

Complementary Copy

ON THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS

B. T. RANADIVE



Joint Action Committee of Unions and
Associations of Autonomous Research Institutions
(JACARI) WEST BENGAL

PREFACE

India achieved its freedom under the leadership of a bourgeois-landlord alliance in a society where a predominantly feudal mode of production prevailed. Though a number of research institutes were formed after independence, such a society failed to unleash a natural demand for science in the interest of the social production. As a consequence no organisation of scientific workers, dedicated to the mission of using science for the self-reliance of the country, could come into being. Groups of liberal scientists did form some associations, but the purpose of those groups was more to create a milieu of a modicum of research activity rather than to link the scientific activity to fulfil the aspirations of a newly liberated nation. However, any honest pursuit in science fails to bring success without having a conscious effort coupled to the aims and objectives of the national development. Contradictions therefore, began to develop and within two decades after independence, the symptoms of a decadent scientific culture were distinctly detected. Suicides of sincere scientists, victimisation of outspoken employees, signs of provincialism in the power centre of national science, rampant corruption and nepotism marred the history of post-independence Indian science even in the research centres which were autonomous in character. The situation in West Bengal was in no way different. In the late sixties, in a favourable situation during the United Front regime, some form of organisations were set up at various institutes in this state to lodge their protest against exploitation, victimisation and also to help the victimised employees to fight against injustice. In the early seventies attack on the democratic movements of the people took place during emergency when all democratic norms were overthrown and the autocratic rule of the authorities became the order of the day. This is also the period when extreme suffering was hurled on the people working in autonomous research institutes. This ruthless attack by the government uniformly on all sections, in turn, moulded an unprecedented unity between the various sections of the scientific workers within an institute as also between the workers of different scientific institutions. With the lifting of emergency, these like-minded people met together and decided to form an organisation which would encompass all sections of the employees in various autonomous research institutes. This is in brief the history of the genesis of JACARI (Joint Action Committee of Unions and Associations of Autonomous Research Institutions, West Bengal).

While JACARI was being formed, the founder group was not unanimous in identifying the primary objectives which could be common

to all autonomous research institutions. At this time an opportunity of having a short appointment (not lasting more than fifteen minutes) with Com. B. T. Ranadive, was available. Com. Ranadive listened to the problems and almost immediately came out with the answer. "To fight against the autocratic administration should be your primary objective. The wrong and motivated policy of the government has slowly transformed the 'autonomy' of these institutes into 'autocracy'. The basic objective of your organisation should be to remove this autocracy and create a truly democratic atmosphere in the research institutions." Com. Ranadive with his brilliant foresight thus steered JACARI in a proper course and that motion continued for a full decade.

"Democratisation of the structure of the research institutes" became the main slogan of JACARI since its inception and remained the major demand along with two more issues, namely, the recognition of the trade unions and the removal of the master-servant relationship. Looking at the success of these movements, associations of research institutes from other states were attracted towards JACARI. In spite of these successes, JACARI noticed a discernible slackening trend in various fighting unions within its fold. It is also observed that the slackness of any organisation is directly proportional to the amount of success it achieved in the previous struggle. Leadership of JACARI sought the help of Com. Ranadive to enlighten them about this problem. He went through all the documents of JACARI and delivered an address in the Open Session of the 9th Annual General Meeting of JACARI, held in December 7, 1983, at Calcutta. This is the text of that speech reproduced from the taped version, excepting for some minor and obvious changes. Our explanatory notes are given in italics, whereas the portions in bold-face appeared to us to be most important statements in the entire lecture. The readers may, of course, have a varied opinion about this. We tried to get the matter approved by Com. Ranadive but because of his protracted illness the attempt was not successful.

We consider this address to be a treasure-mine not only for the people involved in the movements of scientific workers but also for the people involved in the movements of trade unions in general. In order that this message may reach a wider mass, we are publishing the address in this form. Through the publication of this booklet, we pay our deep homage to Com. B. T. Ranadive, who not only framed the guidelines of our movements in its formative stage and advised us to carry forward the movement with optimism, but also charted our future course of action at a crucial juncture of the history of our nation.

