

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS
Working Committee Meeting

NEW DELHI - OCTOBER 3 - 5, 1973

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

172, Lenin Sarani , Calcutta - 13

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28th August 1973

NOTICE OF WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

The Working Committee of the C I T U will meet in New Delhi on October 3, 4 and 5. The morning session on the 3rd will commence at 10 A.M. The place of the meeting will be intimated later on.

Comrades should contact C I T U Office at 4, Ashoka Road, on arrival.

The agenda of the meeting will be:

1. President's opening speech
2. General Secretary's Report
3. Reports of State Committees
4. Report on CITU participation in official seminars and committees
5. U. C. T. U.
6. Central employees' struggle against Pay Commission and the question of bonus for all.
7. Fight against high prices and unemployment.
8. Use of DIR and repressive measures against strikes
9. Proposed labour legislation of the Central Govt. and the W. Bengal Govt.
10. Accounts
11. Any other business with the permission of the Chair.

Sd/- P. Ramamurti
(GENERAL SECRETARY.)

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Working Committee Meeting 3rd to 5th Oct, 1973
NEW DELHI

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SPEECH OF B.T. RANADIVE

Comrades, we are meeting nearly six months after our Session in Ernakulam, These months have been full of rapid developments affecting our country, our movement here and the international movement abroad.

Before I describe them let us all remember our heroic comrades who fell victims to goonda daggers and police firing in the last six months. The toll of martyrs at the hands of Congress gangsters continues in West Bengal. Comrades were murdered in Durgapur. On behalf of all of you let me offer my greetings to our esteemed Comrade Chintan who though grievously wounded foiled the game of hired gangsters to murder him. Comrades hundreds of our workers in West Bengal are facing gangster attacks daily. In the mining area of Raniganj and elsewhere their houses are raided, their wives and children beaten but they continue to uphold the red banner. Hundreds all over the country are arrested and thrown in jails during strikes. Hundreds are lathi-charged by the CRP and wounded. Many fell victims to police firing. Our organisation will be nothing but for the revolutionary courage of most of our workers.

Hundreds of our comrades and other democrats are languishing in the jails of West Bengal - maltreated, ill-fed - victims of the class vengeance of oppressors who rule this land. We must assure them of our support and continue to agitate for their immediate release.

Comrades we must all stand in reverence to the memory of Dr. Allende, who refused to surrender to the enemies of the working class, the enemies of the people of Chile. The murder of this fighting leader of Chile will go down in history as one of the most abominable deeds perpetrated by the fascist enemies of mankind.

Comrades we mourn the death of another great son of Chile a fighter in the cause of the international working class, a great anti-fascist - the poet Pablo Neruda. Son of a railway worker, though he rose to eminence in different circumstances, he could never forget his class, his people. He joined the mainstream of the working class movement, became an active Communist and leader of the Chilean Communist Party. Relentlessly his voice struck at the fascists and imperialists. His muse remained faithful to the cause of the international proletariat.

We express our solidarity with the working class and people of Chile in the struggle against the military junta. We join our voice with others in denouncing the executions, the brutal massacres of workers, Communists, Socialists, democrats and progressives in Chile and nail down American imperialism and the CIA as the main instigators of this crime. We send our greetings to the fighting Communists and Socialists who are

bearing the brunt of repression and leading the struggle.

Comrades we should send our fraternal greetings to the working class and people of Peoples' China on the occasion of the anniversary of their great revolution. We hail their remarkable progress and wish them victories in the task of socialist construction.

Friendship with Pakistan

In our Ernakulam Conference we demanded a quick settlement of the question of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians in Pakistan and Bangladesh. We all must welcome the fact that things have started moving, prisoners are being repatriated and a certain relaxation of the situation and tension is evident. We stand for the establishment of peaceful and friendly relations among the three countries of the sub-continent in the common interest of the democratic and socialist movements of the three peoples. We express our joy that the prisoners will soon be united with their families.

Notwithstanding the evidence of relaxation, we cannot but take note of the forces arrayed against friendship and settlement. Whatever outward appearance the American imperialists are putting up, they are busy laying the basis for future tension and discord to regain the lost initiative. One of their aims in feverishly arming Iran is to assure the reactionary military circles in Pakistan that their services will be available when necessary. These circles are opposed to the democratic people of Pakistan, their aspirations and are only biding their time.

In India there are the reactionary parties like Jana Sangh and others who are on the lookout to discredit any move for peaceful settlement as national surrender. They would like to go back on the Simla agreement; they would like to keep the war prisoners permanently in India. All these help forward the American efforts to seize lost initiative on the sub-continent. Our unions must fight these reactionaries, and help the working class and democratic forces in Pakistan and Bangladesh to fight their own reactionaries.

Comrades, the last six months again have been the most trying months for our people and the working class. Never before were our people and the working class assailed by so many economic calamities simultaneously. Added to famine were the man-made calamities. Electricity shortage, shortage of industrial raw material (yarn etc. for the handloom and power looms, cement, steel,) rising prices, shortages and non-availability of foodgrains and all other necessities of life, lay-off, lock-outs, and finally callous attitude of the Government accompanied by merciless repression whenever the starving people moved to defend themselves.

The sufferings of the rural masses knew no bounds. Unorganised, defenceless, a prey to the bureaucratic administration, they were cheated, robbed, their wives and children slowly starved, incapacitated for life. When some of these suffering people died of starvation, the Governor of the State callously explained that they died of malnutrition not of starvation - adding further that mal-nutrition has always been prevalent in the country.

The wholesale price Index (1961-62 = 100) for all commodities rose by 21.1 per cent between August 26, 1972 and August 25, 1973. The corresponding figures for the two

years ending August 25, 1973 are - All commodities 30.3 per cent; food articles 37.2 per cent; Retail prices have risen still more. But all the price indices have ceased to have any meaning with the actual prices - underhand prices - breaking all records and taking everything beyond the reach of the people. With rice sold at Rs. 4 per kilo and more, wheat also Rs. 3 to 4, bajra and jawar at similar prices, Vanaspati at Rs. 10 or 9 per kilo. Official prices and indices are ceasing to have any meaning. The Government pursues a policy of appeasing the wholesale blackmarketeers. It does not touch their stocks. It does not arrest them. At best it directs the anger of the people against the small retailers and makes a show of intervening. After some time it regularises the prices imposed by the wholesalers and promises to punish those who transgress them. The new price schedule becomes another call for raising prices. This is the trick followed by the Government of Maharashtra, West Bengal and other States to defraud the people, the working class of the gains through wage-advance and bonus.

This has made a mockery of the consumers price indices as a guide to the changes in the cost of living of the working class. We have had occasion to point out that the compilation was being done in a fraudulent manner to rob the workers of an adequate dearness allowance. But the present situation reduces the indices to a complete farce as the so-called regulated prices at which nothing is available in the market are recorded in compiling the index.

This has already led to a rapid erosion of the D.A., more so for those who do not get a point to point full neutralisation. Whatever gains were secured by the workers during the last two years have been completely wiped out by the rise in prices. The minimum bonus, the wage settlements - all have been eroded and the workers are put back where they were a few years ago. The employers and the Government must realise that this is bound to lead to widespread discontent and action.

This makes it all the more necessary to secure by legislative sanction need-based wage for workers - guaranteed need-based standard free from the effects of official price manipulation and index fraud. The monstrous price rise has strengthened the determination of the workers to fight for the need-based wage.

Central Employees

Comrades in this connection we all must fully support the fight of the Central employees for need-based wage, full neutralisation for rise in prices, bonus and other demands. The Government and a number of reformist leaders are continuing to deprive them of this legitimate demand. We only hope that the vigilance and unity of the Central employees themselves will enable them to overcome the designs of the disruptors and compromisers.

Comrades while the working class and the employees are unable to defend their existing standard, while it is being eroded by the rising prices, the Government is contemplating further attacks, and preparing for wage-freeze. Certain experts are busy. A secret document has been prepared to attack the workers. It is being given final touches before springing it on the workers and their organisations. There is no doubt that certain trade union leaders will be consulted

beforehand and their support bought overnight to bolster this new attack.

A wage policy which ignores the decline in real wage, which does not ensure need-based wage, and which does not even guarantee remedies against the constant erosion of real wages, such a wage policy is bound to be resented by the workers and will repel the workers from additional productive efforts.

Foreign Collaboration

Comrades, a feature of the present economic situation must be sharply brought before the people and the working class. That is - the successive breakdowns of plants built in the public sector with foreign collaboration. The bursting of boilers in a public sector concern, the breakdown of power generators, the sudden stoppage of a fertiliser factory after the departure of foreign experts, the quick wearing out of foreign-constructed concerns, the repeated closures of atomic plants producing electricity, also of thermal plants of their failure to utilise full capacity have now come sharply in the picture accentuating the crisis. The Durgapur Fertiliser Project could not produce an ounce of urea till now though the mechanical side was complete in September 1971. Attempts to start production, ^{have} however, been frustrated by mechanical failure of imported critical items. Pumps were imported from Italy and boilers ^{from West Germany}. At Cochin also imported compressors supplied ^{from abroad} have been a source of trouble and sabotage of production. Official circles seek to minimise the shut-downs as routine or ordinary happenings which is far from the truth.

Production Capacity Exaggerated

It now seems that the production capacity of some of the Public Sector Plants has been deliberately rated excessively high for publicity purposes or for justifying spendthrift expenditure for corrupt purposes. After expansion the capacity of Rourkela plant was estimated at 1.8 million tonnes but now it turns out that it is only 1.4 million tonnes. Similarly the ^{million} capacity of Durgapur plant was rated after expansion 1.6 million tonnes but according to the engineers and workers it is only 1.2 million tonnes. Our union has been the first to point out that construction of the plant was defective and capacity was exaggerated.

The workers were being blamed for not producing to the full extent of capacity. Now it turns out that the capacity was deliberately exaggerated and the workers held responsible to conceal the crimes of the foreign capitalists and corrupt officials.

Capitalist-Landlord Economy

Comrades the working class, like the rest of the people is made the scapegoat of the capitalist-landlord economy, relying on loans from imperialist Governments. The limping stagnant economy chokes all avenues of employment, depresses ^{es} waves through inflation and by other means and condemns the workers to a penurious existence. The Annual Report of the Reserve Bank of India estimates that national income growth in the years 1971-72 and 1972-73 will be considerably less than 2 per cent. The rise in real per capita income for 1970-71

is estimated to be 1.1 per cent and for 1972-73 2.6 per cent. What chance has the working class under this miserable growth rate? Need then we wonder the rapid increase in unemployment? You all know the colossal character of our unemployment problem. There are now more than 7.5 million registered unemployed; educated unemployment has reached 3.5 million. The total number of unemployed in rural areas may now exceed 25 million. The scramble for jobs can be seen from the fact that 12 lakh persons applied for 14,000 jobs in Kerala. In West Bengal also more than a million applied for 12,000 jobs. The capacity of the stagnant economy employing the workers is decreasing every year. The growth rate of employment has been rapidly going down since 1965-66. In the five years prior to 1965-66 the increase was at the compound rate of 5.5 per cent. In 1971-72 it had dropped to nearly 2.8 per cent - the highest since 1966-67. Even this rate could not be kept up in 1972. In recent years the rate in private sector has been $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent and in the Public Sector 3 per cent.

In some important industries there has been a reduction in the absolute number of employed over the last five years - the years of recession. The average daily employment in cotton textile mills was 842,000 in 1966; it was 706,000 in 1971, the employment in jute mills was reduced from 249,000 in 1966 to 234,000 in 1971 - an underestimate. The employment in tobacco industry was reduced from 160,000 to 121,000 in 1970 itself. The total employment in factories increased from 47 lakhs in 1966 to 50 lakhs in 1971 - slightly more than 6 per cent increase in five years. The employment in tea plantation declined from 804,000 in 1966 to 760,000 in 1970; the employment in mines declined from 699,000 in 1966 to 603,000 in 1971; the employment in railways increased from 1,357,000 in 1966 only to 1,393,000 in 1972.

The stagnating economy is strangulating employment and there are no prospects that the situation will improve unless a fight is put up against all its distortions. This is no longer a question of factory or industry, but of the entire society and of the class policies of the Government.

Once again the organised trade union movement must demand the enforcement of right to work, pending it immediate grant of unemployment relief to urban and rural unemployed. The cause of the agricultural worker has to be championed by the advanced trade union movement whose responsibility it is to see that the agricultural labourer gets adequate wage and protection against rising prices.

Demand Nationalisation of Foodgrain Trade

Every worker ought to know that the main cause of the rising prices, the daily erosion of his wages is the monstrous deficit financing of the Government.

To expect the Government to control prices in the interest of the people, therefore, is pure moonshine. The Finance Minister by announcing that Government expenditure will be reduced by Rs. 300 crores in the name of austerity, to check prices is just fooling the people. The most effective way to check the blackmarketing prices in foodgrains is to commandeer the stocks of the landlords in the villages and sell them at reasonable prices. This precisely is what the Government will not do. Nor will it lower the rate of deficit financing. It is therefore cheating the people with a show

of effort at controlling prices.

The trade union movement must demand in the interest of the working class and the people the nationalisation of wholesale trade in rice and all foodgrains and denounce the Central Government's treachery. After its show of take over of wheat trade the Central Government staged a cowardly retreat before the sabotage of the landlords and wholesalers and sacrificed the people to this blackmarketing gentry. The cowardly State Governments, acting as the tool of the wholesalers and landlords incited the workers and the people against small retailers. The working class and the trade union movement must be aware of these tricks and see that the edge of its attack is directed against the landlords, the wholesalers and the Government. It must seize initiative in dehoarding stocks and demand a fair price for the peasants produce - a better price - so that it also throws its full weight for nationalisation and the landlords are not able to exploit it for their own aims. It is no longer possible for the working class and the organised trade union movement to protect the food of the working class by relying only on increased dearness allowance. It must jump in the fray for nationalisation of food trade, for commandeering of food stocks of landlords, for dehaording in cities and effective public distribution. It cannot be said that our unions and workers have done their job in this respect.

Capitalist Prosperity

While the people and workers were driven to desperation by high prices, the capitalists, like the landlords thrived and made unconsiderable profits. The foreign monopolists had a free run of the country and amassed huge money at the expense of the people. A recent study by the Economic Times on profits and dividends revealed that the dividend^{rate} in 1972-73 was high at 12.2 per cent compared with 11.5 per cent in the preceding year. If bonus issues are taken into consideration, the rate would be 13 per cent. More than hundred companies retained profits of more than Rs. one crore each while many had profits exceeding Rs. 4 crores.

Foreign collaboration companies or companies with foreign capital retained fantastic profits, companies like Hindusthan Levers, Brooke Bond, Glaxo, Pfizer, Union Carbide, Indian Aluminium and Phillips India earned pre-tax profit of not less than Rs. 4 crores in 1972-73 - the year of famine, crisis, high prices for the people.

Among the foreign controlled companies Godfrey-Phillips declared a dividend of 35 per cent; Food Specialists 25 per cent; Phillips India 24 per cent; Cafe 25 per cent and ESSO 81.25 per cent.

Whether good or bad crop the peasant, the poor peasant gets ruined. This is seen in the plight of West Bengal's jute peasant today. After lot of fanfare the Jute (Purchasing) Corporation was appointed. It seems both the Jute Mills and the Jute Corporation worked hand in glove to bring down jute prices and rob the peasants. Now the Government has come out with a face saving device but with so much explanation why its own handiwork has failed. And the price promised is too inadequate to meet the demands of the peasantry.

In the last six months several other sections have risen in defence of their interests constantly assailed by

high prices. We have supported their struggles and lent every help to them. We continue to support the demands of the Central and State employees. Our CITU in Rajasthan played an important role in mobilising the working class in support of the valiant struggle of the State employees. Our CITU in Maharashtra lent full support to the struggle of the hospital doctors. We congratulate the doctors on their victory. We congratulate the Rajasthan State employees on their success.

It is our desire that the artificial barriers between the employees and the trade union movement should be eliminated and all should rally under one common banner.

We expressed our sympathy and support for the power engineers' demand who sought parity of treatment with the IAS Officers. Some of these engineers often behave towards our workers exactly like the hardboiled IAS Officer. But their demand was correct. It is also the doctors demand. The refusal of the Government to accept it only means that it prizes the anti-people bureaucrat more than the doctor or the engineer. The IAS is more useful to run the machinery of repression than the engineer and the doctor. Production and health of the people come next to running the State with the aid of repression.

Comrades it is necessary to bring to the notice of the people how political bias of the Government, how its patronage to certain organisations imposes unnecessary strikes on the workers entailing avoidable sufferings and loss of production. Quite a considerable number of strikes can be avoided, the percentage of loss of mandays lowered if the authorities show minimum respect for democracy in their dealing with the workers. The strike of the Railway Loco Workers could have easily been avoided had the Railway Board not refused to negotiate with the LRSA and not decided that its favourite the AIRF was the representative of all workers simply because the Railway Board said so. Now again the Railway Board in conjunction with the AIRF leadership is doing its best to sabotage the August agreement and provoke the workers to another strike.

The Stevedore Workers' strike in Calcutta for 20 per cent bonus has been prolonged through sheer obstinacy of the Transport Ministry officials and shippers have said the strike was holding up exports worth Rs. 50 crores besides obstructing unloading of foodgrains. Who is responsible for this? The Stevedores were specifically told not to concede anything more than 8½ per cent bonus though they were willing to settle the issue as they were making huge profits. The strike of the blast furnace workers in Durgapur which lasted several days and brought a standstill in production exposed once more the bankruptcy of the authorities. In the blast furnace department the authorities had recognised the INTUC and entered into agreement with it regarding certain conditions. The workers were not even informed of the terms of the agreement, much less consulted. They naturally objected when they were asked to work according to the agreement. The leaders of recognised unions chosen by the authorities hardly consult the workers. The authorities are in search of pliable leaders. The result often is a strike when the implementation of the agreement starts. Knowing that the workers were not consulted the authorities should have understood the workers difficulties and opposition. For a long time they refused to come to any compromise and inflicted a big loss on the plant. The Steel Minister unthinkingly supported the authorities and tried to play the role of a strong steel man. Fortunately all

the unions - six in number - including the CITU, INTUC and AITUC stood firm and the workers were saved. The Congress party should instruct its INTUC leaders to introduce democracy in the INTUC unions and not to sign agreement behind the backs of the workers. The CITU has been insisting that recognition should be demanded by secret ballot of workers and all agreements effecting the conditions of the workers should be ratified in a mass meeting of workers. This will avoid strikes and dislocations due to settlements with leaders and organisations patronised by the authorities.

Bombay Agreement

Another scandalous agreement which had to be scrapped post-haste was the agreement to work the Bombay Textile Mills for seven days. The Congress controlled Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh - the recognised union whose President is Rajni Patel who is also the President of the Bombay Congress Committee hastily entered into the agreement and presented it to the Prime Minister as an earnest of Textile workers to help production. The workers of course were not consulted. Their opposition in fact was well known. Our CITU union together with the AITUC and Lal Nishan unions gave a call to nullify the agreement, organised two strikes in protest. In the end the agreement had to be withdrawn at least for the time being. Once more an arbitrary agreement over the heads of the workers led to avoidable strikes.

The Seven Day Agreement in Bombay, apart from the fact it would have helped the millowners to pile up profits, also involved corrupt practices. By agreeing to sacrifice the workers' right to common weekly holiday the RMMS secured the privilege to have a say in the appointment of new recruits. It was further provided that preference would be given to the relatives of the present employees. Here was a corrupt attempt to lure a section of workers by promising jobs for their relatives. This has nothing to do with principles of trade unionism, democracy and honesty.

The Government and the INTUC have been justifying the seven days week in the name of increasing employment and production. This is just an eye wash. The real reason is to bolster the profits of the millowners who also promise to earn foreign exchange for the Government through exports. Additional employment can certainly be provided by ensuring that mills which at present work only two shifts switch over to three shifts. Last year nearly 40 lakh spindals - 22 per cent of total - were idle in the first shift. What about Production? The Seven Days work is not required for mills which produce cloth for the ordinary people. They are not working even three shifts. If the Government were sincere in providing cheap cloth to the common people, for whom the present prices are prohibitive, it would have concentrated on these mills and ensured three shifts working for them.

But the Government is keen on advancing the profits of the Khatau, the Mafatlals etc. - who last year piled enormous profits. They produce superfine and mixed fibre cloth - which fetches high price and which the ordinary man cannot afford. The export market also has been buoyant. These people determined to make as much profit as possible in the coming period are demanding seven days work. And it is for their sake that the common holiday was to be sacrificed.

Another sinister game is to launch the offensive of

'modernisation' for which the Government is providing funds under the Seven Day programme. The Seven Day work will enable them to conceal the retrenchment inherent in modernisation, introduction of automatic looms and escape without working class resistance.

The textile workers of Bombay are to be congratulated on their success in defeating this selfish game. It is regretful that elsewhere in some cities the INTUC has been able to thrust this agreement on the workers.

New Challenges

Comrades - Recent months have thrown new challenges to our movement. The danger of communal reactionary forces has increased. The open communal exploitation of the Muslim minority masses by the League portends danger for our common movement. Our movement should be deeply conscious of the oppression which the Muslim minority masses have to face under Congress rule. Defending their rights we must wage a relentless fight against League communalism and devote special attention to enlist minority workers in our common struggle.

Another feature of recent months is the wild rampages of the bureaucracy and the police against the people. We are all accustomed to brutal firings and tortures in the course of our struggle. But what happens in West Bengal or Kerala or Tamilnadu surpasses all imagination. Tortures and deaths in police lock-up are becoming very common. Murders at the hands of gangsters are increasing. It is a matter of shame and infinite disgrace that under the Right Communist-Congress coalition women are raped in police stations and men are tortured. How can the Right Communists fight repression elsewhere and perpetrate in Kerala.

But the main guilty party is the Indira Government whose bureaucracy treats the people in the same way that the British did. Every section of the people is made to feel that it cannot have an honourable existence under the Congress rule. Workers, peasants have always been the special victims of this rule. But today doctors, lawyers, students, nurses, housewives, professors any one of them can be killed, tortured by the police, insulted and humiliated. The Congress police behave like an army of occupation. And worse is the lot of untouchables. Their homes are burnt, their women raped, their lands taken away - with none to protect them. This emergence of the bureaucracy as the dominant force overriding all other considerations is nothing but the perfecting of the apparatus of State repression and the first step towards establishment of one party dictatorship.

As I have said while every section is being attacked, the untouchable masses are singled out for the worst atrocities. They are not only the victims of the police tyranny, they are the target of the local landlords. Their oppression is helped because other oppressed sections in the villages and elsewhere do not run to their help. It should be our privilege to raise our voice in defence of the honour of their women, against the tyranny practised against this section of toilers. I think our General Secretary should contact all central organisations to fix a common day for voicing the working class protest against these inhuman tyrannies.

Comrades - Comrade Ramamurti in his report has described the success we have secured in organising united struggles in the fight for united action. These constitute a matter of pride for us and arms us with confidence in relation to the future. We must vigorously pursue the line of united action, we must strengthen the unity already embodied in the UCTU and see that it develops into still broader unity. The problems before the working class do require such a broad unity and we must see that it is achieved.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Working Committee Meeting

3rd to 5th October, 1973, NEW DELHI

REPORT OF P. RAMAMURTI, GENERAL SECRETARY

Comrades,

I offer my salutations to the memory of our comrades who fell victim to the police firing and goonda attacks during the last three months. I send my greetings to hundreds of our comrades who are in the prisons of West Bengal and other States. On your behalf I send my warm greetings to Com. Chintan who narrowly escaped death at the hands of the hired murderous assassins.

I am sorry to inform you that Com. Pandhe our indefatigable Secretary has been ill and for more than one month has been away from our Central Office. Though he is attending today's meeting it will be some time before he will be able to discharge his responsibilities. All the more so since we were in the midst of verification work. But we received extremely valuable help from Com. Shanti Bose, member of our Working Committee and Secretary of West Bengal Committee of the CITU. He together with our staff and additional comrades from Calcutta worked overtime to complete the work of verification. I am sure all of you will join me in expressing our thanks to our staff comrades, our Calcutta comrades and Com. Shanti Bose.

REPORT OF COM. P. RAMAMURTI, GENERAL SECRETARY CITU
to
THE WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING, NEW DELHI
(3rd, 4th & 5th October, 1973)

The months since our Second Conference have been full of struggles and activity by our affiliated unions, by our State Committees. They have seen big and prolonged strike struggles and prolonged and vindictive lock-outs; a concerted attempt by our unions to rouse the working class against price rise, electricity shortage and attacks on living standards, solidarity actions and intervention by our unions and State Committees in defence of employees of the Central and State Governments. Above all in these months our State Committees and affiliated unions have steadfastly pursued the path of building united actions, seeking understandings and united front with other organisations to unite the resistance of the fighting workers. The struggle for united activities goes beyond the organisations under the UCTU. Our unions it must be remembered have scored singular successes in our struggle for unity.

Another important feature ^{be} must noted. The CITU has been pointing out that our ~~trade~~ unions have been totally indifferent to the questions of the rural masses - the mass of poor peasants and agricultural workers. This weakness was again pointed out at the Second Conference of the CITU. It seems now that a conscious orientation is now being made and in some important centres the workers are being made aware of their duty towards the demands of the peasantry.

It should be realised that the struggles led by us form only a part of the big strike-wave sweeping the country. A large number of struggles are led by the local organisations of workers, not affiliated to any central organisation. A large number are led unitedly, a large number are led by other central organisations.

It is necessary to take note of some of the important struggles not led by CITU affiliated unions. Perhaps the most important among them is the August Strike of Railway Loco Workers led by the All-India Loco Workers' Association. Its victory occupies an important place in our struggle today, for it has given big jolt to institutionalised betrayal and strike-breaking on the railways. Not only was it the first victory of railway workers after a number of years scored through direct action, it was the first defeat inflicted on the reformist leaders after a number of years. That this victory could be achieved in the midst of a grim economic situation which the authorities exploited to prejudice the cause of the workers, also reveals the isolation of the Government more particularly the Railway Ministry. The alternative to settlement was widespread repression to justify 14 hours work day - influential circles in the Government naturally shrank from it.

The successful end to the strike of the loco workers led by the All India Locomotives Association constitutes an outstanding achievement of the railway workers' movement. Perhaps never since Independence did the railway workers achieve such direct and outright success as a result of struggle. The unity of the workers, the organisational skill of the loco leaders, the determination of the workers to face the repressive measures of the Government resulted in an inspiring victory for them.

The loco workers fought for very just and minimum demands. They demanded eight hours' work day instead of the 14 hours imposed on them by the bureaucratic reactionary Board. That they had to go on a strike and face repression for raising the demand for an eight-hour day under a

Garibi Hatao 'Socialist' Government was a bizarre comment on the gap between official claims and practice.

The Loco Workers' Association demanded recognition and also put forward other demands of immediate importance and interest to the workers. These demands were being raised for the last several years without any response from the administration.

Compelled to resort to direct action for saving themselves from sweated labour, for the right to organise, the workers acted with unprecedented unity and militancy which overtook the administration and the Government by surprise. Accustomed to believe that no widespread action could take place on the railway thanks to the sabotage and treachery of the leaders of the two federations - one controlled by the HMS and the other by the INTUC - the railway ministry and administration treated the warning from the Association with scant respect. But the action spread like wild fire from one end of the country to another. The rail system was more or less paralysed on all railways except the Central and certain sections of some other railways. The railway Moghuls soon woke up to the situation. They and the Railway Minister had to yield before this unity and solidarity of the workers. Negotiations were opened. The Government agreed to reduce the hours of work from 14 to 10 hours which meant a big victory for the workers. It agreed to withdraw all victimisation measures, release all those arrested under the DIR. It agreed to open talks with the representatives of the Loco Association for settling the remaining demands.

But the Government did not yield before launching repressive measures, uttering threats and ultimatums and circulating lies and slanders against the workers to prejudice their case before the public. Every day the Railway Board gave false reports belittling the strength of the strike. The Railway Minister lied to the public that they were fighting for recognition for their craft organisation. Deliberately and mischievously both the officials of the Board and the Railway Ministry concealed from the people that the locomen were made to work for fourteen hours and that they were fighting for eight hours day. The minister further concealed that he had failed to honour past commitments. He delivered an ultimatum to the workers to withdraw the strike in twenty-four hours or face the consequences. He refused to talk to the workers unless they called off the strike.

Some busy bodies, reformist and revisionist leaders, while formally supporting the strike created confusion by acting as the messenger boys of the Minister. Instead of calling upon the workers to remain firm, they certified the sincerity of the minister and suggested that the strike be called off unconditionally leaving all the demands for talks after the strike. A number of Right C.P. M.Ps with their publicity hunting statements and desire to appear as the leaders of the strike played this role which would have harmed the morale of the strikers had the leadership not been firm and united.

The leaders of the AIRF and the NFIR who always act as the agents of the railways opposed a settlement on the basis of eight hours day. They fully backed by the bureaucrats of the Railway Board who even during the strike refused to shed the illusion that the AIRF alone represented the workers.

Normally, the workers' struggle would have had no chance against this combination aided by the widespread arrests and repression. Besides, this time the economic and food situation was extremely serious, with famine and shortages, high prices and collapse of the public distribution system. The Government exploited the situation to arraign the workers for callousness towards the suffering people. It was expected that the people's anger would mount and compel the strikers to beat a retreat.

But exactly the opposite happened. Large sections felt scandalised by the fact that the workers were made to work for fourteen hours. The people supported their cause. All opposition parties joined hands in the Parliament, to demand justice for the workers. The CITU and other central trade unions, the organisations of central employees and all democratic forces attacked the Government for its reactionary and repressive policies. Even the press was critical of the dishonest policies pursued by the Railway Board especially its policy of dealing only with organisations recognised by it.

The isolation of the Railway Board and the Railway Ministry was complete.

The firmness of the workers and their leaders combined with the widespread popular support gave them a tremendous and deserving victory. The popular support seemed to have its impact on the inner circles of the Government; otherwise the Labour Minister and his department would not have played an active role in settling the dispute.

The Loco workers deserve the congratulations of all sections of workers and especially the railway workers for the magnificent fight that they put up against sweated exploitation. No doubt they have added a glorious chapter to the annals of the trade union movement of our country.

The Loco workers were able to secure this historic victory because in the first place, they broke away from the treacherous groups of the reformist leadership of the AIRF. Time and again, the reformist leaders betrayed the locomen at the bidding of their masters. The exclusive and arbitrary recognition granted to the AIRF was a device of the Board to keep the workers under the reformist grip. But the loco workers saw through it and formed a separate organisation free from the agents of the Railway Board. They nursed it; they built unity at grass roots level. They took collective decisions and continued to build and strengthen unity during the strike. They built an apparatus which could communicate all over India within a few hours. It is this combined with popular support that earned them their victory.

The locomen's strike has unmasked the criminal role of the Railway Board which must be branded for involving the country in a strike in the midst of a serious economic situation and imposing a loss of crores of rupees on the country's finances. Its Labour Policy, its policy of recognition stands out as a policy of deceit, of nursing yesmen and favourites and not of collective bargaining with the real representatives of the employees. It is this anti-working class policy that has been responsible for the wide discontent among the railway workers and a series of lightning strikes. The country cannot afford to have this reactionary agency at the head of the railway communications system. The sooner these medieval fat salaried autocrats are made to retire the better.

The trade union movement and all democratic forces must unitedly demand dissolution of the Railway Board, installation of a management with democratic outlook and a complete reversal of the present policy of denial of recognition and right of bargaining to the real representatives of the workers.

These important lessons of the loco strike must be borne in mind. The new situation, the militant spirit among the railway workers must also be seen. At the same time the fight for railway workers' unity has to be carried on in various ways. Work inside the recognised federations has to continue to be able to **unite** the workers in a common resistance. Bolstered by the Railway Board by granting recognition, they are able to disrupt the workers and **paralyse** effective action. They are also able to live on the illusions of sections of workers.

Among some of the most tenaciously fought struggles must be mentioned. The fight of the Jaya Engineering Workers' - now a united fight with the two UTUCs, with AITUC and INTUC joining us against the vindictive lockout and attempt to impose additional workload on the workers by the employers. The lockout started in April last and workers are determined to win their demands. The West Bengal Government has now declared the strike and lockout both illegal but has failed to do justice to the workers' demands. Work has now resumed. Our affiliated union whose functioning is still illegally prevented by goonda terrorism and the ruling party's followers continue^s to lead the workers and claim the loyalty of thousands of workers. Such determination and loyalty constitute the glory of our movement.

Another determined struggle which must be mentioned is the prolonged struggle of the Dandeli (Karnatak) West Coast Paper Mills Workers led by our affiliated union which lasted for fifty days; the prolonged struggle of Kesoram Rayon Workers of West Bengal against lockout; and the 125 days old strike at Indian Explosives Ltd., Kanpur led by the IEL Employees Union affiliated to the CITU.

Another protracted struggle was that of the Voltas Workers against the Tata management of Voltas. The struggle was led by the All India Voltas and Voltas Employees' Federation and lasted for four and a half months in Bombay and for 41 days in other units all over the country.

Comrades, let me now turn to some important struggles in the States. Since the midnight of September 3-4 the entire Kerala State Road Transport has been paralysed at the call of the CITU and other six unions which include the INTUC and the AITUC unions. The representatives of all the unions unanimously demanded bonus of 14.5 per cent but the Government would not move beyond 11.5 per cent. The Coalition Government has been making every effort to wean away the INTUC and AITUC unions and split the ranks of the workers. The two organisations it seems have decided to back out but the workers are determined to carry forward the struggle to success. It is a matter of shame that the Coalition Ministry which is led by the Right C.P. Chief Minister is issuing threats, repressing the workers and thereby drafting the army to run the transport. How can the AITUC leaders repress strikes in Kerala and support them elsewhere (The strike is now withdrawn).

