



# THE WORKING CLASS

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE CITU

## CITU's Stand On Proposed Constitution Amendments

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions has submitted a memorandum to the President of India on the Swaran Singh Committee's proposals for amendments to the Indian Constitution. In this memorandum the CITU has clarified its stand on these proposals.

### Power to amend the Constitution

The Committee proposes to further amend Article 368 to give absolute power to the Parliament to bring any changes in the constitution and the Supreme Court's jurisdiction on this issue.

The CITU is of the view that this amounts to an attack on the liberty and freedom of the people in the name of curtailing the powers of the Supreme Court and of Parliamentary Sovereignty.

The CITU therefore rejects this proposal and demands that the earlier amendments to Article 368 should be replaced and the original position restored. It should also be made clear in Article 13 of the Constitution that it applies not only to ordinary legislations but also to Constitutional amendments.

### Precedence of Directive Principles over Fundamental Rights

The Swaran Singh Committee proposes that the scope of the present Article 31 (e) should be widened so as to cover legislations in Part IV of the constitution and that the legislation shall not be called in question on the ground of infringement of any of the fundamental rights contained in Part III. It is claimed that the provisions of Article 14, 19 and 31 have stood in the way of implementing the directive principles.

The CITU finds the arguments advanced as untenable. It is of the view that the fundamental rights of the people like freedom of speech, of assembly and organisation have never stood in the way of implementation of the Directive Principles. There is no contradiction between the two. On the other hand, for implementation of the Directive Principles much more freedom is necessary for the people.

### Power of the High Courts

(A) The Committee proposes that the power to issue writs "for other purpose" under Article 226 should be abolished altogether.

Under this provision, citizens including workers, employees, peasants etc. can approach High Court against high handed and arbitrary actions of officials and other authorities. The Committee's proposal would restore absolute power to the executive and deprive the common man of whatever little opportunity of redressal is available even within the framework of the Constitution.

The CITU, therefore, demands that this proposal should be dropped.

(B) Another proposal of the Committee is that all service matters including the safeguards under Article 311(2) of the Constitution should be taken away from the jurisdiction of the Court and referred to service Tribunals.

This Article had helped hundreds of Government employees defend themselves against bureaucratic orders of removal/dismissal and other service matters. This proposal is intended to give the

bureaucrats absolute powers and take away whatever safeguards the employees had.

The CITU demands not only the withdrawal of this proposal, but also deletion of provisos (b) and (c) of the Article which gives power to an officer or the President or Governor to take disciplinary action against a Government employee without enquiry.

(C) The Committee also proposes to bar the jurisdiction of the Court in regard to election disputes and refer them to Parliament or Legislature or Committees appointed by them.

The experience during the past 25 years shows that even those who lay down the election law, do not hesitate to violate them in order to win elections.

The Committee also proposes to bar the jurisdiction of validity of central legislations throughout the country. This would make it difficult for the common man to get redress in Courts of law.

The CITU rejects all these proposals which are intended to curb the power of the High Courts and to strengthen the bureaucracy.

(D) The Committee also proposed to take out all matters connected with implementation of land reforms, revenue collections and foodgrain procurement from the purview of the Courts.

One of the reasons advanced for this proposal is that the rich take advantage of the facility to go to Courts and thus delay and/or nullify the efforts of the Govt. The CITU does not accept this argument. The loop-holes in the Act and failure of the Govt. to oppose stay orders had been some of the reasons causing delays.

The CITU, therefore, rejects this proposal and suggests that curb on right of property should be imposed in order to carry out genuine land reforms.

### Centre-State Relations

The Swaran Singh Committee proposes that – (1) Agriculture and Education should be placed in the Concurrent list, and (2) Powers must be granted to the Central Govt. to deploy Central Police or other such forces under its own control and superintendence in any State to deal with grave problems of law and order.

These proposals are intended to reduce the State Governments to the status of subordinate

departments. Acceptance of this proposal will put an end to whatever remains of State autonomy and federal structure and change India into a full-fledged unitary state.

The CITU, therefore, rejects these proposals as well as calls for widening of the autonomy of the states so that the natural aspirations of people of different nationalities could be fulfilled.

The CITU is of the firm opinion that the present Parliament has no authority to make such changes without the mandate of the people. Hence the CITU demands that :

1. The entire issue of amendment to the Constitution should go to the people who after considering the suggestions of various parties should exercise their franchise and thus give mandate to their representatives to carry out the amendments. For this purpose the elections have to be free and fair and the Constitution, Law/rules must make provision to check the power of money and other social/religious influences and also the pressure of the Govt. and executives. The elections must be conducted under the supervision of "All-party" committees and the people must have the right to recall their elected representatives. The right to vote to all those above the age of 18 should be ensured and proportional representation in the Parliament and Assemblies should be provided, so that these will represent the real will of the people.

2. The Constitution should provide that no amendment changing the basic features which include inter alia, Parliamentary Republic, Federal structure, Adult franchise, accountability of the executive and the Cabinet to the legislature and restriction, abridgement or abrogation of fundamental rights of the people can be made by the Parliament. The decision in the Keshavananda Bharati's case is vague and does not meet the demands of the situation. The Amendment to Article 368 made in 1971 vide clause (1) and (C) should be repealed and the position made absolutely clear.

3. It should also be provided that in the case of conflict between the Parliament and the Judiciary regarding the constitutional validity of any measure the decision of Judiciary should prevail until the conflict is solved by a referendum to the people. It should also be provided that if 20 per cent of the

members of the Parliament or Legislature demand a referendum on any measure including amendment to the Constitution, it should be so referred to the people.

4. The right to acquire, hold and dispose of property under Article 19(f) should be reformulated to ensure protection to the small property holders and those who work to earn income while doing away with the right of the big landlords and capitalists.

Their right should not be protected as a fundamental right and provision must be there that their property could be acquired without compensation. After this article 31(C) should be deleted.

5. The following should be added to the list of Fundamental Rights in Chapter III.

(a) All citizens have the right to work and a living wage after attaining the age of 16 years.

(b) To have free education upto Secondary standard.

(c) To have state assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement.

(d) To free medical treatment.

(e) To bear small arms.

These rights should also be made justiciable.

6. Article 22 authorising enactment of laws providing for preventive detention should be repealed along with the Acts like MISA etc. On the other hand, immunity from arresting of members of Parliament and Legislature, should be provided for in the Constitution.