—JACARI

Friends,

I am glad to be in your midst to share with you the discussions on the problems that are facing you. I have gone through the literature, the leaflets, the circulars that you have issued earlier and the latest document issued in November this year. From all this I could get a very comprehensive idea of the nature of your organisation, the problems faced by it and the perspective of your organisation. At the outset I must say that it is a very unique organisation, perhaps nowhere in the country this kind of organisation exists or if it exists I am not aware of it...an organisation which brings within its folds various categories of people from research workers to administrative staff, scientists to others and tries to keep them together on the basis of a proper restructuring of the research institute. Such an organisation is very rare and of course the problems it faces are also quite special. One thing you must understand that though perhaps it started with an idea of forming a very well conducted research workers organisation in which various sections are able to join in the struggle, but all those who joined you did not necessarily have that consciousness. This is a peculiar situation in all the trade union movements in which the immediate demands of the workers are to be combined with the perspective of the organisations for serving the people. The organisations necessarily have a broad idea, broad understanding and a correct understanding regarding the relationship of the organisation with the other democratic movements of the country, so that the leading people concentrate on this aspect and move forwards. Immediately the leadership is faced with the task of ensuring the trade union rights of the workers or the organisation, like the demand for the security of job. If there is security of job, each person in the society is able to devote his time to the job on hand and contribute to his best to the good of the country and the institution.

Now it appears that some problems for you have come. From the documents I find that there seems to be certain amount of lack of fiery enthusiasm that was earlier in evidence in building the common organisation and gathering many units together. It appears that it is also a direct result of your success. The movements secure successes and after achieving successes the movements always show some slackening of effort. This is not unusual. In fact this is a part of the historical development of any struggle. Success also creates a certain amount of complacency, success also creates certain amount of self-satisfaction. Though the leading elements of any organisation start with higher consciousness and they are able to move larger sections of the masses into action, they take it for granted that they have already succeeded in transferring higher consciousness to the rest of the people, which is a delusion. Large number of people are practical people. They judge you by the practical result of your movement. Thus there is always a certain dichotomy, a certain divergence between the consciousness of the leaders and those who are following them. The present problems that you are facing today, viz a certain amount of slackness etc., should not bother you at all. They are part of your struggle. It shows also that the leading people have got higher consciousness and the other fractions are trying to come up to the mark and that coming up to the mark is not an easy thing. Generally man moves by practical experience. Only a small section of people is able to generalise those practical experiences into a general theory and therefore they are able to move forward. So when you mentioned a certain amount of slackness, I emphasize that this is a part of the historical process.

In fact, you may find that even in politics and particularly in West Bengal, people are facing the same thing. A government led by advanced political parties is able to give some relief to certain sections, for instance by distribution of lands. If by distribution of land to certain peasants, a section of poor peasants get more land, then the psychology of these people become that of a middle peasant and they look forward to that direction where they would get support for their

status as the middle peasant. Same thing takes place in the working class movements in the advanced countries. It is taken for granted that when an ordinary worker gets promoted to the post of a foreman in a factory, he is bound to vote for the conservative party in Great Britain and not for the labour party. The changes which have taken place at that moment are definitely good. But the man nurses his inspiration to improve upon his new status and sometime even forgets the movement of the past. Yet it is good that the struggle is launched. What is the net gain in this movement? That is what Marx told us about the working class struggle against the capitalist class. Starting from its inception the working class is engaged in its battle with the oppressor and it goes on like a guerilla warfare. Apparently, in the final analysis, what does an worker get out of a movement? The main class status of the working class does not change. One facility given today may be taken away tomorrow. What is the real gain? **The real gain to the working class is the ever expanding union of its class.** What remains in the end is the growing solidarity, the growing work-consciousness and the growing organisation of the class. However the success of any movement creates some kind of complacency, which is very dangerous. The leadership, of course, understands that this complacency is due to the very success. But the rest of the mass takes time to realise that the complacency is no good. This is what has been referred to as the guerilla warfare and in this war sometime you will have to retreat. But through this process the consciousness of the people becomes better and better. The same thing is happening today in the main working class movement. Today you will find in many places the main militant mass of the working class is coming from the workers of the unorganised sector. The main mass of the factory workers in many places have become complacent. The very success of their movement have created this complacency. What is the success of the movement? The organised working class movement of about forty years back was able to wrest even from the British Imperialism the system of continuous

expansion of dearness allowance which in proportion and upto certain extent could save them from major inflation. But what about the agricultural workers? What about the unorganised workers? What about the hospital workers? In comparison to the wage of an agricultural worker, the wage of an average industrial worker, even the one who only sweeps the factory, is much bigger. There is hardly any worker in the organised factories, whose emoluments along with the allowances will be less than one thousand or fifteen hundred rupees. In terms of the real value of the money it does not mean much. But it means a lot in the background of the inflationary pressure the workers had faced in the past. Now he need not have to struggle for it, because it comes automatically. The earlier trade union movements had successfully launched the struggle to compel the industries to introduce a system of regular dearness allowance and to a certain extent they had attained it. This leads to the complacency of the industrial workers.

