



# THE WORKING CLASS

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE CITU

SECRETARIAT COMMUNIQUE :

## CITU Calls For Nationwide joint Campaign against Communalism and Divisive Forces

The Secretariat of the CITU met at New Delhi on 1st June 1990 under the Presidentship of Com. Monoranjan Roy, CITU Vice-President. The meeting was attended by Com. Samar Mukherjee, General Secretary, Com. R. Umanath, N. Prasad Rao, Chandi Prasad—Vice Presidents, Com. E. Balanandan—Treasurer, Com. M. K. Pandhe, Md. Amin, Kamal Sarkar, Vimala Ranadive, P. K. Ganguly, Kanai Banerjee, Ranjit Basu and Jibon Roy—Secretaries and Com. Shanti Ghatak—Working Committee Member as special invitee.

### Joint Campaign Against Communal & Secessionist Forces

Secretariat greeted the success of anti-communal Convention organised by the left, democratic and secular parties and individuals, held at New Delhi on 24th May, welcomed its declaration calling upon the secular and democratic forces for stepping up a nationwide campaign to weed out the virus of communalism and for the revival of tradition of patriotism and secularism that emerged and developed during independence struggle.

The Secretariat, in view of the worsening situation in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam and also of uninterrupted threat by Viswa Hindu Parishad and other Hindu Fundamentalists to demolish the Babri Masjid for the construction of a Rama Temple, attached supreme importance to the intensification of campaign for national unity and integrity.

The Secretariat called upon all the National Trade Union Centres which are committed to democracy, national unity and secularism to form a platform of campaign against all type of parochialism, religious fundamentalism and especially the communalism in the name of majority community which has succeeded to cast wide dark shadow over the horizon of the country's national unity. The Secretariat decided to approach all such Trade Union Centres for nationwide joint campaign on the issue. It called upon the CITU State and District Commi-

tees, and the Unions to start a vigorous drive of campaign to segregate the communal and divisive forces from all walks of polity and social life and to organise State and District level conventions jointly with other trade unions and democratic and secular forces.

### Campaign Against Price Rise

The Secretariat while expressing satisfaction at the general response to the anti-price rise campaign at the behest of the left Parties and the trade unions which saw a massive nationwide demonstration on 16th May last, called upon the State Committees and the unions to continue the campaign jointly with other left and democratic forces with special emphasis for state trading of 14 essential commodities.

### New Industrial Relations Law

The Secretariat heard the reports on the proceedings of Bipartite Committee on New Industrial Relations Law, of which Com. M.K. Pandhe is the member and Com. P. K. Ganguly the alternate member. The Secretariat outlined the CITU position in the formulations of the new law. The CITU proposed the deletion of all the restrictive clauses concerning trade union rights and the right to strike and other such clauses implying master and servant relationship from the existing Industrial Disputes Act. The list of essential services identifying the industries required to serve strike notices should be restricted to (a) hospital employees medical Stores (b) supply of water & milk (c) scavenging services (d) electricity supply. The basic premises of the new law should be the protection of workers and their democratic right from the onslaught of the management and the lock out and strike should not be equated.

The mode of determining collective bargaining agency through secret ballot which had emerged as consensus from the National Seminar held on 8th and 9th January 1990 at New Delhi should be legis-

ated immediately pending finalisation of the New Bill.

### **Organisation**

The Secretariat reviewed the functioning of CITU and decided to make an indepth study over the organisational position at the earliest possible time. In the meantime it has taken a number of steps to streamline the functioning in the Centre. It decided to induct the services of Com. R. Umanath, the Vice-President and Com. Md. Amin, Secretary at CITU Head Quarters. In view of the national urgency for the working class to take a leading role in mobilising all secular patriotic forces against divisive and communal forces, the Secretariat emphasised further the task of strengthening the CITU both through streamlining the organisation and increasing its membership.

### **Com. BTR's Memorial**

The Secretariat heard the report regarding the progress on the question of building the BTR memorial.

### **General Council Meeting**

The Secretariat requested the State Committees and the Industrial Federations to send their reports by 25th June positively to enable the finalisation of secretariat report for the General Council which is scheduled to take place between 21-23rd July at Kanpur.

### **W.F.T.U. Congress**

The Secretariat accepted the invitation of the WFTU to send an one member delegation to the 12th Congress which is scheduled to take place during 13-20th November, 1990 at Moscow.

### **7th Conference of CITU**

The Secretariat tentatively decided to hold the 7th Conference of the CITU during February, 1991 at Calcutta. Alongwith the Conference a special session of Working Women will also take place. The details will be worked out subsequently in consultation with the reception committee.

### **Meeting of 14th June**

The Secretariat of the CITU met at Delhi on 14th June under the presidentship of Com. Samar Mukherjee. The meeting was attended by Com. E. Balanandan, Treasurer; Coms. M. K. Pandhe, Kanai Banerjee, Jibon Roy, Ranjit Basu and PK Ganguly, Secretaries.

### **Bill on Workers' Participation in Management**

The Secretariat discussed the Bill on Workers' Participation in Management, which was introduced in the Rajya Sabha on 30th May. The Secretariat was of the opinion that the Bill does not reflect the conclusions of the National Seminar held on the subject in January last, which was further endorsed in the 29th Session of the Indian Labour Conference held in April. Participation of workers at Board

level with equal representation has not been accepted. The question of recognition of unions through secret ballot which was linked with representation of workers in the participative fora according to the seminar conclusions, has not found place in the Bill. The main thrust of the seminar to erase the existing master-servant relations by guaranteeing participation of workers with equal numbers at all levels in all decision making matters, is absent in the Bill. The Secretariat decided to make clause by clause amendments and send it to the Government and also raise it through the Members of Parliament during the forthcoming Monsoon Session. Copies of the Bill have already been sent to all State Committees and national federations, inviting suggestions. The subject will be discussed in the forthcoming General Council meeting also.

### **T. U. Programme against Communalism**

In pursuance of the earlier decision, the Secretariat heard report of efforts made by the CITU for joint trade union action against communalism and noted that the left trade union centres are prepared to initiate joint action in this regard by holding a convention and communal harmony march at Delhi some time in August. A meeting of the trade union centres will be held to finalise the programme. The Secretariat reiterated the call to all State Committees to hold specific programmes to expose the divisive role of the RSS, VHP, BJP, Shiv Senas, Bajarang Dal, Jamaite-Islami, the ULFA, the Khalistanies, etc. and safeguard the unity and integrity of the country.

### **New Industrial Relations Bill**

The Secretariat heard report of the meetings of the Bipartite Committee on the New Industrial Relations Bill. The Secretariat noted that the suggestions of the CITU have been circulated to all members of the Committee, as well as to State Committees and national federations. The Secretariat decided to discuss the subject in the forthcoming General Council meeting and send further suggestions to Bipartite Committee.

### **Industrial Policy Statement**

The Secretariat strongly criticised the new Industrial Policy Statement of the National Front Government. It is a perpetuation of the same monopoly and multinational subservient policy of the Congress (I) Government. The policy of building up a self-reliant economy and giving a leading role to the public sector has been relegated. Although the policy is being projected to benefit the small scale sector, in reality it boosts the big business. The worst part of the policy is to permit foreign equity participation upto 40 percent on an automatic basis, which is further retrograde as compared to the Congress regime. The Secretariat called upon the State Committees and the unions to raise voice of protest and launch campaign to reverse the policy.

### **IDPL**

The Secretariat accepted the proposal of FMRAI  
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# Participation of Workers in Management Bill—1990

(A Note for Discussion)

*(The following is a note on the Bill on Workers' Participation in Management. Suggestions and comments are invited on the note—Ed.)*

## 1. The Act in Brief :

1.1 The Act defines all categories of employees as "workers". "Workers" as per this definition including "workmen" as defined in the I.D Act and also "worker other than workmen" whose duties are of a supervisory, managerial or administrative nature. At the Board level, representation is given separately for these two groups—for workmen 13% of the Board members and for other workers 12%, both to be rounded off to nearest whole digits. In the "Shop Councils" and "Establishment Councils" half of the members are to be representatives of the workmen and the other half are to be nominated by the management as its representatives. Workers or employees other than "workmen" are not represented in these councils.

1.2 Representatives of the workmen in the Board as well as Shop Council and Establishment Council are to be elected by and from amongst the workmen through secret ballot or nominated by registered trade unions as per the scheme to be given shape to later. The representatives of 'workers other than workmen' in the Board are to be elected by and from among these categories of employees through secret ballot.

1.3 The scope of business that will come under the shop council and establishment council are stated in the two schedules I & II of the Act. Several details such as conducting business of the councils, nomination by recognised unions etc., are to be detailed in the schemes to be finalised later by the Government.

1.4 The Act will be enforced either as a whole or in part in individual or group of enterprises by executive orders of the Government.

## 2. The Issues to be Considered

The following aspects of the bill need to be considered in detail :

- (i) The principle of dual constituency for "workers other than workmen".
- (ii) Adequacy of representation at Board level.
- (iii) The option for nominating the "workmen" representatives by registered trade unions (and not through secret ballot).
- (iv) Exclusion of outsiders as representatives of workers.
- (v) The implementation aspects like (a) formulation of 'Schemes' and (b) discretion in the enforcement of the provisions of the act by

different Government (State or Centre as applicable to individual or group of firms).

## 3. The Principle of Dual Constituency :

3.1 Participative management in essence is different from the principle of collective bargaining by the workers or employees with the management. It is a way of evolving consensus in a democratic manner regarding issues of management. This consensus has to be arrived at between those who represent the management and those who are the managed. Thus "the managers" and "the managed" have to be differentiated and identified at various levels—i.e.: at the shop level, the establishment level and at the top, i.e.; the enterprise (the Board) level. The separate constituencies provided for in the act for the workmen on one hand and the "workers other than workmen" on the other for the Board level presentation look arbitrary and unscientific when viewed from this point of view.

3.2 The principle of dual constituency when applied to the shop and establishment councils creates an even more irrational situation. In these councils only "workmen" have representation. The host of employees who will be classified as "workers other than workmen" will have no representation in these councils. This means that the supervisors, middle level executives, technicians, shop floor engineers etc, will not have any representation in these councils. Their view points and democratic rights are supposed to be accommodated for through the nomination of employer's representatives in these councils. Such councils without the democratic participation of "the workers other than workmen" will be totally meaningless and infructuous.

3.3 Even from the point of view of broader unity among the employees the dual constituency system will be harmful. The middle level managers and the supervisors and highly skilled employees should rightfully find their place among the modern proletariat. They are also wage earners and have more or less the same type of relationship with the establishment and the socio-economic system in general, though they are better paid compared to the "workmen", a few among them can aspire for top positions. If the workers participation in management is perceived in the participative spirit the dual constituency approach should give way to single constituency approach... which should consist of the workmen as well as the "workers other than workmen."

3.4 It will be possible to draw the line between those who are managers, and those who are managed at various levels by adopting a simple criteria. At the top level the Board members along with the first line managers who directly report to the Chief Executive could be defined as constituting the management. All employees other than the above mentioned personnel could be in one single constituency for

electing the representatives of "the managed" for the Board level. Similarly at the shop and establishment level the Chief along with his first line managers could be taken as the management and others grouped into a single constituency could elect their representatives for the councils.

#### 4. Adequacy of Representation

4.1 The demand of the trade union movement was for equal representation for workers in all forums upto and including the Board level. Though in the shop and establishment councils this principle is agreed to, at the Board level it is only 25 per cent... i.e. when the "workmen" and "non-workmen" categories are taken together. In this 25 percent 13 percent has been allotted to workmen and 12 percent to "non-workmen" in a very arbitrary fashion.

4.2 The desirability of dual constituency has been discussed at length as in the earlier paragraph. A possible option is to depart from the dual constituency concept and demand for equal representation at the Board level (i.e. 50%) for all the employees jointly on a single constituency basis. This approach needs to be given thought of.

#### 5. Nomination by Trade Unions

Nomination by registered trade unions to the Board as well as councils as per scheme (to be made later) is provided for in the act as an option in place of direct election through secret ballot. If the principle of dual constituency is given up this provision will have no relevance and representatives have to be elected through secret ballot. Even when this approach is retained, a well defined scheme for making the registered TUs to nominate the members to the councils and the Board has to be evolved. This question is tied up with the system for union recognition and may prove to be even more complicated to resolve. It appears that election through secret ballot is the right approach.

