

# **Centre Of Indian Trade Unions**

**Special General Council Meeting  
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# **DOCUMENTS**

# Presidential Address

—E.Balanandan

Dear Comrades,

At the outset, let us pay our homage to the memory of those innocent people who were massacred in the communal flare up in different parts of the country after the demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya by the Hindu religious fundamentalists led by the Sangh parivar on the 6th of December 1992 and also to those who fell victims to the communal orgy organized by the Shiv Sena and their allies during the first half of January , 1993 in Bombay. While expressing our agony and protest over these ghastly human slaughter by the communal forces, we send our condolences to the bereaved families.

This session of the General Council of the CITU is specially being held to discuss organizational questions as per the decision of the last General Council held at Nagpur. We have had to postpone this meeting due to the development of communal frenzy in the country after the Ayodhya incidents. The demolition of Babri Masjid at Ayodhya by the BJP, RSS, VHP combine denotes a very significant aggressive phase of Hindu communalism in the country. We all know the turn of events which I do not wish to deal in detail. While the Prime Minister was claiming to be engaged in negotiations for solving the issue, the Sangh Parivar declared that they will start Kar Seva in Ayodhya on 6th of December. Under the Pressure of the left and democratic parties the govt. convened the National Integration Council on 23 November which was boycotted by the BJP and its 4 Chief Ministers. This NIC unanimously approved the resolution moved by Com. Harkishan Singh Surgeet, the General Secretary of CPI(M) empowering the govt. to take all necessary steps to protect the Babri Masjid and ensure national unity. But in spite of this the govt. did not take any positive steps but only continued the dialogue with the very same BJP, RSS, leaders.

Meanwhile the Supreme court intervened and directed the govt. of U.P. to allow no construction in the disputed site and the Kar Sevakas should not be allowed to do anything other than Bhajans and Kirtans at Ayodhya. The Govt of U.P. filed an affidavit before the court agreeing that the directions of the court will be followed. The public posture of BJP leadership and the Chief Minister of U.P. that they are not going to allow any illegal construction in Ayodhya was a ploy to hoodwink the Central Govt. and to avoid central intervention so that they can implement their plan of demolition of the mosque which is no secret to day.

The demolition of the mosque was a serious blow to the secular foundation of India's Constitution on which rests the unity of our country. The Chief Minister of U.P, Mr. Kalyan Singh saw to it that the police and the administrative machinery of the state facilitate the demolition of the mosque. To cover up this operation from the public view the press and media persons were attacked brutally by their special squads. A section of the U.P. police were also directly engaged in demolishing the mosque.

The communal conflagration which followed was unprecedented. More than 2000 people were killed in different parts of the country, besides indescribable destruction of property. industrial cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, etc were affected by the riots. Kerala and West Bengal too were affected by communal clashes and death though not in a big way. The administrative machinery, particularly the police succumbed to the communal virus in many places and joined Hindu communalists in attacking the minorities. This cancer of communal virus creeping in to the administrative and police machinery of the state will pave the way for a fascist take over unless otherwise checkmated by the forces of democracy. The game plan of Sangh Parivar is to develop communal polarization throughout the country which they want to utilize for attaining the so called "Hindu Rashtra" in which the other religious communities will have no place. The Hindus too in their definition means the upper castes who will only have the decisive say. The Harijans, tribals, backward class, etc. have only to obey the orders. The inaction of the Narasimha Rao Government mainly facilitated the attempt of demolition of the mosque by Sangh Parivar. Due to the intense public pressure the Govt was forced to

dismiss the U.P. govt and other BJP Govt which have played active roles in the planning and execution of the demolition of the mosque together with banning of the RSS and some other organizations. The ban of these organizations is only in paper and nothing is being done to check their activities.

The Presidential Ordinance proclaimed to take over the land in the disputed area and the reference made under Section 141 of the Constitution to find out and decide whether there was any Hindu structure that existed before when the mosque was constructed 460 years ago etc are only to provide an escape route to the "Hinduthava" gangs and not intended to resurrect the secular foundations of our country which are to be destroyed at Ayodhya. The much advertised plan for the construction of Mosque and Temple at Ayodhya by the govt is yet to see the light of the day.

Comrades,

During the first half of January the Shiv Sena together with their allies again organized an attack against the Muslims and the linguistic minorities who were living in the city of Bombay. In the name of protesting against the Muslims performing "Namaz" outside the mosque on Fridays, the Shiv Sena started organizing Maha Aaratis(Poojas) blocking the public roads. From there the trained killer gangs were sent to attack the pre-planned targets. The Muslim busties in the slum areas, the houses and business establishments of Muslims were selectively chosen as their targets. Arson and looting went on for almost 10 days in different parts of Bombay city. In broad day light people were attacked and killed irrespective of young and old, men and women. The non-Marathi minorities who were working in Bombay were also made the target of their attacks.

The total death toll is officially estimated at about 600. The devastating destruction of property is indescribable. The loss is estimated to be several thousand crores. The Congress(I) Govt in Bombay failed to give protection to the Muslims and other linguistic minorities. Lakhs of them left Bombay to escape from the Shiv Sena attacks. More than 30 to 40,000 Muslims were taken to the different relief camps. In short the industrial city of Bombay was completely paralyzed and the defacto control of the city was taken over by Shiv Sena and their allied gangs.

Mr Bal Thackeray publicly declared that his men were engaged in this attack and this has been done to teach the Muslims a lesson and declared that Muslims will have no place in India. They have to go to Pakistan.

The police and administrative machinery did not do anything to give protection to those who were crying for help. Just like the earlier occasion this time too the police were helping and aiding the Shiv Sena and their killer gangs in their attack against Muslims. Though the military has been brought to the scene they were kept only as onlookers. The police mainly arrested the Muslims while they did nothing against the goonda gangs. The recorded messages sent from the police control room to the police personnel who were dealing with the riots is now under court custody which speaks volumes. The police men were asked not to give any protection to Muslims. Such was the deplorable state of affairs which prevailed in Bombay. The constitutional and legal protection to the people were thrown to the winds. Religious and ethnic minorities have lost faith in the administration and they felt that they are treated as aliens by the Government. Even many industrialists including Mr. J R D Tata came out against the inaction of the Govt and demanded declaration of emergency in Bombay and hand over its administration to the military. The Chief Minister Mr Naik and the Defence Minister who visited Bombay during this period could not do anything. The Prime Minister who visited Bombay after 10 days of continuous riots did not utter a single sentence against those who killed hundreds of people and took the industrial capital of India to ransom.

Thus today we see that the fascist gangs are allowed to subvert the Constitution and democracy in the country. The latest is that the Shiv Sena trade union, 'Bharatiya Kamgar Sangh' is not allowing Muslim workers to join duty in the factories and work places. The non-Marathis\_ "the outsiders" also are being threatened like that. The Shiv Sena's "sons of the soil" policy is thus being implemented. Besides they are trying to capitalise on the fear psychology for capturing trade unions in many areas using strong arm methods. The tragedy of the situation is that trade unions and the democratic forces failed to muster strength unitedly to fight back this fascist offensive. Life in Bombay is yet to be normalised.

## NEW OFFENSIVE BY RSS:

Another Sant(Sanyasi) Sammelan was organized by RSS, BJP leadership at Allahabad on 24-25 January 1993. They have formed a new organization which is called Ram Janmabhoomi Nyas Manch. Swami Vamdev is the new chief of this organisation. The declared aim of this organization is said to be attainment of Hindu Rashtra and to facilitate the same a Govt headed by 'Ram Bhakths' is to be installed at the Centre. The political resolution adopted by them claimed among many other things that the Hindu clergy "alone are the worthy successors today of the glorious traditions laid down by the Rishis, Munis and Mahants through centuries." They declared that Ayodhya will be a religious city comprising an area of 96 x 34 Kms which would encompass Faizabad and other Muslim areas which has a considerable Muslim population. It has been declared that no mosque will be allowed in this area and they will strongly oppose any attempt by the Government to build a mosque within this area. They have demanded that India should sever connections with Pakistan and Bangladesh since they are supporting the construction of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya and India should get out of SAARC.

