

# **CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS**

## **GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING**

**GHAZIABAD**

**28 - 30, MAY, 1999**

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### AGENDA

1. Confirmation of the minutes of the last meeting held at Chennai, 22-25 April, 1998.
2. Presidential Address
3. Report by the General Secretary
4. Audited Statement of Accounts for the year 1998
5. Special Discussion on the two decades of activities of the All India Coordination Committee of Working Women
6. Affiliations etc
7. Com. BTR Memorial Fund and BTR Bhawan
8. Resolutions
9. Any other matter with the permission of the Chair

M K Pandhe  
General Secretary

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### TIME TABLE

27.5.1999	11:00 AM 4:00 PM	Working Committee Meeting Mass Rally
28-30, May 1999		General Council Sessions Daily 9:30 AM to 1:00 PM 4:00 PM to 7:30 PM (to conclude by 1:00 PM on 30.5.1999)
30.5.1999	5:00 PM	CITU Foundation Day Meeting at BTR Bhavan, New Delhi

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dear Comrades,

At the outset, I pay my respectful homage to Com.Man Mohan Adhikari, Chairman of the Communist Party of Nepal (UML), who breathed his last at Kathmandu.

I express deep sorrow at the passing away of Com.Har Sahay Singh, the former Vice President of CITU and President of its UP State Committee. I also express profound grief at the passing away of Com.BD Joshi, the former President and Dy General Secretary of AITUC. I also express heartfelt condolence for all other comrades who passed away during the period.

Comrades, we are meeting here in the wake of devastating air attack by the US led NATO forces on Yugoslavia, which is going on since March 24, last. We must unequivocally denounce this barbaric action by the USA. This is the second instance of open barbarism demonstrated by the USA since we met at the Ahmedabad Working Committee meeting. The first was against Iraq, which was perpetrated by the USA under the banner of the United Nations and it is still continuing. But against Yugoslavia, the UN was unceremoniously brushed aside, and the NATO arrogated itself as the world gendarme under the gang leadership of the USA. Ever since the collapse of Soviet Union, the USA has started building up such New World Order under its hegemony defying all international laws, the UN and world opinion.

The war against Yugoslavia which may lead to an all out Balkans war, and still more serious, represents a sharp turn in the entire international situation. Russia has already cautioned against a third world war. It can be confidently asserted that the USA had planned the whole thing against Yugoslavia long ago, and the aim is its total dismemberment and imposition of the rule of US imperialism throughout the Balkans. It is necessary to understand the diabolical game of USA over Yugoslavia. I intend to draw your attention on this issue mainly in my present address.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had emerged out of the anti-fascist liberation struggle led by the communists against Nazism, uniting the various nationalities under the leadership of Tito. However, dismantling of the Soviet Union served as a prelude to the incidents that happened in Yugoslavia in 1991. Fuelled by the imperialists, violent ethnic and religious nationalism dismantled the Yugoslav federation. Throughout this period the USA and its allies particularly Germany consistently highlighted the atrocities committed by the Serbian community, because they were in the frontline of the anti-fascist struggle and were staunch anti-imperialists, while underplaying the violence perpetrated by the Croatian and Muslim chauvinists. The USA brushed aside the UN from its peace keeping role and made the most intensive bombing of the Bosnian Serb population. The so-called Dayton Agreement was imposed creating separate Croat-Muslim and Serb-Bosnian entities and induction of over 30,000 NATO "Peace Keeping Troops" into Bosnia-Herzegovina under the over all command of the US armed forces. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia now consists of only Serbia and Montenegro.

With the direct bombardment on Yugoslavia, the American game plan to complete its dismemberment has come to surface. Having colonised Bosnia, the objective is now to detach the Kosovo province of Serbia, which has got a majority of Albanians, taking advantage of their long standing conflict with the Serbs spearheaded by a secessionist force under the name of Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). The KLA is directly patronised by the US and German ruling clique and financed by the extreme right wing forces in Albania, Turkey and the European Union engaged in multi-billion dollar narcotic trade. The drug money is laundered in the international banking system and is being financed to carry forward the secessionist operation against Yugoslavia under patronisation by the USA and its NATO allies.

Like in Iraq, USA's objective in bombing Yugoslavia is to topple Slobodan Milosevic, who like Saddam Hussain refuses to accept US hegemony and surrenders the national sovereignty of the country. It has to be remembered that even Nazi Hitler could not subdue the Serbs. Now, Clinton along with his social democrat allies, Tony Blair and Schroeder will go down in history following the footsteps of Hitler in bombing the valiant city of Belgrade after that hated fascist's blitzkrieg attack.

Talks were held at Rambouillet near Paris in February between Yugoslavia and KLA and Chaired by America, Australia and Russia, and then again at Paris on 15th March. While President Slobodan Milosevic agreed for autonomy for Kosovo within the federal structure of Yugoslavia and an UN implementation force, America and KLA wanted a NATO force and independence of Kosovo from Yugoslavia. As Yugoslavia stated, it was a matter of defending their sovereignty and territorial integrity. But sovereignty of nations according to USA is no longer a sacrosanct principle as enshrined in the Charter of the UN and the nations must be willing to cede various parts of their countries to fulfil the hegemonistic dream of the USA. It is to be noted that Kosovo is a part and parcel of the Serbian nation for over 13 centuries. It is the seat of Serbian culture. The seat of Serbian orthodox church is still at Pec in Kosovo. It was the fascist forces of Mussolini who for short period made Kosovo part of Greater Albania from 1941-45, which greatly added to its Albanian population. So the Serbs cannot give up their heritage without a fight whatever may be the odds.

The NATO after including Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic, is now the instrument for imperialist expansion into the Balkans to divide the areas under US hegemony. But the Serbian Republic headed by Slobodan Milosevic stands as an obstacle to this. Hence it is to be demolished. But even after two months of ruthless bombing with the most modern devastating bombs, America has failed in its objective. Slobodan Milosevic remains as determined and strong with the people's support as Saddam Hussain of Iraq.

Inner contradictions have started growing within the NATO countries. Except its most loyal stooge Britain, other countries have contributed little to the NATO force. In fact over 90 per cent of the fighting planes, now increased to about 1,000, belong to America. The main financial burden has also to be borne by America. Having first refused to endorse the USA led NATO bombing campaign, the US House of Representatives have now granted a 13 billion dollar package for the air war against Yugoslavia. But America is now in a fix as to whether to launch ground force or not. This will cost enormous lives of American troops. Besides, the Serbian mountaneous range is an ideal region for a classical prolonged guerilla war which will benefit the Serbs only and not the foreign American troops. The spectre of Vietnam war is haunting Bill Clinton.

While on one hand, its own allies are trying to distance themselves from the USA, Russia's opposition has become a serious concern for Clinton despite huge sums being pumped into Russia through IMF. Yeltsin's position has also become vulnerable, despite his impeachment proceedings having failed, due to massive struggles against the war. By the expansion of NATO as stated above, Russia feels that there is a direct threat to the Russian sovereignty itself. In the circumstances it has sent ships to Antarctic to monitor the military operation, and threatened intervention in case the NATO use land forces in Yugoslavia. The deliberate and foolish bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade has made the things worse for America. Militant agitations in China have boosted the mass struggles which have already been waged in different parts of the world. Big demonstrations have taken place all over Europe and in America too, leading to growing contradictions within the NATO countries and alienation of America from its allies. In Italy the Refoundation Communists whose support is essential for the Government's survival have threatened to withdraw support if the government continues to participate in the attacks on Yugoslavia. Similarly in France there is growing discontent among the ranks of the Socialist Party, the major partner in the coalition. The other partner - the Communist Party has threatened to withdraw its three ministers from the coalition government. Even in Germany, where the Foreign Minister is from the Green Party, there is growing rumbling in the Party against the

senior partner, the SDP. In Greece the Government has openly taken a stand against the attack. In UK also as the demonstrations have shown according to many opinion polls, majority of the populace is against the unjust war. In USA itself about half of the Senators are against the war. Even from the Islamic countries, contrary to the misleading bourgeois media reports, no country has supported the US aggression. Iraq and Iran have openly condemned the bombing. President Nelson Mandela of South Africa has strongly condemned the NATO attack, as also the leaders of most of the Latin American and Central Asian countries. The Pope has also issued an impassioned plea to stop the bombing. Even Dalai Lama, as a rare happening sided with China. There are many Albanians who are against the NATO attack. Eight Communist Parties of the Balkans from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia have jointly condemned the attack and called upon the people of Balkans to intensify their anti-war struggle.

But comrades, this is not the end of the story. We must go a bit deeper into the political and ideological aspect of the US led NATO policy, which is linked to the present process of liberalisation and globalisation. In the midst of the devastating attack against Yugoslavia, the NATO observed its 50th anniversary with a summit meeting at Washington on 23rd April after one month of bombardments. The meeting came out with a new dangerous doctrine, now overtly, which was obvious but still covert in its attack against Iraq and other countries. First, they openly declared that military measures can be taken outside the territory of the NATO members.

Secondly as stated by Bill Clinton in his address, "We have reaffirmed our readiness to address regional and ethnic conflicts beyond the territory of NATO members."

Such official policy pronouncements are corollary to the drive for total economic domination through forums like the G-7, the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank) and the newly formed WTO. It was an official pronouncement of US led imperialism to militarily intervene anywhere in the world to meet its objective of world economic domination. This is to cover up the ongoing global economic crisis, which is haunting the capitalist world including the USA, for which they want to strengthen their war ideology. The New World Order was thus officially explained. It is not only a danger to world peace, but a direct threat to the sovereignty of nations. It explicitly explains the withering of the Nation States, the process to which globalisation is already proceeding.

The second point as stated by Clinton himself, explains the other ideological propaganda of globalisation, that it is not the class, but "identity politics" that is relevant - identity based on community, race, religion and so on. Fragmented identities based on these are the only basis for political activities. It is this trend which fosters caste, communal and sectarian identities which benefit imperialism. This was the political and ideological background of the continued offensive against Yugoslavia which started dramatically in 1991 after the dismantling of the countervailing force - the Soviet Union.

In India too we are experiencing this trend. Class ideology and class struggle are sought to be replaced by caste and communal ideology, together encouraging regional and divisive movements. The Hindu communal right is asserting itself.

These forces of Hindutva cannot but be directly and openly helpful to the offensive of international capital and imperialism with the demagogic fascist slogan of Swadeshi. But it has to be borne in mind the scientific truth that only the organised working class can roll back the right wing offensive and the imperialist drive for war for domination. It has further to be borne in mind that the Nation State cannot be withered away, because it is only through the Nation State that international capital can implement its policies. Their direct offensive is therefore against the organised working class to ideologically denude its class consciousness and channelise it into the so-called "identity politics" based on community, race, caste and religion. But the practical experience of the working class of the politics and ideology of globalisation acts as a deterrent to imperialist offensive. It is because of this experience

that despite reduction of trade union membership due to closures, massive working class struggles are being waged throughout the advanced capitalist countries and elsewhere against the effects of globalisation since the last several years. The struggles have focused against closures and unemployment, against cuts in economic benefits and against attempts to impose anti-labour laws. The struggles have ripped apart the political and ideological imperialist theories of globalisation. In India too, it is that experience which sparked off nation wide strike struggles since 1991, of which the National Platform of Mass Organisations is a product.

It is again this experience, which has sparked off world wide struggles against the NATO offensive to dismember Yugoslavia and tear apart its national sovereignty and its unity and integrity. Comrades, it is a life or death struggle. We must take lessons from it. In fact, except some isolated agitations in some states by some of our organizations, the CITU and the National Platform have done little to demonstrate our solidarity with Yugoslavia against imperialism. We must do it now. We must demand immediate halt to the war against Yugoslavia and disbandment of the NATO. The political solution can be arrived at only under the auspices of the UN giving autonomy to Kosovo within the framework of Yugoslavia and replacing the NATO force with an UN Peace Keeping force. This entire fact has to be properly brought to the working class so that our fight against the imperialist offensives can be carried forward unitedly by the trade union movement.

Comrades, you will see in the General Secretary's report the effects the liberalisation policy in the Indian economy, which is going through a serious crisis. The attack against the public sector and the attacks against the working class and their trade union rights, etc. are detailed there. Seventy five percent of the world population is put to serious crisis and deprivation due to growing joblessness, which has reached alarming proportions in India. Therefore it is the duty of the working class as a class to expose the limitations of the capitalist order and bring home to the people the perils of the capitalist system. The imperialist countries led by USA are not only using the economic levers to subjugate the third world countries, but are also using their military power against them to accept their dictates.

We have to realise that in India under the changed situation due to globalisation, the earlier character of the ruling classes of collaboration and contradiction with imperialism is undergoing a change. Particularly under the BJP regime the ruling classes have been more inclined towards collaboration. The twin processes are also at work. With the liberalisation being imposed by the ruling classes, the process of communalisation of the society under the philosophy of Hindutva floated by the RSS has taken an aggressive stride. Both the processes have made the country a breeding ground for imperialism to undermine its sovereignty, as well as to dismember its unity and integrity and its secular foundation. The link between liberalisation and the rise of Hindutva must be understood. It is good that the BJP Government has fallen. But the situation remains perilous as the Hindutva force of the Sangh Parivar of which BJP is the political wing, remains. It is making a determined bid to come back. The working class movement therefore while taking immediate tactics to counter the communal danger to safeguard the secular foundation of the country, must simultaneously intensify the struggle against liberalisation to safeguard the national sovereignty. The twin danger has to be fought with two pronged strategy. Immediately the twin danger comes from the BJP. We must therefore plunge into the forthcoming election battle to defeat the BJP handsdown. This is our biggest and most important immediate political task.

Thank you,

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## REPORT of the GENERAL SECRETARY

**D**ear comrades,

Since the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Ahmedabad in December, 1998, the political scenario in the country has changed radically having its impact on the working class and the trade union movement of our country.

1.2 The collapse of the BJP government at the centre due to the internal contradictions in the ruling front due to sheer opportunism has come to the roost. The BJP government exposed its total dependance on Jayalalitha of AIADMK. The government's effort to save itself by offering huge bribes to several MPs to get the majority in the Parliament did not work as expected and the government was ultimately defeated on the floor of the House.

1.3 The favourable political atmosphere created all over the country could not be utilised fully in the interest of the people and against communalism since the Samajwadi Party of Mulayam Singh Yadav refused to support the Congress Party from outside. The Congress also did not agree to support a non-Congress non-BJP Government so that BJP's remaining as a caretaker government could have been averted. Attempts made by a section of the BJP to get a second chance to BJP to form a government could not get any support from the President of India with the result that Lok Sabha had to be dissolved and elections announced, to be held at the month of September.