#### 6. Representation by Outsider

6.1 In the Board as well as the council representatives of the workmen have to be elected by and from among them. It appears that when nominated by the registered TUs the representative can be an outsider. But an outsider is barred if the representative is elected directly by the workers. The desirability of totally excluding outsiders who could win over the confidence of the workers and capable of getting elected by the workers through secret ballot needs to be discussed. At the shop or establishment council workers need not be represented by outsiders. But at the Board level this restriction can defeat the very purpose of the Act i.e., effective representation by workers, who can be sponsored by the trade unions.

6.2 In large organisations with shops and establishments all over the country (Eg. BHEL, ONGC, OIL etc) a worker representative from one of the divisions or locations as Director in the Board may in all possibility turn out to be an anachronism. He will in all possibility need a capable proxy to repre-

sent him in the Board if any meaningful participation is to be ensured. It appears that total exclusion of an outsider representing the workers at the Board level will be inadvisable under Indian conditions. If the principle of election by secret ballot is adhered to there will be no difficulty in getting competent persons who are loyal to the interests of the workers and the establishment.

#### 7. Time Limits for Formulating Schemes and Implementation

The Act by itself is a bare legislation, the speedy implementation of which depends on the formulation of the scheme or schemes as specified in (article 74) and enforcement by the appropriate Government. The time limits for these should be specified in the Act itself.

#### 8. Summing Up

Views on the important aspects of the Act as discussed above, of our unions and federations need to be ascertained so that the proposals for the necessary amendments can be moved in the Parliament. The questions to be discussed and decided are—

(a) Should the dual constituency approach in the Act be replaced by a single constituency approach ?

(b) If the dual constituency approach is accepted what should be the share of "workmen" in the number of Directors ? Alternatively if single constituency approach is accepted what should be the share of all employees' representation ?

(c) Should the option for nomination by TUs be retained in case dual constituency principle is accepted (in the case of single constituency approach this is to be given up or in case to be kept, how ?)

(d) Should outsiders be barred to contest in the elections (or in nomination by TUs)

(e) What should be the mandatory time frame to be incorporated in the Act for finalising the scheme (s) and for its enforcement ?

(f) The adequacy of the coverage and definitions regarding the items, included in Schedule I & II of the Act.

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### Editorial Board

M.K. Pandhe (*Chairman*)

P.K. Ganguly (*Working Editor*)

Manoranjan Roy, Niren Ghosh,

M.M. Lawrence, Vimal Ranadive, Ranjit Basu

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# Suggestions by the CITU for the New Industrial Relations Law

(We are publishing hereunder the suggestions given by CITU to the Bipartite Committee on the new Industrial Relations Law—Ed.)

As was discussed in the first meeting of the Bipartite Committee, the new Industrial Relations Law should be formulated in the background of the Government's decision to allow workers' participation in management at all levels with equal rights on all decision making matters. The element of master-servant relations, which has been the bane of industrial relations so long, has naturally to go while formulating the new Industrial Relations Law.

Another important decision of the Government, i.e. to give Right to Work as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution has also to be kept in mind while formulating the new law. By this decision the Government has naturally taken cognizance of the growing unemployment in the country and the need to put a curb on the causative factors thereof. Growing closures of factories and establishments are one of the major factors which is aggravating the unemployment situation causing widespread industrial unrest. The growing industrial sickness also acquires pertinence in this respect. As enumerated by the Reserve Bank, the causes of sickness are known. The new Industrial Relations Law has therefore to take cognizance of the above facts and seek to put a curb on the growing closures and sickness to maintain industrial harmony as is the objective of the Bipartite Committee.

Another vital point must be kept in mind. The concept of justice cannot be based on the concept of equality between the employers and the workers. The fact that has to be agreed to is that the dispute between the employers and workers is a struggle between two unequals. It is a struggle for justice by the workers—the have nots against the employers having all the money power and the means of production at their disposal. Naturally, the new law seeking industrial harmony has to base the concept of justice on the fact of the struggle between two unequals and give weight to the problems and grievances of the workers.

## Points for Consideration

1. The present Industrial Disputes Act should be the basis for consideration for the new law. The present law restricts workers' trade union rights and right to strike. The new law should delete all such provisions. We propose that the following restrictive clauses should be deleted.

a) Clauses relating to illegal strike and powers given to the Government to ban the strike.

b) Penalty provided against the workers for the alleged illegal strike.

c) Powers given to the Govt to declare any service as public utility or essential services. Only the following services can be considered as essential for giving strike notices:

- Hospital, Medical Stores
- Supply of water & milk
- Scavenging services
- Electricity supply

The conciliation machinery must commence within a week of giving strike notice and continuous sittings should be there so that the matters are sorted out before the commencement of strike. Special machinery to be provided for this purpose. No further restriction on strike.

d) Restrictive clauses during pendency of dispute in conciliation against workers.

e) Lockout and strike cannot be equated. Strikes are forced on the workers by the managements by their refusal to arrive at negotiated settlements. Lockout is declared to punish and tire out the workers. Withdrawal of restrictions on strike should not lead to automatic withdrawal of restrictions on lockout. Workers are forced to starve during long drawn strike and lockout but owners continue their activities in other undertakings.

f) The section relating to unfair labour practices on the part of the unions and workers should be deleted from the existing Act.

g) The grievance procedure machinery to be worked out at a bipartite level. There should be no statutory procedure as provided in the existing Act.

2. Recognition of unions should be determined on the basis of secret ballot of workers. A composite bargaining agency should be evolved on the basis of proportionate representation determined through secret ballot.

3. The provision relating to closure of unit should be made stringent and management's "prerogative" to close down the undertaking unilaterally should be denied. The Indian Constitution should be amended to enable such a legislative measure so as to put a curb on closures.

4. The conciliation machinery at present is dilatory. Hence it should be made time bound and complete its work within three month. Representatives who do not attend the meeting should be imposed a fine for non-attendance on second occasion. Not more than 3 chances should be given for attendance.

5. Workers' representatives should have direct access to go to Court in case of failure of conciliation. In the following cases there should be provision for direct approach to the Labour Court:

a) Cases of victimisations including penal transfers, termination of service, dismissal, retrenchment etc.

b) Cases when all unions, which are party to conciliation of dispute, are of the view that the case should be referred to adjudication.

c) If the unions participating in conciliation representing majority of workers are of the opinion that the dispute should be referred to adjudication.

6) The appropriate Government should have authority to refer a dispute to adjudication if employers want to approach adjudication or if union representing minority of membership feels like approaching the adjudication.

7. There should be a provision in the law that before signing an agreement the union should normally get the draft of the agreement endorsed by the General Body of the union.

8. Voluntary Arbitration should be purely voluntary and there should be no coercion to accept arbitration. The decision of such arbitration should be honoured by both the parties.

9. There should be no Industrial Relations Commission, a quasi judicial agency to determine the fate

of industrial dispute.

10. The CITU is not in favour of Tripartite Industrial Tribunal also. The present system of one man tribunal should continue. The tribunal award should be within a time bound period.

11. In case the employers go to High Court or Supreme Court against the judgement of the Labour Court, the workers should be given the last drawn wages till the final disposal of the cases.

12. There is acute shortage of Tribunal judges. Many benches are without judges. Some legal provision should be made to appoint the judges in time so that cases are not inordinately delayed.

13. The Law should provide that no employer will alter the conditions of service of workers during the pendency of dispute.

The above is a brief and general view of the CITU. The CITU may make additions or alterations in specific cases if necessary.

## Consumer Price Index Numbers for Industrial Workers

(Base 1982 = 100)

Centre	Mar.	Apr.	Linking factor for Old base									
	1990	1990										
ALL-INDIA	177	180	4.93	Belgaum	175	177	—	Varanasi	183	188	5.12	
Gudur	166	167	4.33	Hubli-Dharwar	181	181	—	Asansol	172	175	4.77	
Guntur	164	169	5.60	Mercara	165	167	—	Calcutta	182	188	4.74	
Hyderabad	170	172	5.23	Alwaye	165	168	5.19	Darjeeling	163	164	4.55	
Visakhapatnam	182	183	—	Mundakayam	170	172	4.67	Durgapur	178	183	—	
Warrangal	170	173	—	Quilon	176	177	—	Haldia	188	191	—	
Doom-Dooma-				Trivandrum	181	181	—	Howrah	187	192	4.12	
Tinsukia	167	169	4.05	Bhalghat	181	184	5.24	Jalpaiguri	166	168	4.16	
Gauhati	183	186	—	Bhilari	165	168	3.49	Raniganj	164	167	4.40	
Labac-Silchar	164	164	3.96	Bhopal	184	185	5.46	Chandigarh	175	178	—	
Mariani-Jorhat	173	174	3.95	Indore	188	191	5.18	Delhi	185	189	4.97	
Rangapara-TeXpur	169	172	4.29	Jabalpur	196	199	6.41	Pondicherry	183	184	—	
Jamshedpur	169	172	4.68	Bombay	185	188	5.12					
Jharia	165	170	4.63	Nagpur	184	185	4.99	<b>Additional Series of Labour Bureau</b>				
Kodarma	159	161	5.43	Nasik	180	186	—	Kothagudem	185	185	3.25	
Monghyr	173	174	5.29	Pune	182	187	—	Himachal Pradesh	172	175	3.75	
Noamundi	172	177	4.58	Sholapur	182	183	5.03	Bhilwara	176	179	3.20	
Ranchi-Hatia	182	187	—	Sholapur	167	172	5.00	Chindwara	185	185	2.59	
Ahmedabad	176	179	4.78	Barbil	164	167	3.59	Tripura	188	195	4.37	
Baroda	177	180	—	Rourkela	176	179	5.19	Goa	189	189	3.40	
Bhavnagar	183	185	4.99	Amritsar	178	180	—					
Rajkot	180	184	—	Ludhiana	181	185	5.01	<b>Other Series of Labour Bureau</b>				
Surat	190	191	—	Ajmer	177	178	5.17	Centre	Base	Mar.	Apr.	
Faridabad	169	173	—	Jaipur	171	170	5.35		1990	1990		
Yamunanagar	166	169	5.53	Coimbatore	188	187	4.80	Ammathi	1960	833	853	
Srinagar	175	177	5.47	Coonoor	177	177	5.05	Chickmagalur	1960	863	867	
Bangalore	168	171	5.66	Madras	181	181	5.27	Kolar Gold Field	1960	857	881	
				Maduri	171	169	—	Gwalior	1960	926	923	
				Salem	195	194	—	Sambalpur	1960	876	907	
				Tiruchirapall	170	172	—	Berhampur	1949	1152	1164	
				Agra	179	183	—	Cuttack	1949	1066	1079	
				Ghaziabad	181	185	4.69					
				Kanpur	176	179	5.06					
				Saharanpur								

Note : Figures on old base can be obtained by multiplying the Index Number on New Base by the linking factor given and rounding off the result to nearest whole number.

—Dash denotes new centres under 1982 series.

# CITU Opposes Privatisation in Power Sector

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions has issued the following statement expressing concern at Government decision of opening the power generation sector to private sector and at its decision to publish an 'exit policy' for the public sector :

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions expresses serious concern at the consecutive policy announcements by different Ministers of the National Front Government in opening large industrial sectors including the infrastructural and strategic sectors to the private sectors which have since been reserved for public sector under the provision of 1956 Industrial Policy Resolution.

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions is shocked at the decision of the Energy Ministry to open the Power Sector to Private Sector. The new policy announced by the Union Minister of Energy on 20.6.90 provides the investment facilities in power generation also to the companies coming under MRTP restrictions and the multinationals. The new policy is the further extension of the old policy pursued by the previous Government in Power Sector which proposed to import the installed capacity of 26,000 M W during the 8th Plan against the demand of 38,000 MW where indigenous capacity is available. It is sufficient to paralyse the prospect of Public Sector Unit like BHEL.