A month earlier on August 2 Kerala saw a completely successful bandh at the call of the CPI(M) and other opposition parties, the CITU and other mass organisations. The bandh was called to protest against the rising prices and the miserly ration of a few hundred grammes and to enforce the demand of 12 oz. ration per day. Police brutalities knew no bounds. Two people were killed in police firing; two injured. Indiscriminate lathi-charges were made all over the State. Over 5,000 people from all over the State had been arrested by the day of the bandh and on the day itself thousands more were arrested. Secretary of Socialist Youth Federation was murdered by Congress goondas.

The Right C.P. leaders who head the Coalition Ministry in Kerala covered themselves with disgrace when they unleashed brutalities against the starving people. In other States they demand DIR and other action against the hoarders; in Kerala they repress the people.

Despite this the bandh was a glorious success. It affected all sections and paralysed all activity. To quote one instance of its sweep in Cannanore district alone over one lakh organised workers including plantation, agricultural and coir workers participated. Hundreds of Bidi and Handloom factories were closed. All shops big and small joined the bandh.

Four weeks earlier on July 10, the working class and other sections of the toiling masses massively responded to the bandh call given by the Kerala State CITU to protest against the terrible food crisis, which has already resulted in the starvation deaths and demanding minimum 12 ounces of food daily. More than 50,000 workers participated in Ernakulam. In Trivandrum transport was paralysed and more than 20,000 handloom and coir workers participated despite the ban on the strike. 2,000 Idikki Project workers joined the strike apart from 10,000 cadamom workers; in Kottayam those participating numbered 14,000 while in Quilon the number was one lakh. In Alleppey 25,000 industrial workers and an equal number of agricultural workers participated. In Palghat the number was 70,000 which included 10,000 agricultural workers; in Kozhikode the number was 25,000, and in Cannanore it was 73,000.

These three massive bandhs in Kerala against price rise, against food famine show the rising tempo of the working class. Along with this there have been innumerable struggles of workers of all sections. Protest strikes, indefinite strikes for their immediate demands. State Electricity Board workers, Gwalior Rayon workers, Travancore Electrical Chemical workers, Rubber tappers, Wynand Coffee Plantation workers, Boat Building workers, Saw Mill workers, Private Bus workers, State Transport workers, workers of Spinning Mills and cotton mills, ministerial employees of private colleges, stevedore labour, lorry drivers and cleaners, coir workers - in short almost all sections used the strike weapon at one stage or another during the last five months. A large number of these struggles were led by the CITU and many were led by the CITU in cooperation with other trade union centres, - the AITUC, INTUC and others.

One of the most successful strike of the recent period was that of the Kerala Railway Loco workers for Onam advance, in view of the rising prices. The Central employees in Kerala also joined satyagraha.

TAMILNADU

In Tamilnadu our State Committee has been taking systematic steps to organise the movement, to carry forward the line of united actions, to overcome economism and leading ever growing strike struggles. It has all along to contend against the vicious gangsterism of the DMK which shows on many occasions that it has to learn very little from the Congress in the matter of police aided goondaism and attempts to capture unions with the aid of anti-social elements.

This led to the dastardly attack on Com. Chintan, member of our General Council and one of the foremost leaders of our trade union movement in Tamilnadu. It was only the exemplary courage and presence of mind of Com. Chintan that could save his life. This heinous crime roused a wave of indignation among the mass of workers and on July 19 more than a lakh workers of the Madras industrial establishments were joined by workers from Central Government undertakings like Hindustan Teleprinters, Surgical Instruments Factory. Bus transport was

paralysed. Workers under AITUC and ADMK joined in the protest which spread to other industrial centres like Coimbatore.

The CITU in joint front with the INTUC and the DMK organised a united strike in the Indian Rare Earth on the demands for a full wages for lay-off period and wages for the weekly holidays etc. The united action could wrest some of the demands after nearly a month's struggle.

Seven thousand and five hundred Textile workers of the Madurai Mills went on strike on June 3. The strike was sparked off by the assault on spinning workers by mill officials. More than 25,000 civic and sanitary workers of the State went on a token strike on July 11 in support of the demands. A Coordinating Committee of the CITU and AITUC representatives was appointed to lead the action. Work in the Madras Corporation and in some of the major municipalities came to a standstill. The workers secured a 12 % increase in allowance as a result of the strike. Thousands of Bidi workers in Madras also observed a one-day strike on June 18 in support of their demands of minimum wage of Rs. 5.50, one paisa DA per point and a guaranteed daily wage of Rs. 7 per worker.

Two thousand five hundred workers of the Nallikupam Sugar Mill started a stay-in-strike on June 22 calling upon the management to start negotiations with the CITU union. The trouble started because the management with the encouragement of the State Government was attempting to foist a stooge DMK union on the workers. This stooge organisation with the help of anti-socials raided the CITU office and on complaint from the union the police sealed the office, prevented the union from functioning it.

Tamilnadu Electricity workers organised a Statewide Dharna before the Board Offices in 50 centres on 15th June in support of their five-point demand. Workers of the Transport and Bottling sections of the Madurai Coca Cola Factory (an enterprise owned by the daughter and son-in-law of the President of India) went on an indefinite strike on June 12 to protest against the dismissal and arrest of workers.

Tamilnadu bandh on 13th September at the call of CPI(M), CPI, ADMK, CITU and other mass organisations was a 100 per cent success.

The bandh call was given by CPI(M) as a protest against the anti-people policies of the State and Central Governments which was responsible for the price rise, unemployment, power-cut and other hardships faced by the people. The ADMK and CPI, however, blamed only the State Government for all ills.

The DMK Government arrested 8,000 leaders and workers of CPI(M), CPI and ADMK and adopted all other strike-breaking methods. In spite of victimisations by the Government and terrorisation by the DMK and Congress (R) goondas with the help of police, the bandh was a magnificent success throughout Tamilnadu.

In accordance with a bonus agreement signed on July 6 between workers and management of Tea and Coffee Plantations of Tamilnadu, workers will get $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent more bonus for 1972 (10.75 for Tea and 10 % Coffee workers, in all) than last year. For the first time, this was achieved through the joint participation of all plantation unions including CITU, AITUC, HMS, DMK, and ADMK, all of whom signed the agreement.

ANDHRA PRADESH

Bandh Against Rising Prices: A successful one-day "Andhra Bandh" was observed on August 24 to protest against spiralling prices and rampant blackmarketing etc. The call for the bandh was given jointly by the State Units of CITU, AITUC, HMP, Bank Employees' Federation and A.P. All Shop Employees' Federation supported by the CPI(M), CPI and the two Socialist Parties.

Preceding the bandh, a month-long programme of dharnas and demonstrations were organised by the CITU City Council and the All Parties Price Resistance Committee at Hyderabad, Visakhapatnam, Nellore, Rajahmundry, Vijayawada and many other centres.

Growing Struggles: A lockout was declared at the HMT factory, Hyderabad on August 2 after all its 3,000 workers had gone on a spontaneous strike and had gheraoed the General Manager to protest against the dismissal of three leaders of the Staff and Workers' Union. A year earlier, following assault on one of these leaders by two members of a rival union, the management had suspended the victim of the assault as well as the culprits. But when the rival union lost its hold on workers and the Staff and Workers Union grew stronger, the management vindictively dismissed the three leaders on August 1 last. Following the strike, the workers carried on a stay-in at the factory until, at the intervention of the Collector, a settlement was reached and the lockout lifted on August 3.

The employees of the Coromandel Fertilisers Ltd. are on an indefinite strike from August 20 to protest against stoppage of all promotions from this year by the management and their refusal to pay Bonus though the Company earned a huge profit. All the units of the factory, except one ammonia unit, are paralysed, conciliation efforts have failed.

All the workers of Gammon (India) Ltd., contractors of the Naval Dry Dock Construction in Visakhapatnam, are on strike from August 6, along with relay hunger-strike, demanding reinstatement of six discharged drivers and implementation of the 1971 agreement between the Company and the Employees' union.

MAHARASHTRA

Immediately after the CITU Session, the CITU State Committee undertook campaign to bring the workers on protest action against Government's policy towards the famine-stricken peasantry and rising prices. At the united call given by the CITU, AITUC and Seva Shramik Sangh (Lal Nishan) more than five lakh workers in the Bombay-Thana-Ambernath belt came on a protest strike on the 15th of May. The police resorted to a brutal lathi-charge on the demonstrating workers who were marching in a procession numbering 25,000.

The Maharashtra CITU took up the struggle for resisting the Government's attempt to impose seven days working on the Textile Industry. The INTUC union which is a recognised union signed a treacherous agreement with the Millowners' Association agreeing to accept 7-day week. The CITU union formed a joint front with the AITUC and Lal Nishan unions to defeat this offensive. They organised week long demonstrations and observed protest strikes on two successive Sundays, thus

asserting the right to common weekly holiday, on 15th of July and 22nd July nearly two lakh workers struck work. For another fortnight the workers organised satyagraha trying to enter mills which were given weekly holiday according to the staggering scheduled. So successful was the struggle that the Government had to beat a retreat and announced that for some time at least it had no intention to go against the wishes of the workers.

RAJASTHAN

Rajasthan has seen a number of strikes in defence of workers' interests. The strike of the Bawar Textile workers, the struggle of the Multi-Metal Mazdoor Sangh of Kota and several other struggles have taken place in the period. The biggest campaign and struggle waged by the CITU was the solidarity action in support of the State Employees' struggle. The employees went on strike on 9th July. They had to undergo terrific repression, arrests, firing, raids on houses. The strike could be concluded only by 15th of August. The CITU actively worked for the success of the strike. Its main office-bearers - President Punamia and General Secretary Shirali along with hundreds of others were arrested during the course of the strike. The CITU formed a joint front with the AITUC, HMP and other trade unions and on 24th July organised a successful mighty bandh to protest against Government repression of the strikers. This mass bandh was of direct help to the employees struggle. Earlier on 17th July a Jaipur bandh was organised on the call of the Coordination Committee to protest against the killing of a driver of the State Electricity Board in police firing.

A call to organise mass satyagraha against the imposition of Section 144 was given jointly by the CITU, AITUC and HMP on 14th of August. 1,500 volunteers led by the CITU and others by HMP were arrested in Jaipur alone. Elsewhere the CITU sent batches after batches and according to official radio the number arrested reached 2,500.

UTTAR PRADESH

In Uttar Pradesh after the J.K. Jute Mills strike, the most prolonged and bitterly fought struggle was that of the workers of the Indian Explosives, owned by the foreign monopolist company Imperial Chemicals. The arrogant management violated the former agreement, tried to impose additional work-load. The workers resisted and since April they were locked-out. The General Secretary of the union along with 70 workers was arrested. The CRP was let loose on the workers. In the end the issue was referred to arbitration after 2½ months' struggle.

BIHAR

June 7 Bandh Complete: The Bihar bandh of June 7, called by all the opposition parties in the State in protest against the rise in prices and the murder of Suraj Narayan Singh, MLA, by the goonda-police combine, was a complete success.

Repression: Colliery workers, under the banner of the Colliery Mazdoor Sabha (CITU), observed a successful strike in 6 collieries and organised a massive demonstration in front of the Group Custodian's Office, Barora. When they were dispersing after the demonstration, armed policemen suddenly swooped down on them inside the premises of the Colliery Mazdoor Sabha office at the Central Kenduadih Colliery and began a wild lathi-charge.

The police later fired nearly 150 rounds injuring a number of workers. 19 workers were arrested and many living quarters were looted. Police terror is still continuing; the INTUC goondas have also been collecting money forcibly from the workers.

Successful Strike by Bokarao Workers: A complete, 4-day strike by the power plant operators - reinforced by one-day strike in other operation departments - recently stopped the management of the Bokaro Steel Plant from imposing on the workers a heartless new shift rota.

The proposed rota would have done away with a workers' day off before a change of shift and would have also forced him to work double shifts at least once every week. This the workers resisted en masse. Since the management was in no mood to listen, a strike began at the power plant from June 3.

Eventually, with the strike spreading to other operation departments on June 6, the management climbed down and the new shift rota was withdrawn forthwith.

Recently the CITU has spread itself in Jamshedpur and nearby areas. In Adityapur the workers of Zenith Draft Forging Company conducted a 63 days strike under the leadership of the CITU Union. Many other workers from different factories like Bihar Insecticide, Pioneer Engineering, Mining Equipment, Minerals India etc. have won their demands through action.

Delhi and its ^{nearby} Delhi areas of Faridabad have been recently centres of strike struggles during the course of which workers had to face police firing and arrests. The successful conclusion of the 24-day strike of 27,000 textile workers of Delhi was a remarkable achievement of our Delhi Committee. Demanding higher wages and interim relief the workers launched a struggle supported by a joint front of CITU, HMP and a section of the INTUC. The local leaders of the AITUC ^{openly} campaigned against the strike and betrayed the workers. The strike ended on 5th May with the workers securing an interim relief of Rs. 20 per month and an advance of Rs. 200. The question of revision of DA has been referred to an arbitrator.

On July 6 in Faridabad the police opened fire on demonstrating workers, killed one and injured many for the crime of demonstrating solidarity with the Goodyear workers who were on strike. The victims of the firing were workers Gedore Factory and members of the CITU affiliated union. The workers of this union had disaffiliated their organisation from the AITUC and joined the CITU recently. The police lathi-charged and tear-gased the workers and next day broke into and ransacked the office of the CITU Union.

KARNATAK

The strike of 3,500 workers of the West Coast Paper Mills of Dandeli in Karnatak was one of the most bitterly fought strike in Karnatak since our Ernakulam Conference. It lasted for fifty days. Higher DA, recognition of CITU union and above all regularisation of 600 casual and 1,200 contractor labourers and abolition of the contract system were the issues. It led to demonstration of tremendous solidarity on the part of other workers in the region and culminated in a Dandeli Bandh for which a joint appeal was given by the mass organisations including a section of the INTUC led union.

On 29th of August South Canara (Mysore) district observed a huge bandh on the call of the left and democratic trade unions belonging to the CITU, AITUC, P & T, Mysore State Electricity Board, LIC, AEBI transport was paralysed. Tile, cashew, coffee-processing, and beedi industries and engineering units were completely closed!

On the same day plantation workers in Chikamayaloor, Hassan and South Canara district observed a strike to protest against price rise and press for wage demands. The strike call was jointly given by CITU, INTUC, HMS and other unions.

WEST BENGAL

Important developments have taken place in West Bengal since our Ernakulam Conference. Despite the continuing terror and of late its extension in areas like Raniganj Coal Belt and tea-gardens of North Bengal, the valiant working class and the democratic people of West Bengal organised series of important struggles. Many of these struggles were protracted continuing for months and some of them are still continuing. Our CITU unions have played a dominant role in these struggles giving courageous lead to the struggling workers. The most significant event, the focal point of the struggles of this period is the successful State-wide General Strike and Hartal of 27th July, 1973.

The massive and determined participation of the working class and the toiling masses in the General Strike of 27th July, even in terror affected areas, despite the new spurt of violence and large scale attacks and false and malicious propaganda of the All India Radio throughout the day of the General Strike, without any picketing anywhere, revealed a new experience. It was a great turning point and tilted the balance in favour of left trade unions and the democratic movement in West Bengal.

The success of the General Strike has shown that even in the midst of terror and State violence, it is possible to unite the working class and the toiling masses and effectively mobilise them in State-wide movement.

The West Bengal State Committee has reviewed the impact of the General Strike in its third State Council meeting and have rightly decided to consolidate the gains taking due note of the weaknesses revealed in some cases during the General Strike.

The success of the General Strike of 27th July cannot be assessed in isolation from the most effective struggles of the preceding days. One day industry-wide strike of the jute workers on 15th June in protest against the cut in Dearness Allowance, General Strike and Hartal in Garden Reach area on 5th July in support of the strike of G.E.C.A.E.I. workers and General Strike and Hartal in the entire Hooghly district on 9th July in protest against police firing on the workers of Hindustan Motors when four workers were killed and a number of workers were arrested are the most inspiring struggles and prepared the ground for the state-wide General Strike heightening the morale of the working class.

Our Union - Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union have showed their mettle in organising the token protest strike of jute

workers on 15th June. This strike was doggedly opposed by INTUC and HMS. The date of the strike was fixed earlier on 8th June and at the request of AITUC our union deferred the date to 15th June. The participation of AITUC in this strike helped to achieve greater unity at the base and ward off the opposition of INTUC and HMS. Since 1970 this was for the first time AITUC joined with us in organising a strike in spite of the opposition of INTUC and HMS. In this respect participation of AITUC in jute workers strike has immense importance. The strike was most successful in all the jute Mills, even in terror affected areas; the workers of the Mills which were closed on 15th June for power crisis observed the strike on 16th June. The image of CITU as a champion of unity and struggle has become more clear before the jute workers and their urge for unity and struggle has been further strengthened. This strike was a source of inspiration to the entire working class of West Bengal and benefitted most the Engineering workers. Inspired by the strike the Engineering workers started vigorous campaign at the base for waging strike on their economic demands than under negotiation at the tripartite level; as a result the suggestion of the Chief Minister for wage rise at Rs. 20 plus something was changed to Rs. 45 plus something and the economic gains of the Engineering workers was much higher than what was proposed before the jute workers strike taking advantage of the vascillation of INTUC, AITUC and HMS.

The workers of Jay Engineering Works Ltd. carried on glorious struggle during this period against the attempt of the employers to impose increased work-load violating the tripartite agreement of August 1970 on norms of production in the moulding department of the Sewing Machine Factory. The workers spontaneously stopped work in both Sewing Machine and Fan Factories in protest against increased work-load and the employers in retaliation declared lock-out on 23rd April 1973. It is already known that our union - Jay Engineering Workers' Union could not function due to terror since 1972 Election and nine of our workers were served with termination notice for forced absenteeism. But during the struggle both INTUC and AITUC Unions in this Factory had to take identical stand as of our union in the negotiations at both bipartite and tripartite level. The influence of our union on the workers of Jay Engineering and urge of the workers for united struggle helped to forge this unity. The employers were very much disappointed at the united stand of the three unions and for tactical reasons lifted the lock-out without resolving the issues. But the workers unitedly continued the struggle and stayed away from work demanding settlement of all outstanding issues. The West Bengal Government sent their recommendations to the employers on 13th September 1973 broadly accepting the demands of the workers jointly placed by the three unions but subsequently under pressure from the employers revised their own recommendations and applied DIR on 18th September 1973 giving all the concessions the employers wanted. Even the workers were not given the full benefits of the tripartite Engineering Settlement. Our Union requested INTUC and AITUC Unions to unitedly continue this struggle for fulfilment of the legitimate demands of the workers but they refrained from responding to this call and unilaterally decided to terminate this struggle directing their members to resume duties. The developments in Jay Engineering have thus further exposed the INTUC and AITUC Unions and the Government and have drawn the workers more nearer to our union even though our union cannot function in this unit.

In National Rubber Manufacturers Ltd., 3,500 workers continued a prolonged struggle against the lock-out declared by the Company on 21st May 1973 purported to pressurise the workers to accept reduction in man-power and increase work-load based on the recommendation of the National Productivity Council. Local AITUC leaders tried to disrupt the struggle of the workers by running a parallel body to our union - National Manufacturers Workers' Union. The Factory has been re-opened recently following application of Section 10(3) of the I.D. Act by the Government declaring the lock-out illegal. But the issues are yet to be settled.

The Birlas in Kesoram Rayon Factory resorted to mass lay-off to frustrate the struggle of the workers for realisation of their Charter of Demands. The workers decided to launch a continuous strike demanding withdrawal of the lay-off. The Management then declared lock-out with effect from 21st May 1973 and the struggle is still continuing. The three unions in the Factory belonging to CITU, INTUC and AITUC made a joint appeal to all Central Trade Unions to organise protest action of the workers and employees in all Birla units in order to force the Birlas to settle the demands of the workers of Kesoram Rayon and lift the lock-out. 3,500 workers are involved in this struggle.

3,500 workers of G.E.C.A.E.L. are continuing their strike since 29th May 1973 for settlement of their Charter of Demands. In G.E.C. Union we are not in a majority now even though we are a formidable force. The Management laid-off 250 workers, retrenched 36 workers of Paharpur Works and suspended 2 before the workers launched their continuous strike. Massive solidarity campaign is being carried on in the Garden Reach area in support of this strike coordinated by a Joint Committee constituted with the representatives of all unions in the area. On 23rd August police forced entry of the Officers into Paharpur Works of G.E.C. Company to assist the Management to take out finished materials. The workers immediately protested braving indiscriminate lathi charge resorted to by the police. Police also arrested a number of workers. Immediately the workers of all the factories in the area stopped work and came out in thousands in a protest demonstration and assembled before the police station demanding release of the arrested workers. The next day a protest general strike was observed in the whole area of Garden Reach. Both CITU Centre and West Bengal Committee have given full support to this struggle. A rally was organised in Calcutta on 13th September 1973 by our unions in support of the struggle of the workers of Jay Engineering, Kesoram Rayon and G.E.C. A.E.I., participated by about 15,000 workers.

The strike of 30,000 Municipal workers in 90 Municipalities of West Bengal on the demand for wage rise, 40,000 Rickshaw Pullers' struggle in Calcutta against police interference, Shore Mazdoor's (Calcutta Port) struggle on various economic demands when police resorted to brutal lathi charge arresting 24 women workers, one-day token protest strike by the workers of Bharat Ophthalmic Glass, Durgapur demanding implementation of Engineering settlement in line with existing practice and their struggle against suspension of General Secretaries of CITU and UTUC (Lenin Sarani) unions and termination of service of 18 Canteen workers are some of the major events of this period. The struggle of Stevedore workers in Calcutta Port for higher quantum of bonus is still continuing. Recently the entire 4,000 workers of Prem Chand Jute Mills have been laid-off.

In Alloy Steel Plant our union achieved spectacular victory in the elections for Sports Committee. This election was held in a tense situation when all the workers were threatened not to vote for CITU candidates. During counting in presence of police when the men of Congress found that CITU candidates secured overwhelming majority of votes in three constituencies already counted, they destroyed the ballot boxes and ballot papers in order to foil the election. Nonetheless the Congress goondas could not erase the fact that CITU union enjoyed the support of the majority of the workers.

It is significant to note that in many of these struggles INTUC and AITUC unions have been compelled to take united stand with our unions on various issues. This was seen also in the dispute in Blast Furnace of Durgapur Steel, on bonus demand and implementation of tripartite Engineering Settlement in Hindustan Motors as in other cases already cited. The INTUC unions which did everything to suspend functioning of our unions and forcibly restricted entry of our workers inside the factories were forced by circumstances to sit with our unions and take united stand. This is not a small achievement. This was possible only due to our consistent work championing the cause of the working class. The working class have taken to their heart that no effective struggle is possible unless unity is forged with CITU unions and this realisation of the workers has acted as force compelling the INTUC and other unions to take joint stand with our unions.

In the meeting of the State Labour Advisory Board held in Calcutta on 10th September, 1973 AITUC also joined our State Committee in condemning the attacks on trade unions and infringement of trade union rights and all Central Trade Unions including the INTUC, in spite of their divergent views, unanimously condemned attacks on workers and trade unions and made an agreed recommendation to ensure workers right to report for work with safety and security, withdrawal of termination letters already issued to workers in various establishments for their forced absenteeism, restoration of union offices occupied by the men of Congress party and full freedom of trade union functioning. This is a significant development in our struggle against the terror.

Our unions in West Bengal made further progress in realising wage demands. In the tripartite settlement on Cotton Textile workers demands, the minimum wage has been fixed at Rs. 235 (at 200 consumer price index number of 1960 base) with variable D.A. at the rate of Rs. 1.15 per point above 200 CPI (of 1960 base). The employers and the Government demanded inclusion of three most derogatory clauses in this agreement and this was almost accepted by INTUC, AITUC and HMS. At the insistence of our unions (represented by Cotton Textile Workers Federation) two clauses were changed but the third one remained as proposed. It would have been better if this clause had been deleted.

In the tripartite Settlement for Engineering workers also our unions (represented by Federation of Metal and Engineering Workers' Unions) exerted their utmost in achieving satisfactory changes in various matters despite the receding attitude of INTUC, AITUC and HMS. The minimum wages were fixed (a) for factories employing 50 to 249 workers - Rs. 240 (at 200 CPI of 1960 base), (b) for factories employing 250 to 1,000 workers - Rs. 270.50 (at 200 CPI of 1960

base). The variable D.A. was fixed at Rs. 115 per point above 200 CPI of 1960 base. The demands for wage rise for workers in factories employing less than 50 is under negotiations. The wage rise for the workmen in (a) category was Rs. 50 out of which Rs. 35 will be paid immediately and the balance in instalment of Rs. 5 in three years; for (b) immediate wage rise Rs. 45 and Rs. 5 in two equal instalments in next two years; and for (c) category immediate wage rise Rs. 49 and Rs. 5 in two equal instalments in next two years. But in majority of the factories the employers have still not implemented the settlement and the matter has already been taken up with the Government.

In the tripartite settlement on tea-garden workers there is some wage rise on interim basis and the demand for final wage rise has been referred to a Wage Committee. The demand for the Wage Committee was made by all the unions including our unions. Our experience shows that Wage Committee is a dilatory tactics to deny the workers legitimate wage rise. So our unions should not have made the demand for setting up of Wage Committee. Our West Bengal Committee has rightly criticised our unions in tea plantation in West Bengal on this point.

The members of our unions in Bengal Paper Mills and Refractory and Ceramic Factory (Burn & Co.) at Raniganj and Aluminium Factory at J.K. Nagar are carrying on their struggle against terror with exemplary courage since Feb. 1973. After the general strike of 27th July, our unions in this area are made a special target of attacks. There is practically no improvement of the situation in this area even after the meeting of State Labour Advisory Board's meeting on 10th September.

Our West Bengal Committee has taken up with all seriousness the issue relating to compilation of Consumer Price Index Numbers and method adopted to defraud the workers from payment of proper Dearness Allowance.

The West Bengal State Committee has also taken initiative to organise the movement of Bedi workers, Tailors and Handloom workers. A few lakh workers are employed in these unorganised industries. A convention of Bedi workers was held recently and the response was most encouraging. To organise the handloom workers an All West Bengal union has been formed in a convention held in Calcutta. At the initiative of this new union the handloom workers have already organised series of demonstrations in the districts in protest against yarn shortage and abnormal price rise and a central demonstration was also held in Calcutta on 4th July, 1973.

The Ernakulam Session discussed the problem of organising the women workers. In accordance with the decision the Bengal Chatkal Mazdoors held a convention of women workers in jute industry and discussed their problems.

Comrades, I have already referred that some of our comrades have started educating the trade union movement about its responsibility towards the rural peasant masses and agricultural labourers. Reformism and revisionism has instilled indifference and callousness towards the peasantry in the trade union movement. This callousness was seen in all its naked form when with lakhs of peasants and agricultural labourers starving under famine conditions, the working class remained passive and would not launch even a

protest against the sufferings imposed on the rural poor. It is good that the CITU unions in Maharashtra and in Maharashtra CITU State Committee took up the question of collecting funds for the famine-strickens on behalf of the all Parties non-official Committee. They contributed Rs. 90,000 to the common fund. This contribution could have been atleast three times bigger had we succeeded in rallying the fraternal feeling of the worker for the peasant to a higher pitch. However as a beginning this was quite a good contribution. Following this the CITU in cooperation with Lal Nishan and AITUC succeeded in bringing about strike of our workers to protest against Maharashtra Government's famine relief policy and the sufferings it imposed on the peasants. The West Bengal Committee of the CITU, though it was in great difficulty sent its contribution to demonstrate its solidarity with the Maharashtra peasantry. This was a very welcome and necessary step.

The Chatkal Mazdoor Union, our biggest union has taken the much needed step to bring the jute peasant and jute worker together. The small jute peasant of West Bengal, unlike some of the rich and substantial cotton farmers of Maharashtra, is completely defenceless against the jute monopolists-traders and capitalists, a prey of the ups and downs of the market, to the manipulation of the speculators. Whether the jute industry is prosperous or not he never gets a square deal. In fact part of the prosperity of the jute factory is dependent on the robbery of the peasant. He cannot be protected unless the organised jute workers throw their full strength behind him. And this is exactly what our Chatkal Union has started doing.

The Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union and West Bengal State Committee of All India Kisan Sabha jointly organised a Convention for fixing the raw jute price at Rs. 80 per maund and the purchase of raw jute by Government at this price direct from the jute growers. A joint rally of jute workers and peasants was held on 15th September in Calcutta and memorandum was submitted to the Government.

Our other trade unions should take a lesson from this and work for building firm ties between the Kisan and the trade union movements.

REPORT OF PLANTATION FEDERATION

The Working Committee of AIPWF met at Kaladi and Ernakulam town in Ernakulam district on 17th April 1973. Com. B.T. Ranadive, the President CITU was present at the 2nd Session. After the discussion on the question of the rules of the Plantation Labour Amendment Bill 1973, on gratuity, on Fixation of wages on the family basis etc.

1) It was decided to hold Zonal meetings in South and North, to discuss the rules of the Plantation Labour Amendment Bill, at Coonoor on the 19th and 20th of May, and at Mal, Jalpaiguri in the month of June.

2) The draft constitution was adopted unanimously with some minor changes. It was decided to circulate it.

3) It was further decided to take up the question of unemployment, filling up the vacancies, land labour ratio, equal wage for equal work etc. along with the demand of Charter adopted at the conference.

4) Com. Vimal Ranadive was elected as the Secretary. The post of the Vice-President from Karnatak was deferred for for the future date.

According to the decisions taken, both the meetings, in North and South Zones were held. The office bearers of both zones except a few, attended and discussed the rules. A note on the amendments from the office was circulated before discussion.

As decided amendments were sent by the unions from Karnatak, Tamilnadu, Assam and West Bengal, to Rajya Sabha Select Committee and copies sent to us. The office did not receive any copy from Kerala and Tripura. Perhaps, they have sent their amendments to the Committee.

A memorandum was sent to the Rajya Sabha Select Committee by the A.I.P.W.F. and copies were circulated to all the unions.

(1) A token general strike in Karnatak Plantation took place on 29th August 1973. 15,000 workers were on strike. All other unions belonging to AITUC, INTUC, DMK, ADMK, John Taylor Union and independent unions - all in a joint action. (Report attached).

(2) Nilgiri Plantation Union - agreement signed by all unions - AITUC, INTUC, CITU, DMK, etc. Bonus p.c. higher than last time - Agreement on 10.75 p.c. for the year of 1972.

(3) Agreement signed in Jalpaiguri in tripartite meeting on 24th July 1973 in persuance of the Charter of Demands submitted by the Co-ordination Committee of Tea Plantation workers (Details in the letter dated 28th July, 1973.)

A.I.P.W.F. Affiliated to TUI

The AIPWF sent the affiliation letter along with the report on the activities of AIPWF, a copy of our constitution, list of the unions and office bearers etc. The letter dated 6th September 1973, informing us about the affiliation received by us, and replied on 16th September. The representative of TUI, is visiting our office on 25th September. The letter of TUI, and our reply to them will be circulated to the unions.

New Unions Affiliated to CITU

1) Jalpaiguri Chia Bagan Mazdoor Union;

2) 3 new unions from Kerala were affiliated at Ernakulam. At present 48 unions are affiliated to AIPWF.

REPORT OF RUBBER & TYRE WORKERS

The Firestone Rubber Employees Union has successfully negotiated a settlement with the Company after prolonged agitation. The agitation included departmental actions, morchas and a one day strike. The settlement high-lights are withdrawal of charge sheets and suspension orders given during the agitation, guarantee of a higher minimum D.A. at 140 per cent of the Bombay Textile Revised D.A. (Currently it comes to about Rs. 370 per month, formerly it was 110 per cent only), Rs. 40 - 50 p.m. house rent allowance and Rs. 350 leave travel allowance, raising of piece rates by

2 % and other minor benefits. We shall be circulating copies of the settlement soon.

The Federation fully supported the Firestone workers struggle. The Federation organised a morcha of Ceat Workers to the Firestone and had threatened to call out all tyre and rubber workers in Bombay city for a one-day strike in support of the Firestone struggle. Our action has strengthened the Federation in Bombay.

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The Federation received a letter from the INCEK Staff Union about a cut in the salaries of the H.O. Staff of Inchek and NRM following a lock-out in NRM. We immediately wrote to the Director of both demanding restoration of this cut. Before further steps could be taken, we were informed that the cut was withdrawn.

Workers of the Good Year Tyre and Rubber Company of Faridabad, Haryana State have been on strike since nearly a month. On July 6, the strikers procession was fired upon by the police resulting in at least one death. You must have read the news. Federation sent a protest telegram and called on all our unions to pass resolutions condemning the firing, demanding judicial inquiry, punishment of officers responsible for firing and settlement of workers demands and sent appropriate messages to the Haryana Chief Minister and the Good Year workers and their union.

Comrades, our organisation participated in a number of Committees and seminars called by the Government. We participated in the Third Mines Safety Conference held on July 14 and 15 in Calcutta. We and the two UTUCs received the invitation only at the eleventh hour and then also we were asked to attend as observer. We protested and staged a walk out. The Labour Minister informed us on July 14 evening that the department had reversed its earlier stand and requested us to send a delegate and an adviser. Com. Robi Chatterjee, General Secretary of the Colliery Mazdoor Sabha of India and a member of the CITU Working Committee attended the Conference on July 16. We also participated in the Standing Committee on Safety for Steel Industry. Com. Dillip Mazumdar, President of the HSL Employees Union represented us on the Committee. Com. Biren Roy and Gerald Pereira, Working Committee members have been chosen by the Secretariat to represent us on the All-India Trade Union Committee on Family Planning. Com. Sudhin Kumar, our Vice-President represented us on the National Committee for Family Planning.

Under the auspices of the ILO, the Central Board for Workers' Education organised a National Workshop for Trade Union officials on Welfare Tasks and Family Planning on August 27 in Bombay. The Secretariat nominated Com. Sudhin Kumar and V. Vishwanath Menon, member of the Working Committee to participate in the Workshop. An outline proposed for this Seminar is separately given.