In the meantime another interesting thing has happened. These trade union rights were being established exactly in the same period when great industries were being developed. New techniques were required, new manpower was needed. As a result a huge rural mass got attracted to the urban area. This rural mass came from a large section of untouchables and adivasis whose families had never received any proper wage. A four figure wage was something unimaginable to them. Because of this reason as well as for certain reservation of jobs etc., they remain completely satisfied for the time being, until the new generation comes. It is the second generation of the working class that is revolting now.

So what we have learnt from this? The success of the movement sometimes creates some complacency and it takes some time for the people to realize that this complacency is no good. Again the class struggle takes its course. You have to continuously create that consciousness and at the same time remain alert about the self-centeredness and economism, which are the worst diseases of the present day trade union movement in India. The CITU is trying to correct it, but the major part of the trade union movement in India is

suffering from this self-centeredness which is creating certain amount of selfishness. The self-centeredness leads to the ignorance about the problems of their own classes and largely about the problems of the country. So you are to lead this mass from self-centeredness to better consciousness and from a better consciousness to class consciousness through a continuous struggle. At least you will have to tell the people that they would have to go through this process of struggle.

So during this process in the general line of class struggle certain amount of slackening is inevitable. You should not have an idealistic conception about the working class that they are ready to fight, fight and fight for twenty four hours everytime without any reason. That is an idealistic contention and the mass rejects it at the end. The people as a whole, when they move as a social force, try to tackle practical questions. And that is how gradually they develop consciousness, strengthen the organisation and go ahead. This can be achieved by further efforts of enlightenment and efforts of education. If you properly educate the people, they should be in a position to lose their delusions as soon as some real problem starts. This is only a part of the problem. Also consider the following thing. The entire hundred percent of the people are not depending on great ideas. In the most organised unions, industrial unions inside the CITU, such as tea workers union, chatkal majdur union, even at the time of crisis the membership cannot go beyond 15% to 50% or 55%. This is happening in almost every institution. Even when I go to Durgapur, a very substantial part of the workers, though they are reportedly within our section, are out of the union. They support the union. But there is a variance of the level of consciousness that they have gained. At the same time you should not be discouraged. **In the final analysis these people will be within the organisation.**

These problems arise from a lack of understanding on the part of these workers about the importance of the trade unions and these problems are to be overcome by the conscious effort of the leadership through a correct understanding of

the class character of this section of the working people. For example we believe as if all the sections of the working class feel a strong opposition to capitalism. In reality for a very important section of the Indian working class, the main problem is the rural exploitation. He feels liberated when he comes to the city but is a slave when he goes to the village. The untouchables, the adivasis and the backwards, who have not yet got rid of their relations in the village, feel that the behaviour they receive within the factory is quite good. For them the democratic rights are only available within the factory but nothing is available within their village. The trade unions also do not appreciate the background of this working class neither do they respond to their antifeudal fight; they simply use this section. The reservation policy of the Government of India is also indirectly contributing to this process. These various factors, which try to retard our development, should be properly sensed. The important trade unions also are not free from this disease and that is how they break. The very powerful unions such as the banking unions or even the unions led by CITU, for whom I have great respect and in fact who have a very rare quality of leadership, have told me that they have no influence on their class IV employees whereas they are the real proletarian section amongst them. Can you see why? Class III sections consist of mostly Bengalees and the class IV section is mostly from the lower strata of villages of Bihar. The main problem for them is untouchability, casteism and other problems of the adivasis. The leadership of the working class movement never expresses its concern about the problems which are dangerous for these people (*class IV employees*). Where is the deficiency? Our people, who are going to teach them, do not try to understand their class-character. These class IV people have poor standard of living in Bihar and have no responsibility, like the responsibility of educating their children. Therefore they have taken the profession of money-lending and cannot be drawn easily into the mainstream of the class-struggle. You can see the reason of the failure of the trade union movement.