We have to note of the new technique of the BJP RSS, VHP leadership to enlist the Hindu Sanyasis to make their policy declarations. The earlier decision to start Kar Seva on December 6 was also taken by them. The RSS, BJP leaders throughout the country are campaigning for the change of the Constitution. In their private talks they are demanding that the Muslims should be disfranchised. In the Hindu Rashtra of their version there will not be any place for non-Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, etc. They are using their religious garb plus the might of their armed gangs for capturing political power at the Centre. The UP Govt under the Central rule has provided all protection for holding the Sant Sammelan while they refused permission to the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan(Campaign for National Unity) to hold rally at Varanasi on February 2. Thus the Narasimha Rao Govt is still not taking any steps against these forces and is providing them with all necessary help. They had decided to hold a big mass rally at New Delhi on 25 February on the eve of Parliament session. The apprehension of the people at large was that this rally would have paved the way for a Bombay type holocaust in Delhi. Narasimha Rao Government banned this BJP rally appre-

hending communal disturbance. Simultaneously they banned all other rallies also. Thus the rally organized by the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan at Delhi on 30th March also was axed. By showing so called neutrality they equated the anti-communal rally upholding secularism and the unity and integrity of the country with the communal forces represented by the Sangh Parivar. We condemn the Government for such equation. The Hindu communalist forces are on the offensive while the Cong(I) party and the govt at the Centre is still sitting at the fence without any effort towards political mobilization of the people in defence of national unity.

On the 19th of December the left parties organized a meeting of all secular opposition political parties and mass organizations to develop nationwide united campaign in which the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan was formed with representatives of all secular parties and mass organizations including the CITU.

They adopted a month long programme in January, which included oath taking, signature and mass rallies at important centers. The Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions, which is a part of the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan, discussed its proposals and endorsed the programme. The CITU Centre has taken steps to discuss with the INTUC leadership. They have also signed a national unity pledge, and agreed to join in the campaign for national unity. Due to the Bombay disturbances this programme could not be carried out in full swing in certain areas. However we have seen that in almost all areas the joint activity against the communal virus and for national unity is gaining momentum. The CITU should take the lead to mobilize the whole workers in each centre against this communal fascist forces.

The historic 10,000 kilometers long human chain organized in West Bengal comprising of 2 crores of people shows the way. If proper steps are taken, the people's consciousness can be aroused. The rally organized in Patna was attended by more than a million people, which was the biggest rally held in Patna in recent memory. In Kerala, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh and in all the major cities in all the states the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan is organizing mass rallies in which we have to actively participate and make them the mightiest mass mobilizations in each area. The Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan has condemned the Government for banning all rallies along with the

BJP rally. Preparations for the 30th March rally however are afoot.. We must take all steps to make it the biggest rally to be held in New Delhi. .

In sum, the communal and fascist forces are out to disturb the national integrity and to subvert democracy in the country. Therefore, it is the duty of the working class to come forward to defend democracy and national unity at all costs.

### **FIGHT AGAINST ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE GOVERNMENT:**

Comrades,

The Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions organized the second all India General strike on June 16th against the new economic policies, and again organized the biggest ever working class rally on the 25th of November 1992 at New Delhi. In the strike nearly 15 million workers took part. In the rally public and private sector workers, State and Central Govt employees, banking and insurance employees and a contingent of officers of the public sector were among the participants. The workers owing allegiance to IPF, the Railway Men's Federation etc were there in large numbers. This rally adopted a declaration indicating the guideline for future action which has far reaching significance. Let me quote a few paragraphs from the operative part of the resolution for your ready reference.

“Such a magnificent unity can initiate effective resistance to every evil effect of the economic policies on various sections of people in urban and rural India. It will be able to organize sectional as well as local and regional movements and struggles to defend the vital interests of the people. It will further mobilize large sections of the people in Central, State, regional and local level conventions, seminars, rallies to create more awareness among the people to fight these policies and work out viable alternative policies to save the country and its economy.

“The new platform will unleash a phased programme of mass actions all over India culminating in a Bharat Bandh which will express the powerful voice of the Indian people against these draconian policies.”

What is envisaged in the resolution is to broaden the movement with the participation of mass organizations of peasants, agricultural workers, youths, students etc for involving all sections of the people on the basis of a new platform. The direction is to enlist the support of the broad masses and to enlarge the scope of the fight throughout the country including the rural areas. The Sponsoring Committee has decided to take steps to discuss with the various mass organizations for united action on this basis. The successful implementation of this declaration will definitely put further pressure on the Govt to retrace their steps and change these policies.

Comrades,

Inspite of the fact that we have organized two successful strikes and a massive protest rally in Delhi within a year, the Govt of India is dead set to implement the IMF/World Bank dictates. Narasimha Rao Govt went for the IMF loan as soon as they came to power saying that it is imperative to meet the immediate exigency of foreign exchange difficulties and it is only a temporary phenomenon. But now again within a span of one and half years we find that the Govt is after the IMF for a bigger loan of 9 billion dollars and the pressure from the bank fund bosses are on the increase. The Govt in order to show their fidelity to the commitments made is out and out for implementing the conditionalities even without caring for its immediate and long term impacts on our economy and the country's development as a whole. The steps which has been taken to reduce the fiscal deficits from 8.4 to 6% by 91-92 and the present commitment for a further reduction to 5% forced the Govt to curtail the developmental expenditure for the 5 year plans. The investment in public sector, education, health, etc are being cut drastically. The adverse impact of the same is now visible in various sectors including industries. Many industries cannot continue their production in full capacity due to recessionary conditions. To cite one example the govt purchases of cement have come down to 15% from 40% since the reduction of the funds, for developmental construction activity. Consequently the cement manufacturers of India had to curtail production to the extent of 20%. This is the story of many other industries including engineering.

The expectation of 3 to 4% increase in industrial production for the year 1991-92 did not come true and the increase was only 0.9% and this financial year the expected increase is 5% which can at best be below 3% according to expert calculation. Still recessionary conditions prevail in many industrial sectors.

Indiscriminate import liberalisation, import tariff reduction, foreign exchange de-regulation, besides subsidy cut imposed on fertilizers food etc are having its adverse impact in many industries. Many fertilizer plants, engineering companies titanium products, etc are going to be closed. The prices of food grains are being jacked up and life of the ordinary citizens are being made miserable. The prices of many essential commodities are on the increase. Though the Govt continues to claim that the inflationary spiral is being checked by them. The selling of public sector shares is being continued which is the new process of privatisation. Private banking is allowed even with the multinational monopoly participation. Multinational corporations now need not worry about the FERA restrictions. According to the IMF directions, the Chelliah Committee has now reported further reduction in the import tariff. Thus the Govt is taking all the steps to placate the IMF/World Bank bosses which goes against the people of India.

The refusal to negotiate and settle the demands of the public sector employees, denigration of public sector continues with vehemence. The proposal for closure of public sector through BIFR

is continuing and thus the public sector workers are forced to move ahead jointly for an all India strike action.

The labour ministry is proceeding with the proposal to amend the Industrial Disputes Act in order to remove the hurdles for retrenchment and closures, and put a curb on right to strike and many other things favouring the employers. Therefore, comrades, it has become all the more important today to mobilise the whole of the working class and the people to fight back these policies as pointed in the Delhi declaration about which I have referred.