A Seminar was convened by the National Productivity Council on 19th and 20th August in New Delhi. Com. M.K. Pandhe, Secretary and myself participated in the gathering. Representatives of nine trade union centres participated in it. The draft which was jointly discussed by the representatives of Central Trade Unions before submitting to the Conference and which was endorsed by the latter is being circulated herewith.

A Steering Group was appointed to study several issues pertaining to productivity in depth. It consists of Executive Director of National Productivity Council as Chairman and nine representatives from nine central trade union organisations. I represented our organisation on this Committee.

The Central Trade Union Organisations agreed to contribute Rs. 500 each for promoting productivity studies. I informed them that I would have to consult my organisation before agreeing to accept this proposal.

We also participated in a meeting called by the Planning Minister. The Minister of Planning spoke of the need for promoting healthy industrial relations as well as on integrated policy of wages, prices and incomes and invited suggestions from the trade union representatives.

I had to question the basic assumptions of the Approach document and warn that because of old bases continue the Fifth Plan would meet the same fate as the earlier plans. How can one talk of Public Sector and simultaneously support monopoly; how can self reliance go hand in hand with encouragement to foreign private capital? What chance has war against poverty so long land is not distributed to the tiller? Regarding productivity, the experience of the working class is more they produce the more people loose their jobs.

Once again I advocated that union recognition on the basis of secret ballot. The recognised union should undertake to refer all agreements to the workers for final ratification. For trade union unity I suggested representation for unions in proportion to their strength among the workers.

Comrades, I would like you to discuss the question of our participation in the various committees. Some comrades feel that our participation in committees like Family Planning and much more to Productivity meetings is not correct. I would like the question to be properly discussed at the meeting.

Further I would like the State Committee and comrades selected for representing us on the committees to take the work seriously and not abandon their assignment at the eleventh hour. This puts the central organisation in a ridiculous position and opens it to the charge of not being serious while asking for representation in committees along with other organisations.

Comrades, I am sorry to say that the functioning of most of our State Committees leaves much to be desired. It is thoroughly unsatisfactory in some cases.

Many leaders of the State Committees do not know even the Constitution of the CITU. They do all kinds of irregular things - collection of CITU affiliation fees etc. And when this procedure is objected to they feel hurt. They do not send regular reports about their activities. In some cases State Committee meetings are not held regularly. A couple of State Committees have yet to hold their 2nd Conference. Some State Committees totally fail to guide or even intervene in the big disputes in their States in which unions of workers are involved. I think it is high time we discuss the functioning of State Committees at the next session of the Working Committee.

Comrades, we have recently received a message from OSPAAAL (Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America 'Havana) greeting the Second Conference of the CITU. The message sent in the name of Rafael J. Ramon, Assistant Secretary reads:

"We hereby acknowledge receipt of your invitation to the Second Conference of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions which unfortunately arrived after great delay. We hope you have achieved every success in that event so important to Indian workers."

"We request you to send us the documents of the Conference which will be of great use in our work."

We have also received a message from Workers Central Union of Cuba greeting our Conference. It reads:

"Comrades, we thank you for your friendly invitation for a delegation of C.T.C. (Workers Central Union of Cuba) to participate in the 2nd Conference of your organisation, which will be celebrated from the 18th to the 22nd of April in Kerala, but we are sorry to say that the same arrived late in our hands.

"We wish that the materials approved in the event (i.e. the proceedings of the Conference) were sent to us, if possible, to allow us to be acquainted with the developments of the same (Conference).

"We avail of the occasion to reiterate (reaffirm) the ties which unite the working class of Cuba with those of India in their struggle against imperialism."

Comrades, since the inception of our organisation we have stuck to the line of united actions and trade union unity despite the obstacles and sabotage created by the reformists and revisionists. You all know that at our 2nd Conference we reviewed our efforts in this direction and found that we were achieving considerable progress.

The last six months have seen our unions and State Committees going more boldly and more firmly on this road and achieving remarkable advance. Not that the reformists and revisionists have given up their outlook; nor do they shirk from obstructing our advance with the aid of the Government and the capitalists. The INTUC and the AITUC leaders still continue to oppose our participation in official conferences, recognition to our organisations or talks with our unions. They often sign agreements with employers behind our back, dividing the ranks of the workers and helping the employers. They play the role of dividing the workers and often help the Government to screen its anti-labour policy. Nonetheless the situation in the trade union movement, the correlation of forces, the consciousness of the workers ^{United} all these are changing and this is reflected in a growing adhoc/ front arrangements, joint actions and joint negotiations. Where the CITU unions are able to take the initiative, rouse the masses to action, or where they already possess a sizeable strength - the chances of united front actions are bright. It depends on the initiative, and capacity to rouse the workers whether the united front will be formed and whether it will last during common action and end in united negotiations.

But the main driving force is the need felt by the mass of workers for united action against the effects of crisis - high prices, electricity shortage, rising unemployment, food shortage and falling real wages.

It is because of this objective basis that the line of no struggle, of no truck/ of it in growing number of united struggles, creating a greater sense of comradeship and defence of working class interests, /with us is crumbling in many places. We see the evidence

You know our participation in the UCTU is one of our weapons of forging unity. Since our conference in Ernakulam the UCTU has met three times. Its biggest achievement was the convention of central employees and State employees it called on July 25 and 26 in New Delhi. Its aim was to rally the central employees against the reactionary recommendations of the Third Pay Commission which constituted an open offensive against their right to defend their wages and earnings and a need based wage.

The call for such a convention overriding organisational affiliations and calling for united trade union support should have come from within the employees' organisations. But the Government and its agents had created sufficient disorganisation to prevent it. The Government has been using its authority to recognise and derecognise unions arbitrarily to promote docile agents as leaders of the organisation. The UCTU realised that the two wings of the workers' movement - the trade unions and the employees' unions could no longer advance their interests by remaining aloof from each other and playing the role of a passive spectator when the other was under attack. It was the duty of the organised trade union movement to lend a helping hand to the sister movement when its unity was corroded and interests challenged.

To throw the entire strength of the trade union movement behind the convention the UCTU wrote to all central trade union organisations and Federations, all central and state employees' organisations to participate in the convention. The AITUC, HMS, INTUC did not respond. Nor did the central employees' organisations affiliated or connected with them.

But the convention Against the Recommendations of the Pay Commission and Bonus for all became an expression of the desire of lakhs of Central and State employees' to forge unity to fight for their demands. For the first time a representative gathering of such a magnitude embracing both the Central and State employees came together to take common decisions. Over 600 delegates who represented 126 unions of Central and State employees participated in the meeting.

This call created great enthusiasm among the organisations of the employees and they made serious preparations for its success. The National Federation of P & T employees held an all India Convention of their own on 23rd July. The Confederation of Central Government employees and workers unions held their meeting on July 24. The All-India State Employees' Federation held a meeting of its National Executive on July 24. The All-India Confederation of Railway Employees with its category-wise unions joined the convention. The All-India Confederation of Central Government Officers' Association participated in the gathering. It

should be recorded that the AIRF leadership refused to participate. The National Railway Mazdoor Union - (Central Railway) an affiliate of the AIRF participated in the gathering. The All-India Loco Staff Association which was soon to embark upon its historic strike and the Chittaranjan Railway Workshop Union took active part. Several delegates came from the branches of unions affiliated to the AIRF.

Efforts were made to have a Coordination Committee for Central and State employees for further consultations. They could not succeed for the time being. It was however agreed that the bodies representing the State and Central employees should meet in Ahmedabad in September to discuss further plans.

The UCTU also gave a call to observe the anti-unemployment day on 23rd July. It was massively observed by workers, employees, youth, students and other sections of democratic masses.

An important event in the development of the UCTU is the formation of the State UCTU in Bombay in a largely attended convention of delegates from the three constituents - CITU, HMP and UTUC. The convention was held on August 12 and was addressed by George Fernandes, Com. Kolhatkar, Kurne and myself. It came in the background of several united front mass actions in Bombay and Maharashtra and gave organisational shape to the unity that had already developed. It passed resolutions on need based wage, famine situation, price-rise and unemployment. It passed a policy resolution stating that the Congress party and the Government had brought the country into the throes of serious crisis, while letting off the landlords, wholesalers and monopolists scot-free. It was also undermining the independence of the country by increasing its dependence on imperialist powers. Seeing that the masses were now beginning to stir, it sought to avoid their wrath by implanting communal and linguistic hatred among them. Therefore the working class has to be doubly vigilant to foil such machinations, heighten its class consciousness and be prepared for big and long battles. The convention elected a fifteen member Executive Committee.

Outside the UCTU also great strides are being made in united front actions. It must be noted that recently on a few occasions the initiative for united front has also come from the AITUC leadership. In the Bangalore Bandh the AITUC called our organisations to join in common action. During the Loco Workers' strike in August Com. BTR and myself received a letter from Ranen Sen and Dange - President and General Secretary of AITUC to discuss the common approach for the strike. We were glad and I phoned Dange who assured me that he would phone back but no further contact was established. This was unfortunate because a common approach and consultation would have saved some awkward situations and helped to overcome some weaknesses of the strike. Nonetheless we are glad to note that the AITUC leaders saw the need of the initiative and common consultations. Dange also sent a message condemning the outrageous attack on Com. Chintan and wishing him speedy recovery. If these are straws in the wind which I think they are, they are all for the good of our common movement.

Let me further refer to some of the massive united front actions, in cooperation with the AITUC. The

Rajasthan Bandh, the Andhra Bandh, Tamilnadu Bandh, a series of joint mass strikes in Bombay and Maharashtra and finally the biggest and most important, the West Bengal Bandh of 27th July, constitutes a series of achievements in the struggle for unity of the trade union movement.

These bandhs and strikes involving lakhs of workers, belonging to different organisations and affiliations are leaving an indelible imprint of unity, of common fight for isolating the ruling classes and the ruling party. The Rajasthan Committee of the CITU very correctly estimated the importance of unity when in its leaflet after the withdrawal of the strike it said "The State Committee of the CITU treats this broad-based unity of workers and employees as a sacred trust entrusted by the Revolutionary Peoples' movement and pledges to always defend and further strengthen it, against the State power equipped with arms, repressive laws and ordinances in the struggle for a better living, this unity will be a grand weapon in the hands of the employees and workers in the defence of their class interests. The CITU calls upon all the workers and employees of the State to protect this unity." The statement correctly criticises in a persuasive way the unsatisfactory terms of the agreement and treats them to the lack of unity in the leadership.

In Maharashtra the constituents of the UCTU - CITU, HMP and UTUC had by their joint campaign and action already prepared the ground for united actions. But the main difficulty was the immobility of the AITUC, especially its textile unions. In spite of several attempts to have joint front, the response was not there, not so much because the ranks were hostile but because the leadership did not want it went as it was its policy of strengthening Indira's hands. That is why in the last two years there have been big strikes of textile workers - for bonus etc. - but they were in the nature of simultaneous actions for the same demand, simultaneous calls, but not formally joint leadership. The May 15 strike and for the defence of the peasantry and price rise - in which ranks of all organisations worked with equal zeal began to change the situation. The political and economic situation also made the process inevitable. The Government's offensive to impose 7 day week with the aid of the INTUC union - an ally of the AITUC in the National Council, sealed the issue and the two successive textile strikes of July and the Satyagraha finally ended in a textile conference convened by the GKU, but in which we and the Lal Nishan also participated. It ended in a mass rally in which Dange and myself addressed the mass from the same platform. From simultaneous action to joint conference we have come. Judging the spirit of the times Dange announced in the meeting that we will wage a united fight against the Central Government's new Labour Relations Bill. Latest reports to hand show that in Nagpur also there was a textile conference sponsored by AITUC leaders in which the CITU was a participant. The struggle for unity has travelled along two points - strengthening of the UCTU - and joint actions with AITUC. As I have said the West Bengal Bandh of July 27 must be deemed to be a big achievement of our struggle for unity. All these years we were facing the terror alone, having been singled out by the Congress party as its special objective. Three hundred of our unions still continue to be under occupation of the Congress goondas. In certain areas including the Steel town of Durgapur with its boastful Public Sector we cannot open our trade union offices. The Right C.P. which heads the AITUC leadership is in alliance with the ruling party and takes pride in it. Till recently

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it had never protested against this terror against us. On the other hand in the earlier days it had carried on slanderous propaganda against us, screening the crimes of the Congress and its terror against the trade unions. In recent months though exchanges and consultations could take place, as well as some joint strikes and protest actions, a common action, of the type of Bandh was unthinkable.

But the disillusionment of the people and the mounting indignation over rising prices, food shortage, did the trick. While the CPI(M) and other left parties, along with the CITU and other constituents of the UCTU were preparing for a bandh in protest against price rise, food shortage and official policies helping the monopolists, hoarders and landlords the Right C.P. and AITUC gave a call to observe a bandh on 27th of July. It was clear that they were shying away from a united front with us. The AITUC leaders only made appeal through the press for support they neither opened talks nor were prepared to sit together to discuss how to organise successful bandh. They were under the pressure of their allies and were discussing with them all the time assuring them of their good intentions. They also assured that they were not fighting the Government but the hoarders and monopolists. Unable to maintain this ridiculous position they resorted to equivocation. Our allies, the other constituents of the UCTU failed to see the quandry of the AITUC leaders - the pressure of the masses, the first feeble crack in the alliance with the Congress. They refused to support the bandh. The CITU fully supported the bandh, took lead in organising it and made it a glorious achievement of the united action of the democratic forces and the working class. This was one of the biggest reply to the terror, and the organisers of the terror.

On the eve of the bandh more than 300 workers of the CPI(M) and other left parties, of the CITU including leaders of mass organisations were arrested. Assaults and intimidations of workers, students, teachers were carried on on a big scale. Goonda elements, police, Congress volunteers were mobilised to break the strike. Some workers in some localities were forcibly taken from their homes and forced to report to work. Some factory managers were forced at gun point to reopen mills closed because of the strike. Three workers were murdered during the day of the bandh. Along with our cadres, the workers and cadres of the AITUC were also attacked, arrested and intimidated. Large number of them were put in jail. The unofficial united front was being sealed in jails and in police and goonda beatings.

In spite of the terror the bandh was a huge success. More than 2 million industrial workers participated in the strike. The entire mass of people supported.

As a follow up of this mighty bandh the AITUC leaders recently supported our protests to the labour minister against gangster attacks on our unions. This time not only all the constituents of the UCTU joined in the protest, the AITUC also lent its support to our demand. Similarly all the Central organisations joined with us in protesting against West Bengal Ordinance banning strikes.

There have been many united front actions for local demands in protest strikes or indefinite strikes. In Kerala on many occasions the CITU, HMS, INTUC and AITUC have joined hands. To mention the latest reports one and a half lakh

cashew nut workers observed a days' token strike on 25th Aug. in support of their demands for bonus. The call was unitedly given by the CITU, INTUC and UTUC unions. At the call of the same organisations seventy thousand plantation workers observed a day's strike on August 31 demanding 50 % rise in wages, handloom workers of Badogara and Cannanore, Rubber workers, tea and coffee plantation workers of Wynand, Saw Mill workers of Kollai (Kozhikode), Kerala Spinner workers of Alleppey, Cotton mill workers of Trichur etc. have carried on their struggle under the leadership of CITU, AITUC and other central organisations. I have already mentioned the united actions in Tamilnadu, Maharashtra and other States.

These successes however do not mean that there is no need to struggle against the outlook of policies of the reformist and revisionist leaders. They mean that the first hurdles to mass action are being overcome. I have already shown how the INTUC and AITUC leaders oppose us a place in the tripartite body or in negotiations. It is necessary for them to do so because otherwise they will not be able to compromise and enter into anti-working class deals and agreements. Especially where the workers are not in action the reformists and revisionists are liable to compromise for the least excuse to keep the good will of the employers and the Government. Let me quote in this connection Com. Umanath, General Secretary, Tamilnadu Committee of the CITU.

"The latest of the surrenders by the AITUC is in the Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd. The Government of India has constituted a negotiating committee consisting of representatives of the managements and of the AITUC, INTUC and recognised unions in their four plants in Hardwar, Bhopal, Ramachandrapuram and Tiruchirapalli to negotiate revision of wages and other basic demands. They have consciously avoided the CITU from being represented on the committee despite representations.

"SECRET COMMITMENT

"Recently, an interim relief to the tune of a minimum of Rs. 35 has been announced by the Committee. The AITUC, INTUC and the recognised unions were vying with each other through handbills and speeches to take the credit for interim relief.

"But the minutes of the meeting of the Negotiating Committee held on June 14 and 15, 1973 at Delhi, which fell into our hands recently, made the shocking revelations that the AITUC joined the INTUC in giving a secret undertaking to the management that increase of workload would be as much a part of this agreement as wage revision would be."

Besides during the course of the struggle the AITUC leaders with their vacillations, with the collaborationist attitude towards the Government, take a vacillating stand which undermines militancy and solidarity and creates danger of disruption. I have already referred to their role in the Loco Workers strike which they were supporting but which at the same time they were successfully undermining because of their faith in the railway minister and their attitude to the Government. Not having faith in the militant class struggle they resort to puerile actions like individual hunger strike in the midst of a huge struggle involving thousands and divert attention from the main fight. This is

exactly what they did during the glorious strike of the Rajasthan employees. When intense mass action was necessary to compel the Government to open negotiations the Right C.P. M.L.A. from Rajasthan and their State employees' leader from Punjab entered upon a hunger strike. Soon after, their followers started to divert the attention of the employees and launched a 'Save Leaders Life' campaign. The game however failed. But the point to be noted is that even when everyone has been won for joint action great vigilance is required to conduct the struggle correctly and prevent all diversionary moves.

As I have said the economic and political situation, the growing disillusionment and discontent among the masses, their wretched condition all dictate greater and bigger united struggles and we must pursue our policy of united front more vigorously than ever before.

OUTLINE GIVEN FOR THE BOMBAY WORKSHOP ON FAMILY PLANNING

The linking of family planning with India's poverty or unemployment is wrong. It is an alibi presented to the bankrupt policies of the Government. To hold the poorer sections responsible for poverty is an old pasttime of the bourgeoisie and their governments since the days of Malthus.

The real causes of unemployment and poverty are to be seen in the social system. Is it the high birth rate in the USA and lack of family planning that raise the figure of unemployed to anywhere between 5 and 6 million?

Official propaganda must delink the two if family planning is to be successful and trade union participation is to be secured.

The utility of family planning has to be explained from the needs and requirements of health, hygiene and economic relief for individuals and families in their present circumstances. Above all, it has to be explained from the freedom it gives to women to pursue avocations other than only looking after a number of children, her emergence into social life. The emancipatory aspect has to be emphasised under Indian conditions.

The best chance of success is when there are plenty of opportunities for women to secure employment. If such opportunities are there you will find thousands adopting family planning voluntarily. At present, some employers like the UPASI and others exercise compulsion on their women workers - threatening them with loss of promotion, etc. - which must be denounced. Besides big and over large families among the top sections are often the rule and none seems to bother about them. The contribution to population of some of the highest among the State is not inconsiderable. There is suspicion that only certain sections are to be the target of this propaganda. This follows from the linkage of family planning with poverty.

The posters and propaganda, etc. of the department are unreal. The zest and desire for a decent family life, for leisure to spend days with wife and children, for providing them with minimum comforts and hence for family limitation cannot arise in squalid surroundings, reeking with foul smell and holding out a bleak future. A person whose monthly income is so low that an addition of a mouth hardly makes a difference to his deprivation and malnutrition can hardly have the incentive to family limitation.

The stupidity of people who seek to promote family planning by offering a bait of Rs. 20 for vasectomy operations is unfathomable. You find the results when persons of advanced age long past their productive capacity are offered as patients for earning a paltry sum of Rs. 20. Poverty has the last veto here also.

Can you besides talk of family planning to the untouchable in the ghetto? Can he be convinced that limitation of family will ease the oppressive situation surrounding him?

Besides Government's opportunist policies strengthen every kind of religious obscurantism which denounces

family planning. The Government has not the guts to release even rational propaganda to nail down the Muslim, Catholic and Hindu beliefs.

The organised trade union movement cannot be a party to the concealment of the real causes of India's poverty and unemployment. Refusal to enact radical land reforms, nationalise foreign and Indian monopolies and end of foreign exploitation, a plan to control the private sector and restrict it - in fact, the entire concept of mixed economy which give^s fresh lease of life to feudal and semi-feudal institutions in land holding these are the causes of continued Indian poverty.

China has made tremendous progress because it has revolutionised it^s social structure, placing both the political power and means of production in the hands of toilers. Foreign debts and unemployment both have disappeared.

The rapid rate of national income growth in the Soviet Union is also due to the same source.

There is no reason why the ILO which is supposed to interpret international experience should ignore the happenings in the Socialist World and transmit the experience of the Western capitalist world to our country. Nor is there any reason why the Government should give up its independent thinking and fail to concretise the experience of countries which were similarly placed like ours for our benefit.

For the trade unions to help family planning - the Government should delink it from the question of India's poverty. It should be encouraged on the basis of health, hygiene, organisation of one's family life and above all, women's freedom. It will get a tremendous fillip if new opportunities of employment are opened to women and propaganda and agitation creates a sense of equality for them and gives them the exclusive right to decide how many children they should have.

Our family planners totally fail to understand that a great obstacle to family limitation is the unequal traditional status of the women in our society, with she having no right to decide anything including whether she should have children or not. A step forward in the women's emancipatory movement will go a long way to bring success to the family planning schemes.

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING.

New Delhi, October 3, 4, 5, 1973

A short report on the activities of the CITU
Kerala Committee after the Second All India Conference

The State Committee had four meetings on 6th of May, 9th of June, 24th of July and 21st of August, 1973. Many decisions were taken in these meetings of which the struggle against price rise and food scarcity predominated. The first meeting reviewed the work done by each CITU District Committees for the successful conduct of the All India Conference. The Committee approved the accounts submitted by the treasurer of All India Conference's reception Committee. A detailed programme for Conference reporting was approved. Decision was taken to translate and print the General Secretary's report and other important resolutions and documents. On the 9th of June, the Committee decided to have one day's General strike demanding 12 ounce ration and the price control of necessary articles. The Secretary was directed to contact the other trade union centres to join the agitation and General strike and to decide the date of the strike in consultation with them. In spite of repeated attempts nobody joined us in the agitation and we have to declare the strike on 10th of July, 1973.

This was one of the successful strike conducted by CITU. Not only our affiliates joined the strike, INTUC and AITUC unions were also joined in many places. A complete successful bundh was observed in Trivandrum and Cannanore cities. The total taxies, autorikshas and private motor buses were off the road.

The opposition United Front called for a Kerala Bundh on 2nd August 1973 in which the CITU Unions participated. The Police opened fire and two workers, Narayana Pillai and Bhanu died at Pandalam on that day.

The CITU joined in the Raj Bhavan March organised by the opposition on September 1st 1973. The CITU was in the forefront of food agitation.

During these period many important strikes were conducted by us. 4000 Toddy Tappers and other workers in the toddy industry of Ernakulam District conducted a strike from 18th May to 4th September (110 days). The Government machinery, Police as well as excise guards let loose terror against the striking workers. Under pressure of INTUC, AITUC (both combined having less than 600 members) opposed the strike and hence the Government machinery was used to suppress the strike. The unions and the CITU mobilised big mass support for the strike and continuous picketing of Government offices was organised. Nearly 50,000 workers were arrested during this agitation. The demand raised by the workers was that they should be given wage increase like that of the workers in other 10 Districts. In league with the employers, the Right Communists and INTUC leaders have done everything to break the strike. The CITU Federation of the Toddy Tappers union called for an industrywise continuous General strike from September 5th onwards. On 4th of September in a Conference the issue was settled. One paise increase per litre of Toddy from 15th September and 2 paise increase from 1st of

December 1973 was agreed to and the strike was called off.

Kerala State Electricity Board Workers' Association (the CITU affiliate) together with the other trade unions except the AITUC launched a strike of Electricity workers demanding DA rise on 17th July, 1973. The AITUC unions in the Board though threatened to go on strike on this issue but did not join the strike. Our request for a joint action was rejected by the AITUC leaders. However, out of 23,000 workers, just over 15,000 joined the strike. Immediately the Government banned the strike and many important leaders of the union were arrested and detained using MISA and DIR. Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair, the Right Communist Electricity Minister called upon the people to fight the striking workers. In spite of all these, the strikers stood firm and the demand was settled in a Conference on 31st July, 1973. The following was reached.

"The existed D.A. system was revised into one of fixed D.A. and variable D.A. fixed D.A. was revised as follows :-

	<u>Pay</u>	<u>Rs.</u>
Below	110	115
	110-to-149	122
	150 to 209	141
	210 to 399	162
	400 to 449	176
	450 to 499	180

Variable D.A. of 22 paise per point about 900 points at the cost of living indices for Ernakulam.

By this agreement the Electricity workers got a DA rise of Rs.35/- to Rs.65/-

The Textile workers Federation (CITU) put up a demand for wage increase of Rs.50/- per month per workers and started an agitation. Consequently the Government effected a settlement on June 1973 granting Rs.35/- monthly increase for all the workers. All the 27 Mills in the State implemented this decision by now. This increase was granted without linking it with production or the work load. About 20,000 workers got this benefit.

The Private Motor transport workers Federation (CITU) demanded a monthly increase of Rs.50/- as interim relief to ward off the difficulties arising out of the price rise. Since the negotiations failed they have called for a general strike on 16th of August. On the intervention of the Labour Minister, the strike was postponed to 23rd August. The issue was settled on August 21st. An increase of Rs.25/- per month was granted to all the private Transport workers numbering about 40,000.

75,000 plantation workers struck work on 31st of August demanding wage revision as per the joint call given by the CITU, AITUC and INTUC. The plantation workers are on a joint move to press their demand for wage increase.

The Kerala Road Transport Corporation employees went on a total joint strike from 4th September, 1973 and continued till the 20th of September demanding higher Annual Bonus. The Kerala Government took a decision that they will not grant more than 8.33% bonus to the losing concerns under its fold. Accordingly they refused to give more than minimum bonus to the State Transport Corporation employees. This provoked the strike.

During the course of the strike Mr. C. Achutha Menon, the Chief Minister threatened that he will resign and forced the AITUC, and INTUC leaders to withdraw from the strike on the day of the strike. But inspite of the official withdrawal of the strike by the AITUC and INTUC union leaders the workers belong to those unions continued the strike along with the others. The Kerala Private Motor Transport Workers Federation called for one day sympathetic strike on the 20th September, 1973. Nearly 40,000 workers of the private Motor Transport struck work on the day in supporting the state Transport workers. The issue was settled at 11.5% Bonus for the last year with a special clause that any workers who get lesser amount than the last years Bonus that will be made good by the Corporation.

On the 5th of September a joint one day protest strike was launched by the Electricity workers demanding higher Bonus. The Board refused to give more Bonus since the Government was insisting that only minimum should be given.

The CITU and other unions other than the AITUC again gave notice of General strike of Electricity workers from 22nd of September if the issue of Bonus was not settled before. Mr. M.N. Govindan Nair, got furious over the decision and he took immediate steps to ban the strike using D.I.R. The Navy and Military were moved to the power Generating stations and sub stations. He also called upon people to fight the workers.

The issue was settled in a Conference on the 21st of September 1973. The Electricity workers were given 8.33% of the last year wages plus the Board Agreed to modify the previous agreement on the arrear payment of D.A. and made it applicable for this years bonus. Therefore, the workers got Rs.13.80 paise over 8.33% per cent.

The Kerala Governments new policy decision on Bonus provoked many industrial disputes.

The Fisheries Corporation, the Agro Industries Corporation and the Small Scale Industries Corporation have agreed to with their respective unions to pay bonus equivalent to 12.5%, 20% 13% for the last year. Payment of these were stayed by the Chief Secretary. Hence the bonus was not paid to these workers. While Mr. Achutha Menon's "Bonus Policy" is being hailed by the Bourgoise Press, the workers of all Political affiliations are coming out against it.

The INTUC and AITUC wherever they refuse for joint action is getting isolated from the workers. The CITU is looked upon by all sections of the workers to lead their struggle.

The Anti unemployment day were observed in all the main centres of the State. Demonstrations and Public Meetings were held.

The Unity day was also observed, in a fitting manner jointly with the white collar employees.

The CITU State Committee decided to conduct the UCTU Conference at Ernakulam. Besides S.P. TU wing, the independent trade unions of Mr. S.C.S. Menon and Mr. R. Balakrishna Pillai, Kerala Congress T.U. Leader have agreed to participate in the Conference. It was decided to fix the date in consultation with CITU General Secretary.

The CITU Sandesam, monthly Publication of the CITU-Kerala State Committee is being published regularly. Though a target of 10,000 copies per month was fixed, only 4,500 copies are printed. Efforts are being made to increase the circulation.

E. BAIANANDAN
General Secretary
Kerala State Committee of CITU

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Report on West Bengal by Monoranjan Roy
General Secretary, West Bengal State
Committee, Centre of Indian Trade Unions:

Since our last report submitted to the CITU conference held at Ernakulam, series of strike struggles, both industry-wise as well as factory-wise had burst out throughout the State. There has been a definite shift in the mood of not only the working class but also that of the people towards struggles. This was evident from the successful Bandh of Garden Reach area on 5th July in support of GEC & AEI workers strike and more so from the Hooghly district-wise successful Bandh call given by Hind Motor Workers in protest against police firing and killing 4 workers on 9th July. The firing took place on the 7th July. Immediately after the firing the workers came out of the factory and gave a call for bandh of the locality, which continued for two days. District-wise bandh call was as a matter of fact given only a day before. The response to this call by the working class of the District, Shop keepers and other sections of the people was magnificent.

In the background of ever increasing price rise, unemployment, food scarcity and acute distress of the people on the one hand and the series of struggles of the working class and the people on the other, came the 27th July Bandh call.

THE HISTORIC BUNDH OF 27TH JULY

The successful Bandh of 27th July was a turning point in the recent history of the working class movement in the State under the present condition of unprecedented terror and repression.

The remarkable feature of the 27th July's Bandh was the participation of the large section of the industrial worker. The strike was successful even in many of the terror affected areas.

The organised participation of the daily wage earners like the Rickshaw-Pullers or Push Cart Pullers in Calcutta and Mafussal added to the glory of the general strike.

The spirit of self-confidence earned by the working class through innumerable struggles during recent period has been manifested through this successful general strike. The violence of the police and Congressite goondas could not cow down the working class and it showed that the working class were prepared for further greater struggles. This General Strike was a new experience to the people and the working class of West Bengal.

Unlike during earlier general strikes, when on many occasions strikers had been killed by the police, on the 27th July the armed goondas with the active help of the police carried on organised attacks in workers' bustees, quarters, shops and markets. It is to be mentioned that unlike previous bandhs, no picketing was there anywhere and upto 10 to 11 A.M., all shops were closed throughout the state, only after that the Congressite goondas forced open some shops in various areas with the police standing by or actively helping the goondas. Thus the people of the state once again realised the semi-fascist terror of the Congress Raj. In fact the Congress Government declared a state of war against the common people with the help of state-power, police and armed goondas. Yet the people in general and the working class in particular gave magnificent response to the strike call defying all the violence and motivated propaganda of the All India Radio and the monopolist Press. Undoubtedly the Bandh on the 27th July would remain as a glorious example to the future course of democratic struggle. Important lessons would be drawn from this bandh for guiding the future movements. We have this confidence that

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in view of the impending crisis of unemployment, price-rise, food-shortage, the protest of the people could not be smothered and their march could not be thwarted by any violence of the ruling class.

The working class of West Bengal have been demonstrating their fighting consciousness more and more in a period of all out economic attack and unprecedented semi-fascist terror created by the capitalist class and the Government.

The workers of different industries and small, big medium scale factories in West Bengal organised several prolonged movements during this period. The workers of the Jay Engineering, GEC & AEI, National Rubbers, Benani Metals, Premchand Jute Mills, Kesoram Rayon Welman Incandescent, etc. have struggled with undaunted determination for a long period. All these struggles in a period of terror clearly indicate that the fighting consciousness of the working class of the state is increasing and the spirit of unity is widening among the workers of the lower rank. The sense of self-confidence and fighting spirit of the people have somewhat been revived even in the terror stricken areas which are still under goonda occupation.

Attacks in New areas:

As yet a number of CITU leaders and activists have not been permitted entry to working class areas covering about 2 lakhs workers. The intensity of the terror has not abated, rather it has been increased in many places and is being escalated in certain new areas. Continuous attacks are going on upon the struggling workers of the Bengal Paper Mill in Refractory & Ceramic (Burn & Co.), J.K. Aluminium etc. in Raniganj area. Two workers have been murdered during this period. Workers are being forced to sign the enrolment form of Congress Unions. Attacks are constantly being made on the workers in Sen-Raleigh (Asansol) and Durgapur. In many places workers had resorted to strikes in protest against such terror. Youth Congress goondas have been carrying on their operation in the Darjeeling tea-gardens. The areas were less disturbed even after the 1972 election. So long only union affiliated to CITU was in existence in Lingia, Lizahill, Chungtung and several other tea estates in Darjeeling hills. Now the workers of these tea-estates are constantly being terrorised by the goondas with the active help from the police to foist upon the workers Congress union. Dipak Rai, worker of Lingia estate, was murdered by the Congress hooligans on the 27th July - the day of General Strike and Hartal. Massive attack was made in Jagacha area of the Howrah district on the day of General Strike, Rajen Kundu, a workers leader of Remington Typewriting factory was fatally stabbed by the Congress goondas.

Struggles for Wage rise

Engineering: At the initiative of the Federation of Metal & Engineering Workers Unions Constituent unions being affiliated to CITU the UTUC, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and TUCC Unions placed a joint Charter of Demands before the Government and the employers' associations on the 22nd December 1972. But the reluctant mood of the employers and the Government to reach a settlement led to a call for indefinite strike by the workers' organisations from any date after the 10th August 1973.