The leadership of these movements fail to understand the

actual psychology of the people involved. The main problem which is confronting the trade unions today is the problem of the exclusive privilege of one class of the society in India over the other. The Muslims, the Harijans, the Adivasis and other similar classes of people are concerned about it. So though a very powerful political process is alive in India, whichever or whatever organisation is formed, a lack of understanding of these problems may sometime bring their death. Traditional trade union movements have now lost these senses and are being confined more and more to the movements of the permanent workers. Those who are non-permanent are just confused. They feel that they are just left out.

Comrades, it is very good that in your document you have mentioned many other things, which are adding on to the problems of the Indian people. One important point you have raised in your document is the new bill—new trade union bill which tries to scuttle all trade union rights of the hospital workers and workers of other research institutions with a plea that they are not producing commodities. We are to be observant about the recent happenings. Recently when terror has been unleashed in Tripura, the tribal power has again been revived. Remember the incidents of the period preceding emergency. Initially people were not adequately alarmed. Then there came the bills like MISA, ESMA etc. and everything was ready. The same process is going on now. Bills are coming one after another. 59th Amendment Act, Anti-Trade Union Bill, package of reforms or the package of repressive measures to subdue the people and to subdue the working class. You have connected these happenings together and your analysis is absolutely correct. But that consciousness has to be imparted to the people, to the working class, to the research institutions and to the people who are working there. We cannot stay away. This is a struggle. The recent bill is only a part of the general attack on the democratic movement. Significantly here perhaps the traditional expression of the political analysis as usual, is not very correct. The general expression is to target Rajiv Gandhi. Is he such a big man? A man who has reached this position

because of the murder of his mother is being called a big man. This is called the analysis of the bourgeois party. Is Rajiv Gandhi the supremo? Actually what is happening? The drama of parliamentary democracy cannot be played for long by the bourgeoisie in a newly liberated backward country. Such a system sometime or later is bound to show its weaknesses. The main character of our Government, committed to the capitalist path, remained a bourgeois landlord alliance. Such an alliance, pursuing the capitalist path, will precipitate crisis in the functioning of the parliamentary democracy. If this is not properly understood the same thing will happen again. What happened with the Janata Government? It collapsed in two years. What is happening? Why the parliamentary system is not working? It cannot work. **Nowhere in the world this bourgeois parliamentary system works without freeing the peasants.** Peasants in this country are still bonded. This cannot work. Everything is becoming a farce. Opportunity for voting is a very nice thing for the people but that cannot sustain the system for long. Historic judgement on the Indian parliament is coming. All the members are pursuing the other members. It is going to collapse. Parliament itself is becoming a forum of exposing the incapacity of the whole class. There are only two alternatives...to go back or to move forward. This is the transitional period we are facing now. First of all you must understand and convince the people that it is not the question of which class is leading. Coalition of classes (*Left and democratic front*) is needed. Otherwise the collapse will come. The people who think themselves as very revolutionary do not think about this point. Take for instance the case of Left Front Government in West Bengal. You can prepare a list, a long list, telling that they are not doing this or that, but what you will be able to prove? You can prove from the whole list that the West Bengal Government is working under severe limitations. Does this prove that they are anti-revolutionary? The Government under parliamentary system, under the bourgeois-landlord class, is being charged why it is not able to bring fundamental changes in the society!

It is a disease to think that the reforms in the society can be brought by a particular person. It is a disease to think that one man can do it and another man cannot do it and this is the disease of the bourgeois parties. These parties simply see the persons and forget the classes behind them. Today when we are concentrating our attack on the ruling party i. e. Cong. (I), we are to be extremely cautious on this point. What will you teach the people? The basic fact that you will have to teach them is that the bourgeois-landlord combination is the root cause of all evil things. If this fact is properly exposed the people will understand and learn the proper tactics. Whoever from this combination comes to the power, no transformation will take place. The basic evil i.e. the bourgeois-landlord combination is to be destroyed. Only then the new forces will appear and the people will be able to move forward. It will be totally insufficient if you simply go on attacking the Cong (I) without exposing their class character. In that case the people never get any proper direction. But at the same time the people should also be given to understand that their fight against the general attack on democracy, against the attack on trade unions, against the authoritarian one party rule is a very correct path. While encouraging this fight they are also to be taught that the real battle is class battle. **None of these battles is a battle between two parties but is a battle between two classes.**