## **DEVELOPING CRISIS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD**

Comrades, I do not wish to go into the details of the developments in the international arena. I only want to bring to your notice

the developing crisis in the capitalist world. You might remember that Mr George Bush, the then American President declared after the collapse of the Soviet Union that he is going to build "a new world order" which according to him will bring prosperity for humanity. But today, Mr Bush is no more the President of the United States. The new

President, Mr Clinton who assumed the office is now faced with a serious crisis in the economic front. Rise in industrial production in the developed capitalist world during the year 1992 averaged below 1% . The following table will give the latest figures for GDP, industrial production, unemployments etc in developed capitalist countries.

	Industrial Production		GDP		Unemployment%rate	
	3mthst	1 year	3mthst	1year	Latest	Year ago
Australia	- 1.0	+ 2.1 Oct	+ 1.4	+ 2.4 Q3	11.3 Dec	10.6
Belgium	+ 0.5	+ 0.4 Sep	na	+ 1.6	8.6 Dec	7.8
Canada	+ 6.5	+ 0.7 Oct	+ 1.4	+ 0.7 Q3	11.5 Dec	10.3
France	- 2.7	- 3.8 Nov	+ 1.2	+ 1.4 Q3	10.5 Nov	10.0
Germany #	- 7.5	- 5.1 Nov	- 1.9	+ 0.9 Q3	7.4 Dec	6.3
Holland	- 5.7	- 3.3 Nov	+ 3.7	+ 1.3 Q3	4.5 Nov	4.5
Italy	- 11.5	- 1.4 Oct	- 2.4	+ 0.8 Q3	10.0 Dec	10.0
Japan	- 10.2	- 8.2 Dec	- 1.5	+ 0.9 Q3	2.3 Nov	2.1
Spain	+ 6.0	- 0.6 Sep	na	+ 1.0 Q3	15.5 Dec*	15.2
Sweden	- 0.8	+ 0.7 Oct	+ 2.3	+ 0.1 Q3	5.5 Dec*	3.5
Switzerland	+ 14.4	+ 1.7 Q3	- 0.5	- 0.6 Q3	4.2 Dec**	1.9
U.K.	+ 4.6	+ 0.1 Nov	+ 0.4	- 0.7 Q3	10.5 Dec	9.0
USA	+ 3.6	+ 2.9 Dec	+ 3.4	+ 2.1 Q3	7.3 Dec	7.1

• Average of latest 3 months compared with average of previous 3 months, at annual rate. \*\* GNP.

Source : The Economist Jan 30th - Feb 5th 1993.

It shows that in all the developed countries unemployment is on the increase and the industrial production has come down in many countries and the GDP growth is only nominal. However this does not give the whole picture. Industrial recession is haunting all the

developed capitalist countries including, Japan, Germany, USA, Britain, etc. To begin with Japan, is haunted by a big recession. Japanese industrial production has slowed down as shown above to more than 8% during the year 1992. The electronic industry which was leading the industrial sector in Japan is now faced with serious slump. The electronic equipment industry not only simply slowed down, during 1992 it actually declined by 10.6% according to the electronic industries Association of Japan. The Japanese corporations are eliminating marginal business and are quietly cutting thousands of people from their work force. Corporate bankruptcies rose by one third in 1992, jumping from 10,723 cases in 1991 to 14,167 cases, the highest total since 1986. The Federation of Bankers' Associations of Japan also announced that the liabilities of companies whose transactions with banks were suspended climbed 2.9 percent to a record 4.32 trillion Yen i.e. US\$ 34.4 billion. The trade war between Japan and America is on the increase. Mr Clinton's Govt declared that they intend to revive in some form the now expired Super 301 of US Trade Act of 1988 under which the United States could impose retaliatory tariffs against a trading partner, if it is found that any country maintained significant barriers to US goods. The Japanese Director General of the International Trade Policy Bureau at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry said that "Tokyo would take retaliatory action" if the US administration revives the so called Super 301 trade provision and applies its penalties unilaterally to Japan. Thus Japan, the wonder of the East is now slowly limping into economic recession and bankruptcies are increasing.

Unemployment and closures are also on the increase. The production levels in European Economic Community countries has fallen to the lowest levels in the year 1992 which is the worst in the last 12 years. The total plan of European Economic integration etc cannot be implemented because each of the European Community countries are facing serious crisis in the economy and they are fighting each other for markets for their own economic survival. Passenger car industry and steel industry in Germany are facing serious crisis. Volkswagen AG, Europe's biggest automaker has decided to send out 30,000 of its employees out of 2,73,000 by the end of 1993. German steel industry is also in serious crisis. The cheaper steel produced in East Germany and steel supplied from the Soviet Union is competing with German steel industry and they are

finding it difficult to continue production in full capacity because of lack of demand and therefore large scale employment reduction is being contemplated, besides restricting imports from the Soviet Union. Many more industries are facing recessionary situation and they are facing crisis because of the cheaper products coming from East Germany. Car sales in Germany are expected to drop by as much as 10 per cent in 1993.

As per newspaper reports, the Clinton administration and its allies crossed swords in middle of January when the Commerce Department ruled that 19 nations, including Europe's major industrial powers, had violated US trade laws by dumping steel exports in the US at less than "fair market value." So also the American Govt intends to impose sanctions against European telecommunications and power manufacturing industries.

In USA the situation is far worse. It is estimated that 25% of all US Corporations are planning to drastically cut their production targets and heavy reduction in their workforce. The steel and auto industries are disappearing in the economic black hole. Never the USA experienced such a situation even during the period of the great depression. Many Corporate giants are trying to transfer their production centers to other countries where labour is cheaper and the taxes are lower. The US Govt has set up a special department to facilitate this process. The percentage of unemployment in the US is said to be 7.5% which is the highest in the recent past. But daily announcements are being made by Corporate managements their intention to reduce the strength of the workforce.

The biggest corporate entity in America, the IBM is facing serious crisis. In the history of the company such a situation never arose. They have decided to reduce more than 25,000 jobs and to close down many of their branches in several countries. The biggest retail company in the US, Sears Roebuck & Co. has decided to cut 50,000 jobs due to market slump and they have decided to stop publication of catalogue, etc.

As mentioned earlier the Americans have started trade wars against their allies—Germany, Japan, Britain, etc. Thus it shows that the claim of globalisation of economy is thrown to the winds and the trade wars, restriction on imports, etc are becoming the order

of the day.

In December alone 60,000 people lost their jobs in Britain and the total unemployment rate officially came to 10.5% i.e. around 3 millions. In many British companies employment is being reduced as they are facing serious crisis.

The claim of progress through capitalism is nowhere seen and just the reverse is happening. The countries which came out of the socialist system is also facing the very same serious crisis which they could not imagine earlier. Within the short period they found that the unemployment rate and price rise etc has become unbearable and the so called help promised by the developed capitalist countries are not only not forthcoming the trade which they wanted to do with these countries are also being blocked by them.

Thus all the major industrial nations world over are facing recessionary trends and re in serious crisis. Crisis free capitalism is seen nowhere in the world. To get out from this crisis many methods are being resorted to by the imperialist countries. The lever of World Bank and IMF is being used for transferring the crisis to the third world countries. Besides American imperialism is trying to intervene militarily in many countries, especially in the oil rich nations to impose their control over their economy. Ethnic and racial conflicts in several parts of the world is also being used by imperialists for imposing their domination in these areas. Therefore, it is evident from the above that crisis free capitalism is only an illusion and capitalism means poverty for large majority of the population. Unemployment and the consequent miseries, cultural degradation, etc are the results. Therefore, comrades, we have to educate the working class to fight for socialism which should be taken seriously by the CITU.