Appeal was made to the AITUC, INTUC and HMS affiliated unions for a programme of united movement. But they did not respond to such appeal. However the engineering workers of the state observed a day's token strike on the 25th April, 1973 at the call of all Central Trade Union organisations. Even then the employers and the Government did

not show any concern for settlement of the demands of the workers. As a result, the Central organisations including the INTUC and AITUC decided that in case of failure to reach any settlement all the engineering workers of the state would start indefinite strike from the 25th June. This decision of the Central Trade Unions made the employers rethink over the whole issue and after several tripartite meetings the employers signed an agreement on 24th June midnight and were compelled to meet some of the demands of the workers. According to this settlement / (1) In factories employing 50 to 249 workmen the wage of the workers will be increased by Rs.50.00- Rs.35.00 this year and Rs. 15/- in subsequent three years (Rs.5 each year), (2) In factories employing 250 to 1000 workmen the basic wage of the workers will be increased immediately by Rs.45.00, Rs.5.00 in subsequent two years (Rs.2.50 each year) - Rs.50/- in total in three years, (3) In factories employing more than 1000 workmen the basic wage of the workers will be increased now by Rs.49.00 including a special increment of Rs.4.00 Rs.5.00 in subsequent two years (Rs.2.50 in each year) i.e. Rs.54.00 in total in three years. Rate of increase of D.A. shall be at the rate of Rs.1.15 per point of rise above 200 points of the average All India CPI(Base 1960). According to this settlement the minimum wage of the workers of factories employing 49 to 249 workmen was settled at Rs.244.00

It is to be noted that whatever gains have been achieved are mainly due to CITU unions role in bargaining as well as in organising united movements.

But the demand for wage-increase of the workers of factories employing upto 49 workmen is yet to be settled. They are however organising united actions under the leadership of the CITU unions. All the small Engineering units in Howrah have unitedly resorted to one days strike on 25.9.73.

After signing the agreement the strike notice was withdrawn. But employers of many big factories under the agreement have not yet implemented the terms of the settlement.

This requires further struggle of the workers. In Hind Motors, Strike call was given by the CITU affiliated unions for the implementation of the industry-wise Engineering settlement and in protest against large scale Charge sheets and suspension, following an incident engineered by the management to avoid the payment of increased wages and higher quantum of bonus.

The strike in Hind Motors, gathered a new momentum when the INTUC unions which all these days to organised attack on the CITU affiliated union came forward not only to join the strike called by the CITU union, but even joined the united action Committee to conduct the strike together with the CITU union.

Despite continuous attack by the Congress goondas, the 2,000 workers of the Bengal Paper Mill in Raniganj had been continuing their Stay-in-strike in protest against retrenchment of casual workers and for their permanency. After 9 days, the disputes were settled. The strike was called and conducted by the CITU union only which is significant in view of terror and attack upon the workers in the area. The 300 workers and employees of the Casting Shop in the Durgapur Steel launched a heroic united strike struggle which started on the 25th August. A tripartite agreement was concluded on the 19th September and the strike was withdrawn. The strike was a complete success inspite of outright betrayal by the INTUC union leadership. The initiative of the CITU union achieved a solid unity

among the general workers.

Cotton Textile: The Cotton Textile workers gave a notice for indefinite strike from the 16th May 1973 on various demands like wage increase etc. A tripartite wage settlement was at last arrived at on 15th May which increased the minimum wage of the Cotton Textile workers by Rs.35.00. The minimum wage has been fixed at Rs.235.00 per month. D.A. will be increased at the Rate of Rs.1.15 for every point of rise above 200 CPI(1960 base). The demands of the 14,000 powerloom workers and 6 lakh handloom workers have not been realised in this settlement. The main problem of these handloom workers are price-rise and shortage of yarn leading to their unemployment. The high price of yarn and its artificial shortage affect the hosiery and power loom workers also, who are constantly being threatened of their jobs security. Yet the fighting consciousness of the handloom and powerloom workers have been heightened and they are becoming more and more organised. On 4th July last the handloom Textile Workers from different districts of the state demonstrated in Calcutta on various demands like supply of yarn at low price, relief for jobless workers etc. and submitted a Charter of Demands.

United action of Jute Workers: Immediately after 1972 election, the solid unity of the jute workers at the base and their united struggle compelled the jute barons to meet their pressing demand for increase of wage. The Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union, organised a day's successful token strike on the 15th June 1973 despite direct opposition of INTUC and HMS. This strike was jointly called on the 8th June by the Jute workers' unions affiliated to the CITU, UTUC, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and TUCC. But on the 5th June the BPTUC requested by a statement and letter to defer the strike for 7 days more. Accordingly the Central Trade Unions who had given a call for strike on the 8th June, decided to observe it on the 15th June. The demands were so popular and the sweep of the united moves at the base were such that even the INTUC workers refused to oblige their leaders' surmon and participated in the strike in thousands. The strike was a complete success even in those areas which were strong base of the INTUC unions. This successful struggle was a direct result of innumerable united struggles in different mills and the endeavour of the BCMU unions and its various mill committees to built unity at the base.

During the last year, the jute mill owners aided by the Government policy in Centre and the State not only doubled their profits, but they made the workers' life unbearable by mass scale retrenchment and increase of workload. During this period the rate of production per worker has been increased despite power-shortage, lay-off and retrenchment of workers. The wage-grade of the Casual workers have not yet been settled. Clerks, employees, Mistris, Durwans have not been awarded their increased grade scale. In this back ground the workers had launched a strong protest against a wage cut of Rs.18.00 from their D.A. for the months of May, June and July. The workers of all the mills except one struck work on the 15th June. The 15th June strike was made on various demands among which the most important were restoration of D.A. cut and immediate repayment of Rs.18.00.

The jute workers' strike was a pointer for the working class of West Bengal for their future move for unity and struggle and showed to the working class of other industries the way of achieving solid unity in the lower rank of the workers. It did also rouse a sense of self confidence among the workers of other industries.

Dock Labour: 14,000 registered workers under Dock Labour Board went employed by the Stevedores in Calcutta Dock on an indefinite strike from the 12th September on their demand for higher quantum of bonus.

13 unions working among the Dock Labour have been conducting the strike forming an united Committee of all unions. It is to be mentioned here that out of 13 unions one is affiliated to the CITU and another to the AITUC. The rest 11 unions are led by different factions of the Congress.

The industry-wide struggles proves that the union which were able to make effective struggle on the basis of the CITU lead principle of unity and struggle not only for realising their own economic demands but also for protection of democratic and trade union rights and for solution of the various pressing problems of the Masses of the people it become relatively easier for them to participate in the General Strike on the 27th July defying all the terror and violence. The industry wide struggles of the workers hightened their level of consciousness.

Unity and Struggle

The Ernakulam conference of the CITU and its general council meeting in Bombay discussed at length the question of unity and struggle and directive was given for organising unity at the base and for constantly endeavouring to achieve such unity. The workers of the jute mills, Engineering factories, Cotton Textile, Collieries and Tea estates, did not depend only upon the initiative of their leadership for achieving unity, but they organised united actions at the base with the ranks of the Congress controlled unions during these months on various demands in different industries, factories and tea gardens. As the crisis is deepening more and more, the awareness for unity and struggle is also growing among the workers, including a section of INTUC and AITUC unions.

The workers of Jay Engineering under the leadership of their 30 year old union, on holding high the banner of unity and struggle carried on a heroic struggle against the attacks of employers for the last five and half months in a completely adverse situation. Continuous attacks have been made upon the workers since 1970. Four workers had been murdered till date. Many workers had been evicted not only from the locality and also from the factory after the 1972 election. It is to be noted that two unions of the AITUC and the Congress were registered after the 1972 election. The Management declared lock-out in both the factories from the month of April 1973. After this lock-out, the CITU union made an appeal to the leadership and workers of the other two unions to organise united struggle against the management's autocratic action and the lock-out. Ignoring the appeal for unity, the congress gangsters have been attacking the workers campaigning at the factory gate almost every day. But the workers in general have been responding to the call for unity. The workers realised through their long experience that only the CITU affiliated union could correctly lead all the workers and employees against lock-out and during a period of such crisis. Though the leadership of the newly built AITUC and Congress unions refused to respond to the call for unity yet in the tripartite meetings or in meetings with the Government they toed the line of the CITU union and they supported the demand for reinstatement 9 leading activists of the CITU union who had been retrenched by the management, for their forced absence due to terror organised by the Congress Union. Besides, they supported the other two main demands of the workers. No doubt the ceaseless effort of the CITU union resulted in such strong adherence of the Jay Engineering workers to the principle of unity and struggle. The Management withdraw the lock-out after 2 months, but no demand of the workers was conceded. As a result the workers unitedly resorted to strike and continued their united struggle on common demands. The State Government as well as the union

Government having failed to settle the disputes have invoked D.I.R. declaring the strike illegal and asking the management of one factory only to pay Rs.30/- as part of the Tripartite Engineering Settlement. The State Government by invoking D.I.R. and asking the management to pay only Rs.30/- has violated its own industry wise agreement according to which the Jay Workers should get an increment of Rs.49/- per worker per month.

The State Govt. had also went back on their previous recommendations to the management to settle all the disputes, including full payment of Rs.49/- as per the Engineering agreement and also reinstatement of 9 dismissed workers.

The Government by conceding to the monopoly concern of Jaya to pay a section of the workmen less than which is due as per the Tripartite Engineering agreement has opened the flood gate to other employers for violating and modifying the agreement on plea of loss or inability to pay.

The INTUC and AITUC unions, who were very anxious to withdraw the strike on some plea, at once urged upon the workers to go back to their duties. Our union protested against the Government action and urged the INTUC and AITUC union to unitedly continue the struggle but they did not respond to this call.

Thus the heroic 6 months old strike of Jaya Workers ended. It was not a complete victory, but the experience of 6000 workers during this prolonged struggle will help in their future movement and to build unity at the base.

During this period many other unions adopted correct principle and line of action for achieving unity which strengthened the fighting consciousness of the general workers.

Anti Unemployment Day:

At the call of the United Council of Trade Unions.(UCTU) an All India 'Anti-unemployment Day' was observed in West Bengal on 23rd July last.

Decision on General Strike & Bundh:

In consideration of the ever increasing price rise, food-shortage and growing attacks of the Capitalist class and the landlords and in the background of the anti-unemployment movement, numerous strikes and industry-wide struggles of the working class the CITU State Working Committee decided in its meeting on the 18th June to observe a day's State-wide General Strike and Hartal sometimes, in the last August or first week of September. Letters were written to the AITUC, INTUC, HMS, UTUC, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and the TUCC. With copy of the said resolution and an appeal for organising united movements. No particular date nor any month was suggested in the said letter or the resolution for the proposed General Strike so that the date of the strike would be decided jointly. But without giving any reply to our letter the BPTUC called for a general strike and hartal on the 27th July all on a sudden and later on gave letters and copies of their resolution to other Central Trade Unions asking for their support to the said call. CITU took initiative to discuss the letter of the BPTUC with the UTUC, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) HMP and the TUCC. After prolonged discussion in joint reply was sent to the BPTUC on the 8th July. In reply the BPTUC laid stress on holding the strike on the 27th July and attempted to distort our joint letter. The BPTUC avoided everytime our proposal for a joint sitting to discuss upon the strike.

Our second question was whether the objective of the strike was to protest only against the hoarders and monopoly capitalists or also against the anti-people policy of the Government, which has led to ever increasing price rise, acute food-shortage and increasing unemployment. The BPTUC chose to avoid that question also. Moreover without giving any answer to the question concerning time for taken preparation for the bundh, the BPTUC went on saying that the strike must be held on the 27th July. Lastly, the CITU State Secretariat decided that a discussion should be held with the UTUC, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) TUCC and the HMP regarding the strike on the 27th July and decision must be reached. Accordingly a joint meeting of the said organisations was held on the 17th July. In this meeting the UTUC, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and the TUCC refused to give a call for the strike even separately on our agreed demands and against the policy of the Government on the same date. They said, " The strike on the 27th is sponsored by the Government and as such to give even a separate call for the strike on that date means to support the Government."

The leaders of the said trade union organisations failed to realise the significance of the strike on the 27th July. They ignored the peoples sentiment. In fact they did only consider the probability of a terror and the repressive policy of the Government, their evaluation of the awareness of the working class and the people was completely wrong. And due to that they avoided the proposal of the strike on so many please like greater mass struggle etc. We hope that the complete success of the bundh and participation of the working class and even small shop-keepers defying terror would certainly help the leadership of those organisation to realise their errors and to rally the people unitedly in the future struggles. As a matter of fact in many places the shop-keepers, hawkers, Transport and other workers under the influences of the 3 organisations opposing the strike, participated in the Bundh with undaunted spirit. One TUCC activist who joined the strike had been stabbed to death by the Congressite goondas in Din-hata with Coochbehar district on 27th July. In protest against this murder, Din-hata Bundh was observed on the following day also at the joint call of the CPI(M), F.B. and the CPI.

We hope that the BPTUC would also realise the real face of the Governments policy. As such they would mend their wrong and participate in the future united struggles.

We have to be prepared for harder struggles. In course of preparing ourselves for such struggles we have to evaluate the weaknesses of our organisation. It is a fact that we did not have adequate time for getting ourselves prepared for the 27th July strike yet the strike located the industries where we still have some weaknesses. The State Committee must evaluate the entire situation and take effective preparations for future struggle.

" Shramik Andolan" - the monthly organ of the State Committee is published on the 1st or 2nd day of every month. 11 issues of the journal have been published till date since November last. We are trying to assist the activists of the T.U. movement in their agitational work by publishing articles in this Journal giving due importance on recent problems and working class struggles. The regular features in the journal are (1) Peoples struggle in West Bengal (2) struggle in different states etc. Reports and discussions on workers' struggle in different industries are also published in 'Shramik Andolan. Within a short period after its first appearance 'Shramik Andolan' has been able to create enthusiasm among the trade union avtivist and the workers in general. We are trying to further improve the journal and increase its circulation.

Solidarity Action in support of the fighting
people of Vietnam and Cambodia

The 'Vietnam Solidarity Committee' consisting of representatives of the CITU and various mass - organisations collected a token sum of Rs.38,000 from the people of West Bengal and contributed the sum to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for its reconstructional programme as a symbol of fraternal solidarity. 12 July Committee and Kishan Sabha contributed Rs.49,000. This sum was paid to the Vietnamese Ambassador in New Delhi on the 5th July last.

Working Class - Peasants' Common Struggle on
Common Demands.

In view of the possibility of a greater mass struggle in West Bengal further efforts shall have to be made ceaselessly to rally the entire working class in support of the peasantry and to organise a solid unity among the workers. Our efforts are still not very effective in the matter of achieving working class peasant alliance and to make the working class conscious of its importance. We are aware of this weakness.

A significant step has however been taken by the CITU in recent period to organise a joint movement of the jute mill workers and the jute growers on the common demands of minimum price of raw jute at Rs.80/- per maund for current year, nationalisation of jute industry including raw jute trade and export of jute products and purchase of all raw jute by the Government of India direct from the jute growers.

Joint convention of jute mill workers and the jute growers in August last created perceptible enthusiasm among both the workers as well as the peasants. Subsequently as per the decision of the convention, a joint rally, demonstration, followed by submission of a joint memorandum to the Governor created a situation favourable for worker-peasant joint action by November or so. The CITU affiliated union, Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union (B.C.M.U.) has been moving for united action of all Central T.U.s, together with the peasantry by November. Meetings are being organised by the CITU union in the base for joint actions with members & supporters of all unions on common demands. The common demands of the jute workers and the peasantry have become popular among the workers of jute industry as well as the jute growers so much so that a possibility of worker-peasant joint struggle is developing and it will be difficult for other Central Trade Unions including INTUC to remain silent on the insistent demand of the jute workers in general at the base for united action on common demands.

This move may be said as a modest beginning of united action of the working class and the peasantry, initiated and led by the working class.

Our Tasks: We as yet we have failed to organise the bulk of the working class in movements for protection of individual liberty and release of the political prisoners who have been detained in hundreds without trial or on false charges and are being tortured physically inside the jail. This task shall have to be taken up as per the decision of State Council meetings.

The struggle against unemployment which created a great momentum in the joint rally of 26 organisations in Calcutta Maidan held on 26th November 1972 and mass squatting on the 28th March 1973, will be continued and we are trying to mobilise the broader section of the

working people in the movement.

We are trying to give due emphasis on our fundamental task of heightening the political consciousness of the working class finding way how to function the unions under conditions of continuous terror and state violence and reforging the links between the masses of the workers and the evicted leaders.

In the background of the present economic crisis the ruling class will undoubtedly intensify its attack upon the people to strengthen its own class position. At the same time, the problems of unemployment and price rise will be further accentuated, resulting in outburst of mass struggles in still bigger way, defying repressions and terror.

State Labour Advisory Board Meetings:

Though the attempt of the Government of West Bengal to ban the strike has successfully been resisted by the Central trade unions including INTUC in the recent SLAB meeting, yet we should be prepared to face further offensives by the ruling class and to resist that we will have to continue the democratic struggle of the working class.

Factional fights among congress led unions and the terror:

In another meeting of the Central Trade Union representatives convened by the Labour Minister of West Bengal, the question of terror was discussed. The situation which developed since 1972 post election days has taken yet another turn. The attacks are no longer only against the CITU unions or leftist unions including the AITUC Union, but the factional fights within the Congress has accentuated to such an extent that the INTUC unions are also being attacked by other factions of the Congress. As a result, in that meeting, the INTUC and the AITUC representatives also voiced in the same way as the CITU and other left TUs. against the attacks and terrors created by Congress factions. They also supported the following proposals (1) all those who have been dismissed from service for forced absenteeism due to terror both in public and as well as Private sector undertakings must be reinstated (2) the workers who are unable to attend duties due to terror should be given guaranteed security so that they may go to their duties (3) the evicted workers should be allowed to go to their areas and residences and their security should be guaranteed, (4) All T.U. leaders should be allowed to attend factory gates and freely hold meetings. and (5) All forcibly occupied unions should be vacated and all the TUs. should be allowed to function freely. The Labour Minister had promised to discuss the matter with the Chief Minister and the Cabinet and then to hold another meeting. The achievement was that not only AITUC but also INTUC supported the demand of the CITU. It is also a fact that a powerful urge is growing among the workers of terror affected areas demanding conditions so that evicted T.U. leaders can go back and work in those areas.

Under such circumstances, the people of West Bengal saw the new face semi-fascist terror unleashed by the Congress Raj on the day of the state-wide general strike and hartal on the 27th July. With growing crisis of unemployment and price rise the Congress rulers are being isolated from the people and they are resorting to more and more violence which however cannot cow down the voice of the people against the policy of the Government. This was the experience of the 27th July General Strike.

As such, the working class must organise and resort to greater mass actions defying the terror and violence. In leading future course of struggle, this perspective should be kept in mind. Our organisation should be reoriented hightening the political awarness of the workers and democratic functioning of the unions. The movements for economic demands and day to day activities of the trade unions shall have to be closely linked with the movements on democratic demands of the people.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

Working Committee Meeting, 3rd - 5th October 1973

New Delhi

Regd. No.1960

Phone : 24-7890

CALCUTTA STATE TRANSPORT EMPLOYEES' UNION

Recognised by the Authority of C.S.TC.

53 Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose Road, Cal-16.

Ref.....

Dated 13th Sept.1973

Com. B. T. Ranadive
President
Centre of Indian Trade Unions
172 Lenin Sarani
Calcutta 13.

Dear Comrade,

The report on the meeting of Road Transport industry - held at Ernakulam during CITU Second Conference has already been submitted to CITU Central Office. In this meeting it was decided that:

1. The functions of the Organising Committee - consisting of Com. Md. Ismail, Com. N. Prasad Rao, Com. O. Varthan (Kerala), Com. Hari Bhat (Tamilnadu) and Com. Sujit Das (Convener) should be revived to organise all India Convention of Road Transport workers. This formation of Organising Committee was suggested in the industry meeting held at Coimbatore during General Council meeting.
2. Both West Bengal and Kerala agreed to take responsibility to host the All India Convention of Road Transport workers.

So, if the All India Convention of Road Transport workers is decided to be organised, a Preparatory Committee is to be formed and this may be done in the ensuing Working Committee meeting at Delhi.

The All India Convention may be held at Calcutta or in Kerala.

At least six months preparation will be necessary to effectively organise the All India Convention. The most convenient time for holding the Convention will be March or April 1974.

We would request you to consider the proposal for organising All India Convention of Road Transport workers and inform us your views in this regard for our guidance.

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A copy of the report mentioned above is enclosed for your ready reference.

With regards,

Yours fraternally,

Sd/- Sujit Das

13.9.73

Encl: as above

Industry Report - Road Transport Industry

Report of the meeting of the Delegates of the CITU Conference - on Road Transport Workers movement held on 20.4.1973 at Azhikodan Raghavan Nagar, Ernakulam, Kerala

1. Sixty delegates from nine states connected with Road Transport Workers movement participated in the meeting. The number of participants State-wise are given below:

West Bengal	...	22
Kerala	...	27
Tamilnadu	...	2
Maharashtra	...	2
Madhya Pradesh	...	1
Bihar	...	1
Tripura	...	1
Mysore	...	3
Gujarat	...	1

60

As most of the industry meeting were held on this day, the delegates from Andhra, Rajasthan could not attend the meeting of Road Transport Industry.

Comrade O. Varthan of Kerala presided over the meeting.

2. The following subjects were discussed in the meeting :

i) All India Charter of Demands of Road Transport Workers.

ii) Measures to be taken to co-ordinate the movement of Road Transport workers all over the country.

3. The Convener of the meeting - Com. Sujit Das of West Bengal said that since 1968 in all the All India meetings Comrades connected with Road Transport workers movement have assembled in industry meetings and exchanged opinion on the necessity for co-ordinating the movement of Road Transport Workers in different states but upto now no headway could be made in this regard. The necessity for this co-ordination was all the more felt after the rigged election in West Bengal in 1972 March when the workers of Calcutta State Transport

Contd..... 3

Corporation and other Public Sector Transport Corporation and Road Transport companies in the State were subjected to unprecedented terror and it was necessary to organise solidarity action by the Transport workers all over India in support of the Road Transport workers of West Bengal.

4. A decision taken at Madurai in June 1972 on observance of All India day in support of West Bengal Road Transport Workers struggling against terror and for restoration of trade union rights it was partly implemented. This All India day was observed on 27th August, 1972. Printed badges were sent by Calcutta State Transport Employees Union to all transport unions in other states. Besides badge wearing, printed leaflets were issued in local languages on the basis of draft sent by CITU Central Office. Meeting and demonstrations were held on this day in various states. In Kerala meetings and demonstrations were held in all the Districts.

In West Bengal the workers of our major unions in Road Transport industry could not put on badge but leaflets were widely distributed and a convention was organised on 27th August, 1972 in Calcutta which was addressed by Comrade B.T. Ranadive, President of CITU. This was the first All India solidarity action organised by the Road Transport Workers.

5. But the other decision taken at Madurai meeting could not be implemented. It was decided in the meeting that Road Transport Workers Federation of Andhra would invite the representatives of Road Transport workers unions in other states to attend their Conference and this occasion would be used to discuss and finalise effective steps to be taken to co-ordinate the movement of Road Transport workers all over India. Unfortunately this invitation was not sent and as a result this meeting did not take place.

6. After the Bombay General Council meeting of CITU, which was held in last December, a questionnaire was prepared in consultation with CITU Central Office to all CITU unions in Road Transport industry to collect relevant data and information with the idea of preparing All India Charter of Demands. But only three unions sent the reply to the questionnaire. It will be difficult to prepare an All India report on the movement of Road Transport workers and to prepare a draft of their All India Charter of Demands if replies to this questionnaire is not received.

7. All these developments were thoroughly discussed in the meeting at Ernakulam. It was clear that proper initiative from the unions in Road Transport industry in various states was lacking. There could not be any other explanation for these lapses. The delegates present in the meeting assured that they would try to do their best in future and take more interest to maintain regular contact. The delegates were requested to send reply to the questionnaire immediately on returning to their respective states after the CITU Conference.

8. As directed by the General Council of CITU, the Convener placed a draft of the All India Charter of Demands for discussion in the meeting. Com. O. K. Varadhan, Com. P.B. Krishnan of Kerala, Com. Kashyap of Maharashtra, Com. Hari Bhatt

of Tamilnadu, Com. Sarju Pandhe of Bihar, Com. S.N. Kashyap of Madhya Pradesh, Com. Chandra Kurti and Com. Vijay Kumar of Mysore, Com. Manick Dey of Tripura participated in the discussion and on the basis of their suggestions for change and inclusion of demands, the draft of the Charter of Demands was finalised in the meeting. The draft of the Charter of Demands is enclosed.

9. Detailed reporting about the condition of Road Transport workers in different states and progress of their movement could not be placed in the meeting for want of adequate time. But all the delegates present in the meeting expressed their views in favour of organising All India Transport Workers Convention and for this purpose to activate the organising Committee of five men set-up in the Industry Group meeting held during the General Council meeting of CITU held at Coimbatore.

10. The following decisions were taken in the meeting unanimously :

- i) A draft of the resolution will be prepared on the basis of the draft Charter of Demands finalised in the meeting. Com. Sujit Das was given the responsibility to prepare the resolution. Draft of the resolution was duly submitted to the Convener of the Resolution Committee on 21st April 1973. Copy of the draft resolution is enclosed for ready reference.
- ii) The office bearers of CITU will be requested to take final decision on convening All India Road Transport Workers Convention and to set-up proper co-ordinating machinery to organise the convention.
- iii) The unions in Road Transport industry which have still not submitted the reply to the questionnaire should immediately submit it to CITU Central Office.
- iv) All unions in Road Transport industry should regularly send reports to CITU Central Office to keep the Centre well posted with developments of movements in Road Transport industry in the respective states.

The following Comrades are included in the organising Committee set-up by the Industry-wise group meeting at Coimbatore.

- i) Com. Md. Ismail, (ii) Com. Sujit Das (as Convener), (iii) Com. N. Prasada Rao, (iv) Com. K. M. Hari Bhatt and Com. O. Bharthan.

Comrades from Kerala are prepared to take responsibility to hold the All India Road Transport workers Convention at Kerala. Comrades from West Bengal are also prepared to take responsibility to hold the convention at Calcutta in March or April 1974.

Sd/- Sujit Das
CONVENER 13.9.73

RESOLUTION ON ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS

This Conference of CITU notes with serious concern that the workers of Road Transport Industry, numbering over a million are paid poor wage and are subjected to ruthless exploitation by employers. The participation of the State Sector in the Industry is still insignificant and the condition of the workers in it has not improved much compared to the private sector controlled by various types of ownership. Apart from low wage, abnormally long working hours and police harassment have made the lives of Road Transport workers most miserable. The Motor Vehicles Act and Motor Transport Workers Act do not protect the rights and interests of the workers fully and whatever rights and entitlements are incorporated in these acts are violated by the employers while the Government permit such violation by their gross inaction. In case of accidents the workers do not get any protection and financial assistance from the employers either for medical treatment or for police cases..

This Conference further notes with concern that in West Bengal, the workers and CITU affiliated unions are one of the main target of attacks under the semi-fascist terror unleashed by the ruling congress party with the help of armed gangsters supported by the police and administration to suppress left Trade Unions and the democratic forces in the State. Forcible occupation of union offices, forcing the members of CITU unions to join the unions of Congress(R), assault, murder and forcible collection of money are the methods adopted by the gangsters employed by the ruling party to suppress freedom of Trade Union functioning. After intervention of ILO, out of the 183 workers of Calcutta State Transport Corporation forcibly prevented by the gangsters of Congress(R) from reporting for their duties, 178 were able to resume their work, but freedom of trade union functioning has still not been resorted. So is the case in North Bengal State Transport Corporation, Durgapur State Transport Servicing - all the State Sector and in Carrier Transport Companies in the Private Sector. In DSTS three workers have been retrenched for forced absentism, in CSTC, 12 suspended and 5 retrenched and in NBSTC, one worker retrenched after 1972 election. In Carrier Transport Companies in private Sector 25 leading workers have been retrenched in Calcutta. CITU affiliated, Calcutta State Transport Employees union was derecognised by official manipulation and recently formed union of Congress (R) was given recognition in its place. This Conference calls upon the Road Transport Workers all over the country to stand in support of Road Transport workers of West Bengal who are courageously fighting against the terror and repression and for restoration of trade union rights.

Road Transport Industry holds a very important position in the national economy. The common people have a very direct link with it both as passengers and consumer of food and commodities carried by it. The Government by increasing Central Excise Duties on Motor Spirit, Highspeed Diesel Oil, Tubes, spare parts and Tyre increases far of passengers and freight of goods imposing more and more load on the common people.

This Conference notes that majority of workers in Road Transport Industry are still unorganised leaving scope for the employers to continue their ruthless exploitation.

This Conference calls upon the CITU affiliated unions in the Industry, to take prompt measures to organise Road Transport Workers on the basis of the following demands and build up a united movement for realisation of the same.

DEMANDS:

1. Need based minimum wage.
2. Trade Union Rights and Freedom of Trade Union Functioning. To stop terror and repression in West Bengal.
3. To stop police harassment of Transport Workers.
4. Full payment of legal and medical expenses to transport workers in case of accidents.
5. Modification of Motor Vehicles Act in the interest of Transport Workers.
6. Amendment of Motor Transport Workers Act and its extension to all Transport Workers.
7. Gratuity.
8. Abolition of contract labour and casual labour and permanency of all Transport Workers.
9. Weekly day off for all Transport workers.
10. Adequate leave.
11. 8 hours working day for all Transport Workers (between sign-in and sign-off).
12. Full Medical Benefit.
13. Rest Room for All Transport Workers.
14. Introduction of Provident Fund Scheme where it is still not given.
15. Reduction of Central Excise Duty on petroleum products, spare parts and tyres and tubes in order to reduce fare and freight in the interest of passengers and public.
16. Payment of Bonus with a minimum of 8.33% and without any ceiling in the maximum to all Transport workers.
17. Nationalisation of Road Transport Industry in the Private Sectors with absorption of all workers.
18. Full protection of existing rights and entitlements.

This Conference authorises the General Council to take suitable steps to co-ordinate the movement of Road Transport Workers on all India basis.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING

3RD, 4TH, 5TH OCTOBER, 1973,
NEW DELHI

NATIONAL PRODUCTIVITY COUNCIL

NATIONAL SEMINAR

ON

PRODUCTIVITY AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

(August 19-20, 1973)

INTRODUCTION

The National Productivity Council (NPC) convened a National Seminar on "Productivity and Trade Union Movement" on August 19-20, 1973 to examine two issues, namely, the role of trade unions in increasing production and productivity, and the assistance which NPC should render to the trade unions to enable them to increase productivity. Two senior representatives from each of the nine Central Trade Unions and the members of the Governing Body of the NPC participated in the Seminar. The representatives of the Central Trade Unions, after a day long deliberations considered various aspects of the issues and made several recommendations. A summary of the recommendations, made unanimous, by the delegates are given below.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

2. The Trade Union movement recognises that raising production in all sectors of the national economy and particularly in the public sector enterprises and essential services is essential for the development of national economy, but it wishes to emphasise that the workers are only one factor of production and that its own contribution to raising production and productivity can only be optimised if other major factors of production especially, Management and Government take appropriate matching actions in their respective spheres. In so far as Government and Employers are at the policy making levels and are responsible for guiding the present economy, their responsibility for raising production and productivity and for creating the environment in which the labour contribution can be maximised is paramount.

3. The one single factor, which more than any other, distorts the productive mechanism and creates social unrest is the inordinate price rise which we are experiencing today. The Trade Union movement does not believe that this price rise is due to the discrepancies between rise in monetary wages and rise in productivity. On the contrary official statistics show that while productivity has risen, real wages have fallen or remained stationary on one hand and prices have risen on the other hand. We have observed that even when there is full production prices continue to rise, reducing real wages. Without under estimating the importance of maintaining production and productivity at a high level of operational efficiency, we wish to emphasise that solution to the present price rise has to be sought by dealing with the factors

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which have led to creating parallel economy and by evolving an effective distributive mechanism under public control which will ensure equitable distribution of all essential items at pre-determined fair prices.

4. In the light of the above, we consider the following conditions important for maximising the effectiveness of the effort of the trade unions and workers in the drive for higher production and productivity:

- i) National Economy must move in the right direction **which should eliminate concentration of wealth so that the benefit of workers' contribution accrues to the community as a whole.**
- ii) Areas of public ownership and control should be extended so that the financial savings accruing from higher production and productivity are deployed for the benefit of the community as a whole rather than for the benefit of a few privileged individuals.
- iii) Public controlled enterprises and services must work at a high degree of managerial efficiency for the fulfilment of socio-economic objectives;
- iv) Price rise has to be immediately controlled by the Government by ensuring appropriate public distribution system which leads to equitable distribution of available goods and services, and exercising effective control on money circulation, and such other factors which have direct bearing on price rise.
- v) The employers of both public and private sector enterprises have to create an appropriate climate for fostering proper Industrial Relations, leading to effective bilateral bargaining. Considerable change has to be brought about in the managerial culture and environment for promoting effective workers' participation at various levels of decision making process and providing adequate motivation to them for maximising their effectiveness in the drive for higher production and productivity.
- vi) Productivity movement should give categorical assurance to the trade unions that it will not lead to retrenchment, intensification of workloads, reduction in emoluments and maintaining employment potential. Production norms should be mutually agreed upon between the representatives of employers and trade unions before these are implemented at the enterprise level. Productivity movement should also lead to the creation of employment opportunities by extending the area of public ownership and control, rather than making the employment stagnating.

- vii) Rise in production and productivity either in quantity or quality should lead to increase in real wages rather than erosion of these over a period of time. The gains accruing from higher production and productivity should be equitably shared with the workers and the community. It should lead to the improvement of conditions of the working class on a national level.
- viii) Training and development of trade union organisers and workers in productivity and related matters should be given priority by the unions and the National Agencies in the field. At the same time, employers have to create adequate promotional avenues for the workers without which training and development will have no motivation for them.
- ix) Development of investment resources should be guided strictly by the need of raising standard of living of the poorer section of the society and not to cater to the needs of the affluent. Further, the choice of technology should be made to suit the conditions of a developing economy like ours and not by way of imitation of what has been done in the developed countries.