The CITU and the Electricity Employees Federation of India had been warning the Government of India against any move to open this vital sector to the private sector and multinationals. It is reprehensible that the National Front Government despite its promises to formulate alternative policy based on self reliance and equity have followed the footprints of Congress(I) Government and extended the generating right to monopoly houses which will further cripple the Public Sector Units like BHEL, NTPC and other indigenous generating units. The involvement of the multinational and monopoly houses in this vital infrastructural sector will endanger Indian self reliance.

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions strongly condemns the Industry Ministry's proposal of formulating an 'exit policy' for Public Sector which the Union Minister announced on 20.6.90 so that a number of Public Sector Units can wind up and it is obviously in favour of Private Sector. It is a matter of great regret and concern that instead of discussing the revival proposal, the Union Minister of Industry had chosen a place like Indo-American Chamber of Commerce to denigrate the Public Sector.

## Notice for General Council Meeting

20.6.90

All Members of the General Council,  
All Members of the Working Committee  
All State Committees  
All Office Bearers

The General Council meeting of the CITU will be held at Chandra Shekhar Azad Agricultural University, Kanpur on July 21, 22 and 23, 1990. The meeting will start at 10 AM on July 21.

### Agenda

1. General Secretary's Report
2. Treasurer's Report
3. Discussion on Organisational matters
4. New Industrial Relations Bill
5. Bill on Workers' Participation in Management
6. Struggle against Divisive Forces
7. Follow up of Right to Work Convention
8. Public Sector
9. Unorganised Labour
10. Struggle in Textile industry
11. Working Women
12. Verification
13. Resolutions
14. Other Matters.

One day before the General Council, i.e. on 20th July, there will be meeting of the Secretariat from 10 AM and a meeting of the Working Committee starting from 3 PM at the same venue.

All members are requested to attend the meetings positively. Comrades are requested to inform about their arrival and return journey reservations with money to :

The Secretary,  
Reception Committee  
General Council Meeting of CITU  
105/434, Chamanganj, Kanpur

Comrades from the Southern States are requested to inform the CITU Centre for their return reservations from Delhi to entrain from Jhansi. The Reception Committee will arrange for their travel from Kanpur to Jhansi. As decided in the Secretariat all the State reports must reach CITU Centre by 25th June.

**Samar Mukherjee** (General Secretary)

## CITU Delegation on a Goodwill Visit to China

On an invitation from All China Federation of Trade Unions a five member CITU delegation will be visiting China on a goodwill mission. The delegation headed by Com. Kali Ghosh (W. Bengal) will be leaving Delhi for Beijing on 5th July and will return to India on 20th July. Com. P. M. Kumar (Tamilnadu) Com. G. Raghupal (AP) Com. Narsayya Adam (Maharashtra) and Com. S. Debroye (CITU Centre) are the other members of the delegation.

## Trade Union School for BHEL Workers

The leading comrades from the unions from different centres/units of BHEL, scattered all over India in different plants, sites and offices gathered in a four days' meet in New Delhi in a trade union school organised by the All India Co-ordination Committee of BHEL workers on 24th to 27th May, 1990. The school was inaugurated by Com. M.K. Pandhe. Com. Samar Mukherjee addressed the school on 26th May. The political economy, History of Trade Union movement and working class ideology were in the curriculum of the school and the classes were addressed by Com. M.K. Pandhe, Com. Sukomal Sen and Com. P. Ramachandran.

The last day of the school was devoted to an indepth organisational discussion based on a detailed note submitted on the organisational problems, submitted by Com. J.B. Roy, Secretary, CITU as Convenor of the Co-ordination Committee. Total participation from different BHEL Centres all over India was 27.

The discussion on organisation dealt on the basic problem of converting the increasing influence of CITU unions in different BHEL centres into organisational consolidation and that of developing a mature all India leadership from within the BHEL workers. The meeting also identified that through the process of involving the entire work force in the industry with the all India situations which affects the growth of the industry and the worker's interest. It was felt that unless systematic approach is taken on cadre building which cannot be accomplished without proper ideological and practical training, neither the organisational or ideological base of the union can be strengthened.

The meeting also expressed serious concern at the declining order position in BHEL plants and at the Govt. of India's policy of inviting multinationals to encroach upon the Indian market. Against the new requirement of 38000 MW captive capacity during Eighth Plan, the planners suggested letting off of 26000 MW to multinationals leaving only 12000 MW for BHEL. The Co-ordination Committee has decided to launch an all India campaign on this policy by the Govt. to allow BHEL to starve of orders while off-loading the orders to multinationals and decision was taken to hold an all India seminar on the matter in July 1990 at Trichy. The meeting also called upon all the workers to be aware of this severe problem and prepare for all India movement to compel the Govt. to change its policy of off loading orders to multinationals in the interest of the viability of BHEL Plants.

## Kisan Sabha Condemns Lathi Charge on Haryana Peasants

The All India Kisan Sabha and All India Agricultural Workers Union condemned the lathi charge and tear gassing of thousands of peasants from Haryana who had come with a petition for the immediate stoppage of coercion in the recovery of loans waived by the Central and Haryana Governments.

It is shameful that hundreds of farmers are in Jail in Haryana in pursuance of illegal recoveries. That is why these peasants and agricultural workers had come from all parts of Haryana to present a memorandum at Krishi Bhawan. They were proceeding in a peaceful deputation when the police resorted to an unwarranted lathi charge and tear gassing.

In this lathi charge, among the scores of persons injured are : Harnam Singh MLA, Raghuvir Singh Huda, CPI(M) State Secretary, Prithivi Singh Gorakhpuria, State Secretary Karyana Kisan Sabha, Dr. Joginder Dayal, Joint Secretary AIKS (Ajoy Bhawan) Bawa Singh and Stapal Singh and other prominent Kisan leaders.

We demand that police officers who resorted to this illegal action be punished the stoppage of forcible recoveries, the release of all detainees, the withdrawal of all penal actions against, the peasants in connection with loan recovery and a satisfactory solution to the most reasonable demands of the Haryana peasantry.

## CITU Condemns Central Government's Refusal to accept Multislab system of DA

M.K. Pandhe, Secretary CITU has issued the following statement on June. 22.

In a meeting of the Tripartit Dearness Allowance Committee for Public Sector Undertakings, held in Bombay on 20th June the spokesmen of the government of India rejected the trade union demand of granting multi-rate system of dearness allowance ensuring full neutralisation in DA for the employees of Central public sector undertakings.

In the meeting presided over by Union Labour Minister Ram Vilas Paswan all the Central Trade Union representatives categorically told the Government that there can be no settlement if the Central Govt. sticks to the single rate of DA in public sector undertakings. For the first time in a meeting the representatives of public sector undertakings fully supported the proposal of multi-rate system of DA with full neutralisation.

The CITU protested in the meeting about the  
(Cont'd on page 21)

# Successful Strike by Bank Employees

Bank employees throughout the country struck work on June 12 demanding lift of ban on recruitment and filling up of all the vacant posts of clerical and sub-staff; improvement in the 5th bipartite settlement, restructuring of wage scales of both clerical and subordinate staff, repeal of the anti-employee provisions, etc; pension as 3rd retirement benefit, halt to further computerisation/mechanisation; inclusion of BEFI in industry level negotiations etc.

It is an open secret that the Vth Bipartite settlement signed on 10th April 1989 by the AIBEA and NCBE was disapproved by their own members. To save its skin the All India State Bank of India Employees Federation signed another settlement with its Bank management on 9th June 1989 obtaining one additional increment and substantial personal pay for all employees, besides improvement in the rate of special allowance, Medical Aid, Hospitalisation benefits etc. The AIBEA opposed the settlement, while NCBE supported the same. In this regard both the unions conducted agitation and strike actions with no result at sight. At this juncture, BEFI gave the lead seeking improvement to the 5th Bipartite settlement. The AIBEA and NCBE in their own way supported these demands, which assisted in building a united strike action on 15 May 1990. This united movement was to be carried forward and in fact, 12th June was fixed for strike action in coordination with the officers organisation, AIBOC. Suddenly on 6th June, the AIBEA and NCBE agreed to settlement dictated by the Bankers and on that pretext ran away from action. Yet, the strike took place and it was a thundering success.

Banking industry was ground to a halt on 12th June. The newspapers said it, the news media including AIR and Television publicised the news. Bankers accepted it as a fact and bankmen are proud of this achievement. All this happened, despite the AIBEA and NCBE having run away from the strike under the guise of achievement of the demands. But the real fact is, except the change in DA rate on line with the settlement in Reserve Bank, no other demand has been achieved. Therefore, the understanding signed on 6th June by the AIBEA and NCBE will always remain a document in proof of their betrayal of the cause of the Bank employees and their movement for the following reasons:

1. The demand for restructuring pay scales to ensure 90% real neutralisation of the merged DA with pay has not been achieved.

2. The payment of DA at 0.67% per slab upto Rs. 2500 Basic pay and at 0.55% beyond Rs. 2500 was achieved by the LIC employees on line of the settlement in Reserve Bank which was achieved by BEFI.

3. The Ban on Recruitment has not been removed. On the other hand Bankers' hand has been strengthe-

ned by the AIBEA leaving the matter to be decided by individual Banks.

4. The first class LFC to Sub-Staff is a cruel joke because the employees who avail the facility will have to bear the burden of the difference in the fare above the limit of II class fare.

5. While State Bank employees will enjoy Medical Aid of Rs. 800 per year together with 100% paymen for Hospitalisation for self and at 75% for family, the rest of the Bank employees are denied similar benefits. Thus, discrimination has been sanctified by the the agreement signed by the AIBEA.

6. The demand for conveyance allowance has been given up. Likewise, the demand for pension as a third benefit has been pushed to the cold storage.

7. None of the benefits available to State Bank employees has been extended to the other Bank employees.

That BEFI could achieve better results stands proved by the settlement in Reserve Bank. Further, the 9th June settlement being far inferior to the settlement in the State Bank, the entire struggle for improvement in the 5th Bipartite settlement has been self-defeated. But the AIBEA and NCBE leaders have no regrets at all, because they prefer surrender to the Bankers, than to unite with BEFI and the Officers Association, AIBOC for carrying forward proper struggle, without which the demands for restructuring of pay scales etc. can never be achieved. BEFI has done its best in this regard and shall continue to strive to unite the employees for a common struggle to obtain real improvement to the 5th Bipartite settlement.

## Singareni Coal Workers' Donation to CITU

The Singareni Collieries Employees Union (CITU) has donated Rs. 10,000/- to CITU. The amount was contributed by the workers from the wage arrears received after the NCWA-IV agreement.

## For Attention of all State Committees, Unions and National Federations

The CITU has decided to publish the speeches and articles written by Com. BTR. We request all the State Committees, unions and federations to send to the CITU Centre articles written by Com. BTR in various Souvenirs and addresses made by him in various conferences and Conventions of unions/federations and in CITU State Conferences, State Council meetings and in other gatherings, public meetings, etc. with the dates—Ed.

## Railway Ministry's Attitude Out of Tune With Railwaymen's Aspirations—AIRF

In a resolution adopted in its meeting held on 9-10 June, 1990, the AIRF working committee has declared that "The attitude and response of the Ministry of Railways towards the long pending and eminently justified demands of railwaymen has been totally out of tune with the aspirations of the railwaymen and their expectations from this Ministry". The AIRF working committee came out with the declaration after reviewing the whole situation in respect of all the pending demands of railwaymen".

The earlier meeting of the AIRF working committee was held on 10-11 January, in an atmosphere of optimism, a little over a month after the National Front Govt assumed office, with George Fernandes, almost a legendary leader of 1974 Railway Strike having been sworn in as its Railway Minister a few days later. The January resolution of the AIRF had in a way reflected the then prevailing mood of the railwaymen who expected that healthy industrial relations based on mutual respect, understanding and cooperation would now come to replace the reign of terror that had been prevailing in the industrial relations scene on the Railways for a whole decade since Mrs Indira Gandhi's return to power in 1980. It was hoped by the railwaymen that their "long pending and eminently justified demands", would receive due attention from the new Railway Ministry, and would, in due course be settled one by one, if not all at a time.