1.4 All these developments in quick succession has completely changed the national political situation. Foreign powers as well as the World Bank and the IMF found the BJP government to be more pliable than any other previous government. The BJP implemented almost all the dictates of the IMF and World Bank with more vigour than any one else. Despite the sanctions imposed by the US imperialism after the Pokhran Nuclear test, in the secret parleys by Jaswant Singh with Talbott, the spokesman of US imperialism, the BJP government succumbed completely to the IMF and the World Bank package, immensely harming the national interests. The foreign powers, therefore, find vested interest in the continuation of BJP government and in the forthcoming election they are likely to play a major role in supporting a BJP led combine.

### **2.DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY**

2.1 Since last one year the economic conditions marked a sharp deterioration in all fronts, thanks to non-chalant pursuit of Fund/Bank policy of liberalisation by the BJP led Govt. Both industry and agriculture witnessed consistent downslide in the growth rate indicating the settling in of a severe recession in the entire economy.

2.2. In the industry sector the growth rate fell sharply to 3.8% in 1998-99 compared to a 6.9% during previous year. Not only that, industry witnessed a continuous sliding down consecutively in all the quarters during 1998-99. Industrial growth rate during April- June '98 was only 4.4% which fell to 3.5% in the second quarter and further dipped to mere 2.6% in the third quarter and could not make much recovery even in the last quarter.

2.3 Sharp deceleration in the industrial growth has also been evident from the decline in growth in almost every sector of the industrial economy. The mining sector (including crude oil) witnessed the sharpest decline from 5.5% in 1997-98 to an absolute decline of (-) 1.7% during 1998-99. Similarly manufacturing growth rate fell from 6.9% during the previous year to mere 3.7% during April-December 1998. Growth in consumer goods production fell to only 2.8% during the same period compared to a

4.6% growth previous year and the decline took place both in consumer durables and non-durables. The electricity generation during 1998-99 has gone below the 1995-96 level from 379.4 billion KWH to 329.4 billion KWH in 1998-99 and the consumption of electricity by Industry has sharply fallen from 44.2% in 1990-91 to 37% in 1998 due to fall in demand.

2.4 Despite tall talk on infrastructural development by the Finance Minister of the BJP Govt., In his recent budget speech, and pronouncement of so many grandiose schemes and agencies for infrastructural growth in their first budget, the infrastructure performance during April-December 1998 declined sharply. As observed by their own "Economic Survey", the growth of infrastructure and core industries (electricity generation, coal, steel, crude oil, refinery and cement) decelerated to 2% during April-December 1998 from 4.1% during the corresponding period in the previous year. Crude oil and steel have displayed absolute decline during the year.

2.5 In Agricultural front too, the decline is alarming despite successive good monsoons. The index of agricultural production has marked a growth of only 3.9% in 1998-99 after a sharp decline in absolute term of (-) 6% during the previous year. But despite this meagre rise in 1998-99, the Agricultural Production index remained below 1996-97 level. Moreover, the foodgrains production also has declined in absolute terms to 195.3 million tonnes in 1998-99 from 199.4 million tonnes in 1996-97, signifying sharp decline in the percapita food-availability over the period.

2.6 The period since last meeting witnessed a situation of phenomenal price rise, surpassing all records exposing bankruptcy of the policy of liberalisation being vigorously pursued by the BJP Govt. Since last April 1998, prices of some of the essential commodities rose even by 400% for a considerable period of time in the year. The BJP govt remained so much unconcerned about the skyrocketing prices all those days that despite continuous rise in the prices of onion, vegetables, edible oil, pulses etc., from April onwards, they continued to allow export of onions and other agro products from the country in thousands of tonnes, aggravating the shortage situation to the advantage of the black marketeers, hoarders and traders. The tackling of the price situation by the BJP Govt. during the entire period under review exposes with clarity their involvement with and sole concern for the wholesale traders, hoarders and blackmarketeers and a brazenly anti-people bias. The trend of the price rise during entire 1998-99 period reveals that the increase in prices of essential commodities has been actively promoted by the BJP regime to oblige their support base among the traders and hoarders to the detriment of the interest of the common people. During April-December 1998 the index of wholesale prices of rice has risen by 44 points (12%), wheat by 43 points (13%) pulses by 88 points (20%), and edible oil by 43 points (14%). During the same period All India Consumer Price Index rose by 37 points (14%) compared to only 13 point rise during the corresponding period previous year. Ironically, when the prices were increasing alarmingly, the statisticians of the BJP were gloating at the fall in the rate of inflation. The manipulation of statistics may please the World Bank bosses but people of the country continue to reel under the crushing burden of price rise.

2.7 The slow down of the economy alongwith the phenomenon of continuously rising prices at a faster pace indicates the widening of the poverty among the mass of the people.

2.8 In the background of rising prices, the symptom of visible decline in the share of labour cost to total cost of production clearly reveals the trend of declining real wages of the workers and also decline in employment. A survey of 1000 top private industrial units revealed that during the period under review the share of labour in total cost of production, net sales & gross block marked a continuous decline during the entire liberalised regime. The same survey revealed, as Business Standard dt. 15.4.98 observed, the growth rate of wage bill of the workers in private Corporate Sector has fallen from 19.7% in 1994 to 8.3% in 1998. Wage bill as percentage of total cost has fallen from 7.3% in 1994 to 6.8% in 1998, and as a proportion of net sales, it fell from 7.2% to 6.3%

2.9 It is also notable that growth of net sales in the private corporate sector under survey has sharply fallen from 33.1% in 1995 to 6.7% in 1998. The dwindling share of labour cost as a proportion

of net sales, in the background of sharp decline in the growth of net sales itself, sharply exposes the fact that liberalisation has brought down both the earnings of the workers and the employment in both real & absolute terms.

2.10 Such all round decline in the economy actively nursed by the disastrous policy of Govt. of India has also seriously impacted the employment situation. Employment generation in the organised sector has actually marked a decline. The continuing recession has also severely affected the employment prospect in the unorganised sector as well, owing to aggravation of situation of closure and sickness in the small scale and medium industries sector. Added to this is the increasing phenomenon of casualisation and contractorisation of regular jobs, which besides promoting the phenomenon of retrenchment without cost, has affected the quality of employment in a big way.

2.11 The BJP Govt's dogged advocacy of liberalisation has been stated to be aimed at higher export growth and increase in foreign investment. With that objective, extra liberal concessions were granted to MNCs and Indian exporters. The recent change in Exim policy announced by the BJP govt has brought under OGL 894 items from the restricted list of imports and exporters have been granted additional incentives for zero duty imports. As a result imports are being made easier and cheaper on Indian soil and Indian domestic industries are facing threat of marginalisation from the Indian market itself. On the other hand, export performance is showing a sharp decline. During April-Sept 1998, export declined in dollar terms by 5% and during the rest of the fiscal year it could hardly recover to show a marginal growth of only 1.5 per cent in dollar terms. This is despite the increase in the volume of export by more than 20% which means that in the era of globalisation, India has to earn less and less in terms of return by sending more and more quantities abroad, thus perpetuating drainage of precious wealth in net terms. And in the process of such decline in export in dollar terms, the liberalisation of import is destined to widen the trade deficit and mount pressure on country's foreign exchange reserves. On the foreign investment front as well, the picture is utterly dismal. As observed by Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE), the non-debt foreign investment has fallen by 75% during April-Sept 1998 compared to last year and during the rest of the fiscal year the situation has not changed in the least.

2.12 On the whole a deep rooted recession has been setting in the Indian economy. Slow down in industrial activity, aggravation of industrial sickness and widespread closure, drastic cut in production in the basic industries like steel, coal, electricity, oil etc., has been casting gloom in the national economy aggravating poverty, widening unemployment, fanning inflationary spiral, and eroding the manufacturing base of the economy in a big way. But such a development also could not yet bring the protagonists of liberalisation sense.

2.13 The ruling polity in the country refused to take lessons from the disastrous consequence of the liberalised policy regime pursued since 1991 and has been resorting to further liberalisation of the economy. The haste with which the Patents Amendment Bill and Insurance Regulatory Bill were introduced in Parliament and the Patents Amendment Bill got passed in Parliament through unholy connivance between Congress and BJP, demonstrates the commitment of the policy makers more to World Bank and IMF policies than to the interests of the country. The plea being given by the ruling party that in view of the WTO obligation there was no alternative than to get the Patents Amendment Bill passed by the Parliament is altogether false. Had there been minimum political will on the part of the govt, there are ways and means to tackle the patent issue in a different manner, in defence of the country's economy, than getting the Patents Amendment Act passed. Now after passage of the Patent Amendment Act, the full fledged implementation of the New Patents regime with provision of exclusive marketing rights to the patents holders in respect of the concerned product is destined to crush the domestic pharmaceutical and other related industries, manifold increase in drug prices beyond affordable limit for the common people, besides adversely affecting Indian agriculture.

2.14 Similarly the IRA Bill is also designed to hand over the control of the major part of the financial sector of the country to foreign companies, much to the detriment of the interest of country and the common people.

2.15 The Govt of India has been trying frantically to deregulate the labour market through drastic changes in the labour legislations. The Industrial Disputes Act is being sought to be amended to ensure liberty to employers to hire and fire at their sweet will and also to slash down the workers' right in a big way. Trade Union Act is being sought to be amended to put hurdle in formation of trade unions. Contract Labour Act is being sought to be overhauled to legitimise deployment of contract worker even in permanent perennial area of work. In the same direction all other labour related legislations are being sought to be overhauled to marginalise the workers and prune the rights of the workers. It is being shamelessly announced by the Govt that labour laws would be amended to suit the needs of globalisation and liberalisation which requires economising on labour cost. The 2nd National Labour Commission has been announced to be constituted for the same purpose only.

2.16 The Budget of 1999-2000 presented by the BJP Govt also maintained the continuity of the same liberalisation policy in a more vigorous manner despite all round decline in all the sectors of the economy. When in the background of severe recession, and contraction of domestic market, need of the hour was boosting of effective demand and expansion of domestic market through generation of employment and income by enhanced public investment, control on import etc., the budget proposals moved in to the opposite direction. It has increased the load on common people by increasing indirect taxes on essential goods in the name of rationalisation, hiking the postal rates, railway freights (through Railway Budget) and raising the administered prices of PDS items just before the budget presentation, besides drastically cutting down expenditure on rural development and social welfare heads. All these measures alongwith cut in import duties will lead to further contraction of domestic market aggravating the recessionary situation. Besides, continuing cut in public investment in developmental activities by the govt will also dampen the prospect of any recovery. Thus the noise being made by the Union Finance Minister regarding prospect of economic recovery and the end of recession appears to be a myth.

2.17 In this background of increasing concessions to MNCs and foreign capital, deliberate indulgence and inaction towards dumping by foreign companies on Indian soil have been hitting hard the domestic industries particularly manufacturing and capital goods sector, already in crisis due to recession.

2.18 In totality, the overall decline and slow down in the economy has pushed the workers and common people in dire straits, barring the multinational companies whose profitability is showing an upswing. Thus the game plan of the World Bank and IMF to convert the manufacturing economy of the country into a marketing centre for foreign companies stands totally unfolded, in which the BJP led govt and other supporters of liberalisation have been working overtime as a facilitator. This is destined to take the economy and the country towards total disaster.

### **3. FAST TRACK LIQUIDATION OF PUBLIC SECTOR**

3.1 In the last one year, we have witnessed intensified attacks on the Public Sector Enterprises (PSE). The steps taken by earlier Governments had somewhat cautious and camouflaged approach towards wholesale privatisation due to pressure from the TU movement but the BJP govt. has thrown off all such inhibitions and is no longer talking in guarded language of disinvestment or the like but has declared that they are going for total privatisation.

3.2 "Government has no business to run business" is the "clarion call" given by the Disinvestment Commission and therefore the process of withdrawal has been speeded up, irrespective of the fact that the financial results of the PSE's have shown rise in profits (about 33%) in the financial year of

1998-99.

3.3 The entire exercises in BIFR have been deliberately reduced farce. Having committed to World Bank and IMF, during WTO agreement, to privatise all PSE's in a time frame, such farcical exercises showed only the Govt.'s hypocritical steps by not closing down PSEs by one stroke and rather the painful dilatory route through BIFR was taken by them to camouflage its ultimate goal of privatisation. BJP govt has no such pretensions. It has declared closure of 8 PSEs and many more are on the chopping block. Strong public opinion has stalled the efforts for the time being but we believe that BJP govt is only buying time. It has no intention to revive those units by infusing more money through govt funding to modernise the technology or provide working capital. That is why no money has been provided in the 99-2000 budget for revival of these PSE's, though revival packages for these 8 units are in hand with the BIFR. Only a committee has been formed to "examine" these cases, which are MAMC, BOGL, CCIL, WIL, RIC, NBC, TAFCO, BPMEL.

3.4. The BJP govt's hypocrisy about reviving the sick units stands exposed by its decision to disinvest shares of blue-chip companies like IOC, GAIL, MTNL, VSNL, CONCOR etc., which were contributing handsomely to the govt exchequer.

3.5. To "facilitate" quick and smooth privatisation, the Govt. is doing everything possible so that the interests of big business and MNCs are served. Now VRS scheme is not limited to sick PSEs only but also extends to profitable companies because MNCs claim that profits notwithstanding, the number of employees in these companies is more than needed. So govt. is out to oblige them.

3.6. Disinvestment Commission has suggested selling of PSE shares through "STRATEGIC BUYER". These strategic buyers will be given 50% of shares in first instalment and also control over the management. Rest of the holding will be transferred to the strategic buyer in a given time frame and on negotiated prices.

3.7. The prices of shares of these blue-chip companies are being artificially pushed down by the Govt through market mechanism so as to give them to MNCs on a platter. Share prices of private companies shoot through the roof if the profit amount increases, even marginally. But Indian Oil Corporation's share prices have fallen from Rs.570/- to Rs.280/- per share inspite of its registering enhanced profit. Transferring of national wealth to multinational corporations is being accelerated doggedly by the BJP Govt. and millions of dollars are changing hands. This *Swadeshi* movement will lead us to pre-1947 economic scenario, surely, when our entire industrial scenario will be dominated only by big foreign companies.

3.8. However, earning through disinvestment is falling short of expectation which can be seen from the following table:

Total Proceeds through Disinvestment  
(Rs in Crores)

1991-92	-	3,038
1992-93	-	1,961
1993-94	-	48
1994-95	-	5,076
1995-96	-	362
1996-97	-	380
1997-98	-	912
1998-99	-	1,200

3.9 In a sick, crippled economy disinvestment also has to go in a limping way inspite of so many concessions given to buyers. So the govt. had to invent a new process termed as "BUY BACK" of shares.