STEERING GROUP

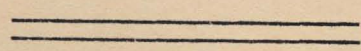
5. As several issues pertaining to the subject under discussions require to be investigated in depth, we decide that a nine-member Steering Group be constituted to carry out this study and report back within a period of 6 months. The Steering Group will consist of a representative each of the following Central Trade Unions, besides the Chairman and the Executive Director of the NPC:

- i) Shri NM Barot (NLO), (ii) Shri Jatin Chakraborty (UTUC), (iii) Shri George Fernandes (HMP), (iv) Shri GS Gokhle (BMS), (v) Shri MS Ramachandran (INTUC), (vi) Shri P. Ramamurti (CITU), (vii) Shri Naren Sen (NFITU), (viii) Name to be announced (AITUC), (ix) Name to be announced (HMS).

6. The Steering Group agreed to meet in Delhi on 30th September, 1973, again when each member will contribute a paper on any one or more subjects requiring further investigation in depth.

CONTRIBUTION BY CENTRAL TRADE UNIONS

7. All the nine Central Trade Unions also agreed to contribute Rs.500/- each for promoting productivity studies on the subject(s) to be decided by the Steering Group. The amount so contributed will remain with the NPC. Efforts will be made by the NPC to seek project assistance from the Government for financing these studies.



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September 28, 1973.

The Chief Labour Commissioner (Central),
Government of India,
Ministry of Labour & Rehabilitation,
Shram Shakti Bhawan,
New Delhi - 1.

Re: Verification of membership of unions
affiliated to the All India Organisations
of workers for the year ending
31st December, 1972.

Dear Sir,

This has reference to your letter No.35(1)/73-Vfn dated 19th July, 1973 and 23/24th August, 1973. We are forwarding herewith a list of 2031 unions, with a total membership of 9,12,328 affiliated to our organisation as on 31st December 1972 along with the required particulars.

A copy of the Report of the Second Conference of the CITU held at Ernakulam on 18th to 23rd April 1973 is being sent herewith. A copy of our Constitution as amended by the Session will be forwarded to you at an early date.

We would like to bring to your notice that we still maintain our criticism of the procedure for verification which is extremely favourable to the INTUC and other organisations taking pro-Government position. It has been the experience in the past that the official machinery is being utilised to boost the membership of the INTUC, while the unions critical of the Government are being deliberately discriminated in the matter. We have therefore demanded that the question of recognition of trade unions be decided through secret ballot which alone can reflect the real opinion of the workers. As you are aware, except the INTUC all the Central Trade Union Organisations have favoured the principle of secret ballot to determine the most representative union.

The CITU would like to mention once again the fact that the Government continues to include nominees of central trade union organisations on all the tripartite committees and bi-partite negotiating bodies on the basis of 1968 verification figures. The representatives of our organisation have been kept out of these committees though even according to the preliminary verification conducted by the Government the registered membership of our organisation was over 7 lakhs 20 thousands as on 31st December, 1970 which was above 15 per cent of the registered membership of India for that year. We strongly demand that pending verification for the year 1972 the Government should immediately accord recognition to the CITU as an All India Trade Union Organisation and give nomination to our organisation on the Committee

As we have already drawn your attention in our earlier communication that in West Bengal a large number of militant trade unions have been forcibly occupied by anti-social elements under direct patronage of ruling party,

Contd..... 2

the police and the State administration. More than 300 unions belonging to the CITU alone have thus been affected and open functioning of these organisations have become almost impossible. Union records have been destroyed and workers whose names are mentioned in the annual returns are faced with dire consequences. As a result of this even to fill annual return has become extremely difficult. This matter was raised in the State Labour Advisory Board, West Bengal in its meeting on 11th September, 1972, 19th September, 1972 and 10th September, 1973 as well as during the meeting of Central Trade Unions convened by Shri K. V. Raghunatha Reddy, Minister of Labour and Rehabilitation, Government of India on 10th March 1973. However, the reign of terror and suppression of trade union rights continues throughout the State. This will naturally create difficulties for these unions during verification and hence, we are once again drawing your attention to them.

With greetings,

Yours Sincerely,
Sd/- P. Ramamurti
General Secretary.

RECEIPT & PAYMENT ACCOUNT OF C.I.T.U. FOR THE PERIOD
1ST JANUARY 1973 TO 30th SEPTEMBER 1973

R E C E I P T S :		Rs.	Rs.	P A Y M E N T S :		Rs.
1. To	Opening Cash & Bank Balances			1. By	AFFILIATION FEES PAID (Share of State Committees)	3,571.55
	Cash in hand on 1.7.1973	701.32		2. "	DONATIONS PAID	
	Cash in Banks on 1.7.1973	27,279.77		a)	For Evicted Workers of West Bengal	Rs. 3310.76
	Fixed Deposits with Banks	70,000.00		b)	For Workers of Electricity Board, Haryana	200.00
2. AFFILIATION FEES			97,981.09	3. "	WAGES PAID TO STAFF	3,510.76
				4. "	RENT	10,140.00
3. DONATIONS			96,622.15	5. "	ELECTRICITY CHARGES	4,255.00
a)	For Evicted Workers of West Bengal	355.00		6. "	TELEPHONE CHARGES	325.78
b)	Vietnam Solidarity Fund	220.00		7. "	POSTAGE & TELEGRAM STATIONERIES	1749.05
				8. "	BOOKS & NEWSPAPERS	1160.35
4. SALE OF CITY PUBLICATIONS			575.00	9. "	REPAIRING CHARGES	1340.12
5. SALE PROCEEDS OF AN OLD TABLE			869.76	10. "	AUDIT FEE FOR 1972	669.50
6. DELEGATION FEES FOR THE SECOND CONFERENCE			120.00	11. "	CONTRIBUTION TO UCTU	204.00
7. MISCELLANEOUS RECEIPTS			5,328.00	12. "	CONVEYANCE CHARGES	250.00
			146.75	13. "	PRINTING CHARGES	200.00
				14. "	TRAVELLING EXPENSES	474.52
				15. "	ADVANCE TO STAFF	10,764.30
				16. "	MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES	14,302.40
				17. "	DELEGATION FEES FOR CITY'S STAFF	100.00
				18. "	ATTENDING 2ND CONFERENCE	2,660.25
						216.00

85

RECEIPTS : Rs. _____ Rs. _____

8. INTERESTS RECEIVED FROM BANKS

On Savings Accounts 755.55
 On Fixed Deposits 3,754.00

4,509.55
206,152.30

PAYMENTS : Rs. _____

19. By CHARGES FOR INSTALLING A WASH BASIN WITH OVERHEAD TANK 524.00

20. " CASH & BANK BALANCES

Cash in hand Rs. 80.00
 " at Bank Rs. 78,897.10
 (Savings A/Cs)

FIXED DEPOSITS WITH BANKS Rs. 70,757.62

Rs. 149,734.72
Rs. 206,152.30

Samar Mukherjee
 (Samar Mukherjee)
TREASURER



(37)

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS
WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING
3RD, 4TH & 5TH OCTOBER, 1973
NEW DELHI

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED IN THE MEETING

(1)

ON MARTYRS

The Working Committee of the CITU pays its homage to all the valient martyrs who laid down their lives in the cause of trade union and democratic struggles since May last. At no time in the history of the Country have so many people been shot as in the last six months, which highlights the new Society of the repression let loose on the fighting people.

A large number of workers were killed in police firing during several strike struggles and anti-price rise agitations. In Faridabad township, on July 6, a CITU worker Com. Tilak Raj was shot dead by Haryana Police. 37 persons lost their lives during U.P. policemen struggle in June for T.U. rights. The Rajasthan police had beated to death on July 16 a driver of the State Electricity Board. The Achutha Menon Government police shot dead two workers and stabbed to death Com. Sukumaran during the Kerala Bundh on July 10.

Several activists and workers in West Bengal, Kerala and other States were brutally murdered by the hirelings of the employers and landlords. In West Bengal, the Congress gangsterism continues and CITU functionaries in Durgapur and other places were brutally murdered while carrying day to day T.U. activities.

In Mysore, a student was tortured and killed in Police lock-up. In the State-wide protest movement, that foreward this brutality and in the massive dehorning operations all over the State by students and hungry people, Congress Govt., instead of taking action against the hoarders, resorted to severe repression including brutal lathi charge and firing in a number of towns leading in the death of many.

The Working Committee, while condemning these attacks takes the pledge that the CITU would ceaselessly carry forward the cause for which all these martyrs laid down their lives.

(2)

ON CONDOLENCE

The meeting of the Working Committee of CITU expresses its deep sorrow over the passing away of the leaders and active workers of the trade union and democratic movement who were engaged in fight for defending the interests of the working class and pays its homage to their memory.

Contd..... 2

The CITU deeply mourns the death of Com. Chandra Shekhar, Member, Delhi State Committee of the CITU. Com. Chandra Sekhar, despite being a heart patient indefatigably continued his work among the workers of Delhi and got a massive attack while organising the textile workers of Delhi and died in harness.

The Working Committee conveys its condolences to the members of its family and to the Delhi Committee of the CITU and to the workers of Delhi who have suffered an irreparable loss in the passing away of this outstanding leader

(3)

ON FASCIST COUP IN CHILE

The Working Committee of the CITU denounces the CIA master minded bloody coup d'etat in Chile on September 11, which subverted the Government of popular unity lead by President Dr. Salvador Allende and established fascist military junta to serve the U.S. imperialists interest in Latin America.

The meeting expresses its indignation and strongly condemns the cold blooded murder of Dr. Allende by the hirelings of the military junta after siezing power. It further demands the reign of terror let loose throughout Chile by the armed gangsters mercilessly killing tens of thousands of progressive people and taking into custody equally large number of people.

The firm unity of the Communists and Socialists enabled the Government of Dr. Allende to implement big reforms and advance the people against the U.S. imperialists and local reaction.

The progressive steps taken by the Government of Dr. Alende which included nationalisation of industries, weeding out agents of U.S. imperialists, introduction of land reform and implementation policy of peace and anti-imperialism angered the reactionaries inside Chile who in league with CIA have been conspiring all along to overthrow Dr. Allende's Government. The so-called fatherland liberty movement has been openly canvassing on subversive activities and sabotaging the progressive measures of Dr. Allende in order to turn into reverse gear the wheels of advance. Despite huge mass mobilisation against the conspiracies of the counter-revolutionary forces, all the weaknesses could not be overcome and the reactionaries triumphed with the help of a section of armed forces, police and the CIA.

The meeting congratulates the working class and other toiling people in Chile who heroically resisted the military junta and still shedding blood for the cause of democracy and socialism. The CITU pays its homage to Dr. Allende and thousands of other martyrs who laid down their lives fighting the counter revolutionaries and upholding the democratic traditions.

The CITU congratulates the people throughout the world who expressed their indignation at the ghastly murder of democracy in Chile.

The CITU calls upon the working people to join the world wide movement in protest against the massacres and saving the lives of the thousands of patriots languishing in prisons, including Luis Corvalan, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile.

It appeals to the working class and people of India to carry forward their struggle against U.S. machinations and subversion of democracy in various countries in the world.

Draft Resolution:

(4) Recognition of Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Sihanouk Government of Cambodia.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions held at Delhi from 3rd to 5th October, 1973 condemns the Government of India for its failure so long to give recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of South Vietnam and even after the recognition given by Bangla Desh and the non-aligned conference at Algiers.

The recent conference of the non-aligned countries held at Algiers where India participated not only as a full member but also as the Chairman of the Political Committee has declared unequivocally in its resolution that "the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam" is "the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people." It has also called on the non-aligned countries to give and intensify their support to this government in all fields. In its political declaration the Algiers Conference has called on its member states to give their diplomatic support to the Provisional Revolutionary Government as "the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people."

The Working Committee fully supports the views of the Algiers Conference. The CITU since its formation has consistently raised this demand along with the democratic people throughout the world. The Working Committee demands of the Government of India to grant recognition to PRG without delay. The Working Committee thinks that the reason behind the failure and the delay in according this recognition is the class policy pursued by the Government for its heavy dependence on American aid. As this policy of dependence on American imperialism, the arch enemy of the peoples of the world and of freedom and democracy of our country the working Committee calls upon the working class and the people of India to come forward unitedly to defeat this policy of the Government of India. It also calls upon the people of India to stand behind the people of Vietnam and Cambodia in their fight against the American imperialism and their stooges.

Though defeated by the valiant people of Vietnam and forced to sign the Paris Treaty and declare the end of war in Vietnam and subsequently the withdrawal of bombings on Cambodia, the American imperialism and its stooges are persistently trying to return back to its former position of colonial rule in a new way through systematic violations of Paris Peace Agreement and various provoking actions. The Working Committee strongly condemns these actions of American imperialism and calls upon the people of India to thoroughly expose and defeat these games. It demands the immediate withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

It welcomes the Vientiane Agreement for a Government of National Concord in Laos.

The Working Committee expresses its full unanimity with the declaration of the Algiers Conference that "the only legitimate and legal Government of Cambodia is the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia headed by Samdech, Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and urgently ask for recognition of this government."

The Working Committee demands that the Government of India should sever all connections with the Lon Nol Government and accord full recognition to Sihanouk Government forthwith.

The Working Committee calls upon the working class and the people of India to raise their powerful voice so that the Government of India is forced to give recognition to these two revolutionary governments immediately.

(5)

On Third Pay Commission Recommendations.

The Executive Committee of the CITU, having carefully considering the report of the Third Central Pay Commission, is of opinion that the recommendations made by this Commission not only reject the legitimate and just demands of millions of workers and employees but also throw overboard the norms and principles so far followed in fixing the need based minimum wage and also introduce new norms and principles which, if accepted and implimented upon, will do irreperable and colossal harm to the living and working conditions of the workers and employees all over the country, not only in Central Government service but in State Government, local Self-Government services and private and public industries.

The workers and employees demanded need based minimum wage, based on the principles unanimously agreed upon by the 15th Indian Labour Conference, but the Third Pay Commission rejected it. It changed the norms of neutritional requirements of the workers as well as the basis of standard family unit prescribed by the 15th Labour Conference and worked out a minimum wage of Rs. 196 as the need-based minimum wage, Even this was reduced to Rs. 185 on the plea that the new entrant will be a batchelor without any encumbrances. Thus the Pay Commission has virtually torpedoed the unanimous decisions of the 15th Indian Labour Conference and upheld the wage-freeze policy advocated by the Government of India.

The workers and employees demanded full neutralisation of the increase in the cost of living, but the D.A. formula recommended by the Pay Commission will result in rapid erosion of the meagre wages the Commission has recommended in a short time.

The workers and employees demanded bonus for all, but the Pay Commission kept mum over the issue.

The recommendations regarding the House Rent Allowance, City Compensatory Allowance, Leave Travel facilities and other frinze benefits are retrograde, in many cases reduce the existing benifits and systematically nibble at them.

Pay Commission, while showing step-motherly attitude towards the demands of the low paid staff, has been extremely considerate and munificent in the case of higher eschelons of the bureaucracy by raising their already high salaries and sanctioning huge allowances, which, in several cases, exceed the total pay packets of the lowest paid employees. Moreover, the Pay Commission, by conferring the inferior status to the technical and medical men and giving preference to the I.A.S. bureaucrats, have virtually recommended buttressing the apparatus of repression and neglecting the apparatus of production and health.

While the workers and employees demanded higher pay scales which their compatriots in many public and private industries and Departments are getting, the Pay Commission classified them as belonging to 'high wage islands' and recommended scaling down these pay scales in the name of uniform national pay structure.

The Executive Committee of the CITU considers that the arguments advanced by the Third Pay Commission in support of their retrograde recommendations are utterly wrong and baseless. The excuses in the name of financial burden on the Exchequer, new entrants without encumbrances, high wage islands, etc., are only intended to cheat the millions of workers and employees of their right to need based minimum wage, full neutralisation, nonus etc.

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C.I.T.U. Executive Committee notes with satisfaction that a large number of organisations of the Central & State Government employees have summarily rejected the recommendations of the Pay Commission and are organising themselves for mass actions in order to achieve their legitimate demands. The massive response that these organisations gave to the call of the UCTU to hold a convention of these employees is a sign how the employees are reacting to these retrograde recommendations. The Convention held in Delhi in the last week of July unanimously decided to carry on a phased programme of struggle to win need-based minimum wage and bonus-for-all. CITU gives unstinted and full support to the cause of these employees workers and calls upon all its affiliated Unions to render all assistance to the movement of then Central & State Government employees.

C.I.T.U. sends its ward greetings to the railway employees, engineering personnel, motor transport workers, P & T employees and others who are today fighting for their demands and assures them its full support. It considers the appeal of the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi as hypocritical when she asked the engineers not to consider themselves as inferior to any other, when the Pay Commission has classified them as of interior service and the Government treat them so.

C.I.T.U. warns the workers and employees to keep alert and thwart any attempt of a sell-out by Government proteges in the labour movement and checkmate any such betrayal by their vigilance and militant actions.

The Executive Committee of CITU calls upon all its affiliated Unions to rouse the working class to whatever branch of industry they belong and prepare them for participating in the nationwide struggle that may be launched for getting need-based wage, bonus, full neutralisation and other demands.

The Executive also appeals to all Trade Unions and Employees organisations who have not yet joined those who participated in the Delhi Convention of July to join in it and make the cause of the workers and employees irresistible.

(6) On the Loco Running Staff Struggle :

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions held at New Delhi between October 3 - 5, 1973 greets the Loco Running Staff for the magnificent fight they put up against sweated exploitation. In 1968, when they agitated on the same question the treacherous leadership of AIRF and NFIR in collusion with Railway Board imposed a 14 hours duty on them and betrayed their struggle. They broke away from the leadership of these organisations, patiently built up their own organisation and embarked on a determined country-wide struggle which wrenched a glorious victory for them.

During the course of the struggle, the Railway Ministry and the officials of the Railway Board, deliberately and mischievously concealed from the people the demands of the locomen and tried to prejudice their case before the public. They also resorted to mass scale arrests, lathi-charge and wide spread repression in the name of ensuring supply of food and essential supplies, in a vain bid to arraign the workers for callousness towards the suffering people. Exactly the opposite happened and large section of people were scandalised by the fact that the locomen were forced to work for 14 hours or more. Even the Press could not support the Government and the Railway Board on this count and their isolation was complete which forced them to arrive at a settlement with the striking workers - a process which they had refused to do so long.

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The Loco Running staff deserve congratulations of all section of workers specially railway workers for their firmness and their efforts to build unity at grass roots level. As they were undaunted before the offensive of the Government, so they were unruffled by the repeated appeals of a section of AITUC leaders who certified the sincerity of the Railway Minister and asked the locomen to withdraw their strike leaving all the demands for talks after the strike. Thus they have been able to add a glorious chapter in the annals of the Railway Trade Union movement.

The CITU had supported the struggle from the very beginning and helped the strikers through various measures to enable them to secure an honourable settlement. It joined the issue with the All India Loco Running staff Association to unmask the criminal role of the Railway Ministry and the Railway Board for involving the country in a strike of such magnitude in the midst of a serious economic situation in the country, for its anti-working class policies, its deceitful policy of recognition of nursing yesmen and favourites which has generated a tremendous resentment amongst the railway workers in general.

This meeting hopes that the Locomen would realise the fact that such a significant victory has been possible because of the support of various mass organisations and above all the democratic masses of the country and strengthen their fraternal ties with the people in the fight for the ensuing struggles against famine, high prices, unemployment and democratic rights.

This meeting also notes the fact that the Railway Board has already started machinations to frustrate and sabotage the agreement already arrived at. In their game they have found the AIRR leadership a willing partner. While the bureaucrats of the Board are making the function of the Committee impossible by creating difficulties and refusing prompt implementation of withdrawal of D.I.R. cases and measures of victimisation, the leaders of AIRF are organising a section of railwaymen to fight against the settlement with Loco Running Staff. The Railway Board is also ordering mass scale promotions to the non-strikers in an attempt to divide the workers and honouring black-legs.

This meeting warns the Government that such measures; the worst kind of creating a section of permanent black legs and sabotaging of the agreement with the Locomen is fraught with the danger of involving the country in another strike as the Loco Running Staff would surely not accept such behaviour lying down. This meeting calls upon all democratic organisations to raise their voice against such unfair labour practices and support the cause of the loco Running staff. This meeting pledges its support to the Loco Running Staff in their fight to enforce the 10 hour duty and the agreement as well as other just demands.

(7) HIGH PRICES & FOOD SCARCITY

During the last six months, the working class and toiling people had to undergo untold miseries and privations on account of skyrocketing prices and non availability of food grains and other daily necessities. The wholesale prices of all commodities had gone up by 30.3% and food prices by 37.2% by the end of August 1973. But the official price indices have ceased to have any meaning because actual prices have broken all previous records taking everything beyond the reach of common men.

The consumer price index compiled by the Central Govt. and State Govts. are manipulated in a fraudulent manner with a view to deprive the workers adequate dearness allowance to compensate for the rise in prices. The mockery of this Consumer price index can be easily seen from the fact that sometimes these indices show a fall in prices when prices are actually rising rapidly in the market. This has already led to a rapid erosion of D.A. more so for those workers who do not get a point to point neutralisation. Thus whatever gains the workers had made through D.A. rise, wage revision on bonus have been virtually wiped out by the recent rise in prices.

The galloping prices and the consequent non-availability of food grains have created a havoc in mofussil towns and in rural areas where food riots have taken place and a number of people have died of starvation. Wherever the people have conducted movements to secure food at cheap prices. The Govt. has ruthlessly suppressed them by mass arrests and firings.

This unprecedented situation have brought the working class face to face the basic policies of the Congress Government. The High prices and acute scarcity of food are clear indications of a deeprooted economic crisis which has resulted from the bankrupt policy of pursuing the capitalist path of development by the Congress rulers and their attempts to impose the burdens of this crisis on the common people and the working class. While therefore fighting against these attacks on on their standard of living and for need based minimum wage the working class will also have to wage a determined struggle for a complete refusal of the basic policies of the ruling class and for alternate policies of democratic advance towards socialism. Similarly while demanding compulsory procurement of all marketable surplus of food grains and statutory rationing of food and other articles of daily necessities to end present scarcity of food, the working class will also fight for complete abolition of the monopoly of landownership, for redistribution of land for radical agrarian reforms.

The Working Committee of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions therefore calls upon the working class and all Central Trade Union organisations to come together to unitedly fight for need based minimum wage, compulsory procurement of surplus food grains, for statutory rationing of all articles of daily necessities and for radical agrarian reforms in order to end the present economic crisis and for advance towards socialism.

(8) RESOLUTION ON USE OF DIR, MISA AND OTHER
REPRESSIVE MEASURES AGAINST TRADE UNIONS
AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS

This meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU notes with deep and indignation the continued use of DIR, MISA and other repressive measures against the trade unions and other democratic movements. Despite repeated protests by the CITU and various other organisations, the Central and State Governments are bent upon crushing all movements launched against the anti people policies of the Congress Government in the different states by taking measure to such repressive laws.

In recent months, repression was let loose in Mysore Kerala and other states against the peoples movement launched by trade unions and other democratic organisations in protest against the food and price policy of the Congress Government. firing and lathi charge were indiscriminately resorted to. In West Bengal the repression and semi fascist terror continue hundreds of militant workers were arrested under MISA and other repressive laws in the eve of 27th July, Bundh; on the bundh day itself gangsterism by Congress hirelings was let loose to break the general strike. DIR was invoked against the heroic and united strike of Jaya Engineering Workers in the interest of Jaya management. In a similar manner DIR was used last year for dealing the printing workers strike illegal. After the successful strike by locomen all over India Railways were declared essential service so that strike hear become illegal. Thus the Congress Government at the Centre and the States are using powers under emergency to break the united struggle of the workers and the people but it should be noted that emergency DIR, are seldom used against hoarders and blackmarketers when the people are are groning under abnormal price rise of essential commodities and food shortage.

This meeting strongly protests against use of MISA, DIR and other law less laws against legitimate trade unions and democratic movements.

This meeting, therefore, demands immediate withdrawal of emergency, DIR, MISA and other repressive laws and appeals to all Central Trade Unions and other mass organisations to build United and powerful movement for this purpose.

(9) ON WEST BENGAL LABOUR ADVISORY
BOARD DECISION

This meeting of the Working Committee of the CITU notes the developments that has taken place in the meeting of the Central Trade Unions representatives of the State Labour advisory Board called by the Labour Minister, West Bengal Government where the question of terror carried on by the gangsters against trade unions was discussed.

Despite repeated appeals by the CITU, the AITUC, INTUC and many other Central Trade Unions have so far refused to make stand against continuance of of the semi fascist terror perpetuated against the trade unions led by CITU and some

other left trade unions. The West Bengal Government as well as the Central Government refused to recognise that any such terror existed not to speak of taking any measures against it though repeated representations were made by CITU and some other left T.U. Centres. The CITU forwarded that if such **attack** against T.U.s was allowed to continue, no trade unions would be spared from such attack. Later developments have proved the correctness of CITU's warning. The attacks are no longer limited against CITU and other trade unions; the attack has spread against the AITUC unions. Not only that, the insurgent within the Congress has accumulated to such an extent that one section of INTUC unions is being attacked by the other.

As a result of all these the proposal voiced by the CITU in the said meeting of the SLAB were supported by all the Central Trade Unions including the AITUC and INTUC. The meeting made an unanimous recommendation on the basis of the following proposals.

- 1) All those who have been dismissed from service for forced absentism due to terror both in public and private sector undertakings must be reinstated.
- 2) The workers who are unable to attend duties due to terror should be given guaranteed security so that they may go to their duties.
- 3) The evicted workers and trade union leaders should be allowed to go to their areas and residences and their security should be guaranteed.
- 4) All T.U. leaders should be allowed to attend factory gates and freely hold meetings.
- 5) All forcibly occupied unions should be vacated and all the TUs should be allowed to function freely.

The Labour Minister promised to place this unanimous recommendations of the meeting before the Chief Minister for measure to be adopted for their implementation and they call another meeting to discuss about the proposed measures.

This meeting of the Working Committee considers this to be an important achievement as on the one hand the CITU has been able to mobilise all the Central Trade Unions in support of its demands against terror and on the other hand the CITU has been able to make the West Bengal Government recognise the existence of conditions of terror against trade unions and provide measures against such conditions.

This meeting demands of the Central and West Bengal Govt. to take necessary measures on the basis of the unanimous recommendations of the SLAB meetings.

This meeting calls upon all its state units to build a powerful movement so that the measures as proposed in the SLAB meeting are carried into effect by the Government. .

This meeting further calls upon the West Bengal State Unit and all other State Units to continue their fight and campaign against the the semi fascist terror which is being continued against trade unions.

(43)

CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING
3RD, 4TH, & 5TH OCTOBER, 1973
NEW DELHI

RESOLUTION ON STRIKE OF U.P.
ELECTRICITY WORKERS

The Working Committee of the CITU conveys its warm greetings to the Electricity Board Workers who are on strike demanding increase in the wages and improvement in working conditions.

The U.P. Government which used dilatory tactics in settling the demands of the workers is responsible for the power crisis and inconvenience cause to the people and loss of production. Instead of settling the genuine grievances of the workers, the Government not only banned the strike but also ordered shooting at sight the workers in the name of preventing sabotage. The CITU condemns the U.P. Government for these repressive measures and demand their immediate withdrawal.

The CITU appeals to the T.Uns of all affiliations to support the struggle of the U.P. Electricity workers.

(44)

MINUTES OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING
HELD IN NEW DELHI ON OCTOBER 3 - 5, 1973

MEMBERS PRESENT:

Comrades B. T. Ranadive, Jyoti Basu, Md. Ismail, Sudhin Kumar, Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury, S. Y. Kolhatkar, E. Balanandam, K. Ramani, P. Ramamurti, M. K. Pandhe, Manoranjan Roy, Niren Ghosh, Kamal Sarkar, Samar Mukherjee, N. Prasad Rao, K. Padmanabhan, K. N. Ravindranath, N. Padmalochan, P. K. Kurane, Mohan Punamia, R. Umanath, A. Nallasivan, Krishnapada Ghosh, Biren Roy, Robin Chatterjee, Dinen Bhattacharya, Robin Mukherjee, Vishwanath Monoti, Parasa Satyanarayana, Robin Sen

INVITEES:

Comrades Chandi Prasad, V. P. Chintan, N. Chakraborty, Satya Narayan Tewari and Ghanasyam Saran Sinha.

Com. B. T. Ranadive took the Chair.

- (1) Com. P. Ramamurti moved the resolutions on Martyrs and on Condolences. The resolutions were adopted. Members stood in silence for two minutes on each resolution (see text of resolutions appended).
- (2) Com. Jyoti Basu moved the resolution on Fascist Coup in Chile. (See text of resolution appended).
Com. B. T. Ranadive said that the meeting will have to adopt a separate resolution on Pablo Neruda, which was approved by the meeting.
- (3) Com. B. T. Ranadive then delivered his presidential speech (See text of speech in later pages).
- (4) Com. M. K. Pandhe then moved the names of the following members for the Resolutions Committee.
 1. Com. Sudhin Kumar (Convener)
 2. Com. R. Umanath
 3. " N. Prasad Rao
 4. " Ravindranath
 5. " S. Y. Kolhatkar
 6. " Niren Ghosh
 7. " Biren Roy

He also moved the following names for the Credentials Committee:

1. Com. Nalla Sivam (Convener)
2. Com. Suhrid Mullick Chowdhury.
3. " K. Padmanabhan
4. " P. K. Kurane.

All the names were accepted by the meeting.

- (45)
- (5) Then Com. P. Ramamurti, General Secretary, placed his report before the meeting. (For text of report see later pages.)
- (6) Com. B. T. Ranadive pointed out that the details of the struggles have already been brought out in the General Secretary's report. But experiences of different struggles should be brought out in the discussions on the report.
- To facilitate the preparations for discussions by the Comrades, some other items were taken up.
- (7) Asked by the President, Com. Monoranjan Roy reported on the affiliation of the All India Plantation Workers' Federation with the Trade Union International of Forestry, Agriculture and Plantation Workers and the visit of the TUI representative (Mr. Kuzmiu). He said that Com. A.K. Gopalan and Com. Hare Krishna Konar had talks with the General Secretary of the TUI body. On their assurance an application for affiliation was made out and it was passed at a meeting held in Germany.
- He also said that, for some time past the TUI had been planning to hold a Conference of Asian Plantation Workers in Ceylon. After the situation in Ceylon went bad, they decided to hold the same in India. A one-man delegation was to visit India for the Conference. We received him but he said he would visit the Federation (AIPWF) office but not the CITU office, nor would he meet CITU leaders. We told him that both the offices are located in the same premises. He, however, visited the office and held discussions with myself and Com. Vimal Ranadive. But after the discussions he drew out a Press Note from which the name of Com. Vimal Ranadive was dropped. He wanted to know our attitude towards united struggle and we informed him about the united struggles that have already taken place at our initiative. He then said that the Asian Conference can be held only with a National Initiative Committee. One Federation cannot form such a Committee. Hence, we should wait till the AITUC formed a Plantation Workers' Federation. Then both can form this National Initiative Committee. We informed him that during the recent past united struggles have been developing on all points and here also a united committee can be formed. He then pointed out to a report in the Working Class Journal in which criticism about AITUC was made. We pointed out that if AITUC makes agreement with the management accepting retrenchment, we are bound to oppose the same.
- Thereafter, he went to Bangladesh. On his return from Bangladesh, he proposed that the Asian Conference can be held in Bangladesh. He had met three organisations who want to hold the Conference there. Com. Konar pointed out that these three organisations taken together have very little influence. Secondly, the number of Plantation workers in Bangladesh is comparatively very small.

It appears that affiliation of our Federation to the TUI is not liked by the Soviet group who had instructed this representative not to visit CITU Office and also try to make such arrangements which will take away our initiative for holding the Asian Conference in India. ~~xxx~~ had told them very clearly we only promote united struggle and would like to hold the Asian Conference. Except reasonable guidance we would like to develop our own initiative in making the Conference a success. We would be glad to have the opportunity.

Com. B. T. Ranadive explained the background of the whole issue. He said, we knew from the very beginning that all the forces are not favourable for smooth sailing of the process of affiliation. Even recently, we received some papers of the WFTU in which we find that while demands of the workers were properly formulated, the terrific repression on the working class does not find any place in the document. Only some small countries like Tunisia etc. were mentioned. But the happenings in India, Iraq etc. have not been mentioned. It also appeared that they affiliate only those who are cent per cent loyal to the Soviet line. They had indicated in the past that we should not criticise the AITUC. That means they don't want their affiliates to introduce any politics in the T.U. movement. Even in this occasion, the process suggested by the TUI representative means that our initiative is killed and some of their followers are brought into the Committee. We should, therefore, finalise our attitude to the TUI. So far as the affiliation is concerned it should continue. We should, however, not accept any condition which run counter to our policies. This line was accepted by the house.

(8) Com. B. T. Ranadive then suggested that the meeting should fix up the time for the next General Council Meeting.

It was decided that it should be held in the first week of February, 1974. There were invitations from Bihar, Andhra, West Bengal etc. It was decided that members from these states should discuss this matter with their colleagues and send concrete proposal by the end of October, 1973, after which the Secretariat will finalise the venue.

(9) Com. B. T. Ranadive then took up the question of formation of Federations and asked Com. M. K. Pandhe, Secretary, CITU to report on the decisions and how many of them have been executed.

Com. Pandhe then reported on this issue.

ROAD TRANSPORT:

There was a decision to form a Federation. Then some proposal came for Carrier Transport Federation. It was suggested that both of these should be combined and this was accepted by many comrades. But the Federation could not be formed because there were no active cadre to pursue the work. Com. Sujit Das wanted to take initiative, but he is unable to give much time on this as he is mostly bogged down with problems in West Bengal.