What, however, the railwaymen expected to have been done immediately by the new Railway Minister, the one time leader of railwaymen's historic struggle, was vacation of all kinds of victimisation to which thousands of railwaymen had been subjected by the previous governments for their participation in trade union agitation and day to day activities. The railwaymen wanted above all the immediate reinstatement of those who had been dismissed from service, most of whom had been sacked as far back as 1980-81, under the blatantly undemocratic Rule 14 (ii) of the Railway Servants Discipline and Appeal Rules, corresponding to the Art 311 (2) (b) of the Constitution. The hopes and expectations roused in the minds of railwaymen with the coming to power of the new government received a hard blow when months rolled by and there was no sign of any action being taken by the Ministry in this regard. The disappointment of railwaymen turned into serious resentment when the Railway Minister failed to make a clear cut declaration about reinstatement of the victimised comrades even during his reply to rail budget debate and instead spoke about his intention to review their cases. Moreover, the Railway Ministry did not seem to have taken care even to restrain

the Railway bureaucracy from continuing the unbridled repression let loose on trade union movement during Cong (I) rule and to urge them to adopt a more democratic attitude.

As for other long pending demands, the railwaymen are yet to find any indication by which they could convince themselves that initiative has been taken by the Ministry to settle any one of them.

It is in this atmosphere that the AIRF working committee met on 9-10 May.

The Working Committee, however, appreciated "some positive response from the government" in regard to broad issues relating to the working class. The resolution reads, "This meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Railwaymen's Federation held at New Delhi on 9.6.1990 and 10.6.1990 having reviewed the whole situation in respect of all the pending demands of Railwaymen notes with satisfaction that there has been some positive response from the Govt on wider issues relating to the working class in general and the Central Govt employees in particular as seen from the steps taken by the Ministry of Labour in respect of industrial relations and the steps taken by the Finance Ministry in reopening the issue of Wage Review Committee and the various awards rejected by the previous Govt". The resolution however pointed out that "these issues are yet to be finalised and the pace of negotiations towards that end needs to be stepped up".

Coming to the question of long pending demands of railwaymen the resolution reads the "Working Committee notes with deep regret and serious concern that there has been absolutely no change in the position regarding the long pending demands of railwaymen despite the Federation constantly urging the Ministry of Railways to settle them amicably by holding meaningful and prompt discussion with it".

Taking stock of the situation the working committee felt that the railwaymen can no longer afford to remain as onlookers. The resolution states "The Working Committee is of considered opinion that such a situation cannot be allowed to continue any longer and to make it clear to the Government that the Railwaymen are grimly determined to win their demands..."

### Protest Week

The AIRF Working Committee has decided to observe the week from 9.7.90 to 14.7.90 as a protest week to voice protest against the callous attitude of the Railway Ministry. It has directed all its affiliates to hold mass meetings, rallies, demonstrations, dhar-

nas, etc. all over the railway system. "The Working Committee calls upon its affiliates in the Zonal Railways to spare no efforts in mobilising railwaymen and educating them as a first step in the agitational programme". The resolution reiterates the demands which the railwaymen would strive to achieve and these include reinstatement of all railwaymen dismissed under the notorious Rule 14 (ii) without giving them opportunity to defend themselves; stopping the off-loading of railway work to contractors and private enterprises; filling up of all vacancies; creation of additional posts for additional assets, 8 hours duty to all railwaymen; grant of recognition to the unions in production units and metropolitan transport projects.

### Relations with Unions

In another resolution the AIRF Working Committee has bitterly criticised the Railway Minister for the way he has been handling the relation with the unions, with the AIRF. Speaking of the "great hope and feeling of fraternity" with which the railwaymen "greeted the installation of the new Govt" in which many friends and comrades in arms of railwaymen occupy important position the resolution states that "hopes and expectations of the AIRF and railwaymen have been sadly belied" by what has been described in the resolution as "blatantly anti AIRF attitude of the Minister of Railways". The resolution alleges that the Railway Minister "has been using his official position and his staff to boost his pocket union". "This is the worst type of unfair labour practice by any standard or definitions", the resolution states.

The disappointment at the callousness of the Rail Ministry regarding railwaymen's is not confined to AIRF followers alone, all the major trade unions including the AIREC, the AILRSA etc, and the railwaymen in general share the feeling. In the sphere of relations with trade unions it has been noted by all that in a marked departure from the existing practice the Railway Minister of the National Front Govt has not yet found time to invite the recognised unions even to an official introductory meeting.

As for the unrecognised unions like AIREC, AILRSA they had been insisting on the revival, pending enactment of new Industrial Relations law, of the channel of communication that was granted to them. But this also failed to evoke any positive response.

### Anganwadi Womens' Rally

The all India rally of Anganwadi Workers and Helpers will be held at Delhi on August 7, 1990. Arrangements for accommodation will be made for August 6 and 7. All State Committees are requested to inform about the number of participants, requirement for accommodation and return journey reservations with money to the CITU Centre immediately.

## Victory of the Sponge Workers at Palaspanga

In Palaspanga Sponge Iron Factory about 600 contract workers and 300 regular workers are employed. The management with pocket union of HMS now ousted by secret ballot were doing all sorts of anti-labour acts arbitrarily since the beginning of the factory.

In protest of such act of the management the workers had decided and the union leadership intimidated the management not to work 9 hours in a day, instead they will work 8 hours in general shift. And accordingly the management had allowed the general shift workers to work 8 hours in a day from 1.5.90 to 4.5.90 (9 AM to 4 PM), but suddenly on 5.5.90 at about 8.30 AM the management had locked the gate inside the factory, as a result of which the workers could not enter into the factory premises for which the work came to a stand still. The recognised union intimidated the DLO, Dy. LC along with the minister for labour, Govt of Orissa to solve the problems. The management in connivance with the DLO and the ousted leadership of HMS had pre-planned this artificial closure and they had intentionally done this to demoralise the workers, and to blame CITU. The management and the DLO both avoided to discuss the issues with the newly elected CITU leaders which is practically leading the mass of workers. So the workers decided to force the management for discussion with the newly elected representatives.

Though 5 days from 5.5.90 had passed but no fruitful result was achieved. The CITU State General Secretary Com. Ajeya Rout who is also the President of the union had requested the Dy LC Collector and all concerned labour machineries to intervene into the matter and to run the factory. On 10.5.90 about 800 workers assembled near the guest house and forced all the officers including the Addl. General Manager Mr. Kanungo to come to the main gate of the factory. He assured the workers the following:

1. As demanded by the workers the main gate will be opened and production will be started immediately.

2. The contract workers will work in 3 shifts instead of 4 shifts including general shift. The women workers will only work in the first shift and will not be asked to work after 6 P.M

3. The management had admitted in the presence of DL O, Magistrate and police officers that they will discuss with the CITU union regarding loss of earning of workmen occurred due to closure of the factory and other issues within 15 days.

## Son's Letter to His Father

*(We are publishing hereunder a note written by Uday, son of Com. BTR in his memory—Ed)*

My Dearest Baba,

Have you really left us forever. I can't believe it. I am still waiting for your phone call on every Sunday after the English news. But it has not come for last so many Sundays. Slowly I am beginning to realise that may be it will never come now and I must accept like others that I have become an orphan. Last 43 years of our beautiful relations, immense love and friendship has been lost forever. Never to come back.

Looking back I feel that the last 43 years of my life have passed too soon with too less time we spent together. When I was a child, I always felt that your work has deprived me of my father and mother; though I do not hold this view anymore for I understood that you had always belonged to the party. But in all fairness I must say that inspite of your busy schedule at Bombay you did accommodate me whenever possible by discussing politics with me, answering all my questions, explaining the national and international situation at great length and in details, quoting Lenin, stating all historical facts all till late at night and that too often you have come back tired from either the state committee meetings or from an exhaustive study circle and when you had to get up at 4 AM to catch the 1st flight to Delhi. For this I shall be always indebted to you. Because I even being not in the party you have trained me to think from the Marxist point of view. This fact is the triumph of your towering personality, your superior knowledge and your unwavering faith in Marxism. Especially when one looks at the fact that the Communists in India after India/China war were abused and we, their children were humiliated in the college, I could not answer as to why my father is not saying that China has made aggression. For I was not yet understanding the situation and you were already in jail then. The press of course was playing with the sentiments of the people and people were falling prey. Nevertheless in my heart I knew one thing was true that you would never say something unless you were convinced about it and you had the full knowledge of it. The same fact was again proved recently when immediately after the so called "Tienanmen Square Massacre" and when you were just operated upon, you were waiting patiently for the full report to come, though at that time you did tell me that it is a 'counter revolution'. How true it was, that I came to know later after all the reports came in, though at that time I was very much disturbed to read and hear about this so called massacre.

These things about your personality, your tremendous zeal for the work, your phenomenal knowledge of the subject and analysing capacity was awesome to say the least. Your life was of immense

sacrifice, absolute faith and understanding of Marxism and Leninism. Who gave you this determination and strong will power to withstand the various onslaughts and setbacks on you and the party and to carry on the relentless struggle against imperialism? How truly Com. Parkash has described your aspects of personality in his his article.

Nevertheless I feel that sometimes you should have listened to me or my mother especially when it was a question of your health. Because you always insisted on utilising your full energy and time to the limit possible. You yourself were against the exploitation of others, but you allowed yourself to be exploited to the fullest. But I know the reason. You knew the time was running out on you and you wanted to achieve maximum possible in the time available for you. But still you should have taken our advice, when time and again I asked you to do complete health check up. However you were always short of time for your own health whether in Bombay or in Delhi. I feel that partly us and partly you were responsible for not giving sufficient attention to your health aspect.

Now that you have ultimately left us, one question comes to my mind again and again "why did you have to leave us when you knew that you were needed most?" But I also know that you would answer this question in your humorous manner, like—"What can I do? An astrologer once told me that there is danger to my life, if I live beyond 80 years, and his prediction has come true." Even at such times I know that your habit of cutting jokes would not leave you.

All I can say is that I miss you very much and I remember my days of childhood which I spent with you. Do you remember incidents of the kites? When I was in 6th Std. you got me 20 kites from a comrade in Madanpura. I was so thrilled to have such a 'capital' of my own. But next day when I misbehaved, you asked me to destroy all my kites. My whole capital you wanted me to destroy. My tears did not make any impact on you or so I thought. But to my great relief you asked me to stop after I destroyed one kite, with a promise that I shall not misbehave again. Till to-date, I have not done so. And when I was representing my school in cricket, I asked you for a bat costing Rs. 35/- only. Nicely but without mincing any words, you told me that we cannot afford it. I was disappointed but understood the implication and did not press further. Can I forget those days when we were staying in one room and Aai used to work for living. And one day I had to sell old papers to buy provisions. Do you remember Baba that when Aai used to return very late in the night and I used to get angry with her? One day both of us decided that you would tell her that I had high temperature when she returned. Aai returned from her work late and

found I was lying in the bed. When she asked what happened, you told her I had temperature etc. She immediately asked how much. And you asked me, What did we decide to tell her, how much temperature? Still I remember how sweetly you smiled when I told you this incident in the hospital. Those were the difficult days for you politically and for us financially. But I have never seen you worrying over it. The sacrifice made by you and Aai I have seen and experienced. As a child I have waited and waited alone for both of you till late night for your return from party meetings; have experienced poverty and loneliness for a long time. But inspite of all difficulties you have never waived from your work till your last days.

How many time I called you to stay with me for relaxation. Everytime you excused yourself giving various reasons though you promised me 10 to 15 days of your time when you were free. But you were never free. Sometimes it was elections, sometimes it was party conference, state committees, or CITU conferences. But I knew that asking you to spend so much time with us would be depriving you of your work and that will make you restless. But I also knew that once you promise, you would keep your promise.