7. The arbitrary powers given to the President on the emergency vide Article 352 to 360 should be suitably amended. A declaration of emergency can only be made if the country is directly threatened by external aggression or is involved in a war. The proclamation must automatically cease to operate on the cessation of armed hostilities or if no war takes place within a month of such proclamation. The provision of automatic suppression of fundamental rights under Article 19 and the right to

approach the Court for enforcement of the same should be done away with. Article 356, 357 and 360 should be completely deleted. In case of a breakdown in a state, the democratic step of holding fresh elections should be provided for.

8. Articles 163 and 164 should be repealed thus ensuring the supremacy of the Legislature in the State sphere. Similarly Article 155 empowering the President to nominate Governors should be repealed and provision of elections of Governors by the State Legislature should be made. The ordinance making power of the President and Governor should be drastically curtailed.

9. Article 249 giving power to the Parliament to legislate on a subject in the State list under the plea of national interest should be deleted. In fact a drastic revision of the State, Central and concurrent lists should be made in order to provide more powers and finance to the states so that real autonomy of the states is ensured. Article regarding financial commission and distribution of revenues should be amended to provide for 75% of the total taxes collected by the central going to the states for ending the mendicant status of the states. Equality of all the national languages must be specifically recognised in the Constitution. Elections to Rajya Sabha should also be directly from the people so as to remove the imbalance. The system of posting of personnel from All India services while keeping them under control of the Union Government should be done away with. While there would be two services, one for the Union Government and the other for the states, any one from Union Services posted to the states must also be under disciplinary control of the States.

10. Provision (b) and (c) to Article 311(2) which dispense with holding of enquiry and allowing reasonable opportunity to a Government Employee to defend himself should be scrapped, so as to guarantee the protection.

11. ....

## Industrial Disputes in the Private Sector

According to the information given by the Union Labour Minister in Rajya Sabha during the last session, in the private sector, the manufacturing industries alone accounted for a time loss of 4.74 million mandays due

to lockouts, as compared to a time loss of only 2.45 million mandays due to strikes during the period June, 1975 to April, 1976.

Similar time losses due to lockouts and strikes for all the industries in the Private Sector

were 4.99 million mandays respectively.

Statistics regarding closures, that is, work stoppages due to reasons other than strikes and lockouts, were available only up to January, 1976, according to which there were 656 closures affecting 51,347 workers.

(See Table on last page)

## Tatas Pocket Rs. 11 Crores !

According to May issue of Supervisor's Newsletter, Bulletin issued by Tatas, R. H. Mody of TISCO "specially appreciated the 10 per cent cost reduction programme launched and carried out successfully which had saved the company eleven crores of rupees." This was done by measures like "stoppage of overtime" and "withdrawal of temporary labour."

The Newsletter further states, "He sadly pointed out that some people in some quarters had chosen this critical hour to spread rumours about happenings in Jamshedpur, viz. retrenchment of employees in a large scale, inability of the company to pay salary to the employees and so on and so forth, whereas nothing of that sort had happened here. He wanted such illinformed persons to note that TISCO had not discharged a single permanent employee and even the total number of temporary employees discharged.....ranged to 450 only."

Retrenchment of 450 employees according to Mody is not largescale retrenchment. Mody further went to the extent of paying tribute to the workers for their "magnificent" response to the retrenchment of 450 colleagues. Perhaps what he means is that if he retrenches more workers their response will be more magnificent.

Our information is however that Jamshedpur workers have opposed the retrenchment and other offensives of Tatas. ... ..  
... .. :  
... .. :

## CITU Condemns Racial Attacks In U.K. And South Africa

Comrade Jyoti Basu, Vice-President CITU has issued the following statement to the Press :

"The Centre of Indian Trade Unions strongly condemns the mass killings by the racist Government in South Africa which has virtually launched an extermination drive against black majority in the country. The fascist Government in South Africa is emboldened to take such dastardly measures despite worldwide condemnation of racial discrimination because of the support given by the U.S., U. K., West Germany and other imperialist powers. The CITU demands that all the attacks against the black majority should be stopped immediately and the black people should be allowed to enjoy full freedom by ending racial discrimination of every type.

The CITU congratulates the courageous people in South Africa for their resistance to the cowardly attacks by the fascist rulers. The CITU is confident that with the support of the people, the worldover, they should ultimately be able to overthrow the dictatorial regime.

### CITU Working Committee

The Working Committee of the CITU will meet at New Delhi on July 10 11, 1976. It will review the activities of the CITU since the last meeting of the Working Committee held in Madras on November 10-12, 1975.

The CITU condemns the atrocious attacks against Asians and Africans in U. K. leading to the death of two Indians recently. The British Government instead of taking stern action against the racist elements in the country is indirectly giving them protection.

The CITU demands that the Government of U. K should take stringent measures against these elements lead by notorious Enoch Powel and the liberalist party and ensure protection to Asian & African residents in U.K.

The CITU appeals to all trade unions to rise in protest against these hated racist policies and rally behind the people raising their voice against racial discrimination.

---

### Inflation Benefits Whom ?

The capitalists have thrived during the days of galloping inflation according to a study of the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation.

The study covering 651 public and private sector companies financed by it shows that losses made by companies in their weightage in total sales declined sharply in 1974-75 where the economy was subjected to runaway inflation. The number of companies with a return on capital employed above 20 per cent also rose sharply in 1974-75 from 195 in the previous year to 237.

The Study point out that the industries were able to raise prices more than the price inflation warranted and that enabled them to make profits.

## N F I R Convention at Triupati

After lapse of 4 years, the annual Convention of NFIR was held at Tirupati on June 12-13. This period witnessed several struggles of Railwaymen, including that of the Loco Running Staff in 1973 and the historic strike in May, 1974, which according to General Secretary was "a period of stress and strain". He took satisfaction at the steps taken to keep the wheels moving. The patronage of the Ministry to this convention can be well imagined from the attendance of Minister, State Minister and Deputy Minister of Railways as well as the Union Minister of State for Industries and Civil Supplies.

The NFIR reciprocated to such official patronage by welcoming emergency, calling for consolidation of gains, implementing 20 point programme etc and warning railwaymen about the forces of disruption.

They could not however conceal the fact that there is "uncalled for interference in the implementation of the accepted decisions taken on the recommendation of Miabhoy Tribunal". The General Secretary of the NFIR was unhappy that many important recommendations were yet to be implemented. He also noted many urgent staff problems viz. shrinkage of employment, unrealistic economy measures, increasing gap between the workers and officers, piling up of unredressed staff grievances, which required close and sympathetic

understanding. In his report, he further observed that the Union Railway Minister's budget speech calling for strengthening grievance redressal machinery has not been implemented. In respect of cadre restructuring and anomalies he mentioned that even the agreed decisions have not been implemented. About J.C.M. machinery he felt that there is inordinate delay in disposal of the matters.