Third point that I want to stress is something very important. Throughout India in many educational institutions, people are fighting nepotism, favouritism and other vices. This struggle has started from a good intention and it is a very good struggle. But one thing is very clear i.e, the entire structure is collapsing. Parts of the old structure are never getting re-organised. The capitalist system in our country, the capitalist path of our country is destroying the entire value system of this land. Everybody is believing that ~~that~~ he is living only for himself. Every battle is being fought for mere personal gain. Corruption has become a part of our life. A small government official draws insufficient wage for ~~for~~ his daily core and cannot escape the temptation of indulg-

ing in corruption. Capitalism has set this value. You cannot blame anybody. Such a degraded value system has been set by the present capitalist system even in educational institutions. You hear startling facts about nepotism and other vices. Almost, regularly you get news of scientists committing suicide. No real investigation is done. Even if it is done, it leads to more harassment. Life is getting corroded. You are carrying on a very courageous battle, But don't get disappointed if you cannot achieve the desired result. People have become so selfish and opportunist. **You are to put in the consciousness of the people that they are not fighting for their selfish gain, but for the betterment of the country, betterment of the science in the country.**

Scientists and research workers have an important role in this country at this moment. The Government of India is going to continuously degrade indigenous science. Every kind of conceivable pressure is being used on our Government by the multinationals. Scientific institutions are going to be either degraded or abolished.

The latest thing that is going to happen is a very dangerous thing. This is the complete curbing of the indigenous science and manufacturing by the new patent laws. We are virtually going to give patent rights for every conceivable product to some foreign country or foreign multinational. Each of these developments is going to directly affect the scientific work. These are to be properly understood and proper protest is to be lodged against these problems. Main mass of Indian public is totally indifferent to science and is ignorant. Only recently the trade union movements led by the scientists have become some issue. What is the force that is changing modern science? **In the earlier period science was only a help in the development of the productive forces, but now science itself is becoming a productive force. Tremendous change is now taking place all over the world. No nation can live without science and technology. A nation, which wants to remain free, which wants to pursue the path of self-reliance, cannot ignore the role of modern**

science and technology and cannot retain its freedom without the development of indigenous capacity.

It is a credit to the Indian scientists that they have achieved a lot and are not completely dependent on outside. What is the difference between Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal and India? It is only in our country that an independent bourgeois development of science could take place. Note also the difference between the beginning of the capitalist path and the end of the capitalist path—the difference between the grandfather and the grandson. Grandfather started with the idea of harnessing science. He had the full support of men like Kosambi. He had some vision. He started with the idea of building a public sector. Indigenous science, atomic science—all these things he started looking forward to the economic development of the country.

Forty years have passed from the father to the daughter, from the daughter to the son, showing the signs of the failure of the capitalist path. Now they have started liquidating the public sector and bringing restrictions on the developments of modern science. A country, which is still to move forward, is being forced to accept imported technology. It is being told that these new technologies are not available in our country. It must be emphasized that which technology is good for the country, which technology is available in the country, which technology can be produced indigenously and which need not be imported is something which only the scientists can tell. To ignore the opinion of the scientists in this vital decision is as good as destroying the self-reliance of the country.

The capitalist path can never entertain the question of self-reliance. It does not stop at economics. As I have said, science has become a productive force. Therefore the immediate attack starts on science. Indigenous science is the most dangerous thing for imperialism. Their main aim, I should say, is the domination over the productive apparatus. They do not like that you should protect your industry. Now they are saying that you should not protect even the services.

of the people. All foreign banks and foreign insurance companies should be allowed to compete freely with Indian companies. Same thing is happening for science. It is an unusual situation when they say that you cannot judge about your own atomic plants. If you want to make a bomb, that will have to be examined. Who are going to examine it? There are some people who are called as environmentalists. They are to protect the environment and they give the verdict that there should be no atomic plants anywhere. Already hundred percent damage has been done to the natural environment. Now we are to decide whether we should go forward or go back to the bullock-cart days. If you look at the history of the countries, it is a history of man's gradual conquest over nature. During the last century, every body knows that it is the railway locomotive which contributed most to the pollution of the atmosphere. Despite this, thousands of kilometers of railway lines were laid down for the progress of civilisation. Ultimately it is science that came forward to check that pollution. Similarly the industrialisation of our country will pose many problems and subsequently those will be tackled by Science and Technology. This is the historical course of development of human society. Now comes the environmentalists with a very sensitive issue. According to them if a man dies — that is not a threat to survival. However if an animal dies — that becomes a threat to nature. Many years back, I remember, the Nizam of Hyderabad issued an order that, for the protection of the environment, nobody should kill a tiger without having prior approval from the Governor. One day a tiger came and raided the villagers. One man, with great courage, fought and was able to kill the tiger. He was prosecuted for killing a tiger without proper permission.