3.10 The BJP govt has found a novel way to garner huge amount of money through this Buy-back system. The govt has forced the cash rich oil companies to "buy-back" their shares from the President of India! BJP govt has earned Rs.5300 crores by this way in 1998-99. The process drains out the oil companies of their investible surpluses, needed for modernisation and expansion. These companies will eventually become sick in near future. When these companies will need money for upgradation of technology, the Govt of India will not give them any support according to its present policies and naturally those will be on way to sickness and then, obliteration.

3.11 Cross-holding has been devised by the BJP govt as another method by which govt can make money. In this process ONGC will buy shares of IOC and IOC will buy shares of ONGC and so on. The shares will be bought from the President of India again, and not from market.

3.12 In the budget speech of 1999-2000 the Finance Minister has set the target of Rs.10000 crore earning from sale/disinvestment of PSEs. The govt has further withdrawn itself even from initiating of VR schemes. Now onwards PSEs making marginal profits will have to borrow money from banks to meet VRS expenditures. Going beyond the printed text of his speech, the Finance Minister proudly announced that hereafter he would talk only in terms of 'PRIVATISATION' and not disinvestment. The veil of hypocrisy has finally been removed by the BJP Government.

3.13 Trade union movement has not effectively countered the vilification campaign against the Public Sector Enterprises led by govt media and scores of so called experts and paid agents. The net profit figures of the PSEs show a sizeable rise as seen in the following table:

Net Profits of Public Sector in India  
(Rs in Crore)

1994-95	-	7,187
1995-96	-	9,574
1996-97	-	9,992
1997-98	-	13,725 (37.36% increase)

3.14 This is despite the fact that PSEs in the steel, coal and fertiliser sector have not done well since 1996-97.

3.15 In 1994-95, Central PSEs paid to the Central Govt. an amount of Rs.26,400 crore by way of dividend and taxes, whereas in the same year 2085 private corporate enterprises paid to the Govt. by way of tax and duties only 279 crores only. Dividend payment by PSEs was Rs. 2205 crore in 1995-96, 3084 crore in 1996-97 and 4051 crores in 1997-98. (Economic Survey 1998-99).

3.16 In the post reforms period, corruption, siphoning out money for dubious purposes, diversion to speculative purposes or simple embezzlement have plagued the entire private sector spectrum which have resulted in huge losses to the investors, to the country and the people. Tax dodging, defaulting duties, under and over invoicing have assumed Himalayan proportions. Some are becoming billionaires while the country is sinking. The revenue shortfall has been aggravated by poor tax compliance with the economic slow down, but even then the private sector is demanding and getting concessions after concessions. It is not far away that India becomes completely bankrupt and ruled by mafia only.

3.17 Public Sector Enterprises, inspite of a lot of corruption at high levels have not cheated the

country in the manner it is being done by private sector to-day. The situation enjoins us to take the facts to people, move vigorously to counter the vilification campaigns against PSE's.

3.18 The PSE's are not homogenous in nature but differ widely in the nature of work, matters of production performance and profitability. Some of the units are in service sector or in defence production. Still there were some common links and a somewhat minimum base pattern of wages and benefits to the workers so long as administered price systems worked. Now in all cases govt. support has been withdrawn and in most cases administered price structure have been discontinued. As a result the PSE's financial health figures vary wildly between enormously cash rich companies in one extreme and some others which are terminally ill which cannot pay even wages to employees. The workers interests are naturally widely varying. Some are for concluding a good wage agreement and for some others the only anxiety is how and when to get the next wages.

3.19. It will be, however, wrong to say only that some PSE's are healthy and others are sick. All of them are in different stages of decaying because of neglect, absence of any programme for updating the technology, and expansion or further investment. In many cases PSE's have become untouchables to the govt itself leading to further onslaught by private sector and others. Govt. policies are responsible for such disastrous state of affairs. PSEs are being attacked by Govt, private sector, press and media. left, right and centre.

#### **4. RESUME OF STRUGGLES**

4.1 The Ahmedabad Working Committee meeting had decided to strengthen the united movement of the working class in the background of the successful strike of 11th December, 1998. We held consultations with other colleagues and ultimately the National Platform of Mass Organisations (NPMO) decided to take up the programme of organising the Convention on the Patent Bill in New Delhi and in other parts of the country. A demonstration was also planned before the Parliament to protest against the Patent Bill. The NPMO also decided to launch a month long campaign on several pressing issues by holding demonstrations, dharnas etc. to mobilise support of the constituents of the NPMO. A programme was chalked out on 12th April in support of 33% reservation for women in Parliament and State legislatures. On 19th April, demonstration against price rise was held. May Day was observed giving special emphasis against Globalisation and Communalism. On 7th May, a day was observed demanding immediate adoption of Agricultural Workers' Bill. On 12th May, programmes in support of 'Education for all, Jobs for all' were conducted. We have received report from all State Committees about the programmes they have taken on these issues and some unions have reported on the observance of these programmes. However, the reports are cursory and not detailed.

4.2 As a result of the collapse of the BJP government at the centre, a totally new atmosphere has emerged all over the country and programmes could not be carried out by some of the unions. At our initiative, 5 Federations in Coal industry gave a call for two days strike on 3rd and 4th May in protest against the privatisation of the coal mines. The date of strike was shifted to 11th and 12th May as some unions wanted some adjustments. The programme, however, had to be deferred due to the collapse of the BJP government and it was decided to observe these days as Protest Days throughout the country. In the Port and Dock industry, the struggle against privatisation of ports also came up for further actions. On 11th of March, all Federations jointly observed the National Protest Day opposing privatisation of ports. The employees of the National Airport Authority of India also organised a nation wide protest demonstration opposing the privatisation of airports in India. The Insurance employees under the leadership of All India Insurance Employees Association collected 1.5 crore signatures opposing Insurance Regulatory Authority Bill providing for entry of the private sector insurance companies both Indian and foreign in the Insurance sector. The strike of U.P. Power engineers and workers against privatisation in the name of restructuring of U.P. State Electricity Board had to face brutal repression of the U.P. Government and promulgation of ESMA. The striking workers of Nathpa

Jhakri Power Project in Himachal Pradesh had to face brutal repression at the hands of the BJP Government. Several hundreds of striking workers were arrested but the strike continued for about a month. The employees' unity, ultimately, forced the management to talk to the CITU Union. The construction workers all over the country contributed Rs.21,000/- towards the solidarity fund for the striking workers. The CITU's image in the entire Himachal Pradesh has increased substantially as a result of this determined struggle.

4.3 In this period, the workers in HSCL, TAFCO and Cement Workers in U.P. had to launch repeated struggles even for payment of wages. The Minipool workers in Goa had to fight a long drawn battle to get the wage of the workers. Chowgule Employees in Goa had to face brutal repression to fight the vindictive policies of the management. Alleging involvement of CITU activists in a murder case, a number of activists were arrested in false cases and even now 51 worker-leaders are in Police custody. The Indorama workers in Nagpur had also to fight a long drawn struggle to get some concessions from the management. Several undertakings referred to BIFR had to launch movements for revival of the undertakings, both in Public and Private Sectors. The Hindustan Shipyard workers in Vishakapatnam had to unite all workers in the Ship-building industry with a view to launch a country-wide movement to save the shipyard from the MNCs. Goa Shipyard workers fought against the corrupt Chairman. Ultimately, the CBI had to file a case against him on charges of corruption. The unions in Road Transport industry conducted united movements and are planning a nation-wide struggle in defence of Road Transport workers. The Seamen and workers of offshore oil vessels from Mumbai to Agati and Lakshadweep organised strikes which was 100 per cent successful and the government had to refer the dispute for adjudication and early settlement besides the question of recognition of the union. There, the workers came under the banner of CITU. During this struggle, the CITU activists from Mumbai had to face murderous attacks at the hands of pro-management gangsters, but the determined workers could not be cowed down. Lakshadweep administration banned the dharna by the union but the workers continued their struggle despite oppression. In Karnataka, the struggle of BPL workers for better wages and working conditions had to face police repression. In this period, our union in JNPT (Port), Mumbai stood first in secret ballot which is a major achievement for us in waterfront industry. In Bokoro, the HSCL contract workers in the Refractory unit and Instrumentation Limited had also to fight a long drawn struggle for payment of salary, wage rise and against vindictive policies of the management.

4.4. In steel industry, in Durgapur, Rourkela and Bokaro in particular, CITU unions took initiative to mobilise the workers and agitate against the move of the Govt to sell out captive power plants and close down various divisions. In Rourkela our union held militant demonstration recently and blocked the entry of the Foreign Consultant team in Rourkela although for the time being. In iron ore mines also, several struggle programmes were undertaken to improve the working condition in the mining belt.

4.5. There are many other struggles which have taken place throughout the country, but the sweep of the struggle has not been sufficiently strong. Many struggles became long drawn and the government refused to budge resulting in evoking frustration in the minds of the workers. Many of these struggles have not received solidarity support from other unions. Some of these struggles ended without achieving any concrete result while the workers were expecting some positive outcome after long drawn resistance. But the capitalist class prefers to keep the industrial unit closed down for long time and not to settle the issues with the workers. Increasing Police repression is also a problem being faced by several of our unions and brutal police attacks are launched to suppress the struggle of the workers.

4.6 It is necessary to evaluate this experience properly. We must pool the total national experience in this area and try to draw proper lessons from them so that we can work out correct trade union tactics to make these struggles more effective. It is also a fact that a good atmosphere created at the national level after the successful strike on 11th December could not be carried forward in the later

period. Periodically, we give calls for nation-wide struggles and actions on various national issues. Though they are organised throughout the country, the participation in these programmes is not sufficiently large to create a nation-wide impact. We must, therefore, bring together all our experience in this connection so that our shortcomings in strengthening the united workers movement at the national level can be properly overcome. As a result of the deteriorating economic conditions, rising prices of the essential commodities, growing retrenchment offensive, the discontentment among workers is growing at a faster rate and we are not able to convert this discontentment into bigger mass actions which is also causing frustration among the rank and file of the workers.

4.7 Comrades who participate in the discussions will throw light on about their experience so that we can properly guide our movement and play a bigger role in the united movement of working class and the toiling people.

## 5. SECOND NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR

5.1 On 11th January, 1999, the Union Labour Minister, in an abrupt move announced the decision of the Government of India to set up the Second National Commission on Labour. The terms of reference of the Commission was to be to suggest rationalisation of existing laws relating to labour in the organised sector and to suggest an 'umbrella' legislation for ensuring a minimum level of protection to the workers in the unorganised sector.

5.2 While making the announcement, the Labour Minister stated that "the main focus of the National Commission on Labour" would be to suggest rationalisation of the existing laws so as to make them more relevant and appropriate in the changing context of globalisation and opening up of the Indian economy."

5.3 The decision to constitute the Second National Commission on labour has been announced by the Government without any consultations or discussions with the Central Trade Unions. The CITU pointed out that the move was aimed at ushering in a deregulated labour market and urged that the Government should hold *de novo* consultations with the central trade unions on the composition and terms of reference of the National Commission.

5.4 The Standing Committee which met on 6th February 1999 also suggested that the composition and terms of reference of the Commission should be finalised in consultation with the employers and workers organisation.

5.5 But the Ministry of Labour, preferred to call for the views of the trade unions and employers' organisations by way of correspondence instead of holding a consultation meeting.

5.6 The CITU, AITUC, HMS and INTUC had communicated their views in this regard in a joint letter dated 15th March 1999. The letter suggested the names of a few eminent justices, who had dealt with the issues of labour with a positive outlook, for consideration for appointments as the Chairman of the commission. It also listed the pressing problems confronted by Indian labour for broad basing the terms of reference of the commission. The Government was also urged to call a meeting to complete the process of consultations, before a final decision was taken in this regard.

5.7 The Government had neither convened a meeting nor responded to the suggestions made by the Central Trade Unions. With the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and the impending general elections, it is to be seen whether the Government proceeds further in this regard or keeps the proposal shelved.

## 6. NON-FUNCTIONING OF TRIPARTITE FORA

6.1 The BJP-led coalition Government at the centre did not initiate tripartite consultations on labour matters for over ten months after it assumed office. Suddenly waking up from its deep slumber, the

Ministry of Labour convened the 35th sessions of the Standing Labour Committee on the 6th February 1999 and of the Indian Labour Conference on the 3rd and 4th April 1999.

6.2 The Standing Labour Committee, besides considering the action taken report on the conclusions of its precious sitting, held in September 1997 and reviewing the progress of implementation of the conclusions of the Indian Labour Conference, discussed the observance of ethos and nature of tripartism both at the Centre and State levels.

6.3 The Indian Labour Conference also besides considering the action report, discussed two important items on its agenda, viz, (1) measures to reduce industrial sickness and (ii) measures to increase employment opportunities. Despite these tripartite fora regretfully observing the decline in observance of the ethos and nature of tripartism, and noting with concern the absence of participation of Ministers from concerned Ministries/Depts in the ILC, there have only been a steady deterioration in the situation.

6.4 The workers' side comprising eight central trade unions, had to firmly voice their indignation over the callous treatment meted out to the tripartite fora and their decisions at the ILC meeting in April 1999. The status of the Indian Labour Conference, which was held to be the "Labour Parliament of India" had, over the period, been undermined and its sessions had been reduced to a "mere talking shop."

6.5 These meetings of the SLC and the ILC ended as formal exercises in futility because of the casual and indifferent attitude of the government. The following issues were highlighted by the trade unions at the April meeting of the ILC.

6.5.1 The Government of India had reneged on its assurance to enact a comprehensive legislation in respect of agricultural workers guaranteeing them minimum wages, fair conditions of work, welfare measures etc.

6.5.2 The wage ceiling existing in various labour laws like the Payment of Bonus Act, Payment of Wages Act, Workmen's Compensation Act, etc have not been reviewed and trade unions' demand for abolition of such ceilings have been put in cold storage.

6.5.3 Policy decisions concerning labour are announced by other Ministers in the Government over the head of the Labour Ministry and without any consultations with the central trade unions; the latest instances being the Commerce Minister declaring that labour laws will not be applicable in the renamed Free Trade Zones and the Social Welfare and Empowerment Minister recommending 30% of Provident Fund and Pension amounts to be invested in private sector loans/shares.

6.5.4 The unanimous recommendations of the SLC, made as early as in 1997, for enhancement of the rate of interest on PF money held by the Government in public account had been negated by the Ministry of Finance.

6.5.5 The rising graph of industrial sickness resulting in huge loss of employment called for rapid measures to prevent sickness and rehabilitate the sick units; the Government is only a silent spectator to the Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR) performing the role of a liquidator.

6.6 The only response of the Labour Minister was that he would take up the concerns of trade unions with the Prime Minister and other related Ministries and ensure implementation of the ILC decisions.

6.7 With the total collapse of implementation machinery of industrial legislations on the one hand and with the decline in status of the apex tripartite fora, the employers are allowed to have a free run and labour is let in the lurch under the present BJP-led coalition governance.