But soon the time passed. You were as usual so much engrossed in your work preparing documents attending meetings, sorting out problems, planning out strategies to counter the enemies of the country, that you did not realise the enemy within. A clever enemy whom you underestimated. Yes you may have committed mistakes before, as many people have pointed out. But those mistakes were such that they could be corrected after the initial set back. But this time it was to cost all of us very dearly. The enemy slowly spread its tentacles within your body in such a way that few symptoms here and there would not alarm you and would remain off your guard. Slowly your body became weaker and by the time we all realised what has happened, you were in Tata Hospital with your body struggling against the enemy within. But it was too late now. The bone scan was laughing hysterically at me when I saw it. The typical bone scan specimen as the doctors put it. "Look the way it has spread from pelvis to spine and nearly upto the skull." Yes near-upto the skull. But not on the skull. No you were one up there also on this dreadful and the worst enemy. Till the end howsoever he tried to conquer your brain, but he failed to do so. You were calm and reassuring but you knew the result. Still you were the most cooperative patient in the Tata Hospital inspite of the various tortures we put you through. You never said "NO" to any kind of treatment. Only when your limbs failed to respond, you said that the time has come to write your 'obituary'. We were all watching you, feeling helpless. Now my only aim was to make you smile and keep you as comfortable as possible in your last days. I tried my best to make you smile. Didn't I tell you so many stories, jokes and incidences from my childhood days and got so many sweet smiles from you? I knew you were liking it but to achieve this I

had to make strenuous efforts to keep myself calm and not to show any kind of sorrow on my face; for the doctors had told me what I didn't want to hear and didn't want to accept.

I am only happy because I could make you happy to some extent in your last 15 days and also because you kept your promise of staying with me for 15 days when you were free from the party work. Oh. Yes, you did keep your promise, but I would have certainly waited for any number of years for you to fulfil your promise.

Love,

Uday

5.6.90

## Central Government Employees of NE Region on Struggle

The Extended Executive Committee of the Regional Co-ordination Committee of the Central Government Employees and workers, North Eastern Region, met at Shillong on 2.6.1990 to decide further course of action for ending discrimination in the matter of extension of Special (Duty) Allowance to all left out Central Government Employees working in the North Eastern Region, after observing Demands Day on May 29. It was felt that the emergence of the National Front Government had generated a great hope amongst the Central Government employees and workers in the North Eastern region and especially when the Finance Minister Prof. Madu Dandavate had assured the representatives of the Central Government Employees on 27.2.1990 at a meeting with him, that he would rationalise the discrimination in the matter of extension of Special (Duty) Allowance very soon. However no positive decision has been taken by the Finance Department of the Govt. of India in that direction. Therefore, the meeting after threadbare discussion decided to observe the following programme of action to mount pressure on the Government.

1. Campaign week from 20th June 1990 to 26th June 1990.
2. Dharna on 27.6.90.
3. It has also been decided that after the above phase of programme is over, a Convention of the Central Government Employees and Workers, NE Region will be held at Guwahati by the 2nd week of July 1990. The Convention will decide further course of action like dharna in front of Finance Minister's residence at New Delhi, walk out from work spot and direct action.
4. It has also been decided that when the Prime Minister of India visits any states of NE Region, the State level Central Government Employees and Workers Co-ordination Committee should submit memorandum in a deputation requesting him to extend Special (Duty) Allowance to all Central Government employees.

## The Policy of Sex Discrimination Still Haunts Air India

The struggle against sex discrimination in employment and for equal right of working women has started breaking its fringes, both qualitatively and quantitatively. If the movement of Air-hostesses in Air India is any indication the appeal of this struggle is getting reflected in wider spectrum and also horizontally as one of the fundamental human rights. The latest support from all the National Trade Unions to the Air Hostesse's struggle ushered in new possibilities.

The services rendered by Air Hostesses has been stigmatised with almost to a level of belief, as if, their retirement age at 35 is an interminable myth. The Air Hostesses of Air India united themselves in forming the Air India Hostesses Association and had thrown a powerful challenge to the Public Sector authorities demanding the reversal of discriminating policies against the women and to extend their age of superannuation upto 58 years making it at par with their men counterparts. Since the demand had a democratic appeal and based on basic human right the Air Hostesses movement could draw the democratic support also from outside, though not widely from the trade union movement at its initial stage. The Centre of Indian Trade Unions and its women section, the Co-ordination Committee of Working Women, with its tradition of championing the cause of working women extended all possible help to the movement. A good number of Parliament members representing different political parties, raised the issues in both the houses on a number of times during the later part of 1989. A petition was also moved before the Parliament by the Air Hostesses. The united pressure could at last bring the Rajiv Govt. to sense in prevailing upon the Air India management to raise the superannuation age to 58.

But the culture of sex discrimination has so penetrated the social polity of our country that the Air India authority failing to reconcile with the change in the retiring age seemed to have favoured in whittling down the gain and issued an order on 23rd March freezing the flying right of women Air Hostesses beyond the age of 45. In pursuance of this order a Japanese hostess of Air India, Ms Michiko Mochizuki has been grounded recently while the male counterparts are allowed to continue in the flight. The Air India authority resorted to this step despite the Govt. of India's committment in Tokyo District Court during October last to extend her superannuation age upto 58 and flying duties accordingly.

However, it is a matter of appreciation that the Air India Hostesses Association decided to face the offensive more confidently, armed this time with the

support from united trade union movement. The prominent leaders from 9 National Trade Union Centres through a letter to Shri Arif Md. Khan, Minister for Civil Aviation requested the Govt. on 10.4.90 to remove the grave injustice against the hostesses and to honour the undertaking given by the Government in the law court of a foreign country in respect of Ms Michiko Mochizuki. The letter was signed by Shri Gopeshwar (INTUC), M.K. Pandhe (CITU), Homi Daji (AITUC), Abani Roy (UTUC), V. Tiagi (HMS), R.K. Bhakt (BMS), D.D. Shastri (TUCC), P. Chanda (UTUCLS). A delegation from the Association also met the Hon'ble Minister, Shrif Mohammad Khan, the Minister in charge of Civil Aviation Department who assured that he will go into the problem personally and would see the best what he can do.

## Anganwadi Women to Demonstrate before Parliament

A meeting of the Preparatory Committee of Anganwadi Women was held at Delhi on June 1, 1990. The meeting was presided over by Bhabatosh Roy and attended by 25 members of the Preparatory Committee from W. Bengal, UP, Andhra Pradesh, MP, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Haryana, Punjab and Vimala Ranadive, Convenor of the Committee and Secretary of the CITU.

Vimal Ranadive placed the report in the meeting. The report was discussed by Nilima Moitra (W. Bengal), Patwardhan Rathod, Sandhya Shaily (MP), Sarojini Balanandan (Kerala), Sajan Goyal, Laxmi Sehgal (UP), Kiran Moghe (Maharashtra), Ranwant Kaur (Haryana) Chaman Lata (Himachal) and Rajwant Kaur, Surinder Kaur (Punjab).

The meeting adopted the Constitution for the Federation of Anganwadi Women which is to be formed. It decided to hold the founding conference of the federation in October or November at Punjab, Kerala or MP. The venue is to be decided by the CITU Centre in consultations with the above state committees.

The meeting further decided to carry forward the agitation of Anganwadi women which has picked up momentum in the different states in pursuance of their demands which were earlier formulated. The following programmes of action were unanimously adopted :

1. An All India Day will be observed on 10th July by holding rallies, dharnas, deputations, etc. in all the States and at village levels.

2. An All India Demonstration will be held before Parliament on 7th August, where thousands of Anganwadi Workers and Helpers will be mobilised. A deputation will meet the Prime Minister during the rally.

## Statewide campaign against Unemployment

For the people of Madras city, the people who had witnessed many rallies and demonstrations over the years, it was a different type of rally on 9th June. Thousands of men and women workers, employees, peasants, youth and students marching through the main thoroughfares demanding work for all and right to work as Fundamental Right.

Under the banner of Campaign Committee Against Unemployment (CCAU), they marched to the Marina sands, where a mammoth public rally against unemployment was held. This rally was the culmination of the State wide campaign by CCAU.

This campaign against unemployment had actually began with the State level preparatory convention in Madras on 25th February. It was at this convention, the CCAU with 14 representatives from 12 states level organisations was formed. CITU, DYFI, AIAWU, Tamilnadu Govt. Employees Association, BEFI, AIIEA, Tamilnadu Income Tax Union, Telegraph Traffic Employees Union (T-3, T-4 NFPTE), TNMSRA (FMRAI), AIDWA, SFI and Civil Audit Association were represented in this State level committee. On 28th March, anti-unemployment day was observed through out the State. By this time CCAU units were formed in all districts and in many taluks also.

It was after this the next phase of the campaign was finalised. Accordingly, four groups of State leaders of all the organisations in CCAU, started vehicle jathas, covering all the districts. One group led by A.K. Padmanabhan (CITU), who is also Convener of CCAU, began their campaign tour on 29th May from Thoduvatti in Kanyakumari District. The second group under the leadership of G. Ramakrishnan (CITU) began from Rameswaram on 30th May. The other two groups led by A. Soundararajan (CITU) and S.A. Thangarajan MLA started from Gudalur in Nilgiri and Nagapattinam in Tanjore District.

These four groups together travelled nearly 6000 kilometers covering all the districts in the State and also Pondichery. More than 600 meetings were addressed in villages and towns.

A number of sub-jathas led by the district level leaders were arranged in all the districts, so that areas not covered by the main jathas were also covered. Hundreds of meetings were addressed by these sub-jathas. Lakhs of leaflets, thousands of posters were published during this campaign. 70,000 copies of a propaganda pamphlet, printed at Rs. 1/- published by the CCAU were sold during the campaign.

Rousing reception were arranged for the Jathas. It was a new experience to the people. Leaders of

Trade Unions and other mass organisations jointly campaigning on the most serious problem facing the people and putting forth an alternative programme and a charter on immediate demands. Various organisations, which are not members of CCAU also participated.

While explaining that the fight should continue for a change in the capitalist-land lord system, the list of immediate demands included amendment to constitution to ensure right to work as a fundamental right, reopening of closed factories, lift the ban on recruitment, opening of new industries and implementation of long pending projects, unemployment allowance, proper implementation of land reform legislations etc.

The campaign concluded on 8th June, with all the four Jathas entering the City in the afternoon on 8th June. Rousing and largely attended reception meetings were arranged in various parts of the city with workers, employees, youth and women participating in large numbers.

### Massive Procession

On 9th June was the anti-unemployment rally. Hundreds of vehicles carrying men and women belonging to these organisations reached Madras from all corners of the State. Marching behind the banner of 'Anti-Unemployment Rally' were the leaders of various constituents of CCAU who had participated in the jathas, carrying their respective flags. Then came the participants behind their respective banners, with DWA in front and CITU at the end.

Raising demands of end to unemployment and right to work as fundamental right, the procession marched to the Marina, where the public meeting was held. The meeting, presided by A.K. Padmanabhan, was addressed by R. Umanath (CITU), N. Sankarayya (AIKS), D. Ravindran (DYFI), K. Gangadaran (TNGEA), Papa Umanath (DWA), K. Krishnan (BEFI), R. Santhanam (AIIEA), Duripandian (MCAA), R. Viswanathan (TNMSRA-FMRAI), Paramasivam (TITU) and Guna Sekaran (SFI), D. Gopalakrishnan (NFPTE) welcomed the participants. P.G.K. Krishnan, Madras District Convener of CCAU gave vote of thanks.

The meeting began with the songs of Nelson Mandela Choir Group. A resolution listing out the demands and calling upon the people of the State to continue the struggle against unemployment was passed. It was also made clear by the speakers that CCAU will be further strengthened and the next phase of the campaign and struggle will be finalised without delay. All the participants in the rally stood up for mass singing of a "pledge song" to continue the struggle for eradication of unemployment.

## Police Atrocities on Tribals in Orissa

The Orissa Armed Police under the guidance of some unscrupulous police officers most shockingly have appeared with devil's face in the remote part of the province i.e. Kalta area of Koira Block of Bonai Sub-division in Sundergarh district, while mercilessly attacking poor innocent Adivasi people and their family members. Indiscriminate lathi charge, blank firing, ransacking of houses, large scale beating of CITU activists inside police lock up, molestation of young Tribal women and arrest of innocent people, is the order of the day, which continued with full swing putting 50 sq. k.m area under tight police cordon from 9th May to 12th May.

More than 3000 people are hiding inside the jungle in fear of police assault. Mines are closed, transportation of ores stopped and normal life in the area is disturbed due to police panic.