The imperialists, especially the US imperialists are using their military might, for the subjugation of people which we have seen in their attack against Iraq and the United Nations is also being used by them for the imposition of their domination over other peoples and nations. Therefore, comrades, the fight against imperialism should always be in our agenda. We must expose all their misdeeds.

Finally while dealing with the industrial crisis in our country, the CITU unions should take all possible steps to mobilize workers of their own industry to fight back this menace.

The fight against aggressive communalism which is threatening the unity and integrity of the country, the fight against the retrograde economic policies which compromise our economic freedom, the fight for socialism, the fight against imperialism, the fight for strengthening the workers unity and strengthening the CITU are to be taken seriously in our daily working agenda.

I request you to consider the report being presented by our General Secretary about the organization and enrich the same to make it the guide for our future activity in the above perspective and to build up the organization to effectively face the new challenges. With these words I conclude. Thank you.

# Report on Organisation

—M.K. Pandhe

Dear Comrades,

Since the emergence of CITU twenty-two years ago in the trade union scene of India it has played an important role in building a united movement on common issues facing the working class. During this period CITU came in the limelight as the foremost champion of the working class interests.

1.2 The CITU consistently upheld the principle of socialism and class struggle and fought against ideologies inimical to these lefty ideals. Even at times, it was alone in taking certain positions but it never gave up the struggle to protect the class interests of the workers.

1.3 In the Foundation Conference itself, the CITU laid emphasis on united trade union movement. When the INTUC, AITUC, and HMS formed the National Council of Trade Unions in 1971 at the behest of Government of India, the CITU immediately took initiative and brought together all other trade unions and industrial federations and the formation of United Council of Trade Unions (UCTU) became a reality. This organisation launched several joint movements on many issues facing the working class including the wage freeze offensive; fought with determination the emergency rule of Indira Gandhi Govt. and the depredations of the national apex body. When the bonus was cut through legislative enactment it was UCTU which conducted countrywide struggle to fight against this bonus reduction. As a result of this the National Council of Trade Unions became a defunct body and ultimately HMS joined the UCTU.

1.4 The unity built up by UCTU was further strengthened when a new Industrial Relations Bill was brought by the other Janata

Govt in the year 1978 and under our initiative, the National Campaign Committee against Industrial Relations Bill was formed involving even organisations like INTUC, AITUC, BMS. As a result of this campaign, the Bill died, a natural death. However, the Congress Govt came back to power later and the INTUC backed out of the commitment. But the issues continued to keep the working class unity together which was further cemented during the glorious 80 days strike of Bangalore public sector workers. The National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions formed in 1981 at the Bombay convention were joined by eight Central Trade Unions and 40 Industrywise Federations. Practically all the Central Trade Unions except the INTUC joined the NCC. After a series of campaign, the NCC continued to consolidate the working class unity further and could defeat number of onslaughts of the Congress Governments. The first ever national strike organised by the NCC was a major success and increased immensely the popularity of the NCC. The CITU was playing crucial role in the formation and activation of the NCC at all levels.

1.5 The public sector employees' movement took a militant turn during the eighties and CITU organised a national convention of our unions in 1985 at Bangalore. The independent campaign launched by us all over the country created a favourable atmosphere for Public Sector Employees' movement. The secret Arjun Sengupta Committee report published by us alarmed all the workers highlighting the need for going together to fight the menace. A National Convention of Public Sector Workers in New Delhi laid the foundation of Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions(CPSTU) which received the widest possible support of 23 lakh workers of the public sector undertakings. It successfully fought against the BPE guidelines for wage negotiations and organised nationwide strikes including one 3-day strike on the problems facing the public sector workers.

1.6 When the struggles against the economic policies of the Government of India took a new turn after the IMF dictated policies, the BMS was not prepared to join the movement against these policies of the Government of India as a result of which the functioning of the NCC received a setback. Therefore to create a new forum, we launched a countrywide movement against these policies and for common demands. The CITU again took initiative to

form a proper platform such as the Sponsoring Committee of Indian Trade Unions(SCITU). This Committee launched a massive campaign throughout the country against the new economic policies and organised two nationwide strikes on 29th November, 1991 and 16th June, 1992. The massive March to Parliament on 25th November 1992 witnessed the biggest ever demonstration of the working class of India.

1.7 On all major national and international developments, the CITU organised united actions wherever possible. Whether it was a question of fighting repression of the Government of India, gangsterism of anti-social elements or for preserving the unity of the country, the CITU was consistently at the forefront of the struggle. The CITU participated in every anti-imperialist movement and for defence of socialism and on several occasions the CITU had to campaign alone but it always stood by the side of the workers. CITU's support to all anti-imperialist movements and national liberation struggles has endeared several foreign organisations and CITU's contacts in all the continents have been increasing gradually. Despite set back to socialism in the former USSR and East European countries, the CITU continued to develop bilateral relations with more and more organisations irrespective of their affiliations.

## 2. ORGANISATIONAL WEAKNESSES

2.1 In spite of the progress achieved by the CITU in its activities, we have not been able to pay proper attention to develop necessary organisational framework for consolidation and further advancement of our movement. We have been mentioning some of these weaknesses in several of our reports in all India meetings, but we have discussed this question in depth in any of these meetings and not taken any steps to overcome these weaknesses. Several shortcomings have crept up in our functioning which has created several bottlenecks in our future advancement. Due to this weakness, many tasks go by default and we were unable to tackle them in the interest of the workers. We have reached a plateau of our strength and stagnation is facing in our organisational development. Our all India gatherings are sometimes overwhelmed by the current problems that we do not get adequate time to discuss the organisational lapses. As a matter of fact, it is not a merely question of time but a question of attitude towards organisation. This is the real cause of

this neglect.

2.2 In today's world content, when socialism has received a severe setback which has led to the emergence of unipolar world, the US imperialists are taking the full advantage of the situation and have launched ferocious offensive against all national liberation movements and the forces who want to preserve peace. The gross interference by the US imperialists in the internal matters of several third world countries has increased phenomenally and direct military intervention by them in the garb of United Nations have increased in all the five continents. The countrywide recession that has engulfed the capitalist world has become more long drawn than in the past and the advanced capitalist countries are making ferocious attempts to pass on the burden to the third world countries. Without a powerful resistance by the working class and the people in the Third World countries, the machinations of the US imperialists cannot be checked. Never before the task of organizing powerful international solidarity was so important as it is in today's conditions. Forces who believe in socialism and democracy must come together and fulfill the international obligation that is falling on their shoulders in this critical juncture.

2.3 In India, the IMF dictated economic policies are playing havoc with the livelihood of the people of the country. The sovereignty and integrity of the nation is at stake. The Congress Government led by P V Narasimha Rao is succumbing to the imperialist pressure and shamelessly accepting of these conditionalities for getting loans from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The multinational companies had never such a favourable atmosphere in the country since India achieved independence. The growing resistance of the working class was a welcome development in this situation and the 25th November rally gave a call for bringing together all mass organisations, agricultural labour, small and poor peasants, students, youth, women, scientists etc, so that still a broader popular platform can be created in the country to resist this anti-national and anti-people policies.

2.4 It is in such a situation that the communal land divisive forces in our country have deliberately planned divergence of the attention of the people to other frivolous issues. The demolition of Babri Masjid on 6th December, 1992 and the communal holocaust

that razed all over the country particularly in the industrial centers has led to killing of thousands of innocent lives. Several honest elements were affected by this fratricidal war posing serious challenge to the national unity itself. The imperialists are gleefully backing these communal and divisive forces who have been helping the fissiparous tendencies in Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Assam, and several parts of the country. This situation has posed serious challenge to our organisation to meet the unprecedented challenge posed by history since independence we will not be able to meet this challenge and defeat the reactionary and divisive forces.