## 7. UNORGANISED SECTOR

7.1 At Chennai we decided that state level coordination committees should be constituted in the unorganised sector within six months. This was reiterated in the Ahmedabad meeting. However,

majority of the State Committees have not yet formed such committees. Even where it was formed earlier, is not functioning properly. We have reports of functioning State level committees only from Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Bengal. Comrades should report about this.

7.2 In the meantime, the All India Coordination Committee met at Delhi on 8th March'99. The meeting proposed some programmes, which included joint convention at Delhi in September, preceded by our All India Convention in the unorganised sector. The convention is to be followed by an all India march to Parliament by the unorganised sector workers in November during the Winter Session of Parliament, and then one day all India strike in December, 1999.

7.3 However, the meeting was attended by only 12 comrades from Bengal, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Delhi, although there are 31 members in the Coordination Committee from 17 states. There was no attendance in the meeting from Punjab, Haryana, UP, Bihar, Tripura, AP, and Tamilnadu. From our records, we find that Karnataka, Gujarat, Orissa and Himachal Pradesh have not attended any meeting of the Coordination Committee for the last two years. Although all our state committees have unions and are functioning in the unorganised sector, such poor attendance in meetings and non-response to the decisions taken in the General Council and Working Committee meetings, presents a very depressing picture so far as all India movements and organisational activities are concerned.

7.4 The Secretariat therefore decided that the action programmes proposed by the meeting of the All India Coordination Committee should be placed in the General Council for discussion and decision. However, now the Government has fallen and elections are going to be held in September/October. The General Council should take decisions in the light of the new situation.

## **8. WORKING WOMEN**

8.1 We record here in brief the activities of the All India Coordination Committee of Working Women (AICCWW).

8.2 Hundreds of working women from many States participated in the Mahila Maha Adhiveshan organised by the AIDWA in New Delhi on 7th March. The AICCWW Centre organised several meetings of working women in industry, offices etc., in Delhi and Faridabad. As a result, over 200 women were mobilised for the Mahila Adhiveshan. Many of these women also participated in the joint women's rally on March 8th (International Women's Day), raising the demand for 33% reservation for women in Parliament and State Legislatures.

8.3 A meeting of the AICCWW was held in Delhi on 9-10, March, 1999. 19 members from 8 states and 3 from the Centre participated in the meeting. R.Umanath, Kanai Banerjee and W.R.Varada Rajan from the CITU Secretariat attended the meeting. Vimal Ranadive could unfortunately not attend due to sickness. It was unfortunate that more States were not represented in this important meeting.

8.4 The work of the AICCWW in the past 20 years since its formation was reviewed. With the inputs from that meeting, CITU Secretariat further discussed the subject and decided to place the review for a special discussion in this meeting.

8.5 A special issue of the Voice of the Working Woman on Globalisation and Working Woman has been published in May, 1999.

8.6 The All India Federation of Anganwadi Workers & Helpers launched several action programmes as under:

\*Protest Day on 2.2.1999: Anganwadi employees responded to the CITU call to observe a Protest Day on 2nd February, by wearing black badges, in Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Tripura etc.

\*On 18.2.1999, dharnas, rallies, processions, picketing, rail and rasta roko etc., were conducted at district and mandal levels in Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar and other States in pursuance of the demands of Anganwadi employees.

\*The Samyukta Sangharsh Samity (SSS) planned to hold a massive All India Convention of Anganwadi workers in Delhi, in May, but the programme had to be postponed in view of political developments at the Centre.

\*State level Conferences were held in Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

\*Classes have been held for Anganwadi workers in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh.

## **9. IMPLEMENTATION OF BHUBANESHWAR DOCUMENT ON ORGANISATION**

9.1 While the implementation of the Bhubaneshwar document on organisation has rightly been considered as an on-going process, that monitoring and periodical review is essential for ensuring that the process really goes on and does not slow down or get stuck up. Periodical review and regular monitoring are tasks laid down in the document itself. We had carried out a review with partial success during the Shimla meeting of the Working Committee held in October 1997. After about one and half years, it is quite legitimate to think of at best a cursory glance, if not a full fledged review, of the progress of implementation of the document since the Shimla meet.

9.2 A circular was accordingly sent to the State Committees and the federations with the request to send their organisational report including progress of implementation of the Bhubaneshwar document at an early date so that the state of the organisation might be properly reflected in the General Secretary's report. It was followed by a reminder. Reports in some form or other have been received from seven states and one federation.

9.3 The importance of monitoring and review is stressed not only in the Bhubaneshwar document, but it has also been emphasised by the members of the Working Committee/General Council during discussion on the document. But it should be obvious that the Centre cannot effectively carry out its responsibility in this regard without adequate cooperation from the State Committees and the federations. The centre can put out the draft review report only with inputs received from the states and the federations. Once again, due to non-submission of reports by majority of the State Committees and federations, the General Council is unable to carry out even a preliminary review of the progress of implementation of the Bhubaneshwar document. In what follows we shall confine ourselves to a brief review relating to the functioning of the Centre as well as few general remarks, on the basis of the reports received.

## **FUNCTIONING OF THE CENTRE**

9.4 The centre has marginally overcome its difficulty arising out of inadequate strength as two more comrades have joined the centre, K Hemalata from Andhra Pradesh and Ardhendu Dakshi from West Bengal. Now we have three women comrades besides Vimal Ranadive (who is presently very ill) and centre's work on the working women front including Anganwadi has been considerably strengthened. New comrades joining the centre has already some positive impact on the functioning of the centre.

9.5 During the period since the Shimla Working Committee meeting the centre circulated a draft syllabus and lecture notes on three subjects included in the syllabus at the time of Chennai General Council meeting with the request to send suggestion for improvement. No suggestion, however, came from anywhere.

9.6 Meetings of the leaders of the Hindi belt are being held though not as frequently as it should have been. It certainly has some positive impact on the functioning of the state set up in some states. But it is also necessary to examine how these meetings can be made more productive.

9.7 The Centre organised one trade union school for Hindi belt cadres which was attended by 30 comrades including 2 women. Attendance was just symbolic from Bihar and UP, the two major states in the Hindi belt though the class was meant for 50 comrades. The subjects taken up were History of trade union movement, Perspective and organisation of CITU, Political economy and new economic policy. The programme was concluded with a day long workshop on problems of TU work in Hindi belt.

9.8. A meeting of the working women's Coordination Committee to review its activities for twenty years since it was set up has been held. R.Umanath summed up the discussion.

9.9 Meanwhile, the Editorial Board of the Working Class and CITU Mazdoor (Hindi) has been reconstituted while an editorial board has been constituted for the Voice of the Working Women the circulation of which has considerably increased. Besides, all these journals have got enriched both in form and content.

9.10 Apart from the work done at the Centre itself, it is now possible to render more help to the State Committees from the Centre thanks to the availability of more comrades. In some cases regular help from the Centre has resulted in improvement in the functioning of State Committees.

9.11. However, some weaknesses persist in the functioning of the centre. In the paper on implementation of Bhubaneswar document presented to the working committee at Shimla it was stated: "In order to overcome the predominantly individualistic nature of functioning which stood in the way of optimisation of performance, the centre decided upon, as remedial measures, periodical meetings, daily meetings of the secretaries available at the centre for sharing information, collective discussion and decision making on day to day issues, allotment of work to secretaries, check up, etc, monthly meetings for advance planning of months activities, quarterly meeting of the full secretariat. All this was incorporated in the organisational document."

9.12 While the full Secretariat meetings are regularly held every quarter, monthly meetings for advance planning of work are not held. Moreover, the daily meetings of the Secretaries available at the centre, which were earlier being held with fair regularity and which contributed most in developing collectivity in the functioning of the centre, are, in recent times, being held only occasionally. It was reported at Shimla that the meetings are not held if the General Secretary is not available. At present, due to additional political responsibilities of the General Secretary the other Secretariat members will have to share part of his duties. This is being worked out gradually. The process of holding Secretariat meetings regularly has to be arranged more promptly.

9.1.3 It was stated in Shimla paper that "through repeated and prolonged exercise, through trial and error, the Centre has succeeded in establishing an improved pattern of long term job division among secretaries." With a number of new comrades joining the centre they have all been allotted jobs and they are doing them - a review and redistribution of job has become due and should be undertaken early.

9.14 An important task that has virtually gone by default and which requires to be urgently undertaken,

particularly in the context of the ascendance of the communal forces with fascistic ideology in the country, is the task of ideological moulding of the working class, preparation of materials, systematic effort to develop socialist consciousness. Apart from production of printed material, special class for the cadre at different levels and popular lecture for workers on wide scale on ideological issues of contemporary relevance should be organised. The lecture notes for other subjects should also be prepared immediately.

9.15. Besides, discussion on the question of expansion in priority areas with respective State Committees for preparing a well knit plan for growth, for strengthening organisation in priority sector, in industries owned by multinationals and monopolies, cadre deployment according to priority - a task which has been given high priority in the Bhubaneswar document - has not received due attention from the centre. Of course, it has not gone totally by default. In the Hindi belt, the centre comrades assisting some states are helping the state committees to prepare such plan and it is producing results. But the centre feels much more has to be done.

## IN THE STATES

9.16 As stated above we have received reports on organisation only from 7 States and one federation, viz., Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh and the Construction Workers Federation of India. 4 of these States, it may be noted, belong to Hindi belt. It may also be noted that the 2 most important States which account for nearly half of our membership are among those who have failed to send their report. While Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh State committees have sent reports prepared for the present purpose, Andhra Pradesh has sent a copy of the organisational part of the State General Secretary's report presented to their recently held State conference. The discussion paper on which the Rajasthan State Committee conducted a workshop on organisation was with us and we exempted Rajasthan Committee from sending further report. The Haryana also has sent the minutes of their State Committee meeting which *inter alia* discussed organisation.

9.17 The State reports that have been received show that these State committees generally have by conscious effort, kept up the process of implementation of the Bhubaneswar document with special attention to the task of improving the functioning of different organs i.e. State and district committees, federations and unions.

9.17. 1. All these State committees distributed the Bhubaneswar document to the activists at different levels. Some States even translated it into local languages.

9.17. 2. The document has been discussed in the State committees or in the extended meeting of the State committees attended by district federation and state level union leaders.

9.17.3. In some cases, self-critical review report was prepared and discussed in the State committees; thereafter they have been discussed in the district committees and unions. In some cases some district committees also prepared self-critical reports.

9.17.4. All these discussions led to decisions for implementation of the tasks laid down in the documents.

9.17. 6. Review is being carried out by State committees of the progress in implementation of the document.

9.18. All the steps listed above has not certainly been taken uniformly in all the seven States. The position varies from State to State. But it can be said with certainty that all these States have taken some steps or others for ultimate implementation of the document and the effort is on.

9.19 From the reports it is seen that their effort has also produced some positive results - its extent also varying from state to State:

9.19.1. meetings of the State secretariat and State committees are being held more frequently than before.

9.19.2. In many cases written report is placed by the State secretariat in the State committee meetings and discussion takes place on it.

9.19.3. Some States have reported improvement in the attendance of members in the State committee meetings.

9.19.4. In some cases some district committees have also improved their functioning.

9.19.5. In some cases and to some extent the norms of democratic functioning, both in respect of involvement of common workers as well as in respect of committee functioning, are sought to be observed with varying degrees of success.

9.19.6. In some States some TU classes are arranged though special training arrangement is rare.

9.19.7. In some States work among working women is receiving better attention.

9.19.8. Fixing priority in respect of area/industry for expansion plan is found in one or two instances

9.20. While taking note of these positive features, it must also be noted that not all the positive features are seen in all the States. The Andhra Pradesh report shows that without referring to the Bhubaneswar document, and what they call "New Orientation" programme, persistent effort is being made for improvement in the organisation and functioning through elaborate planning. In TU education and cadre development, it has remarkable achievement as also in expansion of activity. The report, however, did not fail to point out shortcomings that still prevail.

9.21. Another State committee which is making continuous effort for streamlining the organisation and improving the functioning is Tamilnadu State Committee. It has recently reviewed the progress with due seriousness. Similarly, Rajasthan State Committee has been carrying on serious effort though it had probably taken a somewhat late start. Himachal Pradesh is making zealous effort to implement the document. Vast expanse of Madhya Pradesh and absence of commensurate cadre strength presents serious difficulty for the State committee. However, there also has been some progress, though the progress is relatively slow. Haryana State Committee is also carrying on its activity in a quite adverse situation. Authoritarian rule prevailing in the State is carrying on unprecedented repression. Probably because of this the Haryana State Committee has been able to make very modest progress in improving its functioning.

9.22. Only Karnataka has presented a completely dark picture. Its report complains of lack of collective functioning, individualism and all other shortcomings listed in the document. The report states: "The State leadership is unable to provide a functioning centre - due to lack of leaders to man the centre. Available leaders, especially in Bangalore are not ready to function from one centre. In this situation it is futile to expect implementation of the Bhubaneswar document". The report states that organisational issues can be sorted out only by the centre giving due attention and ensuring collective functioning.

9.23. Report of the Assam State Committee has been received at the last moment. The State committee meets regularly, though attendance has not improved upto the mark. The State centre

suffers from shortage of strength. Organisational review will be undertaken by the State committee shortly. While democratic norms are observed in some cases of district and union functioning, the same is being neglected in others. Some sectoral coordination committees are working. An Anganwadi union has been formed. Some arrangement for TU education could be made.

## **INDUSTRY WISE FEDERATIONS**

9.24. In our Bhubaneshwar document, we have listed 10 all India industry wise federations. While one or two federations are now defunct, others are fairly active. But we have received report from only one federation, the Construction Workers Federation of India. A current report of another federation, All India Federation of Anganwadi Workers and Helpers, with its headquarters at the CITU centre, is available with us.

9.25 The construction federation is probably the largest among all CITU federations in terms of membership and spread, the membership being 2,25,000. It is one of our most active federations. In the recently held 4th conference at Vijayawada, the General Secretary has discussed elaborately on organisation questions in the light of the Bhubaneshwar document. The report reflects the urge on the part of the leadership to develop democratic and collective functioning at the central and union levels. Given this urge, we may reasonably hope that the federation will function progressively on sound organisational principles.

9.26 The Anganwadi Federation is another of our large and active federations. It is a growing organisation already having units in 14 states with a total membership of about 90,000. The Anganwadi workers and helpers are all women and, therefore the federation is really an all women organisation though there are one or two male comrades. Here lies its special importance. While the federation is highly active, organisationally it is a gradual process of consolidation. Meetings of the all India body are frequently held. Some State units are also having their meetings and conferences regularly. It is expected that under effective central supervision, this federation will, in course of time, emerge as ideal both in respect of struggle and organisation.