Then a questionnaire was circulated among the affiliated unions. Only three or four unions replied. He then described in detail the problems and demands of the workers which provide good ground for country-wide movements. He referred to the suggestion of Com. Sujit Das that there should be an All India Convention to discuss the issues and his offer to hold it in West Bengal. Com. Pandhe then proposed that the suggestion of Com. Das should be accepted.

Com. Kesto Ghosh explained that the conditions are not yet ripe. We should discuss the question in the Executive Committee and take decision later on.

Com. P. Ramamurti said that in many States, there was no organisation amongst the Road Carrier Transport workers. Even in many states where we have organisations, there is no co-ordination amongst them. The problems, wage leave etc. are different in the various states. Hence some efforts have first to be made at State level only. We have only organisation in 3 or 4 States. So that cannot be called an All India Federation. He said that the question should be discussed later on.

ENGINEERING INDUSTRY:

Com. Pandhe reported that most of the membership of the CITU is in this industry. It was decided to bring them together. A Questionnaire was sent but only one union from Rajasthan replied. Then they were again reminded, but only 5 or 6 more unions responded. Various representatives met again at Ernakulam and decided to have a co-ordination Committee. But that has also not been functioning.

The West Bengal Comrades sent a suggestion for holding a Convention. The proposal was circulated by us amongst the State Committees. But there was no reply. We have to take some decision about this.

Com. Robin Mukherjee (West Bengal) explained that there were difficulties in uniting the entire industry. Hence attempts in the past have not been successful. We could not even finalise a common Charter of Demands. Hence we thought that a meeting of 20/25 comrades functioning in the Engineering industry can be called to discuss the problem and prepare a report.

Com. Ravindranath (Kerala) said that before we go into the formation of a Federation, we should form a Co-ordination between various organisations. Once this starts functioning, we can think about forming a Federation.

Com. Kamal Sarkar and another comrade also spoke on this issue.

Com. P. Ramamurti explained in detail about our strength in the industry and as such there was every possibility that a powerful Federation can be built up. We have a base to form it. But before the Federation is formed, some one must be deputed to study the position very carefully and evolve common demands on the basis of which campaign can be made and we could address the workers directly on these issues.

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Com. Robin Mukherjee proposed that a meeting of comrades in the Engineering industry be held in Rajasthan in December.

Com. B.T. Ranadive said that unless some reports are collected by each State and common demands could be prepared, it is no use holding a convention. Hence every state Committee should depute some one to collect materials and prepare reports and send the same to the Central Office so that discussions in the meeting could be fruitful.

It was agreed that all the State Secretaries should send reports on this industry, 15 days before the next meeting of the General Council and also the names of the comrades whom they want to invite.

PORT & DOCK:

Com. M. K. Pandhe reported about our functioning in the Port and Dock Workers' Federation. He said that the problems were discussed at Ernakulam when it was decided to improve our work. But in fact nothing had been done by Maharashtra and Tamilnadu comrades. Com. Pereira wrote about his experience in Bombay. In West Bengal we have made some advance. If some progress is made in our work in Bombay and Madras, we would be able to form a Federation of our own and counter the betrayals by others.

He also said that the term of the first Wage Board, ~~is~~ has expired and it is likely that very soon the Government may announce the next Wage Board. We must do something before the next Wage Board.

Com. S. Y. Kolhatkar (Maharashtra) reported that one of the leading workers in the Bombay Port has become inactive. There are 2/3 other comrades. But by themselves they cannot do much. In the past we made some attempts. At the present moment there is no immediate possibility to make out something. It will take some time.

Com. R. Umanath (Tamilnadu) said that our strength is absolutely nil among Port and Dock workers in Madras. There is some misunderstanding about our strength at Madras. We do not have much influence. However, the workers are in a militant mood. Hence, we have already decided that one cadre from Madras District Committee should be allotted for work among Port and Dock workers on a priority basis. But the idea of Com. Pereira that only with Bombay and Madras we can form a Federation is somewhat oversimplification of the problem.

Com. Viswanath (Kerala) also spoke.

Com. Kesto Ghosh (West Bengal) reported on the situation in Calcutta. He said that only in Calcutta, Goa and another port we have some organisation. Hence, he suggested that at the time of the next General Council Meeting, a coordination between these three ports should be formed and we should commence our work.

Com. B. T. Ranadive explained the present situation. The AITUC-led Federation is not recognised now. Com. Pereira therefore suggested some steps by which we could organise unions in some small ports and

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form our own Federation. He analysed the situation in every port and criticised the ~~xxxx~~ attitude of the Maharashtra Committee and urged upon all that we must make repeated efforts to build up our organisation. It is obvious that we cannot ~~fx~~ form a Federation. Hence, a Coordination as suggested by Com. Kesto Ghosh, should be formed and also urged that systematic planning has to be done about a vital industry like Port & Dock and steps taken to make a breakthrough.

[The meeting adjourned for the day at 8 P.M. and resumed at 10 A.M. on 4.10.73.]

10. Com. B. T. Ranadive read the letters of Working Committee members who could not attend the meeting for various reasons.
11. Com. Samar Mukherjee, Treasurer placed the Accounts before the meeting. While doing so, he corrected some typographical mistakes.
12. The meeting adopted the Statement of Accounts unanimously. It was also decided that the State Committees' shares of Affiliation Fee be paid.
12. It was then decided that Com. P. Ramamurti, General Secretary will attend the Press Conference.
13. Com. M. K. Pandhe then resumed his reporting on the formation of industry-wise Federations.

BEEDI INDUSTRY:

In Ernakulam, comrades working in Beedi industry had met and decided to form a Federation. Com. Ramamurti had suggested that some conferences should be held and organisation built up first. Accordingly, some conferences were held in Kerala and West Bengal. In Orissa, Kerala, Tamilnadu and West Bengal there were possibilities. The unions should discuss about the Minimum Wage Committee's Reports and should devise ways and means to have united struggle.

Com. Umanath stated that in Mysore, Tamilnadu and Kerala there was a good agitation. Conference of Labour Ministers adopted the minimum wage of Rs.3.25 p. to Rs.3.50 p. So far as the South is concerned, we have mass base. He suggested holding of an All-India Convention.

Com. Kamal Sarkar said that after the Ernakulam Conference we could not make much headway. He explained the condition of the workers and said that we have registered and non-registered workers. We decided to observe 'Beedi Workers' Day' and in December we will hold a Conference to form a Federation. If other States take initiative in forming the Federation, we would participate in that.

Com. (Andhra) said, we have in fact no organisation barring one organisation of AITUC with a strength of 1600 workers which has joined us.

Com. (Kerala) said, there was no possibility of forming an All-India organisation. We should take steps for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ organising workers on state basis first.

Com. Chandi Prasad (Bihar) said, we held one meeting of Cadres from 35 places. We have decided to form one union. All India organisation may be formed.

Com. B. T. Ranadive said that at present there was no possibility of having an All-India Organisation but preparations should be there to have State-wise organisation. In the south, Co-ordination Committee should take initiative.

MINING INDUSTRY:

Com. B. T. Ranadive then raised the question of All-India Mining organisation.

Com. Robin Chatterjee said — In Coimbatore, it was decided that a meeting of Mining Comrades would be convened by the CITU centre. For this or that reason, such a meeting could not be convened. Besides, in West Bengal coal mines we faced severe attacks and the same happened in Bihar. In Bihar, apart from A. K. Roy's union, we have been working in Bihar also. There was successful strike and repression was there. We have got substantial influence in NCDC collieries. Once in 1952-53, we used to get help from Com. Parsa of Andhra Pradesh. To-day we have certain political influence in Andhra Pradesh coal mines. It is not known for what reason we are not having any organisation there.

Recently on 28th September, 1973, he attended the meeting of the Joint Bi-partite Negotiating Committee. Before attending the meeting he discussed the matter with Com. Pandhe. We decided certain things. Accordingly, I suggested that immediately 25% ad-interim relief is to be announced. AITUC proposed Rs. 50/- flat to be increased. INTUC suggested that three types of interim relief should be there — one of Rs. 29, another of Rs. 39 and the third of

It was included in the terms of reference that the Wage Committee should give its decisions. The following points should be decided:-

1. Minimum Wage, (2) Categories of workers,
3. The anomalies, (4) Other points like leave etc.

He suggested that comrades working in the mines be called to discuss the problem. He also suggested getting of some facts from other countries.

Com. D. Satyanarayana (Andhra) said that they would be able to send one delegate to discuss the problems as suggested.

Com. Samar Mukherjee reported that there are CITU Unions in Madhya Pradesh. The whole administration is moving in a manner as to crush the CITU unions there. A large scale victimisation has taken place. Our comrades there have bitter experience about Mathews and they wanted to build independent union which we permitted. It is now to be decided whether these should be affiliated to the Federation headed by Mathews. But as they are making their own preparations for a struggle it would be possible for them to join in this co-ordinated struggle. He explained the details of the demands on which the movement was undertaken. He said that comrades from Madhya Pradesh would join the meeting as proposed.

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Com. R. Umanath said that there is one union in Tamilnadu. The wages are however not like other mines. It is more or less on the pattern of Engineering. However they may send a representative to the proposed meeting.

Com. B. T. Ranadive wanted to know whether such a meeting is possible at a short notice.

Com. Kamal Sarkar said that it is a necessity and therefore comrades must be asked to attend the meeting.

It was decided that a meeting will be held on 21.10.73 at 3 P.M. in the CITU office as suggested. All States to send their representatives. (After a ten-minute break, the meeting resumed discussion.)

ELECTRICITY:

Com. Pandhe reported that the CITU was not invited to the Electricity Board Wage Committee. When we wrote to them that we would not be bound by their decisions, then we were invited. Originally one representative from Kerala, Tamilnadu, and West Bengal. The AITUC representative Bardhan suggested that as one representative from CITU is to be accepted, it should be from West Bengal and our comrades agreed to it and Janki Ram was taken in the Committee. This comrade does not have much idea about need-based minimum wage etc. In the meanwhile other T.U. representatives are trying to make some sort of patch-up with nominal rise in wages. Hence we have to decide our course of action in the Committee. Also we have to develop struggles outside because in the past AITUC called for a strike and then went into negotiations. Unless some real preparation for struggle is made, the Committee cannot give good result.

Com. Monoranjan Roy said, this Committee was set up at the instance of AITUC. The SEB management did not want an All India Committee. The purpose of this Committee is only to decide whether an all-India wage Committee is to be formed or separate Committees for each State. Only one Committee meeting has taken place and the matter is still under discussion. After this meeting we had a discussion and opinion was for an all-India body.

He suggested that a meeting of SEB unions should be called, irrespective of whether they were affiliated to CITU or not, in order to decide a common stand on this question. Our comrade from Haryana, to whom we tried to talk was reluctant. We do not know whether we have any cadre in U. P. or Bihar where there have been struggles very recently. If there are, we can definitely co-ordinate our activities in a better manner.

Com. Balanandan suggested that our comrades should meet and decide the guidelines. Once we do that the AITUC and others cannot avoid to take similar line and something good would come out.

Com. Nallasivam said that there are genuine difficulties in fixing all-India wage level. However an effort has to be made in this regard. The present Committee is thinking in terms of giving only a paltry rise as interim relief. We must frustrate this machination. We would send comrades for discussion.

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Com. B. T. Ranadive said that some guideline has to be given to them. For this purpose ~~xxx~~ he wanted some details about the situation.

Com. Monoranjan Roy furnished the details.

Com. Pandhe explained that the question of observer was already discussed and the Government decided to pay his expenses.

Com. P. Ramamurti explained that Comrades Monoranjan Roy and Pandhe said that this comrade will not be effective. He had tried for a change with Raghunath Reddy. But it was not accepted.

After discussion it was found that a meeting before this meeting on 19.10.73 is not possible. But a meeting would be held two days before the next meeting at Delhi.

C E M E N T I N D U S T R Y :

Com. Pandhe reported that we require an immediate all-India co-ordination on Cement industry. He explained in detail what transpired in the meanwhile. Com. Ramani had suggested that we have seven cement unions and we should have some consultations amongst us.

Com. Ramani reported the details as to what transpired with the INTUC. He however suggested that some consultation amongst ~~out xxxxxxx~~ unions is necessary.

Com. B. T. Ranadive said that it is necessary to have some consultation.

J U T E I N D U S T R Y :

Com. Kamal Sarkar reported about the Jute Federation. An Organising Committee was formed during the last Conference in West Bengal. But it has not functioned. We have Unions in Assam and U.P. and have more than 1 lakh 6 thousand members out of 2 lakh 60 thousand workers and there is a possibility of forming a Federation. Last time comrades from Andhra assured us that one comrade from their state would attend. With this prospect we have decided to hold a convention sometime in December and even if Unions belonging to other centres do not come, it would cover 4 States and the Federation can initially start functioning with these and create a condition for enlarging the same in future.

C H E M I C A L & F E R T I L I S E R :

Com. Pandhe reported that during Ernakulam session a meeting of Chemical and Fertiliser Industry was held and it was decided to co-ordinate their activities. It was found that at present nothing can possibly be done in this respect.

P A P E R I N D U S T R Y :

Com. Pandhe also reported that there had been some discussion from time to time on Paper Industry. Com. Robin Sen was the convenor for this industry. But due to the development of semi-fascist terror in Raniganj, he could not do much.

Com. Robin Sen reported that only 5 union representatives attended the meeting and a co-ordination Committee was set up and they were asked to

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contact others and meet once again in July. This meeting could not take place. It is however scheduled to be held in November.

Com. Niren Ghosh explained that the union in Titagarh is in the occupied area and is unable to function.

Com. P. Ramamurti said that a meeting of 5 members would not be able to take proper decision. Hence he suggested that a meeting with one representative from each affiliated union may be called so that some useful purpose can be served.

Com. B. T. Ranadive said that for the present we cannot invite INTUC unions. Only representatives from affiliated unions should attend. The meeting is scheduled to be held in November at Rajahmundry (Andhra).

CERAMIC & REFRACTORY INDUSTRY:

Com. Pandhe also reported that a letter was received from Com. A.K. Roy, member General Council, for calling a meeting of Ceramic and Refractory industry. It was however decided that it was not possible to call such a meeting.

14) Discussions then started on Com. P. Ramamurti's Report.

Com. Umanath: He said that it is true that during past six months, the entire economic gains of the working class has been wiped out. Due to high prices it is seen that the most backward section of workers are also coming into struggle. Secondly, the workers of the strategic industries who were dormant for the past 27 years are now coming to the forefront. For example, in the Railways, after the Loco workers strike there have been several strikes in the Southern Railway. The potentialities of these struggles are that they start at one point and spread over a wide area. He cited several instances of this nature. The experience of these struggles is that if we make conscious efforts, a broadest possible united mass action can take place. The Olavvakot struggle is an example where conscious efforts built up unity on right issue, and then the struggle was escalated to a total strike. Even in the Madras struggle the leaders who organised the demonstration did not want to proceed further. It is the initiative of a CITU comrade which turned the table and forced the leaders to give a strike call. He explained the position that to-day the recognised unions would never unite with unrecognised unions. Similarly, LRSA will never unite with AIRF union.

We have undertaken a campaign on need-based minimum wage and united struggle. The campaign brought good results. United actions have taken place. Committees have come up. After the UCTU Convention of 25th & 26th July, a broadest possible united committee has come up in Madurai, and on 13th and 14th October, a State Convention is being held at Madras. Now the AITUC has started a counter-offensive against this broadest unity through various methods including open betrayal and diversionary movement including fake call for state-wide action. He cited certain instances, particularly about Bharat Heavy Electricals. Even in the Railway strike in Kerala, Achutha Menon opposed and both the AITUC and AIRF betrayed the struggle. We must therefore

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take initiative and mobilise the workers on correct demands, otherwise the reformists and revisionists would take the opportunity and divide the workers. He cited some examples of all-India strikes called by the AITUC which were intended only to get some small concessions and kill the possibility of broad-based struggles.

Regarding Public Sector Wage revisions, some pattern is emerging. They are choosing the weak spots where CITU is not strong and settle a reduced pattern of wage and impose the same on advanced and strong industries. We must ensure that workers are mobilised below to foil the game at the top. The conclusion is therefore that AITUC is desperately trying to prevent strike or withdraw the same early. He quoted some Press Reports to indicate that the National Council has decided not to resort to strike in Public Sector. Regarding orientation of workers towards big problems like high prices etc., some advancement has been made in Tamilnadu. But it is on a limited scale. He cited an example in which we could foil the machination of the ADMK, Right C.P., Indira Congress etc. But despite this we have not been able to heighten the consciousness of workers. The Harvey Mill workers could not be brought to participate in the Bundh. So also at many centres. He cited the position with regard to the observance of the Anti-Unemployment Day on 23rd July. The participation of the workers was very small. We have therefore to work hard on this point.

(The meeting then adjourned and met again at 4 P.M.)

Continuing the discussion Com. Umanath said, in regard to re-orientation of workers about the struggle of the peasantry, we have not been able to do anything other than what has been reported by Com. P. Ramamurti. Similarly, on the question of political activities, we have not been able to make any headway at all. On the question of semi-fascist terror, we are glad to note that there has been a change in West Bengal and working class there is now asserting itself. This new element shows the capacity of the working class. If the solidarity action had been taken up seriously, the process would have been hastened very much. We must accept our failure in this regard. In fact the warning given at the CITU Conference in Cochin was not heeded to and we had to pay the price of the murderous attack on Com. V. P. Chintan. Just before this, the DMK through a leaflet had given indication of attack. Our comrades phoned the authorities but were not vigilant enough. We must once again give the warning that such attacks are going to mount and must prepare ourselves to combat the same.

Com. Vishwanath Menon (Kerala): He did not dilate on Railway workers since Com. Umanath had reported on this in detail. He referred to some of the struggles of Ernakulam, Quilon and Trivandrum. There have been united actions in the Port. P. & T. workers also asked for Rs.300 as Onam advance. In another united action for 20 per cent Bonus, the AITUC and INTUC leaders walked away in the middle of the struggle and had to face angry workers. In the Transport workers strike, we have gained and all others had to resign from the Union portfolios.

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There have been two Bundhs. One called by the CITU and another jointly with others. Both of them were successful. The agricultural workers have their own union. They have also moved in this period. On the whole the situation in Kerala is very much favourable. We have shortage of cadre. Almost every cadre has to look after minimum 6 to 7 unions. The attitude of the Kerala Govt. on Bonus is more anti-labour than Congress. It is also seen that due to mass pressure the AITUC and INTUC leaders have to join in united movement but during the pendency of the struggle they walk out and sabotage the struggle.

Com. Balanandan (Kerala): In Kerala CITU is dominating in every section of industry. He gave detail instances of the attitude of the Kerala Govt. He related the Transport strike and the Electricity strike. In both the strikes, Achutha Menon said that he is not going to pay more than 8.1/3 per cent bonus. But in both the cases he had to pay more than that. In every industry this year, more bonus had to be paid than in the last year. We expect that we are going to be the majority union in various industries. To-day no struggle is taking place without consulting the CITU. 4500 copies of the journal are being sold every month.

Com. P. K. Kurane (Maharashtra): Immediately after Cochin Conference we called a meeting for famine relief work. It was decided by the peasant workers to strike on 16th May. There was campaign. But again Fernandez wanted the date to be changed to 25th to which others did not agree. On 15th May about 5 lakhs workers participated in the strike and there was a demonstration of 20 thousand workers and 3/4th of the gathering was ours. Taxis, shops etc. were closed. It was in reality a Bundh but not General strike. The 15th strike was a political one, as no economic demand of the workers was involved. On 16th May the Famine relief workers held a convention and framed their Charter of Demands. We have decided to form an agricultural workers union. We want directive as to how to go about it. Because Congress has also taken initiative to form organisations amongst agricultural labourers. He has already written to Kerala and Andhra comrades for a copy of their constitution. If they don't have any, we have to apply our mind and do the same.

The next important development is about formation of UCTU. Actually, the backing out of Fernandez from the 15th May strike created a lot of discontent in his ranks. One union from Pöona wanted to come out of HMP and join CITU. Fernandez promised to promote united action through UCTU to check the union. Then a Convention has been held and State UCTU has been formed. Com. P. Ramamurti attended the convention. Another good thing was that a joint demonstration could be held against fascist coup in Chile jointly with AITUC as well.

About 7-day agreement he gave details. The INTUC agreed for a 7-day week. The CITU gave a call for strike on 22.7.73. The AITUC gave a similar call on 15th July. We decided to join the 15th strike as well. It was 80% successful. On 16th July there was a struggle for opening some mills. Again on 22nd July there was a struggle and the owners decided to restore common holiday on Sunday.

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He explained the circumstances under which Dange and Com. P. Ramamurti addressed the conference. In this conference a call for preparation for indefinite strike on Textile industry for higher wages and Bonus was given. We suggested that an Action Committee should be formed. The AITUC refused to do this. Then suddenly they called for a strike on Bonus on 30.9.73 without consulting us or other organisations. There was no preparation. As he had to leave for Delhi on 1.10.73.

Com. Monoranjan Roy (W. Bengal): He referred to certain developments since the second Conference. After the General Strike of 27th July, the State Committee reviewed the situation. The strike was preceded by a series of united actions. He also explained by the tactics adopted during the semi-fascist attack. He ~~xxx~~ said, we were confident that with the accentuation of crisis, united struggle from below could be built up. Our assessment proved to be correct. The experience of 27th July was a new one. Although all sections of the people had to face semi-fascist terror and the Govt. had declared a war against the people, even the most backward sections of workers came out in a sustained struggle. For instance, even the Rickshaw pullers also scored some victory. After reviewing the 27th July General Strike we came to the conclusion that inspite of semi-fascist terror, the working class would march unitedly ahead due to the present crisis. Due to the ration-cut, the situation is taking a turn for the worse and some bigger struggles are ahead. We have decided to observe 18th October as Food Day. We have also been able to make the working class to move ahead with the demands of the peasantry. He referred to the joint movement of Jute workers and Jute growers. A common stand is also developing against semi-fascist terror. The AITUC and INTUC who never admitted the attacks earlier, are now raising their voice because they are also under attack. This common stand forced the State Labour Minister to give some assurances. To-day, he said, the situation is changing. He cited the instances of the movement of Hind Motor workers and Dock workers. He said, the trend shows that INTUC unions are also coming more and more into united actions. Workers' resistance against semi-fascist terror is also growing. He gave details of the incidents at the Ranigunge Paper Mill. He concluded by saying that with the accentuation of the economic crisis, workers' resistance is also growing.

Com. Mohan Punamiya (Rajasthan): He referred to the biggest struggle of this period — that of the State Government employees. He referred to the unity between the workers and the Govt. employees that has been built up through the struggles under the leadership of CITU. This has given a new confidence to the people. The repression launched by the Govt. can be imagined from the fact that the BSF with machine guns had taken over the policing of the State. There was a co-ordination committee with all the trade unions of all shades, except the HMS which is non-existent there. The INTUC later on walked out of it. But despite this, the AITUC leaders also started diversionary tactics. They tried to isolate the CITU from the struggle, but failed.

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The main achievement of the struggle is that, Trade Union consciousness has been raised very much. Several problems have also cropped up after the strike. After reviewing the situation we found that there is also some weakness. For example, workers of State Electricity Board, Zinc and Copper --- all Public Sector organisations --- did not join the struggle. We have already started work in the State Electricity Board and their 10,000-strong union has disaffiliated from the INTUC and is co-operating with us. We hope that by December we shall be able to hold a Unity Convention and go ahead in SEB. In the Atomic plant also, work was planned and the union there has already disaffiliated from the INTUC and want to join the CITU. We have not yet taken any decision. In the Sugar industry we had no union. Now, a strong ~~mk~~ union has come up. They conducted struggles and became successful. In Distilleries also some progress has been made. We expect a greater headway in this industry as well. In textile industry, due to the struggle minimum wage has risen from Rs.158 in December, '72 to Rs.227 in July '73. We are now the most dominant force in the industry.

With the abnormal rise in prices, workers in small scale industries are also coming into struggles and are organising themselves under the CITU. We are now planning a State-wide strike in the Engineering industry for wages etc.

He also described the exploitation going on in the Mines and said, we have already planned work among the mining workers, have deputed whole-time workers and a union is going to be formed.

He said that with the rising militancy repression is also increasing. To-day cases under Sec. 307 have become a common feature. 400 workers are being prosecuted under this Section. In every struggle, the leaders are being implicated in such cases. Outside goonda gangs are being hired to attack union offices and evict workers. Police terror is also being mounted simultaneously. We are trying to fight back this offensive.

Referring to organisational weakness, he said that, Working Committee meetings of the State CITU are being held regularly but the State Committee functioning is most inefficient. Many union offices are not even maintaining Membership Registers, Accounts etc. properly. We are consciously trying to overcome this.

Com. N. Prasada Rao (Andhra): He said that the LRSA struggle was the biggest event in Andhra. It was organised secretly. Help of the CITU and other mass organisations were not taken. It was mostly limited to the Locomen only, although other employees were sympathetic. During the course of the struggle the Locomen came to us for help and we extended help. NFIR workers acted as stooges of the Police and went to the houses of striking workers and dragged them out. At Vijayawada, the AITUC people did not oppose, but in Waltair division they opposed the strike actively.

He said that in Hyderabad, the Telephone workers conducted a strike because the authorities refused to talk to them. The strike spread to all centres and continued for 9 days. Ultimately, there was a settlement. But now large scale victimisation is going on.

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About Cormondal strike, he said that it had to be withdrawn after 34 days. This is the third instance in succession where we found that the American Companies refused to concede any demand and the State and Central Governments backed the management. We must note this fact and take steps.

About the Bundh of 24th August, he described how the AITUC gave an unilateral call for Bundh on 9th August when the CITU was taking initiative for a united Bundh call. However, at our intervention a united Bundh call was given on 24th. It was generally a success but organised section of workers like shipyard, cement etc. did not join the Bundh. This is due to the low level of consciousness.

About Cormondal, he added that a good thing has happened. Centering round it, a broad-based unity could be built up. A one-day General Strike call was given also. But the AITUC later on raised some question and backed out. The strike had to be postponed.

He also said that the functioning of the State Committee office was very weak.

Com. Chandi Prasad (Bihar): He referred to the tragic death of Com. Suraj Narain Singh, who was murdered while he was on a hunger strike on workers' demands. After his martyrdom, the CITU, AITUC and HMS unions called for a General Strike in Ranchi. There was a Bihar Bundh on 7th June, '73. But workers of major organised industries did not join the Bundh.

A strike in Bauxite factory was organised by CITU to protest against retrenchment of 5 workers. But terrible repression was let loose by the management. Several, including myself, were arrested and suspension orders on 13 more workers were ordered. The strike was withdrawn but the movement has been continuing.

He also said that, efforts were being made to organise Beedi and Rickshaw workers, daily labourers etc. and some successful strikes have been organised. In Patna a struggle of Press workers was organised jointly with AITUC and some gains were secured. There are about 25,000 workers engaged in Ceramic and Refractory industries. They are subjected to worst exploitation. There was united movement with the AITUC Union for the implementation of Wage Board award.

The CITU unions helped the Loco workers in their struggle. Attempts at terrorisation by Youth Congress were successfully resisted at Hatia. When some articles were siezed from the house of a Loco leader at Ranchi, the Co-ordination Committee of Central Government Employees, CITU and other organisations, including ladies, organised a gherao of the Police station and forced the restoration of the siezed articles.

In the struggle in Aluminium Factory at Muri, the CITU unions and Kisan Sabha conducted a joint struggle and helped the peasantry. Additional compensation of Rs. 5 lakhs and some recruitment have been assured.

He said that, the State Committee was defunct and there was no improvement in that direction.

(Com. Mohan Punamia translated the speech of Com. Chandi Prasad from Hindi to English.)

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Com. Ghanashyam Saran Sinha (Delhi): He said that CITU has now become a legal tender in Delhi.

After the Jute agreement and Kanpur agreement, we raised the slogan of wage-rise and demanded immediate interim relief of Rs. 50/-. The AITUC opposed our slogan and also our call for strike. We held a convention and decided for a strike in December, 1972. At this stage the AITUC wanted to have a Token Strike on 27th December, '72. We warned the workers that nothing would come out of this and we have to prepare for indefinite strike. But we participated in the token strike which was a grand success.

Since then we started preparation for indefinite strike but the AITUC opposed it. The strike started from 11th April, 1973. There was a strange alignment. AITUC with Jan Sangh and a section of INTUC opposed the Strike, whereas we with HMS and a section of INTUC conducted the strike. The AITUC Secretariat supported the strike through a leaflet, but the local leaders of the AITUC were opposing. There was a General Strike on 30th April, 1973 after which a settlement was reached with an interim relief. For the first time, the workers gained a wage rise through struggle. This generated self-confidence and we have not only become the major Union in Textile industry, but the spirit is spreading to Faridabad and Ghaziabad also.

In the Engineering industry we are going ahead. We have 12 unions in the Engineering industry of Ghaziabad who have planned to hold a Convention and give a call for token strike on 12th November, 1973. The AITUC has now invited us for a Bundh against hoarders. We replied to them that the Bundh must be against the Govt. as well. In the Hotel industry we gave a call for special Bonus for Asia '72 and the workers got special bonus from one month to three months.

The present position in Delhi is that strikes are taking place and people are not anti-strike as they were previously. We are improving our position and AITUC is now being growing isolated. We have already given a call for token strike call in Textile industry outside Kanpur. It is perhaps coming out on 12th or 14th November. The second development is that the Sugar industry may go into a struggle in near future.

Com. Satya Narayan Tewari (U.P.): He said that, after the Ernakulam Conference, there has been a circular changing the address of the CITU State Committee office. Beyond that nothing is known about the whole State.

The CITU conducted a campaign for need-based wage. A Sanjukta Trade Union Samity has been formed in Benaras Distt. He described the Loco strike in the area. The CITU had helped the struggle. In fact the strike spread to Mughalsarai as a result of our efforts. Some further struggles are developing. Some problems are also being created. During these struggles the CITU came into close contact with railwaymen. There has been some development in Kanpur also. While we are trying to conduct the struggles, the AITUC is obstructing through some means or other, although they have no union. They are entering into agreements behind the back of the workers.

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He also gave some report about PAC revolt. The Police Parishad took a decision not to lathi-charge in people's struggles. Accordingly they refused to lathi-charge in Lucknow. When orders were issued disarming them, they refused to do so. There were exchange of fire and 11 persons were killed at Ramtgar and 4 at Kanpur. The Sanjukta Trade Union Council took out a procession and supported the cause. Only we the socialists supported this struggle.

After the meeting resumed at 10 A.M. on 5.10.73, Com. Jyoti Basu said that several important things have come out in this meeting. Such important things had not come out in any earlier meeting.

Com. B. T. Ranadive said that, these things are being recorded in the minutes. If there are any deficiencies, comrades would be asked to make out their reports which would be circulated. He then asked Com. Nrisingha Chakraborty to report on the latest developments in the Loco workers' struggle.

Com. N. Chakraborty: He said that a meeting of Loco running staff was held. They met the Dy. Minister, Railways at Madras. Mr. Qureshi announced that the penal measures would be withdrawn. But DIR cases were withdrawn. Nothing came out of the talks with him at Madras. The officers side in the Committee had taken the position that they were not going to abide by the decisions agreed upon. Despite LRSA's insistence that agreements be implemented, the Railway administration was not going to implement the same as they want 16 years to implement reduction of duty hours.

The Railway Board is attempting to sabotage the agreement. Qureshi is also playing a double role. Another strike-struggle is becoming inevitable. Administration is trying to show that the last struggle was due to inter-union rivalry. AIRF and NFIR are siding with the Board.

Our stand is to implement the 10-hour agreement. If they do not agree to do so in the next meeting, the LRSA would escalate the struggle and implement 8 hrs. duty. Such a situation would surely lead to a strike struggle in the near future.

Com. B.T. Ranadive said that, we should ask Com. Samar Mukherjee, M.P. to communicate to the Prime Minister, Railway Minister and Labour Minister about the gravity of the situation, so that we may take up the campaign later on.

He then asked Com. Satya Narayan Tewari about the Electricity strike in U.P., as the AITUC had condemned the struggle on that very day.

Com. Satyanarayan Tewari reported that the Strike had been called by a union headed by an Independent. We supported this struggle as the main demand was for wage increase.

15) Com. P. Ramamurti then reported in detail on the Seminar called by the National Productivity Council. He read out the agenda and said that they had invited Shri D. P. Dhar. The CITU was also invited and asked to send two representatives. It was decided that we should participate. A telegram was sent to me and myself and Com. Pandhe attended the meeting.

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They had decided to divide the house into/groups and discuss the problems. At the the very outset I opposed this and Fernandez and others supported me. So there was no division and discussion started.

I spoke first, took up the ~~the~~ approach on Wage Policy in the Fifth Plan and attacked the same. I said that the workers cannot be a party to this productivity drive in the present circumstances. Others followed up almost on the same line and some one said that the NPC has, in reality, angered the workers. Then at the end of the day, the Chairman said that why should not a document be prepared defining the responsibilities of the Government in the matter of productivity. He undertook to prepare the draft.

The position Com. Pandhe and myself had taken regarding the line of the CITU, was that -- we cannot outright reject the proposal to productivity drive. We outlined the conditions under which the working class can take part in the productivity movement. We therefore changed the draft suitably. He then read out the policy statement from the document and explained the same.

He said that, we emphasised that the fall in real wage must be checked by an effective measure against price rise and distribution system. We made the first condition that the national economy should take another direction where the benefits of increased productivity accrues to the society as a whole. This is only another way of advocating Scientific Socialism. We also stated that the productivity movement should not cause retrenchment and employment potential should be maintained. I have studied the earlier documents on this question where rationalisation was advocated 'without tears' and in the national interest. It was, however, not clear as to who would decide that such measure was in the national interest. Hence, this time we have suggested that, not only the retrenchments should be stopped but also employment potential has to be maintained. These were definite improvements. But due to hurry, in the later part of the document, effective check could not be maintained and formulations could not be properly worded. In a sense, therefore, we had slipped up on certain matters like training etc. But if we read the document as a whole it will be round that we have only said that these are the conditions under which production could be optimised and we have been stating all these from our platform only.

