Twelve applications forms have been received. State-wise:  
4 from Tamil Nadu, 3 from Andhra Pradesh, 1 from Himachal Pradesh  
3 from Assam and one from West Bengal. The total membership of 10  
unions is 5438. One Union has not given the number of members but  
paid Rs. 20/- as application fees. Most of the Unions have not sent  
fully all the information and papers required as found in the Annexure.  
Affiliation may be granted to 10 of them, subject to the requirements  
being fulfilled within 2 months. The eleventh union may be granted  
affiliation now itself.

2. Since many of the State Conference are to be held within  
the next 3 months, and the General Council or the working Committee  
may not be meeting within this period, we recommend that the CITU  
Office bearers may be authorised to grant affiliation to new unions,  
subject to all the requirements being fulfilled. Then only new  
unions seeking affiliation can be allowed to participate in and send  
their delegates to the State Conferences.

3. Before sending the affiliation papers to the CITU centre,  
the State Secretaries must see to it that all the information and  
papers required for affiliation are sent along with the application  
forms, under the coloumn" Remarks of the State Committee of the CITU"  
in the application form, one more clause regarding verification of  
all the requirement by the Secretaries, may be added, so that neces-  
sary delay may be avoided.

A. Nallasivan  
N. Prasada Rao

Manoranjan Roy  
Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury  
K. Balanandan

TAMIL NADU

Union	MEMBERSHIP	Amount Paid	Remarks.
1. Hindustan Teleprinters Employees' Union Madras.	891	Rs. p 89.10	A copy of the first page of 'E' form return for 1969 must be sent to the CITU by this Union
2. Madras Pencil Factory Labour Union, Madras.	150	20.00	This Union must send copies of the rules and consti- tution, "E " form return for the year 1969 and also the list of office- bearers.

Union	Membership	Amount Paid	Remarks
3. Tamilnadu Elect. Board Workers Union (Madurai-Ramnad systems) Madurai.	2891	Nil	The Union must pay an affiliation fee of Rs. 289.10
4. Shencottai Textile Workers' Union, Shencottai.	200	20.00	The Union must send copies of union constitution 'E' from return and list of office-bearers.
<u>ANDHRA</u>			
5. Rickshaw Workers' Union, Rajamundhri.	245	Nil	The union must send copies of the rules and constitution, list of office-bearers and the 'E' form return for the year 1969. An affiliation fees of Rs. 24.50 also must be remitted.
6. Godhavari National Tobacco Co. Labour Union, Biccavole	600	60.00	The Union must send copies of the Rules and Constitution, list of office-bearers and the statement of accounts
<u>HIMACHAL Pradesh</u>			
7. Himachal Pradesh Paledar Mazdoor -No Exta Union, Joginder Nagar information		20.00	The union must send copies of Rules and Constitution, 'E' form return and list of office bearers.
<u>ASSAM</u>			
8. Bilasipura Beedi Mazdoor Union, Bilasipara.	175	20.00	The Union must send copies of Rules and Constitution, list of office - bearers "E" form return for the year 1969.
9. Indian Oxygen Employees Union Disour, Gauhati	45	20.00	-do-
10. Sadan Gauhati chappasala Karmachari Sangh, Gauhati	163	Nil	The Union must send copies of Rules and Consitution, list of office-bearers and statement of accounts.
<u>W. Bengal</u>			
11. Prajananaranda Saraswathy Sevadan Workers Assn Ashok Nagar, 24 Parg.	13	20.00	May be affiliated
12. Cannawaram Taluc Motor Transport Workers Union Cannawaram.	65	20.00	The union must send copies of Rules and constitution, list of office-bearers and statement of accounts

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting,  
Jaipur, October 2-4, 1970

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Information Document - I

REPORTS OF INDUSTRY-WISE MEETINGS  
DURING THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION  
CONFERENCE.

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Delegates from several industries, during the All-India Trade Union Conference, demanded industry-wise meetings of delegates to have preliminary discussions on co-ordination of CITU activities. Accordingly, Presidium decided to allot sometime for the industry-wise meetings on 29th May, 1970.

Due to shortage of time, comrades could not work out in details the method of co-ordination. Many felt that further industry-wise meetings were necessary for the purpose.

Some reports of these meetings were received by the Centre from the convenors of these meetings. They are being reproduced here for the information of Executive Committee members.

Plantation Industry

A meeting of comrades working in plantation industry was held on 29th May 1970 in the Ranji Stadium pandal. Comrades from West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Mysore, Tamilnad and Kerala attended the meeting.

All the participants in the meeting felt the necessity of co-ordinating the activities of the CITU unions in plantation industry.

To begin with, comrades suggested that two regional co-ordination Committees of CITU unions can be formed. One of the unions in North Eastern region and the other in Southern region.

This co-ordination should cover not only tea plantations but all other plantation unions.

Details of the nature of co-ordination could not be discussed for want of time. However, comrades suggested that it could be worked out in another region-wise meeting of plantation comrades.

Comraded from North Eastern region suggested that Com. Monoranjan Roy should be entrusted with the responsibility of taking further steps in this direction.

The meeting suggested that the Centre should take initiative in forming such co-ordination committees.

Sd/- Manoranjan Roy, Convenor.

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Tyre and Rubber Industry

A meeting of the delegates representing Tyre and Rubber workers was held on 29.5.70 after the Session.

Comrades from Dunlop, Inchek and National Rubber (West Bengal), Premier Tyres (Ernakulam) and Ceat (Bombay) attended the meeting. Comrades representing some of the small rubber factories of West Bengal also attended.

After discussion it was decided that it would be left to the decision of the Executive Committees whether a Federation was possible to be formed in which both the Tyre Workers Unions and Rubber Workers Unions were to be included or two separate Federations were to be organised.

To find out the possibility of forming the Federations a Committee consisting of comrades representing Tyre Workers constituted with the following comrades :

1. Com. Dinen Bhattacharya (Convenor) - Dunlop
2. Com. Gopal Bose - Inchek
3. Com. Sourin Aditya - National Rubber,
4. Com. Ravindra Nath - Premier Tyres, Ernakulam
5. Com. Pereira - Ceat, Bombay.

Com. Pereira stated in the meeting that Firestone Tyre Workers' Union will join the Federation if it is formed.

Sd/- D. Bhattacharya, Convenor.

Bidi, Tobacco and Cigar Industry.

Delegates connected with Bidi, Tobacco and Cigarettes & Cigar industries met on 29.5.70 and resolved unanimously that the CITU shou centre should take initiative in organising an All India Conferance to form an All India Federation and to guide the movement of these workers. Com. Md. Ismail moved the resolution which was accepted unanimously.

The delegates from West Bengal, Andhra, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar connected with this industry participated in the deliberation.

Sd/- Kamal Sarkar, Convenor.

Paper Manufacturing Industries.

The representatives of the following Unions joined in the meeting under the Chairmanship of Com. Md. Amin of West Bengal :

1. Bengal Paper Mill Mazdoor Union - Raniganj - West Bengal
2. Star paper Mill Mazdoor Sangh - Saharanpur - U. P.
3. The West Coast Paper Mill Employees Union -  
Dandeli - Mysore.
4. Seshasayee Paper Mill Labour Union, Salem, Tamil Nadu
5. Andhra Pradesh Paper Mills Workers' Union,  
Raghundy, Andhra.
6. India Paper Pulp Mazdoor Union, Hazinagar, West Bengal.
7. Bengal Kagazkal Mazdoor Union (T.P.M. No.2), Kankinara, W.B.

8. Bengal Kagazkal Mazdoor Union (T.P.M.No.1), Titanagar, W. B.
9. Eastern India Speciality Papers Workers Union, Rajpur, "

Object of the meeting:

The object of the meeting was to form an All India Federation to have co-ordination and better understanding among the workers of the industry and to formulate future programme for unity and struggle against the common enemy and specially to make a parity in the existing uneven wage structure in between the different mills of the various states of India.

It was suggested in the meeting that a preparatory committee for the formation of such Federation is needed immediately and the Chairman suggested that he would contact the General Council members of the C.I.T.U. before forming a such Committee which he would duly inform the delegates by the end of this Conference.

Sd/- Md. Amin, Convenor.

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Road Transport.  
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Report of the meeting of the Delegates from different states representing Road Transport Workers' Unions attending All India Trade Union Conference on 29. 5. 70 held at Ranji Stadium.

The meeting took place at the call of the presidium. The group meeting of the delegates recommended in favour of forming All India body for co-ordinating and leading the road transport workers movement from an All India centre under the banner of C.I.T.U.

It is also decided that the comrade Sujit Das who acted as the convenor of the meeting has been entrusted to keep contact with the states.

Short reports from some states were placed in the group meeting on the movements, problems and charter of demands of the workers.

The said meeting recommends to the general council of the CITU to prepare a report and charter of demands, on the basis of which an All India movement should be developed through an All India convention. In this convention an All India body is to be set up.

Sd/- Sujit Das, Convenor.

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Rayon Industry.  
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Delegates from several unions of rayon industry met during AITU Conference, on the 29th May, at Ranji Stadium, and discussed their problems. The meeting resolved to request the CITU centre to call a meeting of all unions working in this industry, sometime in July-end or beginning of August, 70. Each union should send 1 or 2 delegates for the meeting.

The meeting will discuss the present wage-structure and action that may be taken to get the Govt. Report on Viscose Rayon Industry implemented as early as possible.

Engineering Industry.

Representatives from different States, who are working in engineering industry assembled at the Conference Pandol on the night of 29th May, 70 for about an hour. So, no factual report could be gathered within such a short time except some glimpses of the wages, rates, number of workers etc. On the next day some written reports were received.

The reports gathered from the representatives are stated below :-

MAHARASHTRA :

There are some big engineering concerns in which our unions are not functioning. In most of the engineering units P.S.P. along with I.N.T.U.C. are doing some trade union work.

Only in some small concerns our unions are functioning. In fact, there is no movement for wage-rise. Last year, when there was a big wage-rise in West Bengal, Bihar and other centres of engineering industry there was no movement for wage-rise in Maharashtra.

MADRAS :

In and around Madras City there are about 50 to 60 thousand engineering workers. The workers have improved their condition in recent time by united struggle. The minimum wage has now reached to Rs.200/- per month. Average production bonus is Rs.50/- to 60/- per month. 4000 workers are employed in Ashoke Leyland Factory and about 3000 in NaVaFactory.

PUNJAB :

Unskilled worker's wage is Rs.135/- per month.

In give projects there are 48 thousand workers in three shifts.

BIHAR :

In 72 concerns there are 8 to 9 thousand workers who were formerly under I.N.T.U.C. or R.S.P. influence are gradually coming closer to us. Wages are incredibly low. In some small concerns wages are Rs.25/- per month. Bonus is also paid less than the statutory minimum of 4%. In some concerns bonus is 3%. Generally the Bonus is low, but it is not more than 11%.

In big concerns minimum wage is round about Rs.200/- per month. In Bihar there is no influence of Dangeites.

WEST BENGAL :

Separate report will be submitted.

HYDERABAD :

There are about 11 major units of engineering industry mostly run by Public Sector and are located in and around Hyderabad. In most of the units one or other wing of the, I.N.T.U.C. are functioning. Dangeites are also functioning in E.I.C.L., PRAGA, KRISHI ENGINEERS (Private). H.M.S. has unit in HAL. We have groups in four units including H.M.T. Names of Unions with number of workmen and affiliation of Trade Union Centres

are given against their names :-

Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi.

In this Public Sector engineering unit of about 18,000 employees, 4,000 are officers and they are not workmen. There are 7 trade unions but only two are real unions worth the name. I. N.T.U.C. is recognised by the management. We agitated against its agreement with the management in 1969 which culminated in to gherao of the Chairman of the H.E.C. for 12 hours at that time. But, ultimately, the management in collusion with the I.N.T.U.C. union was successful in breaking the unity of the workers. Our Hatia Mazdoor Union has 1200 members. The present minimum wage is Rs. 195/- per month.

The Trainees also launched a struggle and attained some benefits.

A great and historic battle was fought by the security guards by Dharma with their family members before the management. This struggle is popularly called in Ranchi as 'Sepoy Mutiny' of H.E.C. After an agreement between the security guards and the management the struggle ended in victory. The leadership of this struggle was under our influence.

Shree Ram Bearing Ltd. (Shree Ram Group):

750 workers, R.S.P. controlled union, but some of our comrades are members of the Executive Committee. Secretary of the Committee is our Comrade. Minimum wage is Rs. 129/- per month. The union gave a call for a strike demanding higher bonus. But the management declared 10% bonus and thus averted the strike.

In addition to the above two concerns there are about 5,000 workers in several units spread over the vicinity of H.E.C. among which Usha Martin Employs about 750 workmen. The immediate main problems in these small concerns is to implement the Labour Laws. We have no organisation in this belt of small concerns.

JAMSHEDPUR :

There are seven major engineering concerns in Jamshedpur. The names of the factories with member of the workers and minimum wages prevailing are shown against their names:

1. Telco.	22,000	200/-
2. Tube	4,000	190/-
3. Tinplate	5,000	185/-
4. Tyre Product	2,000	180/-
5. T.R.F.	500	180/-
6. Cable	3,000	195/-
7. Jemco.	500	160/-

Besides these there are other allied industries employing about 10,000 workers and 8 small engineering factories employ about 1,000 workers.

There is no union here which is controlled by us.

In June 1969 struggle started in Tinplate for implementation of workers side recommendation to the Wage Board. Gradually, the movement gained momentum and Co-ordination Committee was formed with representatives of I.N.T.U.C., A.I.T.U.C., H.M.S. & K.M.P. to conduct the engineering workers of Jamshedpur. In fact, the struggle was conducted by the five political parties.

C.P.I.(M), C.P.I., P.S.P, S.S.P. and Congress(F). General strike of the engineering workers of Jamshedpur started on 18.11.69 and culminated with the victory of the workers by raising the wages to the present level. During this struggle the workers had to sacrifice most. Although the strike was formally withdrawn on 7.12.69 by the agreement between the recognised union I.N.T.U.C. and the management but continued for 48 days from 18th November 69 as a vast number of workers' leaders were under suspension and dismissal. The strike was withdrawn on the assurance given by the Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi and Bhagawat Jha Azad to the effect that there will be no victimisation but 12 workers of Telco and 13 workers of Tube were dismissed and 57 workers of Telco were suspended for varying period of 5 days to 30 days.

The I.N.T.U.C. and the C.P.I. union betrayed the workers struggle. During this strike struggle about 200 workers were arrested and innumerable cases filed against them. The revisionist and I.N.T.U.C. for-sake the workers in their days of distress. To protest against these dismissals a strike call was given for 11th June 70 (strike did not happen).

#### ADITYAPUR INDUSTRIAL AREA :

A growing industrial area centering round Adityapur having an area about 30 sq. miles. Names of some of the engineering concerns with number of workers shown against their names are given below :

1. Zenith Drop & Forgings Ltd.	242
2. Hindusthan Tools & Dies	105
3. Tata Yodogawa Ltd.	650
Contractors' Workers	1,500
4. J.D.Jones & Co. Ltd.	95
5. Lakhamana Rubber Industries.	175
6. Bihar Auto Cycle Industries.	65
7. Utkal Automobiles Pvt. Ltd.	
(Body Building Division)	350

Total membership organised under Adityapur Mazdoor Union covering all these factories is 983.

The workers of this area protested against Bihar Small Scale Engineering Industries Wage Committee recommendation when it was published in early March this year. The workers demanded a minimum of Rs.130/- immediately without any phasing.

(1) Hindusthan Tools & Dies (2) and Zenith Drop & Forgings staged protest strikes on 8. 5. 70 and 18. 5. 70 respectively resulting in Rs.26/- and Rs.20/- increase at a time. The wage committee recommended adjustment of amount paid between January & March 70. But the workers successfully resisted this deduction and received this 26/- & 20/- over and above what had been given upto March 70.

Lakhamana Rubber Industries workers are on strike since 18. 5. 70 on a demand of minimum wage of Rs.130/- and security of service etc.

#### PATNA ENGINEERING BELT :

In the industrial belt of Patna there are about 125 engineering units having about 15,000 workers. Formerly the workers were under the influence of I.N.T.U.C. and P.S.P. But gradually the workers are coming to our fold. The wage rate was as low as Rs.50/- per month. As a result of struggle under our leadership it has been raised to Rs. 80/- per month. Police repression has been let loose against our comrades and several of them have been prosecuted under Sec.107.

These units produce various items of engineering goods e.g. agricultural implements, Tractors Parts, Hydraulic Jocks, Pin High Tension Insulators, By-cycles, T.A.B. Parts, Medical equipment, chemical materials, Post & Telegraph Letter Box, Motor Pumps, Oil engines, Defense Sales Box, Defense Water Tanks and all kinds of D C S & D. Moulding workers are done in some of these concerns.

The prevalent wage rate in these units are given below :-

Factories employing workers upto 50	Rs.80/- per month
" " " from 51- 250	115/- " "
" " " from 251 & upwards	125/- " "

RAJASTHAN :

Very scanty report is available from Rajasthan. Names of some of the factories with number of workers shown against their names are given below :

1. National Ball Bearing Industry, Jaipur.	3,000
2. A. Mookjee Company, Jaipur.	150
3. Nan Industrial Corporation, Jaipur.	900
4. Nopani Ball Company, Jaipur	150
5. Kamal & Co.	75
6. Gopal Industry, Kota.	200
7. Gillard Industry, Kota	150
8. Multimetal Co., Kota	-
9. Rajasthan Cables, Kota.	-
10. Oriental Power, Kota.	-

As a result of agitation there has been some wage-rise in some of the concerns. Their names, previous minimum wage and revised wage are given below:

	Previous minimum wage.	After wage rise
1. N.E.I., Jaipur.	111.40	116.40
2. Man Industrial Corpn., Jaipur.	78.00	111.00
3. Electric & Metal Industry, Jaipur	99.00	147.00
4. Kamini Industry, Jaipur	99.00	131.00
5. Gelart Industry, Kota	65.00	85.00
6. Rajasthan Cables, Kota.	80.00	111.00
7. Multi Metal Factory, Kota	(Wage increase according to recommendation ?)	
8. Toshniwal Industry, Ajmer	(After strike wage increased, it reached to near about Rs.100/-)	
9. Capstan meters, Jaipur.	(Wage increase after strike Rs.15/- to Rs.20/-).	

BRIEF INFORMATION OF ENGINEERING INDUSTRY IN A.P.

<u>S/No.</u>	<u>Name of Unit.</u>	<u>No. of workmen.</u>	<u>Union affiliated.</u>	<u>Particulars regarding implementation of Wage Board recommendation.</u>
1.	Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd (In Public Sector) Hyderabad.	6,000	INTUC	Implemented copy of agreement attached.

I	2	3	(8)	4	5
2.	Hindustan Machine Tools (Public Sector) <u>Hyderabad.</u>	2,000	I) Led by CPI (M). AITUC 2) SS-led union. 3) INTUC.		Implemented copy of agreement attached- Agreement reached between INTUC union & the management.
2.	Parga Tools (Public Sector) <u>Hyderabad.</u>	3,500	AITUC		Implemented - deta- ils are not avail- able.
F.	Electronic Co-Operation of India (Public Sector) <u>Hyderabad.</u>	3,000	AITUC		Implemented - deta- ils are not avail- able.
5.	H.A.L. (Public Sector) <u>Hyderabad.</u>	3,000	H.M.S.		Implemented - detai- ls are not available- as per HMT agreement. Implemented - detail not available.
6.	Republic Forge (State Govt. Undertaking)	1,500	AITUC		Implemented - detail not available.
7.	Allwyn Metal Works Pvt. Ltd. <u>Hyderabad.</u>	4,000	INTUC		Not implemented - int- erim settlement reached.
8.	Krishni Engineers Pvt. Ltd. <u>Hyderabad.</u>	1,200	INTUC		Not implemented.
9.	Andhra Electronic Co-op- eration Pvt. Ltd. <u>Hyderabad.</u>	1,000	INTUC		Not implemented.
10.	Swiss Indo-French Co. P. Ltd.	800	Indepen- dent union.		Not implemented.
II.	Indo-Nippon Ball Bearing Co. Pvt. Ltd., <u>Hyderabad.</u>	1,000	No union.		Not implemented.
12.	Bharat Heavy Plate Vessels (Public Sector) <u>Waltiar.</u>		No information		are available.

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting,  
Jaipur, October 2-4, 1970

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INFORMATION DOCUMENT - 2

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MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY ANDHRA PRADESH  
COMMITTEE OF C I T U ON THE INDUSTRIAL  
RELATIONS COMMISSION BILL TO THE JOINT  
SELECT COMMITTEE OF ANDHRA PRADESH  
LEGISLATURE.

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The long title of the Industrial Relations Commission Bill (IRC Bill) tells the purpose of the Bill. It seeks to promote the settlement of industrial disputes, facilitate collective bargaining, recognise Trade Unions, curb unfair labour practices and constitute Industrial Labour Commission (IRC) to deal with all these matters. Before going into an examination of the provisions of this Bill and see how far they help the Labour in dealing with all the above-mentioned matters, it is necessary to see how industrial relations stand now and what the surest and best way is to regulate them.

Labour is the creator of value, of wealth. But it is Labour that is most neglected, and the worker is left to be exploited and oppressed by the employer without any check and limit. It is the prolonged and bitter struggles waged by the working class that won some of their rights - the right to strike, right to minimum wage, right to form Union, right to collectively bargain etc. Even these are halting, meagre and counter-balanced by many conditions and prohibitions. The Trade Union Act, the Industrial Relations Act, the Payment of Wages Act, etc. are, in practice, putting big obstacles in the way of the working class movement in its onward march to get its full rights and privileges.

In its fight for its rights, demands and privileges, working class mainly relies upon its consciousness, its class unity and its fighting strength. The fight of Labour against Capital is an un-equal fight. Capital has got everything at its command -- money, laws and regulations protecting it as sacred and inviolable, obedient administrative machinery. The Press, its own child, is there to mould public opinion in its favour. The Industrial Reserve Army - the vast multitude of unemployed - is at hand to rush in times of crisis to save the Capitalist class. It is against this vast power that the illiterate and propertyless working class is pitted, and this working class has only its numbers, its class solidarity and fighting strength to fall back upon. Any measure, any legislation that seeks to restrict this right of the working class to organise and collectively bargain, to fight for their rights and demands will be a step directed against the working class. Working class can never accept any shackles to be put on its freedom of action, freedom to strike. So long as capitalist mode of production remains the working class cannot accept any restrictions on its right to strike and on its right of collective bargaining. You cannot escape from this, so long capitalism rules the roost.

It is from this angle that the Centre Of Indian Trade Unions, Andhra Pradesh Committee, examine the provisions of this Bill.

U N F A I R L A B O U R P R A C T I C E S

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Chapter V, together with Schedule III, is the lynchpin of this Bill. This Chapter, together with Clauses 17 & 26 deal with strike and unfair labour practices on the part of the Trade Unions. Any strike without due notice, any strike during the pendency of an agreement or court proceedings or during negotiations is castigated as illegal, and condemned. Processions and demonstrations before the residences of the employers or managerial staff are prohibited. Strike, when an issue is pending before a Labour Court or I.R.C. is also declared illegal. Gherao, Stay-In-Strike, Go-Slow, and such other milder forms of working class actions are tabooed. Even picketing is disallowed. Use of what is termed as force, intimidation, coercion and violence is banned.

What do these prohibitions and bans amount to? Any action, however mild and elementary it may be, by the working class will be prohibited. Coersion, threat, force, violence, etc., are such broad terms that any action of the working class can be reduced and fitted in to this framework and condemned. A Union or its leaders or its members have got every right to induce workers, whether they are unattached or whether they belong to any other Union, to join their Union, but this can immediately be fitted in to the framework of coercion or threat, by a small twist, a little colouring. A demonstration going through the streets where the employer or a member of the managerial staff happen to reside may be declared an unfair labour practice. Spontaneous strikes do break out, but they will be termed Wild Cat Strikes and condemned. These spontaneous strikes break out because of the pin pricks, the highhanded actions of the management, and any T.U. worth its name cannot but support the workers in such protest actions against the attacks of the management. To prevent such spontaneous strikes, it is first necessary to stop the management from harassing the workers by way of suspensions, fines and such other provocative actions.

Refusal to bargain in good faith is termed an unfair labour practice. What is meant by in good faith god alone knows. If the T.U. puts forward certain demands and stoutly argues for them and refuse to accept unjust and unsatisfactory proposals of the management, such staunch defence of the workers cause will be castigated as not bargaining in good faith. This term, in good faith, will be a big stick in the hands of the employers to be used by them with devastating effects on the T.U. movement.

Most obnoxious is the last point in the Schedule. It terms as unfair labour practice any attempt made by an unrecognised union to challenge any agreement entered in to by the recognised union with the employer. So long as the recognition accorded to a Union is not done on democratic lines and so long as the agreement is not placed before the workers and its approval thus obtained, the agreement cannot be held sacrosant. The agreement might have been agreed upon just a few weeks or months before the recognition of the contracting union lapses. The recognition itself might have been obtained by fraudulent means, which is likely to happen if the procedure laid down by this Bill is followed. The agreement might have been agreed upon by the union leadership behind the backs of the workers. Under such circumstances, it is very wrong to prohibit any other union to go before the workers on the question of the agreement and expose it as inimical to the interests of the working class. To make the agreement binding, the recognition of the Union should be through secret ballot and the terms of the agreement should be placed before the General Body of the Union and get them approved.

Clause 21(I) of the Bill authorises only the recognised Union or the Employer or the Investigating Officer to file a complaint before the I.R.C. about unfair labour practices. In this, there is no safeguard against the unfair labour practices practised by the recog-

nised Union itself. Often it happens that Company Unions and Scab Unions ~~and~~ get recognition, thanks to the faulty system of recognition, and these recognised Unions adopt several unfair and dirty methods to bolster up their membership and keep recognition. This bogus membership could not be challenged except at the time of verification after two years, and till that time, their malpractices can go unchecked. The only protection from the malpractices practised by the recognised Unions is recognition given on the basis of secret ballot.

Clause 26 prohibits strikes during the pendency of negotiations or court proceedings or proceedings before I.R.C. Usually the manouvre practised by the employers is to take an issue before the Labour Deptt. or the Court, so as to procrastinate and benumb the initiative and consciousness of the workers. When the issue goes before the Court or the Labour Deptt. inordinate delay will be done in settling it. Even after the I.R.C. is formed, the employer can go to the High Court with writ petitions, and once the issue is dragged before the High Court, it may take years to settle it one way or other. All this time, the workers have to sit with folded hands, praying to their patron dieties to settle the issue in their favour.

Thus, the provisions of the Bill that deal with the so-called unfair labour practices on the part of T.U.s are extremely harmful to the interests of the T.U. movement. They bind the workers hand and foot and make even the slightest movement on their part highly impossible. This is unfair, the REAL UNFAIR LABOUR PRACTICE, that paralyses the working class movement. Under such circumstances, the claim of the Minister For Labour, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, that " This measure will enhance the status of the workers and strengthen the T.U. Movement and enable them to function on an equal plane with the employers" is unreal and misleading.

#### RECOGNITION OF TRADE UNIONS

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Working class movement always demanded recognition of the most representative union and right of collective bargaining. So far, recognition of a Union is dependent on the sweet will of the employer, or the faulty method of verification by the Labour Deptt. This practice led to many abuses. Often, it is the scab union or the company union that got recognition. Verification is easily manipulated. As a result, mass unions, enjoying the confidence and allegiance of the majority of the workers were denied recognition. Hence the demand for secret ballot for finding out the representative Union and according it recognition.

But this Bill, Casabianca-like, sticks to the old, wornout verification procedure with this change that, instead of the Labour Deptt, now it will be the I.R.C. that verifies the membership.

The Sub-committee of the State Labour Advisory Committee suggested a limited secret ballot. As per this suggestion, secret ballot will be held to 2 to 20 percent of the membership challenged. If 1000 members are challenged, secret ballot will be limited to 150, if the challenged membership is 6000, the secret ballot will be limited to 250. Such a secret ballot is nothing but a mockery of the principle of secret ballot, and a deception.

The objection often raised against secret ballot in T.U. Movement is that it leads to political influences playing in this field. This is nothing but ostrich mentality. Today, political ideologies are entrenched in the T.U. field, the All India Trade Union Centres are permeated with political ideologies through and through, and political leaders play a leading role in running these Centres. To deny secret ballot on the plea of keeping off T.U. movement away from political influences is nothing but running away from realities.

Moreover, working class cannot keep aloof from politics. They stand for socialism, and a struggle for socialism is unthinkable with-

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without the active participation and leading role of the working class in it. Socialist order of society is won by the revolutionary struggles of the working class but not through the benevolence of the employing class. The working class is already in the vortex of current political affairs, and one cannot wish it away except at one's own cost.

## R I G H T S O F R E C O G N I S E D U N I O N S

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Chapter IV of the Bill deals with the rights and obligations of the recognised T.U.s. As we have already said, sub-clauses (iv) & (v) of Clause 17 are harmful. They penalise the Unions for supporting or encouraging what the Bill termed as illegal strikes. These sub-clauses have to go, as they put undue fetters on the actions of the working class in defence of their rights.

Clause 18(2)(a) gives . . . exclusive right to the recognised Union to nominate members to all the Committees in the establishment, formed statutorily or not. This is a very wide right given to the recognised Union. These Committees are important Committees, and they cannot be the exclusive monopoly of one or the other T.U. The recognition accorded to the Union itself is questionable. Moreover, nomination leads to favouritism, nepotism, corruption and will also lead to the growth of bureaucracy in the T.U.s. Where Union rivalry exists in acute form, this exclusive right often leads to intimidation, harassment and discrimination against the members of the unrecognised Unions. The present system of direct election to these Committees, section-wise, is better than nomination by the recognised Union.

Clause 18(4) deals with the CHECK OFF system. We are in favour of seeing that all workers join the T.U. movement and the Trade Unions. But such enrolment should be based on the voluntary and free choice of the worker. This CHECK OFF system introduces an element of coercion and compulsion. It gives almost a monopoly of membership enrolment to the recognised Union. The recognition being based on a false and faulty system, the Union that enjoys this right of CHECK OFF system can play havoc with the growth of free and democratic T.U. movement. This system will give scope for the management also to poke their finger in enrolment, and this gives good opportunity for the Company Unions and stooge Unions to flourish. Hence, enrolment of membership should be free and voluntary, and CHECK OFF system militates against this.