9.27. Comrades, it is highly deplorable that majority of our State committees and the federations have failed to send their report despite reminders. As a result, the General Council has been deprived of the opportunity to have even a cursory glance at the organisational picture of CITU as a whole, with special reference to the progress in implementation of the Bhubaneshwar document. Of course, the failure to send report does not necessarily mean that the defaulting State committees have no concern about improvement in organisation. Doubtless, some of these States and federations have been making due efforts for implementation of the tasks laid down in the document and have made reasonable progress. Some of the State committees may have genuine difficulty. Similarly many of the federations which defaulted in sending reports are also quite active in respective fields. The Steel Workers Federation has recently held their all India conference and have been functioning regularly. Our coal workers' federation is the major force in the industry. Both the Road Transport and Waterfront Workers Federations are also active and represent a substantial proportion of workers in the industry. The Beedi Workers Federation also is having some activities. But, it will not be incorrect to state that generally the failure to send reports indicates some deficiency in realisation regarding the importance of monitoring and review. We urge that the concerned State Committees and federations will soon prepare and send their reports to centre and the Secretariat will prepare the review of organisational activity and circulate to all concerned. While assuring that the centre will, by all means, try to fulfil the task assigned to it in right earnest, we hope that in future we shall get full cooperation of all State committees and federations.

## **10. ON VERIFICATION**

10.1 As reported earlier, the Standing Committee on verification was discussing the year of reckoning as also the procedure for the next round of verification of membership of Central Trade Union Organisations. Though the procedure was finalised after several rounds of discussion there was no unanimity on the year of reckoning. As per the direction of the Delhi High Court, the issue has been referred to Justice NC Kochar, Retired High Court Judge for deciding the issue. The state committees were repeatedly requested to submit the 1997 Annual Returns and affiliation fees, latest by 31st January '99.

10.2 From the statement (Annexure I) showing statewise membership as per the Annual Returns received upto 25.4.1999, it will be observed that while all other states have deposited atleast some Annual Returns after the Ahmedabad meeting, Bihar is the only state which has shown no concern at all about the same. The other state committees like Delhi, Karnataka, MP, Maharashtra, Punjab & UP have also not given the desired emphasis and are yet to send a substantial portion of their Annual Returns for 1997.

The state committees must realise the tremendous amount of work load the centre has to undertake in compiling the records for verification and should act with all seriousness.

## **11. ON BTR MEMORIAL FUND**

11.1 We are very happy to announce that the construction of 'BTR Bhawan' is complete. We can now move to our own building very soon. It is a matter of great pleasure, that bit by bit though, effort made by each one of us in the CITU and those of our friends outside the CITU, has reached the culmination stage. Apart from CITU centre, a trade union school and a research centre, as envisaged, will also start functioning there. We are planning to have a modern library equipped with adequate materials. For all this, we shall be continuously requiring funds. This apart, maintainance of this building alone will require a lot of money, annually. Expenses towards water, electricity, wages etc., will also increase substantially. Keeping all these in mind a quota was fixed for the State Committees at the CITU General Council meeting at Visakhapatnam.

11.2 Today, We are sorry to say some of our State committees did not respond in full measure as we had desired. In spite of repeated appeals, quotas remain unfulfilled and the saddest part was that due to paucity of funds at the last stage, the work of completion is getting delayed. Nevertheless, the State committees should complete their quota of collection at the earliest and remit the amounts to the centre immediately. A lumpsum amount has to be kept in fixed deposit and out of the interest earned, the monthly expenses can be met in large measure. In this connection we must thank the comrades of BEFI, AIIEA, AISGEF, Railway and many other independent federations and unions who have made substantial contributions towards building this fitting memorial for one of the tallest leaders of the Indian working class movement. The details of the collections made so far is presented as Annexure II.

## **12. INSTITUTE OF LABOUR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION**

12.1 The CITU Secretariat has decided to constitute an Institute of Labour Research and education in the new premises of the CITU, so that we can undertake policy-oriented research which will help our trade union movement to work out suitable tactics on various issues facing the working class. The Working Committee, meeting here in Ghaziabad has also considered this subject and decided to give concrete shape to the proposed institute.

12.2 There will be regular trade union classes for our active cadets, so that we can develop a team of educated cadets for discharging their responsibilities more efficiently and effectively.

12.3 This Institute will require a minimum corpus of Rs. 20 lakhs, so that it can effectively undertake tasks enjoined on it by the CITU. The CITU General Council should address itself to these tasks and decide on measures to help in this process, so that the proposed Institute is set up early and starts functioning.

### **13. REVISION OF AFFILIATION FEES OF THE CITU**

13.1 With spiraling cost of running the CITU centre and its additional responsibilities, the expenditure of the CITU centre is increasing rapidly. The income, however, is not increasing accordingly and we are facing acute difficulties in running the CITU centre. The CITU has a number of staff working in the office, who are ill-paid and there is need to enhance their wages. The Library also requires additional funds for purchase of books and infrastructure to maintain it in good position.

13.2 We are also undertaking the formation of a research and training institute so that research on labour problems can be undertaken and regular holding of classes can be arranged. All this requires proper funding.

13.3 Over and above this, we have to help some weaker areas so that the movement can advance in these areas.

13.4 Hence the CITU Secretariat at its full-fledged meeting considered these issues and decided to put before the General Council a proposal to revise upwards the affiliation fee of the CITU.

13.5 The new rates will come into effect only when the next Conference of the CITU adopts an amendment to that effect.

13.6 There are two proposals for consideration. One is to increase the pro-rata affiliation fee to Re. one per member per year. The second is to keep different rates for the organised and the unorganised sector.

13.7 The matter should be discussed by the General Council members. After hearing the views of all comrades, we will take a proper decision in the CITU Secretariat and proposals can be considered in the form of amendment to the Constitution of the CITU.

13.8 Some of our unions are even now having very low rate of union subscription. The State Committees should see that such unions also raise their rate of subscription so that union finances can be properly improved. Without improving the unions' financial position, some of the unions may find it difficult to pay central affiliation fee and levy of the State Committee. This aspect also should be looked into by all of us.

### **14. CITU JOURNALS AND PUBLICATIONS**

14.1 The monthly journal of the CITU in English, 'The Working Class' is in its 29th year of publication. Its circulation is mainly in the non-Hindi-speaking States. The 'CITU Mazdoor', our monthly in Hindi, is in its 21st year of publication, catering to the Hindi-speaking States. 'The Voice of Working Women' published bimonthly in English, is in its 19th year of publication, with bulk of the circulation limited to a very few States.

14.2 The CITU Centre has also been trying to bring out certain publications, both in Hindi as well as English, on subjects relevant to our movement and campaign. But the huge backlog of dues and meagre offtake of copies by State Committees and unions, had only served as a dampener for undertaking periodical release of new publications.

14.3 In the meeting of the CITU Working Committee in Shimla, during October, 1997, we discussed matters relating to our journals and publications. As decided thereat, the price per copy and the subscription rates of our journals have since been raised effective from January, 1998. Considerable efforts have been made to improve the quality of our journals. The number of pages has been increased. Cover page get-up has been improved. Constant attempts are made to include a wide range and depth in the contents of the journals.

14.4 But, the response of our State Committees and affiliated unions in matters related to increasing the circulation, settlement of bills and sending reports/materials for publications, leaves much to be desired. It is a pity that the circulation of both 'The Working Class' and 'CITU Mazdoor' hovers around just 5000 copies each and 'The Voice of the Working Women' has just reached the 2000 mark.

14.5 We have painfully noted that about 30-35 copies each of these journals are returned undelivered every month. Sometimes, even agency copies come back. But we rarely receive a complaint or enquiry from the subscriber-unions as to non-receipt of copies of the journals. All the affiliate unions subscribe either to 'The Working Class' or the 'CITU Mazdoor' as part of their affiliation-rule. But the unions seem to evince no interest in going through the journals, which contain a lot of materials which are useful for our campaign.

14.6 Another feature which has come to be noticed at different centres is that successive issues of our journals are seen remaining unpacked even for months together. One reason for this may be that the unions function from places different from their registered addresses and the registered offices are rarely visited by the unions concerned.

14.7 Improvement of our journals in terms of their substance, get-up, language or spectrum of contents etc., require constant inputs from our unions, State and District committees and readers of the journals. Suggestions are rare to come.

14.8 We brought out Special issues of 'The Working Class' and 'CITU Mazdoor' on Globalisation issue combining the May-June 1998 issues. Despite circulars sent from the Centre, not a single indent for extra copies was received.

14.9 There is large scope for enlisting subscriptions to our journals from the members of our fraternal organisations in different sectors. There have been some efforts in this regard in respect of 'The Voice of the Working Women' in select centres. But, this avenue remains unexplored, in the main.

14.10 These aspects in respect of 'The Voice of the Working Women' have been dealt with in detail in the discussion paper on 'Two Decades of the AICCWW - a Review'.

14.11 One sad experience in the matter of publications is our decision to bring out three volumes of Com.B.T.Ranadive's writings on Trade Union Movement. The Paperback editions of these volumes are priced at Rs.60 each. Though the last of these volumes was published in December, 1991, copies are mostly lying unsold despite passage of eight years. This worrisome situation has halted us in our tracks and the Editorial Board was not enthused to go ahead with the promised fourth volume.

14.12 We propose to organise a special sales campaign commencing from the CITU Foundation Day (30th May) to Com.B.T.R.'s birthday (18th Dec) this year. The complete set of all the three volumes (priced at Rs.180) will be offered for sale at Rs.100/- per set. A discount of Rs.25/- per set will also be allowed for purchase of 5 sets or more. We hope our State Committees, Industrial Federations and Unions will avail this offer and organise sale of Com.B.T.R.'s writings amongst our members and friends.

14.12 Apart from this, we should chalk out plans in this meeting for:

- (a) Clearance of arrears on account of publications;
- (b) Settlement of overdue bills in respect of our journals;
- (c) Renewal of agencies which have discontinued; and
- (d) Increasing the circulation of our journals by increasing agencies/copies and mass collection of individual subscriptions.

## 15. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

15.1 The ever-increasing international contacts and exchanges between the CITU and fraternal foreign trade unions have registered a marked advance.

15.2 Michael Walsh, Head of the International Department, Trade Union Congress UK, called on the CITU on Feb 19 and held hour-long discussions with General Secretary and other Secretariat members on current issues related to bilateral relations between the two TU organisations and the current situation in the trade union movements of India and the UK.

15.3 CITU Secretary Chittabrata Majumdar participated in the Regional Coordination Committee meeting of the Indian Ocean Region Trade Union Conference, which met in Fremantle, Western Australia on 29-30 March 1999 to discuss preparations for the 5th conference to be held during Oct 1999 in South Africa. The conference will be hosted by the South African TU centre COSATU.

15.4 M K Pandhe attended the 15th World Congress on Occupational Safety and Health held at Sao Paulo (Brazil) from April 11 to 16 as a member of the Indian delegation. Pandhe also availed this opportunity to discuss bilateral relations with the Brazilian trade unions.

15.5 M K Pandhe, who is also a Vice President of the International Energy and Mines Organisation (IEMO), attended the IEMO Executive Committee meeting on April 23-24 at Paris. D Janakiraman, General Secretary, Electricity Employees Federation of India also participated in the meeting as a member of the Executive Committee.

15.6 We also give the details of visits by CITU delegations abroad and by visiting delegations from fraternal organisations from other countries.

15.7 A 10-member peace delegation from the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs (Gensuikyo) visited India from January 17 to 30, 1999 as part of its global campaign for joint action for a nuclear-weapon-free 21st century. The delegation was jointly received by CITU and several other trade unions and mass organisations. Apart from Delhi the delegation visited Calcutta, Durgapur, Bhubaneswar, Nagpur, Chennai, Kochi, Thrissur, Kottayam, Kollam, Thiruvananthapuram and Bombay. Several public meetings, seminars and round-table discussions were held in honour of the delegate by the CITU in cooperation with other organisations including AITUC, AIDWA, SFI, Delhi Science Forum and All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation.

15.8 While in Delhi the Japanese delegation also called on the President of India K R Narayanan, former Prime Minister I K Gujral, Congress President Sonia Gandhi, CPI(M) leader Sitaram Yechury and CPI General Secretary A B Bardhan. The delegation received support from all quarters for its campaign for total elimination of nuclear weapons.

15.9 A 3-member delegation from the University of Edinburgh consisting of Dr Neil Thin (leader) from the Department of Anthropology, Desmond Woode from the Department of International

Development and Jessica Crowe visited CITU Central Office on 25.2.99 for a review of special schemes set up by the Department of International Development to encourage projects which are launched to help working people in poor and backward countries. The delegation was received by CITU Secretary Tapan Sen.

15.10. As part of an ILO project for workers' education assistance in selected Asian countries including India, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Mangolia, the CITU deputed Pranab Chakraborti from the Steel Workers' Federation of India and S Pancharatnam from the Central Organisation of Tamil Nadu Electricity Employees for participation in a workshop held in Kathmandu from Sept 1 to 20 for 3 weeks.

15.11. A 4-member delegation was sent by CITU to attend the 16th International Solidarity Affair (ISA) organised by the KMU, Philippines from April 28 to May 8, at Manila. The delegation consisted of R Viswanathan, Vice President, Tamilnadu Medical & Sales Representatives Association and senior leader of State Transport Workers' Union; T Narayanan, Secretary, North Chennai District Committee and Member, State Committees of CITU; Sanghamitra Chakraborty and Rose Vimala Kispotta from the Calcutta unit of the Air Corporation Employees Union.

15.12. The programme is held by the KMU annually and the CITU has been a regular participant for the past several years.

15.13. The Construction Workers Federation of India affiliated to CITU was represented by its National Working Committee Member Harinder Singh in the 3rd Estatuary Congress of FETICOM held at Sao Paulo (Brazil) from April 28 to May 1. The CITU delegate availed this opportunity to discuss bilateral issues and have fruitful exchange of views with the Brazilian TU activists from construction workers and other fraternal delegates attending the Congress. The conference of the CWFI was attended by foreign delegates from UK, Australia, Egypt and Bangladesh.

15.14. S Varalakshmi, Convener of Karnataka Coordination Committee of Working Women represented CITU in a workshop-cum-seminars held at Kathmandu by PRIA from April 22-25 on occupational safety and health. The seminar provided her good opportunity to interact with the representatives of other trade unions in South Asia.

## **16. THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS AND OUR TASKS**

16.1 The elections for the 13th Lok Sabha which are likely to be held in September, 1999, are very crucial for India's future. The elections are being held in an extremely complicated situation and the realignment of various political parties is yet to take place. The Congress and the BJP is trying to have more and more allies as far as possible. But dissensions are emerging in both the camps. The Third Front is yet to take a concrete shape, while people are in a confused state of mind. In U.P., serious dissidence in the BJP are likely to lead to an unpredictable situation, which may take serious turn in the forthcoming period. Though both the Congress and the BJP alliances are claiming that they will acquire clear majority support, it is very doubtful whether any single formation can get a clear-cut majority to form a Government at the Centre.