Such admissions on the part of this Govt-patronised organisation indicates a growing sense of resentment amongst railwaymen who find that none of their basic problems, like Bonus, revision of wage structure, hours of duty etc. have been solved. It is becoming increasingly difficult even for the NFIR to pacify their followers by agreed decisions which remain unimplemented.

As expected, the report welcomed the amendments to the Constitution proposed by the Swaran Singh Committee. Particular satisfaction about incorporation of the word "Socialism" has been recorded. But the report could not conceal the fact that taking service matters outside the jurisdiction of the courts is not liked by railwaymen and hence the report urged upon the Govt. to keep an open mind and finalise the same in consultation with organised labour, meaning NFIR.

## Annual Meeting of Eastern Railwaymen's Union.

The annual meeting of the Eastern Railwaymen's Union was held at Howrah on June 17-19, 1976. The report while strongly rebutting the charge that the strike of May '74 was politically motivated, described the same as a "clean fight" for redressal of long standing economic demands of railwaymen. It expressed pains that victimisation is still continuing and the assurances of the Union Minister have not been implemented. While complimenting CITU for furnishing accounts of its legal Aid Fund and the help given to railwaymen, the report pointed out that other organisations have not replied to their appeal. The meeting re-elected Com. Paritosh Banerjee as President and Com. Bimal Dey as General Secretary. The report urged for preserving and strengthening the Unity of railwaymen achieved through the struggle, for winning the just demands.

### AIRF Convention

In this back ground, the Convention of AIRF to be held at Gauhati on July 2-6 has created a great interest amongst railwaymen. Would the AIRF continue the line of achieving fighting unity of railwaymen for unfulfilled just demands? The conspiracy to disrupt the trade union movement in S. E. R. is another point of interest. It is hoped that the convention will pursue the line of championing the cause of railwaymen adopted in 1973.

(See Page 10)

## **Other Forms of Bonus**

After the enactment of the Payment of Bonus Act, 1965, a question arose whether the said Act was a complete codification in respect of bonus of all kinds, that is to say, whether the workmen could claim any bonus dehors the said Act. The question was further confused by the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Sanghvi Jeevraj Ghewarchand (1). In that case the question was whether the employees in establishments not being factories which employ less than 20 persons as well as in public sector though employing more than 20 persons could claim bonus dehors the Act. The Court decided that they could not. But some observations of Mr. Justice Shelat in that case gave scope for a contention on the part of the employers that the only kind of bonus which the employees could claim was that contemplated in the said Act. In other words they could not claim either customary bonus or festivity bonus. The observations which gave rise to such a speculation are as follows :

“Considering the legislation. the background and the circumstances in which the Act was enacted, the object of the Act and its scheme, it is not possible to accept the construction suggested on behalf of the respondents, that the Act is not an exhaustive Act dealing comprehensively with the subject-matter of bonus in all its aspects or that Parliament still left it open to

whom the Act does not apply by reason of its provisions either as to exclusion or exemption to raise a dispute with regard to bonus through Industrial Adjudication under the Industrial Disputes Act or other corresponding law”.

There was no reason for superradding that meaning to these observations of Mr. Justice Shelat inasmuch as obviously and admittedly the Payment of Bonus Act was nothing but a profit sharing bonus though Section 10 thereof provided for a minimum bonus irrespective of profits.

In the case of the Mumbai Kamgarsabha, Bombay v. Messrs Abdulbhai Iaizullabhai and others (Civil Appeal No. 61 of 1971 dated 10th March, 1976) Justice Krishna Iyer on behalf of the Supreme Court was confronted with the question whether the Bonus Act interdicted any demand for customary bonus or bonus as a condition of service. In this case the employees represented by the Kamgarsabha were scattered among a large number of hardware businesses though each unit of such business excepting only four had less than statutory minimum of 20 workmen. The workmen claimed that they had been getting from their employers bonus till the year 1965 after which the employers declined to pay any bonus to the employees. The matter went to a Board of Arbitrators appointed under Section 10A of the Indus-

trial Disputes Act but the Arbitrators rejected the demand for bonus. A dispute was raised and it was referred for adjudication to an Industrial Tribunal and the Tribunal dismissed the claim for bonus in limine, inter alia, holding that the Bonus Act was a comprehensive and exhaustive law dealing with the entire subject of bonus and therefore no species of bonus could survive outside the limits set by the Bonus Act.

The question, therefore, arose whether the Bonus Act was a comprehensive code and set up any bar to the claim for any bonus other than profit-based bonus contemplated in the Act. Justice Krishna Iyer, in arriving at his conclusion that the Bonus Act was not a complete code, not only relied upon the textual interpretation of the statute but also upon teleological principles of interpretation. He relied upon the words of Plowden that every law consists of two parts, namely, body and soul and that the letter of the law is the body of the law and sense and reason of the law is its soul. Justice Iyer referred to Part IV of the Constitution to know the sense and reason of the law and, according to him, statutory interpretation of such social welfare legislations as the Payment of Bonus Act must look for light to Part IV of the Constitution. He said, “Where judicial choices are available, the construction in conformity with the social philosophy of Part IV has preference”.

The objects and reasons of the Bonus Act indicated that the

subject-matter of the statute was bonus based on profit. So also did the report of the Commission on Bonus. In the body of the Act were discussed the accounting year, gross profit and the computation thereof, the methodology of arriving at the available surplus and the items deductible from gross profits, and Justice Iyer held that all these have intimate relevance to profit bonus and are irrelevant to concepts of customary or traditional or contractual bonus. Even Section 17, according to the learned Judge, pointed out that the Act itself contemplated other species of bonus than profit bonus, because the provision for deduction or adjustment of bonus paid on account of Puja and Custom against bonus payable under the Act showed that the legislature was cognisant of the existence of other forms of bonus than profit bonus. The matter was clinched according to the learned Judge by the Long Title now expanded by Payment of Bonus (Amendment) Act, 1975 wherein the substituted Long Title reads as "An act to provide for the payment of bonus to persons employed in certain establishments on the basis of profits or on the basis of production or productivity and for matters connected therewith". Justice Iyer said that the amendment of the Long Title implied that formerly only a narrower species of bonus, namely, that based on profit had alone been dealt with.