## I N D U S T R I A L R E L A T I O N S C O M M I S S I O N & L A B O U R C O U R T S

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So far, it is the Labour Deptt., i.e., a wing of the Government, that is dealing with industrial relations. The present Bill seeks to replace this machinery with the Industrial Relations Commission and the Labour Courts, and invests them with full judicial powers. The power of these bodies are wide. The I.R.C. gives recognition to the T.U. or recognises it, decides on unfair labour practices and punishes the T.U.s and their leaders indulging in these unfair practices, decides disputes relating to T.U. elections, adjudicates industrial disputes, decides law points referred to it by the Govt., and decides such other matters connected hereto as the Govt. may assign. The Labour Courts decide some unfair labour practices indulged in by the employers and try offences punishable under this Act.

Thus, the I.R.C. and the Labour Courts have been given very wide powers over the T.U. movement, over the internal affairs of the T.U.s and over the relations between the employees and employers.

Besides this, the I.R.C. and the Labour Courts will be assisted by Investigating Officers, who are also invested with wide powers. They can inspect any document and for that purpose, they can enter any premises, house or office, at any time. They are the persons who will investigate in to the membership of the T.U.s for verification.

They will assist the I.R.C., and the Labour Courts in investigating complaints relating to unfair labour practices, and will, on their own report to the I.R.C. on these unfair labour practices, or on any other matter which they may deem fit to report.

These wide powers given to the I.R.C., Labour Courts and the Investigating Officers are tried to be justified on the score that they are judicial bodies. But, such investment of powers to these judicial bodies do not give much satisfaction to the workers, as they do not attach much importance to these judicial bodies as constituted and circumscribed today. The judicial bodies are not entirely independent, they work in a class-ridden society and they interpret and implement the laws of this class-ridden society. The law-making bodies are dominated by the exploiting classes and their henchmen and the laws they make are intended to protect the interests of the exploiting classes. It is these laws that these judicial bodies - I.R.C. & Labour Courts - have to implement. The present Bill itself is heavily loaded against the independent actions of the working class, making even the slightest movement of the workers against the employer an unfair practice and illegal, the method of giving recognition to a T.U. is faulty, giving scope to give recognition to company unions and scab unions, the procedure for settlement of disputes is such that endless litigation results from it. The I.R.C. & the Labour Courts have to interpret and implement them and cannot go even an inch from them. However much impartial and disinterested the personnel on these bodies try to stand, they cannot but discharge the onerous duty of implementing these draconian laws.

Besides, experience shows that proceedings in courts are not only time-consuming but are also very costly. When an issue is made justiciable, then there is scope to go to the highest Court - Supreme Court - in the country, and the employer will make the best use of this opportunity. The poor and illiterate worker, or even his T.U. finds it physically and financially impossible to go chasing after this issue in all the courts at all levels. Today, from experience we know that the Labour Officer or an Industrial Tribunal or a Labour Court sometime takes years to conclude a labour dispute, and all the while the workers stand immobilised.

The working class is hemmed in by all the restrictions that are being placed on its free and conscious activities in defence of its rights, and not the slightest attempt in being made to meet the just and basic demands of it which alone will greatly obviate the necessity of going into direct action. If the need-based minimum wage is accepted, if the wages are automatically adjusted to the rising cost of living, if recognition is given to the T.U. on the basis of secret ballot, if collective bargaining is universally accepted, if retrenchment is stopped and rationalisation given up, if unemployment question is solved, if the Govt. machinery do not side Capital and repressive measures are not adopted to suppress the working class movement, much of the necessity of stay-in strikes, go-slow, gherao etc. would be reduced. Without assuring the workers of these basic demands, it is futile to ask the working class to restrict their actions and struggles.

Hence, we are opposed to giving powers, enumerated in Chapter II, to the I.R.C. and the Labour Courts.

#### EXTENTION OF THE BILL TO EDUCATIONAL & OTHER BODIES

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Under Clause I(4)(b) of the Bill, all educational and charitable institutions, hospitals, solicitors firms, clubs are to be brought under the purview of this Law. So far as the right of the workers working in these bodies are concerned, these provisions will meet the needs to some extent, but these workers suffer all the evils and

and dangers that this Bill get to the working class in general. Also, while charitable institutions are covered we do not see any reason why the religious institutions are excluded from the purview of the Bill.

The procedure suggested for the settlement of disputes in these institutions is also laborious and time-consuming. The employee has first to go to the Appellate authority and then to the Labour Court and next to the I.R.C. Again, the Joint Negotiating Committee at the State level is empowered to decide on issues like retrenchment and rationalisation. The decisions of this JNC have to wait for three months in some cases, for they have to be approved by the higher authorities. If unanimity is not obtained in the J.N.C., then that issue will go to the I.R.C. which again means a lot of delay.

The whole procedure is dilatory and grievances of the workers continue to pile up.

W I T H D R A W T H I S B L A C K B I L L  
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We are of definite opinion that this is a BLACK BILL for the workers. Their right to strike, their right to freely organise and get recognised, their right of collective bargaining, will be seriously curtailed if this Bill becomes law. The working class will be reduced to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. The struggles of the working class are inseparable from the system of wages, from the capitalist system, and it would be foolish and even treacherous to put shackles on the free action of the working class so long as the system of wages, system of capitalism remains. HENCE WE DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION BILL FORTHWITH.

Instead, we suggest that a new Bill is introduced which assures the following rights to the working class.

1. Right of organisation is accepted.
2. Right of collective bargaining is accepted.
3. Recognition to the representative union is accorded on the basis of secret ballot.
4. No change to be introduced without bipartite talks and agreement.
5. Need-based minimum wage is assured and the wage is automatically adjusted to the rising cost of living.
6. Full employment and no retrenchment.

We earnestly request the Joint Select Committee to give deep thought and consideration to the criticism made by us and accept it and recommend the withdrawal of the present Bill.

VIJAYAWADA

8. 9. 1970

N. Prasada Rao,

Convenor,  
Andhra Pradesh Committee,  
CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

DURGAPUR WORKERS' STRUGGLE

(Prepared and submitted by  
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For Circulation  
Working Committee  
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Jaipur.

Central Industrial Security Force, the latest repressive organisation formed by the Central Government with wide power including right to arrest without warrant, is meant for suppressing T.U. movement in Public Sector Undertakings. The CISF was posted at Durgapur on 3rd August, 1970. The workers immediately organised protest demonstrations and observed strike on 4th August in the entire Durgapur Industrial belt, demanding withdrawal of this mercenary force. From 5th August to 11th August, the entire working force of about 22 public and private sector undertakings, except Shankey Wheels under AITUC control, continuously held organised protest demonstrations. To quell the resistance extreme provocation was given by arresting Com. Dilip Mazumdar, President of H.S.E.U., Durgapur and General Council Member of CITU and ex Local MLA on 6th August morning along with Com. Sukhen Sarker of HSEU and General Council Member of CITU and 2 other important union leaders of the area on fabricated charge of murder. The Government also imposed Section 144 Cr.-P.C. and mobilised about 15,000 CRP and armed forces in a township of 60,000 workers and resorted to most savage brutalities. In the circumstances the workers of Durgapur launched continuous strike in the entire area from 12th August 1970 and heroically continued it for eleven days.

At the beginning of the struggle CPI issued a joint leaflet telling the workers that struggle against CISF should be taken on political level and one day's strike was not sufficient for this purpose. When Durgapur Trade Union Co-ordination Committee announced on 9th August the decision of continuous strike from 12th August, CPI released a leaflet dated 10th August 1970 calling upon the workers to oppose the struggle branding it as politically motivated to hand over public sector undertakings to monopoly Capital. In the same leaflet they also warned the workers that continuous struggle will only help the management to declare lock-out and closure.

CPI along with INTUC worked as agent of the Government to break the Strike. CPI widely propagated that the strike was purported for CPI(M) and CITU to have right to commit political murder. They also said that sufficient Police protection was not given to strike breakers (in spite of mobilisation of 15,000 CRP and Arm Forces). Sri Kalyan Roy, M.P. gave a deputation to the Governor of West Bengal on 17th August 1970 demanding more repressive actions. CPI daily, KALAMTAR, published as an advertisement the notice of ultimatum issued by Durgapur Management threatening the workers to report to duties by 18th August. This treacherous role of CPI and A-ITUC has a background apart from their political line-up.

BACKGROUND :

On 1st August the Management of Durgapur brought about 1000 CRP and WAP inside the Plant. The Union - HSEU immediately wanted to know the reason for mobilisation of armed force. The Management gave excuse that armed forces were brought to prevent theft. The apprehension of the Union proved correct when CISF was posted on 3.8.70 within 2 hours after the Court Injunction (prohibiting deployment of CISF) was vacated. This showed that the whole thing was pre-planned. The Management of Durgapur as well as Government of India was well aware of the feeling of the workers not only of the Steel Plant but also of the entire working force of Durgapur Industrial Complex. Ever since CISF Act 1968 came into force, Government of India was attempting to post CISF at Durgapur Steel Plant. The earlier attempts were stalled due to workers resistance and intervention by the United Front Government of 1969-70. The Security Staff of the Steel Plant who were to be replaced by CISF also opposed CISF posting. The Security Staff of DPL formed their own Union and were moving jointly with Hindusthan Steel Employees Union (HSEU) Durgapur. The Security Staff who would have no scope to form their Union once they opted to be included in CISF. Moreover, the service

condition of CISF was inferior to than that of Security Staff. So the Security Staff obtained a court injunction and this injunction was vacated on 3rd August 1970. It is evident that the authorities and the Government wanted to take advantage of the situation in West Bengal under President's Rule in deploying CISF so hurriedly immediately after the injunction was vacated. It is apparent, the Government wanted to see as a test case, in the present political situation of West Bengal when all struggles initiated by militant working class are being opposed by CPI and other parties, as to whether working class of West Bengal could build up an united struggle in resisting the Government's Policy. Therefore, the attack on the workers of Durgapur was not unrelated to the total political strategy of Central Government in regard to West Bengal. HSEU and Durgapur Trade Union Co-ordination Committee (DTUCC) took decision much earlier apprehending that an attempt will be made during President's rule to post CISF at DSP to organise an all out resistance to deployment of CISF.

It is to be noted that during the months of June-July 1970 when production in DSP and other Public Sector undertakings in Durgapur was actually rising, both Management of Hindusthan Steel and Steel Ministry renewed their attack on the workers of Durgapur Steel Plant and Durgapur workers as a whole raising the old bogey of fall in production due to non-cooperation and resistance of the workers. This is an old canard encouraged purposefully by the Central Government to cover up their criminal negligence and gross in efficiency of the top heavy management of DPL. It is known to every body and fully corroborated in the findings of Pandey Committee appointed by Government of India on DPL that the Plants and Machineries of DPL were worn out due to gross erection and installation defects and most defective production planning by the British Steel Consortium (ISCON) who erected it with the help of Indian collaborators, draining out crores of rupees from this country. The Government of India in order to protect the wilful criminal negligence of Steel Ministry and its top officials are diverting the issue by blaming the workers to suit the political conspiracy to discredit the militant T.U. struggle of West Bengal. The workers of DPL and their Union HSEU time and again exposed these criminal acts but no action was taken by Government of India even in cases where rectification could be done now. Most erratic administration of Durgapur Steel Plant and mismanagement at the top rendering important installations like Blast Furnace and other vital machineries out of commission frequently for unusually long periods and gross neglect in taking prompt actions for timely repairing and maintenance work stand as permanent hazard to utilise available capacity of production. The situation is further acc-entuated due to quarrel between different groups of officers on provincial basis. Unable to control and contain the bureaucrats of public sector undertakings, Government of India, to suit their political objective, circulated the canards against the militant workers of Durgapur and utilised the monopoly press for this purpose. Recently Dange and his AITUC joined Government of India in this campaign of slander against the workers.

Relevant excerpts from Pandey Committee report in this regard are quoted below:

"Durgapur management seems to have neglected many essential, responsibilities which are incumbent for good performance. Mention may be made of neglect of proper maintenance, lack of rigid control on the quality of products"...(para 3.12)

"Not only preventive maintenance was badly neglected but even day-to-day maintenance for exemple, cleaning of the doors, Oven tops, the Gas pipes etc. was not done. Many of the machines went out of order and were not attended to timely and work was carried on a crude manner. Major repairs like changing of buckstays, Oven-doors etc. were not attended to at all. Wrong system of incentives i.e. payment on the number of Ovens pushed, had been introduced which led to the malpractice of underchanging and green pushing of Ovens" (Para 6.21).

"In an integrated Steel Works the defective operation of any section, however small can have big adverse effect on the functioning of the whole Plant. The Coke-Ovens being the mother Plant, have, however, a very vital role to play.....they also supply Coke Oven Gas for the Steel Melting Shops, for soaking Pits and for so many other heating furnaces. The Coke Oven Gas is also the primary source for the recovery of the byproducts which if properly manufactured are big source of revenue and high profits. The good health of the Coke ovens is, therefore, of the highest importance and should be a matter of great concern to the Plant Management".....(para 6.25).

"After having entered the profit zone in 1964-65, Durgapur slipped and incurred a loss of Rs.2.31 crores during 1965-66 which is expected to rise substantially to over Rs.13 crores during the year 1966-67. The main cause of this heavy loss is the near disaster that overtook the Coke Ovens which resulted in severe curtailment in Coke production and Coke Gas which again slowed down production in all departments".....(para 5.10).

"The Committee would again like to emphasize that the malady in the Coke Ovens was a long standing one..... The negligence of the top management in position in Durgapur from 1961 onwards must also come for special mention..."..(para 6.28).

"In all 27 equipments, attachments were out of commission or lying idle in March 1967 in the Plant. It is not possible to get an idea of the cost of equipments lying idle since figures were not available for all idle equipments. It was stated by the Plant Management that out of this 27, 13 are redundant to their requirements, 9 of them are idle owing to maintenance difficulties, 4 of them because of inadequate design and one is idle because it is not economical to use it"....(para 5.11)

#### INTEREST OF THE DANGEITES IN THE ATTACK AGAINST DURGAPUR WORKERS:

Hindusthan Steel Employees Union consolidated T.U. movement in the entire area of Durgapur having a total force of 60,000 workers on militant lines of action. This Union took lead in 1966 in Durgapur area when all out struggle was launched against Congress Government in West Bengal ultimately resulting in successive defeat of Congress in 1967 and 1969 elections. In both these elections, Dilip Mazumdar, President of HSEU was elected from Durgapur constituency as a candidate of CPI(M) defeating Ananda Gopal Mukherjee of Congress(C) and Gen. Secy. of INTUC Union recognised from the very beginning by Central Government and DSP. In 1967 election, Nihar Mukherjee of AITUC contested Com. Dilip Mazumdar as a candidate of CPI and was defeated by a huge margin.

This consolidation achieved by Durgapur Steel Workers directly challenged the position of Dange and his AITUC in Steel Industry. When Dange and his AITUC tried to help the Steel Magnetes in the negotiation on Interim Wage rise for Steel Workers in 1969, HSEU, Durgapur took a firm stand and foiled their unholy compromise attempt. Dange demanded Rs.30/- as interim wage rise and was prepared to settle it for Rs.15/- or so. At the insistence of HSEU, Durgapur Rs.33/- was realised as interim wage rise - Rs.3/- more than what Dange demanded. This damaged Danges position in Steel Industry.

The strength of the CITU in Durgapur is seen from the following, Dange & Company wanted to heap of:

<u>Factories/Units in the Area.</u>	<u>Total Complement</u>	<u>Unions and their Strength.</u>
Durgapur Steel Plant	27000 )	CITU - H.S.E.U(Jt.Union) 22701
Alloy Steel	6000 )	INTUC - H.S.Workers Union
		INTUC - Alloy Steel Workers Union
		AITUC - Alloy Steel Shramik Union(formed in 1968).

<u>Factories/Units in the Area.</u>	<u>Total Complement</u>	<u>Unions and their Strength.</u>	
M A M C	6400	CITU - H.E.Employees Union INTUC - H.E.Workers Union	3813
A. V. B.	2100	CITU - AVB Employees Union INTUC - AVB Workers Union	1900
Durgapur Project	5970	CITU - Durgapur Project Employees' Union INTUC - D.P.Workers Union RSP - Staff & Workers Association.	4700
Durgapur Chemicals	700	CITU - Durgapur Chemical Employees' Union	672
Fertilizer Corporation of India.	800	CITU - FCI Employees Union.	400
Graphaite (I) Ltd.	225	CITU - Graphaite Workers Union RSP - Graphaite Staff Association. INTUC - Graphaite Shramik Union.	200
Hein Lehman(Under closure during the strike)	195	CITU - Hein Lehman Workers Union.	150
PIBCC	95	CITU - Pibco Employees' Union.	82
Indo-American Electrical.	100	CITU - Indo-American Electrical Workers Union.	74
Ophthalmic Glass	450	CITU - O.G.Employees' Union INTUC - O.G.Workers Union.	263
Jessop	200	CITU - Jessop Mazdoor Union INTUC - <u>NAME NOT KNOWN</u>	
Asiatic Oxygen	100	CITU - A.O. Workers Union	59
Philips Carbon	100	CITU - P.C.Workers' Union	65
Durgapur State Transport	800	CITU - DSTS Employees' Union.	682
Shankey Wheel(GKW)	800	AITUC - S.W.Workers' Union (Gen,Sec.S.F.Ghosal).	
Hind Refractories	1400	CITU - H.R.Workers' Union INTUC - <u>NAME NOT KNOWN</u>	240
Indian Mechanisation & Allied Products.	50	AITUC - IMAP Workers' Union.	

A I T U C : Have recently started functioning their Union in DSP and MAMC.

After the strike AITUC Leaders are also trying to concentrate on small unions to capture them.

In Durgapur Industrial Area except in Shankey Wheel (Guest Keen Williams) Dangeites have no foot hold. Moreover, formation of CITU most effectively challenged the position of Dangeites in overall T.U. struggle in India. Dange's personal control on AITUC to a great extent contributes to maintain his position. Therefore, apart from the general political line-up of Dangeites with Indira Gandhi's Government, both Dange and its AITUC are bent upon damaging the position of CITU.

The militant workers of Durgapur Steel recently held a convention of Steel Workers at Bhilai and made considerable progress in organising the steel workers in Jamshedpur, Rourkela, Bhilai and other places on militant line of struggle. The role played by HSEU during the wage negotiation and the ability shown by them to corner Dange acted as a Philip in their effort to organise the workers of Steel Industry. This is the background of the treacherous role Dange and his AITUC in Durgapur Struggle.

Dange started his disruptive work earlier. HSEU represent both the workers of DSP and Alloy Steel. But Dangeites registered a Shramik Union in Alloy Steel in 1968 which was rival to HSEU like INTUC Union. Despite this fact, AITUC affiliation was given to Shramik Union by Dange when HSEU was already affiliated. After the strike under review, as officially announced attempts are being made with the help of DSP management to extend the Shramik Union to Durgapur Steel Plant Workers.

#### INTEREST OF INTUC:

The militant lead given by DSP workers was considered a threat by the AITUC as well as the INTUC. Attempt to organise the Steel Workers initiated by DSP workers is scorned equally by INTUC. Apart from this fact, Ananda Gopal Mukherjee (of Congress (C) - follower of Atulya Ghose), Gen. Secy. of INTUC Union in DSP was twice defeated in election by Dilip Mazumdar, President of HSEU. This INTUC Union was the sole recognised union in DSP and Alloy Steel till 1969. This union and Ananda Gopal Mukherjee personally were the centre of disruption in Durgapur area. HSEU smashed INTUC's strength and reduced it to a minority union (though still recognised by DSP and Alloy Steel). INTUC and Ananda Gopal Mukherjee, therefore, acted as strike breakers in the struggle of August 1970 to regain their old position in conformity with their usual reactionary role.

Till 1969 HSEU was denied recognition. During the U.F. Government in West Bengal in 1967, SUC Labour Minister, Subodh Banerjee sabotaged the grant of recognition to HSEU. It was only in 1969 during second U.F. Government when Labour Ministry was given to CPI(M), HSEU was given recognition by Hindustan Steel. This recognition further consolidated the position of HSEU and weakened the position of INTUC union till more. This is the background of united offensive of INTUC and AITUC against Durgapur Workers in the present struggle.

#### TIMING OF THE ATTACK:

The attack was launched on the workers of Durgapur Steel when they were in the process organising the Steel Workers. And at the same time, the steel workers were in the midst of a crucial negotiation for finalisation of wage settlement. It was known to both Dange and INTUC that HSEU, Durgapur will play a dominant role in this negotiation and scuttle the underhand deal of Dange and INTUC with the Steel Magnates and the Steel Ministry. It is in this background one should judge the venom spread through the columns of the statesman newspaper (presently controlled by the Tatas) against the struggle of Durgapur workers.

The fact that CPI disrupted the left unity in connivence with Bangla Congress and Indira Congress in West Bengal and is giving all out support to Indira Gandhi's Government to carry on unprecedented repression with CRP in West Bengal to break consolidation of the struggling people and to weaken the strength of CPI(M), should also be taken into consideration to judge the reason/selections of timing of the attack against the Durgapur Workers.

ISSUES INVOLVED:

/- and a direct attack on trade unions

Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) was posted at DSP on 3.8.70. Workers immediately ceased work and demanded its withdrawal. On 4th August the workers of DSP and all other Public and Private Sector undertakings in Durgapur observed strike demanding withdrawal of CISF. Immediately Government imposed Section 144 Cr P and on 6th August arrested Dilip Mazumdar, President of HSEU and General Council Member of CITU along with other three important leaders of unions in MNC, Durgapur Project etc. on fake charge of murder. Arrest of the Union Leaders was an extreme provocation and workers naturally reacted against this repressive measure. To quell the resistance of the workers against CISF and to cow down the protest against arrest of union leaders Government mobilised 15,000 CRP and other armed forces in a township of 60,000 workers and resorted to most savage repression. Workers in all factories continued organised protest demonstration from 5th August to 11th August and when there was no room left in the face of most brutal repression with further arrest and extreme provocation, the workers in all the factories of Durgapur launched continuous strike from 12th August at the call of DTUCC. In spite of repeated efforts from the workers side no negotiation was held by the Management or the Government. The demands of the workers were: Withdrawal of CISF, CRP and other armed forces, withdrawal of Section 144 and all repressive measures and release of all arrested leaders and workers.. On these demands the strike was launched from 12th August.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE STRIKE:

The Government resorted to all out offensive from the first day of the strike. CPI and their AITUC along with Congressmen and INTUC and other despicable elements acted as agent of the Government to break the strike. Unprecedented repression was let loose by CRP with the help of CPI and Congressmen. Security and Essential Staff (for Power Supply etc.) were exempted from the strike. Due care was taken by the strikers from the very beginning by giving exemption to required staff so that plants and machineries were not damaged. The strike continued for 11 days with unprecedented development in perpetrating savage repression aided by CPI and its AITUC and Congressmen and countered by heroic resistance. The developments are stated below in chronological order:

- 1.8.70 - 1,000 CRP, West Bengal Armed Police posted inside Steel Plant. Union wanted to know the reason. Management said it was for precaution against theft.
- 3.8.70 - Court Injunction prohibiting posting of CISF vacated at 12-30 p.m. 5 P.M. CISF posted in Durgapur Steel Plant site (DSP). Security Staff closed the main gates. CISF came through entrance meant for Railway Wagons. D.S.P. workers immediately started protest demonstration inside the Plant.  
CRP, CISF, WA-P resorted to lathi-charge.  
DSP workers stopped work. Demonstration continued.  
At 8'00 p.m. CRP resorted to firing.  
DSP workers left their work and came out of the Plant.  
Demonstration held in all other factories, Section 144 Cr.PC imposed.
- 4.3.70 - At the call of Durgapur Trade Union Co-ordination Committee (DTUCC) Hartal and General Strike was observed in whole of Durgapur. Strike was peaceful.
- 5.8.70 - Protest demonstration in D.S.I. originally planned for the whole day during duty hours, subsequently held for 2 hours. Practically, as reported, no work was done during the whole day. Demonstration held in all other factories.
- 6.8.70 - Arrest of Trade Union Leaders in the early morning :-

Dilip Mazumdar, HSEU  
Sukhan Sarker, HSEU

Bency Chakraborty, Jt. Secretary, Works Committee  
MAMC  
Thakur, NSEU.

15,000 CRP, WAP, Border Security Force mobilised at Durgapur.

- 6.8.70 - Protest strike observed in MAMC, Durgapur Project; AVB and Durgapur Chemicals on this day.  
In DSP continuous Demonstration held - virtually resulted in tool-down strike.  
In all other factories demonstration held.
- 7.8.70 - Protest demonstration in all factories continuously held. Virtually no work done. Workers Convention held in MAMC.
- 8.8.70 - Continuous demonstration in all factories. Two Union Leaders of AVB arrested. On 8.8.70 workers of AVB left their work places in protest against arrest of Union Leaders.
- 9.8.70) - On 9.8.70 Durgapur Trade Union Co-ordination Committee took  
10.8.70) decision for continuous strike from 12.8.70, in the entire  
11.8.70) industrial belt and announced the decision. Complete tool down strike observed in M.A.M.C. and A.V.B. on 11.8.70.  
350 workers of CPI and INTUC worked in MAMC on 11.8.70.  
Demonstration continued in all factories.
- 12.8.70 - Continuous strike started, workers of Durgapur Project observed tool-down sit-in strike on the first day of the strike. Strike successful. CRP attacked DSP workers in their quarters at Bharati Road, Mahiskapur 'B' Zone Steel Town. CPI with the help of CRP attacked Sagarbhanga Colony. 350 workers (of CPI & INTUC) of MAMC came with CRP and attacked the strike participants at Ring Road, MAMC/Township at 2-30 p.m. and CRP resorted to firing. CPI & INTUC men attacked the workers at Tilak Road, Steel Township. CPI men attacked Com.C.Panda with knife stabbing him in 6 places.  
Strike continued successfully
- 13.8.70 - Com. A.B.Roy of MAMC was killed by CPI men in presence of CRP. CPI & INTUC men started intimidating the strikers - with the help of CRP and attacked the workers of Tilak Road. Strike successful. Attendance in MAMC - 913, including exempted staff. Lock-out declared by A.V.B.
- 14.8.70 - Strike successfully continued. Hartal observed in Durgapur. Funeral procession with A.B.Roy's dead body held. Jyoti Basu's meeting at Andal. Jyoti Basu visits Durgapur.  
CRP started partolling the streets. Free movement of the workers restricted. Major CRP offensive started. workers of Chandidas Road attacked.
- 15.8.70 - Strike continued successfully - CRP concentrated attack in 'B' Zone area of Steel Township.  
Derecognition of Hindusthan Steel Employees Union threatened by B.R.Bhagat, Steel Minister.
- 16.8.70 - Strike continued - Lock-out of Durgapur Steel Plant threatened by B.R.Bhagat. Arrest, intimidation and assault continued. Women Volunteers started massive mobilisation in support of the strike.
- 17.8.70 - Strike continued. Ultimatum given to workers for joining duty on 18.8.70, published in newspapers including Kalantar of CPI. Strike situation in MAMC deteriorated. Rashtriya Sangram Samity, 12th July Committee Delegates including Manoranjan Roy, M.P. Md. Ismail, M.P. and Niron Ghosh, M.P. visited Durgapur. CITU General Secretary, P. Ramamurthy also visited Durgapur. Authorities claimed attendance :
- |             |   |     |      |   |      |
|-------------|---|-----|------|---|------|
| D S P       | : | 40% | MAMC | : | 70%. |
| Alloy Steel | : | 25% |      |   |      |
- Cont'd....8

CPI daily, "KALANTAR" complained that Factory Authorities were helping the strikers.

Active resistance to CRP started. CRP started major offensive in "A" Zone "B" Zone township. Workmen started coming out on the roads in thousands in protest against repression and started giving resistance to CRP and Police.

18.8.70 - Strike continued. Some workers from villages and non-Bengali workers reported to work. CRP intensified repression, attacked workers of various areas in "B" Zone and "A" Zone of Steel Township. Lock-out in Calcutta Office of DSP declared. Attendance according to DTUCC :

Steel Factory	:	19%
Alloy Steel	:	3%
DSP	:	20%
MAMC	:	18%
Durgapur Chem.	:	1 Person
Fertiliser	:	24%
Graphite & Oxygen	:	Nil
Philips Carbon	:	13 persons
Indo/American	:	3 persons
Burns	:	3%
Hind Refractories:	:	4%

19.8.70 - Strike continued. Burdwan Bandh successfully observed. Strike situation deteriorated. Workers and women erected barricades on the roads. a few thousand women in "A" Zone and "B" Zone resisted CRP movement. Women forced in one place to a Police Officer to give in writing that repression will be stopped.

20.8.70 - Strike situation improved. Repression concentrated in "B" and "A" Zone of Steel Town. Thousands of women came out, stopped Police Vans. CRP fired on and Teargassed women gathering at Ashoke Road. Two women aged 70 and 24 arrested. Indiscriminate arrest started. CRP clashed with Hospital Staff. 500 Women went to SDPO to lodge protest against repression by CRP with help of CPI & INTUC men. Thousands of workers and women held protest rally. Curfew imposed. Movement without Curfew Pass was impossible. Barricades and Road Block removed by Bulldozers.

21.8.70 - Strike situation deteriorated. Curfew continued. Repression continued. CRP started combing. Mass meeting held in Calcutta Shahed Minar in support of Durgapur struggle. Call given by Rashtriya Sangram Samity xxx and 12th July Committee for 'Bengal Bandh' on 28.8.70, in support of Durgapur struggle.

22.8.70 - Strike situation further deteriorated. Strike called off.

"Statesman" newspaper of Calcutta presently controlled by the Tatas wrote Editorials on 6th August, 12th August, 14th August, 19th, 20th August and 22nd August condemning CPI(M) and Durgapur workers struggles against CISF.

"Kalantar", CPI Daily in its editorial of 19.8.70 said :  
"The path followed today in Durgapur should be followed everywhere. Otherwise not only the politic of the country is being polluted, the life of common people is also threatened."