16.2 The BJP, blatantly using the position of a caretaker government, is taking major political decisions which they are not supposed to take in the present situation. The sudden transfers of various civil servants, compulsory retirement of West Bengal and Arunachal Pradesh Governors, the shameless use of electronic media for partisan ends, full page advertisements in newspapers spending crores of rupees to boost the image of the BJP are some of the major steps the BJP government is taking to win the election at all costs. The MNCs and foreign powers are also doing their best to give moral and material support to the BJP's election campaign. While the BJP alliance is talking about a common manifesto, the VHP and other RSS outfits have started campaigning on Hindutva agenda to rouse

chauvanism among the Hindu masses.

16.3 While the Indian economy is moving downwards and the government treasury is experiencing shortage of funds, the BJP is spending money to boost its image to win the elections taking advantage of the non-publication of the election schedule by the Election Commission. In some States, the Assembly elections are likely to be held simultaneously with the Lok Sabha polls. The developments in different States are taking different shapes. The regional combinations may play an important role in the outcome of the elections. Through the slogan of 'stability' both the Congress and BJP are advocating stability of the capitalist system. The economic policy of both these parties is the same - to surrender before the IMF and World Bank. Hence, strengthening of these parties in the elections will secure no relief for the common people. On the contrary, the economic conditions will only further deteriorate.

16.4 The need to defeat the BJP is a task of paramount importance during this election campaign and the working class should play a very important role in defeating the BJP which has brought the country to ruin and disaster.

16.5 The CITU Secretariat has decided that all CITU Unions must campaign during the forthcoming period against the role played by the BJP government during the last 13 months. It is decided to publish a booklet explaining the role of the BJP government to educate the working class on the urgent need to defeat the reactionary policies of the BJP. The booklet will be ready by 15th of June. It should be translated into all regional languages so that a powerful campaign can be launched all over the country against the dangers facing our country and its economy.

16.6 We have also to educate the working class about the dangerous consequences of the economic policies advocated by the Congress Party and how the policies of this party are ruining the country besides helping the BJP at the national level.

16.7 The communal, castiest and regional propaganda is likely to play an important role in this election campaign in an atmosphere when the national issues are sought to be relegated to the background. The CITU unions must campaign in this period against these retrograde trends in the national political situation. Since these trends are clearly visible within the working class itself, the tasks become much more important and every cadre of the CITU must be equipped with necessary materials to effectively propagate the view points of the CITU.

16.8 Unless the Left and the Democratic forces come together and form a third alternative before the country, the Congress and the BJP will try to impose on the country the virus of two party system and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) has openly mentioned about the evolving of this two party system. The Congress leader, Sharad Pawar, has openly stated in the CII meeting that unless the Left forces are marginalised, the two party system cannot emerge in India. Though the BJP had forged a multi-party alliance bringing together a motley crowd of leaders and parties, it is only a cloak. Several times, during the past thirteen months, the Prime Minister and the leaders of Sangh Parivar had laid bare their intention to secure absolute majority for the BJP so as to pursue their saffron agenda. Thus, in essence, both the BJP and Congress are vying with each other to reign in a two party system, seeking to elbow out the forces of a third alternative. Big business in India and the MNCs are also gleefully pitching for the two party system, because both the Congress and the BJP are fully protecting their class interests.

16.9 The working class must realise that this is a grand design to marginalise and eliminate the left forces, which alone have defended the working class, inside and outside Parliament and opposed the MNCs and big business friendly economic policies of both the Congress and the BJP. Moreover, in Indian society, which has a multi-dimensional polity, the role of the regional parties, reflecting the aspirations of various linguistic/ethnic people in different States cannot be effaced in the name of a

two party system. The CITU must emphasise that only the left and secular-democratic forces can offer a pro-people alternative and strengthening of those forces alone can defeat the attempts of our class enemies to usurp the political space of the working class parties and usher in a two party system.

15.10 Hence in the forthcoming elections the CITU workers and our activists will have to play an important role in popularising the Left alternative so that the emergence of the third force with the Left as a bed rock can emerge in the country.

16.11 Since the time is short, we have to make our cadres very active without any delay and plunge in the election campaign in a big way. The BJP is trying to tell the people that because of the role of the opposition they could not perform better. They are propagating with the active support of the industry lobby that when the BJP government has brought the economy to rail of growth, the opposition has toppled the government and brought misery to country's economy. The reality is just opposite and during the 13 months BJP regime, the country's economy has been put on faster track of disaster and decline the details of which has already been given in an earlier chapter of the report. We have to expose the dismal performance and dangerous policies of the BJP in the last 13 months so that their propaganda can be blown up without any difficulty. Performance of the BJP Government from now till the elections also needs to be exposed to defeat the BJP and their dangerous Hindutva agenda they wanted to impose on the Indian society.

## **17. TOWARDS UNITED STRUGGLES**

17.1 The outcome of the mid-term elections may not drastically alter the complex national situation. With ever deepening economic crisis, political stability will still be elusive. The masses will continue to be subjected to more and more intensified attacks. The objective conditions will call for increased efforts on our part to mobilise the masses and channelise their discontent into more massive united struggle.

17.2 The CITU must campaign with redoubled vigour among the working class to explode the myth of TINA (There is No Alternative) syndrome, in the economic policy arena. Our class must be united and brought in to play its role as the champion of the entire people of this country. Resistance to the self-liquidationalist policies of the ruling classes must be carried forward to new heights.

17.3 Our efforts to build an all in unity of the working class, casting aside barriers and differences, to take on the impending challenges, by unleashing united struggles on common issues have been greeted with enthusiastic response by all sections of rank and file workers. There is a tremendous urge for building broader unity. The coming together of all sections of masses on the National Platform of mass Organisations to fight the twin dangers of communalism and economic policies presents with the opportunity of widening the spectrum of struggle.

17.4 Our tasks in the coming period are by no means simple but we have to play a leading role to change the present political situation in favour of the toiling masses.

17.5 Let us take the plunge. Let us be the harbingers of a new era of struggles!

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## Annexure - I

### STATEMENT SHOWING STATEWISE MEMBERSHIP AS PER ANNUAL RETURN RECEIVED TILL 20.5.1999

Name of State	Unions Submitting Returns			Position of Membership According to Annual Returns		
	95	96	97	1995	1996	1997
Andaman & Nicobar	7	6	8	1768(-)	2059(-)	2048(-)
A.P	556	676	758	148990(14762)	191802(37083)	222675(45024)
Assam	86	75	76	40269(9770)	38315(9953)	40237(11712)
Bihar	29	8	3	82617(9000)	9425(74)	3448(7)
Delhi	51	64	41	52039(2220)	42096(1842)	31475(1348)
Goa	7	6	7	3529(199)	2583	2431(139)
Gujrat	23	16	16	17185(1493)	11211(714)	14660(232)
Haryana	30	19	19	18370(3146)	18559(4419)	21753(5958)
H.P	21	23	19	4996(1922)	6002(2843)	4484(2341)
J & K	1	1	1	602(9)	550(9)	572(12)
Karnataka	109	70	46	82311(21470)	52591(23728)	42918(21017)
Kerala	844	828	691	731096(163485)	766300(194063)	720970(184377)
M.P	62	44	56	29726(3090)	27862(4300)	23293(3943)
Maharashtra	40	19	26	39662(8146)	26594(7720)	29955(3212)
Orissa	26	26	32	26985(3883)	20966(3944)	20512(4598)
Punjab	105	63	44	63361(685)	52798(78)	26460(183)
Rajasthan	63	43	43	32463(352)	31221(290)	29354(26)
Tamilnadu	432	398	412	228869(8049)	205546(21954)	238506(25169)
Tripura	26	24	19	41667(5884)	36372(3018)	33861(2197)
Uttar Pradesh	--	62	42	28315(198)	27091(188)	12211(113)
West Bengal	964	895	693	1114767(101235)	1079244(74827)	913694(73121)
	3512	3366	2981	2784050(358188)	2649187(391047)	2435517(384729)

Year	Total Number of Unions Submitting Annual Returns	Membership as per Return
1983	1854	1890993
1984	2005	1575655
1985	1717	1716457(132536)
1986	2412	1844273(209348)
1987	2350	1680884(206482)
1988	2618	1919280(264507)
1989	3114	2425000(247388)
1990	2934	2095550(245060)
1991	2783	2088218(291228)
1992	3343	2381012(321620)
1993	3156	2371405(306344)
1994	3198	2470131(261980)

Figures within bracket indicates female membership.

## BTR MEMORIAL FUND

STATEWISE BREAK UP OF RECEIPTS  
(upto 20.5.1999)

Name of the State Committee	Amount Received	Committed Amount
1. West Bengal	53,38,615.00	1,00,00,000.00
2. Andhra Pradesh	2,82,438.00	15,00,000.00
3. Assam	55,680.00	5,00,000.00
4. Bihar	73,922.00	8,00,000.00
5. Delhi	1,00,930.00	2,00,000.00
6. Kerala	26,42,500.00	50,00,000.00
7. Madhya Pradesh	13,242.00	2,00,000.00
8. Orissa	22,358.00	5,00,000.00
9. Punjab	4,47,152.00	10,00,000.00
10. Rajasthan	3,00,615.00	5,00,000.00
11. Tamilnadu	5,62,580.00	30,00,000.00
12. Tripura	30,280.00	5,00,000.00
13. Karnataka	2,05,216.00	7,00,000.00
14. Himachal Pradesh	8,756.00	2,00,000.00
15. Haryana	13,150.00	2,00,000.00
16. Maharashtra	2,11,182.00	10,00,000.00
17. Uttar Pradesh	1,51,750.00	5,00,000.00
18. Goa	50,000.00	1,50,000.00
19. Gujrat	000.00	1,00,000.00
20. Individual/Unions/Federations	2,73,824.00	000.00
21. Bank Unions/Federations	3,77,649.00	000.00
22. Insurance (AIIEA)	1,43,500.00	000.00
23. AISGEF	6,31,670.00	000.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,19,37,009.00</b>	<b>2,65,50,000.00</b>

## RECEIPTS SINCE 15th December 1998

206. Com. Samar Mukherjee, CITU	8,000.00	222. A P State Committee of CITU	1,420.00
207. Maharashtra State Committee of CITU	1,00,000.00	223. SWFI, Conference Reception Committee	35,000.00
208. W B State Committee of CITU	2,00,000.00	224. DSP Teachers Association, Durgapur	1,000.00
209. Assam State Committee of CITU	5,000.00	225. SWFI, Conference Reception Committee	2,410.00
210. AIIEA	43,000.00	226. Employees of central Railway, Maharashtra	9,050.00
211. G. Janardan Rao, Hyderabad	200.00	227. BHE Mazdoor Union, Jhansi	300.00
212. BEFI, Karnataka	50,000.00	228. S.C. Rly. Emp. Union, Hyderabad	700.00
213. Railway Workers from Punjab	160.00	229. H P State Committee of CITU	1,030.00
214. W R Varada Rajan, CITU	500.00	230. A P Anganwadi Workers and Helpers Union, Mahboobnagar Dist.	3,000.00
215. BSSR Union (Bihar)	6,300.00	231. W B State Committee of CITU	1,00,000.00
216. BSSR Union (through centre)	1,120.00	232. Com. Ranjana, CITU	1,000.00
217. A P State Committee of CITU	27,650.00	233. Com. Ardhendu Dakshi, CITU	380.00
218. W R Varada Rajan, CITU	1,000.00	234. Com. W R Varada Rajan, CITU	380.00
219. Industrial Mazdoor Union, Bihar	3,000.00	235. Com. L. Haque (Rly),Malda	200.00
220. Canara Bank Staff Union, Mumbai	6,500.00	236. Com. W R Varada Rajan, CITU	750.00
221. All India Federation of Anganwadi Workers & Helpers Union, New Delhi	10,000.00	237. CITU Centre (Collection upto 20.5.99) Tamilnadu State Committee 1,00,000.00 BSSR Union, Bihar 1,000.00	1,01,000.00
		<b>Total</b>	<b>7,20,550.00</b>
		<b>Total Receipt upto 15.12.98</b>	
		<b>(Ahemedabad Working Committee Meeting)</b>	<b>1,12,16,459.50</b>
			<b>1,19,37,009.50</b>

# RESOLUTION

## ON CONDOLENCE

This All India General Council Meeting of CITU being held at Ghaziabad (U.P) on 27-30 May '99 pays its respectful homage to all the leaders, cadres and activists of the working class and democratic movement who laid down their lives during the period since our last meeting at Ahmedabad. This General Council meeting condoles the death of Com. Manmohan Adhikari, former Prime Minister and Chairman of the Communist Party of Nepal and pays its respectful homage to this great revolutionary leader.

This meeting expresses deep sorrow at the death of former Vice President of CITU Com. Harsahai Singh. He was a long time President of UP State Committee of CITU and leader of the sugar workers. The meeting pays its respectful homage to the departed leader.

This meeting pays respectful homage to Com. K.M. Haribhatt formerly a member of CITU Working Committee as also Vice-President of Tamilnadu CITU and convey its heartfelt Condolence to the bereaved family members. The meeting condoles the death of Com. Gopal Basu a senior leader of the communist movement in Bengal and an old time organiser of peasant and workers movement of West Bengal, Com. Radhika Banerjee a veteran freedom fighter & leader and organiser of left an democratic movement in West Bengal, Com. Naresh Dasgupta another stalwart of the left and democratic movement in West Bengal and Com. Joykesh Mukherjee a veteran communist and pays respectful homage to their memory. This meeting also condoles the death of Com. Ramesh Batra a progressive writer and journalist and a member of the Janawadi Lekhak Sangh.

This meeting expresses its deepest sorrow at the tragic death of Com. Sukhdev Singh who met with an accident while going for duty. Com. Singh was instrumental in organising the BHEL workers at Jhansi in the CITU union. The meeting pays its respectful homage to the young comrade and sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family members.

The General Council expresses profound grief at the death of Com. ZA Ahmed a veteran communist leader and a leader of the peasant movement and Com. Vimala Farooqui an indefatigable fighter for the womens right and an outstanding leader of the entire women's movement in this country. This meeting also pays its respectful homage to Com. B D Joshi a veteran TU leader who died after a brief illness.

This General Council meeting of CITU respectfully remembers the comrades who fell victim to the ghastly attack of communal & casteist forces in Bihar and elsewhere in the country. The meeting recalls the uncompromising determinations and glorious courage with which the innumerable comrades of the TU and democratic movement have embraced martyrdom heroically confronting the heinous and dastardly attacks of landlord - management nexus. Their sacrifice remains a constant source of inspirations and this meeting pledges to carry forward the ideals.