2.5 As a need for removing the present stagnation in the organisation, the General Council meeting of the CITU held at Nagpur from 13-15 March, 1992 decided to hold a special session exclusively to discuss the question of organisation before the end of 1992 so that we can identify the shortcomings on the organisational front and finalise suitable steps to overcome them and streamline the entire organisation.

### 3. UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

3.1 In the Foundation Conference of the CITU, our major strength was West Bengal and Kerala followed by Tamilnadu. In the rest of the country, we were considerably weak and could not emerge as a powerful force to mobilise the working class in an effective manner. In the other parts of the country, our strength was considerably weak varying from state to state. Despite our noting from time to time that unless we overcome this weakness, we will not be able to emerge as a powerful national force in the real sense, this uneven development not only continues even today, but it has become a sharper. Our two third strength emerges from three major states since the very foundation of our organisation. These three states have comparatively advanced faster than the other states where we are still moving at a slow pace. We have to analyse deeply why this weakness continues to dominate our organisation so that we can tackle this problem suitably.

3.2 The question before us is how to overcome this legacy of the past. If advanced states have to help the less developed states we have not prepared any plan for it. Giving ad hoc help from time to time does not materially alter the situation. For this purpose

comrades from advanced as well as less developed states should give their suggestions so that after in depth discussion in this meeting we can workout positive steps to overcome this major shortcoming in our overall functioning.

#### 4. ORGANISATIONAL RESPECTIVE

4.1 The CITU constitution has correctly spelt out the aims and objectives of the organisation which makes its basically different from the other central trade union organisations. While fighting for day to day demands of the workers the CITU is also meant for educating the working class for social transformation. Without abolishing the capitalist system there will not be material difference in the living conditions of workers. Therefore, CITU has to make the working class understand the need for abolition of the capitalist exploitation and for establishment of socialist society. As step in that direction CITU fights for the establishment of the democratic state of the people which will abolish foreign monopoly capital, Indian big business houses and landlordism. Other central TUs though talk of socialism do not go beyond the struggle for immediate demands of the working class. In view of the differences in ultimate objectives our organisational approach is bound to be different than the other central trade union organisations.

4.2 The task cannot be fulfilled unless the working class, the most advanced detachment among the working masses, plays a leading role in the task of social transformation. They work in the key sector of economy as well as in the unorganized sector. Without bringing them together in a well knit organisation this class will not be able to play the leading role it is destined to play.

4.3 How far we have progressed in bringing this class together will enable us to understand how much more we have to go ahead. We will also be able to realise the stupendous task lying before us and we can assess what steps should be taken to build a powerful unity of this class. Understanding the rise of this class itself will underline the utter weakness we are having today compared to the need of the situation. The 1991 census is the only latest available data about various segments of population in the country. Out of 85 crores of population in India during that year 30.68 crores of people come in the category of economically active population, the largest

group being that of cultivators which account for 11.79 crores of people. Most of the cultivators are poor peasants or marginal farmers who are still under the clutches of landlords and feudal oppression. Except W.Bengal and Kerala where the Left Front govts introduced land reforms and to some extent Maharashtra the grip of landlordism still haunt our peasantry. The trade union movement has to build alliance with the peasant movement so that a powerful struggle against landlordism can be unleashed. Despite two decades of its existence we have not discussed the question of building worker-peasant alliance with the peasant movement so that revolutionary transformation in agrarian relation can be initiated on a national scale. The census report further notes that 8.13 crores are employed as agricultural workers. Most of them are below poverty line and large number of them belonged to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The All India Agricultural Workers Union has been able to organize more than 20 lakhs of them. Yet vast majority of them is still unorganised. Their living conditions are shocking and they have to face vicious gangsterism of the armed thugs of the landlords and the rural rich. It is the duty of the trade union movement

to help the development of agricultural workers organisations in the rural areas. The Tamilnadu CITU every year is collecting funds on the Martyrs' Day to help the development of agricultural workers in the villages. This step is most emulating in other states., Since the agricultural workers form part of the working class we have to send help as a part of our class solidarity.

4.4 According to the Census Report (1991) the total wage earners in the country are 16 crore 39 lakhs. Leaving aside the agricultural worker the rest of the working class works out to be at 8 crore and 26 lakh constitute the household industry workers, while 4 crore 54 lakh are working in small non-agricultural establishments and industries. The 1990-91 Economic Survey has estimated the organised sector of the working class to be 2 crore 60 lakhs of which 75 lakhs are employed in the private sector while 60 lakh employees are working in state and central government public sector undertakings. One crore and twenty five lakh are employed in state and central government services, 70 lakh state government employees and 55 lakh central government employees including defence personnel.

4.5 As the data shows the unorganized non-agricultural sector constitute 5 crore and 66 lakhs of workers. Our weakness in this sector is most glaring. Though recently we have taken certain steps to organise the unorganised and recently we held a successful All India Convention in Calcutta our strength can be considered as symbolic. This strata is most exploited with appallingly low minimum wages and no job security. Big possibility of development of movement in this sector is clearly seen in the 7 day strike of Delhi regional unorganised workers and remarkable work done in this sector in West Bengal. In other states also wherever our state committees have taken up the task of organising them have received enthusiastic support from the workers. It is high time the CITU should take up the work in right earnest on a priority basis so that this vast chunk of the working class is brought into the mainstream of the TU movement.

4.5 As a result of struggles conducted by the working class over decades the trade union movement has been able to achieve some legislations to give some rudimentary protection to the workers. Social security to a limited extent has also been made available to them. They enjoy some welfare facilities and TU rights. However, in a period of crisis the bourgeoisie is trying to curtail them as much as it can. Wherever TU movement is weak these facilities are denied to the working class though they are entitled by legal framework. The slow progress in this sector can be seen by the fact that in the year 1961 there were 278 workers in India per one lakh population, the number has gone up to 319 only in the year 1991. During the same period we see that due to rationalisation measures the share of private sector in the organised sector has declined from 41 percent to 29 percent. While the share of public sector increased from 59.7 per cent to 71.8 percent. This was due to growth in public sector employment in the country. The Government of India is now trying to reverse this trend at the cost of loss of jobs to several lakhs of workers. According to census figures in 1991 the overall employment in the public sector stood at 1.85 crore while in private sector it was 74 lakhs. The sectorwise distribution of the working class in the organised sector in 1991 was as follows:

#### 4.A. Organised Employment in 1989 (in lakhs)

Sector	Public Sector	Private Sector	Total
1. Agriculture & Hunting.	5.65	8.7	14.35
2. Mining & Quarrying	9.57	0.97	10.54
3. Manufacturing	10.48	43.89	62.37
4. Electricity, Gas & Water.	8.66	0.41	9.07
5. Construction	11.80	0.64	18.44
6. Wholesale or retail trade.	1.44	2.86	4.03
7. Transport storage & Communication.	30.26	0.51	30.77
8. Financing, Insurance, etc.	11.16	2.43	13.69
9. Community & social services.	88.13	14.29	102.42
Total :	185.16	74.07	259.86

4.6 If we see our organised strength in each sector we can find out how far we have yet to march ahead to organise these vast sectors. Our membership compared to the employment in the industry gives a varied picture. Textile - less than one percent, Iron & Steel - 13%, Engineering - 23%, All Transport - less than one percent, Mining and Quarrying - 10%, Plantation 18%, Sugar 10%, Cement 3 %, Construction - 3%, Port and Docks - 10%. Thus the vast sections of the working masses are beyond our reach. The position in the unorganised sector is further deplorable.