#### HOW THE STRIKE WAS CONDUCTED :

From the first day of the strike, Government, Managements, CPI and its AITUC, Congressmen and INTUC, OTHER PARTIES OF eight party combination of West Bengal (formed after the fall of U.F. Government), Bangla Congress Monopoly Press and All India Radio - all in a chorus quoting fabricated attendance figure started a tirade with all venom

and falsehood against the strike and claimed that the strike was a failure. They also denied repression let loose by CRP and other armed forces. But after the strike was terminated, "Jugantar" - Bengali Newspaper of Calcutta owned by Tarun Kanti Ghosh of Indira Congress commented in news column on first page of 24.8.70 - "Whatever attendance figures the authorities might have given, it is true that the strike was successful during the first three days in general". But the same newspaper gave an opposite picture while reporting about first three days strike in the publications following each day of the strike. Workers were subjected to most vile propaganda, all out offensive by the Government and unprecedented repression and the unheard of treacherous strike-breaking role of CPI and its AITUC along with Congressmen. This triple attack directed against the strike had to be contended with in carrying on the struggle for eleven days maintaining stamina and morale of the workers. It was a new trial faced by the working class movement. It was a new experience.

Nonetheless the workers responded to the strike call most heroically. A few thousands workers worked day and night as strike organisers and volunteers. Sector Committees (Sector i.e., a Group of workers quarters numbering between 600 to 700 in each area of the townships) headed by a convener were the main centre of activities and the main stay of the strike organisations. Each sector was divided into several smaller units and the work of each unit was entrusted to active cadres numbering from 40 to 50. About 90% of the Cadres belonged to the age group of 25 to 35. Elderly workers also worked as active cadres. Informations were channelised from smaller units to sector committee office, from sector committee to central leadership of the union and vice versa. Till the curfew was imposed on 20th August, the information channel worked effectively. The centre of functioning of the sub-area and sector committee offices shifted from house to house with intensification of the repression and raid by CRP. Functioning from Union Offices or sector committee offices were found impossible because of arrest and constant raid. School boys and wives, mother and sisters of the workers acted as couriers. Till 20th August information from smaller units to top leadership could reach within 2/3 hours. In some areas however, there were repeated dislocations due to combing and seize by CRP.

The organisers of small units met as many times as necessary everyday. All reportings were made to sector committees promptly and the total reporting of the day was made by the representatives of the unit to sector committee in the evening. The organisers of unit maintained regular contact with each and every worker. With intensification of CRP raid and patrolling and recourse to indiscriminate arrest on the roads when it became risky for the workers to move during day time, women volunteers and school boys came to their help.

The sector committees also faced similar difficulties. The women volunteers also came to their help. Sector committees met at least once every day. The convener of the sector committees were the key organisers. CRP constantly haunted them. Except in one case, conveners could not be arrested. Whenever workers were arrested, CRP and Police wanted them to tell the names of conveners of Sector committees but not even in a single case the workers betrayed despite torture. Some arrested workers, however, posed themselves as Sector Committee conveners to avoid interrogation. The names of Sector Committee conveners and other important organisers were supplied to Police and CRP by CPI men. Except in case of encirclement or indiscriminate arrest, CRP and Police came to arrest the workers with lists of names and addresses supplied by CPI men. The organisers could not stay in their houses during the strike. Most of them took food in others houses and slept either in others houses or in open ground.

Discipline was of highest order although prevailed during and after the strike among the activists and organisers.

Inspite of section 144 and constant patrolling and raid <sup>by</sup> CRP, the organisers held series of group meetings with the workers. As the duplicating machine was taken away by CRP from HSEU Office, not more than three bulletins could be issued during the strike period. The main centre of activities as well as attack was the steel townships 'A' Zone with 6000 quarters and 'B' Zone with 8000 quarters. Other townships of MAMC, AVB, Sagarbhanga, DSP were far away. AVB and MAMC townships were closed by they could maintain regular contact between them. The difficult task of maintaining contact between different township was maintained by Durgapur Trade Union Co-ordination Committee (DTUCC). Telephones were constantly tapped and were avoided. At the initial stage 2/3 workers were arrested after their telephones were tapped which they could not readily detect. Slogan shouting squads were taken out frequently inside the localities and when women volunteers started coming more and more from 16th August, slogan shouting joined by both workers and women gradually took the form of demonstrations and processions.

Big demonstrations were taken out on 18th, 19th and 20th August in both 'B' Zone and 'A' Zone of the Steel Town. Major encounter with Police and CRP took place on 19th and 20th August at different places of the steel township. On 19th barricades were erected at various places with logs, tree trunks, stones and bricks and obstructions were created by cutting the roads at number of places. The women joined the workers in erecting the barricades. When police and CRP came to demolish the barricades with bulldozers, there was face to face fight between the workers and CRP. Another major encounter with police and CRP took place on 20th August when the convey carrying the strike breakers brought by Kalyan Roy, M.P. of AITUC was stopped by the workers with the help of women. Encounter also took place with CRP on various days when trucks carrying the workers forcibly to factories were stopped with the help of women volunteers.

CRP were posted in all the townships. There was nothing to be done in AVB township as the Management declared lock out from 13th August which continued ever after the strike was called off. The workers, however, maintained regular guard duty for protection from expected CRP attack and infiltration of CPI and INTUC goondas. This guard duty is still continuing.

In MAMC township about 350 workers of CPI and INTUC created difficulties attacking the houses of strikers under CRP protection and affected the morale of the workers by creating terror. On 13th August A.B. Roy was killed by CPI men in presence of CRP. This murder was branded by police as due to a bomb burst which Com. A.B. Roy was alleged to be himself carrying despite the fact that no burn injury mark was found in his body at the time of post mortem. The funeral procession with A.B. Roy's dead body was held on 13.8.70. CRP also raided number of houses, forced the workers to report to duties and arrested those who refused. Despite all these 6/7 group meetings were held each day.

In Durgapur Chemicals not a single worker other than a solitary member of INTUC reported to duties during the entire period of strike. This INTUC man was guarded by 10 CRP constantly at the request of Sri Sushil Dhara of Bangla Congress as reported.

In Sagarbhanga Township CPI, INTUC and Naxalites - jointly carried on intimidating the workers in presence of CRP but it did not affect the morale of the workers. Under the direction of S.P. Ghosal of CPI, CRP arrested a number workers from this township.

#### SOLIDARITY ACTIONS:

Hartal was observed in Durgapur on 14th August in support of the strike. On 19th August, hartal and general strike was observed in the entire district of Burdwan in support of Durgapur struggle. Inspite of massive mobilisation of CRP and armed forces, the strike was successfully observed. CPI and INTUC actively opposed the strike.

Kishan Sabha in nearby villages held series of demonstrations to / and meeting/maintain morale of the workers staying in villages. Meetings and demonstrations were held in Calcutta at the call of Rashtriya Sangram Samity and 12th July Committee. Meetings were also held at various other places in expression of solidarity with Durgapur workers. A special resolutions was adopted in the conference of Rashtriya Sangram Samity held in Calcutta on 16.8.70 in support of Durgapur struggle. 12th July Committee held a demonstration in front of 'Akas Bani Bhawan' protesting against lies spread by All India Radio.

The workers of Calcutta Offices of DSP and DPL also went on strike. Lock out was declared in DSP office in Calcutta on 18.8.70. Series of demonstrations were held by DSP and DPL workers in Calcutta and by other workers in front their offices.

Delegations of Rashtriya Sangram Samity and 12th July Committee visited Durgapur on 17th August, met the workers and their leaders and immediately on coming back to Calcutta met the Governor of West Bengal demanding withdrawal of all repressive measures including CISF and CRP and release of arrested leaders. The Mahila organisations and women of Durgapur extended solidarity support in unprecedented scale. Women workers of Jute Mills, Cotton Textiles, Mines and Tea Gardens fought gallantly in various T.U. struggle. But this is the first time house wives came out on the road in huge number in support of T.U. struggle and against repression perpetrated to break the strike.

#### HERCIC ROLE PLAYED BY THE WOMEN:

The women of Durgapur played a most significant role during eleven days historic struggle in August, 1970. The women, mostly wives or mothers or sisters of the struggling workers and a few hundred teachers and other working girls have five organisations viz. 'Ispat-nagari(Durgapur Steel) Mahila Samsad', 'Viswakarmanagar(MAMC) Mahila Samity', 'Coke-Oven Mahila Samity', 'Gopalmath Mahila Samity' and 'Durgapur Thermal Power Station Mahila Samity'. These five organisations jointly function under Durgapur Mahila Co-ordination Committee. Mahila Samsad of the Steel township is the biggest organisation conducting its function through Twenty(20) Sector Committees with a membership of 900. Membership of other Mahila Samities together is 1,600. Number of women teachers in the area is about 300, Nurse about 200 and there are about 70 other working girls. Activities of non-working wives of the workers are the mainstay of the Mahila Organisations.

Approximate number of married workers living in the main townships are:- Steel Town-ship - 'A' Zone 6,000, 'B' Zone 8,000, - MAMC 2,200, AVB 800, Sagarbhanga 1,400. Workers loyalty to Unions and their participation in union activities had its effect inculcating active interest in their wives towards all struggles. In 1966 when Com. Asis and Jabbar were martyred and in 1968 during Anti-automation struggle the women of Durgapur took active part. In two successive elections in 1967 and 1969 it was not only the votes of the women but also their active campaign contributed equally with the efforts of the workers to return Dilip Mazumdar, President of Hindustan Steel Employees Union defeating the Congress candidate and Gen. Secy. of the rival INTUC Union. In 1967 election Right Communist candidate Nihar Mukherjee, who openly organised the strike breakers with the help of Police and CRP to disrupt the present struggle, had a miserable defeat.

In continuation of this tradition, the women of Durgapur decided to extend more active support to the workers and their unions in the struggle against CISF - in defence of Trade Union rights and democratic freedom. Following the protest strike on 4th August when repression was let loose and about 1,5000 CRP and armed forces were mobilised to quell the workers resistance, seriousness of the struggle was well realised. With announcement of continuous strike from 12th August, the women started to organise pickets, taking out Mahila Squads for demonstration and slogan shouting and campaigned from door to door giving encouragement to the workers with assurance of required help.

When it was evident that the strike will successfully continue CRP and other armed forces started making inroads into workers quarters to force them to report to duties at the point of guns. Those who showed courage were brutally beaten and arrested. The women volunteers immediately started guard duty to caution arrival of CRP. Whole night vigil for guard duty started from 16th August. Unable to bear assault and torture of the fellow colleagues of their husbands, hundreds of women not connected with Mahila organisation earlier came forward. Tin beating and blowing of conchshells were used as signals to warn arrival of CRP and armed forces. The women also kept their Saree's end (Anchal) drenched for protection against teargas repeatedly used against them.

New slogans were coined befitting the fighting spirit of eleven burning days from 12th August. "Ma Bonera Jaglo CRP Bhaglo", "Mahila Tomar Eh Samaja Mukti Nai" were the popular slogans besides slogans on class unity. In all about 5 to 6 thousands women came out on the roads. After the strike was terminated on 22nd August, when some of them were asked they said: "We could not tolerate such repression perpetrated by CRP before our own eyes. We were possessed with a feeling and could not stay home." Majority of the women had no experience of slogan shouting and walking in processions. Some of them said later on: "We felt we were doing something to support our husbands and their friends. We felt inspired."

There was a sudden gush of energy. One house wife - aged about 24 of Harsabardhan Road said "I saw hundreds of women going. I thought there is a purpose for me also to fulfill. I placed my child at the care of my mother-in-law and hurriedly left house following others."

On 19th August CRP attacked the workers quarters of Shivaji Road, Ranapratap Road, Harsabardhan Road and Kanishka Avenue of 'A' Zone of the steel town. Women volunteers stood before CRP and forced their retreat. CRP used most offensive language to the women. This happened at about 2-30 p.m. The women protested vigorously. When the news reached other women they also started coming. Within an hour about 1,000 women gathered at Shivaji Road. One police officer came to one of the office-bearers of Mahila Samsad standing in the forefront and said "you are arrested." She refused to go. Other women lodged strong protest and surrounded the police officer and started slogan shouting. The Additional S.P. came to the spot at about 3-30 p.m. The workers who were being forcibly taken to factories came down from Police Trucks waiting nearby and joined the women. Then CRP threw a baten which hit an aged women - Kiron Bala Banerjee. The women started slogan shouting condemning police and CRP. The Police was forced to give in writing that repression will be stopped and then CRP and Police retreated from the area. This gave immense morale to the women. After this the women and the workers took out a big procession and encircled 'A' Zone area of the steel township.

On 20th August hundreds of women stood before a CRP Convoy escorting men in trucks brought by Sri Kalyan Roy, M.P. of AITUC from the Collieries to break the strike. This happened before Asoke Avenue, 'A' Zone. CRP Teargassed and lathi-charged on the women. One woman aged about 70 and one girl of 24 were arrested the same day and they were most indignantly treated in the Police Station. The old woman wanted drinking water which was refused. One police officer brought a bomb and asked the young girl as to whether she could deny it was found in her possession. Cases were instituted against both the young girl and the old woman and they had to appear before the Court. During their stay in the police Station in the night light was put off three times.

The activities of the women in 'B' Zone area centre of fiercest CRP attacks were equally eventful, if not more. The organisers of 'B' Zone held two sittings of the active women volunteers in each sector every day, reviewed the situation and equipped them to encounter every new development. There were cases when wives stated that they could not convince their husbands and took other women organisers to home to prevail upon their husbands to shake off fear and to continue the strike. The venom spread by the propaganda machinery - AIR and monopoly

press had its effect and to counter it, the women sought frequent guidance of the Union activists and leaders. Weakminded workers were also persuaded by their wives for continuing the struggle. About 150 women, wives of workers coming from Bihar, U.P. South India and Punjab worked in Mahila organisation in defence of the strikers.

On 19th August, 12 Truck loads of CRP attacked Jaidev Road. Immediately the women volunteers started beating tins and blowing conch shell. Women volunteers stood before the vehicles and stopped them. By that time news was spread and hundreds of women started pouring in. Within an hour about 2000 women and about 2500 workers gathered and demanded CRP to quit the place. Repeated slogan shouting and most militant resistance offered, forced the SDPO, Shri Dhruva Bose to give verbal assurance that they would quit ordered CRP to leave the place.

The same day about 700 women gathered at the crossing of Chandidas Road and Kalidas Road and stopped movement of CRP. When CRP manhandled some of the women, the women collected broom sticks from nearby houses and asked CRP to leave the place.

Most brutal repression was carried on in Einestine Avenue, Nagarjun Road, Marconi Avenue, Mahiskapur, Chandidas Road, Vidyapati Road of 'B' Zone area. Even one marriage party on Vidyapati Road was not spared from CRP's attack. In 'B' zone area along 8000 CRP and other armed forces were mobilised. It is significant to note that there are about 8000 quarters in 'B' Zone. In average one CRP was posted for each worker's family.

Despite brutal repression and Section 144 the women of both 'A' and 'B' Zones worked hand in hand with the strikers and erected barricades on the roads on 19th August which were however removed by bulldozer under CRP protection after the curfew was imposed on 20th August.

After the curfew about 300 women gathered on 21st and 22nd August and obstructed the buses forcibly carrying the workers under CRP escort. On 21st August the convoy had to go back. On 22nd August, the police officer ~~xxxx~~ gave 5 minutes time to the women to leave the place and threatened arrest if they refused. When the women did not leave, shivalry of the police officer was beaten out.

One office employee of Asoke Road reported to his duty on 19th August. He confessed that he believed the propaganda and out of fear went to work. But soon realised he was trapped for the attendance was very low. His wife, however, continued to help the strikers and when asked, said "I thought repression was unjust, so I joined other women. My husband was guided by his own conscience."

In a few cases, however, the workers were forced to report to duties. One worker of 'B' Zone had to take his pregnant wife for delivery. But could not arrange for the transport till he could show his curfew pass which he could secure only after reporting to duty. During the strike, the strikers could enter into any house at any time for food, tea or shelter. After the strike both the workers and their wives confessed: "suddenly we found we belong to a much bigger family than we were used to live in." When workers could not go to buy daily necessities for fear of arrest or assault, it was the women who did marketing for the entire township. When this was known CRP stopped movement of women and in many places forcibly closed the shops pursuant to the policy to make the workers starve in order to weaken their morale. Milk-men were not allowed to enter into the townships or to sell milk. Mothers of small children had to face most trying time.

For long eleven days active union workers and strike organisers could not sleep. They were constantly haunted. Many of them could not meet their families. CPI and INTUC made police station their abode during the strike. They were frequently seen by the women moving in police vans identifying the houses of union leaders and strike organisers. They insulted and intimidated the women who stood in defence of

the strikers. Local CPI leader Sri S.P.Ghoshal of Shankey Wheel directed these despicable agents and AITUC leaders Sri Kalyan Roy, M.P., Md.Elias, Nihar Mukherjee visited Durgapur to encourage the strike breakers.

It is very natural for strikers to treat CPI men with indignation for their role as strike breakers. But the wrath and hatred of women against these despicable agents was equally strong. Several women said that after the strike their realisation and understanding is much enlarged and they now understand what is meant by CPI.

Except in cases of indiscriminate and mass arrest, police and CRP came with list whenever they came to workers houses for arrest. The women saw such list in the hands of police officer during raid. The name-s were supplied by CPI men, and this treachery is known to all women in Durgapur.

When mother of Sri Anil Kumar Ghosh and Sm.Archana Bhattacharjee both of Vidyapati Road went to the enquiring Magistrate to record their complaint against the repression by CRP and Police, they were told that their evidence would not be taken.

When the house of Sm.Dipali Bose was ransacked and her valuables were stolen by CRP, 500 women of 'B' Zone went to police station and stood there 4 hours from 8.00 p.m. on 18.8.70 demanding immediate enquiry and punishment of CRP personnel. They also told about the vandalism of CPI and INTUC committed openly under CRP's protection. But no action was taken. About 100 women were assaulted by CRP during the struggle. There are reports that CRP pulled the blouses of the women and caught their hair and dragged them.

One of the biggest contribution of this struggle is that women of Durgapur understood many things more clearly by their direct participation in the struggle. This has opened up scopes to politically educate them and develop them further.

When the struggle could not be continued in the face of most brutal repression and ~~xx~~ rigorous curfew and the strike was called off on 22nd August, the women felt sorry. But they were not demoralised. They feel that they played their role to the best of their abilities. The women in general say that in one stroke of action they have been elevated to much higher level of life and if proper guidance and training is given, they would be able to prove more useful and effective in the coming days. Hundreds of women who participated in the historic struggles of eleven days have already approached Mahila Organisations for purposeful and effective work and political class. No doubt this awakening will add strength to the gallant fighters of Durgapur to brush aside all vindictive actions in the post strike period and blaze the way for greater consolidation and advancement of the women community as a whole.

People will long remember the courage and heroism shown by the women of Durgapur. Their heroic deeds will inspire women in all parts of the country.

#### REPRESSION:

Unprecedented repression was let loose by CRP and other armed force to suppress the struggle. CRP came in groups of hundreds and encircled different areas; after encirclement they dragged the workers out and forced them at gun point to report to duties. Those who showed courage were brutally beaten and taken into custody. CRP attacked in this manner the workers residing at :

Einestine Avenue  
Shivaji Road  
Nagarjun Road  
Secondary Road  
Edison Avenue

Asoke Avenue  
Nagarjun Road&Extension  
Newton Road  
Bidyapati Road  
Chandidas Road

Mahiskapur  
Kasiramdas Road

Marconi Avenue  
Ranapratap Road and other  
places.

In most case CPI and INTUC men accompanying CRP identified important activists. Workers were beaten in presence of their wives and mothers. When wives and mothers protested against such repression, they were abused by CRP in most filthy language. The workers were beaten even in police lock up. Some of the specific cases of repression are appended here :

N. C. Paramanik - Age 33 years  
16/18, Ranapratap Road, 'A' Zone,  
Durgapur. Designation : Operator DSP.

SAID ON 18TH SEPTEMBER 1970 BEFORE CITU  
REPRESENTATIVES

"My brother-in-law - Sri G.N.Mondal, age 33, working in Wheel Axle Plant, DSP is also staying with me.

On 19.8.70 at about 6-30 a.m. when I was in my house, CRP suddenly entered into my house and started beating me in presence of my wife. They also best my brother-in-law. Then took me and my brother-in-law to police station. At the police station I saw Mahadev Dey, Giten Chowdhury and Tapen Chatterjee of CPI.

At the police station, CRP started beating my brother-in-law in my presence. After beating him with lathis, CRP made him lye on the floor, then wrapped both his feet with rope - raised the feet high and then started hitting the bottom portion of his feet with a stick.

Sri Mahadev Dey of CPI identified me to one police officer. After identification 4 CRP started beating me. Several places of my body was cut and there was profuse bleeding. My Pujabi was completely blood stained. But they did not stop beating me. One CRP man started hitting with a stick my left hand arm joint which was completely disjointed and I could not move my left hand. I then fell down on the floor and became unconscious. After some time I regained my consciousness. Then CRP men started to kick me with boots."

-----  
Sri Jaganath Sarkar - age 32  
6/32, Ranapratap Road,  
Durgapur-4.

Designation : Chargehand, Coke-Oven Acid Sulphate Plant, DSP  
Working since last 12 years.

SAID ON 18.9.70 BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE.

" I was going to Ration Shop at about 7 a.m. on 19.8.70. On the way, one plain dressed man stopped me, then 4 CRP came and started assaulting me with lathis. When I was being beaten, Bistu Babu's wife saw me; she came and protested against beating me. CRP used most abusive and insulting language to Bistu Babu's wife. CRP hit my left leg ankle so hard, that I could not walk properly. I was then brought to police station in a van. In the police station I was again beaten severely. I was asked to give the names of persons in my locality who were organising the strike. I said that I did not know anybody. Then I was again beaten by two CRP. The Police Officer threatened me, if I did not tell the names they wanted, I would be given electric Shock. My left leg ankle was fractured and subsequently plastered in Jail Hospital. I was kept in Custody 11 (eleven) days. Charges were brought against me u/s.107, 151 Cr. P.C.

Mrs. Jaya Chakraborty,  
W/o. Biswanath Chakraborty (Worker of DSP)  
20/27, Ranapratap Road, Durgapur.

Said before CITU Representative and also gave a written statement on 18.9.70.

"I, Jaya Chakraborty, came out on the road on 19th and 20th August, at the call of Mahila Samsad, to protest against brutal repression perpetrated by police and CRP to break the strike and along with other women took part in the picketing. On 20th August at about 12.00 noon 2 trucks of CRP, one police Jeep came along with some goonda element. Police, CRP and the goondas jumped on the women and started pulling the women by their hands. CRP fired teargas shells and used lathis against us. My right foot was pressed by CRP with boot and I was hurt by lathi. My foot was bleeding. Then I left the place for home. Three CRP men chased me with lathis. So I started running. While running I fell down and got hurt. The women of the nearby houses raised me from the ground and took me to their house."

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Ranendra Nath Chakraborty - Age 25  
Crane Operator - Steel Milling Shop DSP

SAID BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE ON 18.9.70

"On 20.8.1970 the workers assembled at Ashoke Avenue of 'A' Zone Steel Town at 12.00 noon. Women also came there. CRP attacked this gathering and started assaulting the workers. Some of the women were also hurt. Teargas Shells were fired. I saw one CRP coming towards me raising his lathi. I jumped on him and embraced him - the CRP fell down - I took away his lathi. I then saw three of my comrades were being beaten by CRP. I rushed to the spot, separated my comrades. CRP then attacked me from all sides. I tried to protect myself with the stick I had in my hand. I received lathis from all sides. I fell down on the road. Then some women came and stood in between me and the CRP. I was then carried away by some women to a safe place. I got injury in my hand which was profusely bleeding. I also received injuries all over my body and on the spine."

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Mrs. Kana Chakraborty - Age 21  
W/o. Sudhir Chakraborty,  
27/11, Ranapratap Road,  
Durgapur.

SAID BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE ON 18.9.70.

"On 20.8.70 at about 12.00 noon I saw truck loads of CRP and plain clothed men mostly outsiders near Ashoke Avenue. The women present there were shouting slogans. I was also shouting slogans. CRP started tear-gassing and attacked the women with lathis. I was then retreating along with other women to maintain safe distance from CRP. I was suddenly encircled by CRP. One CRP hit me with rifle-butt in my waist. I fell down. One CRP tried to take out one of my bangle and for this purpose pulled my hand. I resisted it. The CRP then kicked me with his boot. I then raised alarm. Other women came and rescued me. My left foot toe was cut being pressed by boot by a CRP and it was bleeding. CRP people used most offensive and abusive languages to me and other women which I am unable to repeat. I am still having pain in my waist and I find difficulty to walk properly."

Swapan Roy - age 15  
Student of Class XI  
7/6, Ranapratap Road,  
D u r g a p u r.

SAID BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE ON 18.9.70

"I was helping the strikers - moving on cycle giving information about movement of CRP. On 18.8.70 at about 9.00 p.m. when I was going on my cycle, I was caught by CRP. They brought me to my house, searched the house including the 'rice-cooking pot' when nothing was found in my house. One CRP beat me with lathi and fist."

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Madhav Mukherji,  
Steel Plant,  
Skilled worker Grade II,  
A g e - 32.

SAID BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE ON 18.9.70.

"On 18.9.70 at about 6-30 a.m. when I was crossing the road at the Junction of North Avenue and Short Road of Steel Township, the Superintendent of Police going in a Jeep saw me and chased me immediately. He shouted from the Jeep, that if I did not stop he would run the Jeep over me. I was sure I would be arrested if I stopped, so I started running. When the Jeep came very close to me I desperately jumped on the road side to avoid being run-over. I fell down on the road side. Immediately the Jeep stopped and one CRP jumped on me and started hitting me with his boot. The S.P. also came down and started beating me with his baton & boot. One CRP then hit me hard with the rifle-butt and asked me to get up. I could not get up of my own. When I was pulled up by one CRP the S.P. himself hit me with his fist and hurt my chin. One CRP then hit me with his lathi at my chest and asked me to get into the Jeep. When I was showing reluctance for fear of being arrested I was dragged inside and then taken to police station. Charges were brought up against me u/s. 54 & 506. I was released on bail on 23.8.70 and my case was dismissed on the very first day of hearing on 3.9.1970."

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Prativa Misra,  
W/o. Dasarathi Misra (Senior Assistant -  
Alloy Steel)  
35/14, Harshabardhan Road,  
'B' Zone, Durgapur.

SAID BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE ON 18.9.70.

"On 19.8.70 at about 5.00 p.m. I heard that women were being tortured at Shivaji Road. At that time I saw number of women on the road who were going to Shivaji Road. I could not stay home. My child was in my arm. I left the child in care of my mother-in-law and came out of the house. On the way I saw hundreds of women going towards Shivaji Road. When we reached at Link Road we saw the CRP retreating. We waited there. After some time 6/7 Vans carrying CRP who stopped the vans in presence of the women gathering. Then CRP got down. Immediately they fired tear-gas and started chasing the women with lathis. Some of the CRP were throwing stones. One stone hit my knee. My knee is still paining. When the incident took place hundreds of other women came and there was a big gathering of both workers and women. CRP then retreated from that place."

Madhusudan Nath,  
(Asstt. Head Maintenance & Construction,  
CME, DSP),

Age - 34 years,  
Council Member HSEU,  
10/46, Secondary Road,  
'B' Zone, Durgapur.

SAID BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE ON 18.9.1970.

"On 16.8.70 at about 8.00 p.m. when I was standing in front of my quarters CRP came to the area. I started running with the idea to take shelter in some other house. As I was Council Member of the union I was sure that CRP would come to my house. When I was running I heard CRP shouting 'Halt'. I stopped and looked back and saw one CRP pointing his gun in firing position towards me. I was told by the CRP that if I run further he will fire. So I did not move. Immediately the CRP came joined by other CRP persons, arrested me and started beating. They hit me all over my body with the gun barrel. I tried to resist with my hands. My right hand palm was damaged and cut by the gun barrel. I was then taken to police station. I found in the police station Sukul and Kali Chakraborty of INTUC along with Jiten Chowdhury of CPI. My department officer Mr. R.L. Nandi was also present there. They identified me and charges were brought against me under Section 117(3), 107 and 151. In the police station I was asked to tell the name of the Convener of the Sector Committee of my area. I said I myself was the Convener though I was not. My hand was bleeding. I was not given any first aid. Next day at about 3-30 p.m. I was produced before the Court and then at about 8-30 p.m. taken into Asansol Jail. I was released on bail on 27.8.70. I am now under suspension."

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Sreemati Panmoni Kawa,  
W/o. Rabin Kawa (Coke-Oven, DSP),  
Age - 28 years,  
26/36, Secondary Road,  
'B' Zone - Durgapur.  
(ADIBASI FROM WEST DINAJPUR)

SAID BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE ON 18.9.70.

"On 18.8.70 at about 8.00 a.m. I was taking bath. The exist door was locked as my husband was not at home. My two small children were playing in the room. A few CRP came to my house, shouted, banging the door asking the inmates to open it. The children started weeping. Hearing the noise I came out of the bathroom before completing the bath. When CRP saw me through the window they started shouting arrogantly and asked me to open the door. I told them that my husband was not at home. They did not believe me and threatened me arrest if did not open the door. Out of fear I opened the door. They ransacked the whole house. When I protested, CRP used most abusive language insulting me. When they did not get my husband they left."

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Lily Sanyal - age:24,  
21/2, Asoke Avenue,  
'B' Zone - Durgapur.

SAID BEFORE CITU REPRESENTATIVE ON 19.9.70.

"On 19.8.70 about 250 women gathered at Secondary Road picketing to obstruct police vans. I was also there.

On 20.8.70 at about 12.00 noon the women gathered at the crossing of 16th Road, 'B' Zone. I was present there. CRP fired tear-gas shells and charged the women with lathis. When CRP chased the women, I fell down. Then one police officer caught me by my hand and used most abusive language. Then I was taken in police van to police station. In the police station I saw one old woman - who was also arrested. In the police station I was interrogated by the Police

Officer. The police officer showed an article and asked me "can you deny this bomb was found in your custody." I strongly protested. Then the police officer behaved me most indignantly. The old woman wanted water to drink but was refused. At that time I saw Dipak Das Gupta being dragged into the police station and he was being beaten by one person.

In the night when we were asked to go to police lock-up, both me and the old woman refused to go. At the night light was put-off 2/3 times. I was behaved very badly. The old woman was with me although consoling me."

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Mrs. Manu Mukherjee,  
W/o. R.N. Mukherjee,  
21/4, Asoke Avenue,  
Durgapur.