This judgment of Justice Iyer is, to say the least, a victory for the working class. The workers

throughout the country were feeling restricted and hamstrung by the provisions of the Payment of Bonus Act, 1965 and it was their contention throughout that the said Act did not codify all species of bonus but merely laid down the procedure of claiming and realising bonus based on profits. Some judicial decisions eclipsed this valid contention of the workmen and the judgment of Mr. Justice Iyer is welcome because it has helped to remove the cloud thrown over this question by the decision of the Supreme Court in Ghewar-chand's case.

Incidentally, it may not be irrelevant to point out the conditions under which customary bonus could be claimed by the workmen. Justice Iyer has quoted with approval the decision in *Ispahani Ltd. v. Ispahani Employees Union* (2). In that case as well as in the case of *Graham Trading Co. and its Workmen* (3) it was held that the Tribunal who enters upon an adjudication in regard to customary or traditional bonus will have to consider: (a) whether the payment has been over an unbroken series of years (b) whether it has been for a sufficiently long period (c) the circumstances that the payment did not depend upon the earning of profits and therefore it must have to be shown that payment was made also in years of loss and (d) the payments must have been at a uniform rate throughout. The Court also held in these cases that the fact that the payment was called *ex gratia* would not make any difference.

The tests for festivity bonus are less stringent. For example, the period for which the bonus continued to be paid may normally have to be longer to justify an inference of traditional and customary bonus than may be the case with Puja Bonus based upon implied term of employment.

Justice Iyer did not stop to consider the question whether Section 31A inserted in the Payment of Bonus Act by the Amendment Act, imposing a ceiling would affect the amount of customary or traditional or festivity bonus. He bypassed the question by observing that it did not arise for decision, though he seemed to have taken a judicial notice of the evil of such limits being set.

I cannot resist the temptation of commenting in the context of this case on the disaster that might result from the proposed amendment of the Constitution under which adjudication by Industrial Tribunals is being sought to be taken outside judicial review. Such amendments, if they were already in force, would surely have prevented this judgement of Iyer, J. being delivered in the case under review. Power of judicial superintendence over tribunals is, therefore, in the present situation prevailing in the country, indispensable for ensuring and maintaining democracy.

(1) AIR 1969 SC 530 = 1969 (1) LLJ 719

(2) (1960) I SCR 24

(3) (1960) I SCR 107

**Arun Prokas Chattejee**

An interesting study on the finances of 1650 selected medium and large non-financial, public companies in the private sector, has been published in the September 1975 issue of the Reserver Bank of India Bulletin. The Study covers companies with paid-up capital of Rs. 5 lakhs and above. Although the study leaves out a large number of companies, mostly in the small-size group, it reveals some significant facts some of which are analysed below. In most cases comments and analysis are quoted from the Bulletin itself.

(1) **Distribution of companies according to size groups (1973-74)**

Size of paid-up capital in Rs.	No. of Companies	Paid-up capital (in Rs.)	Paid-up capital as percentage of total paid-up capital of all 1650 companies
5-10 lakhs	160	11	0.7
10- 25 „	415	68	4.0
25- 50 „	408	143	8.4
50-100 „	298	210	12.2
1- 2 crores	172	237	13.9
2- 5 „	150	440	25.7
5 crores & above „	57	602	35.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>1650</b>	<b>1711</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The above table shows that, 369 companies in the top capital bracket (with paid up capital above Rs. 1 crore) constituted only 22.4 per cent of the total number of companies, but they controlled nearly 75 per cent of the total paid-up capital of all the selected companies. Another 706 companies in the medium sized group ( with paid-up capital between Rs. 25 lakhs and 1 crore ) constituting 43 per cent of the total number, controlled 21 per cent of the total paid up capital.

Thus, large and medium sized companies constituting 65.4 per cent of the total number, controlled about 96 per cent of the total paid-up capital, whereas medium size companies in the lowest bracket ( paid-up capital Rs. 5 to Rs. 25 lakhs ) which constitute about 35 per cent of the total number, controlled only a little more than 4 per cent of the total paid-up capital of the selected companies.

# Finances And Working Of Big Business In 1973-74

## Growth and working of companies

The salient features of the performance of private sector companies during 1973-74, shown by the study, are an increase in the rate of growth in both value of production and total income, a slowing down of the rate of growth of sales, a *substantial increase in profits after tax* and a decline in the dividend distribution due to Government restrictions resulting in a *steep rise in retained profits*.

## (II) Growth and working of medium and large companies (1973-74)

(Percentage increase or decrease)  
70'-71 71'-72 72'-73 73'-74

1. Net worth (paid-up capital + forfeited shares + reserves and surplus)	—	6.6	6.7	8.9
2. Gross assets plus inventories	—	9.2	7.7	10.8
3. Net assets plus inventories	—	8.0	5.8	10.7
4. Sales	—	12.1	11.0	8.7
5. Total Income	—	11.8	9.1	11.0
6. Value of production	—	11.7	9.0	11.0
7. Profits after tax	—	-0.2	5.1	25.0
8. Profits retained as percentage of profits after tax	51.1	48.4	47.1	61.3
9. Profits after tax as percentage of net worth	11.2	10.5	10.3	11.9
10. Sales as percentage of total net assets	100.2	104.1	108.8	105.5
11. Gross profits as percentage of sales	10.3	10.0	9.5	10.5

The Table shows that, whereas the growth rate of value of production increased from 9.0 per cent in 1972-73 to 11.0 per cent in 1973-74, during the same period the growth rate of sales declined from 11.0 per cent to 8.7 per cent. The percentage of sales to total net assets also declined from 108.8 to 105.5 during this period. On the other hand, total net assets, total income and profits after tax showed sizeable increase in the same period. In fact, the growth rate of Profits after tax jumped from 5.1

# Business In 1973-74

per cent in 1972-73 to 25.0 per cent in 1973-74. The profit margin on sales (as measured by the ratio of gross profits to sales) also shows a rise from 9.5 per cent in 1972-73 to 10.5 per cent in 1973-74.

The significant point is that the growth rate of profits and profitability of large and medium companies showed a substantial increase in 1973-74 over the past year, despite the fact that growth rate of sales was showing a sizeable decline. This only goes to emphasise the fact that while the fall in demand and purchasing power of the people during this period brought about a decline in the growth rate of sales, the companies managed to reap the benefits of high prices and inflationary conditions to increase their profitability.

The companies in the top capital bracket (369 large and medium companies with paid up capital above Rs. 1 crore) played dominant role and enjoyed the major share of this prosperity. The companies in this group accounted for 70.2 per cent of the total net assets, 65.3 per cent of the total value of production, 65.6 per cent of the sales, 73.3 per cent of the profits after tax and 69.8 per cent of the retained profits of all companies, covered by the Study.