4.7 The membership paid to the CITU Centre varies from year to year, and the year when CITU conference is held membership paid is generally larger. Though according to register our membership is about 16 lakhs. Efforts are lacking to ensure that all the unions pay their affiliation fee regularly to the CITU Centre. Our unions do not understand the importance of payment of affiliation fee regularly and they should be prevailed upon to do so.

4.8 There are difficulties in comparing CITU's membership strength with the strength of other central trade union organisations. Since the list of verification has been submitted to Government of India some Trade Union Centres have made exaggerations which makes comparison difficult. After the decision to include agricultural workers for the purpose of verification, despite CITU's opposition, others is a spurt of membership of agricultural workers in India. During 1989 the claims of all the Central TUs in agriculture has reached 43 lakhs. Moreover, the membership of all the Central TUs who have submitted list for verification is about 2 crore and 40 lakhs. In some of the establishments the membership claims of all the unions exceed twice the size of the establishment. This aspect has to be kept in mind when we compare the membership claims of different organisations. The claims of various Central TUs is as follows: INTUC 54 lakhs, HMS—44 lakhs, BMS—41 lakhs, AITUC-30 lakhs, CITU—24 lakhs, HMKP—16 lakhs, UTUC(LS)—12 lakhs, UTUC-8 lakhs, NLO-7 lakhs and TUCC-5 lakhs.

4.9 The membership of agricultural workers shown by different organisations is as follows: INTUC-9 lakhs(17%), HMS 7 lakhs(16%), BMS 4 lakhs(10%), AITUC 8 lakhs (27%), CITU 92,000(4%), HMKP-1.19 lakh(7%), UTUC (LS) 6 lakhs(52%), UTUC-3 lakhs(40%), NLO 2 lakhs (25%), TUCC 2.3 lakhs(46%).

4.10 Since the verification of agricultural workers membership is not strict and the claims are easier to make a substantial rise in membership is claimed by some trade unions. However, we need not enter into competition for showing inflated membership. We have to take positive steps in strengthening our own membership base. The rise of the working class in different sectors highlights the stupendous task lying before us to cover larger working class under our influence. We have not decided priorities in strengthening our work in different important sectors of economy. There is a need for moving in a planned way in the matter so that our organised strength is raised in a concerted manner all over India. The CITU should therefore prepare a systematic plan of developing the organisation in different sectors and check up how far successfully we are implementing the plan. Similarly statewide strategies are also to be prepared so that within the state we can move in a planned manner within the frame work of the overall all India plan.

4.11 We may have to give special importance to certain states. For instance in Maharashtra where the leftists in the TU movement were having a dominant position but now we have gone in the background and upstart reactionaries are occupying the places of importance. Though the class collaborationist line pursued by Dange was responsible for this debacle of the left, systematic efforts from our side to overcome the difficulties is also a factor to be taken into account. Similarly our weakness in public sector employees' movement is a serious problem and we have to make efforts to create a dent in the situation. Without improving our work in Bombay and Ahmedabad textile centre any talk of all India movement of textile workers becomes meaningless.

4.12 Thus the CITU should chalk out a well knit plan of expanding the organisation in different sectors so that we are able to pay special attention to areas where we are weak which alone make powerful national impact of the movements which we launch from time to time. The CITU Centre in consultation with the State Committees should decide priorities in this regard so that the task of our advance towards the final goal can be successfully implemented.

## 5. OUR WEAKNESS IN HINDI BELT:

Comrades,

5.1 Our weakness in Hindi speaking areas has been a perpetual factor in the slow advancement of the CITU which is also affecting the overall movement led by us. During the last two years, our activities in Bihar, UP, MP, Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan have developed to some extent in terms of membership and struggles, yet compared to some extent in terms of membership and struggles, yet compared to the other areas, the development in this region has been extremely slow. We have been discussing this question in several meetings and decided to overcome the weakness in this region, but we have not been able to make much dent in this region. One of the major factors of our weakness is the absence of powerful democratic and agrarian movement in this region. The economic and social backwardness arising out of existence of remnants of feudalism is also one of the factors that hampers our progress. A strong feudal and semi-feudal influence over the mass of oppressed people and existence of communal land castiest ap-

peals among the large chunk of people in the region has also been a hunting ground for the communal and divisive forces in the country. Even the working class is partly affected by the influence of this pernicious element which is also adversely affecting class unity of working class and the peasantry. There is no wonder that both the issue of reservation and Ayodhya have taken a grip among the section of the working class and the people while the oppression of Harijans and lower class people in its worst form is existing in this region.

5.2 A large chunk of the unorganised workers, agricultural labourers and poor peasants belong to lower castes and tribals and are also victims of both capitalist exploitation and social oppression. Even several Muslims and Christians in this area are socially oppressed which is responsible for the backwardness of the region. Our trade union movement has not analysed this phenomena properly and find out ways and means to counteract it. Some sort of indifference to these issues have also been obstructed in the advancement of the movement. There is no wonder that the workers in this region have become victims of extremism or the divisive forces like Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Uttarkhand agitations etc. In the recent communal riots after the demolition of the Babri Masjid these areas were engulfed in large scale communal riots and the divisive forces have utilized this situation to the fullest extent. Whenever struggle against economic policies were reaching higher and higher pitch, the communal riots have created a serious set back to our movement in this region and a large section of our workers have been swayed by the communal propaganda. It is, therefore, necessary to study the causes of weaknesses in this region so that we can take concrete steps to improve our activities and strengthen our organisation.

5.3 We have never taken the question of social oppression on the lower and the poorer strata and launch struggles against the exploitation and depredations by the upper class people. The Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes and minorities are not enthusiastically participating in our trade union activities. It is therefore necessary that the CITU should seriously consider positive steps to overcome the weakness of our organisation in Hindi speaking region. We propose the following steps to overcome these difficulties.

5.3.1 We should coordinate the activities of Hindi speaking region so that periodically we can review our working in this areas and take positive measures to strengthen them.

5.3.2 Organising of systematic campaign of education among the general workers in the Hindi speaking region particularly among the unorganised workers so that they are brought in the mainstream of the struggle.

5.3.3 Special steps to be taken for the development of cadre particularly among the backward sections of the society and the minorities so that through them we can approach the most down-trodden sections among the working class in the Hindi speaking regions.

5.3.4 Holding a special class for Hindi speaking states so that systematic education programme can be chalked out for this region.

5.3.5 Preparation of plan for one or two years by fixing certain targets of membership, development of cadre, programme of movement by discussing with the state committee in cooperation with the CITU Centre.

5.3.6. Periodically discussing in the General Council and Working Committee the progress made by us in developing our mass work and organisation in the Hindi speaking region.

5.3.7 Use of Hindi in publication, correspondence, circulars so that non-English-knowing comrades will have access to CITU literatures and policies in a more concerted manner.

5.4 Comrades can give more further suggestions for advancement of our activities in the Hindi speaking region so that our proverbial weakness in this region can be overcome as soon as possible.

## 6. FUNCTIONING OF THE CITU CENTRE

6.1 The Central Head Quarters of the CITU has to play a crucial role in building the organisation from top to bottom. A proper functioning of the central office is therefore very necessary if we have to

discharge our organisational responsibilities in an effective manner.

6.2 A brief outline of the steps taken by the CITU centre to improve its functioning and ensure collective leadership was given in the report of the General Secretary at the Calcutta conference. The following steps have been taken by the CITU centre with a view to improve the functioning.