SAID ON 19.9.2970.

"One 20.8.70 when the women gathered at Asoke Avenue, CRP fired teargass. One teargas shell hit my leg. CRP assaulted a few women in my presence. Dilip Mazumdar's wife, present there was also hurt."

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Dipa Chatterjee,  
W/o. Haripada Chatterjee,  
20/11, Asoke Avenue,  
"A" Zone - Durgapur.

SAID ON 19.9.1970.

"On 19.8.70 I heard that CRP assaulted the women. I went to Kanishka Avenue along with other women. When CRP vehicles came we sat down on the road and stopped the vehicles. CRP asked us to clear the road. We refused. Then CRP fired teargas on us, and started lathicharge. CRP pulled the blouses of the women and their 'Sarees'. A few CRP pulled the women by their hair. Despite this insult, we continued to sit on and continued slogan shouting. Then CRP left the place."

There <sup>were</sup> hundreds of such cases of assault, torture and arrest during the strike.

The telephone of AVB Employees Union was removed and given to CRP Camp. Duplicating Machine and Typewriter of HSEU was taken away by CRP.

The workers were beaten with lathis and rifle. When workers were taken into vans after arrest, CRP on the plea of counting the men hit them with lathis one by one. After one CRP finished, another CRP said "you can not count well. Let me count" and started to give them blows in the face one after another in the name of counting, then another CRP kicked them with boots. It was taken as fun by the CRP.

One worker, Saroj Kanti Majhi of 21/24 Edison Road was tortured in police lock up in a most ghastly manner. A sharp pencil was pierced into his tuning by a police officer, then the pencil was ~~xxx~~ squeezed and pulled out when a patch of skin came out. Com. Majhi still bear a scar in his tuning.

Sri Gopal Chandra Chattapadhaya was severely beaten and then given electric shock in police lock up.

CRP raided the house of Santosh Roy and other workers of Mahes-pukur on all the days from 12th August to 21st August.

The S.P. himself assaulted S. Ahmed, Moni Bhowmick, N. Dharampalam in police lock up on 15.8.70.

Pradip Kumar Gayen of 17/35, Edison Road was severely assaulted and arrested on 15.8.70 at 3 p.m. His wound in the eye was profusely bluding when he was taken to police lock up. To stop bluding he was sent to Asansol Police Hospital from police lock up. After he was brought back from Asansol to Police Lock Up at 9 p.m., Sri Gayen was again beaten in presence of the S.P.

Hiralal Chandra of 10/46, Einestine Avenue was tortured by CRP in his quarter in presence of his wife Padmarani Chanda on 17.8.70. After Sri Chanda was taken to police station, his wife also went there to demand his release. In the police station, Sri Chanda was again tortured in presence of his wife.

Sri Anil Kumar Ghosh of 10/18, Bidyapati Road was beaten with gun nozzle by CRP in presence of his mother - Ranibala Ghosh and his wife on 17.8.70 in the early morning.

When the arrested workers refused to divulge the names of strike organisers, they were severely tortured in police station. Sri Sujit Biswas, Ajit Dutta, Nandalal Mukherjee, Kalachand Das, S.N.Roy Chowdhury, Sadesh Dutta, N.C.Das, M.L.Dey, B.N.Chowdhury, N.Bose of Nagarjun Road were tortured on 19.8.70 for this purpose.

One Sri G.P.Patra, an outsider who came to his father-in-law's house at Nagarjun Road was also arrested and tortured on 19.8.70.

One Telegraph Staff - R.Chakraborty was arrested and tortured on 19.8.70. In protest against this arrest and torture, Postal and Telegraph Workers stopped work.

Newspaper hawkers were also beaten and arrested.

When continuous strike started from 12th August, CPI and AITUC acted as direct agent of the Government to break the strike. CPI workers moved in police vans to organise the strike breakers, moved from house to house with CRP escort to intimidate the workers and to force them to report to duties. They supplied names of union leaders and activists to police and CRP, identified the workers before arrest and were constantly seen in Police Stations. They distributed leaflets from Police Vans. AITUC leaders Shri Kalyan Roy, M.P., Md.Elias and Nihar Mukherjee visited Durgapur a number of times during the strike and went to workers houses with Police escort to persuade them to report to duties. Such despicable treachery was not seen in trade union movement before. Congressmen and their hirelings openly opposed the strike and helped the police in carrying on repression. But the heinous role of CPI far surpassed the well known disruptive activities of Congressmen.

Dr. Ranen Sen, M.P., Indrajit Gupta, M.P. and other CPI leaders issued statement condemning the heroic struggle of Durgapur workers. They tried to brand the entire struggle as reflection of so called Sectarian attitude of CPI(M) and CITU. They also said that the continuous strike from 12th August was motivated to secure release of Dilip Mazumdar and other arrested persons. During the entire struggle of 11 days CPI leaders and the Government spoke in one voice condemning the strike.

At the initial stage of the movement, CPI and AITUC pretended that they were against posting of CISF. Token strike of 4th August even though opposed by them at Durgapur was claimed to have been held at their call also as reported in the 'KALANTAR' of 5th August.

When 'token strike' was observed on 4th August demanding withdrawal of CISF, the CPI, Forward Block and S.U.C.I. in a joint leaflet said -

" Central Government's enactment of CISF Act is purported to be used not only in Public Sector undertakings but also in any Private Sector undertakings to forestall Trade Union Movement.... This massive attack on Trade Union Movement

has surpassed the undemocratic Security Act ("Kala Kanun")... It is not a matter to be lessely taken through one day's token strike or by a single political party or Trade Union.... This is a political battle, particularly for the reason that this Act is meant for strengthening the Administration for protection of Capitalism. We say this from our sincere desire to drive away CISF from Durgapur."

But the CPI in other leaflet dated 10.8.70 referring to the struggle of Durgapur Workers issued an appeal to :

"Foil the conspiracy to hand over the public sector undertaking to Monopoly Capital."

After the strike was called off, the CPI issued another leaflet where they said :

"The general workers opposed this sort of strike in the interest of working class. Naturally, therefore, Durgapur Committee of AITUC vehemently opposed this strike and called upon the workers to report to their duties defying the call of CITU. Durgapur Committee is proud today that conscious workers of Durgapur reported to their duties in response to the call of AITUC and foiled the conspiracy of CPI(M)."

#### STRIKE BREAKING ACTIVITIES OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA :

On 12.8.70 Sri Gopal Roy, Bimal Ghose Roy and P.C. Bose of CPI (Workers of MAMC) identified Sri N.B. Chakraborty and M.R. Astikar (of MAMC-CITU Union) before they were arrested. Ajit Bose, Secretary Staff of MAMC and Secretary of Security Staff Association was assaulted by CPI men while he was on duty.

Sri S.P. Ghosal of Shankey Wheel CPI Union inspected police lock up regularly to see who were arrested.

Sri Osman of Graphite (II) Ltd. was assaulted by CPI men before CRP on 23rd August, 1970.

Sri B.R. Mukherjee, S.N. Mukherjee, Bake Bhakta of CPI employed in Op-thalamic Glass were seen in CRP Vans.

Giten Chakraborty (Bus Driver), Mahadev Dey (Bus Driver) and Tapen Chatterjee (Traffic Department) all of CPI, employed in DSP, were present in the police station on 19th August 1970 at about 8.00 a.m. when Sri Jagannath Sarkar and N.C. Paramanik were being tortured after arrest.

Sri M.M. Sen, CPI supporter, residing at 7/3, Shivaji Road, Durgapur helped police and CRP to arrest the strikers.

Sri Mahadev Ghose and his wife of 'B' Zone maintained contact with Police and helped them to arrest the strikers.

Mihir Roy working in Central Stores of DSP came with INTUC Goondas - Pradip Banerjee and Biswanath Goswami (working in DSP) and attacked Santosh Biswas of 10/10, Einestine Avenue on 17th August, 1970. Immediately thereafter CRP came and arrested Sri Santosh Roy.

Tapas Sarkar, Joint Secretary of Alloy Steel Workers' Union (CPI) was seen at the police station on 17th August '70 along with Mr. Shakuja, Technical Adviser to the Director-in-Charge, Durgapur Steel Plant when arrested workers were tortured.

Mihir Roy of CPI came with CRP and searched the house of Sri Kuchil Pal, 14/2, Einestine Avenue on 19.8.70.

Tapen Chatterjee, Tapas Sarkar and Nimai Routh of CPI were seen in Police Van on 18.8.70 at 1-30 p.m.

Arup Chakraborty of CPI - electrician of Alloy Steel was seen in CRP Van on 18.8.70 at 1-30 p.m.

Sri Choudhury (CPI) - Clerk, Administration, DSP residing at Kirtibas Avenue along with INTUC men - D.N.Bosak of 8/31, Mahiskapur and Madhab Chatterjee of 8/32, Mahiskapur identified Sri Subodh Biswas of 6/8, Mercani Avenue and got him arrested.

CPI Men - Arup Chakraborty of Alloy Steel, Prasanta Bhowmik, and Bachhu of Wheel Axle Plant, DSP attacked Chittaranjan Panda on 12.8.70 with knife, Bhojali ~~and~~ and iron rods. Com. Panda had the following wounds:

- 3" cut left forehead.
- 3½" cut right side of the head just above forehead.
- 1½" cut on centre of the head
- 2" cut on right eye-blow.
- 2" cut corner of right eye.
- 2" cut on the chin.

CRITICAL SITUATION DURING THE STRIKE:

The Strike continued in the face brutal Police and CRP repression aided by the treachery of CPI and INTUC. The Management of factories gave ultimatum to workers for resumption of duties by 18th August. This threat was passed over successfully. On 19th August, Burdwan Bandh was observed. On 19th August road blocks and barricades were erected which were removed on 20th August with bulldozers. From 20th August police repression was further intensified. Workers were not allowed to buy their daily necessities and even Milkmen were not allowed to give milk. CRP deliberately took a policy to make the workers starve in order to weaken their resistance. Moreover, Police, CRP and Factory authorities tried to draw a wedge between the Bengali and non-Bengali workers. In usual cases non-Bengali workers were neither arrested nor assaulted. On the top of all these developments curfew was imposed from 20th August. The curfew was most rigorously imposed and it became gradually impossible to maintain contact when CRP and Police started combing the areas. On 20th August, Kalyan Roy, M.P. of AITUC brought truckloads of anti-social elements from collieries to break the strike.

Weakness ~~xx~~ of the strike situation was first notice on 19th August. But the position improved on 20th August when both workers and women gave heroic resistance to CRP and Police at both "A" Zone and "B" Zone of the Steel Township. But with removal of barricades with bulldozers, Police and CRP intensified patrolling and when curfew was imposed, combing started. CPI and INTUC freely moved during the curfew helping CRP and Police to round up the workers and force them to report to duties. Constant propaganda was spread that the strike had failed. The workers coming from nearby villages and weaker section of unskilled and semi-skilled workers were incapacitated to offer further resistances. Loss of contact due to curfew had its sway and the situation as a whole was found unequal for the strike to continue.

In the face of all out repression and treachery by CPI and INTUC, the resistances of the workers could not match the requirement and therefore the strike was called off on 22nd August night.

POST STRIKE SITUATION:

After the strike was called off victimisation was started on a mass scale. 7,400 charge-sheets were issued to the workers of Durgapur Steel Plant. One worker (Manas Mukherjee) was dismissed without assigning any reason and about 41 workers were suspended. Charge-sheets were also issued in other factories - Alloy Steel - 300, MAMC - 900, AVB - 300, Graphaite(I) Ltd. - 4, Ophthalmic - 140 and hundreds of workers in other factories. In Graphaite (I) Ltd. 31 employees were suspended. Some employees were given 2/3 charge-sheets on alleged ground of intimidation. Enquiry started against 1600 Steel Plant workers - hard core of HSEU. Workers were arrested even when they were on duty on alleged ground of complaint lodged by the strike breakers.

When all these attacks were perpetrated and the workers were resisting them, CPI & AITUC gleefully encouraged both the Government and the factory authorities. CPI-men started campaign to convince the workers to give apologetic replies to charge-sheets. In AVB, where lockout was continuing CPI cadres started to mobilise the workers to give declarations that they were not party to the strike. CPI and INTUC continued assaulting the workers in presence of CRP.

Section 144 and Curfew continued even after the strike was called-off. CPI announced their intention to include Steel Plant workers in their Sharamik Union with intention to disrupt Hindusthan Steel Employees' Union. CPI and AITUC leaders are trying to hold a view before the workers that a vaccum was created after the strike was called-off and renewed efforts are necessary from their side to protect the workers.

But despite everything morale of the workers was not broken. The organisation of workers which functioned during the strike renewed its activists with new vigur. CPI and AITUC is not able inspite of their efforts with the help of Management to make any headway to fulfil their evil intention. Police cases instituted against about 240 workers who were arrested are being defended by the Unions. The charge-sheets enquires are being conducted by the unions in a planned manner. In each charge-sheet enquiry officers representing managements are being cross-examined for hours and the officers out-wited in all cases.

After Durgapur strike was called-off, the strike breakers - CPI and others said that 2 lakhs State Government employees 3 days' strike from 26th August will fizzle out. CPI continued their strike breaking role and joined the Government with repressive machinery in opposing the strike. Government made all out effort to crush State Government employees strike. But belieing all evil expectations of the strike breakers and despite repression of the Government, the strike of State Government employees was a complete success.

After the State Government employees strike, 12,000 State Transport employees of Calcutta observed one day's strike on 27th August. Successively more strike took place in various other establishments and industries of West Bengal.

It was thus proved that Durgapur struggle enhanced trade union consciousness as a whole. Despite the fact the strike of Durgapur workers was called off on 22nd August, the resistance given by them for long 11 days inspired the working class and created a strong feeling against these strike breakers isolating CPI and AITUC in the main along with others who worked hand-in-glove with Government in carrying out repression at Durgapur.

It was decided before the continuous strike started at Durgapur on 12th August that the Engineering workers at the joint call of central Trade Unions will observe token strike on 3rd Sept. on various demands. After the strike was called off in Durgapur, CPI and its AITUC demanded the strike of 3rd September be put off without showing any ground for the obvious intention to show that

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to show that they have gained strength to dictate terms not only to CITU but also to trade union movement as such by virtue of their strike breaking role. But soon they realised that the effect of Durgapur strike even though it had to be called off after 11 days heroic resistance having rare precedence in trade union movement in India was completely opposite to their expectation. CITU declared that the strike of engineering workers will take place and if AITUC oppose the strike planned to be held jointly on 3rd September, the strike will be held on 4th September at the call CITU only. Accordingly the strike call on 4th September was given by CITU and endorsed by overwhelming majority of the engineering workers. CPI and AITUC thought that State Government employees strike will fizzle out due to their resistance and repressive measure taken by the Govt. But State Govt. employees strike was a grand success. This made CPI and AITUC realise that as strike breakers they were completely isolated. Then AITUC leaders came to CITU upon their knees imploring to hold the engineering workers strike jointly. Consistent with CITU's policy of united struggle, the engineering workers strike was held on 3rd September as planned earlier and AITUC leaders could give no explanation to the workers as to why they opposed the strike earlier. But strike breakers never change their character. After engineering strike on 3rd Sept. CPI and AITUC tried to spread false propaganda against CITU on fixation of date of the strike to cover up their guilt. These propaganda had no effect. On the contrary, CPI and AITUC leaders were ridiculed whenever they went during the strike on 3rd Sept. by the engineering workers.

Thus jubilation of CPI and AITUC after Durgapur strike was called off ended in a myth. They found they were more exposed and isolated. This created a stir in the entire working class movement and with passing days the hatred against CPI and AITUC will bear fruit to the advantage of united and militant trade union struggle. That CPI and AITUC could be isolated in this manner is one of the direct and invaluable contribution of Durgapur struggle.

#### CONCLUSION:

Durgapur struggle has helped the entire T.U. movement by opening up the real face of CPI and AITUC. The working class as a whole and Durgapur workers more particularly had the benefit of most direct and intimate experience about the danger posed by the strike breakers from within trade union movement and line-up of forces the working class will have to contend with in future struggles.

At the same time repression perpetrated on Durgapur workers revealed that from now on the Government and ruling class will continue to extend its long hand of repression with savage brutality as seen in Durgapur. More attacks will come on the rights and freedom of workers. The experience of Durgapur portends more severe attacks to crush all future struggles. The attack on Durgapur workers is therefore not an isolated event. It is necessary for the entire T.U. movement to review the experience of Durgapur struggle in this perspective with all seriousness.

New type of solidarity was seen in Durgapur. The attack came through posting of CISF on the workers of Durgapur Steel Plant. But the working class of the entire Durgapur belt resisted this offensive by going on continuous strike in defence of trade union rights and democratic freedom. This revealed the growing political consciousness of Durgapur workers and this experience should be placed before the entire working class of India.

Participation of the women in support of Durgapur workers struggle is a most significant event. It showed that the women are getting prepared to play a vital role as a most dependable force in shouldering the responsibility of future struggles.

Report on development in Durgapur Steel Plant  
subsequent to strike from 12th to 22nd August,  
1970, leading to Lock-out in Steel Melting Shop.

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After the strike was withdrawn, the Management take a line of establishing discipline on the basis of repression on workers. One employee was discharged on 24-8-70 without showing any reason. 40 others were not allowed to join their duties as they did not report for duties by 27-8-70, date fixed by the management as the last day for joining duties, otherwise would be considered by management as voluntary resignation by the employees concerned. Some who got bail on 27th, 28th and 29th of August also were unable to join duties and were still without employment. Some were on leave or unfit on medical ground also face the same fate. 29 persons were on suspension on the ground of pending police cases or due to alleged assault charge on willing workers. Some more are going to be suspended shortly on the same ground.

In Roll Shop and Steel Melting Shop discussion were going on with the management on Incentive Scheme for last few months. Management issued letter on the basis of Section 9A of I.D. Act and declared unilaterally Incentive Schemes for Roll Shop, Steel Melting Shop and Blast Furnace and the same will come into force from 11th of October, 1970. There were disputes on manning on those shops and management itself clumped together manning issue with incentive scheme and due to the issue of new order with regard to incentive scheme no further discussion of pending manning could be held. Union however protested against the order and wrote to Labour Commissioner about this.

There were contractor's workers in every shop of Durgapur Steel Plant, Contractor's workers union, affiliated to CITU had understanding with the management on absorption of those workers, on regular basis but now management without discussing with the union had retrenched about hundred such workers. Management are now enforcing on Durgapur Steel Workers to carry on job done earlier by contractors workers, those whom they have retrenched.

Manning on 1.6 million ton stage have not been finalised. Instead discussion of such issues were stopped. All such work are now being started and management enforcing the departmental workers to carry on such work. As for example in S.M.S. Cranes, crane drivers worked for 5 hours 20 minutes earlier and now such workers are forced to work for 6 hours 30 minutes. Cleaning work are now being imposed on departmental workers. New machines are also brought in operation with existing manpower causing extra workload on workers.

Behaviour of management also has changed considerably. Large number of officers have started behaving rudely. From top management an attitude has been taken which indicates that unionism can be overlooked by management.

About a week or so after strike was called off, production could not be geared up properly due to technical process. On 1st week and second week of September, 1970 production also affected sharply due to rain and bad weather. Thereafter production showed upward trend but workers in general were discontented due to extra workload and rude behaviour from management checking at entrance gate of steel plant by C.I.S.F. was so rough and rude that it helped to grow discontent amongst workers. In first week of

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September one Santal woman worker was searched at the gate by the C.I.S.F. in a very unmannerly way and about 30 co-female workers protested vehemently and subsequently C.I.S.F. officer apologised for the conduct of the C.I.S.F. personnel.

In second week of September management declared that discipline were being resorted and started production campaign. Production campaign week started from 21st September. In most of the shops production was up. But in skelp mill and in S.M.S. workers tried their best to show that discontented workers are not congenial factor for production. All the officers including shop Superintendents stayed inside plant round the clock. Special watch was kept on departmental activists. Nobody could stay outside the shop floor for more than 10/15 minutes.

In the name of production, management has overlooked the maintenance of machines and safety rules. In coke ovens number of pushing was increased. But to show a higher number of pushing sometimes unburnt coal ( green oven ) was pushed away. This process of coke oven working badly damaged the oven itself as tar products of unburnt coal gave resistance at the time of pushing and cause damage to oven walls. This was the main reason for damage of number one W battery and Shri D.J.Bell also took the same way of working. In Steel Melting shop number of heats was increased. But to increase the number of heats hot metal was charged ( more than proportion ) instead of scrap and thereby causing more slag in one heat and off grade production and also reduced quantity of production. In this way quality and quantity of production was ignored. Due to non use of scrap about 30 to 40 tons of ingot was less produced. Moreover proper fitting of furnaces and laddles were not carried out as that will delay the production process. But in absence of such technical working furnaces and laddles got damaged and may cause furnace through or laddle through which will destroy both production and equipment. Oxygen blowing in Steel melting furnace was introduced but that has increased the human labour considerably.

In Blooming mill on 23-9-70 both the 32" and 42" mill were operated on machines which were not maintained properly and giving technical trouble. Due to that machines were damaged and kept the shop idle for 5 hours. In 42" mill chak bearing of bottom roll was broken away. While our executive member pointed out all these to shop management he got rude behaviour.

In Wheel & Axle plant production continued for 7 hours through machines indicated caution light and thereby causing damage to machineries.

In this way workload was increased on workmen on one hand and damage done to machines on the other hand by management. Production increased for a certain time at the cost of men and machines. But this process cannot last longer.

In Skelp mill shop workers lodged demonstration protesting ill behaviour and increased workload on workmen. One of our executive member Shri Nimai Ghosh was suspended on 25-9-70. In protest of suspension work stoppage continuing for the last 5 days.

In Steel Melting Shop management entered into an agreement in June, 1969. As per clause of agreement shop level settlement was also made on working arrangements in S.M.S. There were some trainees recruited against 1.6 million stage who could not be absorbed on regular manning. These trainees got their grade of OP III in 1967 having designation and work of third hand Furnaceman. Some upgradation

was made according to June, 1969 agreement. Forthhand furnaceman was in SK I grade got CP III grade on the basis of said agreement. After the agreement shop level arrangement was made in a form so that 1.6 million stage CP III workers would work as third hand furnaceman if asked to work in 1 million manning and would get acting for CP II, which is the existing grade of thirdhand as per agreement.

On 26-9-70 in morning shift shop management asked 1.6 million CP III to work as CP III in I million stage and the work that of forthhand. Due to protest from workmen that could not be done by management. In 'B' shift management gave same order again and on refusal Shri M. Paul was suspended. On protest of suspension workmen demonstrated before management stopping work. Workmen lodged this complaint before management that the working arrangement done after discussion with Union cannot be violated without further arrangement after discussion. In 'C' shift four more were suspended and protest continued.

On 27-9-70 at about 4 P.M. workers gheraced shop superintendent. Management has declared that the shop superintendent was assaulted by workmen and set fire on shop office. But as we got information fire brigade came and saw the rooms were under lock while fire was inside the room. However our Joint Secretary told the workmen that we do not think that assault on individual can further the movement and also we do not support the same. There might be some slap or push on shop superintendent. But all workers of that shop were disgusted with that man for his behaviour. In 'C' shift management declared lockout in S.M.S. Due to stoppage of S.M.S. all other shops have been affected. Practically there is no production at present. Subsequent to lockout production of different shops are as follows : Coke (ent ovens 50% , Blast furnace 35% , Rolling Mills 10%.

Joint Committees were formed on 29-9-70 with S.M.S. workers comprising I.N.T.U.C. / C.I.T.U. / S.U.C. supporters etc., INTUC leaders are now opposing such joint committees but workers are not following that directives. In Skelp mill also movement continued on joint effort. Labanya Ghatak working president of I.N.T.U.C. union instructed their men to start work in skelp mill but INTUC shop leaders were hesitant to follow the instructions. Though those shop leaders are not working properly to carry on the movement.

After lockout was declared in S.M.S. one of our vice-president R.K. Das ( politically following S.U.C.) was dismissed from service. Shri Das is also with their contractors workers union. He led a demonstration about 4 months back with those contractors workers. Management issued him charge sheet for that and on the basis of the enquiry this dismissal order was issued. It was known to us earlier that increment of Shri Das will be stopped due to that demonstration. But that order was not out and after SMS incident this dismissal order was out. Another Asstt. Secretary was also suspended in S.M.S. connection. Few more suspension were under issue.

D.L.C. hold a meeting on 29-8-70 where we have demanded that management should withdraw all suspension / dismissal orders, withdraw warrant etc., and should go to pre 12th August position. There was a tripartite meeting on 30-9-70 before D.L.C.

Previously in Steel Plant suspension, allowance was given at the rate of 50% basic plus full D.A. But taking advantage of W. Bengal subsistence Allowance Act 1969, Durgapur Steel management has reduced the subsistence allowance and has fixed a rate of 50% of wages. Union has issued letter to the D.L.C. on this issue.

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Burgapur workers expects that CITU will tell to the Government and workers all over India that the course taken by DSP management cannot be successful one. Moreover the damage done by Steel Plant due to anti-labour policy and reactionary attitude of management. And also that production can be increased for a certain time but with repression and anti-labour policy production cannot be maintained for long.

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A NOTE ON FUNCTIONING IN INDUSTRIAL FEDERATIONS

I

Despite growth of the T.U. movement in the recent past the working class could not effectively resist on an all-India plane the offensive of the bourgeoisie during the economic crisis. In many places the resistance was of a local character and in some cases the bourgeoisie could either disrupt it from within or suppress it through various repressive measures.

The statewide struggles in West Bengal in Jute, cotton textile, plantations and engineering industries during 1969 could snatch sizable concessions from the unwilling hands of bourgeoisie and they inspired workers in other States to go in for action. However no co-ordinated all-India action could materialise despite the fact that demands were common to all.

Even in case of local struggles the trade unions in other centres in the same industry did not express solidarity to the fighting employees on many occasions. The most glaring example is of Kerala road transport workers strike where we did not make sufficient efforts to mobilise all-India support to the striking employees.

The reformist and revisionist leadership in the T.U. movement has never taken seriously the question of countrywide industrial actions though they use the threat of an all-India action as a bargaining counter with the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie has also constituted tripartite industrial committee for certain industries and quite often these committees have virtually become substitutes for industrial actions. Thus instead of becoming a forum of collective bargaining these industrial committees have become a forum of class collaboration.

II

The revisionists have formed some industrial federations but most of them are mere signboards. Their meetings are just formally held along with the AITUC General Council or Working Committee meetings only when there is some urgent issue. These meetings are also not properly convened to ensure participation of all members of executive organs of these federations. They have in general not given any emphasis on countrywide industrial actions and made no efforts to ensure the participation of mass of workers in these organisations. Moreover, these paper organisations are maintained to get nominations on the Trade Union Internationals of the W.F.T.U. or they receive foreign delegations from time to time.

At present the following Industrial Federations are in existence most of which are "operating" from the Central Office of the AITUC itself, though formally a different address is given to show outwardly their independence.

1. National Federation of Road Transport Workers.
2. Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers of India.
3. Indian Mine Workers Federation.
4. All India Federation of Electricity Employees.
5. All India Petroleum Workers Federation.
6. Port, Dock and Waterfront Workers Federation of India.

7. Co-ordination Committee Unions in Public Sector Undertakings ;
8. All Indian Medical and Health Employees Federation.
9. All India Cement Workers Federation.
10. All India Chemical and Pharmaceutical Employees Federation.

The INTUC and HMS also has formed some industrial federations. The method of their functioning is not materially different from the revisionists.

These industrial federations have even failed to organise solidarity actions during strikes organised by their own affiliates. On various occasions they have betrayed the workers and signed anti-working class agreements with the managements. Leadership of some of the federations have even sabotaged struggles conducted by local unions. To quote just one instance, the leadership of the All India Petroleum Workers Federation openly joined hands with the foreign oil company and sabotaged the Caltex workers struggle in Calcutta against job security. The INTUC and AITUC led federations in Indian Oil Corporation joined hands in accepting anti-working class provisions like automation in the agreement.

There are many local unions which are not affiliated to any of the all-India Organisations. According to official statistics majority of the local trade unions are out of the Central Trade Union organisations. It would be incorrect to belittle their importance in preparations for countrywide industrial actions.

### III

It is necessary that we should take initiative in building an all-India movement in certain industries where CITU has sizable strength. It is possible to make a move in this respect using our base in West Bengal, Kerala and Tamilnadu as a lever.

In this connection, the experience of steel industry will be extremely useful. Though we do not have a strong all-India base we could use our influence in Durgapur and IISCO to bring pressure on all-India leadership of INTUC, HMS and AITUC to increase their demand. At the initiative of our comrades in Durgapur, we contacted unions in various centres and mobilised support for our stand and compel the managements and the government to give interim relief higher than demanded by all the central trade union organisations. The success of All-India Steel Workers Convention where more than 500 delegates participated has for the first time brought together militant movement in steel industry. This has not only exposed the all India organisations but also helped us in consolidating our position in the steel industry.

Though the revisionists and the INTUC leaders betrayed the road transport workers by accepting wages lower than the prevailing rates we could not mobilise the workers so far for want of any co-ordination. Our unions in West Bengal, Kerala, Punjab, Tamilnadu, Andhra and Rajasthan could have taken initiative in denouncing this wage Board. In this we could have received support from various local unions, independent as well as affiliated to all-India centres. Even now it is possible to take immediate steps in this regard so that all India concerted campaign can be launched demanding higher wages than those prescribed by the Wage Board.

In Plantation industry we are stronger than revisionists, Revisionists did not take steps to form a federation for fear of our controlling it. We also did not take any initiative in this regard. We have unions in West Bengal, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Assam and Karnataka and their activities can be co-ordinated as a precursor for an all-India industrial action.

In Coal industry we have made considerable gain during the recent past. Our union in Raniganj has now a fully paid membership of 26,000 and our influence extends to more than 90 collieries. In Bihar in the NDC area we have improved our position and in Dhanbad region also recently we have got some foothold and we are improving our position despite gangster attacks on our comrades. We also have some base among the coal miners in Corba belt (Madhya Pradesh) and Singareni Collieries (Andhra).

In non-coal mines also we have some unions in Bihar, Rajasthan and Mysore. In view of this development we can think of taking some steps to co-ordinate our activities in the mining industry. It will be possible to utilise our Raniganj base for co-ordination of our activities.