## Growth in Assets formation

The growth of assets formation of large and medium companies covered by the Study, during the period 1971-72, to 1973-74, may be seen from the following Table :

## (III) Growth of Assets formation

Total for 1650 companies	(Crores of Rupees)		
	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
Gross fixed assets	378.08	469.50	526.26
Inventories	302.21	149.76	411.83
Loans, Advances, etc.	118.10	84.19	202.23
Investments	7.53	14.66	8.80
Cash & Bank balances	13.24	15.21	120.68
<b>Total Assets</b>	<b>818.68</b>	<b>735.03</b>	<b>1265.32</b>

The table shows that gross assets formation of the selected companies which had declined from Rs. 819 crores in 1971-72 to Rs. 732 crores in

1972-73, rose to Rs. 1265 crores in 1973-74—a rise of about Rs. 533 crores in one year.

The growth in gross fixed assets at Rs. 526 crores constituted 41.6 per cent of gross assets formation during the year 1973-74 and was mostly in the shape of plant and machinery (Rs. 381 crores). The growth in inventories at Rs. 412 crores accounted for 32.5 per cent of the gross assets formation with raw materials, components, etc. (Rs. 144 crores) and finished goods (Rs. 110 crores) as the main inventory items. The lower rate of growth in sales (noted earlier) was reflected in the substantial accumulation of inventory in the form of finished goods.

The industries/industry groups in which the rates of both gross and net assets formation were higher than 10 per cent were—tobacco, silk and rayon textiles, woollen textiles, glass and glassware and shipping. Both the rates were less than 5 per cent in coffee and rubber plantations, basic non-ferrous metals, matches, mineral oils, cement and printing and publishing industries.

The industries which were most affected by the decline in growth rates of sales during the year, and consequently, showed a substantial increase in the rate of inventory accumulation compared with 1972-73, were—coffee plantations (81%), rubber plantations (25%), jute textiles (29%), sugar (29%), Woollen textiles (52%), iron and steel (27%) and shipping (45%).

## Sources of finance

The following figures show the sources of funds of the 1650 large and medium companies covered by the Study :

Sources of funds	(In crores of Rupees)		
	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
<b>Internal sources—</b>			
(paid-up capital, Reserves and surplus, provisions)	482	529	647
<b>External sources—</b>			
(paid up capital, borrowings, current liabilities, etc.)	337	203	618
<b>Total</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>732</b>	<b>1265</b>

The contribution of Internal sources of finance in the gross assets formation of these companies was Rs. 647 crores (51%) in 1973-74, as against Rs. 618 crores (49%) contributed by the External sources. But the most significant fact is that, although funds

from internal sources increased by Rs. 118 crores over 1972-73 mainly due to higher retained profits, funds from external sources jumped from Rs. 203 crores in 1972-73 to Rs. 618 crores—a more than three-fold increase in one year.

Out of the internal sources in 1973-74, Reserves and Surplus constituted Rs. 195 crores (37%) and provisions Rs. 406 crores (63%). Reserves and Surplus increased by Rs. 76 crores over 1972-73, mostly due to higher retained profits as a result of curbs on dividend distribution.

Out of the external sources in 1973-74, Trade dues and current liabilities contributed Rs. 386 crores (63%) and Borrowings Rs. 223 crores (36%). Trade dues and current liabilities increased by Rs. 223 crores over 1972-73, reflecting the impact of lower sales and higher inventories. However, the Borrowings also showed a sharp increase from Rs. 33 crores (16%) in 1972-73 to Rs. 223 crores (36%) in 1973-74, reflecting a greater dependence of private sector companies on external finance mostly in the form of loans from nationalised banks and public financial institutions. Bank borrowings constituted the major source of borrowed funds, amounting to Rs. 156 crores as against a net repayment of Rs. 55 crores in 1972-73. The prominent industries in which external sources (including borrowings) contributed more than 75 per cent of the total funds were—coffee plantations, sugar, jute textiles, cement and trading.

#### Share of Wage Cost in value of production

The following figures show the percentage share of main expenditure components in the total value

of production in 1973-74, as revealed by the study of 1650 private sector companies :

<i>Expenditure component</i>	<i>Percentage of value of production</i>
Manufacturing expenses	61.9
Remuneration to employees	15.8
Repairs to building and machinery	1.8
Depreciation	3.6
Interest	3.0
Others	8.5

It will be seen that wage cost constitutes less than 16 per cent of the total value of production, as against 62 per cent contributed by manufacturing expenses and nearly 7 per cent by Depreciation and interest. Although there was a marginal increase of 0.4 per cent in the share of wage cost over 1972-73, it was still a small part of the total value of production. Moreover, a large part of the total wage cost in these companies usually consist of salaries, bonus, etc. paid to the managerial staff. Thus, the claim of the employers that rise in wage cost is the major cause of their lower profitability and financial difficulties seems to be untenable in the face of these facts.

Although the overall share of wage cost in value of production showed a marginal rise in 1973-74, the share actually showed a decline from 1972-73 in several major industries, notably—coffee plantations, rubber plantations, sugar, woollen textiles, mineral oils, electricity generation and supply, shipping, etc.

### Railwaymen

(From Page 5)

#### Railwaymen Win Cases

Mr. Justice A. K. Mookherjee of Calcutta High Court delivered judgement on May 14, 20 and 21 1976 setting aside removal order, passed under Rule 14 (ii) in 40 cases of South-Eastern Railway involving 122 workers, one case in E. Railway involving one employee and 7 cases of N. F. Railway involving 20 employees and also under Rule 149 RI in

### ILO Admits CITU's Complaint

The International Labour Organisation has admitted a complaint launched by the CITU on infringement of Trade Union rights in India, and a case

12 cases of SER involving 493 workers. It is also understood that Allahabad High Court too, had set aside the removal orders in case of 4 employees of D.L.W. and one employee of Northern Railway.

has been registered with No. 837. This has been communicated to the General Secretary CITU by Mr. Nicolas Valticos, Assistant Director General of ILO in his letter dated 14 June, 1976.

The complaint was placed before the Committee on Freedom of Association at its meeting held on 25 May, 1976. It will, however, examine the complaint in the next meeting since it has not yet received any comment from the Government of India.

# Tamilnadu Newsletter

## CITU Workers Win Election in Bharat Heavy Electricals

In the elections to the Works Committee of the Bharat Heavy Electricals Boiler Plant at Trichy, candidates of the B.H.E. Workers' Union (CITU) won three out of four seats—defeating the candidates of recognised Employees' Union and INTUC, AITUC, DMK and ADMK Unions. The BHE Boiler Plant at Trichy has 8000 workers. This victory is significant in view of the fact that, the management have so long been consistently refusing to negotiate with the CITU Union although it is the leading union with mass following among workers.