On 9th May at about 2 PM the DSP of Bonai sub-division rushed to Kalta Koira area with force in a jeep having received false exaggerated information from Koira Police station officers' incharge that workers belonging to CITU have seriously assaulted a sub inspector, assaulted everybody and any body who were seen on the way and arrested many and beat them mercilessly in public. Throughout the day the reign of terror continued and all male members including old and young fled to jungle leaving their women and children at home. On 9th May afternoon, a gang of drunk armed police under the leadership of Officers Incharge Koira PS and DSP Bonai sud-division entered Toda Labour Camp, molested the young pregnant wives of Bijoy Bilung, Matias Edal, Hari Karua and also assaulted them. A pregnant lady at advanced stage named Susani Munda was hit with rifle butt and injured when she dared to protest police vandalism there.

The attack started when workers expressed their protest against merciless assault on CITU activist Ramprit on 4th May by the Officer Incharge of Koira police station at Market place. Ramprit was confined for three days inside lock up before he was sent to court. The officer severely assaulted him inside the lock up also. The workers of different mines started their protest actions right from 6th May but the defiant and vindictive attitude of police officer continued. Finally workers went on strike and dharna before the police station of Kalta.

The sub-division police officer and the Officer Incharge of Koira police station since past several years were well known for their merciless assault on CPI(M) and CITU leaders taking different false pretext and had a grand role in strike breaking. A leading CITU activist was subjected to uprooting of moustache by the same police officer of police station to the point of severe bleeding in public when hundreds of people were witnessing the scene panickly. At another time, the same police officer physically assa-

ulted the CITU leader in the market place mercilessly. Once the same officer chased the CPI(M) leader Com. Amiya Das, who was the Chairman of the Koira Block to assault physically. Like that volumes of complains from the CITU were lodged incourse of last 2-3 years before higher authority. But nothing happened because their actions used to receive the backing of the local Congress(I) MLA.

The strike of workers since 9th May continued against police atrocities on adivasi people and molestation of their women. The CPI(M) and CITU State Committees have strongly denounced this atrocities and demanded strong actions against police officers.

## Orissa State CITU Organises Rally Before Assembly

A big rally of about 10,000 workers from different parts of the state assembled before Sstate Assembly on 1st June 1990 the opening day of its budget session and pressed for six point demands before the government. A memorandum from the state Committee of CITU which was addressed to the Chief Minister Shri Biju Patnaik emphasised on implementation of Rs. 25/- minimum daily wage as proposed by the state Govt, steps against spiralling price rise, adoption of pro-people budget, inclusion of Right to Work as Fundamental Right and grant of unemployment allowance, remunerative price to agricultural products and enactment of pro-worker industrial laws.

A colourful procession of workers started from the Railway station at about 3 PM and moved through main thoroughfare to the State Assembly. The big contingents from mines and forest plantation unions of the state, unorganised workers from small and medium industries, workers from steel, cement and port and dock, joined the procession. The rally was held near the State Assembly and was presided over by the CITU state President Com Lambodar Nayak. The rally was addressed by Com. Ajeya Rout, the General Secretary, CITU State Committee, Com. Nirakar Jena and Com Manmohan Nayak—both Vice Presidents, Com Pradip Das, Secretary, Com Bansidhar Das, President, Orissa State ALU, Com. Sachkanta Pani, Vice President, State Kisan Sabha and Com Dusmanta Das, Com. Radhakanta Sethi, CPI(M) MLA from Pattamundai constituency also addressed the rally. The drama troupe of Gana Natya delivered revolutionary songs in the meetings.

Though the Chief Minister was requested much earlier for discussion with the CITU delegation on the memorandum, he did not find time for such discussion. This attitude of the Chief Minister to CITU delegation was strongly disapproved by the rally. The speakers called upon the workers to continue struggle to achieve the demands. The rally expressed the feeling that only populist declarations by the government will not help the situation to improve but urgent steps to implement promises be given priority.

## Conference of Delhi CITU

Delhi State Committee of CITU held its 7th Conference at NCERT Hall, B.T. Ranadive Nagar on 29th and 30th April, 1990. Com. Jogender Sharma hoisted the flag on the occasion. The conference proceedings were conducted by a presidium of three members, Com. Jogender Sharma, Com. Bhagwan Prasad and Com. Puran Chand. In the beginning the delegates paid their homage to Com. B. T. Ranadive, Com. Saroj Mukherjee, Com. P. Rama Murthy, Com. Narsingha Chakravorty, Com. Chacha Shadi Ram, Com. Safdar Hashmi and Com. Harinder Pal Singh. The Parcham team sang revolutionary songs on this occasion,

In his inaugural address to the delegates, the CITU Secretary Com. M. K. Pandhe demanded from the govt that that Right to Work should be enacted as fundamental Right of workers. The workers should also be given the right to representation in the management by Secret Ballot. Com. Pandhe emphasised that present Govt like the previous govt of Rajiv Gandhi is being dominated by the bureaucrats. The working class has to intensify its struggles for the repeal of anti-workers policies and to get its demands conceded.

The 7th conference was greeted by the fraternal delegates from the Janwadi Mahila Samiti, Democratic Youth Federation of India and the SFI.

Com. Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj, General Secretary of the CITU State Committee placed work and organisational report of the last 4 years. Out of the 523 delegates present, 53 took part in the discussions on the report. In the conference resolutions were passed on the following :

- i) Communal harmony and national integration.
- ii) Against repression on Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and minorities.
- iii) The right to work to be made a Fundamental Right.
- iv) Abolition of contract labour system.
- v) Against police and judicial interference in trade union disputes.
- vi) For nationalisation of the textile, jute and sugar industries.
- vii) On the Jhuggi-Jhompri dwellers problems.
- viii) A resolution was also passed on the workers 7 points demand charter, including the demand for a minimum wage of Rs. 1050/-.

The Conference resolved to move into struggle immediately on the demands charter for solution of the continuing Punjsons and Le-Meridien Hotel

Strike struggle and for concerted campaign against communalism and for the unity of the country.

A committee of 21 members was elected with Com. Bhagwan as President, Com. Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj as General Secretary and Com. Pushpinder Grewal as Treasurer.

Com. Jogendra Sharma, Secretary CPI(M) Delhi State Committee, while summing up the deliberations stressed the need to increase the independent initiative and struggles of the CITU and also high lighted the necessity to further strengthen the organisation. On Moy Day, a militant procecion of CITU workers marched from Feroz Shah Kotla Grounds to the Town Hall, where the open session of the Coference took the form of a huge public meeting. Com. E. Balanandan, Treasurer, CITU and Polit Bureau Member CPI (M) was the Chief Guest at the meeting, which was also addressed by Com. Saifuddin Chowdhry, CPI (M) MP and CC member. Com. Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj, General Secretary reported on the decisions of the Conference and the meeting pledged to carry forward the working class struggle in Delhi and Ghaziabad and to double the CITU membership in the next two years.

## Conference of Punjab State CITU

Three day 8th State Conference of Punjab CITU concluded successfully on May 27, 1990 at Ludhiana with a call to launch broad based united struggle to press for implementation of labour laws, fixing of minimum wages for the unskilled at Rs. 1050/- per month and 35% increase for the higher categories, end of contract system, stopping retrenchment and illegal lock outs and against price rise etc. The Conference was addressed by M.K. Pandhe and Vimal Ranadive, Secretaries of CITU.

The conference through a resolution demanded from the national front government that it should give due priority to Punjab problem and solve the problem politically alongwith taking firm administrative measures. It also decided to further intensify its struggle against the imperialist supported Khalistani terrorists and in defence of national unity and integrity.

The conference unanimously elected 65 members working committee with Comrades Balwant Singh as President and Chander Shekhar as General Secretary. The other office bearers are Mangat Ram Pasla, Vijay Misra, Bhag Singh Sajjan, and Sat Pal Bharti as vice-presidents, and Raghunath Singh, Mulakh Raj, Trilochan Singh and Tarsem as Joint Seretaries.

To strengthen the organisation the conference decided to start its journal in Punjabi, to make syst-

ematic and regular the education of TU cardres and strengthening of state and district centres by increasing whole timers. It also fixed the target of 1 lakh membership in the year 1990.

The conference laid emphasis for organising the working women and unorganised workers.

Conference also decided to intensify its ideological campaign against the divisive and casteist forces and to become the real champions of struggle against social repression on casteist basis.

The conference expressed satisfaction upon the age and class composition of the 535 delegates which showed that 60% of them are below 40 years and belong to the toiling classes. The credential report also brought the fact to the bolder relief that 40% of the delegates were those who have passed through an ordeal of police repression and mill owners goonda attacks and have been implicated falsely in more than 4 cases in average.

## Conference of Fertilizer Workers' Federation

The 8th Biennial Conference of Fertilizer Workers' Federation of India was held at Sindri in the district of Dhanbad from 21st to 24th April '90. 190 delegates represent 40,000 workers engaged in public, co-operative and private sectors of the Fertilizer Industry participated in the conference.

The venue of the conference was named after Com. BTR as 'B.T. Ranadive Nagar'. At the very outset of the inaugural session glowing tribute was paid to Com. BTR remembering the valuable guidance received from him in running and building the federation from time to time with particular reference to his inaugural speech at the Bombay conference of the federation in the year 1986.

In his inaugural speech Com. Basudev Acharya M.P. expressed his surprise and indignation over importing fertilizer from foreign countries spending valuable foreign exchange without going for increasing indigenous production by revamping and expanding the old plants and setting up adequate numbers of new plants in the public sector. He also expressed his concern for denigration of public sector. He warned of the danger of multinational companies making dangerous dent in our economy and while urging the conference to discuss these problems and for adopting suitable action programme, he hoped that the National Front government at the centre would reverse the wrong policy adopted by the previous Government and take necessary steps in the interest of our national economy.

One special feature of the conference was that an entire session was spent in discussing the problems of the contractor workers engaged in the industry and it was decided to organise them directly with the federation. To initiate action in this direction a Sub-Committee was constituted from the conference.

41 delegates took part in the deliberation on the report placed by the General Secretary which was unanimously adopted in the conference with modifications suggested by the speakers. 17 resolutions were adopted in the conference relating issues pertaining to national and international situation, trade union movement, peasantry, agricultural workers, women etc.

The main thrust of the speeches of the leaders and delegates in the conference was about the alarming situation prevailing in the fertilizer industry on the question of existence of the old plants, penetration of monopoly capital in a big way and dependence on import by ignoring self reliance.

The significance of the industry in our national economy has to be noted from the fact that fertilizer has a paramount role in increasing agricultural production—the ratio of increase being 1:12. As per the estimate of Planning Commission the production of foodgrain will have to be pushed up to 235 M.T. by the year 2000 A.D. for catering the need of a projected population of 100 crores in our country by that time. For this purpose the use of fertilizer will have to be just doubled from the present level. Hence expansion of capacity of indigenous production is a must. But even the National Front government like the previous Cong(I) regime is adopting negative attitude towards the old plants ignoring the fact that these plants have served the nation as pioneer units of the modern fertilizer industry of our country. At present there are 11 plants which are in operation for last 20 to 28 years and another 12 plants will be completing 15 to 20 years by 1994. The government is trying to find plea for closing these old plants due to alleged poor performance. The closure of these plants will not only throw away thousands of workers from their job but also will reduce indigenous production substantially. This is nothing but apathy of the government towards the public sector which is clear from the fact that most of the recent modern fertilizer plants of gigantic size have been built in the private sector.

The Conference has taken decision to launch a massive country wide campaign movement demanding the revamping of the old plants with technological upgradation and expansion for increasing indigenous production for self sufficiency and to avert import. The campaign will be concluded with a National Seminar to be held at Delhi sometime in the month of October/November, 1990.

The Conference elected a 40 Member Executive Committee with 14 Office Bearers. Com. R.K. Pandey and Com. N.C. Sharma were re-elected as President and General Secretary respectively.

On 24th April a massive public meeting was held at the local Nehru Maidan which was preceded by a very colourful procession which marched through the streets of the vast Sindri Fertilizer Township. The public meeting was addressed by Com. Bhogendra Jha, M.P., Comrades R.K. Pandey, N.C. Sharma and S. Dev Roye in addition to the General Secretary of the host union Com. D.B. Kumar.