In steel industry, we have already taken some preliminary steps to co-ordinate our activities. A follow-up action is necessary to consolidate our position so that more attention could be paid to the weaker centres.

Our strong base in the engineering industry in West Bengal can also be used for co-ordinating our activities in different centres and building an all-India movement in co-operating with other trade unions.

Some co-ordination also is necessary in textile rayon and port and dock industries where we are in a position to launch some campaign on region cum industrial basis.

If we take initiative it may be possible to organise industrywise conventions bringing together various other organisations also. A joint call for action on pressing demands will alone pave the way for building genuine countrywide industrial federations.

We will have to consider the possibility of activating each of the existing federations. In case we fail in this respect we may have to take steps to evolve our own machinery of co-ordination and guidance.

Details in this regard can be worked out only in meetings of comrades in different industries. It is of utmost importance to hold such meetings and find out ways and means of co-ordination of our unions and developing contacts with other unions.

# CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting

October 2 - 4, 1970

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Draft Resolution on :

## West Bengal Situation

The Working Committee of the C.I.T.U. watches carefully the developments in West Bengal since the All-India Trade Union Conference and notes that the economic and political situation since the imposition of President's Rule has further worsened. The attacks started by the big capitalists, jotedars and the vested interests on the workers, peasants and different sections of the masses to deprive them of the gains achieved during the U.F. Ministry and to intensify further exploitation have now become more brazen and arrogant. Encouraged by the policy of brutal repression followed by the Central and State Governments and by the anti-struggle and disruptive policies of the revisionists, the employers are openly refusing to implement the agreements, are resorting to various provocations such as lay-offs, lock-outs, retrenchments, suspensions, increase in workload, closures, pay-outs, etc. in order on the one hand to place the burden of the crisis on the workers and the common masses and to break their fighting morale and organisations. The Birlas, the Sree Rams, the Indian Jute Mills Association, the Engineering Association, the Textile Mill owners' Association, the Colliery owners' Association, the Tea Planters' Association, all are now taking full advantage of the President's Rule to snatch away the gains from the workers and employees both economic and political. Similar offensives by the jotedars, mahajans and big hoarders have become wide-spread in the rural areas. Backed by the might of the entire State machinery and the armed forces combined with terror these class offensives of the vested interests have become the part of a concerted plan.

Durgapur is the pointer to this new phase of offensive. In order to cow down the fighting spirit and to break down the organised strength of the sixty thousand workers and employees of Durgapur a diabolical conspiracy was hatched jointly by the Central and the State Governments with the connivance of the plant managements, the revisionists and the I.N.T.U.C. The conspiracy was obvious from the fact that all of a sudden several hundred armed personnels of the Central Industrial Security Forces were posted to take over charge of the security of the Steel plant by forcefully replacing the old security guards. The Union leaders were arrested in a pre-planned night swoop on a cocked-up charge of murder.

A large number of warrants of arrest were issued against the local T.U. organisers and the CPI(M) leaders. In order to suppress and frustrate any mass protest action by the workers

against this attack several thousands of C.R.F., Border Security Force, Eastern Frontier Rifles were mobilised apart from the C.I.S.F. and the armed police forces of the State Government. But when the heroic workers and employees of Durgapur true to their tradition, came out on a continuous strike braving all threats to demand the release of their arrested leaders, the withdrawal of C.I.S.F. and C.R.F. the entire administration pounced on them with vengeance with the whole might of the armed forces. Section 144 was promulgated, curfew was clamped, mass brutalities were unleashed through beatings, tortures and even killings. Even womenfolk were not spared. In all these acts of barbarity and of breaking of strike, the role played by the right C.F.I. was so shameless and naked that in no way they could be demarcated from the hirelings and police agents. The local I.N.T.U.C. and revisionists openly sided with the C.R.F. and helped in all possible manners the acts of repression and strike breaking. This has emboldened the administration to be more brutal to suppress the struggle through blood-baths and reign of terror. The entire township of Durgapur was converted as if a town under siege and an undeclared war started against the unarmed strikers. As opposed to sixty thousand workers nearly fifteen thousand armed forces were ranged.

The Working Committee of the C.I.T.U. is proud that under the leadership of its affiliated unions, the workers of Durgapur have conducted a heroic fight through continuous strike for 11 days and thereby created a new history in the working class movement of India and raised it to a new height. Though the ruling classes, the reactionary press and the disruptors are proclaiming it to be a big defeat but in reality the struggle of the workers of Durgapur has reflected properly the new mood of the struggling masses of W.Bengal, has exposed thoroughly the reactionary character of the ruling Congress of Indira Gandhi and the ignominious role played by the revisionists as an accomplice of the ruling congress. The heroic and militant struggle of Durgapur workers has become a big object-lesson and a big political gain to the people of West Bengal for the coming days of struggles.

Maddened at the so-called "success" in Durgapur of their show of armed might the State Government under the advice of Centre pursued the same terror tactics in a bigger scale in countering the three-days' strike of their own employees, the strike of the secondary teachers and the observance of the Martyr's Day on the 31st August throughout the State. Not only threats, section 144, curfew, arrests, lathi-charges, beatings, even firings were sufficient to suppress these movements, but military also was called in and put in control of Calcutta and the neighbouring districts though the strike struggles were absolutely peaceful. In all these acts of terrorisation and disruption, the State Government was actively supported by the Congress of both wings, Bangla Congress and the Eight Parties' combination with the revisionists at the head. But despite this ganging up and all-out offensive the struggles of the Government employees and the teachers were a complete success. The people of W.Bengal observed the Martyr's Day in the most militant manner. All these struggles have added a new glorious chapter in the history of the mass struggles of W.Bengal as the struggle of Durgapur.

The features which are new in the situation of W.Bengal to-day are : that the tactics of terror pursued by the Government has assumed a character of unashamed brutality ; that more and more central armed forces of C.R.F., C.I.S.F., B.S.F., E.F.R. etc. are deployed in the name of law and order ; that repression has reached a new stage when beating to death in lock-ups, murders, firings,

curfews, mass tortures of various types have become a common feature. Already arrests have reached the figure of 7,000, warrants more than 60,000 and murder of the organisers of the CPI(M), T.U., Kisan, student, youth, teachers and other fronts nearly 100. Serious attacks on the elementary democratic rights, assuming more autocratic power by bureaucracy and police, invoking of draconic laws of British period such as the much hated suppression of Terrorist Outrages Act of 1932, re-introduction of the Tribunals of Criminal Jurisdiction Act, the application of Essential Services Act to ban strikes and the persistent efforts to re-introduce the P.D. Act, etc. portends serious danger to democracy unless this is checked and defeated in time.

Another feature is that the economic life of the people is seriously deteriorating. The price of all daily necessities including food-stuffs is rising very high leading to a higher cost of living. The existing employment potential of the State is getting badly undermined. Moreover, due to the failure of the Centre and the State Governments to maintain proper drainage and irrigation systems the recent monsoon and flood has caused tremendous hardships to the millions of people and serious damage to the crops, their hearths and homes and has almost paralysed and dislocated the normal communications of the social life for a considerable period. The callous negligence and utter failure to come to the rescue and help of the people in times of their dire need revealed once more the anti-people bureaucratic character of the Congress rule. For a bureaucracy that is busy in suppressing the people's movement cannot act otherwise. The repeated and persistent demands of the masses to withdraw C.R.F., to declare a mid-term poll, to implement the Day Commission award, the agreements with gains of the workers, peasants, and the masses have been turned down. Instead C.R.Fs., C.I.S.F., and B.S.Fs are being posted here. By their policy of more terrorisation the Central Government is sealing the path of democratic way out and turning West Bengal into a colony of Centre putting an end to even the limited autonomy of the State, guaranteed by the Constitution and there-by making Parliamentary democracy a mockery. The President's Rule has been extended for a further term of six months. The Prime Minister, who is now also the Union Home Minister personally came to West Bengal to boost the morale of the bureaucracy and police and has advised them to rule by iron hands. All these signify that in West Bengal the President's rule is nothing but open police rule trampling underfoot all the rights of the people.

The series of strike struggles, and mass movements during this period prove beyond doubt that the working class, the peasants and the democratic people of the State have not taken the offensive lying down. There has been a successful general strike and hartal throughout the State on the 14th of July and innumerable local hartals and general strikes have taken place in protest against the offensives and repressions. Apart from these general strikes, the industry-wise strikes in Jute, Engineering, State Electricity, Transport, mercantile firms, Biral concerns, Greeram concerns and various other factories, the strikes of teachers of all categories, students, university and college employees, Government employees, Bank employees, Port and Dock workers, Railway workers, D.V.C. employees and the militant resistance of the peasants and landless labourers in the villages demonstrate beyond doubt that the morale and militancy of the masses has reached a higher level. They are determined to defend their gains and the democratic rights and defeat the policy of terrorisation by putting up far bigger organised resistance of the entire democratic masses.

The Working Committee of the C.I.T.U. congratulates the working class, the peasants and the heroic masses of W.Bengal for their brave fight and calls upon the working class of India and particularly of W.Bengal to come forward more unitedly to defend not only their own economic gains and rights but also to defend the cause of the toiling peasants and all democratic masses and force the Government by unleashing mighty movements to accept the demands for withdrawal of C.R.F. and C.S.I.F., announcement of mid-term poll, stoppage of all victimisations and implementations of Pay commission award, the agreements and the commitments made by the U.F. Government to the peasants and other sections of the masses. This requires far bigger mobilisation of the masses, far greater solidarity actions, far more united and organised struggles, far higher political consciousness, far more strengthening of the C.I.T.U. Unions and other mass organisations and a continuous fight against the class collaborationist and pro-congress policies of the revisionists and other opportunists.

The C.I.T.U. appeals to all Trade Unions, to all sections of workers, irrespective of their political and organisational affiliations to join hands with our organisation and trade unions to defend the gains of the working class now under attack, and to defeat the policy of repression and terror directed against the trade unions and democratic movements by the ruling congress party under the President's rule. In face of the common danger facing all sections of workers and the masses. Unity of action against the policies of the congress is a basic condition of advance. The C.I.T.U. appeals to the workers of other organisations against the pro-congress policy pursued by the leaders and realise and how it will lead to the betrayal of common interests. Only unity of the working class against the employers and the congress rulers will bring success to the workers cause and the cause of the democratic movement.

The C.I.T.U. calls upon all its Unions to wage a persistent struggle for the unity of the working class in factories and industries to defeat the congress game of suppressing of a democratic and trade union movement and of the united actions of the workers.

The C.I.T.U. is confident that the working class and the people of W.Bengal will be successful in defeating the forces of reaction and not only defend their gains and the democratic rights but also make further advancements.

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting

Oct. 2 - 4, 1970

Jaipur

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Draft Resolution on Durgapur Struggle

The Working Committee of CITU greets the heroic workers of Durgapur who fought gallantly against deployment of Central Industrial Security Force and most savage repression let loose by C.R.P. and Armed Forces with the help of Right Communists, Congress-men and other despicable agents. This historic struggle led by 60,000 workers of Durgapur Industrial area in defence of trade union rights and democratic freedom has highlighted before the entire working class of India how tenaciously they will have to encounter the brutalities of the repressive state machinery and revisionist treachery in days to come.

While strongly condemning the use of such para-military organisations to suppress the genuine struggle of the workers the CITU demands that the CISF and CRP must be withdrawn forthwith from Durgapur industrial belt and full compensation be paid to those workers who were victims of brutalities.

Durgapur, one of the strongest centres of trade union movement in India was an eye-sore of both the reactionary Central Government and Dangeites dominated AITUC for a long time. Hindusthan Steel Employees' Union of Durgapur consolidated T.U. movement in the area on militant line of struggle and took initiative in organising the workers of the entire Steel Industry in India challenging reactionary and anti-labour policy of the Government and existence of Dange & Co. in T.U. movement in Steel Industry. The Central Government and the Steel Ministry refused to recognise H.S.E.U. inspite of overwhelming majority of the workers in Durgapur Steel Plant (DSP) and Alloy Steel represented by it. It was only during the United Front Government in 1969 the rightful claim of recognition was conceded to this Union. But Government of India and Steel Ministry continued to spread the canard against the workers of Durgapur Steel blaming them for loss of production affecting the so-called economic viability of DSP, when it was known to everybody and also corroborated by the findings of Pandey Committee appointed by the Government of India that the Plants and machineries were worn out due to gross erection defects and most defective production planning mainly for the fault of British Steel Consortium who erected it with the help of Indian Collaborators draining out crores of rupees from this Country. Moreover, most erratic administration of this Steel Plant and mismanagement at the top rendering important installation like Blast Furnace and other vital machineries out of commission frequently for unusually long periods and neglect in taking prompt action for timely repairing and maintenance work stand as a permanent hazard to utilise available capacity of production. The workers of DSP and their union HSEU time and again ventilated these facts but the top heavy management is too busy in power politics, in the quarrel between different linguistic group of officers to take any action. And the Steel Ministry as well as Government of India, afraid to admit their criminal negligence in allowing British Consortium a free hand at the time of erection and unable to annoy the bureaucrats of Public Sector undertakings, lean on more heavily to blame the workers to

suit their overall political conspiracy to discredit militant trade union struggle in West Bengal. Dange & Co. joined the Government condemning the militant workers of Durgapur using different language to stall the serious challenge posed to their very existence in Steel Industry.

When Dange and his AITUC tried to help the Steel Magnates in the negotiation on interim wage rise for Steel workers, HSEU Durgapur took a firm stand and foiled their compromise attempt. Dange demanded Rs.30/- as interim wage rise and was prepared to settle it at Rs.15/- or so. At the insistence of representatives Durgapur Steel workers alone Rs.33/- was realised as interim wage rise, Rs.3/- more than what Dange demanded !

This background is essential to assess the purpose of the attack on the workers of Durgapur unitedly led by Dange and Government of India. The attack came when production in DSP and other public sector undertakings in the area registered improvement. The timing of the attack is more significant in so far as the leadership of HSEU consolidated militant workers of Steel Industry by holding a most representative an All-India Convention in Bhilai only in July 1970 and the Steel workers were in the midst of a crucial negotiation for finalisation of the wage settlement.

Central Industrial Security Force, the latest repressive organisation formed by the Government of India, giving it wide power including right to arrest without warrant was posted at Durgapur Steel Plant on 3rd August to keep under control the militant T.U.struggle. The workers of the entire Industrial belt immediately reacted, observed Token strike on 4th August and continued organised protest demonstrations ceaselessly from 6th August to 11th August. The Government came upon the workers with a heavy hand of repression, imposed Section 144 Cr.PC, arrested Com.Dilip Mazumdar, President of HSEU and a member of General Council of CITU on 6th August along with other three important union leaders of the area on the plea of murder charge, mobilised about 15,000 CRP and Armed forces and let loose unprecedented repression. In the face of it, 60,000 workers of Durgapur Industrial Complex had no room left and launched their continuous strike from 12th August at the call of Durgapur Trade Union Co-ordination Committee demanding withdrawal CISP, CRP, Section 144 Cr.PC and release of all arrested persons.

The strike continued for 11 days which was jointly opposed by the Government, Right Communist Party and its AITUC, Congressmen led by Ananda Gopal Mukherjee and other despicable agents. The Right CPI and its AITUC acted as Agent of the Government to break this strike. Shri Kalyan Roy, M.P., Md.Elias, Shri Nihar Mukherjee of AITUC openly organised the strike breakers. Leading Dangeite activists were constantly seen in Police Station and moving in police vans identifying the strikers for arrest and assault. They distributed their leaflets from police vans and tried to justify their treachery branding the strike as politically motivated alleged to be resulting from sectarian attitude of CITU. Shri A.B.Roy of MAMC was brutally murdered at the hands of Dangeite gangsters on 13th August in presence of CRP. Their treacherous role in this struggle surpassed the disruptive activities of congressmen and created a new precedence in Indian Working class movement.

From the first day of the strike, CRP and armed forces attacked the workers. They came in groups of hundreds, encircled respective localities of the township and dragged out the workers from their houses and forced them to report to duties at gun-point. Those who

showed courage were most brutally assaulted and taken into custody. The arrested workers were given merciless beating in police lock-up and various methods of torture including electric-shock were applied. 900 workers and about 100 women were assaulted by police and CRP who resorted to firing most frequently, lathi charged over hundred times and used tear-gas in innumerable places. The whole township was virtually under seize and most savage brutality engulfed the entire area.

The management of AVB declared lock out on 13th August. DSP Management declared lockout in their Calcutta Office on 18th August. The Steel Minister B.R. Bhagat threatened lock out of Durgapur Steel plant and withdrawal of recognition of Hindustan Steel Employees Union.

But the workers fought gallantly. For 11 days during the strike they were constantly haunted by CRP guided by Right CP and Congressmen, they had no sleep. Defying Section 144, the workers held demonstrations, resisted movement of police and CRP by erecting barricades and carried on ceaseless campaign to preserve morale of the strikers. The women came out in thousands and held series of demonstrations defying Section 144 and moved from door to door giving encouragement to the strike participants. In various places the women offered resistance on the roads by blocking movement of police and CRP vans and forced them to retreat. They worked hand in hand with striking workers in erecting barricades, braved lathis and tear-gas and showed unprecedented heroism in fighting against repression.

Solidarity support was given to the Durgapur workers by observing Hartal at Durgapur on 14th August and bandh on 19th August in the entire district of Burdwan. Meetings, demonstrations and rallies were held in various places in support of Durgapur struggle. The ultimatum given by the authorities for resumption of duty on 18th August fell flat. A deep sense of comradeship overwhelmed the struggling workers who continued the strike despite a barrage of false propaganda through Newspapers and All India Radio including Kalantar and New Age of Right CP.

When the repression was further intensified a section of the workers mostly coming from the adjoining villages were incapacitated to offer further resistance. The authorities and police also tried to create a wedge between Bengalee and non-Bengalee workers mostly in unskilled and semi-skilled categories and were successful to some extent to bring them to work. The situation became more critical when Curfew was imposed from 20th August and CRP started combing different areas. The barricades were removed with bull-dozers and CRP prevented the workers and their wives to purchase daily necessities in their bid to make the workers starve in order to weaken their resistance. Even milk-men were not allowed to sell milk. Indiscriminate arrest started and a woman of 70 and a girl of 24 was also not spared. Shri Kalyan Roy, M.P. of AITUC brought hired goondas from the collieries under police escort to disrupt the strike. In the face of this repression and treachery by the leadership of the Right Communist Party the resistance of the workers could not match the requirement, and therefore the strike was terminated on 22nd August after 11 days of glorious resistance.

In the post strike period large scale victimisation was resorted to and Right CPI along with other strike breakers gleefully encouraged this move and continued disruptive activities assaulting and threatening the workers to wreck the unions

in order to gain foothold in this centre of militant T.U. struggle. 7,400 charge-sheets were issued by Durgapur Steel plant, 300 in Alloy Steel, 900 in Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation, 300 in AVB, 140 in Ophthalmic Glass and hundreds of workers in other undertakings. A sizeable number of workers were suspended and dismissal was also resorted. Lockout declared in AVB on 13th August still continues.

The Working Committee of CITU proudly notes that despite termination of a phase of struggle and despite most savage repression and vindictive actions the morale of the struggling workers remains unaffected. The workers are continuing their heroic resistance against assault, intimidation and threats of further vindictive action perpetrated unitedly by the factory authorities, Right CPI Agents, Congressmen, Police and CRP. CITU sends its warm revolutionary greetings to the heroic fighters of Durgapur and records with deep respect that their heroic resistance has blazed the way for greater consolidation of militant trade union struggle and has galvanised a new awakening in T.U. struggle isolating the class-collaborationists Right CPI imparting invaluable knowledge and experience to guide future trade union movements. CITU specially congratulates the women of Durgapur for their rare heroism and fearless support to the struggling workers despite ruthless repression.

The CITU reiterates its support for the following immediate demands raised by the Co-ordination Committee of Durgapur Trade Unions.

1. Immediate withdrawal of CISF and CRP from Durgapur Industrial belt.
2. Release of all arrested workers and withdrawal of all pending warrants.
3. Punishment to all persons responsible for the atrocities perpetrated on Durgapur workers.
4. Withdrawal of all charge-sheets, suspensions and dismissals in Durgapur.
5. Withdrawal of Sec.144, Curfew and the other measures restricting T.U. activities.

CITU while congratulating the trade unions and workers for rallying behind Durgapur workers, calls upon all its affiliated unions to organise further solidarity actions in support of the struggling workers of Durgapur and to narrate in every detail the developments and experience of 11 days historic struggle to isolate the Right Communist who acted as shameless agents of the Government to break the strike and carry the message of militant struggle of Durgapur to Indian working class with firm determination so as to build up more united and militant struggle to defeat the reactionary policies of the Government of India.

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting

Jaipur - Oct 2-4, 1970

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A Report on the Formation of State Committees and  
Tentative Programme of State Conferences

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The General Council meeting of the CITU held in Calcutta on May, 31, 1970 immediately after the All-India Trade Union Conference considered steps to form State Committees to carry out CITU activities in various States.

The State Committees of AITUC were already in existence in West Bengal, U.P. Karnataka and Goa. It was decided to re-organise the State Committee in West Bengal and convert the State Committees of AITUC in U.P., Karnataka and Goa into state committees of CITU. In Kerala, the State Committee elected by the State Conference held at Calicut on May 9-10, 1970 was authorised to function as the State Committee of CITU.

In Tamilnadu the General Council members together with some leading comrades from the State were to constitute an interim committee and Com.R.Umanath was given responsibility to constitute such a committee within a month. Similarly Comrades N.Prasada Rao, S.Y.Kolhalkar and Mohan Punamia were entrusted with the work of constituting such committees in Andhra, Maharashtra and Rajasthan respectively.

With regard to other States, it was felt that the method of co-ordination and centralised guidance would vary from State to State. It was therefore agreed to evolve appropriate machinery in a meeting of State T.U.Comrades.

The following is the brief report of the implementation of the decision :

ANDHRA : Delegates, who attended the All-India Trade Union conference held a meeting in their camp on June 1, 1970 under the Chairmanship of Com.P.Laxmi Das, decided to form an ad-hoc committee of the CITU in Andhra Pradesh. The Committee consisted of 9 comrades including Com.N.Prasada Rao as Convenor. It was further decided to set up the office of the State Committee at Vijayawada.

Rajasthan : Com.Mohan Punamia after consulting the affiliated unions in Rajasthan constituted a provisional State Committee on June 10, 1970. Com.Prem Kishan was nominated convenor of the Committee which consisted of 11 members. The first meeting of the Committee was held on June 29, 1970.

Kerala : A meeting of the State Committee ~~is~~ elected in Calicut Conference was held on June 15, 1970 at Trivandrum and decided to function as a State Committee of CITU as per decision of the General Council. The Committee has 44 members with Com.E.Balanandan as the General Secretary.

Maharashtra : An ad-hoc State Committee of 20 members was constituted on 23rd June with Coms.P.K.Kurane and B.N. Kopkar as joint convenors. It was decided to establish the office of the State Committee at Bombay.

West Bengal : A meeting of the W.Bengal Committee was held on June 12, 1970 which formally decided to re-organise the Committee and function as State Committee of CITU. Com.Md.Ismail was elected as President of the Committee. Com.Manoranjan Roy continued to be its General Secretary.

Punjab : A meeting of over 80 representatives from 17 unions attended a meeting on June 19, 1970 at Jullundur which was convened by Com. Kishori Lal, Member, General Council, CITU. Com.B.T.Ranadive, President, CITU participated in the meeting and explained in detail the significance of the formation of CITU. A five member State Organising Committee was formed in the meeting with Com.Kishorilal as the Convener.

Tamilnadu : As per the decision of the General Council Com.R.Umanath Member, Executive Committee of CITU, convened a meeting of representatives of affiliated unions in Tamilnadu at Madras on August 3, 1970. Com.S.Krishnamurthy presided over the meeting which elected 16 member ad-hoc committee including Com.R.Umanath as Secretary and Com.A.Nallasivan as Assistant Secretary.

Assam : A meeting of the representatives of the CITU unions was convened at Gauhati on August 22 and 23. Sixty seven representatives from 25 unions attended the meeting. Com.Manoranjan Roy, Secretary CITU\*participated in the meeting on behalf of the Centre. A 15 member State Organising Committee was constituted including Coms.H.Beka and Amal Ghosh Dastidar as Joint Secretaries.

Bihar : A meeting of representatives of CITU unions in Bihar was held on July 27, 1970 at Patna. The meeting elected a Committee with Com.Chandi Prasad as the Convener. It was decided that the office of the Committee should be at Ranchi.

Goa : Representatives of 9 unions in Goa State was held at Vasco da Gama on July 19-20, 1970 and unanimously decided to function the former State Committee of AITUC as the State Committee of CITU. It was further decided that Com.Gerald Pereira should continue to function as General Secretary of the Goa State Trade Union Council.

U.P. : Former U.P.State Committee of AITUC decided to function as the State Unit of CITU.

Karnataka : The Karnataka State Committee of AITUC decided to function as the Karnataka State Committee of CITU. Some new comrades were also co-opted in the Committee to provide representation to certain centres which remain unrepresented. Com.Suryanarayana.Rao, who is in prison was elected as the General Secretary.

Tripura : A Committee has been formed with Com.Biren Dutta as Secretary to co-ordinate the activities in the State.

Delhi : A meeting of representatives of Delhi unions was held and decided to form a co-ordination Committee of 7 persons with Coms. Nagarajan and Sri Ram as Joint convenors.

Most of the State Committees have established offices the addresses of which are as follows :

Addresses of C I T U State Committees.

1. Convener,  
Punjab State Organising  
Committee of CITU,  
Shri Bathan Singh Trust  
Building,  
G.T.Road,  
Jullundur City (Punjab)
2. General Secretary,  
West Bengal State Committee  
of CITU,  
249, Bepin Behari Ganguli  
Street,  
Calcutta-12.
3. Joint Secretary,  
Assam State Organising Committee  
of CITU,  
Dr.J.C.Das Road,  
Gauhati-1 ( Assam )
4. General Secretary,  
Goa State Trade Union  
Council of CITU,  
P.C.B.No.90,  
Vasco da gama,  
Goa.
5. General Secretary,  
Kerala State Committee of  
CITU,  
Palayam,  
Trivandrum.
6. Convener,  
Rajasthan State Committee  
of CITU,  
Bathroi, Ajmer Road,  
Jaipur.
7. Secretary,  
Tamilnadu State ad-hoc  
Committee of CITU,  
Room No.17,  
Old Legislature Hostel,  
Mount Road,  
Madras-2.
8. Convener,  
Andhra Pradesh Committee of  
CITU,  
27-14-18, Rajagopalachari  
Street,  
Vijayawada-2.
9. General Secretary,  
U.P.State Committee of CITU,  
47,Naveen Market,  
Kanpur ( U.P)
10. General Secretary,  
Karnatak State Committee of  
CITU,  
K.V.Temple Street,  
Sultanpet,  
Bangalore - 2 A
11. Joint Secretary,  
Maharashtra State ad-hoc  
Committee of CITU,  
Janashakti,  
Globe Mill Passage,  
Worli,  
Bombay-13.
12. Convener,  
Bihar State Co-ordination  
Committee of CITU,  
Birsa Chowk,  
Hince,  
Ranchi. ( Bihar )
13. Secretary,  
Tripura Committee of CITU,  
Agartala,  
Battala,  
Tripura.

Following the decision of the General Council to hold the State Conferences before the end of December, 1970, various State Committees have already fixed up their conferences and informed the CITU Centre accordingly. The following is the programme of the State Conferences as fixed by the respective State Committees.

Programme of the State Conferences fixed by the State Committees.

<u>State</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Venue</u>
1. Goa	October 17,18	Vasco da gama
2. Maharashtra ✓	November 19,20,21	Bombay
3. Tamilnadu ✓	December 18,19,20	Madurai
4. Bihar ✓	December 12,13	Fanchi
5. Andhra ✓	December 12,13	..
6. Rajasthan ✓	October 17,18	Kotah
7. Karnataka	Last week of November	..
8. Assam ✓	During December	..
9. Punjab ✓	December 12,13	Batala
10. U.P. ✓	November 28 add 29	Saharanpur

In Kerala the State Conference was held just on the eve of the All-India Trade Union Conference it has been decided by the State Committee not to hold the Conference this year.

The West Bengal State Committee had decided to hold a State Conference in Asansol-Durgapur-Raniganj belt of Burdwan District in November next. However due to subsequent developments in the region and overall situation in the State it was decided by the meeting of the Working Committee of West Bengal State Committee to postpone the proposed conference for the time.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting, Jaipur

Oct.2-4 , 1970

RESOLUTION PASSED ON OCT.2nd, 1970

ON MURDERS OF T.U. LEADERS IN W.BENGAL

This meeting of the Working Committee of the C.I.T.U. expresses its deep sense of indignation at and denounces the murder of Trade Union leaders who were killed at the hands of Naxalites and other anti-social elements in West Bengal, helped by the police and some other political parties both directly and indirectly.

Com.A.B.Roy and important union functionary of Heavy Engineering Corporation Employees Union, Durgapur was killed by the CPI men in presence of CRP on 13th August, 1970 when the workers of the entire Durgapur Industrial belt were carrying on their heroic struggle through continuous strike from 12th August. This murder was part of the strike breaking activity resorted to by CPI men. After Com.A.B. Roy was killed, both CPI and police came out with a story that he was killed due to bursting of a bomb which he himself was carrying when no burn injury mark was found in his body at the time of post-mortem. Com.B.N.Prasad, Council Member of Hindustan Steel Employees Union, Durgapur was killed on 29th July, 1970 at the hands of anti-social elements.

Comrade Ramchandra Rai, Secretary of Belur branch and Central Executive Committee Member of Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union was killed while he was travelling in a public bus on his way to police station to report about the activities of Naxalites and anti-social elements. No action was taken against the miscreants, widely known in the area and also by police for their anti-social activities.

Comrade Bibek Panja an old trade union leader of Budge-Budge 24 parganas and Ananta Dutta, Vice-President of the HMV Employees Welfare Association and a pivotal figure of trade union struggle in Dum Dum area were also killed by the same elements.

The Naxalites and anti-social elements even did not spare Comrade Jiban Maity, aged about 70, an old revolutionary who organised trade union movement in Howrah in the last thirties and early forties. Comrade Jiban Maity was returning home at about 1 P.M. for food when he was attacked by the Naxalites with dagger and knife sustaining heavy injuries and was sent to Hospital where after a few days he succumbed to death.