Today it is a great patriotic duty of the Indian scientists to speak out their views on what is happening in technology, on what is happening in science in the Indian scene—both in the management and in the pursuation of the final goal. One point should always be remembered that in India the general public holds a great esteem for the views of the

learned people. So if the scientists come out with their opinion, driving the public opinion, on the social values of science, as to how should it re-organize, which technology should be adopted for the betterment of the people, by exposing and criticising the Government and by correcting the ways of its science policy to the details of the participation of multinationals and foreign technologies ..that should be regarded as the biggest patriotic contribution of the Indian scientists.

No political parties, excepting a few left parties, ever speak out about the danger of imperialism. The fraternity of the leaders of bourgeois origin will remain the same. It is in the same place they do belong...same families...same outlets. Have you ever heard any bourgeois party denouncing the advancement of the private sector? No. Have you ever heard them very enthusiastic about the continuation of the foreign policy of non-alignment? No. The idea of considering the imperialism as a danger is never accepted by the bourgeois-landlord alliance. It is in this context that they are demanding certain changes in the science policy in the country. Since the bourgeois-landlord alliance is getting dominated by the bourgeois, the landlords are pressing for their consolidation. Their main attack comes on science. Since modern science functions mainly in the cities and since the villages are not a part of this programme, the landlord section wants to stop the development of science. They want to frame a science policy of their own. For example, somebody proposes that two tons of ghee should be poured to test whether the pouring of ghee can bring the rain. Because it was not raining, they indeed poured some ghee. The rain did not come. Of course I do not know whether from the economic reason they put dalda instead of ghee! This is what is happening. Fundamentalists, feudalists, multinationals, all bourgeois parties and the landlords are more and more dragging science to oppose the cause of science. Scientific temperament is not being developed. Without understanding anything, the people believe that the establishment of atomic power plants completes the process

of modernisation of India. Global situation is changing. The role of scientists has increased tenfold in the recent years. We are also to concentrate on technology and science. We are facing a big battle ground whether economic self-reliance will remain or we shall give it up. There are two aspects of self-reliance. One part is the public sector and the other part is the science and technology. **That is why the organisation of scientists, research workers etc. cannot simply confine their struggle to the better running of their institutions, but they must now evolve in the national plane the formulation of a correct science and technology policy in order to strengthen the economic self-reliance of the country.**

This is the situation that have developed in the last ten years along with the other problems like keeping the unity, safeguarding the interest of the workers etc. You are now to take these various problems of science and technology and you with your rich experience of the last ten years should be the most proper organisation to develop an all-India opinion on this problem. Recently some scientific workers met me in Bangalore. I told them to send their people to you and to invite your people there to develop an understanding and to prepare a scheme for an all-India conference with an aim of rousing an all-India opinion. You are also to take initiative to carry on an exercise with these groups of scientists, at least locally, to evolve some kind of national policy. If all these people are brought together in the all-India frame that itself will create a pressure on the national policy. I am very confident that from the type of problems you have successfully tackled for the last ten years, you should be able to move one step forward, believe that in the near future, through your effort, science will be used for the development of this country and for the protection of our economic self-reliance.

Thank you.

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION

JACARI expresses its deepest grief and sense of bereavement on the sad demise of Com. B. T. Ranadive, an illustrious leader of the toiling masses of our country. Com. Ranadive has been widely recognised as a great patriot who led the only significant armed struggle in the history of India for the liberation of our country from the shackles of colonial rule in the twentieth century, namely the Telengana armed uprising.

We ^{are} especially indebted to ^{him} for his counsel, in the formative years of our organisation JACARI, in the year 1978, wherein during a brief discussion he had characterised our problem through a statement : 'Autonomy has become another name of Autocracy in the past three decades since independence.' He has been a constant source of inspiration to us all through these years in the shaping of our movements for the establishment of basic democratic rights in Autonomous Research Institutions and even as recently as in December 7, 1988, he has addressed the Ninth Annual Conference of our organisation, enlightening us on the various facets of the problems that we have been endeavouring to tackle. We are preserving his afore-said valued address as a treasure which will guide us in the future. At a time when the movements of the employees of autonomous research institutions are being casted on a democratic frame, the unfortunate death of Com. B. T. Ranadive deprives us from his invaluable guidance. We dip our banner in homage to the memory of Com. B. T. Ranadive and extend our heartfelt condolences to his family members.

CONDOLLENCE RESOLUTION