## CITU Union in Coimbatore District meet

Under the auspices of the Coimbatore - Nilgiris District Organising Committee of CITU, office-bearers of ten CITU Unions working in Textile, Engineering, Cement, Tea and Coffee, Municipalities and Panchayats etc. in the Coimbatore Town and Taluka met on June 3, 1976. Resolutions were adopted criticizing the LIC (Modification of Settlement) Act, the proposal for Workers Sector and the steps being taken by the Government in the name of National Wage Policy. Copies of the resolutions have been sent to the Prime Minister of India

## CITU Candidates Win in Election

At a secret ballot conducted by the management of Sabari Textile Mills, Tirichy for election

of workers' representatives in the Shop Council, all the seven seats were won by CITU candidates defeating the INTUC candidates.

## Joint Efforts by Workers to raise demands

In Tiruchy Textile Mills, a CITU Branch Committee was organised which raised demands of the workers regarding confirmation, E.S.I, Canteen, fixation of wages etc.

In the Karur Mills, a 19-point Charter of Demands has been formulated and presented to management jointly by the CITU INTUC, DMK and ADMK Unions.

## Large scale Lay-offs in Sugar Industry

Due to the uneconomic prices of sugar cane fixed by the Government, cane growers are switching over to other commercial crops. The non-availability of sufficient cane for crushing has led to closure of sugar mills and large scale lay-off of workers. Nearly 2400 workers of the three Sugar Mills in Tiruchy district were laid off from March 11 last. A temporary Court injunction was obtained against the lay-off in Kothari Sugar Mills. By end of April all the 10 private sector mills and 7 cooperative sector mills in Tamil Nadu have stopped crushing due to lack of cane and have laid off all workers.

## Struggles of Textile Workers

The 600 workers of Meenakshi Mills in Madurai District staged

## Retrenchment In Bunge & Co.

Jyoti Basu, Vice-President, CITU, in his letters dated 16th June, 1976 has asked the intervention of the Union Minister for Commerce and the State Labour Minister on the retrenchment of 54 out of 71 employees by M/s. Bunge & Co., in their Calcutta Office.

He has pointed out that the Bunge & Co., is a multinational Company doing 5 to 10% of Indian Jute Exports with its headquarters in London, and their plea that the trade is declining is unwarranted when the Government of India has already increased its Cash Export Subsidy to Rs. 40/- crores.

---

a stay in for four days from April 11 demanding Bonus arrears for 1974 which the management had failed to disburse. A settlement was reached in the presence of the State Labour Officer under which the management agreed to pay the arrears before 20th May. There will be no victimisation.

All the 1200 workers of the Cauvery Spinning and Weaving Mills have been laid off without payment of wages following the closure of the Mill in October 1975. The workers are in extreme hardship. All representations have failed and the State level Apex Body has also failed to produce any result. The Director of Handlooms suggested retrenchment of 200 workers and reduction in wages. The CITU has rejected the proposal. Large scale lay-offs are also being resorted to by other Textile Mills on the plea of lack of demand for cloth.

# What Caused Second Chasnala Disaster ?

One of the biggest mining disasters of the world took place in Chasnala Colliery on 27.12.75. The 1st Court of enquiry which was constituted to find out the causes and circumstances of the accident is continuing its enquiry. But it is strange that within four months of the 1st accident, the 2nd accident took place on 5.4.76; five precious lives were lost as a result of this accident.

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions, Colliery Mazdoor Sabha of India and Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union which are parties to the 1st Court of enquiry have submitted a written statement before the Court of Enquiry for Chasnala Colliery 2nd accident. In the statement, these organisations stated that the accident occurred when a team of seven employees was busy surveying the mine. Two escaped with injuries but the other five were victims of the accident and their dead bodies were later on rescued. The statement further says that one of the victims, Shri S. Roychowdhury, a Surveyor complained in writing on 28.2.76 last that the place which he and others were advised to survey was declared unsafe. In spite of this, he was forced to go down with the team. The statement says that the survey team apprehended the danger from the surface water, and requested the management to de-water the surface first and then to start survey work; but this was totally ignored by the management.

It was alleged by the Vice-President, Colliery Staff Association, Chasnala that the management was not in a position to send any search party for two missing Chainmen. The Vice-President made a serious allegation that some mischief was going on. The statement further says that it was reported that there was no safety personnel at the time when survey party was doing its work.

The statement placed the following as main causes of this accident :

1. Gross violation of Mining regulations by the management ( Specially Cl. No. 126 of Mines Regulations 1957 )
2. Violation of Mines Safety rules by the management.
3. Utter negligence and callous attitude towards the workmen by the management.
4. Inadequate check up by the Mines safety Directorate.

---

## Andhra Pradesh Newsletter

### Victimisation in A. P. Paper Mill

Following the suspension of the recognition of the A.P. Paper Mill Staff & Workers' Union (CITU), by the management on the charge of 'go slow' by workers of finishing department, conciliation proceedings were started by the Deputy Labour Commissioner. The State Labour Minister also called a meeting of all unions at Hyderabad. But the CITU did not send a representative in protest against suspension of 8 finishers and 6 trainees of the same department on the eve of the meeting. The workers of the finishing department also stopped work for three days, in protest. Ultimately, at the intervention of the District Collector and Sub-collector, a tripartite meeting was held and the management agreed to withdraw all suspensions, pending decision of the Dy. Labour Commissioner and go slow was

to be withdrawn. All the workers have been taken back.

### Anti-worker agreement in Hindusthan Shipyard

After negotiations for 1½ years, the Labour Union signed an anti-worker agreement on November 15 last with the Shipyard management. If implemented, the agreement would result in great loss in wages to workers. However, the Shipping Ministry has not ratified the agreement. In the meantime, the management announced a new scale of pay and allowances on May 25, 1976. If approved and implemented, it would result in reducing the basic wages and DA by Rs 35 to Rs.125 or more. The management claims that the new scales have been prepared according to directives laid down by the Central Government. The workers following CITU have issued a leaflet criticising the anti-worker provisions of the new scales.

## BOOK REVIEW

**Bharater Shramik Andolaner Itihas Vol. I and II By Sukomal Sen, Published by Nabajatak Prakashan, Cal 7**

To say the least, Sukomal Sen's History of Trade Union Movement in India (in Bengali) has been written in not the hide-bound traditional manner of bourgeois historians with which we are too familiar. The greatest merit of this book is that it made an attempt to place working men's struggle in the correct perspective of the political struggle for emancipation of the country from the British Imperialists.