Comrade Bijan Saha, leader of Orient General Industries Employees, Baranagar, Com.Subodh Das, Treasurer of Dunbar Cotton Mills Workers Union, Garulia, Com.Ramadhar Jadav, Vice-President, Ashok Glass Workers Union, Com.Jeevananda, leader of jute workers, Ludlow Jute mill, Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union, were all killed by the Naxalites and anti-social elements in similar tragic manner.

Com.Deepak Mazumdar, leader of the Teachers movement in Titagarh Com.Suhendu Das, a teacher and connected with teachers movement, Com. Sukharanjan Saha, Secretary, Hosiery Workers Union and Com.Raghu Mallick and important union functionary of Amrit Nagar Colliery were also killed at the hands of Naxalites and anti-social elements.

The meeting notes that similar murders also took place at Bihar and Maharashtra. In Maharashtra the Shiv Sena elements aided by the Government and the employers perpetrated such attacks in their avowed attempt to crush T.U.movement by eliminating established and effective leaders of the working class movement.

This meeting pays its homage to these martyrs who gave their lives for trade union struggle and conveys its condolences to the bereaved families.

This meeting takes a serious view of these violent attacks perpetrated with political motives to crush trade union movements and calls upon the working class to be more vigilant and alert in order to foil the game of the murderers to subserve vested interests and to take effective measure to safeguard the interests of the trade union movement.

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting

Jaipur

Oct.2 - 4 , 1970

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RESOLUTION PASSED ON Oct.2nd,1970

ON THE DEATH OF NASSER

The Working Committee of the C.I.T.U. expresses its sense of profound grief over the premature death of President Gamel Nasser, the outstanding leader of the Arab Peoples. President Nasser played the foremost role in uniting the Arab Peoples in the struggle against Imperialism. The Nationalisation of the Suez Canal, standing upto the Anglo-French invasion of the U.A.R. following this courageous act of Nationalisation, the united struggle of all the Arab Peoples and Governments against the machinations of the U.S.Imperialists through Isreal, his role in the Conference of non-aligned Countries in support of the peoples struggling for National Freedom - all these will go down in history as outstanding contributions in the struggle against Imperialism.

The Working Committee pays its homage to the memory of this courageous anti-imperialist leader and is confident that the people of the UAR and other Arab countries will unite more solidly and carry forward the struggle against Isreali aggression and imperialist machinations.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting , Jaipur

October 2 - 4 , 1970

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RESOLUTIONS PASSED ON OCT.3rd,1970

ON PALTRY INTERIM RELIEF TO CENTRAL  
GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.

The Working Committee of the CITU condemns the Central Government for accepting the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission of a paltry sum of Rs.15 to 45 to the Central Government employees as interim relief.

The Pay Commission, despite its findings that the real wages of the Central Government employees have eroded more than that of the Industrial employees, failed to award adequate relief to fill the gap. The adverse effect of the recommendations will be especially felt by the lower salary groups who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Central Government employees. Although even the Gajendra Gadkar Commission had recommended the appointment of a Pay Commission for revising the salaries from the beginning of 1969, the Central Government had decided to give effect to even this paltry interim relief from March 1970 only. Thus the Government has deprived the workers of hundreds of rupees which they were entitled to get as a matter of right.

In awarding this nominal rise in interim relief the Third Pay Commission has point blank rejected the norms laid down by the Fifteenth Indian Labour Conference. This has once again proved that the Wage Boards and pay commissions have become handy weapons in the armory of the employers to impose wage freeze on the workers.

The CITU denounces the role of State Governments who opposed granting of any higher interim relief to avoid making similar concessions to their own employees.

The CITU fully supports the demand of Rs.70/- for the lowest paid employees raised by the Confederation of Central Government employees. The Confederation has rightly rejected this ridiculously low interim relief and called upon the Central Government employees for a phased programme of action to win a higher rate of interim relief.

The Working Committee calls upon the CITU unions to mobilise the support of all sections of workers in support of the demand of higher interim relief than granted by the Pay Commission.

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GREETINGS TO PEOPLE'S CHINA

The Working Committee of the CITU sends its warmest greetings to the Government and the people of People's Republic of China on the occasion of the 21st Anniversary of the Great Chinese Revolution.

People's China during the last two decades has played an important role in the struggle against imperialist machinations in Asia and Africa and foiled the game of U.S. imperialism to subjugate Asian people. The valuable assistance given by the Chinese people to the people of Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the Arab people have immensely helped these peoples in carrying forward their struggle against foreign aggression and with more firmness and determination.

The recent victories won by the People's Republic of China in space and nuclear research have been possible mainly because of spectacular achievements in Socialist construction. These have further brought confidence in the people of backward countries that they could also advance by establishing Socialism in their Country.

The CITU conveys its revolutionary greetings to the workers of People's Republic of China and wishes them further success in Socialist construction and advance.

The CITU is confident that relations between India and China would improve and both the Countries would be able to come together in common struggle against U.S. Imperialism.

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#### ON KERALA ELECTION

The Working Committee of the CITU congratulates the working class and toiling people of Kerala, who have massively voted for the United Front of the Parties who have consistently fought for their interests and returned 45 of their candidates to the Assembly. Despite the fact that the total votes polled by this United Front has increased by 9 lakhs - from 21 to 30 lakhs in this Election as compared to the General elections of 1967, and the total votes polled by the mini front, congress combine has decreased from 33 lakhs to 31 lakhs, it is a fact that this strength has not been reflected in the Assembly due to the system of elections and the mini-front congress combine has succeeded in getting a majority in the Assembly - 69 out of 133 seats.

This electoral majority of the mini front - congress combine became possible only because of the complete betrayal of the masses by the Right Communist Party. The Government that is now being installed is completely at the mercy of the congress party, which will be the real masters of the Government through back-seat driving.

Already, the Working people of Kerala had tasted the repression that the mini-front Government had let loose on agricultural labours and Industrial working class whenever they went on struggle. In fact the massive increase in the votes polled by the United Front of Democratic Parties became possible precisely because of the innumerable struggles of the agricultural workers and working class facing severe repression of both the local Government police and that the CRP.

It is clear that the mini-front Government, which is completely at the mercy of the Ruling Congress, will in the coming days with resort to more severe repressive measures to suppress the mass movement.

The C.I.T.U. is confident that the Working class of Kerala will carry forward the mass struggle with still greater determination, win over the democratic sections of the people who have been temporarily misled by the mini-front -congress combine, forge greater unity and overcome this temporary set-back in the electoral battle, The CITU pledges that it will give its fullest support to all the struggles of the toiling masses of Kerala.

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### ON INCREASING USE OF ANTI - WORKING CLASS

#### LEGISLATIONS

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The Working Committee of CITU expresses its serious concern at the increasing use of draconian legislation and blatantly illegal practices pursued by the Congress Government at the Centre and by several State Governments to suppress the strike struggles of the workers.

Under the Presidential rule in West Bengal, the Essential Services Maintenance Act was invoked against the united strike struggle of Post and Dock workers. During the 14th July General strike army was used to run the telephone Exchange in Calcutta.

The Rajasthan Government in a similar fashion resorted to the use of Essential Services Act to suppress the strike of State Government employees and teachers. In Maharashtra, the Government also took refuge under this Act to crush the strike of State Govt. employees. Strikes of employees in IAC, U.P. and Tamilnadu Electricity workers and D.V.C. employees in West Bengal were declared illegal under this Act by the State Governments.

The Government of Tamilnadu has used convicted prisoners as blacklegs during the strike of Madras Dairy Farm workers in clear violation of even ILO Convention. In the N.F.Rly. workers strike, the territorial Army was used to run the trains and the strike declared illegal under the Essential Services Ordinance.

The reckless use of CISF, CRP, Border Security Force, Home Guards as well as imposition of curfew and Section 144 have become a routine affairs during industrial disputes.

The Working Committee of the CITU strongly denounces these ruthless measures of suppressing trade union struggles which only underline the seriousness of the threat to the trade union and democratic movement.

The CITU congratulates the workers who heroically fought back these atrocious measures and carried forward their struggle in a determined manner.

The CITU demands that all these repressive measures should be withdrawn immediately and calls upon the workers to resist unitedly this onslaught on their right to organise.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting, Jaipur

October 2 - 4, 1970

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RESOLUTIONS PASSED ON OCTOBER 3, 1970.

ON THE DEMANDS OF THE SUGAR FACTORY

WORKERS

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The Working Committee of the CITU views with grave concern the continuance of the wages and other service conditions fixed as early as in 1960, in the Sugar Industry in the Country.

All the Central Trade Union Organisations including a section of the INTUC at their joint meeting held in Delhi passed a unanimous resolution rejecting the recommendations of the Second Wage Board as absolutely unrelated to the long standing needs of the workers and demanded that the Government should call the meeting of representatives of the employers and of the employees at the All-India level for bi-partite negotiations on the basic demands of the workers. The All-India Trade Union Conference at its session held in Calcutta also rejected the Wage Board Recommendation.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU condemns the Government of India for having accepted the recommendations ignoring the almost unanimous rejection of them by the workers.

This Committee wishes to draw the attention of the workers that at the Tripartite meeting convened by the Union Labour Minister in response to the demand of the Joint meeting of the Central Trade Unions referred to earlier, the representatives of the AITUC and of others went back on their earlier unanimous resolution and declared themselves in favour of accepting the Wage Board Recommendations, under the facade of it being subject to the Government giving moral support to the demand for payment of retaining allowance to the unskilled workers. This meeting wishes to go on record that it is this gross betrayal of the workers by the leaders of the AITUC and others, that emboldened the Government to favour the employers, and accept the Wage Board Recommendations, to pave the way for forcing them on the fighting workers.

The meeting while denouncing this treachery, calls upon the entire Sugar Factory workers to unite, irrespective of their affiliation and initiate mass united actions to defeat this betrayal and secure their just basic demands.

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RESOLUTION ON THE REPRESSION ON RAJASTHAN WORKERS

The Working Committee of CITU greets the working class of Rajasthan which is putting up a strong resistance against large scale police repression and mass scale victimisation.

The Working Committee is shocked to learn that more than 900 workers have been involved in various police cases under Section 10 , 151, 144 & 307 of I.P.C. for their participation in various Trade Union struggles in various centres of Rajasthan. The indiscriminate use of armed police to protect the employers and suppress the workers have become a matter of common occurrence in all recent industrial disputes. These measures have emboldened the employers to resort to large scale victimisation of Trade Union functionaries. Special mention may be made of suspension and dismissal of more than 100 workers in Jaipur Spinning & Weaving Mills, 50 in J.K.Synthetics, Kota and 50 in Gopal Industries, Kota., The State Government has used Preventive Detention Act & Essential Services Maintenance Act to suppress workers in several struggles.

The Working Committee strongly condemns these repressive measures of the Rajasthan Government and demands their immediate reversal. It demands withdrawal of all police cases against workers and union leaders.

The Working Committee of CITU congratulates the workers of Jaipur for organising one day strike on 8th September, 1970 in all Industrial Establishments and raising powerful voice against these repressive measures, and further assures full support to the workers & employees in Rajasthan in their resistance to the repressive measures of the Sukhadia Government.

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C E N T R E O F I N D I A N T R A D E U N I O N S

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Receipts & Payments Account for the period  
1st June 1970 to 20th Sep.1970

( Calculated to the nearest Rupee )

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RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
To	Rs.P.	By	Rs.P.
Affiliation Fees Received from Unions .....	72,473	State Committee share of Affiliation " Fees paid ( ...A)	1,484
		" Establishment charges	435
To Sale of CITU Flags	666	" Repairs & Renovation of CITU Office	2,388
		****	500
		" Electric wiring of CITU office	820
		" Furnitures & Fixtures	2,117
		" Cost of telephone installation	500
		" Library	222
		" Postage & telegrams	317
		" Printing & Stationary Charges general	783
		" including conveyance	214
		" Bank charge	10
		" Electricity charges	12
		" Balance being excess of Receipts over payments: In Bank Rs. 63,129-00 cash on hand _ 208-00	63,337
Total			73,139
	73,139		73,139

- Notes: (A) Paid to Tamilnadu State Committee  
 (b) Rent for CITU premises at 172, Lenin Sarani Rs.235 per month from August 1970 has not yet been paid.  
 (c) A sum of approximately Rs.16,348 is payable to State Committees being their share of affiliation fee out of balance Rs.63,337 shown above  
 (d) A cheque dated 1st October 1970 for Rs.30,000 has been received from West Bengal Committee of CITU which is not included in the receipt.  
 ( \*\*\*\* Theft in the office during the time of renovation )

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Executive Committee Meeting  
Jaipur, October 2 - 4, 1970.

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DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE  
CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS.

Name

1. The name of the organisation shall be CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS (to be designated in abbreviated form as the CITU.)

2. The flag of the CITU will be red in colour with hammer and sickle in Centre in white colour, with the letters CITU in the corner.

Aims and Objects

3.

(A) The CITU believes that the exploitation of the working class can be ended only by socialising all means of production, distribution and exchange and establishing a Socialist State. Holding fast to the ideal of socialism, the CITU stands for the complete emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation.

(B) The CITU fights :

(a) against all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and for enlargement of their rights and liberties including the right to strike, for winning, defending and extending the freedom of the democratic and trade union movements ,

(b) for the recognition of trade unions on the basis of secret ballot ,

(c) for the progressive improvement of wages, for reduction of working hours , for provision of decent housing and improvement of the living conditions of the workers,

(d) for security of full employment, right to work and against the hazards of unemployment ,

(e) for full and adequate social security legislation to protect the workers and their families against sickness, accident and old age, providing adequate maternity insurance and pensions for widowed mothers and dependent children, and every other type of social security , for effective control of the worker subscribers over the Provident Fund and ESI Corporations ,

(f) Equal wages for equal work ,

(g) for the abolition of discrimination based on caste like untouchability, on sex, and religion, in relation to employment, wages promotion,

(h) for the protection of the democratic rights of the minorities,

(i) for formation through election of committee in factories, workshops, business houses and other places where collective work is performed, with a view to control conditions of work in these places,

(j) for proper vocational training,

(k) for elimination of illiteracy,

(l) for helping workers organise unions where none exists, for rallying the workers in a single union by uniting the rival unions in one industry.

(C) (a) In the fight for the immediate interests of the working class the CITU demands nationalisation of all foreign monopoly concerns who barbarously exploit our working class (2) demands nationalisation of all concerns owned by Indian monopolists and big industry who garner huge profits at the expense of the workers, who exploit the people by pegging prices at high level and who dictate the anti-labour and anti-people policies of the Government.

(b) The CITU fights against the repressive policy of the Government towards the democratic and trade union movements; it fights against its economic policy of safeguarding the interests of capitalists and landlords and piling burdens on the common man and the working class, through increasing taxation and inflation. It fights for replacing the present bourgeois-landlord regime by a democratic regime of the people.

(D). I(a) For this purpose the CITU will seek the help of other democratic forces and organisations in the common fight to replace the present bourgeois-landlord regime by a democratic regime of the people,

(b) the CITU will raise its voice against the growing dependence of our economy on American and other foreign monopoly capital and piling up of foreign debts which is leading to severe exploitation of the working class and creating a dangerous situation for national freedom.

2. Promote relations of solidarity with the peasants and agricultural workers in the fight for land, against usury and rent, and high taxation and lend every help to the forces of agrarian revolution, to support in full the struggle of the agricultural workers for higher wages and decent conditions. The CITU believes that no lasting improvement in the economic conditions of the working class is possible without a complete liquidation of the feudal land relationship, ending the land monopoly of the big

landlords.

3. Promote international solidarity and unity with the workers of other countries in the common fight for socialism, promote fraternal relations and deep bonds of unity with workers and peoples of socialist countries.

4. Help all peoples in their fight against imperialist domination and aggression and render all assistance to national liberation movements against ~~the~~ imperialism.

5. Fight for the maintenance of World peace, against all imperialist plots for unleashing world war, against nuclear war and for the abolition of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

6. For peaceful co-existence between States belonging to different social systems.

7. For a foreign policy based on friendly relations with neighbouring countries, opposing war and supporting peace and national liberation movements,

8. Co-operate with international trade union organisations for the furtherance of the common aims of the trade union movement.

9. It firmly adheres to the position that no social transformation can be brought about without class struggle and shall constantly repel attempts to take the working class along the path of class collaboration.

#### Democratic Functioning

- 4.
- (a) To achieve its purpose, the CITU will constantly endeavour to build united activity with other central organisations and of unions and organisations affiliated and not affiliated, in the struggle for common objectives.
  - (b) The CITU considers that the democratic functioning of the organisation at all levels, and of its constituents is essential to achieve its objectives.
  - (c) The democratic functioning of the organisation requires strict adherence to the provisions of the Constitution regarding periodic meetings of CITU bodies, to the discharge of the obligations of their responsibilities and the collective functioning of the various bodies under the Constitution.
  - (d) The minorities in the CITU bodies, should have the right of free expression, wherever any minority group or individual demands, election to the CITU bodies should be held on the basis of proportional representation.

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

(f) The State Committee of the CITU will ensure that the Constituent unions function democratically, according to their constitution and take up all complaints about non-democratic functioning with the parties concerned.

(g) The decisions of the bodies of the CITU shall be taken by a simple majority. A two-thirds majority will be required if the issue concerns amendment of the Constitution or the establishment ~~of~~ or modification of its programme. Normally, elections to the bodies of the CITU will be held on the basis of cumulative voting.

#### Composition of the CITU

5. The CITU shall consist of
- (i) the affiliated unions,
  - (ii) the delegates assembled at the biennial or special session of the CITU Conference,
  - (iii) The General Council,
  - (iv) The Working Committee of the General Council, and
  - (v) The State Conferences, the State Committee and State Councils.

#### The CITU Conference

6. (1) The General Session will meet once in every two years. The session will be called the CITU Conference. It is the highest organ of authority in the CITU and all bodies of the CITU derive their authority from it.
- (2) The Conference will consist of the delegates elected by the constituent unions in accordance with the rules under the Constitution and the office bearers of the CITU will have the same status as the elected delegates.
- (3) The functions and powers of the CITU Conference are as follows :
- (a) Adopting the programme and the general policy of the CITU, making such changes in them as are considered necessary in the interests of the working class ,
  - (b) Discussion and adoption of the report presented by the General Secretary, discussion and adoption of such other reports that may be presented by the General Council on the questions on the agenda.

- (c) Examination and discussion of questions put to the Conference by constituent State Committees and Constituent unions,
- (d) Pass resolutions on current questions affecting the working class,
- (e) Take decisions on affiliations of unions, on disaffiliation and other type of disciplinary actions.
- (f) Election of the General Council,
- (g) Election of the Office Bearers,
- (h) The Conference will fix its own agenda,
- (i) It will modify or amend the present Constitution,
- (j) It will elect the General Council according to the rules prescribed.
- (k) It will pass the audited Statement of Accounts.
- (l) It will take any other decision consistent with the programme and the Constitution of the CITU.

#### Special Session

7. A special Session of the CITU Conference in between ~~two~~ biennial sessions may be called by the General Council or on a requisition from unions representing one-fourth of the total strength of the membership of the CITU.

#### Election of Delegates to CITU Session.

8. (a) For the General or the Special Session of the CITU the affiliated unions shall be entitled to elect delegates on the following basis :

One delegate for each union having a membership of 300 or less, and one additional delegate for every additional 300 members, consists of 150 or more members.

For part  
thereof if  
it

(b) To ascertain the number of delegates which an affiliated union is entitled to send to the CITU the basis shall be the number of paying members existing on the register of the union, as disclosed in the balance sheet of the union, for the calendar year prior to the session of the CITU, duly certified by the auditor.

(c) An affiliated union shall furnish to the General Secretary of the CITU the names and addresses of the delegates two weeks before the date fixed for the session of the CITU.

(d) Delegates' cards will be issued on production of a certificate of election by the Secretary of the union concerned and on payment of a delegation fee of Rs.2/- per delegate

(e) No person who is not an office-bearer or a paying member or an honorary member of the affiliated union, shall be entitled to be elected as a delegate to the CITU.

(f) Proposals from the constituent unions for the agenda of the General Session of the CITU must be signed by the President or the Secretary of the Union sending them and must reach the General Secretary of the CITU at least two weeks before the time fixed for the meeting of the CITU.

(g) At the session of the CITU, the official business shall be given priority over other business.

#### The General Council

9. (A) The General Council shall consist of :

- i) The President,
- ii) Five Vice-Presidents,
- iii) The General Secretary,
- iv) The Treasurer,
- v) Three Secretaries, and
- vi) Other members elected by the General Session of the CITU on the basis of -

a) One representative for every 5,000 members or part thereof exceeding 2500, election through cumulative voting.

b) Delegates alone shall be eligible for election to the General Council. Election of members of the General Council shall be made during the General Session of the CITU by the delegates present at the Session.

c) Casual vacancies shall be filled at a meeting of the General Council from the State where vacancies have occurred.

d) The representatives elected by the CITU on the General Council, in the manner, prescribed in this Constitution, may co-opt members on the Council, not necessarily connected with any trade union movement and whose presence in the Council may be considered essential in the interest of the movement. The numbers of such co-opted members shall not be more than ten.

e) The General Council shall meet at least once a year.

f) On a requisition from the members representing one-fourth of the total strength of the General Council, the General Secretary, shall, in consultation with the President, call a special meeting of the General Council within four weeks of the receipt of the requisition, for the purpose of transacting the business mentioned in the requisition.

(B)

Powers and Responsibilities of the  
General Council.

- a) The General Council following its election by the Conference, elects the Working Committee. The General Council is the highest authority between two sessions of the CITU.
- b) The General Council will implement ~~the~~ the policies and resolutions of the Conference, will review the situation in the trade union movement from time to time and take all necessary steps to further the policies of the organisation, to defend the interests of the working ~~and~~ class and unify its ranks.
- c) It will examine and discuss reports presented by the General Secretary and other office bearers on behalf of the Working Committee and take appropriate decisions, it will examine whether all CITU Bodies are functioning democratically according to the Constitution and take appropriate steps to remedy weaknesses.
- d) It will set up work plans for CITU committees to expand trade union work, bring fresh workers within the organisation and help the workers to build united unions and unity in the trade union movement.
- e) It will co-ordinate the activities of the affiliated unions all over India, endeavour to develop common actions, it will render help and guidance to ~~working~~ ~~and~~ class strikes, conducted by affiliated or non-affiliated unions, develop solidarity actions among workers of different industries and States and among workers and employees.
- f) It will approve the Statement of Accounts submitted by the Treasurer.
- g) It will take urgent steps in the interest of the movement wherever necessary.
- h) It will affiliate new unions and has the right to dis-affiliate defaulting unions according to the rules of the Constitution.
- i) The General Council ~~will~~ will popularise the objectives of the CITU. It will take concrete decisions to fight against the anti-labour and anti-people policies of the ruling classes and Government.
- j) The General Council fixes the date and venue of the biennial session of the CITU Conference or authorise the Working Committee ~~or the~~ Secretariat to fix the date and venue of the session and convene it.
- k) The General Council has the right to call a special session in between two sessions of the Conference.
- l) The General Council can fill the vacancy of an office-bearer whenever ~~it~~ it arises,

- m) It can amend the Constitution in case of emergency.

### The Working Committee

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10. The Working Committee of the General Council will consist of :

- (1) (a) all office-bearers of the CITU, and not more than thirty-five members elected by the General Council by a system of cumulative voting subject to para (d) section 4.
- (2) The Working Committee shall meet at least twice a year.
- (3) In between two sessions of the General Council, the Working Committee will act on behalf of Council, exercise its authority, except in relation to the amendment of the Constitution, and discharge all its responsibilities.
- (4) The decisions of the Working Committee will have to be placed for endorsement before the next session of the General Council.
- (5) On a requisition from the unions representing one-fourth of the total membership of the CITU, the Working Committee shall take steps to call a special session of the CITU within two months of the receipt of the requisition for purpose of transacting the business mentioned in the requisition.

### Office Bearers of the CITU

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II. 1) (a) The office-bearers of the CITU shall consist of :

- |                           |                        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) a President,          | (4) a Treasurer, and   |
| (2) a General Secretary,  | (5) three Secretaries. |
| (3) five Vice-presidents, |                        |

(b) The office-bearers shall be elected by the biennial session of the Conference, after having received nominations duly proposed and recommended by one or more delegates. Nominees must be persons who are elected delegates at the Session, or retiring office-bearers.

2) (a) The President shall preside over the meetings of the General Council and the Working Committee. The out-going President shall preside at the General Session and any session that may be held during his term of office.

(b) The President along with the General Secretary and the Secretariat bears the responsibility of executing the decisions of the Executive Committee, and the General Council, maintain close contacts with the State units, to ensure collective functioning at all levels, to popularise CITU policies and explain these in relation to current issues.

3) A Vice-President shall preside over the meetings of

the General Council or the Working Committee in the absence of the President. All the Vice-Presidents will act as members of Presidium during the General and Special Sessions of the CITU to assist the President in conducting the deliberations.

to be

4) The General Secretary is responsible for the activities of the CITU in between two Sessions of the Working Committee. He in consultation with the President and the Secretaries may take urgent decisions to further the work of the organisation. Such decisions are endorsed by the Working Committee or the General Council whichever meets earlier.

5) The General Secretary shall present to the CITU Conference a report of the work done by the General Council and Working Committee during the period between two Sessions. It should also contain a report on the activities of the State Units. It should specifically report on the collective and democratic functioning of the organisation at all levels and detail out steps to be taken to develop the organic unity of the organisation. Besides, it should deal with current problems of vital interest to the movement, and suggestions to meet them in full conformity with the policies and programme of the Constitution. The General Secretary or the Secretariat will also submit reports of work to the periodical meetings of the Working Committee and the General Council.

6) The Treasurer is responsible for the maintenance of proper accounts of all the fund of the CITU and keeping them in safe custody. He shall ensure that the CITU funds are spent in accordance with the decisions of the Working Committee and as per the direction of the General Secretary, or the Secretariat. He shall get the accounts audited every year and submit them before the Working Committee and the General Council for approval, He will also present a statement of accounts and balance sheet duly certified by auditors to the Conference of the CITU.

7) The three Secretaries shall assist General Secretary in carrying out his responsibilities.

8) The President, the General Secretary, all the Secretaries and the office-bearers, constitute the Secretariat of the CITU.

9) In case of emergency, or when either the General Council and Working Committee cannot be convened, decision on important questions may be taken by circular to the members to Working Committee.

#### Notice for Meetings.

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12. I. (a) Notice of (the time, place and agenda) meetings of the Working Committee, the General Council and the biennial or special session of CITU shall be issued by the General Secretary and in his absence by one of the Secretaries.

(b) For the meeting of the Working Committee and the General Council, atleast 15 days' notice shall be given and for the Session of the CITU Conference, at least one month's notice shall

shall be given.

- (c) Full two months' notice is necessary for changes in the Constitution and programme of the CITU.
  - (d) Emergency meeting of the Working Committee can be called by giving a notice of 7 days.
  - (e) These provisions apply in relation to the meetings of the State Conference, and State Committees. The Secretary of the State Committee will issue the required notices.
2. The quorum at the Session of the CITU Conference and at the meeting of the General Council, the Working Committee, the State Conferences, State Committees and Councils, shall be one-third of the members of the delegates or members of the respective bodies.

State Committees.  
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13.

- (a) The State Committees and State Councils (wherever they exist) of the CITU constitute a vital link between the CITU central bodies and the activities of the constituent unions.
- (b) The State Committees and Councils are directly responsible for guiding the constituent unions and their activities in the State in defence of the interests of the working class, implementing the CITU policies and expanding the trade union activities, for rallying workers to build one union in one industry by uniting rival unions.
- (c) The State Committees and Councils have the responsibility of co-ordinating the activities of affiliated unions in the State, working for joint actions with non-affiliated organisations, and keeping the Central Office informed of its activities.
- (d) The State Committees and Councils have the responsibility of propagating the political objectives and policies of the CITU as given in the preamble.
- (e) It is their responsibility to ensure collective and democratic functioning in the State and constituent unions so that close ties are evolved between different unions and between the members and leaders of each union. It is also their responsibility to see that minority opinion is given freedom of expression and proper representation in the elected bodies.
- (f) Corresponding to the CITU Conference, there shall be held every two years a conference of delegates of all the unions in the State affiliated to the CITU. The Conference will elect a State Committee corresponding to the General Council which in its turn will elect a Working Committee. In case the State Conference feels that a Council is not necessary, it may directly elect the State Committee.

/ at least

- (g) The State Conference will elect such office-bearers as it may think fit, apart from a Secretary and a treasurer.
- (h) The State Conference will lay down the basis of representation on the State Council or the State Committee and the number of members for the Committee and the Council.
- (i) The State Conference at its Session will-
- (1) take decisions to implement the policies of the CITU Conference, General Council and Working Committee; ensure the implementation of these policies and report on violation if any, by unions.
  - (2) Discuss and adopt the report of the Secretary.
  - (3) Adopt the statement of accounts submitted by the Treasurer.
  - (4) Discuss immediate issues including the policy of the State Government and take appropriate decisions. It will discuss questions affecting all-India movement, labour legislations and policies of the Government of India, and take decisions and suggest decisions to the General Council.
  - (5) It will take all measures to co-ordinate the activities of constituent unions, develop one union in one industry, and take steps to initiate and guide the struggle of the working class in the State; and develop solidarity actions with workers in other States ;
  - (6) It will recommend unions for affiliation to the General Council in accordance with the rules laid down in the Constitution ; it will also recommend the disaffiliation of unions to the General Council on the grounds enumerated in the Constitution.
  - (7) It will amend its own Constitution by 2/3rd majority , consistent with the principles and Constitution of the CITU; it will suggest amendment to the CITU Constitution by simple majority.
  - (8) It will actively popularise the political objectives of the CITU and take decisions for appropriate political action where necessary. In particular it will make special endeavours to build close ties between the organisation and kisan organisations and support the struggle of the poor peasants and agricultural workers for land and decent wages.

(j) In between two sessions of the State Conference the State Council will function as the leading body in the State and fulfil all the responsibilities and all the powers of the State Conference except in relation to the amendment of the Constitution of the State Committee.

(k) The State Committee will function between two sessions of the State Council and discharge all its responsibility and have all its powers.

(l) The State Committee will meet at least once in two months and the Council once in four months.