## DISCUSSION PAPER

### TWO DECADES OF THE ALL INDIA COORDINATION COMMITTEE OF WORKING WOMEN A REVIEW

The CITU decided to pay special attention to organising working women, in its second conference at Kochi. The CITU constitution declare that our objective is to end exploitation. To lead the struggle against exploitation, it is necessary to unite the entire working class. Working women, who form a considerable section of the working class cannot be neglected in this effort. As Com.BTR said: "the trade union movement cannot attain its full stature, unless the women's contingent plays its role in organising and leading the unions."

With this understanding, the first All India Convention of Working Women was held at Madras in 1979, preceding the 4th conference of CITU. Working women from many industries, both organised and unorganised and also from unions not affiliated to CITU participated in the convention.

Com.Vimal Ranadive, in her report to the first convention noted: "The problems and difficulties of working women in India have long been neglected. The provisions in the labour legislations for protection of their rights are grossly inadequate and whatever provisions are there in favour of the working women, they are not properly implemented. The employers exploit the women workers and the government encourages the employers by its indifferent attitude and inaction. *Neither were the trade unions enthusiastic about the demands of the working women.* In the many strikes that the working class fought, there were very few instances when the special demands of the working women were given prominence. Even in industries and occupations where they formed a sizeable section, they were hardly represented in the leading bodies of the union."

In this background, it was decided that special attention and efforts are needed to organise the lakhs of working women who were entirely unorganised, to develop and train the activists among working women and to promote them to leading positions in the unions and the CITU. The AICCWW, which was formed in the convention, was assigned to take up this task in coordination with and through CITU.

Now that it is 20 years since the AICCWW has been formed, we have to "self critically examine our work among working women and prepare a programme of action to overcome the shortcomings." as envisaged by the resolution on organisation adopted at the Bhubaneswar working committee meeting of the CITU.

During the period, CITU has been periodically discussing the issue in conferences, general council and working committee meetings. The sixth conference devoted one session and the 8th conference formed a commission to discuss the issue. Since the 7th conference of CITU, separate working women conferences are also being held regularly, as part of the CITU conferences. Since the Patna conference, all the States have been directed to have at least 10% women in the delegation. A few States follow this example, in their conferences.

#### ACTIVITIES

Initially, there was much enthusiasm and the call for an All India Demands Day given by the AICCWW on 30.5.79 was widely observed. The AICCWW meetings were held 2-3 times in a year and representatives from 9-11 states were attending. The AICCWW started an English bulletin in 1980 which was upgraded into a bi-monthly journal, "The Voice of the Working Woman." The journal is being published uninterruptedly during the last 19 years. A Hindi bi-monthly "Kamkaji Mahila" was also started and published for a few years. However, it had to be stopped because of mounting dues, leading to a huge loss. Two trade union classes for working women activists, one in English and the other for Hindi States, were conducted in 1993 and 1998.

These activities had some impact on the unions affiliated to CITU, as well as the other trade unions and the government. Some awareness has been created in some State and District Committees of

CITU and a few affiliated unions. Some CITU unions have started taking up special problems of working women, including sexual harassment. One or two CITU State committees gave a call for campaign for the implementation of the Supreme Court judgement on sexual harassment.

The number of women delegates in the national and some State conferences of CITU has increased to some extent. The representation of women in the councils committees and as office bearers of CITU at the national level and in some States and districts has improved slightly increased.

Some employees' associations, whose leadership is close to CITU, like those in insurance, postal, telecom, banks, State govt etc are now regularly organising conventions of working women and have formed sub committees. Some trade unions like HMS, AITUC and INTUC have also formed working women wings.

The AICCWW, as the women's wing of CITU, is invited by international organisations like ILO and WFTU and some NGOs to participate in international and national seminars, conferences and workshops.

One important task undertaken during this period was the formation of the All India Federation of Anganwadi Workers and Helpers in 1989. Since then many States have started organising the Anganwadi employees and now AIFAWH has emerged as a major force in the country, with members in about 15 states. The membership in '98 is expected to be more than 90,000 out of which about 80,000 are affiliated to CITU.

We have taken the initiative to form the Samyukta Sangharsha Samity of the anganwadi employees comprising AITUC, HMS and HMKP affiliated unions, Com.Vimal Ranadive is the convenor and many joint struggles have been conducted under the banner of the SSS. The formation of AIFAWH gave an impetus to the working women's movement in many states.

## ORGANISATION

For many years only one comrade functioned from the all India centre of AICCWWW. To strengthen the centre, three more comrades have been brought to the centre. Com.Vimal Ranadive had a fracture and surgery and is not able to function from the centre for the last 8-9 months.

Attempts were made from the centre to hold regular meetings of the AICCWW and to bring out the journals regularly. The meetings which were held 2-3 times in a year initially had to be delayed to once in a year or even at longer intervals due to poor attendance and the difficulties of the members in attending the meetings. Even when they are held just prior to or after the General Council meetings of CITU, the attendance remains poor. Representatives from Kerala, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and West Bengal generally attend the meetings. Many State committees of CITU do not pay attention to send the representatives from their States to the AICCWW meetings. Some States, in fact, discourage them by not paying for their travel expenses. The general attitude of neglect towards issues concerning working women, is still prevalent, though to a slightly lesser extent. Besides, a certain lack of understanding continues on the role and functioning of the Co-Co., both in the CITU Committees as well as among the working women activists. The purpose of forming the Co-Co and its role had been made clear many times, but still the confusion persists.

Many State Co-Co are dominated by middle class employees. Even in the AICCWW, the majority of the comrades who attend the meetings belong to employees' associations which are not affiliated to CITU. Though industrial and unorganised sector working women are also elected to the Co-Co., they generally do not attend the meetings, because the local CITU or union committees neither encourage nor provide the financial assistance required. As a result, the activities of the Co-Co are confined to middle class working women, with observance of International Women's Day or occasional meetings or seminars. Sometimes some problems like sexual harassment, separate toilets, rest rooms, creches, etc are taken up. But no efforts are made to identify activists, raise their consciousness and groom them as CITU activists. Attempts are not made to organise the unorganised women workers, nor to promote the women activists in CITU unions to leadership positions. As the women office employees have three fold responsibilities - domestic, official and in their own associations, it will be very difficult for them to directly organise the women workers who are unorganised. It is necessary to take their

help in the initial stages in identifying the sectors where women work in large numbers, to study their problems and approach them, etc., but ultimately it is the responsibility of the concerned CITU committees to organise the working women. Some State committees of CITU, which have been consistently showing interest in the functioning of the Co-Co, have also not paid much attention to this aspect. It has also to be noted that, in the case of middle class employees also, it is the responsibility of the concerned CITU committees to pay their travel expenses etc to attend the meetings as they are in the Co-Co as CITU activists and not as representatives of their associations.

Very few State committees of CITU have reported having discussed the issue of organising working women as an agenda in the State committee meetings. Unless the CITU committees discuss the issue, identify priorities, prepare a plan and allot responsibility, in coordination with the Co-Cos, it is not possible to carry forward our work in this field. Our work should not be confined to areas where CITU already has affiliated unions. Of course, in these unions also not all the women are our members, and very few, if at all, are in leadership positions. It is necessary to increase women membership in these unions and to train and promote women to leading positions. But the main thrust of our work should be to organise the vast sections of women, left entirely out of the purview of the trade union movement, who are subjected to severe exploitation by employers, contractors and middle men. Because of their fast deteriorating living conditions, they are ready to come out in struggles in spite of innumerable difficulties, as can be witnessed in the increased participation of women in militant struggles in various States.

Though our work among working women has increased to some extent during this period, this is not reflected either in any substantial increase in the percentage of women members in CITU or in the number of women in the leading bodies of CITU or its affiliated unions. These have only increased marginally. Even in industries, where women constitute a majority of the workers, their membership in the concerned federations is very low. In federations like plantation, beedi, and construction, where women are in large numbers, the leadership is dominated by men. Very few women are even elected as delegates to conferences. Even in the anganwadi federation, where all the employees are women, some States are represented by men only. This may be necessary in the initial stages, when women have no trade union experience and are hesitant to take up responsibility. But it should be the responsibility of these male comrades to gradually train and encourage women and to hand over the responsibility to them. In CITU State committees, there is some improvement, with almost all the committees having a few women and some having 1-2 women office bearers. However, in many states, women are taken into the committees because of pressure from the centre and no conscious effort is made to ensure their attendance at meetings and to develop them so that they can discharge their responsibilities effectively.

The CITU centre had discussed the work among the working women and extended guidance to the activities of the AICCCWW. The CITU Secretariat reviewed the two decades of activities of the AICCCWW and decided to place this review for a special discussion by the General Council. It has also been decided that the CITU Centre will issue circulars to follow up the decisions of the AICCCWW and monitor implementation by the State Committees.

## **SITUATION IN THE STATES**

1. KERALA: State and 12-13 district Co-Co are functioning. The state Co-Co functions as a co-co of middle class employees, as the representatives from industries like cashew, coir, handloom, beedi, etc, do not attend due to lack of financial help from the unions.

A sub-committee of CITU leaders, Co-Co leaders and representatives of middle class employees has been formed to discuss the work periodically.

Though women membership is around 20% of CITU membership (in 1997), there is vast scope to increase women membership in beedi, plantation, etc. More attention has to be paid to train and develop women to leading positions in these industries.

2. TAMILNADU: State conventions are held regularly. The industrial working women do not attend the meetings of the Co-Co regularly and it functions as a middle class employees' Co-Co. A campaign

among working women helped in the formation of the union in the Chennai EPZ. The CITU state committee guides the state Co-Co regularly. A comprehensive plan has to be prepared by the State CITU for organising the women in the industrial sector and develop them into leading positions. Women membership in CITU in 1996 was only 10.68%

3. WEST BENGAL: State and district Co-Co, and sub-committees in some industries have been formed. The State Co-Co is not functioning regularly. Working women in large number participate in the activities of CITU. Efforts were made to organise women in construction, garments, etc but, women membership in CITU in 1997 is only 7%. The available opportunities can be fully utilised by preparing a plan for increasing women members in CITU and by intensive and extensive trade union education for working women activists.

4. ANDHRA PRADESH: The Co-Co has discussed the issue of organising working women unorganised sector, identified priorities and prepared a plan. The CITU State committee discussed the note and has decided to concentrate on organising DWCRA women, besides anganwadi and beedi, where efforts were already made. Anganwadi union has developed as the largest statewide union affiliated to CITU. Two women full timers are working from the State Centre. 11 districts have allotted full time women cadre for work among working women. The CITU State Committee held a separate discussion on the organisation of anganwadi, beedi and working women. Efforts are being made to develop working women cadre through trade union classes. Women membership of CITU is 19.55%

The Beedi union has to be strengthened. The membership of women in construction can be improved.

5. KARNATAKA: The issue of working women was discussed in the State council. A full time woman comrade is working from the State centre, mainly looking after the anganwadi union, which is gradually expanding. Membership of women in CITU is about 45% but the number of women in leading bodies of the unions does not correspond to the membership. There are many activists who can be developed and promoted. Efforts should be made to raise their consciousness and train them.

6. MADHYA PRADESH: The Co-Co was recently revived, and a full timer was allotted for working women. A large number of women work in mines, as beedi workers and there are about 1 lakh anganwadi employees, where we have very good scope for expansion, if a proper plan and allotment of cadre is made.

7. HARYANA: The Anganwadi union is developing into a strong union. A full time woman comrade has been allotted. Efforts should be made to develop activists from the anganwadi union.

State Co-Co were formed in Orissa, Punjab, Bihar, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat also, but none is functioning.

Recently, the AICCWW, CITU centre and the full secretariat of CITU discussed the issue and some suggestions were made for improvement of our work in this field. Based on all these, some steps have been taken at the all India centre. The centre has already been strengthened by recruiting 3 more women comrades. Efforts are being made to strengthen the All India Federation of Anganwadi Workers and Helpers. It has been decided to involve the women comrades at the centre in the work of federations like plantation and beedi, where large numbers of women are working, so that they can help the federations in recruiting more women as members and in promoting them to leading positions. Efforts are being made to improve the quality of The Voice of the Working Woman and to increase its circulation. The CITU Secretariat has decided to constitute an Editorial Board for 'The Voice of the Working Women' as under:

Vimal Ranadive, Chairperson, Ranjana Nirula, Working Editor,

K Hemalata, Neelima Maitra and AR Sindhu as members.

## JOURNALS

The circulation of The Voice of the Working Women is around 2,000. A special issue was published on globalisation, on the occasion of 20 years of the formation of AICCWW. Efforts were made to increase the subscriptions by having a campaign from May 10-20, utilising the special issue.

As this is the only journal of its kind in our country, and our contacts with middle class employees have increased in recent times, there is vast scope to increase the circulation, particularly in the cities.

Efforts are also being made to make it more attractive, informative and useful. Even in the Hindi States, we can enroll large number of subscribers if we approach educated women, working in state and central govt offices, insurance, public sector enterprises and other offices, particularly belonging to the associations which are close to us.

As publication of 'Kamkaji Mahila' has stopped and at present there is no channel to communicate with the Hindi speaking working women, it is proposed to start a news letter initially of 4-8 pages, costing around Re 1/-. It will carry news of anganwadi and working women's conditions, struggles etc. The anganwadi unions in Hindi States can be utilised initially for the circulation which can be extended gradually to other sections of working women. The State committees of CITU should ensure that the money is paid promptly so that the newsletter can be continued.

To improve our work among working women throughout the country it is necessary that all the States should give due importance to the work in this field and take up the following tasks on a priority basis.

1. All the State committees of CITU should discuss the issue of working women, review the work in the past years, and prepare a time bound plan. The industries where women work in large numbers eg: beedi, plantation, construction, electronics, garments, etc should be identified and priorities should be decided in organising them. Preference should be given to such industries which have a Statewide character and where there is good scope for expansion like anganwadi and beedi.

2. An office bearer of the State committee, working from the State centre should be given the responsibility of the working's women front.

3. Wherever possible, the State CITU Committees, should allot one full time cadre, preferably a women comrade to work among working women.

4. Sub committees should be formed by December 1999 in all the federations/unions in industries where women work in large numbers. The federations directly guided by the all India centre like beedi, plantation, construction, steel and coal should take the initiative to have all India conventions and form sub committees.

The activists from these sub committees should be developed so that by the next conference of CITU, they can be included in the AICCWW.

5. State level classes for working women activists should be held by all the State committees of CITU by end-1999.

6. State conventions should be held and co-co formed in all the States, where the Co-Cos already constituted.

7. CITU State committees must ensure that necessary finances are provided for the activities of the Co-Co, including travel costs of Co-Co members to attend meetings at different levels.

8. The CITU centre and Secretariat should review the work among working women regularly. There should be regular follow up and check up from the all India centre.