In order to elaborate the points mentioned in the document, it was suggested that a Steering Committee be set up. We agreed to this so that our view point could be carried here. It was originally decided that we should prepare a full document elaborating all these points which would firmly establish our views. We could not do it under pressure from various jobs. So when a meeting was held on 30th September last, the question of high prices was discussed in the Steering Committee. We suggested that the entire marketable surplus of agricultural production should be procured.

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Others, including the Chairman of the Council, raised various questions. He then elaborated some of the questions raised and the stand taken by him on those points.

Apart from this there was a proposal for giving some token amount by the Trade Unions to undertake some studies. I asked whether studies for occupational diseases in the mining industry can be undertaken first. The Chairman agreed. We stated that subject to the approval of the Working Committee, we were agreeable to pay. But in the minutes it was so recorded as if it was agreed to make a general contribution.

He stated that we are not participating in the NPC. As far as the Seminar was concerned we would prepare a full document and submit to them and also publish this. Some of our comrades have stated that the very name of NPC is anathema to the workers and we should not associate in any manner with the NPC. He hoped that the suggestion of our presenting a full document and doing away with the seminar would serve the purpose. As far as the contribution is concerned, he would write a letter stating that the specific purpose for which the contribution was agreed to has not been mentioned in the minutes and CITU cannot make any general contribution.

After a break for 10 minutes, the meeting resumed discussions.

Com. B. T. Ranadive said that the document has been circulated. He added that Com. P. Ramamurti has already explained the circumstances about our participation in the seminar and then came the Steering Committee and the question of contribution. Comrades have to discuss all these aspects. But he wanted to make it clear that the CITU is following the line of participating in all meetings sponsored by the Government and we protest if we ~~xx~~ are not invited. By this measure we assert our right for being called. Secondly we put across our view point. Thirdly, in most cases it is seen that even the INTUC and AITUC are being forced to accept our line and the intention of the Govt. to utilise these committees as yes-men committee to give a seal of approval to the Govt.'s policies is being frustrated. We have been functioning with this attitude.

Com. Subrid Mullick Chowdhury suggested

Com. R. Umanath supported the general attitude, as to-day the CITU is not a recognised body, and as such we cannot afford to make a pick and choose. He said that, we should not therefore take up the position of rejecting the invitation ipso facto. But we must advocate our line uncompromisingly and there might be one or two occasions where we might have to refuse the invitation on merits. Hence, even in seminars on productivity we must participate and put up our view point. But in continuity and participation in NPC in some form or other. This is harmful because the NPC is in the habit of sending ~~xxxxxx~~ advisers to help the management about increasing productivity. In the Photo Films, our CITU union has come through a fight against NPC recommendations. In the mind of workers NPC is an instrument

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in the hand of the management to increase work load and is therefore a hated body. Our continued association with this body is bound to undermine our image amongst the workers, as up to date the large number of workers have not come to realise the role of NPC fully. Hence I have an open mind about participating in NPC meetings and exposing them fully on every point. As far as the present Steering Committee is concerned we cannot get out of it but we must take up an uncompromising position. He then supported the action outlined by Com. P. Ramamurti about the contribution.

Com. M. K. Pandhe said that he was one of the members who attended the seminar. The outstanding even in the present seminar was that nowhere earlier the NPC had admitted that the real wage of the workers was falling even when the productivity was increasing, as they did here. It was also not admitted earlier that price were rising despite increased production. Thirdly, this time they had to agree that with increased productivity employment potential should also increase.

He also described the character of the gathering. From AITUC and INTUC, first-ranking leaders did not come, and Com. Ramamurti was the seniormost T.U. leader in the Seminar. Because of this every one was asking Com. Ramamurti to open the discussion and expose the line ~~xxxxxxxx~~ thoroughly. He said that from these we have to conclude that our participation was a correct step and we have been able to make good impression amongst all. He, however, stated that directly or indirectly the CITU is involved in the productivity movement through this document. Secondly, except those points mentioned earlier there is nothing new in the document and the AITUC would not object to any formulation here. In fact the AITUC representative suggested that the word 'concentration of wealth' should be replaced by 'monopoly'. It appears that the AITUC is gradually becoming less and less interested in N.P.C. He also described the position taken by Jatin Chakraborty, who supported the Chairman's draft and opposed any move for improvement. He also pointed out that mere agreement between the management and labour is not sufficient. We should have insisted for the same being approved by the general meeting of workers. Secondly, he said, that there is no mention of need-based minimum wage. He also pointed out that the formulation of sharing the benefits with the workers and community supported, in other words, the theme of linking wages with productivity. Com. P. Ramamurti in Bangalore correctly nailed down the NPC. We should educate the workers about it. He also drew attention to Com. Umanath's speech and asked whether we should wait for the workers to learn about NPC through their experience or undertake a campaign to educate them. He suggested that we should start campaign and educate workers about NPC.

Com. K. Ramani (Tamilnadu): He said that, we should only blow up the game of the NPC. It means that we should advocate our views about productivity and champion the same uncompromisingly. We should therefore be careful when the practical side comes. If we prepare our document carefully, it would be impossible for the NPC to accept our view point. It is really a process of job analysis and job evaluation. In many cases, after this was done by other Unions, the workers got dissatisfied inspite of

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wage increase. The CITU had been opposing the process from the beginning and he detailed the experience in many industries where we have become strong by opposing these measures. It can therefore be said that the workers are slowly getting the idea of the reactionary character of the NPC.

He related in detail some struggles through which the erroneous idea amongst some of our cadres about this also was removed and ultimately the workers gained 20% wage increase without any increase in work load. In this case, in the document itself formulations have been made in a manner where they cannot increase production without more factories. But our continued association and agreeing to training of our cadres for productivity is a harmful clause, which may reduce the militancy of the workers to fight against productivity.

Com. Ravindranath (Kerala): He said that, in Kerala also there is NPC and an invitation was extended to us and we had to reject the offer. We felt that by accepting the invitation a feeling may be created amongst our cadre that, it is not wrong to participate in productivity movement but we only need to be careful. This is wrong. If we follow this policy, the reformist unions would get the upperhand and

(At this stage Com. Krishnapada Ghosh asked for some clarification) Continuing his speech, Com. Ravindranath related an experience in Kerala in detail. He said that, we have not given any contribution, nor participated in any seminar etc. organised by the NPC. He, however, felt that only in cases of some industries which are uneconomic, we may agree to associate and treat the matter with flexibility. He referred to one instance in Kerala.

Com. N. Prasada Rao (Andhra): He said that, there would ordinarily have been no harm if we participated in a Committee to elaborate the views expressed earlier. But as far as NPC is concerned, we must restate our position firmly, that is, production can be maximised in a socialist system but in the present set up following of certain conditions may improve the productivity. In the document, only parallel economy has been mentioned but not various other points like need-based minimum wage etc. He also mentioned several other points which ought to have been mentioned in the document.

Com. Sudhin Kumar (W. Bengal): He said that in the NPC we have to state firmly that T.U. movement cannot take responsibility for increasing the productivity in the present system. As far as participating in symposium or seminar is concerned, we must do so. But we should not continue to work in the Committee etc. set up after the symposium as that may be construed as our participation in the scheme itself.

Com. Robin Chatterjee (W. Bengal): He suggested that our cadres should not be deputed to the training centres as there

Com. Umanath (Tamilnadu): He wanted to clarify one point made by Com. Ravindranath, where he wanted to have some flexibility and cited the instance of closure of a mill which we could not oppose. It is the question of the strength of our movement. When we are unable to resist the move, we must be careful not to sign the agreement. We cited some instances where our union,

being in majority, had to agree to some wage cut or increase of work load also, but we devised some tactical line without giving commitment.

Com. Ravindranath wanted some more clarification citing some instances.

Com. Balanandan (Kerala): He posed another problem and suggested that we have to study the question of work load in detail. Because, as majority union, sometimes the responsibility to fix up the work-load come on us.

Com. B. T. Ranadive then summed up the discussion as follows:

1. There is general agreement about our participation in various Committees, while we are fighting for our recognition.
2. About N.P.C., we must decide to participate only for exposure. But where NPC means a machinery for downright exploitation, we should not participate.
3. About seminar, we thought that there was no harm to participate and state our views. There was no question of agreement. We must realise that when we go to seminar we do not go there to come to some sort of united understanding but only to take a forthright position. By this measure we cannot only influence other organisations to take similar stand but also to be in a position to blow out the whole thing. The public opinion could also be influenced. This is a tactical question and should be viewed in such manner.

In regard to our understanding about job evaluation, the position must be taken in the background of our strength, understanding, capabilities etc. In Durgapur one such incident happened. Our comrades were placed in a position where not participating in the process would have been unfair, as unfair conditions would have been imposed. There we had the backing of the workers and had the responsibility of looking after their interests also. Hence in certain specific circumstances we may have to associate with Job evaluation.

It must be noted that, as a class organisation we must understand that we have got nothing to do with capitalist production, but can we take such a forthright position so that we are blamed in public that we are concerned with salary only. Hence tactically we have to take a position that fulfilment of certain reasonable conditions can increase production. In the document, something has been done in this way.

Com. Pandhe had raised certain good points like need-based wage etc. But the formulation that, there is nothing in the document which AITUC would not accept, is not correct. It is the strength of the T.U. movement which forced others to accept the same. The game of reformists and revisionists is that they do't fight to fulfill the condition. We have to fight for fulfilling these conditions. It is only our capacity to fight on this score which will demarcate us and strengthen us. Otherwise there would be compromise.

Hence we must go to all seminars with clear idea. I agree with Com. Ramani that if they accept all the conditions the whole thing would be blown up. Some comments about deficiencies have been correctly made. But if the whole thing is taken together there has not been much of a let down.

But we should not have accepted the Steering Committee. When Com. P.R. told me about this, it did not strike me as well. So in the Steering Committee we state our position clearly on every subject. If they accept, it is good, if not, we come out of it. About the money, the suggestion of Com. P.R. is all right and we should take this measure.

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But in future we must be serious about the productivity. Moreover, on every occasion when we send some representatives, the Central office should work out some guide-line. We should also like to maintain that in case of signing any joint statement, we must take prior approval of Central office and avoid committing the organisation.

He then read out an invitation from N.P.C. about sending an Engineer etc. for productivity training. It was not known whether we have some efficient man to go and understand their technique, because most of our cadre do not understand the question. If we do not have such person, we should decline to accept the invitation.

Com. Biren Roy (W. Bengal): asked for some clarification, because the document might indicate our qualified support to productivity movement.

Com. Ranadive stated that in the document we should re-state our fundamental position and circulate the same amongst our cadres so that we are not misunderstood by the workers.

(16) Com. Satyanarayan Tewari then moved a resolution on 'U.P. Electricity workers strike', which was passed unanimously. The meeting then adjourned till 4 P.M.

(17) After the meeting resumed at 4 P.M., Com. B.T. Ranadive moved that a resolution be adopted authorising Com. Samar Mukherjee to operate the Bank Account on behalf of CITU, in place of Com. Kamal Sarkar.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

(18) Com. Nalla Sivan then placed the report of the Credentials Committee. 9 (nine) applications for affiliation were recommended to be accepted subject to certain conditions.

Com. B. T. Ranadive said that we have been affiliating unions subject to certain conditions. One does not know whether the matters are pursued properly or not. We should not go by rigid forms, but at the same time it must be ensured that the requirements are followed strictly.

It was decided that these 9 unions be given affiliation subject to their fulfilling the conditions mentioned against each.

(19) Com. Ranadive then asked Com. Pandhe to report on on the verification.

Com. Pandhe said that, when the Government asked for the submission of verification list, AITUC wrote to the Govt. that the process of verification should be revised otherwise they won't submit the list. HMS also wrote in a similar manner and they also have not submitted figures. This time, apart from the four earlier organisations, viz. AITUC, INTUC, HMS, and UTUC, they are verifying the membership of CITU, UTUC (Lenin Sarani), BMS and NLO. So far, the following claims have been made:

INTUC	- 22 lakhs	CITU	- 9 lakhs 12 thousand
UTUC (Lenin Sarani)	- 4 lakhs	BMS	- 5 lakhs
UTUC	- 3 lakhs	NLO	- Figures not known as they have submitted only recently.

He explained that the Labour Department was not proceeding with the verification immediately. There was an element of uncertainty as no one

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knew whether there would be any verification at all. INTUC had insisted for the same. There is some time available. We must proceed with the assumption that the verification is going to be made. There would be about one month's time for us to set about this task. He asked the comrades to take up the question very seriously and enunciated how the verification would be conducted. He outlined the following task:

First ~~xxx~~ task - all the Unions must submit their annual returns.

Second task - they must keep the union records correctly so that the membership claimed in the annual return is proved by the records. All State Committees should depute one comrade at least to verify the records.

Third task - would be to ensure that affiliation for 1972 is cleared with the Central office of the CITU, so that each Union is in possession of proof of affiliation.

If these records are properly maintained, major part of our worry will be over. Then the question of spot verification. Members must state that they are members of the CITU union. In West Bengal, where the consciousness of the workers is very high it is no problem. But in the rest of the States, the workers have to be educated so that they say categorically about their membership.

Some questions were then raised about Affiliation Certificates. In reply Com. Pandhe said that, we have decided not to issue affiliation certificate unless the unions comply with their obligations. Unfortunately many unions have not done so inspite of repeated letters from the Central office.

Com. B. T. Ranadive said that, Secretaries of all the State Committees must take the position very seriously. Already certain tendencies exist amongst us which does not reveal the correct membership. Hence we must ensure that our claim stands the test of verification and no campaign can be made against us that we claimed exaggerated membership. Moreover, unless the verification is proved to be correct, all our claims as to advancement in the T. U. field will not be proved to the hilt.

(20) He then asked Com. Sudhin Kumar to report on the seminar on Family Planning.

Com Sudhin Kumar gave detailed report on the seminar. He said, for 15 days eminent persons were brought to give lectures and we had the job of cross-examining them. In the whole gathering, he was alone as the other members from Keral could not come. Through the questions we have been able to put across our view point and many eminent persons had to agree to our view point. Ultimately, in the summary of proceedings our view had to be reckoned with and incorporated.

In his opinion, the CITU has been able to create an impression amongst all, that this organisation has the ability to tackle and contribute on all problems facing the society.

(21) Com. B.T. Ranadive then said that we have to take a separate resolution about the the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile. The house approved the proposal.

(22) Com. Niren Ghosh moved a resolution on 'Price of Jute'.

Com. Krishnapada Ghosh raised a point for clarification about the Enquiry Commission.

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Com. Kamal Sarkar made a factual correction in the resolution and supported the same. He also pointed out about the Enquiry Commission which had been set up by the United Front Govt. The demand in the resolution was intended to revive the earlier Commission so that many facts may come to light, as the whole country is in the dark regarding the shady dealings of the Jute magnates. He also informed the house that the Jute workers may have to go in for another strike in March or April for their pending demands. Hence, through this resolution we are building up a joint movement of jute growers and workers.

Com. Prasada Rao wanted that the resolution should ask for reasonable price. He did not understand what was meant by parity price.

Com. B. T. Ranadive explained about the parity price which came out of an old formula. He desired that the resolution should be abridged.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

23. Com. N. Prasada Rao then moved the resolution on Third Pay Commission.

Com. P. Ramamurti suggested certain points for improvement.

Com. Ranadive explained that the resolution should be shortened and the critical part about the commission can be summarised. Above all the appeal for unity of Central employees should be a powerful one, and Engineers etc. should not be clubbed within this resolution. He then read out the resolution which was adopted in the 2nd Conference at Ernakulam. This should be re-drafted properly.

The resolution was then passed unanimously.

24. Com. Samar Mukherjee moved the resolution on "Recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Govt. of South Vietnam and Sihanouk Govt. of Cambodia". He quoted from the document of the Algiers Conference and said that, the Indina Govt. had to give their consent to this but then, instead of fulfilling the same, the Govt. of India is trying to better relations with the US Govt.

Com. Pandhe wanted some clarifications which were given.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

25. Com. N. Chakravarty moved the resolution on "Loco Running Staff Struggle"

Com. Niren Ghosh, Jyoti Basu and others pointed out certain defects Com. Ranadive pointed out that certain portions of the resolution have to be re-drafted properly. Criticism of AITUC, AIRF etc. should be omitted or played do wn, and sabotage of 10 hours' duty agreement to be highlighted and appeal to all Railwaymen to stand behind the Locomen should be powerfully made.

With these observations and suggestions for re-drafting, the resolution was passed unanimously.

26. Com. Kolhatkar then moved the resolution on "High Prices and Food Scarcity".

Com. P. Ramamurti said that certain references to need-based minimum wage etc. are not necessary. On the other hand, the struggle of the people, massive Bundhs and de-hoarding operations etc. have to be mentioned and the people should be congratulated.

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Com. Biren Roy asked whether it would be proper to demand statutory rationing of all articles of daily necessity.

Com. Prasad Rao, Monoranjan Roy and P.K.Kurke also spoke on the resolution.

Com. Ranadive said that need-based minimum wage is exactly in the context. But formulation has to be made properly. Then the question of procurement and proper price to the peasants should be mentioned. Instead of statutory rationing, we should ask for ensuring supply. The prices to be reduced so that the things are within easy reach of the common people.

Com. Robin Chatterjee asked whether we could ask for national minimum in this resolution. Com. Ranadive clarified the position.

Subject to re-drafting, the resolution was passed unanimously.

27. Com. Biren Roy moved the resolution on "Use of DIR, MISA and other Repressive Measures against Trade Unions and Democratic Movement".

Com. Niren Ghosh wanted the heading to be re-cast and to add the word 'Dock' after 'railways' and to include the demand for release of political prisoners.

Com. P. Ramamurti suggested some improvements. He also said that after Simla and Delhi agreements, there is absolutely no need to maintain Emergency at all.

Subject to incorporation of these points, the resolution was passed unanimously.

28. The resolution on 'Bank Account of CITU' was read out and approved unanimously.

29. Com. Monoranjan Roy moved the resolution on "West Bengal Labour Advisory Board Decisions".

Com. Ramamurti wanted some clarifications about INTUC and Congress attacks. He also suggested some changes in the wordings to make the resolution more specific.

The amended resolution was passed unanimously.

30. Com. Umanath moved a resolution on "Beedi Workers", which was passed unanimously. He also moved the resolution on "Electricity Workers" which adopted unanimously.

31. Com. Robin Chatterjee moved the resolution on 'Coal'.

Com. Kamal Sarkar raised one point on this resolution. Com. Pandhe also

advanced some suggestions. Com. Dinen Bhattacharya wanted some points to be highlighted.

The amended resolution was passed unanimously.

32. Com. Padmalochan moved a resolution on "Cashew Workers", which was passed unanimously.

33. Com. Ghanashyam Sinha moved a resolution on "Implementation of Engineering Wage Board in Delhi, U.P. and Haryana".

Com. Manoranjan Roy suggested some amendments emphasising need-based minimum wage. Com. Pandhe said that the wages are ~~xxxx~~ so low that the workers would not consider need-based minimum wage as a reliable demand. Hence the resolution should be properly re-drafted so that the workers could be enthused by the same. Com. Kamal Sarkar wanted that a reference to Jute, Textile and other industries should also be made.

Subject to re-drafting, the resolution was passed unanimously.

34. Com. Ravindranath moved a resolution on the "Bonus Struggle in Kerala". It was passed unanimously.

35. Com. Sudhin Kumar said that they could not draft certain important resolutions, viz.

1. Greetings to the anniversary of Chinese Revolution
2. Friendly relations in the Sub-continent.
3. Soviet Aid of Food.
4. Amendments to the Indian Penal Code etc.
5. Against Lock-out in J.K.Nagar, Ranigunge and Keshoram Rayons.
6. On Wage Policy.

Com. Ranadive suggested that we should try to finalise these resolutions within a few days.

36. Com. Vishwanath Menon said that they were not receiving any circular for some time past. It had been found that even the State Committee office was also not receiving anything. Henceforth notices should be sent under registered post.

Com. Kamal Sarkar suggested that they should also move the PMG about this.

37. Com. B.T. Ranadive then summed up the discussions. He wanted to remind the members once again about the importance of the coming verification. Everyone should move seriously on the subject.

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He also pointed out that our organisation was not functioning properly. Even after the movement in Kerala, the State Committee does not function properly. Then there is Bihar, U.P. and Karnataka Committee. In the Working Committee meeting held in April, 1972 he had reported in detail about U.P. State Committee. Some efforts were made there, but there has been no improvement. Again the position in Bihar had gone down. Our comrades from Durgapur had gone to Jamshedpur and had done some wonderful work there. Compared to this there has been quite remarkable improvement in Delhi. So it means, that with proper planning and systematic work we can improve the position everywhere. He hoped that by the next General Council meeting we would be able to make some headway. Comrades must remember, he said, that to-day AITUC, INTUC and HMS have almost given up struggles, and when we take proper stand they are forced to join in the united struggle. Hence, he requested every member to introduce planning and systematic work to develop united struggle.

He added that, it must be remembered that we have a great responsibility. To-day the working class realises that without struggle they would not be able to win a single demand and hence we should be the uncompromising champions of the cause of the working class. We can unite the broadest section of the working class, because of the present economic crisis, rising prices etc. We must avail of every opportunity to build up struggle against the attacks on the working class.

Sometimes AITUC is also taking initiative. They do not unite with us. We have also no independent strength. So we should utilise every opportunity to promote united struggles, even if the initiative comes from the AITUC. In Delhi, we are observing Bundh on the same day called by the AITUC, but on separate demands.

To-day the AITUC, INTUC, HMS etc. are conspiring to keep us out of bi-partite or tri-partite negotiations, because our presence forces them to take a better stand, because they fear that they would get exposed. You should also know that, while they are conspiring against us, they are unable to oppose us in the open. It is because of the tremendous pressure on them and as such they are unable to stop our entry in bi-partite and tri-partite negotiations.

We have pursued our united struggle tactics well. But there are chances of committing mistakes. Sometimes we overestimate our strength and refuse to unite. For example, we committed a mistake in not joining the strike

call of 30.9.73. Even if only 5 per cent had joined, is it our business to demoralise them. The RSP etc. committed the same mistake on 27.7.73. We must take into consideration the general discontent amongst the workers and not the strength of this or that group. This is nothing but falling victim of prestige. To-day through united struggle we have grown into a big force and we should not stand on prestige. If the movement against the employer and the Govt., we should have no hesitation to support. It is only through this method that we can break down the barriers erected by others. So we should re-assess our work after every struggle and draw proper lessons.

Tamilnadu State Committee had been repeatedly warned about economism. Even now, inspite of some head-way, systematic campaign to politicalise the working class was absent.

The whole T.U. movement in India is separated from the movement of the peasantry. We must overcome this defect and make conscious efforts.

Another point is our weakness amongst the women workers. A decision had been taken in the past. Jute comrades in West Bengal has called a convention. But there was no report from Kerala about this. Some unions have 80% male office-bearers, whereas 90% workers are women workers. We only use the women as volunteers instead of preparing them in a manner to undertake the T.U. movement themselves. This weakness persists. The decision taken in the 2nd Conference has to be put into practice.

Another weakness is that, we have made only limited, defensive demands, viz. against price rise we demand D.A. But here is a question where the class policies of the Govt. could be exposed and sufficient attention has not been paid to utilise these situations properly.

Another question is unemployment. We must tell the working class and the people that unemployment is inescapable in the present order of society. So also price rise. We must cite instances of socialist countries and educate the masses about two different social systems, while asking for increase of D.A. etc. to protect the workers.

Another weakness of the T.U. movement is that sometimes it gets delinked with democratic movement altogether. Fight against Imperialism, onward movement of the masses for democratic rights etc. are not joined by the working class. We have to make conscious efforts to overcome this

weakness.

Most probably you would face a big outburst of Loco workers. The Government is preparing to fight against them. It should be our business to warn and educate the workers. The CITU, as an organisation, should create public opinion in favour of Locomen. Because the officers seem to have threatened the Govt. with strike if they implement the agreement and the Ministry is panicky. Hence the possibility of the outburst should be kept in view and preparations made accordingly, so that our comrades can mobilise public support during the struggle.

Foreign collaboration concerns are collapsing due to sabotage and the bourgeois Press is not giving due publicity. We must make it our business to nail down this and educate the workers and public about the evils of foreign collaboration.

With these words, Com. Ranadive thanks the members for their participation in the meeting.

38. In conclusion, Com. P. Ramamurti wanted to place on record, on behalf of the Working Committee, the good work done by the Delhi State Committee and the facilities extended by them for this meeting.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

President: B.T.Ranadive

Gen.Secretary : P.Ramamurti

172, Lenin Sarani,
Calcutta-13

Camp: 4, Ashoka Road,
New Delhi-1

PRESS HAND OUT ISSUED BY COM.B.T.RANADIVE, PRESIDENT
AND COM.JYOTI BASU, VICE-PRESIDENT, CITU, IN A PRESS
CONFERENCE HELD ON 5th OCTOBER, 1973.

The Working Committee of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions met in New Delhi from 3-5th October to review the developments since the organisations' annual session in April last. Com.B.T.Ranadive, President, CITU presided. The meeting passed several resolutions on important political economic questions. A resolution denouncing the counter-revolutionary coup in Chile and charging the CIA as the main instigator was moved by Com.Jyoti Basu, Vice-President and supported by Com.Samar Mukherjee, Treasurer of the CITU. The meeting condemned the massacre of the fighting people in Chile and demanded the withdrawal of the proposed trial under martial law of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile and called for his release. It called on all the progressive forces to raise their voice in time to save the life of Com.Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile. The meeting paid tribute to the memory of Pablo Neruda, great son of Chile, great poet, anti-imperialist fighter, devoted communist who upheld the banner of socialism to the last.

After the introductory speech of Com.B.T.Ranadive, Com.P.Ramamurti, General Secretary, CITU, submitted a Report reviewing the activities of the CITU after the Second Conference of the CITU held in April last at Ernakulam.

The meeting expressed satisfaction that repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilians in Pakistan and Bangladesh has started with visible signs of relaxation of tension in the sub-continent. It opined that friendship between the three countries of the sub-continent was essential for the advance of the cause of democracy and socialism in the sub-continent. It sent its Greetings to the fighting workers and peasants of Pakistan who are waging a determined fight to secure elementary democratic rights and stand for friendship and peace in the sub-continent.

The meeting sent its warm felicitations to the working class and people of China on the occasion of the Anniversary of the Foundation of the People's Republic of China. It hailed their economic successes and wished them further victories in socialist reconstruction of their country.

The meeting warmly welcomed the Soviet help of 2 million tons of wheat when our country was in dire need of additional food imports. This spontaneous action of the Soviet Government expresses the deep solidarity and friendship of the Soviet working class and people for the people of India.

Reviewing internal developments, the meeting strongly denounced the barbarous measures of repression and police atrocities

perpetrated against the people. The democratic rights and civil liberties of the people are being daily massacred under Congress Government. Starving people hoarding stocks are shot down like dogs in streets. Gangsterism against trade unions and murders of trade union officials continue in West Bengal. The situation regarding Law and Order has reached a stage when ordinary citizens also dare not breathe freely. Jails and police lock-ups have become torture chambers, third degree methods have become universal, rapes are committed by policemen in lock-up. The Government in need of absolute reliance on the bureaucracy is allowing it to run amok, trampling civil liberties and security of citizens under foot. All these spell increasing danger for democracy in India.

To strengthen the machinery of repression, the Government has framed the Indian Penal Code Amendment Bill which gives the bureaucracy draconian powers to suppress the people. Even the unlawful activities of a public servant are protected under the new amendment. It arms the police with the power to kill any one to protect Government property and sanctions attacks against trade union rights. The Bill proposes lighter punishment for public servants for sexual offences, seducing of women than is proposed for other citizens. The Working Committee demands withdrawal of the Bill. The Working Committee condemned the use of MISA, DIR, Essential Services Maintenance Act against strikes and other democratic movements and demanded release of all political prisoners detained without trial.

Considering the prevailing economic situation, the Working Committee expressed its sympathy for the suffering working class and people - the suffering imposed upon them because of Congress surrender to the landlords and hoarders and by the sky-rocketing prices which have taken necessities of life out of the reach of the people. It condemned Government's decision to raise the issue price of rice and wheat. It described as surrender the Government's decision not to take over the wholesale trade in rice.

It said that the rising prices have made a mockery of the cost of living indices which are now at complete variance with reality. Nothing is available in the market at prices mentioned in the index compilation. This has wiped out all the gains in D.A, Bonus and wage increase achieved by workers in the last two years and more struggles were inevitable. The Working Committee at the same time warned the workers that a fight for D.A alone will not solve the problem. The demand for need based wage has become vital. At the same time the working class will not be able to protect their gains unless they take a lead in the fight against hoarders, demand nationalisation of foodgrains trade, compulsory procurement of the stocks held by the landlords and fight for fair price for the produce of the small peasants. The Working class cannot protect itself unless it protects the rural masses against exploitation.

The Committee strongly condemned the policy pursued by the Jute Corporation which has failed to protect the jute cultivators and joined with IJMA in defrauding the jute peasants. It welcomed the initiative taken by the jute workers led by Bengal Chatkal Mazdoor Union for joint jute workers and peasants conference in defence of the jute peasant.

The Committee lent its full support to the demands of the Central Government employees who are struggling against the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission. It condemned the delaying tactics of the Government and expressed confidence that

the Central Government employees will be able to develop a united resistance to achieve their demands. The concrete proposals of the Central Government employees based on the acceptance of the principles of the need based wage and full neutralisation are reasonable and the Committee supported them.

The Working Committee congratulated the Rajasthan State Government employees on their successful struggle. It congratulated the Doctors of Maharashtra and other States on their struggles and supported their just demands. It also supported the demands of the Doctors, Engineers and Scientists that the inferior conditions imposed on them in relation to the IAS should be ended forthwith. The Committee opined that the discrimination arose from the fact that the Congress Government intent on suppressing the people, attaches greater value to the INS- the apparatus of repression than to the productive role of Engineers, Doctors and Scientists.

The Committee denounced the growing atrocities on the untouchables, their evictions, murders, rapes on their women and called upon the working class to protest and fight against them. It regards them as a sign of accentuation of the class struggles in the villages. It decided to approach all the Central Trade Union Organisations and observe a common day to voice the protest of the working class.

The Committee reviewed in detail the progress of united action and struggles of the working class. It expressed satisfaction that its affiliates played an important role in building united actions enabling the working class to defend its standard of living. The UCTU has shown further progress and the Convention of the Central and State Government employees convened in July last was a remarkable achievement of unity.

In all States the CITU has been able to wage united struggles in cooperation with several organisations. The AITUC, HMS, INTUC Unions have on many occasions fought shoulder to shoulder with the CITU Unions to defend the gains of the working class. The CITU has not failed to respond to a single call of unity. The 27th July Bengal Bundh was a remarkable expression of the urge for unity. Bundhs and united actions have taken place in many States adding strength to the trade union movement. Kerala saw some big united actions, big mass actions in defence of food, against high prices, for the demands of the workers. The CITU strongly condemned the atrocities and barbarities committed by the coalition ministry headed by Sri Achutha Menon. The sweep of this united actions is growing everyday, a new unity is being built among the workers and the people. The Working Committee decided to continue with vigour the line of forging of unity and united actions.

The Working Committee congratulated the Loco workers on their valiant and successful struggle against 14 hours work which has ended in an agreement for a 10 hours work day. It however warned the Railway workers and the public that the Railway Board officials were determined to sabotage this settlement, drive the workers to desperation and inflict damage on the economy. It called on the Government to intervene and discipline the anti-people bureaucrats who man the Railway Board.

The Working Committee decided to hold the meeting of the General Council in February next year.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS

172, Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-13.

Camp: 4, Ashok Road,
New Delhi-1.

October 4, 1973.

FOLLOWING IS THE EXTRACT OF THE SPEECH OF COMRADE B.T. RANADIVE
IN THE WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON 3RD TO 5TH
OCTOBER, 1973 AT CONSTITUTION CLUB
NEW DELHI.

Comrades, we are meeting nearly six months after our Session in Ernakulam.

Comrades, hundreds of our workers in West Bengal are facing gangster attacks daily. In the mining area of Raniganj and elsewhere their houses are raided, their wives and children beaten but they continue to uphold the red banner. Hundreds all over the country are arrested and thrown in jails during strikes. Hundreds are lathi-charged by the CRP and wounded. Many fell victims to police firing. Our organisation will be nothing but for the revolutionary courage of most of our workers.

Comrades we must all stand in reverence to the memory of Dr. Allende, who refused to surrender to the enemies of the working class, the enemies of the people of Chile. The murder of this fighting leader of Chile will go down in history as one of the most abominable deeds perpetrated by the fascist enemies of mankind.

Comrades we mourn the death of another great son of Chile a fighter in the cause of the international working class, a great anti-fascist - the poet Pablo Neruda.

We express our solidarity with the working class and people of Chile in the struggle against the military junta. We join our voice with others in denouncing the executions, the brutal massacres of workers, Communists, Socialists, democrats and progressives in Chile and nail down American imperialism and the CIA as the main instigators of this crime.

We should send our fraternal greetings to the working class and people of Peoples' China on the occasion of the anniversary of their great revolution. We hail their remarkable progress and wish them victories in the task of socialist construction.

FRIENDSHIP WITH PAKISTAN

In our Ernakulam Conference we demanded a quick settlement of the question of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians in Pakistan and Bangladesh. We all must welcome the fact that things have started moving, prisoners are being repatriated and a certain relaxation of the situation and tension is evident. We stand for the establishment of peaceful and friendly relations among the three countries of the sub-continent in the common interest of the democratic and socialist movements of the three peoples.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the evidence of relaxation, we cannot but take note of the forces arrayed against friendship and settlement. Whatever outward appearance the American imperialists are putting up, they are busy laying the basis for future tension and discord to regain the lost initiative. One of their aims in feverishly arming Iran is to assure the reactionary military circles in Pakistan that their services will be available when necessary. These circles are opposed to the democratic people of Pakistan, their aspirations and are only biding their time.