6.2.1 Daily meetings of the available members of the Secretariat were introduced to discuss the day to day matters. In these meetings generally the tour programme of the Secretariat members are also considered. Reports of various meetings attended by the Secretariat members are also submitted in these meetings—which are held on regular basis except on certain occasions when there are other urgent assignments. This has no doubt helped in improving the functioning of the CITU Centre. However, the meetings should be conducted in a more business like manner and should be for a brief period. The machinery to check-up the decisions taken needs further improvement.

6.2.2 After detailed discussions, job division among the Secretariat members has been worked out jointly. However, there are several shortcomings in implementing the allotted jobs. Due to non availability of some comrades at the Centre some of the jobs go by default. The Secretariat has not done a proper review of the implementation of the job division. The engrossment in other pressing activities cannot be any justification for this lapse.

6.2.3 We had decided to hold regular meetings of full Secretariat once in three months so that overall review of our activities is taken and necessary policy matters are considered. Since the last conference such meetings were organised. These meetings were extremely useful on taking policy decisions on urgent matters. Though the CITU has 31 member Secretariat (2 comrades have passed away) average attendance is only about 15 in these meetings. One cannot but note with regret that some Secretariat members have not attended even a single meeting since the last conference. It is necessary to take measures to ensure participation of large number of office bearers in these meetings. Some of the office bearers do not keep regular contacts with the CITU Centre and give their opinions and suggestions on pressing problems. Secretariat members not func-

tioning from the Centre should make themselves available for taking assignment in other states or helping the centre in tackling some all India problems. This would ensure more cohesive and collective functioning of the Secretariat.

6.2.4 Apart from 6 Secretariat members one member of the Working Committee work in the CITU Centre while two Working Committee members assist the CITU Centre on a part time basis. One comrade for English-Hindi translation work for our journals will join the CITU Centre in March next. In order to ensure better involvement of comrades it was decided to hold monthly meetings of the staff members and take their suggestions into consideration in improving the office work. However, since the last CITU conference although several meetings were held, yet regular monthly meetings could not yet been held. On two occasions the classes of the office staff were also organised. This system should be given due importance so that the office functioning could be improved still further. There is urgent need for one or two full time competent comrades for drafting assistance. Several representations are not properly attended and letters not replied in time as a result of this.

6.3 The CITU has to perform multifarious tasks to coordinate the all India activities and discharge several tasks. The following jobs done by the Centre are only indicative of the responsibilities being performed by the CITU Centre.

6.3.1 Bringing out two monthly journals. The Working Class(English) and CITU Mazdoor(Hindi) and two journals, one in two months\_The Voice of the Working Woman(English) and Kamkaji Mahila(Hindi).

6.3.2 Representing cases referred to the Centre by unions, state committees and federations to Central and State Governments as well as to managements.

6.3.3 Giving guidance to several unions whenever the matters are personally or through letters referred to the CITU Centre.

6.3.4 Attending to State Committee or industrywise federation meetings whenever approached and guide them in their deliberations.

6.3.5 Participation in conference, conventions, seminars workshops having state level or all India importance.

6.3.6 Giving guidance to wage negotiations in several industries and even participating in important national level wage negotiations.

6.3.7. Issuing periodically circulars to the State Committees, Industrywise Federations on various issues of current importance.

6.3.8 Taking policy decisions on matters of urgent importance and refer special matters to the full secretariat for suitable policy decisions.

6.3.9 Issue press statements on matters of national and international importance as and when they arise and express CITU view points on these issues.

6.3.10. Keeping regular contacts with other central trade unions and industrywise federations. Taking active interest in initiating activities of the Sponsoring Committee of Indian Trade Unions and the Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions.

6.3.11 Giving guidance to the CITU representatives participating in the tripartite meetings on various subjects and to actively participate in major tripartite meetings of national importance.

6.3.12 Secretariat members who are in charge of some industries or some special branches of activities have to play a major role in them. The Centre has to monitor these activities regularly.

6.3.13 Taking up the matters relating to labour in Parliament with the help of MPs and brief them on these issues coming up in Parliament. Arranging visits of MPs whenever there is repression on workers.

6.3.14 Attend to verification of membership of central trade unions, keeping up to date record of affiliation and issuing affiliation certificates to the unions.

6.3.15 Keeping liaison with the ILO, WFTU and CTUC.

6.3.16 Keeping regular contacts with fraternal trade unions outside India, arrangement of delegations abroad and assistance to comrades regarding passport, visa, etc. Briefing to comrades going abroad.

6.3.17 Submitting memorandum to various commissions, committees, ILO on problem concerning labour and trade unions.

6.3.18. Maintain in a library and press clippings on problems of working class and other related matters.

6.3.19. Helping the affiliated unions such as railways etc

6.3.20. Making preparations for the meeting of full Secretariat, Working Committee, General Council and the Conference in advance.

6.3.21. Bringing out publications in English and Hindi on current problems and organising their circulation.

6.3.22 Organising and conducting trade union classes whenever approached by the State Committees, Federations or Fraternal TU organisations.

6.3.23 Enquiring and intervening into the disciplinary matters referred to the Centre.

6.4 In addition to this the Centre has to do several odd jobs which are not listed here since they are of routine nature. Yet they take time and energy of comrades working at the CITU Centre.

6.5 Considering the nature of responsibilities being undertaken by the Centre, the present apparatus is far from adequate and there is urgent need to strengthen it if we have to fulfil all the tasks allotted to the Centre effectively.

6.6 Most of the State Committees in their replies have expressed satisfaction at the response given by the Centre to the State representations. However, this should not make us complacent. Periodic review of the functioning of the Centre by the General Council and the Working Committee as well as full Secretariat is necessary so

that the activities of the Centre can be improved.

6.7 Without induction of some more senior comrades with mass experience, the Centre will find it extremely difficult to cope up with the increasing responsibilities of the Centre. The General Council members should give their suggestions in the matter so that the Centre is further strengthened.

6.8 **Affiliation Fee:** The present affiliation fee of 20 paise per member is totally insufficient to meet the expenses of the Centre since the inception of the CITU the affiliation fee remained at 20 paisa per member. It was only at Bombay conference that the entire amount was given to the CITU Centre. Yet since 1970 prices have gone up 5 times and with the paltry affiliation fee it is not possible to run the CITU Centre effectively. To induct more comrades to do specialised job the centre requires financial support from the union. However there is resistance to increase the affiliation fee by the unions. I propose that in the next conference we should amend the CITU constitution providing for 50 paisa per member as affiliation fee of CITU from the year 1994 so that the CITU centre can meet its expenses properly.

6.9. The accommodation at 6 Talkatora Road for the Headquarters was too inadequate and from 20th January we have shifted to a bigger place at 15 Talkatora Road. With the new accommodation our expenses will also go up which also should be kept in mind when we consider the increase in the rate of affiliation fee. Without this decision the CITU centre will not be able to continue the jobs it has been doing today, let alone taking additional responsibilities to meet the new challenging tasks.

6.10. The Central fund is further handicapped because of non-payment of the Special Fund (Rs.1/- per member) in full by the state committees, despite extension of the date thrice. The Nagpur General Council decided to collect all the arrears by the end of May 1992. However, the response from the states is disappointing. The Treasurer's Report will give you the position of the receipt of this fund.

6.11. Though on record our membership stands at 25 lakhs on an average unions with 16 lakh membership are paying their

affiliation fees to the centre. It is only at the time of the Conference that larger membership is generally paid. We have to do away with this practice. In some of the state conference the state leadership does not insist on full payment of affiliation fee as a precondition for sending delegation. This is also responsible for low rate of collection of affiliation fee. ANother phenomenon is that even at the time of all India CITU conference all unions do not pay their affiliation fees. Another phenomenon is that even at the time of all India CITU conference all unions do not pay their affiliation fee. The system of election according to states should not result in some unions not paying the dues to the Centre. Comrades should give their suggestion how to improve the situation in the matter. There is a feeling that due to direct elections by the states the smaller unions and working women do not get adequate representation. How far there is a basis for this feeling should be properly clarified by the comrades so that corrective measures if necessary can be initiated by us.