(m) The State Committee will consider all applications for affiliation from the State and forward them to the CITU office with its recommendations. Such application shall be forwarded by the State Committee to the General Secretary within a period of two months from its receipt by the Committee.

#### Affiliation of Unions.

14.a) The CITU may affiliate to itself any bonafide trade union which satisfies the following conditions :

i) The trade union seeking affiliation shall make an application in a prescribed form ;

ii) It shall pay every year affiliation fee and special levies as provided in these rules ;

iii) It shall send a copy of its Constitution, a list of office-bearers, a copy of the Statement of Accounts for the calender year, giving an average paying membership, duly audited by an auditor, and such other information as the General Secretary of the CITU may require ;

iv) The application for affiliation shall be forwarded through the State Committee concerned wherever such a Committee exists, to the General Secretary, CITU. Such applications shall be forwarded by the State Committee to the General Secretary within a period of two months from its receipt by the Committee, with its remarks regarding the eligibility of the union for affiliation, under the constitution of the CITU.

v) The minimum fee which a union desiring affiliation henceforward to the CITU shall charge its members, shall not be less than three rupees per year, to be collected either monthly quarterly, half-yearly or yearly.

b) The Working Committee of the CITU shall have the authority to accept or reject any application for affiliation from a trade union, provided however, that :

an aggrieved union has the right to appeal to the General Council and the General or Special Session of the CITU.

Affiliation Fees.

15. Each Affiliated union shall pay to the CITU :
- (a) An affiliation fee at the rate of ten paise per member per calendar year subject to the minimum of Rs.20/-.
  - (b) Such other levy as may be fixed by the General Council.
  - (c) Out of collection of affiliation fees from unions the State Committee or Council shall be paid at the rate of five paise per worker per year where the amount of affiliation fee paid by the union is over Rs.25/-, where a union pays the affiliation fee of less than Rs.25/- the balance after deducting centres share of Rs.12.50 will be paid to the State Committee or Council.
16. i) The affiliation fee shall be paid by the 30th June each year. The special contribution or levy shall become payable as and when fixed in each case. Non-payment of any contribution or levy that has become due shall disqualify the defaulting union from voting at or participating in the meeting of the CITU or any of its constituent bodies, until the payment is made; provided that the Working Committee may in special cases for reason to be recorded, remove the disqualifications.
- ii) A union, when disqualified for non-payment of affiliation fees or levies may be reaffiliated on payment of the arrears and the current fees.
- iii) In case a union is disqualified, within the meaning of clause (i) for a period of not less than 12 months, the General Secretary may issue a notice to the Union concerned, to make good within three months all the dues at the date of the notice. In case the union fails to pay all such arrears, demanded within the time given, it shall be liable for disaffiliation. The General Council may, for reasons to be specified, waive the whole or part of these arrears in the case of specified unions.

Election of Delegates to National and International Conference.

17. Delegates and advisers to various national and international conference and meetings shall be ordinarily elected at meetings of the General Council or the Working Committee whichever is in session. In case of emergency, or when either the General Council or the Working Committee cannot be convened, decisions may be taken by circular to the members of the Working Committee.

International Affiliation

18. The CITU may be affiliated to such international bodies as have the same or similar objects.

Finance.

19. The funds of the CITU shall be kept in a bank and the Working Committee shall have the power to nominate such persons from among the office-bearers of the CITU, who may be authorised to open and operate such bank accounts.

† one of whom must be the Treasurer

Disciplinary Action

20. (a) The General Council shall have the power to disaffiliate any union which fails to pay its affiliation dues, or levy or which is wilfully working against the interests and the constitution of the C.I.T.U.

(b) The General Council has the power to remove any office-bearer guilty of anti-working class action. It has the right to take similar action against any member of the General Council guilty of the above action.

(c) The State Committee and other bodies have similar rights in relation to their members.

(d) The individuals or unions concerned have the right to appeal to the CITU Conference or the State Conference, against action taken by the General Council or the State Council respectively.

Bye-laws

21. The General Council shall have the power to make bye-laws, not inconsistent with the Constitution.



did it contain a word about the relationship between the trade union movement and the democratic movement, or the peasantry. To placate the earlier reformist groups, who wanted to keep the working class away from all politics, the objectives etc. were framed in a manner which avoided all mention of political struggle; much less did it contain the idea that the trade union struggle is a part of the democratic struggle. American imperialism and its grip was not mentioned; nor the direct struggle against the monopolists. Internationalism, Socialist Camp, fight for peace and against war had of course no place anywhere in the Constitution. Nor for the matter of that of a correct foreign policy, as part of the working class outlook.

In the earlier years after the foundation of the AITUC this was inevitable; the founders themselves were men who shunned political struggle of the working class; some of them were opposed in principle to workers' participation in the political struggle against British imperialism; they thought this was exploitation of the working class. They were in effect pro-British and opposed strikes. But there were others also who were leaders of the national bourgeoisie who sought influence over the working class through economic struggles. It is significant that the message of the Communist International to AITUC Congress at Lahore in 1920, specially dealt with the need of political struggle for freedom on the part of the workers. The C.I. knew the exact character of the trade union leadership here.

In the earlier years, the economic outlook was to a certain extent inevitable and necessary also. Those were the years, following the end of the First World War, when India's working class was engaged in big strike battles and with the experience gained from them, there emerged the trade unions out of the spontaneous stage of the movement, making the first efforts to build permanent organisations. The dominant consciousness of the workers in these struggles was economic and the tie that could bind the local organisations in a common central organisation could only be economic. Everywhere in the world, where trade union organisations have been formed, when a national or international organisation of trade unions is formed for the first time, the dominant consciousness is one of economic struggle.

But there was another side to it. This was also the period of great national awakening and the mass participation of urban and partly rural population in the anti-imperialist struggle. The British imperialists wanted the advocates of economism to prevent the workers from joining the anti-imperialist struggle and they encouraged them in this. But simultaneously the workers, as common citizens, were getting influenced by the Congress call and participating in hartals, burning of foreign cloth, etc. The trade unions were neutral to these developments. Thus the call for anti-British struggle came from outside the AITUC and most of the trade unions.

Here was thus a hiatus between the trade union movement and the anti-imperialist struggle. The situation began to change slightly with the arrival of the radical nationalists, but more so with the emergence of the Communists as a growing force in the trade union movement. These latter tried to bring in the trade unions in line with the demands of the anti-imperialist struggle; in fact, it tried to seize the initiative and make the trade unions an advanced guard, in the anti-imperialist movement. The mighty strikes against the Simon Commission, in 1927, against the 2nd imperialist war, etc. several political protest strikes were organised under its leadership by individual unions. A split also took place in the central organisation on these issues of fight against the British. But with all this, the united AITUC returned to the old days. In the name of unity, a concept divorced from the direct relationship

with the anti-imperialist struggle came to rule the trade union movement. The politics of the AITUC was agreed politics -- that which was acceptable to the most moderate group and N.M. Joshi.

Except for a brief period, this was the situation till the end of the British rule. The AITUC remained an organisation with only an economic role. Individual unions often went ahead; but the Central organisation's activity was not tied up with the activities of the other democratic forces. Such questions as supporting the agrarian revolution, developing activity for it, were hardly discussed.

After Independence, and after the other parties, the Congress, the P.S.P., etc. had quit the AITUC, this outlook continued. The AITUC leadership became growingly an appendage of the national bourgeoisie, developed opportunism all round, went in for class collaboration and finally joined the camp of the Congress. The old outlook based on economism, the old Constitution, based on it, suited them excellently. Hence there was no basic change, no attempt to relate the trade union struggle to the immediate democratic struggle and the final struggle for socialism. This affected the immediate aim of the trade union movement, the defence of the economic interests of the working class. On the other hand, the working class was subjected to the illusions created by the national bourgeoisie and made to participate in class collaborationist policies. Economism turned out to be bourgeois politics to disrupt the economic struggle of the workers.

In redrafting the Constitution and the aims and objects we have a double task and Comrades must see that the present draft fulfils it. In the first place, we have to formulate our aims and objects keeping before us the advance in the working class consciousness that has taken place in recent years. We have similarly to declare our objectives in a manner which enables our organisers and followers to effect a break with the outlook of economism; they should be made to see that economic struggle itself cannot be successfully carried on within its own framework, and in isolation from the democratic struggles. Simultaneously, we have to frame them in a manner in which our character as a Central organisation of trade unions which are carrying on the daily struggles of the workers is not affected; i.e. we do not repel any militant trade union organisation interested in fighting for the interests of the workers, by advocating partisan politics.

\*\* Addition on page 10.

I think the way in which our aims and objects have been formulated serve both these purposes. So far as the objective of socialism is concerned, it was already there in the old Constitution. Besides Socialism now is advocated by so many parties including the Congress, whatever they mean by it. The INTUC, HMS, UTUC, AITUC - all talk of Socialism and there is therefore no question of this declared aim coming in conflict with the aim of having a broad-base of unions for our organisation.

The fight against foreign monopoly capital, the demand for nationalisation of monopoly capital in the fight to replace the present Government of India also fit in the framework of our two-fold objective. It is true that the fight against foreign capital is not a part of the common consciousness of the working class. The leaders of other organisations, apart from the AITUC, do not even refer to it. But only confirmed anti-Communists will oppose it. Similarly, the inclusion of support to the struggle of the peasantry, though it is not immediate part of the consciousness of the working class, still it will be definitely understood and welcomed. A reformist

leadership of a union cannot make use of this section to oppose its affiliation.

It may be thought that the sections dealing with war, peaceful co-existence, and our foreign policy will create some difficulties. Will the inclusion of these stamp the organisation as an exclusive one in the eyes of uncommitted union leadership? As one, affiliation with whom means accepting something which they have rejected? So far as the revisionists are concerned, their unions will have nothing to complain. Because all these sections are based on what is accepted in the World Federation of Trade Unions. Workers with non-Communist leadership will not find anything in these sections objectionable. The reference to foreign policy only demands that there shall be friendly relations with our neighbours and support to liberation struggles. If it is necessary to drop reference to foreign policy and only demand friendly relations with neighbours, that also may be considered. These sections base themselves on internationalism, on the immediate demands and connect the trade union movement with the immediate struggle against the present regime.

It should be realised that the objectives and policies declared in these sections, we are not making them a matter of discipline. We are not insisting that every constituent union should declare these as its objectives; while we generally ask all unions to popularise these, we are not making failure to popularise a matter of discipline. Only open deliberate violation of the decisions may be made a matter of discipline.

Thus the aims and objects serve as a broad declaration to direct the trade union consciousness into a democratic and socialist channel, and give it a common revolutionary orientation. Any attempt to go beyond this will be harmful.

Comrades have to judge these clauses in this context and see whether they meet the purpose.

It should be noted that mere declaration of the objectives does not immediately change the situation. If they make our union leaders conscious of the way we have to go, and they transmit this consciousness down below then alone our purpose will be achieved.

#### Democratic Functioning

The section on Democratic Functioning is again an entirely new chapter we are introducing in the Constitution. Its importance is obvious. Bureaucratism, lack of democratic functioning - these are the organisational evils on which revisionists and reformists in the trade union movement thrive. That the AITUC leadership, deep down in the mire of revisionism, had at the same time, become completely bureaucratic, defiant of all rule, was no accident. This bureaucratism stifles the growth of the organisation, its initiative, the initiative of the constituent units, and makes it incapable of discharging its obligations as a class and central organisation, as a live link of the movement, as its guiding Centre.

In the AITUC, the evils of bureaucratism had reached their limit with all the organs losing their function and the Dange coterie deciding everything as it liked. Of course, it had at its beck and call a tailor made majority but even this majority was not consulted but used as a rubber stamp.

We are therefore laying down in the Constitution the necessity of democratic functioning of the organisation. By this, we first and foremost mean that the provisions of the Constitution regarding the periodic meetings of the various CITU bodies, the

discharging of their rights and obligations at all levels. This is absolutely essential if the organisation has to function actively instead of a few individuals in its name. The failure to function democratically leads to alienation of constituent units, State Committees and movements and prevents the development of a common outlook, tactics and action on all-India problems. In short, it leads to the disintegration of the organisation as has happened in the case of the AITUC.

The CITU bodies at the Centre has been charged with the responsibility of seeing that the State Committees and other elected bodies function democratically. The State Committees have been enjoined to see that the constituent unions function democratically according to their Constitution. Naturally, any breach by the Central bodies will be criticised by the State bodies or the Constituent unions.

So far as the constituent unions are concerned functioning democratically means for the present functioning according to their Constitution. We do not wish to go beyond this at this stage. We consider it necessary to protect the autonomy of the union and its Constitution and not subject it to the rules as we would like. But this does not give the CITU an opportunity to advise and influence the unions towards a more democratic functioning and Constitution if necessary.

The State Committees and comrades are enjoined to see that through collective and democratic functioning of the unions, close ties are created between the leaders and mass of workers, in the union. As comrades are aware, that this has now become an important problem facing our movement. The absence of democratic functioning in the unions is a serious problem of stifling the initiative of the masses, their active participation in every activity of the union and leaving major initiatives to a few office-bearers.

Our organisation and State Committees will have to gradually set themselves on the job and persuade the union leaders to adopt new methods, to change their Constitution if necessary, at least to observe all the democratic processes laid down in Constitution of their union. Here again, the main role is guiding and advising but a role which has to be fulfilled. To begin with, we may persuade all unions should submit their agreements with the employers for final ratification by the workers and so on. The State Committees and Councils have to play a vital role in rescuing the unions out of their undemocratic past.

This section deals with another problem - the protection of minority views. This is necessary because the organisation will naturally contain persons and leaders of different political views, as it contains today, consistent with the objectives of the organisation. Full expression of views has to be maintained inside the organisation; this means minority criticising the majority; this means opposing particular decisions inside the organisation. Naturally, we do not want to carry this to excess and shatter all discipline, all unity of outlook, unity of action in face of common attacks. A balance has to be struck taking into consideration that the constituents are not individuals but unions some of whom have membership of thousands. If a union leadership criticises, especially its political decisions, this may come within the framework of free expression as the union's rights as an organisation directly connected with the workers also have to be respected. But things might assume a different form if a union decides to go against a strike decision of the organisation supported by thousands of workers and directly or indirectly helps the management.

Similarly, inside each union also there are limits which the minority cannot be allowed to cross. Do we recognise the right of a minority in the union to oppose the call like the Bengal Bundh to protest against imposition of President's Rule from union platform? This is frankly a political question and yet when the majority decides no minority can be given the rights to oppose it from union platform after a decision is duly taken. The union may not take disciplinary action for publicly opposing it, that is a matter of tactics; but it will not recognise the right to oppose it. The same applies with greater force on questions of strike, connected with the demands of the workers. The Union leadership may decide not to pursue the decision even if a small minority opposes it, to maintain unity; but having taken it, it cannot accept the right of minority to oppose strikes, etc. / economic

We have to view all these rights not from an abstract angle but from the angle of the needs of class struggle and unity and effective action in that struggle. Generally, making rules and provisions is not enough. If the outlook is one of keeping the trends and forces in the organisation united, proper protection of minorities will follow. While the organisation must necessarily take decisions by majority, the majority in the interest of unity and struggle must decide what concessions can be made to the minority point of view. It must consider whether in the interest of unity, the decision can be deferred.

The revisionist method of ruling by a bureaucratic majority is disruptive of an organisation like the C.I.T.U. where you expect to meet different political trends and views. Whether it is a decision of the majority, protection offered to minority view-point or concession to it all must subserve the purpose of common action, united action, Anything disruptive of that is to be rejected. Any abstract conception of such rights have to be rejected.

In this connection, comrades should decide whether the provision in the old Constitution that questions of a political nature, those relating to strikes to be declared by the central organisation and relating to the affiliation of the organisation to any international organisation shall be decided by a three-fourth majority, should be preserved. In the present draft, we have deleted it. This specific provision was not introduced when there were people inside the AITUC who were opposed to strikes and who were opposed to political action. It was a sort of veto given to N.M. Joshi and others to keep the AITUC only as a deliberative body, keep it in the rails of economism. It was a method of assuring protection to a specific minority and that too in the wrong way. By this provision, one-fourth of the delegates can always paralyse any political resolution and action and even economic action. A sober and conscious majority will not easily over-ride the opposition of a strong minority, but should it be bound down on all occasions not to have any political decision unless there is a three-fourths majority?

We think that the majority should not be bound down like this. The majority may not take any disciplinary action if one fourth of the members refuse to fall in line, if they express their dissidence openly. But should the majority except a three-fourths majority be always deprived of the right to act on behalf of the organisation because one-fourth of the members of a C.I.T.U. body opposes it?

This provision has no meaning so far as the affiliations to an international organisation is concerned. The fear of the moderates and reformists in those days was that the Communists

might get the organisation affiliated to the RILU, etc. This was another assurance to them that while the Communists and others were willing to accept the fraud of Geneva, they will not press for any international affiliation, to class organisations.

The real thing that matters is a correct proletarian attitude to the political minority opinion. This should ensure proper representation of minority view-points on all CITU bodies so that their participation is real. The minorities some times may have to be given more weightage than their actual strength. And more important than this is the actual functioning, consultation, collective functioning and collective decisions. These latter have been generally mentioned in this section, but they are all equally important in relation to the minorities. No amount of representation to minority opinion will be considered satisfactory if it is not accompanied by actual efforts on the part of the majority to draw the former into collective functioning.

Apart from this we have suggested that though normally elections to the CITU should take place on the basis of cumulative voting, if a delegate concerned with the election demands that election should be held on the basis of: single transferable vote, it should be so held. This will ensure a proper representation to any sizeable minority if it thinks that in cumulative voting, it is not likely to fare well or that the majority is not likely to treat it favourably. This will create certain anomalies because for instance, in the election to the General Council each delegate is not equal to the other. Some represent only 50 or 75 members others, 300. But apart from this, is it correct to introduce this principle at this stage and leave the initiative to a single delegate. It is of course wrong to compulsorily introduce single transferable vote.

Yet I think some such assurance in the Constitution is necessary considering the fact that in the trade unions the reformists and revisionists ride roughshod over minorities opposed to them; in the AITUC it has been like that; and we cannot introduce it at the union level unless a beginning is made here. Besides all of us must consider whether introducing it at the union level will create confusion or not; whether cumulative voting is not enough.

The introduction of single transferable vote when demanded, in elections will no doubt ensure fair participation for political minority in the organisation's bodies. But once again it is the outlook that matters.

In this section, it is laid down that all decisions will be taken by majority, but changes in the Constitution and programme will require a two-thirds majority.

#### State Committees and Councils

An entirely new section on State Committees and Councils to whom a vital role in the organisation is assigned, has been put in the new draft. The departure it involves, and its importance has to be understood properly.

The Constitution of the AITUC did not assign any importance to the State Committees. The main bodies were the Central bodies and the Constituent unions. The State Committees were there by courtesy. They had no jobs and no responsibilities. It is therefore no wonder that conferences of those Committees in many States have not been held for a decade or so.

This was not accidental. The AITUC originally started more as a consultative and deliberative organisation than as a guiding centre. This was inevitable and all Central Trade Union organisations in any country when they first started were consultative. They could not have the authority of centralising the activities of the constituent unions or of enforcing a common discipline or outlook. Even the organisation of the First International was based in the beginning only on communication and consultation.

Common discipline, outlook, authority for guidance developed in the course of struggle, and experience. But in India, in relation to the AITUC, things remained where they were. The original form of a loose organisation of constituent unions was enough for those who did not think of common action, of guidance, and who shunned politics. After the emergence of the Communists, the same form was preserved because of an opportunist concept of unity. And when the Communist Party got control, there was no need to change the previous form, because in the meanwhile, the Party itself was corroded by reformist and revisionist outlook, from within.

If the Central organisation was not <sup>to</sup> function as a guiding centre to struggles, if it was not to co-ordinate and unite these activities of the trade unions, there was no necessity for State Committees, for activity on a State level. That is why the bureaucratic reformist machine of the AITUC did not need functioning State Committees.

But it stands to reason that in our country unless the trade union activities are co-ordinated at the State level, their co-ordination and unification on an all-India level is an impossibility. The large number of unions, their problems, their struggles, the fact that they have to deal with the State Governments, the big struggles conducted locally all make it clear that unification, guidance and co-ordination must begin at the State level, that State Committees must occupy a vital part in our organisation; that without them playing this role our central organisation cannot play its role of an all-India Centre.

That is why the Constitution considers their role vital, puts on them the responsibility of guidance and co-ordination, of democratic functioning in the constituent unions, of struggling for one union in one industry, and organising and uniting the struggles of the working class. It holds it responsible for popularising and implementing the policies of the C.I.T.U. The State Committee is now considered to be the vital link between the Centre and the Constituent unions.

It is at the same time, more directly responsible to the constituent unions through the conference which meets every two years.

The State Conference will consist only of unions affiliated to the C.I.T.U. The affiliation will be decided by the General Council. But all applications must come through the State Committees which will forward them with its own recommendations.

Centralisation is maintained with regard to membership and policies and programme. This is accompanied by the largest possible responsibility to the State Committees to guide the movement. We are an organisation of the working class of India, its common trade union organisation, not an organisation of several State units or peoples. Centralisation of organisations, common class outlook these are essential for us. Without these we cannot fight our battles. In our organisation, it is not this

or that State that leads but the experience of the advanced movement that leads us. Without a Central organisation this experience can neither be transmitted nor a class organisation be forged. The important roles which our State Committees or Centres have to play are not determined by a concept of State autonomy but by the needs of class struggle. We want a centralised organisation for our common class battles and we cannot develop it and have authority for it unless our State Committees are active in organising and leading these battles. That is how matters stand. The fact that we assign so much importance to State Committees does not in the least mean we give up the role of a centralised class organisation.

#### The other provisions

You will find that the old constitution fails to describe at length the authority, the duties and obligations of the Congress and the other bodies. In the present draft, the duties and responsibilities of the General Council and the Working Committee are clearly stated and it is further stated that all bodies derive their authority from the Conference. The vague and amorphous description about responsibilities which placed all authority in the hands of one or two office bearers has been done away with.

Since we want a functioning organisation, we have introduced the Secretariat and made it responsible for implementing the decisions of the CITU bodies; the Secretariat will have to be a functioning body to discharge its own responsibilities. In the old Constitution, the entire responsibility was thrust on the General Secretary alone.

The sections regarding affiliation of unions we have left as they were. It is not provided under this section that a union seeking affiliation should accept the aims and objects of the CITU. The old practice was to seek for a declaration to this effect in the application. It is better to incorporate the acceptance of the programme, etc, in the Constitution - either directly or indirectly by having an appendix with the prescribed form which should lay down this condition.

Regarding affiliation fees, we have kept the old provision which prescribes Rs.20 as the minimum fee. Since there are too many small unions, we should not lower the fees on any account.

As regards the basis of electing delegates for the Conference, we have changed it from 1 delegate for every 200, to one delegate to every 300. This is necessary to reduce the number of delegates to manageable proportions. However, this hardly reduces the number of delegates from the smaller unions; it will only affect the bigger unions. Considering the fact that there are more than 500 small unions, it is really necessary to reduce their numbers, but the new provision does not touch the problem.

In the election of the General Council also, we have introduced a change - it was announced at the Conference. According to the old rule, there was to be one member for every 5000 members upto 15,000 and after that the proportion of membership for a member was to be higher. We have now made it a flat rule that there should be one member for every 5000 or part exceeding 2500.

A new important clause we have introduced refers to disciplinary action against the office-bearers who act against the interests of the CITU. There was no provision in the old constitution for this. For removal, we have provided for a majority

only. Similarly, the grounds on which disciplinary action can be taken against a constituent union have also been detailed.

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Addendum: On page 3, between paras 3 and 4 -

\*\* Our struggle for socialism has any meaning only in so far as our organisation is able to rally our entire class under its banner for its daily fights. Without a policy capable of uniting the class in its daily battles, without actual practice in this direction, the C.I.T.U. cannot create the necessary sanctions either for the immediate defence of the interests of the working class or for its final objective. Hence the entire Constitution has also to address itself to the primary tasks of defending the immediate interests of the working class. It has therefore to achieve two objectives. It must in its aims and programme stress the immediate demands and simultaneously leave scope to link them with the wider democratic struggles which must grow over into struggle for Socialism.

I need not dilate on the immediate demands that we have enumerated. They together are expected to rally the mass of workers, who are separately fighting in each industry or factory. They represent the immediate common demands and if any additions are suggested the Committee should consider them. Some comrades seem to think that the various general demands of the working class should not find a place in the Constitution. This is entirely wrong. Without these, the CITU constitution will be dealing with the general objectives of the movement only leaving the concrete demands out of its purview.

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Report of the Central Board for Electricity Under-  
takings

Main extracts and summary of recommendations  
(Numbers of paragraphs are the same as given in the  
wage Board Report.)  
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Recommended Wage Structure

Minimum Wage

8.32. (1) The total monthly emoluments of the lowest paid unskilled worker would be Rs.148/- constituted as under:-

Basic Wage	...	Rs.55.00
Dearness Allowance	...	Rs.85.00
House Rent Allowance....		Rs. 8.00

(2) However, in big cities, covered by the list of Class A, B1 and B2 published by the Ministry of Finance, Government of India for the grant of House Rent Allowance to the Central Government employees (list given below), the House Rent Allowance would be Rs.15/- instead of Rs.8/- thus making a total minimum monthly emoluments of Rs.155/- as against Rs.148/- elsewhere.

Class A	1. Bombay 2. Calcutta 3. Delhi 4. Madras
Class B1	1. Ahmedabad 2. Bangalore 3. Hyderabad 4. Kanpur 5. Poona
Class B2	1. Agra 2. Allahabad 3. Banaras (Varanasi) 4. Jaipur 5. Lucknow 6. Madurai 7. Nagpur

Understandings/units paying House Rent Allowance in excess of Rs.8/- or Rs.15/-, as the case may be, would continue to do so at the same rate without any reduction and the difference in the allowance would not be adjusted against the increase that might accrue to the workers in the total of the other two constituents of the minimum wage, namely, the Basic Wage and the Dearness Allowance put together. If the employer is providing rent-free quarters or charging a rental of less than 10 per cent and 10 per cent of the Basic Wage will be set off against the amount of Rs.8/- or Rs.15/- as the case may be.

(3) The Basic Wage and the Dearness Allowance put together shall not be less than Rs.140/-. Where an undertaking has been paying more than Rs.55/- as the Basic Wage, it would be required to pay the difference between Rs.140/- and the Basic Wage so paid as Dearness Allowance. Where an undertaking has been paying less than Rs.55/- as the Basic Wage, it will have to increase the Basic Wage to Rs.55/- and pay the balance of Rs.85/- as Dearness Allowance.

(4) The Dearness Allowance of Rs.85/- (on the basis of of Rs.55/- as the Basic Wage) would be linked to the cost of living index at 171 with the 1960 series of the All India Average Consumer Price Index Numbers of Working Class published by the Labour Bureau, Simla as base. For every rise or fall in the index number, an adjustment of 75 paise per point would be made in the Dearness Allowance. The revision will be effective prospectively from 1st April every year on the basis of the average of the indices for the preceding 12 months from January to December. No adjustment in Dearness Allowance would, however, be made if the index falls below 171.

(5) The total minimum monthly emoluments recommended above would take effect from 1st April 1969 and the first adjustment of Dearness Allowance will be effective from 1st April, 1970, based on the average of the Consumer Price Index numbers from January, 1969 to December 1969.

(6) If an undertaking or unit had on 31.3.1969 a wage scale under which the starting basic wage plus Dearness Allowance payable on such wage to an unskilled worker was more than Rs.140/- per month, the recommendation made above regarding the minimum wage payable to the unskilled worker will not apply to such an undertaking/unit; and the unskilled worker in such an undertaking will continue to be entitled to the same higher basic wage-cum-dearness allowance that he may be receiving.

(7) The cash value of the food subsidy wherever provided by an establishment or unit would be adjustable against the Dearness Allowance but the worker would have the option to prefer the Dearness Allowance in cash or partly in cash and partly in the form of subsidised food.

#### I. Wage Scales

8.33 The Board recommends the following 21 scales of pay for the different categories of workers and employees (both technical and administrative) in which all of them would be placed in the manner suggested hereafter:

#### Technical

Sl.No.	Scale	Span
	Rs	
1.	Unskilled 55-2(10)-75-3(5)-90	15 yrs.
2.	Semi-skilled B 70-2(3)-76-3(6)-94-4(6)-118	15 "
3.	Semi-skilled A 80-4(10)-120-5(5)-145	15 "
4.	Skilled C. 110-5(5)-135-6(10)-195	15 "
5.	Skilled B 130-7(10)-200-8(5)-240	15 "
6.	Skilled A 150-9(5)-195-10(9)-285	14 "
7.	Highly Skilled B 190-10(6)-250-12(5)-310-15(3)-355	14 "
8.	Highly Skilled A 250-16(5)-330-18(5)-420-20(4)-500 (E.B.After 10th stage)	14 "
9.	Supervisory C 250-16(5)-330-18(5)-420-20(4)-500 (E.B.after 10th stage)	14 "
10.	Supervisory B 300-20(4)-380-25(5)-505-30(5)-655 (E.B.after 10th Stage)	14 "
11.	Supervisory A 400-25(5)-525-30(4)-645-35(3)-750 (E.B.After 10th Stage)	12 "

Sl.No.	Scale Rs	Span
1. Unskilled	55-2(10)-75-3(5)-90	15 Yrs.
2. Semi-skilled B	70-2(3)-76-3(5)-94-4(6)-118	15 "
3. Semi-skilled A	80-4(10)-120-5(5)-145	15 "
4. Skilled B	110-8(5)-150-10(10)-250	15 "
5. Skilled A	150-12(10)-270-15(5)-345 (E.B. after 10th stage)	15 "
6. Highly Skilled B	190-12(8)-286-15(6)-376 (E.B. after 10th Stage)	14 "
7. Highly Skilled A	250-16(5)-339-18(5)-420-20(4)-500 (E.B. after 10th stage)	14 "
8. Supervisory C	250-16(5)-330-18(5)-420-20(4)-500 (E.B. after 10th stage)	14 "
9. Supervisory B	300-20(4)-380-25(5)-505-30(5)-655 (E.B. after 10th Stage)	14 "
10. Supervisory A	400-25(5)-525-30(4)-645-35(3)-750 (E.B. after 10th stage)	12 "

### II. Dearness Allowance

The Board recommends the following rates of dearness allowance for the different slabs of basic wage:

<u>Pay Slabs</u> Rs	<u>Dearness Allowance</u> Rs
Upto 109	Upto 85*
110- 149	98
150-209	122
210- 399	146
400- 449	160
450- 499	164
500- 542	Amount by which the pay falls short of Rs.663/-.
543- 999	120/-

\* The Exact amount of Dearness Allowance for this slab would be fixed in the manner as recommended in Paragraph 8.32(3).