In India there are the reactionary parties like Jana Sangh and others who are on the lookout to discredit any move for peaceful settlement as national surrender. They would like to go back on the Simla agreement; they would like to keep the war prisoners permanently in India. All these help forward the American efforts to seize lost initiative on the sub-continent. Our unions must fight these reactionaries, and help the working class and democratic forces in Pakistan and Bangladesh to fight their own reactionaries.

Comrades, the last six months again have been the most trying months for our people and the working class. Never before were our people and the working class assailed by so many economic calamities simultaneously. Added to famine were the man-made calamities. Electricity shortage, shortage of industrial raw material (yarn etc. for the handloom and power looms, cement, steel,) rising prices, shortages and non-availability of foodgrains and all other necessities of life, lay-off, lock-outs, and finally callous attitude of the Government accompanied by merciless repression whenever the starving people moved to defend themselves.

The sufferings of the rural masses knew no bounds. Unorganised, defenceless, a prey to the bureaucratic administration, they were cheated, robbed, their wives and children slowly starved, incapacitated for life.

All the price indices have ceased to have any meaning with the actual prices - underhand prices - breaking all records and taking everything beyond the reach of the people. Official prices and indices are ceasing to have any meaning.

The present situation reduces the indices to a complete farce as the so-called regulated prices at which nothing is available in the market are recorded in compiling the index.

This makes it all the more necessary to secure by legislative sanction need-based wage for workers - guaranteed need-based standard free from the effects of official price manipulation and index fraud. The monstrous price rise has strengthened the determination of the workers to fight for the need-based wage.

Central employees :

Comrades in this connection we all must fully support the fight of the Central employees for need-based wage, full neutralisation for rise in prices, bonus and other demands. The Government and a number of reformist leaders are continuing to deprive them of this legitimate demand. We only hope that the vigilance and unity of the Central employees themselves will enable them to overcome the designs of the disruptors and compromisers.

Comrades, while the working class and the employees are unable to defend their existing standard, while it is being eroded by the rising prices, the Government is contemplating further attacks, and preparing for wage-freeze. Certain experts are busy. A secret document has been

prepared to attack.....

prepared to attack the workers. It is being given final touches before springing it on the workers. It is being given final touches before springing it on the workers and their organisations.

A wage policy which ignores the decline in real wage, which does not ensure need-based wage, and which does not even guarantee remedies against the constant erosion of real wages, such a wage policy is bound to be resented by the workers and will repel the workers from additional productive efforts.

Foreign Collaboration:

Comrades, a feature of the present economic situation must be sharply brought before the people and the working class. That is - the successive breakdowns of plants built in the public sector with foreign collaboration. The bursting of boilers in a public sector concern, the breakdown of power generators, the sudden stoppage of a fertiliser factory after the departure of foreign experts, the quick wearing out of foreign-constructed concerns, the repeated closures of atomic plants producing electricity, also of thermal plants of their failure to utilise full capacity have now come sharply in the picture accentuating the crisis.

Production capacity exaggerated:

The workers were being blamed for not producing to the full extent of capacity. Now it turns out that the capacity was deliberately exaggerated and the workers held responsible to conceal the crimes of the foreign capitalists and corrupt officials.

Capitalist-Landlord Economy

Comrades, the working class, like the rest of the people is made the scapegoat of the capitalist-landlord economy, relying on loans from imperialist Governments. The limping stagnant economy chokes all avenues of employment, depresses wages through inflation and by other means and condemns the workers to a penurious existence. The capacity of the stagnant economy employing the workers is decreasing every year. The growth rate of employment has been rapidly going down since 1965-66. In the five years prior to 1965-66 the increase was at the compound rate of 5.5 per cent. In 1971-72 it had dropped to nearly 2.8 per cent - the highest since 1966-67. Even this rate could not be kept up in 1972.

The average daily employment in cotton textile mills was 842,000 in 1966; it was 706,000 in 1971, the employment in jute mills was reduced from 249,000 in 1966 to 234,000 in 1971 - an underestimate. The employment in tobacco industry was reduced from 160,000 to 121,000 in 1970 itself. The employment in tea plantation declined from 804,000 in 1966 to 760,000 in 1970; the employment in mines declined from 699,000 in 1966 to 603,000 in 1971; the employment in railways increased from 1,357,000 in 1966 only to 1,393,000 in 1972.

The stagnating economy is strangulating employment and there are no prospects that the situation will improve unless a fight is put up against all its distortions. This is no longer a question of factory or industry, but of the entire society and of the class policies of the Government.

Once again the organised trade union movement must demand the enforcement of right to work, pending it immediate grant of unemployment relief to urban and rural unemployed. The cause of the agricultural worker has to be championed by the advanced trade union movement whose responsibility it is to see that the agricultural labourer gets adequate wage and protection against rising prices.

Demand Nationalisation of Foddergrain Trade.

Every worker ought to know that the main cause of the rising prices, the daily erosion of his wages is the monstrous deficit financing of the Government.

The most effective way to check the blackmarketing prices in

foodgrains is to commandeer the stocks of the landlords in the villages and sell them at reasonable prices. This precisely is what the Government will not do.

The trade union movement must demand in the interest of the working class and the people the nationalisation of wholesale trade in rice and all foodgrains and denounce the Central Government's treachery. After its show of take over of Wheat trade, the Central Government staged a cowardly retreat before the sabotage of the landlords and wholesalers and sacrificed the people to this blackmarketing gentry. The working class and the trade union movement must see that the edge of its attack is directed against the landlords, the wholesalers and the Government. It must seize initiative in dehoarding stocks and demand a fair price for the peasants produce - a better price so that it also throws its full weight for nationalisation and the landlords are not able to exploit it for their own aims. It is no longer possible for the working class and the organised trade union movement to protect the food of the working class by relying only on increased dearness allowance. It must jump in the fray for nationalisation of food trade, for commandeering of food stocks of landlords, for dehoarding in cities and effective public distribution.

Capitalist prosperity

While the people and workers were driven to deperation by high prices, the capitalists, like the landlords thrived and made unconsiderable profits. The foreign monopolists had a free run of the country and amassed huge money at the expense of the people. More than hundred companies retained profits of more than Rs. one crore each while many had profits exceeding Rs. four crores.

Foreign collaboration companies or companies with foreign capital retained fantastic profits, companies like Hindusthan Levers, Brooke Bond, Glaxo, Pfizer, Union Carbide, Indian Aluminium and Phillips India earned pre-tax profit of not less than Rs.4 crores in 1972-73 - the year of famine, crisis, high prices for the people.

Among the foreign controlled companies, Godfrey Phillips declared a dividend of 35 per cent; Food Specialists 25 per cent; Phillips India 24 per cent; Cafe 25 per cent and ESSO 81.25 per cent.

Whether good or bad crop, the peasant, the poor peasant gets ruined. This is seen in the plight of West Bengal's Jute peasant today. After lot of fanfare, the Jute (Purchasing) Corporation was appointed. It seems both the Jute Mills and the Jute Corporation worked hand in glove to bring down Jute prices and rob the peasants.

It is our desire that the artificial barriers between the employees and the trade union movement should be eliminated and all should rally under one common banner.

We expressed our sympathy and support for the power engineers' demand who sought parity of treatment with the IAS Officers. Some of these engineers often behave towards our workers exactly like the hardboiled IAS Officer. But their demand was correct. It is also the doctors demand. The refusal of the Government to accept it only means that it prizes the anti-people bureaucrat more than the doctor or the engineer. The IAS is more useful to run the machinery of repression than the engineer and the doctor. Production and health of the people come next to running the State with the aid of repression.

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Comrades, it is necessary to bring to the notice of the people how political bias of the Government, how its patronage to certain organisations imposes unnecessary strikes on the workers entailing avoidable sufferings and loss of production. The strike of the Railway Loco Workers could have easily been avoided had the Railway Board not refused to negotiate with the LRSA and not decided that its favourite the AIRF was the representative of all workers simply because the Railway Board said so. Now again the Railway Board in conjunction with the AIRF leadership is doing its best to sabotage the August agreement and provoke the workers to another strike.

New Challenges

Comrades, recent months have thrown new challenges to our movement. The danger of communal reactionary forces has increased. The open communal exploitation of the Muslim minority masses by the League portends danger for our common movement. Our movement should be deeply conscious of the oppression which the Muslim minority masses have to face under Congress rule. Defending their rights we must wage a relentless fight against League communalism and devote special attention to enlist minority workers in our common struggle.

Another feature of recent months is the wild rampages of the bureaucracy and the police against the people. We are all accustomed to brutal firings and tortures in the course of our struggle. But what happens in West Bengal or Kerala or Tamilnadu surpasses all imagination. Tortures and deaths in police lock-up are becoming very common. Murders at the hands of gangsters are increasing. It is a matter of shame and infinite disgrace that under the Right Communist-Congress coalition women are raped in police stations and men are tortured. How can the Right Communists fight repression elsewhere and perpetrate in Kerala.

But the main guilty party is the Indira Government whose bureaucracy treats the people in the same way that the British did. And worse is the lot of untouchables. Their homes are burnt, their women raped, their lands taken away with none to protect them. This emergence of the bureaucracy as the dominant force overriding all other considerations is nothing but the perfecting of the apparatus of State repression and the first step towards establishment of one party dictatorship.

As I have said while every section is being attacked, the untouchable masses are singled out for the worst atrocities. They are not only the victims of the police tyranny, they are the target of the local landlords. It should be our privilege to raise our voice in defence of the honour of their women, against the tyranny practised against this section of toilers. I think our General Secretary should contact all central organisations to fix a common day for voicing the working class protest against these inhuman tyrannies.

Comrades, Comrade Ramamurti in his report has described the success we have secured in organising united struggles in the fight for united action. These constitute a matter of pride for us and arms us with confidence in relation to the future. We must vigorously pursue the line of united action, we must strengthen the unity already embodied in the UCTU and see that it develops into still broader unity. The problems before the working class do require such a broad unity and we must see that it is achieved.

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CENTRE OF INDIAN TRADE UNIONS
WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING
3RD, 4TH & 5TH OCTOBER, 1973

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF
P. RAMAMURTI, GENERAL SECRETARY
SUBMITTED TO THE WORKING COMMITTEE

The months since our Second Conference have been full of struggles and activity by our affiliated unions, by our State Committees. They have seen big and prolonged strike struggles and prolonged and vindictive lockouts; a concerted attempt by our unions to rouse the working class against price rise, electricity shortage and attacks on living standards, solidarity actions and intervention by our unions and State Committees in defence of employees of the Central and State Governments. Above all, in these months our State Committees and affiliated unions have steadfastly pursued the path of building united actions, seeking understandings and united front with other organisations to unite and heighten the resistance of the fighting workers. The struggle for united activities goes beyond the organisations under the UCTU. Our unions it must be remembered have scored singular successes in our struggle for unity.

Another important feature is a conscious orientation is now being made and in some important centres the workers are being made aware of their duty towards the demands of the peasantry.

It should be realised that the struggles led by us from only a part of the big strike-wave sweeping the country. A large number of struggles are led by the local organisations of workers not affiliated to any central organisation. A large number are led unitedly, a large number are led by other central organisations.

It is necessary to take note of some of the important struggles not led by CITU affiliated unions. Perhaps the most important among them is the August Strike of Railway Loco Workers led by the All India Loco Workers' Association. Its victory occupies an important place in our struggle today, for it has given big jolt to institutionalised betrayal and strike breaking on the Railways. Not only was it the first victory of Railway workers after a number of years scared through direct action, it was the first defeat inflicted on the reformist leaders after a number of years.

The unity of the workers, the organisational skill of the Loco leaders, the determination of the workers to face the repressive measures of the Government resulted in the inspiring victory for them. That they had to go on a strike and face repression for raising the demand for an eight hour day under a Garibi Hatao 'Socialist' Government was a bizarre comment on the gap between official claims and practice.

Compelled to resort to direct action for saving themselves from sweated labour, for the right to organise, the workers acted with unprecedented unity and militancy which overtook the administration and the Government by surprise. Accustomed to believe that no widespread action could take place on the Railway thanks to the sabotage and treachery of the leaders of the two federations - one controlled by the HMS and the other

by the INTUC - the Railway ministry and administration treated the warning from the Association with scant respect. But the action spread like wild fire from the end of the country to another. The Rail system was more or less paralysed on all Railways except the Central and certain sections of some other Railways. The Railway Moghuls soon woke up to the situation. They and the Railway Minister had to yield before this unity and solidarity of the workers. Negotiations were opened.

But the Government did not yield before launching repressivemeasures, uttering threats and ultimatums and circulating lies and slanders against the workers to prejudice their case before the public. Every day the Railway Board gave false reports belittling the strength of the strike. The Railway Minister lied to the public that they were fighting for recognition for their craft organisation. Deliberately and mischievously both the officials of the Board and the Railway Ministry concealed from the people that the locomen were made to work for fourteen hours and that they were fighting for eight hours day. The minister further concealed that he had failed to honour past commitments. He delivered an ultimatum to the workers to withdraw the strike in twenty-four hours or face the consequences. He refused to talk to the workers unless they called off the strike.

Some busy bodies, reformist and revisionist leaders, while formally supporting the strike created confusion by acting as the messenger boys of the Minister. Instead of calling upon the workers to remain firm, they certified the sincerity of the minister and suggested that the strike be called off unconditionally leaving all the demands for talks after the strike. A number of Right C.P. M.Ps with their publicity hunting statements and desire to appear as the leaders of the strike played this role which would have harmed the morale of the strikers had the leadership not been firm and united.

The leaders of the AIRF and the NFIR who always act as the agents of the Railways opposed a settlement on the basis of eight hours day. They fully backed by the bureaucrats of the Railway Board who even during the strike refused to shed the illusion that the AIRF alone represented the workers.

Nearly, the workers' struggle would have had no chance against this combination aided by the widespread arrests and repression. Besides, this time the economic and food situation was extremely serious, with famine and shortages, high prices and collapse of the public distribution system. The Government exploited the situation to arraign the workers for callousness towards the suffering people. It was expected that the people's anger would mount and compel the strikers to beat a retreat.

But exactly the opposite happened. Large sections felt scandalised by the fact that the workers were made to work for fourteen hours. The people supported their cause. All opposition parties joined hands in the Parliament, to demand justice for the workers. The CITU and other central trade unions, the organisations of central employees and all democratic forces attacked the Government for its reactionary and repressive policies. Even the press was critical of the dishonest policies pursued by the Railway Board especially its policy of dealing only with organisations recognised by it.

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The isolation of the Railway Board and the Railway Ministry was complete.

The locomen's strike has unmasked the criminal role of the Railway Board which must be branded for involving the country in a strike in the midst of a serious economic situation and imposing a loss of crores of rupees on the country's finances. Its Labour Policy, its policy of recognition stands out as a policy of deceit, of nursing yesmen and favourites and not of collective bargaining with the real representatives of the employees. It is this anti-working class policy that has been responsible for the wide discontent among the railway workers and a series of lightning strikes. The country afford to have this reactionary agency at the head of the railway communications system. The sooner these medieval fat salaried autocrats are made to retire the better.

The trade union movement and all democratic forces must unitedly demand dissolution of the Railway Board, installation of a management with democratic outlook and a complete reversal of the present policy of denial of recognition and right of bargaining to the real representatives of the workers.

After dealing of the salient features of some of the big and important struggles during this period, Mr. Rammurti stated that - it is significant to note that in many of these struggles INTUC and AITUC unions have been compelled to take united stand with our unions on various issues. This was seen also in the dispute in Blast Furnace of Durgapur Steel, on bonus demand and implementation of tripartite Engineering settlement in Hindustan Motors as in other cases already cited. The INTUC unions which did everything to suspend functioning of our unions and forcibly restricted entry of our workers inside the factories were forced by circumstances to sit with our unions and take united stand. This is not a small achievement. This was possible only due to our consistent work championing the cause of the working class. The working class have taken to their heart that no effective struggle is possible unless unity is forged with CITU unions and this realisation of the workers has acted as force compelling the INTUC and other unions to take joint stand with our unions.

In the meeting of the State Labour Advisory Board held in Calcutta on 10th September, 1973 AITUC also joined our state Committee in condemning the attack on trade unions and infringement of trade union rights and all Central Trade Unions including the INTUC in spite of their divergent views, unanimously condemned attacks on workers and trade unions and made an agreed recommendation to ensure workers right to report for work with safety and security, withdrawal of termination letters already issued to workers in various establishments for their forced absenteeism, restoration of union offices occupied by the men of Congress party and full freedom of trade union functioning. This is a significant development in our struggle against the terror. For the first time, after two years there is official admission of the terror let loose with the Police against our union workers. This should constitute a powerful weapon in the hands of our unions all over the country to mobilise public opinion and ensure the implementation of the assurances given.

Our other trade unions should take a lesson from this and work for building firm ties between the Kisan and the trade union movements.

REPORT OF PLANTATION FEDERATION

The Working Committee of AIPWF met at Kaladi and Ernakulam town in Ernakulam district on 17th April 1973. Com. B.T. Ranadive, the President CITU was present at the 2nd Session. After the discussion on the question of the rules of the Plantation Labour Amendment Bill 1973, on Gratuity, on fixation of wages on the family basis etc.

1) It was decided to hold zonal meetings in South and North, to discuss the rules of the Plantation Labour Amendment Bill, at Coonoor on the 19th and 20th of May, and at Mal, Jalpaiguri in the month of June.

2) The draft Constitution was adopted unanimously with some minor changes. It was decided to circulate it.

3) It was further decided to take up the question of unemployment, filling up the vacancies, land labour ratio, equal wage for equal work etc. along with the demand of Charter adopted at the Conference.

4) Com. Vimal Ranadive was elected as the Secretary. The post of the Vice President from Karnatak was deferred for the future date.

According to the decisions taken, both the meetings, in North and South Zones were held. The office bearers of both zones except a few, attended and discussed the rules. A note on the amendments from the office was circulated before discussion.

As decided, amendments were sent by the unions from Karnatak, Tamilnadu, Assam and West Bengal, to Rajya Sabha Select Committee and copies sent to us. The office did not receive any copy from Kerala and Tripura. Perhaps, they have sent their amendments to the Committee.

A memorandum was sent to the Rajya Sabha Select Committee by the AIPWF and copies were circulated to all the unions.

1) A token general strike in Karnatak Plantation took place on 29th August 1973. 15,000 workers were on strike. All other unions belonging to AITUC, INTUC, DMK, ADMK, John Taylor Union and independent unions - all in a joint action. (Report attached).

2) Nilgiri Plantation Union - agreement signed by all unions - AITUC, INTUC, CITU, DMK, etc. Bonus p.c. higher than last time - Agreement on 10.75 p.c. for the year of 1972.

3) Agreement signed in Jalpaiguri in tripartite meeting on 24th July 1973 in pursuance of the Charter of Demands submitted by the Co-ordination Committee of Tea Plantation Workers (Details in the letter dated 28th July, 1973.)

A.I.P.W.F. Affiliated to TUI

The AIPWF sent the affiliation letter along with the

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report on the activities of AIPWF, a copy of our constitution list of the unions and officer bearers etc. The letter dated 6th September 1973, informing us about the affiliation received by us, and replied on 16th September. The representative of TUI is visiting our office on 25th September. The letter of TUI and our reply to them will be circulated to the unions.

New Unions Affiliated to CITU

1) Jalpaiguri Chia Bagan Mazdoor Union;

2) 3 new unions from Kerala were affiliated at Ernakulam. At present 48 unions are affiliated to AIPWF.

Report of Rubber & Tyre Workers

The Firestone Rubber Employees Union has successfully negotiated a settlement with the Company after prolonged agitation. The agitation included departmental actions, morchas and a one day strike. The settlement high-lights are withdrawal of charge sheets and suspension orders given during the agitation, guarantee of a higher minimum D.A. at 140 per cent of the Bombay Textile revised D.A. (Currently it comes to about Rs.370/- per month, formerly it was 110 per cent only), Rs.40/- - 50/- p.m. house rent allowance and Rs.350/- leave travel allowance, raising of piece rates by 2% and other minor benefits. We shall be circulating copies of the settlement soon.

The Federation fully supported the Firestone workers struggle. The Federation organised a morcha of CEAT workers to the Firestone and had threatened to call out all tyre and rubber workers in Bombay city for a one-day strike in support of the Firestone struggle. Our action has strengthened the Federation in Bombay.

The Federation received a letter from the INCHEK Staff Union about a cut in the salaries of the H.O. Staff of Inchek and NRM following a lock-out in NRM. We immediately wrote to the Director of both demanding restoration of this cut. Before further steps could be taken, we were informed that the cut was withdrawn.

Workers of the Good Year Tyre and Rubber Company of Faridabad, Haryana State have been on strikes since nearly a month. On July 6, the strikers procession was fired upon by the police resulting in at least one death. You must have read the news. Federation sent a protest telegram and called on all our unions to pass resolutions condemning the firing demanding judicial inquiry, punishment of officers responsible for firing and settlement of workers demands and sent appropriate messages to the Haryana Chief Minister and the Good year workers and their union.

Comrades, our organisation participated in a number of Committees and seminars called by the Government. We participated in the Third Mines Safety Conference held on July 14 and 15 in Calcutta. We and the two UTUCs received the invitation only at the eleventh hour and then also we were asked to attend as observer. We protested and staged a walk out. The Labour Minister informed us on July 14 evening that the department had reversed its earlier stand and requested us to send a delegate and an advisor. Com. Robin Chatterjee General Secretary of the Colliery Mazdoor Sabha of India and

a member of the CITU Working Committee attended the Conference on July 16. We also participated in the Standing Committee on Safety for Steel Industry. Com. Dilip Mazumdar, President of the HSL Employees Union represented us on the Committee. Com. Biran Roy and Gerald Pereira, Working Committee members have been chosen by the Secretariat to represent us on the All India Trade Union Committee on Family Planning. Com. Sudhin Kumar, our Vice-President represented us on the National Committee for Family Planning.

Under the auspices of the ILO, the Central Board for Workers' Education organised a National Workshop for Trade Union officials on Welfare Tasks and Family Planning on August 27 in Bombay. The Secretariat nominated Com. Sudhin Kumar and V. Vishwanath Menon, member of the Working Committee to participate in the Workshop. An outline proposed for this Seminar is separately given.

A Seminar was convened by the National Productivity Council on 19th and 20th August in New Delhi. Com. M. K. Pandhe, Secretary and myself participated in the gathering. Representatives of nine trade union centres participated in it. The draft which was jointly discussed by the representatives of Central Trade Unions before submitting to the Conference and which was endorsed by the latter is being circulated herewith.

We also participated in a meeting called by the Planning Minister. The Minister of Planning spoke of the need for promoting healthy industrial relations as well as on integrated policy of wages, prices and incomes and invited suggestions from the trade union representatives.

I had to question the basic assumptions of the Approach document and warn that because of old bases continue the Fifth Plan would meet the same fate as the earlier plans. How can one talk of Public Sector and simultaneously support monopoly; how can self reliance go hand in hand with encouragement to foreign private capital? What chance has war against poverty so long land is not distributed to the tiller? Regarding productivity, the experience of the working class is more than produce the more people loose their jobs.

Once again I advocated that union recognition on the basis of secret ballot. The recognised union should undertake to refer all agreements to the workers for final ratification. For trade union unity, I suggested representation for unions in proportion to their strength among the workers.

Comrades, since the inception of our organisation we have stuck to the line of united actions and trade union unity despite the obstacles and sabotage created by the reformists and revisionists. You all know that at our 2nd Conference we reviewed our efforts in this direction and found that we were achieving considerable progress.

The last six months have seen our unions and State Committees going more boldly and more firmly on this road and achieving remarkable advance. Not that the reformists and revisionists have given up their outlook; nor do they shirk from obstructing our advance with the aid of the Government and the capitalists. The INTUC and the AITUC leaders still continue to oppose our participation in official Conferences, recognition to our organi-

sations or talks with our unions. They often sign agreements with employers behind our back, dividing the ranks of the workers and helping the employers. They play the role of dividing the workers and often help the Government to screen its anti labour policy. Nonetheless the situation in the trade union movement, the correlation of forces the consciousness of the workers. United all these are changing and this is reflected in a growing adhoc United Front arrangements, joint actions and joint negotiations. Where the CITU unions are able to take the initiative, rouse the masses to action, or where they already possess a size strength - the chances of united front actions are bright. It depends on the initiative, and capacity of rouse the workers whether the united front will be formed and whether it will last during common action and end in united negotiations.

But the main driving force is the need felt by the mass of workers for united action against the effects of crisis - high prices, electricity shortage, rising unemployment, food shortage and falling real wages.

It is because of this objective basis that the line of no struggle, of no truck of it in growing number of united struggles, creating a greater sense of Comraderie and defence of working class interests.

You know our participation in the UCTU is one of our weapons of forging unity. Its biggest achievement was the convention of central employees and state employees it called on July 25 and 26 in New Delhi. Its aim was to rally the central employees against the reactionary recommendations of the Third Pay Commission which constituted an open offensive against their right to defend their wages and earnings and a need based wage.

To throw the entire strength of the trade unions movement behind the Convention the UCTU wrote to all Central trade union organisations and Federations, all central and state employees' organisations to participate in the convention. The AITUC, HMS, INTUC did not respond. Nor did the central employees' organisations affiliated or connected with them.

But the convention against the Recommendations of the Pay Commission and Bonus for All became an expression of the desire of lakhs of Central and State employees' to forge unity to fight for their demands. For the first time a representative gathering of such a magnitude embracing both the Central and State employees came together to take common decisions. Over 600 delegates who represented 126 unions of Central and State employees participated in the meeting.

This call created great enthusiasm among the organisations of the employees and they made serious preparations for its success. The National Federation of P & T employees held an all India Convention of their own on 23rd July. The Confederation of Central Government employees and workers unions held their meeting on July 24. The all India State Employees' Federation held a a meeting of its National Executive on July 24. The all India Confederation of Railway Employees with its category wise unions joined the convention. The All India Confederation of Central Government Officers' Association participated in the gathering. It should be recorded that the AIRF leadership refused to participate. The National Railway mazdoor Union - (Central Railway) an affiliate of the AIRF

participated in the gathering. The All India Loco Staff Association which was soon to embark upon its historic strike and the Chittaranjan Railway workshop union took active part. Several delegates came from the branches of unions affiliated to the AIRF.

Outside the UCTU also great strides are being made in united front actions. It must be noted that recently on a few occasions the initiative for united front has also come from the AITUC leadership. In the Bangalore Bandh the AITUC called our organisations to join in common action. During the Loco Workers' strike in August Com. B.T.R. and myself received a letter from Ranen Sen and Dange - President and General Secretary of AITUC to discuss the common approach for the strike. We were glad and I phoned Dange who assured me that he would phone back but no further contact was established. This was unfortunate because a common approach and consultation would have saved some awkward situations and helped to overcome some weakness of the strike. Nonetheless we are glad to note that the AITUC leaders saw the need of the initiative and common consultations. Dange also sent a message condemning the outrageous attack on Com. Chintan and wishing him speedy recovery. If these are straws in the wind which I think they are, they are all for the good of our common movement.

Let me further refer to some of the massive united front actions, in cooperation with the AITUC. The Rajasthan Bandh, the Andhra Bandh, Tamilnadu Bandh, a series of joint mass strikes in Bombay and Maharashtra and finally the biggest and most important, the West Bengal Bandh of 27th July, constitutes a series of achievements in the struggle for unity of the trade union movement.

These bandhs and strikes involving lakhs of workers, belonging to different organisations and affiliations are leaving an indelible imprint of unity, of common fight for isolating the ruling classes and the ruling party. The struggle for unity has travelled along two points - strengthening of the UCTU - and joint actions with AITUC. As I have said the West Bengal Bandh of July 27 must be deemed to be a big achievement of our struggle for unity. All these years we were facing the terror alone, having been singled out by the Congress party as its special objective. Three hundred of our unions still continue to be under occupation of the Congress goondas. In certain areas including the Steel town of Durgapur with its boastful Public Sector we cannot open our trade union offices. The Right C.P. which heads the AITUC leadership is in alliance with the ruling party and takes pride in it. Till recently it had never protested against this terror against us. On the other hand in the earlier days it had carried on slanderous propaganda against us, screening the crimes of the Congress and its terror against the trade unions. In recent months though exchanges and consultations could take place, as well as some joint strikes and protest actions, a common action, of the type of Bandh was unthinkable.

But the disillusionment of the people and the mounting indignation over rising prices, food shortage, did the trick. While the CPI(M) and other left parties, along with the CITU and other constituents of the UCTU were preparing for a bandh in protest against price rise, food shortage and official policies helping the monopolists, hoarders and landlords, the Right C.P.

and AITUC gave a call to observe a bandh on 27th of July. It was clear that they were shying away from a united front with us. The AITUC leaders only made appeal through the press for support they neither opened talks nor were prepared to sit together to discuss how to organise successful bandh. They were under the pressure of their allies and were discussing with them all the time assuring them of their good intentions. They also assured that they were not fighting the Government but the hoarders and monopolists. Unable to maintain this ridiculous position they resorted to equivocation. Our allies, the other constituents of the UCTU failed to see the quandry of the AITUC leaders - the pressure of the masses, the first feeble crack in the alliance with the Congress. They refused to support the bandh. The CITU fully supported the bandh, took lead in organising it and made it a glorious achievement of the united action of the democratic forces and the working class. This was one of the biggest reply to the terror, and the organisers of the biggest reply to the terror, and the organisers of the terror.

On the eve of the bandh more than 600 workers of the CPI(M) and other left parties, of the CITU including leaders of mass organisations were arrested. Assaults and intimidations of workers, students, teachers were carried on a big scale. Goonda elements, police, Congress volunteers were mobilised to break the strike. Some workers in some localities were forcibly taken from their homes and forced to report to work. Some factory managers were forced at gun point to reopen mills closed because of the strike. Three workers were murdered during the day of the bandh. Along with our cadres, the workers and cadres of the AITUC were also attacked arrested and intimidated. Large number of them were put in jail. The unofficial united front was being sealed in jails and in police and goonda beatings.

In spite of the terror, the bandh was a huge success. More than 2 million industrial workers participated in the strike. The entire mass of people supported.

As a follow up of this mighty bandh the AITUC leaders recently supported our protests to the labour minister against gangster attacks on our unions. This time not only all the constituents of the UCTU joined in the protest, the AITUC also lent its support to our demand. Similarly all the Central organisations joined with us in protesting against West Bengal Ordinance banning strikes.

There have been many united front actions for local demands in protest strikes or indefinite strikes. In Kerala on many occasions the CITU, HMS, INTUC and AITUC have joined hands. To mention the latest reports one and a half lakh Cashew nut workers observed a days' token strike on 25th August in support of their demands for bonus. The call was unitedly given by the CITU, INTUC and UTUC unions. At the call of the same organisations seventy thousand plantation workers observed a day's strike on August 31 demanding 50% rise in wages, handloom workers of Badagara and Cannanore, Rubber workers, Tea and Coffee plantation workers of Wynad, Saw Mill workers of Kollai (Kozhikode), Kerala Spinner workers of Alleppey, Cotton mill workers of Trichur etc. have carried on their struggle under the leadership of CITU, AITUC and other central organisations. I have already mentioned the united actions in Tamilnadu, Maharashtra and other States.

These successes however do not mean that there is no need to struggle against the outlook of policies of the reformist and revisionist leaders. They mean that the first hurdles to mass action are being overcome. I have already shown how the INTUC and AITUC leaders oppose us a place in the tripartite body or in negotiations. It is necessary for them to do so because otherwise they will not be able to compromise and enter into anti-working class deals and agreements. Especially where the workers are not in action the reformists and revisionists are liable to compromise for the least excuse to keep the good will of the employers and the Government. Let me quote in this connection Com. Umanath, General Secretary, Tamilnadu Committee of the CITU.

"The latest of the surrenders by the AITUC is in the Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd. The Government of India has constituted a negotiating committee consisting of representatives of the managements and of the AITUC, INTUC and recognised unions in their four plants in Hardwar, Bhopal, Ramachandrapuram and Tiruchirapalli to negotiate revision of wages and other basic demands. They have consciously avoided the CITU from being represented on the committee despite representations.

"SECRET COMMITMENT

"Recently, an interim relief to the tune of a minimum of Rs.35 has been announced by the Committee. The AITUC, INTUC and the recognised unions were vying with each other through handbills and speeches to take the credit for interim relief.

"But the minutes of the meeting of the Negotiating Committee held on June 14 and 15, 1953 at Delhi, which fell into our hands recently, made the shocking revelations that the AITUC joined the INTUC in giving a secret undertaking to the management that increase of workload would be as much a part of this agreement as wage revision would be."

Besides during the course of the struggle the AITUC leaders with their vacillations, with the collaborationist attitude towards the Government, take a vacillating stand which undermines militancy and solidarity and creates danger of disruption. I have already referred to their role in the Loco Workers strike which they were supporting but which at the same time they were successfully undermining because of their faith in the railway minister and their attitude to the Government. Not having faith in the militant class struggle they resort to puerile actions like individual hunger strike in the midst of a huge struggle involving thousands and divert attention from the main fight. This is exactly what they did during the glorious strike of the Rajasthan employees. When intense mass action was necessary to compel the Government to open negotiations the Right C.P. M.L.A. from Rajasthan and their State employees' leader from Punjab entered upon a hunger strike. Soon after, their followers started to divert the attention of the employees and launched a 'Save Leaders Life' campaign. The game however failed. But the point to be noted is that even when everyone has been won for joint action great vigilance is required to conduct the struggle correctly and prevent all diversionary moves.

As I have said the economic and political situation, the growing disillusionment and discontent among the masses, their wretched condition all dictate greater and bigger united struggles and we must pursue our policy of united front more vigorously than ever before. Objective conditions will more and more vindicate our line of unity and united struggles and defeat the line of disruption and suppression.