# New Industrial Proposals—Under Shadow of Super 301

Jibon Roy

**Omnious Symptoms :** If 1990-91 union budget of National Front Government reflects wavering features, the industrial policy statement tabled before the Parliament on 31st May by the Union Minister of Industry Shri Ajit Singh is a complete turn round from the election commitment of the National Front Government for a self-reliant economic growth based on equity and social justice. The reality of the 1990-91 budget was no doubt largely clung with the legacy of the past and the sorry state of economic situation which was plugged with huge budgetary deficit and collosus indebtedness combined with acute balance of payment position. What was strange that the budget ultimately has been allowed to settle itself with the same traditional rich-flanked and inflationary path which Shri Madhu Dandavate was used to designate as "trinkled down" process of economic growth. The budget has imposed an additional tax burden on common people which came as a great shock after an huge hike in railway fares and freight few days before the budget claim. It has acceded to a further borrowing of Rs. 12,327 crores to which Rs. 4327 crores will come as foreign loan. Still there remained a deficit of Rs. 7206 crores. The budget has virtually attempted no kind of reform either in the fiscal system or in the economic priority showing the semblance of radicalisation as specified in the manifesto.

However, considering the narrow time lags between the formation of the N F Government and the placement of budget and also the reality that many conflicting interests represent the Government one may not take the perception that the budget is to be carried as the real or ultimate projection of National Front's economic policies. But the industrial policy statement has gone against the minimum expectations that the Government will fight for self reliance and protect at least the small sector of industries and will push forward an employment oriented industrial policy. The statement has militated against the very industrial policy recommendation by the National Front in its election manifesto.

**N F Manifesto Vs Policy Statement :** The industrial policy pronounced in the National Front Election Manifesto can be crystalised in the following lines :

1. Employment orientation with emphasis of wage goods. Expansion of agro-based rural industries.
2. Wider protection of small and cottage industries in the production of mass consumable commodities.
3. Commanding position of public sector will continue and it will be freed from excessive bureaucratisation and control. Private sector will also have due place.
4. Role of multinationals will be reduced and the policies of eighties which sought to make the country subservient to foreign capital will be reversed.

5. Expansion of self-reliance. Restriction on capital goods import. Extensive drive for indigenisation. More investment in research and development.

The Indian working class has its own approach towards the industrialisation of a third world country like India where powerful dominance of feudal forces is still a major factor and monopoly concentration is maintained unabated with active intervention from imperialists. It does not expect the National Front considering its class composition to accept the position of the working class. The industrial policy which has been put forward by the National Front manifesto is even short of the basic approach suggested in the 1956 industrial policy resolution. The manifesto though has committed on the role of public sector as commanding, it is silent on the question of restoration of that position which has already been diluted a great deal by the Cong(I) govt. The manifesto however has taken the unequivocal stand on the question of protection of the small scale industries and in favour of self-reliance, which the new industrial policy declaration has unceremoniously immersed, allowing alongwith an unrestricted haunting authority to Indian monopoly and the free access route for multinational through them. Therefore there is no wonder behind the wide spread euphoria of all the business houses at the declaration of the new policy and great dismay in the SSI business circles. Common people will feel the pinch only when the new line will be put to implementation.

**Special Status of SSI —Weeding out Process Speeded up :** The industrial policy proclaimed by the Cong(I) Government at the beginning of the 7th plan had initiated the sinister process of introducing the big investors into the arena of small scale sector and raised the investment limit in small scale sector from Rs. 20 lakhs to Rs. 35/- lakhs. It had appalling effect not only to the small scale sector but also over the workers in medium and big industries. The textile barrons taking advantage of the new facilities had switched over to the powerloom sector in large scale and resorted to the closing down of big mills throwing millions of workers out of employments. The mushroom growth of powerloom from 8.59 lakhs on 1.1.85 to 11 lakhs by the end of 1988, sharp drop in the contribution of mills to the total production of cloth to 23.3 percent in 1986-88 from 28.6 in the year 1984-85 were the result of raising the investment limit in small sectors and also of the new textile policy which was brought almost concomitantly in the year 1984-85. Consequential affect of this policy on the handloom sector can easily be understood.

The new move of the National Front Government of further raising the investment limit to Rs. 60 lakhs for SSI and in case of ancillaries upto Rs. 75 lakhs has come rightly under scathing criticism from the Federation of Associations of Small Industries of

India (FASI). The immediate effect of the new policy would be that a large number of industries having plant and machinery investment between Rs. 36-60 lakhs would now come under the small sector. Mr. B. P. Duggal, the acting president of the organisation has claimed before the press that already the top three percent of the small scale units take away the 90 percent of the finance meant for the sector. According to him the 95 percent of the investments in SSI does not exceed the limit of 5 lakhs and those are completely ignored by the new policy statement (Hindustan Times 9.6.90)

**Big Business Houses are Set Free :** Barring few restrictions under MRTP Act the new industrial policy statement has virtually freed all investments from any kind of restrictions. Free investment right, both internal and external, had been the main bane of World Bank vexation against the Indian self-reliance. The main purpose of marking India under Super 301 also rotates round the same mission.

Before the 7th plan could 'take off' with the so called mission of liberalisation as the main plank of the planning, far reaching changes had been brought about in the industrial policy. The measures include the raising of exemption limit for the purpose of licensing from 3 crores to Rs. 5 crores and then upto Rs. 15 crores in 1988, and the facility of automatic capacity enhancement to the extent of 5 percent per annum or 25 percent in a plan period. Besides, MRTP Act had been diluted on number of counts, and so also the FERA. The exemption limit of assets for MRTP companies under the provision of the relevant act has been raised from Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 100 crores. By the end of 1985 the MRTP and FERA companies are allowed to invest in 30 selective group of industries which were specifically earmarked for public sector of industries.

The recapitulation of the past becomes necessary because the people in the policy making bodies sometimes tend to forget the perspective which brought them to authority. The industrial policy had come under severe criticism from almost the entire trade union movement and common democratic opinion. It is unfortunate that New Government being sailed to power through people's discontent will take recourse to and or support the very policy which people had once rejected. The new policy statement has withdrawn the licensing system upto an investment limit of Rs. 25 crores in non-backward areas from Rs. 15 crores and upto Rs. 75 crores in backward areas and thus sought to bring 60 per cent of the industrial production system outside the system of licensing.

The current policy declaration would be obviously putting the public sector command in the process of further dilution, allowing private sector opportunity to dominate even in all the core sectors. What is more dangerous is that the new policy sought to bring the foreign investment in these core sectors of

industries provided they go into collaboration with 40% equity participation.

**Self Reliance in Jeopardy :** It is the draconian assault against the Indian self reliance to allow 40 percent of the equity to foreign investors as a matter of system and also the automatic import entitlement upto a landed value of 30 percent of the total plant and machinery value over and above the OGL import. Further in the fueling sector the industrial policy statement has allowed the investors to make free choice of foreign technology and the terms of technology transfers has also been freed from Government intervention. What else the multinationals and the imperialist would have demanded from India at the present context? If all these concessions along with the proposals of reducing the import duties by 30 percent which is said to have been advanced recently before the Uruguay Round of GATT discussion (Financial Express New Delhi 8.6.90) are taken together the total package will largely satisfy the demands of World Bank and US administration and there will remain no grudge of putting India under the clout of Super 301 by US administration.

**Over turn of Debt Trap :** The new concessions on the import of technology and its linkage with the sale of equity to the foreign investors is aimed at accelerating the process of capital goods import in the form of foreign capital without creating new pressure over the balance of payment position which has already gone acute. If this be the sole intention behind the new concessions to multinationals it can be safely said that the Indian economy is already entrapped with the huge debt burden and the process of selling out has taken an open route.

So far the experience of last one decade goes, the import of technology as the part of capital investment had in no way helped in the advancement of export or unemployment eradication. Foreign partner in the joint ventures show main interest in the exploitation of Indian market and cheap sources of raw materials. Whatever the minimum manpower they require in their highly automatised industry they get at cheap price. It is more and more revealed from the financial results that the foreign controlled companies turned to be the source of further dwindling the balance of payment position. Figures show that in 1980-81 alone 313 foreign controlled rupee companies in India had spent Rs. 458 crores in paying their import bills which is 86 percent of their total foreign exchange outgo. Now a days even the proponents of encouraging export based foreign investment are changing opinion. Shri Sukhomay Chakraborty, has opined in a seminar at Jaipur organised in August 89 that the drive for exports at all costs was no panacea either. (Economic & Political Weekly —18th Aug. 1989)

The unrestricted authority advanced by the Industrial Policy statement to the Indian firms for the finalisation of the terms of the technology transfer from abroad will have disastrous effect in allowing

the consolidation of the multinationals in Indian political system. The Reserve Bank of India in its fourth Survey (1985) of the collaboration found that most of the memoranda signed for such transfer of technology are having the clauses detrimental to Indian society. It has identified some of the general clauses through which the transporting country regulates the industries. The clauses aim to regulate or restrict (1) sources of raw materials (2) capital goods supply (3) change in the original specification (4) horizontal transfer of technology (5) export.

**Precursor to Industrial Anarchy :** The industrial growth in Private sector during the eighties was mainly in the field of durable consumable and it was mainly due to sustained growth of automobile, two wheeler and electronic industries. While all these industries have started facing market decline in the beginning of nineties, the machine building and metal product industries are showing no sign of improvement which maintained a very slow growth rate of 5.47 per cent and 8.95 per cent respectively during eighties. Without improving the basic condition for the growth of mass consumable industries which National Front Election manifesto also proclaimed, the free investment pursuit will lead to wild rush towards the same investment on durable consumables inviting grand downward fall of the entire industrial growth.

The Indian manufacturing industries have shown an average growth rate of 9.8 percent during 1981-82 to 1988-89. But this period has shown only marginal improvement in the employment position. So far organised private sector is concerned the employment position has rather declined from 75.52 lakhs in 1982 to 73.69 lakhs in 1987. No plea of employment generation, therefore, in support of the new industrial policy will hold any ground.

**Demand Withdrawal :** It was of common experience in the past that every surrender to the big business house or the multinationals quickened the process of further surrender. In view of the pressures from World Bank, the multinationals and finally of Super 301 for complete release of Indian industries inclusive of the services sector to the Indian monopoly houses and the multinationals the trade unions have no option but to expose the current move with utmost seriousness to the working class and the people. At the same time the trade union and the democratic movement will expect the National Front Government to review the position in wider perspective. The working class and the democratic people should unitedly demand of the National Front Government to finalise the new policy in consultation with the trade unions and other democratic platform. It should be the united demand that the new policy be formed on the foundations of self-reliance, equity and employment orientation. The CITU has already issued a statement in this respect.

(From page 8)

obdurate attitude of the Central Govt. representatives and pointed out the growing discontent among the public sector workers all over India. The CITU drew the attention of the Minister to the assurance given by the Union Finance Minister to the representatives of the Trade Unions on 20th May 1990 that the issue would be settled within 2 months and observed that if the Government fails to settle the dispute by 20th July 1990 the trade union movement in public sector will be left with no other alternative but to resort to direct action including country-wide strike.

The inordinate delay in settlement of the question of revision of pay scales and DA for the executives in public sector forced them to go in for direct action to press their legitimate demands. The decision of the Co-ordination Committee of Officers Associations of Central Public Sector Undertakings to resort to strike action on 11th and 12th July 1990 is fully justified and the Central Government is solely responsible for this action. If the Government of India takes repressive measures against the officers it would only aggravate the situation in public sector undertakings.

The CITU appeals to the workers and unions in public sector undertakings to build a powerful movement throughout the country so that the Govt. of India is forced to introduce full neutralisation to all the workers in public sector undertakings.

### **TUI-Plantation Condolences Com. BTR'S Death**

All India Plantation Workers Federation  
6, Talkatora Road  
New Delhi 110001

To the attention of Vimal Ranadive

Dear Sister Vimal,

It is only now that we have learnt with our deepest sorrow about the passing away of brother Ranadive, the founder and President of CITU. We knew Comrade BTR as an advocate of workers interests and as a great fighter for their rights and freedoms. We wish you, his life companion, much courage and strength in your noble daily activities for the benefit of working women of India, that would be the best tribute to his memory.

For the TUIAFPW  
AND RE HEMMERLE  
GENERAL SECRETARY

# The Threat of Super 301

Shanti Bhattacharjee

A great danger is looming large over India, its independence, sovereignty and over its right to determine and follow its own economic policy. It emanates from the 1988 US 'Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act', which encourages the US to impose penalties in terms of Super 301 and Special 301 to the extent of 100% import duty on products from an exporting country who, according to the USA, would indulge in unfair trading practices.