9. All the State committees of CITU should make efforts to increase the circulation of the Voice of the Working Women in their States.

## WOMEN MEMBERSHIP IN CITU

State	1987			1996		
	Total Member	Women	%	Total Member	Women	%
1. Andaman & Nicobar	1,831	N.A		2,059	N.A	
2. Andhra Pradesh	48,695	2,392	4.91	1,91,352	37,043	19.35
3. Assam	24,189	4,569	18.88	38,247	9,953	26.02
4. Bihar	51,210	3,794	7.40	9,425	74	0.78
5. Delhi	35,249	849	2.40	37,532	1,842	4.90
6. Goa	2,977	87	2.92	2,583		
7. Gujarat	13,079	227	1.73	11,211	714	6.36
8. Haryana	7,157	303	4.23	18,209	4,410	24.21
9. Himachal Pradesh	2,197	236	10.7	6,002	2,843	40.7
10. Jammu & Kashmir				550	9	1.63
11. Karnataka	54,385	18,620	34.23	52,591	23,728	45.11
12. Kerala	4,24,374	1,10,674	26.07	7,03,821	1,78,311	25.33
13. Madhya Pradesh	15,590	2,736	17.54	27,862	4,300	15.43
14. Maharashtra	31,711	4,011	12.64	15,419	6,943	45.02
15. Orissa	46,191	8,508	18.41	20,788	3,942	18.96
16. Punjab	38,591	4,353	11.27	52,619	97	0.18
17. Rajasthan	15,533	574	3.69	31,221	290	0.92
18. Tamil Nadu	1,07,855	4,673	4.33	2,05,546	21,954	10.68
19. Tripura	11,649	3,265	28.02	36,372	3,018	11.14
20. Uttar Pradesh	8,768	122	1.39	27,091	188	0.69
21. West Bengal	7,38,457	35,142	4.75	10,51,982	73,669	7.00
Total	16,80,884	2,06,482	12.28	25,42,482	3,37,328	13.26

(N.A: Not Available)

**THE VOICE OF WORKING WOMAN**  
**Circulation Position - 1999**

State	Agency copies	Individual Subscribers	Total	Special Issue
1. A.P	351	88	439	440
2. Bihar	5	4	9	
3. Delhi	6	89	95	
4. Goa	-	5	5	
5. Karnataka	51	3	54	450
6. Kerala	190	199	389	200
7. Maharashtra	33	54	87	20
8. Orissa	30	-	30	
9. Tamil Nadu	489	26	515	600
10. Tripura	15	2	17	
11. U.P.	5	-	5	
12. W.B.	61	2	63	
13. Pondicherry	-	5	5	
14. M.P.	5	2	7	30
15. Punjab	10	-	10	
16. Haryana	-	8	8	
17. Assam	5	-	5	
18. H.P.	5	2	7	
19. Rajasthan	-	1	1	10
20. J & K	5	-	5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1266</b>	<b>490</b>	<b>1756</b>	<b>1750</b>
Foreign Complimentary	8			
Indian Complimentary	60			

**NOTE**

1. The circulation of The Voice of the Working Woman is now in 20 States. However, only 7 States take more than 50 copies. It is necessary to increase the circulation in order to reach wider sections of working women.
2. Since middle class women are the most vocal section of working women, (though they may not be in CITU), we have an opportunity to take the CITU line to them through The Voice of the Working Woman.
3. At present, most of the circulation and majority of our subscribers are in the Southern states. Even in the Hindi belt we can enroll subscribers the public sector, office, bank and insurance employees, and university, college, school teachers, as well as nurses and doctors, who know English. These sections may read the journal since a wide range of issues are covered in it. The journal should go to CITU members also similar establishments.
4. If the circulation is increased in a planned way, we can reach the journal to many more women. For example, in the last 3-4 months, we have increased by 300 in Andhra Pradesh, 90 in Delhi and 70 in Maharashtra
5. We suggest that our unions and federations which have members who can read English, can take at least one copy of the journal, by way of subscription.

THE VOICE OF WORKING WOMAN  
Circulation Position - 1999

Women Membership in some CITU affiliated Federations  
in industries with large women workforce (1996)

State	Beedi		Plantation		Construction		Textile	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
A&N	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
A P	7755	7755	--	--	11207	857	1869	300
Assam	--	--	17466	8240	1609	--	200	--
Bihar	2795	1160	--	--	--	--	--	--
Delhi	--	--	--	--	--	--	150	--
Goa	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Gujarat	--	--	--	--	--	--	3214	50
Haryana	--	--	--	--	196	--	1950	--
H P	--	--	--	--	200	--	--	--
Karnataka	18092	16167	600	400	--	--	28	10
Kerala	26046	23	89362	24026	87257	17725	15680	2893
M P	1159	633	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maharashtra	3020	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Orissa	--	--	--	--	--	--	137	10
Punjab	--	--	--	--	11306	--	2727	32
Rajasthan	--	--	--	--	497	--	4109	2
Tamilnadu	13041	425	2082	395	1082	--	17256	1060
Tripura	1456	--	3084	--	159	--	9318	3018
U P	178	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
W B	87383	6026	97356	40752	37576	1232	34059	546

## ANNEXURE - IV

## Representation of Women in CITU State Committees

State	Total Number of Council Members	Number of Women	Total Committee Members	Number of Women	Total No. of Office Bearers	No. of Women
Andaman & Nicobar						.
Andhra Pradesh			107	16	18	2
Assam			30	1		Nil
Bihar			54	4		1
Delhi			34	1		Nil
Goa						
Gujarat						
Haryana			23	4		1
Himachal Pradesh			32	4		2
Jammu & Kashmir						
Karnataka			52	11		1
Kerala			132	8		2
Madhya Pradesh			62	3		1
Maharashtra						
Orissa			51	5		Nil
Punjab			72	1		Nil
Rajasthan			41	2		Nil
Tamilnadu				10		Nil
Tripura						
Uttar Pradesh			33	1		Nil
West Bengal			207	14	20	1

## ANNEXURE - V

## Representation of Women in CITU at the national level

	1979		1987		1997	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
General Council	273	9(3.3%)	366	19(5.5%)	462	26(5.6%)
Working Committee	52	Nil	100	2(2%)	120	5(4.2%)
Office Bearers	19	1(5%)	30	3(10%)	36	3(8.3%)

# CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

## GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

### GAZIABAD

28 - 30, MAY, 1999

## ACCOUNTS for the year 1998

### AUDITORS' REPORT

**W**e have examined the attached Balance Sheet of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions as at 31st December, 1998 and annexed Income and expenditure Accounts for the year ended 31st December 1998 with reference to receipts & payments Accounts, for the same year, books, vouchers and relevant records produced before and have found those in agreement therewith.

We have not verified the cash in hand physically.

The Balance Sheet exhibits the true state of affairs of CITU, New Delhi as far as we have verified.

We have also verified the following subsidiary Accounts with reference to relevant Books and records and the same Accounts have been prepared after making adjustment of transactions made with CITU:-

- 1) CITU Mazdoor
- 2) Working Class
- 3) Voice of the Working Women

We also attach notes on Accounts separately.

For D. K. Chowdhury & Co.  
Chartered Accountants.  
Sd/-  
D. K. Banerjee  
Partner



## CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

15, TALKATORA ROAD  
NEW DELHI - 110 001

### Income & expenditure Account for the year ended 31st December, 1998

EXPENDITURE		INCOME	
Audit Expenses	17,885 00	Affiliation Fee	10,85,868 70
Bank charges	2,220 00	BTR Books sale	1,465 00
Conveyance Expenses	41,349 00	Bank Interest (SB A/c)	9,453 00
Delegation Expenses	13,703 50	Cement Seminar	660 00
Electric & Water Bills A/c	66,440 00	Donation	1,84,864 00
G C Meeting	12,731 50	HSCO Meeting	600 00
Misc. Expenditure	13,876 75	Misc. Receipts	6,700 00
Medical charges	69,658 30	NPMO	17,181 00
NP, Periodical & Book	22,328 10	Publication	27,600 00
Other Expenses	11,745 00	Phone Collection	5,800 00
P & T Expenses	39,319 50	Interest on FDR	4,05,590 00
Phone Bills	1,70,051 00		
Rent & Tax	14,539 00		
Stationery & Printing	60,147 75		
Service & Maintainance	44,313 00		
Tea & Tiffin	29,885 30		
Travelling Expenses	17,340 50		
Vehicle maintainance	21,807 50		
Wages	3,87,425 00		
Working Committee Meeting	15,646 00		
CITU Meeting	9,500 00		
Advances written off	24,890 00		
Excess of Income over Expenditure	6,38,980 50		
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 17,45,782 20</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 17,45,782 20</b>

## CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

15, TALKATORA ROAD, NEW DELHI - 110 001

### Bank Reconciliation Statement of CITU as at 31st December, 1998.

Bank Balance as per Cash Book	3,75,541 86
<b>Add:</b>	
Cheque issued But not yet presented for payment:	
061122	4,08,705 50
061119	1,952 00
	<u>4,10,657 50</u>
<b>Less:</b>	7,86,199 36
Cheque deposited but not yet credited by Bank:	
224631	13,179 50
027291	379 00
027290	300 00
	<u>13,858 50</u>
<b>Bank Balance as per Pass Book</b>	<b><u>7,72,340 86</u></b>
<b>Additional findings:</b>	
Cheque No. 974187 returned by Bank but not recorded in Cash Book (28.9.98)	40 00
Cheque deposited but not exedited by Bank 5 1298 (UBI.60)	70 00
Short credit in Cash Book on 15.9.98 (UBI 48)	110 00

The above findings were not reflected in Cash Book, Debit and Credit being equal omission of entries has not distrubed the closing Balance.

## CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

15, TALKATORA ROAD  
NEW DELHI - 110 001

### Balance sheet as on 31st December, 1998

LIABILITIES		ASSETS	
<b>Funds &amp; Liabilities:</b>		<b>Fixed Assets:</b>	
General Fund a/c		As per last a/c	16,98,998 45
As per last a/c	28,25,599 42	Addition this year	<u>8,000 00</u>
Add: -			17,06,998 45
Excess of income over expenditure	6,38,980 50	Less:	
" Credit adjustment as per last a/c	<u>8,167 00</u>	Credit balance of Ghaziabad Flat a/c adjusted	<u>3,48,880 00</u>
	34,72,746 92		13,58,118 45
<b>Special Fund a/c</b>		<b>Investments:</b>	
As per last a/c	13,09,069 00	Fixed Deposit with Bank of India	21,33,371 00
Add:		Add:	
Other credit balance as per last a/c	<u>60,143 35</u>	Interest Accrued reinvested	<u>4,05,590 00</u>
	13,69,212 25		25,38,961 00
		<b>Security Deposit:</b>	
		As per last a/c	11,585 00
		Add:	
		This year	<u>2,500 00</u>
			14,085 00
		<b>CPSTU a/c</b>	7,687 00
		<b>Working Class a/c:</b>	
		Balance b/fd	
		(Cr. balance)	18,848 70
		Add:	
		Received this year	<u>89,688 00</u>
			1,08,536 70
		Less:	
		Paid this year	<u>1,10,188 25</u>
			(Dr.1,651 55)
		Add:	
		Cash deficit met CITU	<u>1,265 55</u>
			2,917 10
		<b>CITU Mazdoor a/c</b>	
		Balance b/fd	2,82,162 00
		Less:	
		Received this year	<u>14,336 00</u>
		Add:	2,67,826 00
		Paid This Year	<u>85,126 75</u>
			3,52,952 75
		<b>VOWW a/c</b>	
		Balance b/fd	1,30,000 00
		Less: Received this year	<u>1,827 00</u>
			1,28,173 00
		Add: Paid this year	<u>3,651 00</u>
			1,31,824 00
		<b>Loan &amp; Advances</b>	44,370 40
		Cash in hand	15,501 61
		Cash at Bank	3,75,541 86
<b>Total</b>	Rs. 48,41,959 17	<b>Total</b>	Rs. 48,41,959 17

**THE WORKING CLASS**  
**(Monthly English Journal of CITU)**

15, TALKATORA ROAD NEW DELHI - 110 001

Receipts & Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1998

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Opening Balance:		Papers	94,123 00
Cash in hand	14,030 20	Binding expenses	3,604 00
Cash at Bank	1,055 43	Bank charges	340 00
Subscription direct	41,162 50	Conveyance	833 00
Through CITU	89,688 00	Miscellaneous expenses	1,097 00
Spl. Working Class advertisement	62,500 00	Postage	25,611 50
Sales	401 00	Printing charges	73,814 00
Received From CITU	1,11,453 80	Stationery	6,224 00
Less: Adjustments	<u>89,688 00</u>	Cash in hand	Nil
	21,765 80	Cash at Bank	25,853 43
Interest from bank	897 00		
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 2,31,499 93</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 2,31,499 93</b>

D. k. Chowdhury & Co.  
Chartered Accountant

11, Old Post Office  
Calcutta - 700 001

**THE VOICE OF THE WORKING WOMAN**  
**(Monthly English Journal of CITU for the working women)**

15, TALKATORA ROAD NEW DELHI - 110 001

Receipts & Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1998

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Opening Balance:		Binding expenses	680 00
Cash in hand	5,601 75	Miscellaneous expenses	40 00
Cash at Bank (B O I)	3,924 38	Postage	5,150 00
Cash at Bank (Syndicate Bank)	3,527 00	Printing charges	7,712 00
Subscription direct	19,757 50	Stationery	20 00
Through CITU	1,827 00	Conveyance	35 00
Interest for Bank	650 00	<b>Closing balances:</b>	
Donation	131 00	Cash in hand	10,900 75
Sales	130 00	Cash at Bank (B O I)	9,307 88
Received From CITU	3,651 00	Cash at Bank (Syndicate Bank)	3,527 00
Less: Adjustments	<u>1,827 00</u>		
	1,824 00		
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 37,372 63</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 37,372 63</b>

**CITU MAZDOOR**  
**(Monthly Hindi Journal of CITU)**  
15, TALKATORA ROAD  
NEW DELHI - 110 001

Receipts & Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1998

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
Opening Balance:		Papers	66,747 00
Cash in hand	27,965 85	Binding expenses	3,550 00
Cash at Bank	1,698 08	Conveyance expenses	395 00
Subscription direct	1,25,210 00	Miscellaneous expenses	715 00
Through CITU	14,336 00	Postage	16,140 75
Interest from bank		Printing charges	56,335 00
Received on a/c	1,844 00	Stationery	856 00
From CITU	85,126 75	Cash in hand	74,922 85
Less: Adjustments	<u>14,336 00</u>	Cash at Bank	22,411 00
	70,790 75		
Sales	228 00		
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 2,42,072 68</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 2,42,072 68</b>