By doing so, the author may have no doubt trod on the corn of those who want to keep trade union movement separate from the political movement.

In fact, the question of the relation between the economic and the political struggle has been in the forefront of every Marxist discussion on the topic.

In the conditions of India that prevailed before her independence, the economic struggle of the workers was intertwined with the political struggle of the entire people for independence and the author has tried to separate the threads and trends of such intertwining of the two struggles. He has pointed out in course of this history how the reformists wanted to concentrate on the economic struggle of the workers for greater concessions from individual capitalists and how on the other hand the communists wanted to take this struggle beyond the immediate goal of economic and to give it a

wide character of political struggle. Such a contradiction in the trade union movement led to division in the ranks and in the thirties All India Trade Union Congress divided into three, namely, All India Trade Union Congress, the All India Trade Union Federation and the Red Trade Union Congress.

Whether this division could have been avoided or not is not for me to say but the author has in his own way made an attempt to place before his readers the main cause of this division as being the separatist tendency of the reformists who did not want to involve the working class in the political struggle.

The author has also with success been able to point out how the then congress leadership, throughout the years of struggle against the British, prevented the working class from acquiring any ascendancy in the political struggle for independence. Whenever the working class made an advance that way, it was too frightening for the bourgeois leadership, and the latter did not hesitate to beat a hasty retreat and strike patently opportunist and defeatist compromise with the British.

The dynamics of struggle against the imperialists ultimately united the different trade unions but again in 1947, on the eve of India attaining independence, the Congress caused another split in the trade union movement by setting up the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

On 3rd and 4th May, 1947, the Trade Union workers and leaders politically affiliated to the Congress met at Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel. A resolution was adopted at that meeting resolving to set up the Indian National Trade Union Congress with the avowed object of weaning away the working class from the Communist leadership which was said to be opposed to peaceful evolution and democratic processes of change.

The decision to form the Indian National Trade Union Congress as a wing of the Indian National Congress was an attempt of the ruling classes to make the working class play a subservient role and protect the interests of the bourgeois landlord government by splitting the working class.

Sukomal Sen's history is not only thought-provoking about the interaction of politics and economics in the struggle of the working class in India; it is also important as a book where he has collected and gathered the materials, statistics and data of the growth of the working class movement as an economic force. He has shown how from humble beginnings the working class in India grew to great strength and shook the very citadels of vested interests by their strike struggles in the twenties of the present century and thereafter. He has shown the increase in the strength of the working class not only in numbers but also in their political importance.

It is hoped that both the volumes will cater to a long felt need of trade union and research workers for a comprehensive survey of the growth of the working class movement in India.

—A.P.C.

# WFTU And Solidarity with Brazilian Workers

"The Brazilian working class has never accepted a regime which, right from the start, showed its anti-working class character. It has always found forms of struggle to defend its interests and protect itself against repression". Thus wrote World Trade Union Movement, official organ of the World Federation of Trade Unions in its December 1975 issue.

The WFTU journal exposed the dictatorial regime in Brazil in the issue without mincing words. It said, "The forms and the level of working class struggles as well as the conduct of trade union movement during the past years cannot be understood without appreciating the arsenal of legality and terrorism built up by the fascist dictatorship in order to subjugate the working class. Thus institutional Act No. 5 labels all opposition activity or simple disobedience of the regime as a crime against national security. Then law on strikes forbids practically all legal work stoppages by wage earners. The law on national security punishes the "illegal" strike and also any movement for demands with sentences—of up to ten years imprisonment."

The suppression of trade union movement by and imposition of State patronised unions on the working class by the dictatorial regime was described by the journal in the following words. "The corporate type of trade union structure imposed by law puts the unions in a position

of being auxiliary bodies dependent on the Ministry of Labour, thus putting them in the position of being supplementary instruments of these oppressive systems. The working class and the class-based trade union movement have, in these circumstances, had to find suitable forms of struggle capable of safeguarding the unions and organising resistance and opposition to the regime".

Workers of many countries in the world who are facing dictatorial regimes will find the description suitable to their own country. For example their programme of action is almost identical to that of the working class of Brazil. To quote the WFTU journal once again :

"Despite the difficulties and obstacles erected by the dictatorship, a process of unification of urban and rural progressive forces can be seen in the struggle against imperialism, based on an anti-dictatorship programme for the whole opposition, the main points of which can be summed up as follows :

- \* Increased wages with a sliding scale based on the cost of living.

- \* Social security for the workers and its extension to agricultural workers.

- \* Establishment of and respect for trade union representation at workplaces.

- \* Guarantee of the right to strike and the repeal of all repressive anti-working class legislation.

- \* Respect for freedom of

organisation for agricultural workers.

- \* Full trade union liberty and independence.

- \* Carrying out of agrarian reform by expropriation of all big land holdings with compensation in the form of long term public bonds.

- \* Suspension for a period of ten years of all exports of profits, interest, royalties and foreign currency.

- \* Freeing of all political and trade union prisoners and re-establishment of trade union and democratic liberties.

The CITU welcomes the solidarity of the WFTU with the working class of Brazil. The WFTU has also called for intensified united participation by unions and workers of the world in international solidarity actions to put an end to the murders, for respect of human rights, for the freeing of prisoners, for amnesty for political detainees and for the reestablishment of trade union and democratic liberties. Indian working class also support the struggle of the Brazilian workers against the dictatorial regime. One however feels sorry to note that the WFTU does not express similar solidarity with the working class of some countries who are being most brutally suppressed by the dictatorial regimes. One cannot but express his surprise when in some cases the WFTU has even characterised the dictatorial regimes as progressive and democratic. The working class of such countries have every right to expect solidarity from the WFTU.

If the WFTU adopts a uni-

*On Page Fifteen*

## Number of Registered Unemployed

State/Union Territory	Number of Applicants on the live Register of Employment Exchanges at the end of (000's)	
	December '74	December '75
Andhra Pradesh	571	606
Assam	123	172
Bihar	986	1,052
Gujarat	297	317
Haryana	207	212
H. P.	68	71
J & K	23	33
Karnataka	340	366
Kerala	588	691
Madhya Pradesh	433	470
Maharashtra	707	767
Manipur	20	28
Meghalaya	7	9
Orissa	336	351
Punjab	252	296
Rajasthan	228	264
Tamil Nadu	600	731
Tripura	45	46
Uttar Pradesh	759	854
West Bengal	1,610	1,711
Chandigarh	28	32
Delhi	164	193
Goa	24	29
Lakshadweep	2	3
Mizoram	1	3
Pondicherry	16	17
Andaman & Nicobar	—	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8,435</b>	<b>9,326</b>

(Source : Indian Labour Journal)

## Brazilian Workers

From Page Fourteen  
form policy in expressing solidarity with working class of every capitalist country it would only contribute to strengthening of the international solidarity of the working class. After all, this was the basic principle that brought WFTU into existence 30 years ago !