### III. House Rent Allowance

The Board also recommended that the house rent allowance for the lowest paid category of unskilled workers, namely, Rs.8/- and Rs.15/- as the case may be, (vide para 8.32(1) and (2)) should be extended to three more categories of wage scales, viz. Nos.2, 3 and 4 both under "Technical" and "Administrative" as shown in paragraph 8.33.

Where rent-free quarters have been provided or a rental of less than 10 per cent of the basic wage is being charged the difference between the actual rent charged and 10 per cent of the basic wage will be set off against the amount of House Rent Allowance as the case may be.

In the case of undertakings where appropriate scales of pay and dearness allowance together exceed the total quantum of basic pay and dearness allowance including house rent allowance recommended by the Wage Board in respect of the corresponding

scale no allowance by way of house rent allowance will be payable by them.

#### IV. Miscellaneous

(1) The above recommendations will not apply (i) in the case of officers employed in undertakings whose terms of service are governed by specific covenants for a limited specified period not exceeding five years and (ii) in the case of workmen employed by undertakings who are governed by agreements between recognised unions and the managements, which specifically provide for non-application of the Wage Board's recommendations provided such agreements were entered into after 20th June 1968, the date of the Government of India Resolution accepting the interim recommendations of the Board.

(2) If an employee in any category other than the unskilled worker was enjoying on 31.3.1969 a higher scale of wage or higher annual increments or higher dearness allowance or higher house rent allowance, he will continue to get the same.

(3) If any employee in an undertaking was getting any allowance, benefit, concession, or fringe benefits of any kind whatsoever, other than basic wage, dearness allowance and house rent allowance, the allowance, benefit, concession or fringe benefit will not be curtailed in any manner on the ground that his basic wage, dearness allowance, or house rent allowance has been increased as a result of the recommendations of the wage Board.

(4) The Wage Board have considered whether or not the system of free electricity obtaining in some undertakings should be extended universally. After mature consideration the Board has felt that in view of the limitations imposed by Section 23 of Indian Electricity Act, 1910, the benefit of free electricity to an employee as such would be objectionable. Section 23 of the Indian Electricity Act, 1910, stipulates that "a licensee shall not in making any agreement for the supply of energy show undue preference to any person." The words "any person" should encompass employees as well, and consequently the analogy of railway systems and air systems offering free passages to the employees would not be appropriate.

Although the provisions of Section 23 of the Indian Electricity Act, 1910, does not apply to the State Electricity Boards, it is only proper that the principles enunciated against undue preference should be applied uniformly to the Industry as a whole. Consequently the Wage Board propose to make no recommendations. This however will not adversely affect the existing benefit.

#### V. Fitment

8.34. In paragraphs 8.32, and 8.33 above, the Board has made recommendations about the minimum basic wage as well as the quantum of dearness allowance payable to an unskilled worker, the scales of basic wages for different categories of employees drawing upto Rs.750/- p.m. and the amount of dearness allowance payable to them on the basis of different slabs of basic wages. It is now necessary to define the principles that should guide the different undertakings in the matter of fitment of the workers into the new scales as recommended. As electricity undertakings in the country have adopted widely divergent scales of pay with equally divergent nomenclatures and designations, it has really been a problem for this Board to define clear-cut principles so as to achieve uniformity in the matter of adoption of standard scales vis-a-vis their fitment. However, after very careful consideration, the Board recommends the following principles:

8.35 For the first slab of basic wages upto Rs.109/- p.m. only, the quantum of dearness allowance will have to be fixed in the light of the prevailing basic wages. According to our recommendation made in paragraph 8.32(3) read with paragraph 8.32(1), the quantum of dearness allowance for the lowest paid unskilled worker of this slab would be Rs.85/- when the basic wage is Rs.55/+ p.m. The quantum of dearness allowance is, however, variable, depending on the basic wage. The following illustrations will enable the undertakings to determine the quantum of dearness allowance payable to their lowest paid unskilled worker:

( In all sections of paragraphs 8.35 and 8.36 including the five illustrations given below, the basic wage has to be taken as the starting salary of the lowest paid unskilled worker in the scale applicable to him as on 31.3.1969 and the Dearness Allowance as the Dearness Allowance payable on such basic wage. )

- (a) In case where the basic wage is less than Rs.55/- and the Dearness Allowance is also less than Rs.85/- and the total is less than Rs.140/- p.m., the basic wage will be raised to Rs.55/- and the dearness allowance to Rs.85/-;
- (b) If Dearness Allowance is more than Rs.85/- but the total of the Dearness Allowance and the basic wage is less than Rs.140/-, then the basic wage shall be raised to Rs.55/- and the Dearness Allowance reduced to Rs.85/-;
- (c) Where the basic wage is more than Rs.55/- but the total of the basic wage and the Dearness allowance is less than Rs.140/-, then the existing basic wage shall remain undisturbed and the quantum of Dearness Allowance will be the difference between Rs.140/- and the existing basic wage;
- (d) Where the total of basic wage and Dearness Allowance is more than Rs.140/- but the basic wage is less than Rs.55/-, the basic wage shall be raised to Rs.55/- and the balance of the total will be treated as Dearness Allowance; and
- (d) Where the total of the basic wage and the Dearness Allowance is more than Rs.140/- and the basic wage is also more than Rs.55/- p.m. there shall be no change and the basic wage and Dearness Allowance will continue to be the same.

The quantum of Dearness Allowance as determined in the above manner for the lowest paid unskilled worker in an undertaking will be admissible to all workers drawing basic wages upto Rs.109/- p.m.

8.36 (a) The quantum of Dearness Allowance having been fixed above, the basic wage of a worker drawing more than Rs.55/- but less than Rs.109/- per month will be fixed in the new scale as applicable to him at the stage higher than his existing basic wage as on 31.3.1969. His next increment in the new scale will be admissible one year after the date on which his basic pay is fixed in the new scale as above.

(b)(i) Where the existing basic wages are less than Rs.55/- such basic wages shall have to be raised to Rs.55/-. Workers with varying lengths of service will thus start in the new scale with Rs.55/- as basic wage except in cases provided in (ii) below and will thereafter derive the benefits of the new

increments as in the new scales.

(ii) Where the difference between the existing basic wage of a worker and the minimum of the new scale in which he is to be fitted is less than three times the rate of initial increment in the new scale, he will be entitled to service increments at the rate of one increment for every five years of uninterrupted qualifying service subject to a maximum of three increments in all and his initial basic wage in the new scale will be fixed accordingly.

(iii) Where the existing wage of a worker is equal to the minimum of the new scale in which he is to be fitted, he will be entitled to service increments at the rate of one increment for every five years of uninterrupted qualifying service subject to a maximum of three increments in all and his initial basic wage in the new scale will be fixed accordingly.

(iv) Where the existing basic wage of a worker is in between two stages of the new scale, his basic wage will be brought, first of all, to the next higher stage of the new scale, and thereafter he will be entitled to service increments at the rate of one increment for every five years of uninterrupted qualifying service upto a maximum of two increments.

8.36A The same principles as in paragraph 8.36 will apply to the next higher slab of pay viz. Rs.110-149.

8.37. For subsequent slabs of pay, viz. Rs.150-209, Rs.210-399, Rs.400-449, Rs.450-499, Rs.500-542, and Rs.543-750, the quantum of Dearness allowance has been indicated in paragraph 8.33(II). It will now be necessary to fix the basic wage of a worker entitled to the new scale of basic wage falling under any of those slabs in the following manner:

(a) First of all, the worker has to be given the appropriate new scale depending on the nature of the job he is performing and the degree of his skill;

(b) Where the existing basic wage of a worker is not less than the minimum of new scale in which he is to be fitted, his new basic wage will be fixed in the new scale at the next higher stage.

(c) Where the existing basic wage of a worker is less than the minimum of the new scale in which he is to be fitted, he will start from the minimum of the new scale. If, however, the difference between his existing basic wage and the minimum of the new scale is less than the amount representing twice the amount of the initial annual increment of the new scale, he will be entitled to service increments at the rate of one increment for five years of uninterrupted qualifying service subject to a maximum of three increments in all, or Rs.25/- over the minimum of the new scale; whichever is less, and his initial basic wage in the new scale will be fixed accordingly.

(d) Where the minimum of the new scale is higher than that of the existing scale of a worker, but the rate of Dearness Allowance received by him is higher than what has been recommended by the Board, and the total of the two items exceeds the amount to which he would otherwise have been entitled under (c) above, the excess in Dearness Allowance representing the differences between what has been recommended and what the worker is receiving, will be merged with his existing basic pay. For example, if a worker is at present drawing Rs.150/- as basic wage and Rs.150/- as Dearness Allowance, making the total of these two items, Rs.300/- the Dearness Allowance now suggested being Rs.122/-, the excess

of Rs.28/- will get added on to the existing basic wage of the worker. Similarly, if a worker is receiving Rs.380/- as basic wage, his Dearness Allowance according to the recommendation of the Board will be Rs.146/-; but if his actual Dearness Allowance at present is Rs.200/-, this difference of Rs.54/- will get added on to his present wage. After adding this difference to the basic wage, if the worker is entitled to any higher basic wage in the light of what has been recommended, he would get it. In other words, he will get one increment for every five years of completed uninterrupted service subject to a maximum of three increments in all provided on 1.4.1969 his length of uninterrupted completed service is five years or more.

8.38. In calculating the existing total emoluments of a worker (including basic wage and dearness allowance), the interim relief wherever paid or payable will be included.

#### VI. Categorisation

8.39 The Board have examined the question of categorisation of workers according to the nature of their jobs and the degree of the skill so that the undertakings could fit them in the appropriate new scales as recommended. It was found that the existing scales of pay as well as designations of workers vary widely from undertaking to undertaking and it is really difficult for the Board to make specific recommendations in regard to categorisation because of the complexities involved. The Sub-Committee on Standardisation of Nomenclatures with Job Descriptions also examined this aspect and felt that "each undertaking will process the fitment of each of its employees in his proper category and the allocation of a standard nomenclature. This will be done by scrutinizing of a standard nomenclature. This will be done by scrutinising the possible standard nomenclatures and the corresponding job descriptions and following the procedures adopted by the Sub-Committee as explained in this Report in Section 5 (Procedures adopted for the Study) and Appendix D and as illustrated in the study in depth for Gujerat Electricity Board." The Board, therefore, recommends that this matter of categorisation should be left to the respective undertakings, which should decide this question on the basis of proper examination and processing through a Committee consisting of the representatives of the management and of the recognised unions.

#### VII. Muster-roll and Work-charged workers

8.40. The Wage Board have considered the question of nominal muster-roll and work-charged workers employed in electricity undertakings, especially the State Electricity Boards. This category of workers has been in existence in the Public Works Departments of the State Departments since a long time. With the expansion of activities under various development programmes, the State Electricity Boards employed muster-roll workers in projects. On completion of the projects many of these workers have had to leave the organisation and seek employment elsewhere as it was not possible for the Electricity Boards to absorb all of them. It has been mentioned to this Board that even in other branches of the State Electricity Boards, the practice of employing muster-roll workers is still prevalent.

8.41 Since the State Electricity Boards will have to continue to proceed with the implementation of sizeable development programmes for the over-all development of their respective States, they will have to undertake construction works. It is, therefore, inevitable that in projects and other construction works, the system will continue and the system cannot be dispensed with altogether. This Board, however, feels that in other branches of the State Electricity Boards where the work is regular and permanent in nature, for example the maintenance and the operational / as

branches, such posts should be filled up by regular workers and not by muster-roll/work-charged workers. This Board is of the view that it is desirable to discontinue as soon as possible, and according to a phased programme, the practice of employing muster-roll workers in regular and permanent posts. The Wage Board recommends that such posts should be filled up by regular workers chosen from amongst the existing muster-roll and work-charged workers as far as practicable depending on their suitability.

8.42 It is the Board's recommendation that an unskilled muster-roll/work-charged worker should be paid a minimum of Rs.3.50 as a consolidated daily wage. Where a higher wage is paid, it should continue to be paid. If under the existing statutes any other benefit is admissible, such benefit should also be given to this category of workers.

Note:- The terms present basic wage or existing basic wage means the basic wage of a worker as on 31st March, 1969.

#### VIII. Miscellaneous Recommendations

8.43 The recommendations of the Wage Board will be operative for a period of five years commencing from 1st April, 1969.

8.44 The difference between the existing wages and dearness allowance including interim relief and those recommended above shall be made up as far as practicable in three equated annual instalments with effect from 1st April, 1969. The House Rent Allowance, however, shall take effect from 1st April, 1969 and shall not be subject to phasing.

8.45 The Wage Board do not envisage a revision in the quantum of the components listed in Part B of this Chapter for four years out of the five year period over which they take effect in the various establishments or units which will be affected by them except in so far as these components are affected in pursuance of the recommendations of the Wage Board and it will not be open to the workmen to raise any dispute or demand any revision in this behalf during the aforesaid period of four years.

#### Sub-Committee on Standardisation and its Report

9.11 Consequently at a meeting of the Wage Board held in Bombay on 3rd Feb. 1963, it was decided to constitute the Sub-Committee referred to in Paragraph 1.9 of Chapter I. The terms of the Sub-Committee were to evolve standardised nomenclatures with job descriptions of employees who are covered by the term 'workman' as defined under Section 2(s) of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 drawing a salary or wage upto Rs.750/- p.m.

9.12 The Sub-Committee submitted its report in February, 1969 (Appendix XVIII). According to the Sub-Committee all employees in electricity supply undertakings can be divided into the following two broad classifications with sub-groups indicated against each:

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| (a) Technical and Works         | (i) Technical (Non-Supervisory) Group & |
|                                 | (ii) Supervisory Group                  |
| (b) Administrative and Clerical | (i) Clerical (non-Supervisory) Group &  |
|                                 | (ii) Supervisory Group.                 |

The above two classifications would be further sub-divided into 11 categories for Technical and Works Classification and 8 categories for Administrative and Clerical Classification. The break-up of categories has been suggested as follows by the Sub-Committee:-

<p>A. <u>Technical and Works Classifications</u></p> <p>(a) <u>Technical (Non-Supervisory) Group</u></p> <p>1. Unskilled                  2. Semi-skilled            B                  3.     .do.                    A                  4. Skilled                    C                  5.     "                        B                  6.     "                        A                  7. High Skilled            B                  8.     "                        A</p> <p>(b) <u>Supervisory Group</u></p> <p>9. Supervisory            C                  10.     "                        B                  11.     "                        A</p>	<p>B. <u>Administrative and Clerical Classifications</u></p> <p>(a) <u>Clerical (Non-Supervisory) Group</u></p> <p>1. Unskilled                  2. Semi-skilled                  3. Skilled                    B                  4. Skilled                    A                  5. Highly Skilled</p> <p>(b) <u>Supervisory Group</u></p> <p>6. Supervisory            C                  7. Supervisory            B                  8. Supervisory            A</p>
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The Sub-Committee's standardised nomenclatures applicable to the above categories are detailed in Appendixes E and F of its Report. It will be noted that the total number of standard nomenclatures recommended is only 97 as against 200 to 300 prevailing in some of the State Electricity Boards.

9.13. The Report of the Sub-Committee was considered by the Wage Board and was formally adopted subject to the clear understanding that the categories of employees as mentioned under each classification in the studies made by the Sub-Committee of the three Boards and two private undertakings were only illustrative in nature and open to suitable modifications wherever considered necessary. It was further decided that there should be 21 time scales of pay instead of the nineteen recommended by the Sub-Committee, the 2 additional being for two new categories under the Administrative and Clerical classification, namely, Semi-skilled B and A instead of "Semi-skilled" and Highly Skilled B and A instead of "High-Skilled." Based on the Report of the Sub-Committee the Wage Board recommend as follows:-

(1) Each undertaking shall divide all its employees into two classifications, each with two groups, as stated in the preceding para and then evaluate the job of each employee for its relative skill or worth. This will be done following the procedures adopted by the Sub-Committee as explained in its report in Section 5 (Procedures adopted for study), Appendix D, and as illustrated in the Study in depth for Gujarat Electricity Board (Appendix I in Sub-Committee's Report). (2) Based on the results of the above evaluation, each employee shall be fitted in his proper category from the list given in para 7.1 of the Sub-Committee's Report, as modified by the decision of the Board to recommend twenty-one scales. This will be done separately for each of the two groups of classifications. In the placement of employees in appropriate categories, it is to be cautioned that the points scored by different categories of employees will vary with each undertaking depending upon the regional differences, the requirements of education and experience and several other factors. Therefore, the range of points within which a category or its wage scale will be encompassed will differ from one undertaking to another. To amplify, para 5.9 of the Sub-Committee's report is reproduced below because of its relevance and importance:-

"The range of points within which a particular category would fall will differ from one undertaking to another to some extent, depending on the organisational structure of each undertaking. For this reason the point ratings of various categories in different undertakings cannot be directly compared. Also since the plans for evaluation in the case of the two classifications of employees are basically different and since even in the same classification, the approach to evaluation differs between the supervisory and non-supervisory groups, the point ratings under the four groups of the two classifications cannot be directly compared. Therefore, while the points scored will be a general guide in the determination of wages, it is to be cautioned that an attempt should not be made numerically to link by means of a formula, the points with the wages."

- (3) Each undertaking shall then allocate the most suitable standard nomenclatures after scrutinising the possible standard nomenclatures and job description given in Appendices E to H of the Sub-Committee's report. Each undertaking shall also give in brackets after the standard nomenclature allocated to an employee, the functional description of his duties. The procedure for this purpose is illustrated in Appendix I and note in Appendices E and F of the sub-Committee's report. No significance will, however, be attached to such descriptions except that they will be useful in understanding the functions of an employee in his daily work and that they will reflect local practices.
- (4) The Sub-Committee in its study and report have excluded the jobs of Guest House, Teaching and Medical Staff. Accordingly, the staff under these categories shall not be covered by present recommendations and their cases shall be considered by each individual undertaking depending upon local conditions.
- (5) The undertakings shall avoid down-grading in case of any of their existing employees, although it is inevitable that the existing grading of some jobs will be disturbed while allocating standard nomenclatures to their employees, instead the approach shall be to re-allocate the work content of the particular job on mutually agreed basis. This deviation from standardisation shall be avoided in case of new entrants.
- (6) It is possible that while implementing the above recommendations there may be employees who are evaluated as falling between two categories. Further, to suit the needs of individual undertakings and to promote efficiency, it will be some times desirable to permit marginal upward adjustments in the duties as compared to standard job descriptions. Examples are office staff using specialised office machines, steno-typists doing confidential work, clerks handling cash, accountants with limited power of attorney. These departures from standardisation may be permitted.
- (7) The undertakings shall endeavour where feasible to combine and allocate jobs pertaining to more than one nomenclature to an employee on a mutually agreed basis. Such a combination will result in the duties of an employee being of omnibus type. In such cases, the employees will be given the standard nomenclature, corresponding to his main duties, while for convenience the standard nomenclatures covering his other duties can be indicated in brackets. In this connection, a reference can be made for further details to paragraph 6.3 of the Sub-Committee's Report.
- (8) Employees shall also be allocated stand-by and staggered duties, as described in para 6.3 of the Sub-Committee's Report.
- (9) Undertakings shall so allocate their staff as to ensure that employees working in units of larger sizes are fitted into

higher categories, commensurate with the responsibilities involved. For this purpose, units whether they are generating stations or receiving stations or transmission/distribution systems shall be classified as large, medium and small according to local conventions subject to the norms laid down in paragraph 6;9 of Chapter VI. For example, if an operator is put in the category 'Skilled C' when working in a generating station, say 30 MW capacity, an operator doing more or less similar work but in a generating station of medium size of say 100 MW capacity may be placed in the category 'Skilled B', to take care of the increased responsibility. The mechanics for arriving at the details of such placements will be decided by individual Electricity Board and their unions.

(10) For promotion from one category to another, the emphasis shall be on higher skill and not only on seniority and, at the same time, maintaining some ratio for promotion from a lower to a higher category to open up promotional avenues. It is suggested that undertakings shall evolve standard trade tests upto highly skilled category. For supervisory categories, more weight-age shall be given to supervision, improvement and goals achieved.

(11) Manuals for the smooth implementation of recommendations 5 to 10 inclusive shall be prepared by each undertaking to suit its individual needs and character. These manuals will also define the nature of compensation payable to employees (i) for marginal increases in duties from the standard job descriptions where an existing employee is considered as rated between two categories, and (ii) for omnibus, stand-by and staggered type of duties. The Wage Board do not consider that the preparation of such manuals falls within their purview, since a measure of flexibility is essential to take into account numerous variations involved between regions as well as even units in the same region in regard to size and other relevant factors. Further, this approach will also give scope for payment by results and open up avenues for healthy rivalry between undertakings.

(12) In implementing the above recommendations, undertakings will arrive at final settlement in consultation with their unions and by applying the principles of collective bargaining.

(13) It is also recommended that the Ministry of Labour and Employment may set up a suitable panel or machinery to provide the services of independent experts for assisting the undertakings in the implementation of the above recommendations, especially when external assistance is sought to resolve any differences that may be outstanding.

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Recommended Gratuity Scheme

10.19 The Wage Board have examined all these aspects while considering introducing a Gratuity Scheme in the Electricity Undertakings. As will be seen from the foregoing paragraphs, it appears from the information collected from various undertakings that the system of retirement benefits varies widely from place to place. In almost all the undertakings, the Contributory Provident Fund Scheme has been fully introduced. The representatives of the employers maintained that since the Contributory Provident Fund Scheme covered pensionary benefits including the retirement gratuity, the rate of employees' contribution should be fixed at a lower level if a separate gratuity scheme were to be introduced. The representatives of the employees, however, expressed the view that the Contributory Provident Fund Scheme being mandatory, it would not be permissible to reduce the rate of employers' share of contribution. Further, the National Labour Commission have proposed in their recently published report increases in the rates of contribution. In view of the various considerations involved, the Board recommends the introduction

- (b) the terms and conditions of service applicable to the workman after such transfer are not in any way less favourable to the workman than those applicable to him immediately before the transfer; and
- (c) the new employer is, under the terms of such transfer or otherwise, legally liable to pay to the workman, in the event of his retrenchment, compensation on the basis that his service has been continuous and has not been interrupted by the transfer.

Such staff whose service terms with the State Electricity Boards satisfied the above mentioned three conditions will be entitled to gratuity in terms of the formula laid down by the Board.

10.26 In regard to the existing gratuity schemes, we recommend that -

- (a) Where the quantum laid down in the existing scheme is more than that recommended by the Board, the existing employees will continue to get the higher quantum; and
- (b) where no ceiling is prescribed in the existing gratuity scheme, the ceiling of 15 months' basic wage or Rs.10,000/- proposed in our scheme shall not apply; or if a higher ceiling is already in force, such higher ceiling shall be applicable in the case of existing employees only.

#### ANNEXURE TO CHAPTER X

##### Coverage

The Gratuity Scheme will apply to all the employees who are in regular or permanent employment but will not apply to work-charged and muster-roll workers. The benefits of the Gratuity Scheme will also apply from the date of their continuous employment, to the temporary, substitute, and probationary employees, on regular or permanent posts but only when they are confirmed in their respective posts.

##### Entitlement

- (1) The minimum qualifying period of service would be five years.
- (2) Employees (or their nominees or legal heirs) would be entitled to gratuity in the event of -
  - (i) death;
  - (ii) termination; disablement or medical unfitness;
  - (iii) retirement;
  - (iv) voluntary retirement with the consent of the employer prior to the age of superannuation;
  - (v) retrenchment for any reason whatsoever;
  - (vi) resignation after completing 10 years of service;
  - (vii) discharge or dismissal for mis-conduct provided the misconduct is not of a gross nature.
- (3) The minimum qualifying period of service laid down above shall not apply in the case of 2(i) and 2(ii).

### Quantum

The quantum of gratuity will be equal to 15 days' basic wage for each completed year of qualifying services for those employees who retire before rendering 15 years of service, and for employees who retire after 15 years of qualifying service, the quantum of gratuity will be equal to one month's basic wage for each completed year of service subject to a maximum of 15 months' basic wage or Rs.10,000/- whichever is lower.

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## Chapter XI

### Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

11.1 The recommendations of the Wage Board cover workmen employed in licensee undertakings coming within the purview of the Indian Electricity Act, 1910 and of the State Electricity Boards. They would, however, not cover employees of the Damodar Valley Corporation Bombay Electric Supply and Transport Undertaking and electricity undertakings which are run as Government departments and where service conditions of employees are regulated by the departmental orders applicable to Government servants in general. (Paras 2.1 to 2.3)

11.2 The recommendations apply to all workmen who are covered by the definition of 'workman' as given in Section 2(s) of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 and who are drawing a salary, i.e. wages upto Rs.750/- p.m. (Para 2.4)

11.3 The staff engaged on muster-roll, on work-charged basis and on daily rates of pay fall within the purview of the Board. (Para 2.5)

11.4 The teaching, medical and guest house staff are excluded from the purview of the Board because of the peculiar and varying nature of their employment. (Para 2.6)

11.5 It is essential that the rural electrification which is an important feature of the over-all development programme, is made economically viable as early as possible. (Para 3.8)

11.6 Since power resources are not evenly distributed, future development will have to be planned on a national basis. (In this context, the establishment of super-power stations and the formation of regional and national grids is an urgent necessity for optimum utilisation of the available resources. (Para 3.15)

11.7 The special features of the development and growth of the electricity industry have been kept in view while dealing with the task entrusted to the Wage Board. (Para 3.31)

11.8 The Wage Board after giving due thought to all aspects of the matter has based its recommendations for the country as a whole on practical considerations keeping in view the minimum needs of the workers in the electricity industry as well as the capacity of this vital industry to meet such needs. (Para 5.13)

11.9 It is likely that the present financial position of the industry as revealed by the financial statements of the undertakings for the last few years, particularly of the State Electricity Boards, may improve gradually in future. As their development and expansion programmes, oriented to a social purpose, progress, the component of productive content of their structure is likely to enlarge eventually and the time may come when the Boards would be able to concentrate on intensification of supply.

Both these aspects have a bearing on the profitability and usefulness of the activities of the State Electricity Boards. (Para 6.30)

11.10 The financial position of the State Electricity Boards can also improve if steps are taken to increase revenue and to decrease expenditure by such means as higher working efficiency, reduction in transmission losses, and rationalisation of manpower. (6.31)

11.11 It is not possible for the Wage Board to assess the impact of their recommendations on the profitability of the electricity undertakings. The wages of workers in this industry are being examined for the first time on a national level while in the case of quite a few industries, second wage boards have already completed their labours. (Para 6.36)

11.12 The State Electricity Boards have no equity capital and depend solely on loan capital. According to the recommendations of the Venkataraman Committee, they are required to earn a higher net return on their capital base than the licensee undertakings. It is recommended that these aspects of the finances of the State Electricity Board are taken up by the Government for a review with a view to suitable revision. (6.37)

11.13 The measurement of labour productivity in the industry presents formidable problems. However, in some limited areas group incentive schemes can be considered. The formulation of such Schemes has to be left to the individual organisations and their unions. (Paras 7.4 to 7.6)

11.14 For achieving completion of large projects ahead of schedule and to attain higher reliability and station efficiency, provision of in-plant training facilities to the workers assumes great importance. (Para 7.8)

11.15 So also the introduction of welfare schemes has a positive impact on the efficiency of the workers. (Para 7.9)

11.16 In view of the needs of the electricity industry in the developing economy of the country and the limitation of its resources, the Wage Board have not found it feasible to recommend a need-based minimum wage; nor have the Wage Board attempted to make their own estimate of such a wage. (Para 8.15)

11.17 Owing to the peculiar nature of the industry, it is not expedient or feasible to link wages to productivity at this stage. (Page 8.30)

11.18 The Wage Board's recommendations regarding minimum wage, wage scales, dearness allowance, house rent allowance and other fringe benefits, and fitment of workers are laid down in paras 8.32 to 8.38.

11.19 The recommendations regarding muster-roll and work-charged workers find mention in paras 8.40 to 8.42.

11.20 The Wage Board's recommendations regarding categorisation of workers are contained in paras 8.39 and 9.13.

11.21 The recommendations of the Wage Board would be operative for five years from 1st April, 1969. (Para 8.43)

11.22 The difference between the existing basic wages and dearness allowance (including interim relief) and those recommended by the Board excluding house rent allowance shall be made up as far as practicable in three equated annual instalments from April 1st, 1969. (Para 8.44)

11.23 It will not be open to workmen to raise any dispute or demand any revision in the wage structure during a period of four years from 1st April, 1969. (Para 8.45)

11.24 The gratuity scheme recommended by the Board is laid down in the Annexure to Chapter X.

11.25 The gratuity scheme would be applied with effect from the 1st April 1972 in the undertakings which at present have no gratuity scheme whatsoever. The undertaking may, however, consider paying gratuity in accordance with the scheme on an ex-gratia basis to all employees covered by the scheme from 1st April, 1971, i.e. to those who retire after 31st March, 1971. (Para 10.21)

11.26 All such undertakings as have a gratuity scheme at present will apply the scheme recommended by the Wage Board from 28th May, 1966. (Para 10.22)

11.27 In medium and small sized licensee undertakings where there is no scheme of gratuity at present, the scheme recommended will be introduced subject to the condition that their respective liability will be limited to such number of months basic wages as there are years left before the undertaking is acquired by the purchasing authority provided such years are less than three in number. (Para 10.23)

11.28 Where an employee of a licensee undertaking is taken over by the State Electricity Board at the time the undertaking is acquired, and the terms of the transfer of the services of the employees satisfies the three conditions laid down in the proviso to Section 25FF of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, the employee will be entitled to receive the gratuity from the Electricity Board in terms of the scheme laid down by the Wage Board. (Paras 10.24 and 10.25)

11.29 In regard to existing gratuity schemes certain benefits accruing thereunder will not be reduced for existing employees to bring them in line with the scheme recommended by the Board. (Para 10.26)

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