Last year India with its comparatively modest US trade and modest surplus of exports to US imports, was blacklisted alongwith Japan and Brazil for having indulged in unfair trade practices. Originally this legislation was aimed at Japan which enjoys a trade surplus of \$ 49 billion against last years overall US-Japan trade of \$ 138.2 billion. Under tremendous pressure from US, Japan has agreed to make minor amendments in its economic system by opening its markets to US satellites, super computers, forest products, amorphous metals and telecommunications equipments. Moreover, Japan is now the biggest exporting country. Japan's investment is meeting US capital deficits. In a trade dispute with Japan, US interest was bound to suffer. Restrictions on Japan's investment to USA would lead to unemployment in USA. This would result in loss of production. If Japanese products were not imported to US, the prices of US products would go up and this would lead to inflation. So Japan has been excluded from the black list. Brazil also under the stewardship of its new President Mr. Fernande Callar de Mello has been removed from the 'Super 301' blacklist, relaxing its restrictions on imports of US food and manufactured goods.

The only country that has been left out in the blacklist now is India with its trade surplus of 851 million dollars (one sixtieth of Japan's) out of overall US-India's trade of 5.8 billion dollars (one twenty Japan's).

India's offence is that it has not yet succumbed to the US threat under Super 301. According to the US President's trade representative Mrs. Carla Hills, India is the most restrictive market with which they deal and is "out of step with historic changes taking place around the globe."

What are exactly the things which the USA wants to achieve through this ?

\* The import duty in India, particularly on those items which are manufactured in India, is very high. Imposition of import duty at high rates results in rise in price of the commodity and its sale is hampered. So import duty on US products must be reduced. This means, the price of US products must not be increased in the interest of indigenous products. In other words they want reduction in indi-

genous products and increase in the import of US products.

\* Import of US goods must not be reduced on the plea of trade deficit.

\* Indian supplier should not be given preference of foreign subpliers in export and import business.

\* Prices of Indian products must not be reduced through subsidy to compete in foreign market particularly in US market.

\* There must not be any ceiling on royalty in respect of US capital invested in India or on the money payable on patent licence.

\* The trade barriers imposed on US services particularly its not being permitted to sell private insurance in India must be lifted. This means in the interest of US capital, insurance must be denationalised.

\* The popular name of foreign products must not be used in indigenous products.

\* The priority given on indigenous components for establishing industries in India, must be done away with. When foreign capital will establish industries here they must be permitted to import all capital equipments and other components. No condition of compulsory export should be imposed on the products of the foreign capital in this country. That means, there shall not be any condition that the products of foreign capital must be exported. The condition of earning foreign money by exporting a part of the product shall not be there.

\* There is no patent law for food and medicine in India. There is no provision for maintaining monopoly over medicine or food through patent laws. Patent laws should be introduced, there should be provision for protection of patents.

India must abide by all these conditions, otherwise penalty under US law (super 301 & Special 301) would be imposed on it.

India has been kept under threat for the last one year. Even as late as on April 5, 1990 the US trade representative Mrs Carla Hills reiterated the threat on behalf of her government. The Indian representative, Shri Hare Sankar Singhania, Shri Rounak Singh and few others representing Indian capital attending the Indo-American Joint Council are stated to have told that India framed its economic policy democratically. Its aim at the moment was eradication of poverty. It had to evolve its policies depending on its conditions. The US representatives were unduly mounting pressure on India. The US behaviour was beyond democratic norms.

But the US refuses to budge an inch from its position. What are the reasons behind this desper-

ate US attitude? Though there is deficit in India-US trade, US capital in India is still quite considerable. A large quantity of US goods are imported here. When US market throughout the globe is not expanding, and there is no chance of its being victorious over Japan or West Germany in trade war, boycott of Indian market by the US does not stand to reason. The Japanese Yen was gradually increasing its sphere of influence, the retreating US dollar was desperate to regain its supremacy.

USA today is the biggest borrower country. US budgetary and trade deficits have added to its debts, which in 1988 amounted to 2577,080,000.00 dollars (ie 2577 billion US dollars). The US citizens were today having a per capita debt of about 10,500 dollars. The US budget deficit amounted to 124.7 billion dollars and its trade deficit two years' earlier was 162.04 billion dollars. This year too these have not shown any sign of decline. The Gross National Income has no doubt increased in USA but the difference between the rich and the poor has increased alarmingly. During the last 10 years the per capita income of the affluent families have increased from 74000 to 90000 dollars whereas the per-capita income of lower income group families during the same period has fallen down from 9000 to 8000 dollars. If the decline in income of the larger part of the population thus continues, the monopoly of the US good in US market itself is bound to lose grounds. The more the disparity in income has been growing, the more the people in the low income group are turning towards Japanese goods. Japan is today the biggest exporting country in US. This is the reason why it will not be possible to reduce the import of Japanese products.

In order to shift the burden of its crisis the USA is frantically on the look out for market. To achieve its purpose it will not hesitate to endanger the independence of third world countries. About India's becoming its target the US representative Mrs Hills did not mince words. Referring to India's huge population she said, "We select our trade liberalisation priorities on the basis of those which have maximum potential for US exports and for the world at large."

India has its own problems. With an external debt amounting to Rs. 1,00,000 crores and with an internal debt of an equal amount India is groaning under her burdens. It has to take fresh loans to meet debt services. But India must be bled further—bled white to make the US richer. According to them if USA regains its economic health it will mean health for all the nations. Such is the highhandedness of the world's richest country!

In India insurance business both life and general is in the public sector. For decades the LIC and the GIC have been spreading its sphere of activities and achieving newer and newer heights. If then US multinationals are allowed entry in this sector what will happen is very easy to guess. One of the major reasons for the growing sickness of the public sector banks in India is the existence of multinational

banks in the banking sector. They have been using number of labour saving devices and operating and competing with nationalised banks with handful of employees. Will the situation be otherwise if foreign insurance companies are allowed to come and compete with nationalised insurance industry? No, surely not. With all sorts of scientific gadgets and with a small number of workforce the foreign insurers, if allowed, will exploit Indian market and mint super profits.

The Insurance industry is a vastly expanding industry with huge employment potential. The entry of multinational insurance companies would retard the onward march of the industry. It would not only destroy its employment potential, it would also severely threaten the job security of the existing employees. This would encourage and embolden the forces working for denationalisation and privatisation of public sector.

It is good that the National Front government informed the Indian Parliament that they would not withdraw restrictions on foreign investment and allow foreign insurance companies to enter Indian market, nor would they negotiate Super 301 under threat of retaliation. Shri Singhania, one of the Indian representatives to the Joint Council said that ... "it has hurt India as a nation, its people and the authorities." True, it is hundred per cent true. It is an imperialist attack on India's independence and sovereignty.

But will India be able to withstand this mounting pressure? This is a big question. It is, therefore, necessary that the working people, democratic and patriotic citizens will rise to the occasion and join the nation in raising its voice of protest against the US high handedness and tell the Central government to stick to their stand that India would not surrender to US threat.

### Statement by AIIEA

The All India Insurance Employees Association (AIIEA) condemns in the strongest terms the statement by the U. S. President Mr. George Bush and the Trade Representative Ms. Carla Hills, threatening sanctions under its omnibus trade legislation, Super 301, and fixing June 16 as deadline for India to yield to its demand to liberalise the Indian economy by throwing it open for enlarged foreign investments and in particular to allow competition by American insurance companies in India's nationalised insurance market, estimated at three billion dollars plus. This, to say the least, is outright imperialist blackmail and a blatant attempt to infringe on the sovereign right of India to determine its own political and economic policies. The US has been threatening India under Super 301 for over a year now, but in recent months the threat has taken strident proportions. The US which initially named Brazil and Japan along with India for invocation of these provisions has strangely singled out India in the present context. Obviously, Brazil has yielded to the US imperialist pressure and Japan has refused to allow itself to be bulldozed.

The US blackmail is obviously motivated by its own deteriorating economy and non-competitiveness of its manufactured goods in the international market. Hence the concentrated attempt to have a share in the fastly developing services sector. It is also motivated by imperialist greed for exploiting the people of other countries particularly of the third world.

Nationalised insurance in India has a definite social objective and both the LIC and GIC have eminently helped to serve these. The growth of the two insurance industries has been phenomenal in recent years, which has helped the Indian economy in no small measure. In the coming period also, particularly the Eight Five Year Plan, the two industries are expected to contribute a large share of the resource mobilisation. The insurance employees take pride in the monumental achievement of the LIC and GIC since nationalisation which has been brought about by their unstinted commitment to the success of the two industries in the public sector.

Already the Indian economy is beset with a whopping debt of Rs. 1,00,000/- crores with the attendant burdens. Ruthless liberalisation policies of the previous government at the centre has led multinational exploitation of the Indian economy in a serious way. Already several servicing industries in India such as shipping, informatics, banking etc. are being greatly affected by imperialist penetration. The growth of multinational banking in India has been dangerously on the rise in recent years as compared to indigenous banking sector. When there is a need to reverse this trend by determined execution of policies resisting imperialist exploitation, the present threat has come as a veritable blackmail.

The AIIEA welcomes and appreciates the statement of Prime Minister Shri V.P. Singh that 'India would not negotiate on the omnibus Trade Act under which the US President Mr. George Bush had put New Delhi on the hit list and that 'India had made its position clear to the US on the Super 301, including the goals of Indian banks and insurance companies for alleviation of poverty and other compulsions (are reported by PTI). The AIIEA urges the Government to maintain its strong position and refuse to yield to such threats and blackmail for which it would have the widest support of the people.

The LIC and GIC employees under the AIIEA will organise campaigns and struggles throughout the country to mobilise public opinion in favour of resolute resistance of the US imperialist machinations under Super 301. The insurance employees who take pride in the achievement of their industry in the nationalised sector are duty bound to protect the LIC and GIC which they would do with the support and assistance of the working class and other sections of the toiling and democratic masses.

A telegram has been sent by the AIIEA to the Prime Minister condemning the US threat and welcoming the reported statement against it by the Prime Minister.

## Statement by CITU

Com. Samar Mukherjee, issued the following statement :

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions denounces the U.S. Administration for its decision to continue restrictions against Indian trade with U.S. under its draconian Trade Act "Super-301". The U.S. Congress at the instance of the Bush Administration has singled out India in its hit list while skipping Japan and Brazil out of it.

CITU appreciates the stand of the Government of India in not surrendering to U.S. blackmail of opening the services sectors like insurance and other financial institutions to multinationals. Any compromise on the principle of running the financial institutions under Government sector, which constitutes one of the basic premises of Indian economic structure, would have compromised Indian self reliance and the sovereignty of the country.

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions calls upon the Working Class and the people to maintain vigilance and to develop powerful campaign against U.S. blackmail which is now aimed for total withdrawal of control over the Government financial institutions, last vestiges of restriction in foreign investments and the restrictions on foreign patents, which altogether meant compelling India towards total surrender.

(From page 2)

for joint movement against the management of IDPL. It proposed to stage an all India joint dharna before the Petro-Chemical Ministry at Delhi during the Monsoon Session in August.

### Victimisations in Railway

The Secretariat expressed deep resentment at the N. F. Govt's failure to reinstate several hundred railwaymen who have been removed or dismissed from service by the Cong(1) during the past decade under Art 311 (2) (b) of Constitution mostly in 1980-81 loco running staff agitation. The meeting demanded immediate reinstatement of the victimised railway employees and withdrawal of victimisations in all other forms such as break in service, penal transfer, etc.

### General Council Meeting

The Secretariat heard report of preparation of the General Council meeting to be held at Kanpur from July 21 to 23, preceded by the Secretariat and Working Committee meeting on July 20. As already decided in the last meeting, all State Committees and national federations are to send their reports by 25th June, 1990 to the Centre.

### Meeting called by Planning Commission

The Secretariat nominated P. K. Ganguly, Secretary to attend the meeting called by the Planning Commission on 5th July to discuss Labour and Employment in Eighth Plan.

### Tripartite Committee on Industrial Sickness

The Secretariat nominated Jibon Roy, Secretary in the Tripartite Committee on Industrial Sickness.