## Consumer Price Index Numbers ( Industrial Workers/Base 1960=100 )

State/Centre	1976			State/Centre	1976		
	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.		Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>							
Gudur	273	257	274				
Guntur	305	303	310				
Hyderabad	294	289	289				
<b>Assam</b>							
Digboi	302	303	304				
Doom Dooma	239	238	237				
Labac	244	237	245				
Mariani	238	238	242				
Rangapara	234	229	231				
<b>Bihar</b>							
Jamshedpur	277	275	275				
Jharia	283	275	272				
Kodarma	315	299	297				
Monghyr	308	299	290				
Noamundi	286	276	272				
<b>Gujarat</b>							
Ahmedabad	273	268	273				
Bhavnagar	294	290	292				
<b>Haryana</b>							
Yamunanagar	313	310	313				
<b>J &amp; K</b>							
Srinagar	269	274	306				
<b>Karnataka</b>							
Ammathi	294	286	286				
Bangalore	312	304	302				
Chikmagalur	302	293	301				
Kolar G.F.	309	289	292				
<b>Kerala</b>							
Alleppey	342	339	341				
Alwaye	318	322	325				
Mundakayam	311	311	312				
<b>Madhya Pradesh</b>							
Balaghat	286	287	296				
Bhopal	279	270	278				
Gwalior	298	293	301				
Indore	305	301	308				
<b>Maharashtra</b>							
Bombay	288	286	291				
Nagpur	286	277	281				
Sholapur	301	291	300				
<b>Orissa</b>							
Barbil	276	278	291				
Sambalpur	295	290	292				
<b>Punjab</b>							
Amritsar		316	310	309			
<b>Rajasthan</b>							
Ajmer		286	278	286			
Jaipur		299	288	295			
<b>Tamilnadu</b>							
Coimbatore		293	289	281			
Coonoor		288	288	286			
Madras		280	272	272			
Madurai		295	280	280			
<b>U. P.</b>							
Kanpur		277	271	279			
Saharanpur		301	293	304			
Varanasi		318	311	308			
<b>West Bengal</b>							
Asansol		304	302	306			
Calcutta		271	276	286			
Darjeeling		238	235	239			
Howrah		276	277	283			
Jalpaiguri		237	236	248			
Raniganj		291	286	293			
Delhi		326	324	323			
<b>Other Centres*</b>							
Berhampur ('49)	390	391	386				
Cuttack ('49)	356	350	353				
Jabalpur (1949)	384	377	381				
Beawar ('51-52)	311	293	297				
Tripura (1961)	276	276	275				
H. P. (1965)	229	217	217				
Goa (1966)	201	200	198				
Bhilai (1966)	189	187	190				
Bhilwara ('66)	179	172	173				
Chhindwara ('66)	161	156	158				
Kothagudam ('66)	181	182	183				
Rourkella ('66)	203	201	202				
All India ('49)	352	348	351				
—do—('60)	290	286	289				

\* Figures in bracket indicate base year.

(Labour Bureau, Simla)

## INTUC And Tea Plantation Wages

K. P. Tripathi, President Indian National Plantation Workers Federation (INTUC) has issued an interesting statement to the press. The statement has been published in the INTUC journal Indian Worker in its issue of June 7, 1976. The statement reads "Tea industry has enjoyed a windfall of profit when the prices were doubled after 1973, particularly in 1974-75. The industry's wage cost has, however, come down from 32 per cent to 16 per cent even according to the showing of the Indian Tea Association and the owners are busy either diverting or hiding their huge profits at a time when the wage is lower than what has been fixed as minimum for subsistence level agriculturists with hardly a few acres, as against for tea garden owners owning thousands of acres. The difference is glaring".

Tea plantation workers in Assam very well know that their present wage scales have been fixed by the agreement between the tea planters and the INTUC unions. These agreements were signed behind the back of workers and the workers were never consulted before signing the agreements. It is a common complaint in Assam that INTUC leaders always used to agree for a very low rate of wages and never planned for any struggle to get the wages increased. There is no wonder that the wages of plantation workers are lower than many

other industries. The low wages of Assam also contributed in depressing the wages in other states.

The tea planters finding the situation very favourable did not allow non-INTUC unions to grow. As a result trade union

rights are virtually non-existent in the high ranges.

Understandably, K. P. Tripathi has to observe silence on all these questions. Who prevented Tripathi in the past to make united efforts to push up the wages of tea-plantation workers? Who is preventing him now to do what he failed to do in the past?

( From Page Three )

State-wise Number of Strikes, Lock-outs and Strikes Followed by Lock-outs and Mandays Lost in Private Sector During June 1975 to April 1976.

State/Union Territory	Strike		Lock-out		Strike followed by lockout	
	Number	Mandays lost	Number	Mandays lost	Number	Mandays lost
Andhra Pradesh	24	74,523	3	51,636	—	—
Assam	4	9,941	—	—	—	—
Bihar	33	58,979	5	23,822	3	5,464
Gujarat	52	47,381	3	428,976	2	4,086
Haryana	6	8,338	—	—	—	—
Karnataka	9	33,318	1	60	—	—
Kerala	37	120,553	10	10,096	—	—
Madhya Pradesh	26	4,606	1	60	—	—
Maharashtra	270	345,009	8	14,085	10	114,202
Orissa	2	3,250	—	—	1	72,070
Punjab	9	12,083	2	8,363	—	—
Rajasthan	15	35,788	—	—	—	—
Tamil Nadu	167	1185,399	17	75,550	15	357,588
Uttar Pradesh	44	162,537	16	1118,519	2	2,229
West Bengal	88	542,910	127	1902,978	13	803,348
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chandigarh	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delhi	16	7,372	—	—	—	—
Goa	2	11,988	—	—	—	—
Pondichery	6	21,060	—	—	—	—

### EDITORIAL BOARD

B. T. Ranadive (Chairman)

P. Ramamurti Monoranjan Ray

Niren Ghosh Sudhin Kumar

M. K. Pandhe (Editor)