## 7. B T R MEMORIAL BUILDING

7.1. The Calcutta conference decided to construct a fitting memorial for Com.B.T.Ranadive in Delhi. It was also decided to appeal for one day's wage for erecting the memorial at New Delhi. As reported earlier the BTR Memorial Trust with Com.Samar Mukherjee as the Chairman has been formed. The Ministry of Urban Development allotted a land to the Trust but certain technical difficulties have cropped up to take possession of the land allotted to us. Attempts are being made to get the land cleared so that we can commence the collection drive for the memorial. We are confident that our unions and the working class will rise to the occasion and contribute liberally so that suitable memorial can be constructed for Comrade BTR as soon as possible.

## 8. FUNCTIONING OF THE STATE COMMITTEES

8.1 State Committees occupy the most important place in the CITU structure since the implementation of all India organisation largely depends on now the State Committees monitor their implementation. The State Committees are also responsible for development of united movements at the State level on common issues facing the working class of the State. Annexure 1 and 2 of this report

highlight in a nutshell the replies submitted by the State Committees about their functioning.

8.2. Most of the State Committees have tried to review their functioning self-critically. They have studied it only in the context of their day to day activities. What is necessary is to reorientate our style or functioning and ensure that the organisational strength is accelerated to take increasingly leading responsibility in united working class and democratic movement of the country. In such a situation mere functioning of the form of organisation is not enough, though it is important that the form should function properly.

8.3. The State Committees should normally meet three to four times in a year to periodically review the activities and take decisions to suit the requirements of the movements. However, it is observed that some state committees meet only once in a year during the last 3 years, may be due to financial difficulties faced by it. The Bihar State committee was meeting only ...a year while Maharashtra State committee met only 5 times during the last 3 years. The holding of the State Committee meetings in Andhra is also below the norm. Other State committees are more or less meeting on a regular basis. In West Bengal there is a three tier system. General Council meets generally less than twice a year while the State committee meets slightly over 3 times a year.

8.4. Holding of regular meetings of the State committees does not signify systematic functioning of the state committees. Whether the meetings are properly prepared, whether there is mere reporting of activity or detailed discussion of policy issues, whether there is proper check up of the work done by the committee, whether there is systematic struggle against erroneous ideas & policy. Whether the task of further strengthening the organisation is given due emphasis in the work of the State committee is important to determine the nature of functioning of the State committee. State committees have not been able to make an in depth study of their functioning may be due to shortage of time. However, it is possible to deal with some aspects of the functioning in this report on the basis of whatever informations we have received so far.

8.5. We have to find out the causes of low attendance of the state

committee members in the meetings and take steps to remove these causes. According to reports, in Delhi, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tamilnadu, Andhra and Kerala the general attendance in the state committee meetings is more than 60% while it is between 50-60% in West Bengal, Punjab, Haryana, U.P, Karnataka and Rajasthan. In Bihar, M.P., Orissa and at times in Assam the attendance of members is less than 50%. In Orissa due to disruption the low attendance can be explained but in other states less than 50% attendance needs examination. The above figures do not indicate that state committees showing better attendance ipso facto function well. It only indicates that special efforts are necessary to ensure that better attendance can be achieved. We have not introduced a system that every member who is unable to attend the meeting should inform the General Secretary of the state committee stating reasons for his inability to attend the meeting and seeking leave of absence. Those who remain absent without prior information should be asked explanation for their absence from the meeting. In absence of this system some members take attendance in a casual manner and prefer to remain absent without any information. If deliberations in the state committee is treated as a process of unification of the organisation on the problems facing the movement, proper attendance is a must for it.

8.6. For development of common understanding proper review of the work done and for self-critical examination of the method of functioning of the organisation it is necessary that written reports should be submitted to the state committee by the General Secretary. Despite repeated directives in the matter, in some states viz, Haryana, Delhi, H.P and Rajasthan this system has not yet been adopted. In Tripura, Assam, U.P, Kerala, Karnataka and Punjab written reports are submitted in some meetings only. Other state committees have reported that they regularly submit the written report to the state committee meetings. From the available data it appears that many of our state committees have not understood the importance of the written reports. Experience shows that level of discussion in the state committee is generally higher when written reports are submitted.

8.7. In several state committees there is a practice of submission of oral report by each centre which takes more than half the time of the state committee meeting. Then some time is spent on resolutions

and there is hardly any time available to discuss the policy matters and review the struggles conducted by the unions. Many unions do not send in time the report of their activities to the state centre with the result that the report submitted by the General Secretary becomes a partial report. This primitive style of functioning is still continuing in some states and we must discard it as early as possible. The practice of giving too many local details having no relevance to the state level problem should be firmly discouraged. There is also a tendency in some states to make the report of the General Secretary a catalogue of events without making any analysis of experience gained in the struggles conducted by our unions, so that gains of local experience is made the property of the entire state. It further helps in drawing conclusion for future activities of the organisation.

8.8. A cursory glance at the issues discussed in the State Committee meetings makes it clear that there is a lot of similarity in the issues discussed in the meetings. However, more emphasis is given on problems of immediate movements. The functioning of the District committees or industrywise federation are generally not considered. Even the check up of the work of sub-committees is not done in these meetings. Strength of different TU organisations in different organisations and how to improve CITU's positions in different industries is rarely discussed. Efforts to develop CITU activities in weaker areas in a planned way does not form part of the agenda. Recently, some state committees have been giving emphasis on the problem of organising the unorganised workers and working women. IT is still in a preliminary stage. Though "organisational matters" are occasionally kept on the agenda from time to time they are discussed in a casual manner and generally kept at the end of the meeting when some are eager to leave. As a result, the state committees find no time for indepth study of the organisational position in different sectors with a view to rectify the shortcomings that have cropped up in our organisational functioning.

8.9. In some state committees there is a practice of submitting the General Secretary's report without having prior discussion among the office bearers. This results in their criticising the report in the meeting and it militates against the spirit of collective leadership in the organisation. Such a discussion among the office bearers will help in improving the quality of the Report.

8.10. This brings us to the functioning of the state office-bearers or the secretariat. It is directly responsible to the State committee and has to perform multifarious functions such as implementation of the decisions of the all India bodies including united front programmes. It has also to oversee the implementation of the decisions of the State committee/General Council meetings and act as a decision making body between two meetings of the state committee. It is also responsible for guiding the day to day activities of the state centre and to ensure that the policy of the CITU are implemented by all the state federations and affiliated unions in the state. An effective functioning of the Secretariat largely depends on how the job distribution has been done among the Secretariat members and it check-up whether the job division is properly implemented. General Secretary has to act as the main co-ordinator in the process.

8.11. However, according to the reports received from the states, Maharashtra has no system of job distribution or check up of the work of the office bearers. Probably, because of that the state committee has no information of the functioning of the District Committees or any industrywise co-ordination work done in the state. The system of communication between the State committee and the centre is also very weak. Gujarat and Karnataka have also not done job distribution among the office bearers while Bihar and Haryana have done on an adhoc basis. In Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Tripura the jobs have been distributed but there is no check up of the work done by them. The rest of the state committees have reported about the distribution of job and method of check up but there is much scope for improvement in this regard.

8.12 Tamilnadu is having a system of job distribution both at district and industry level and also day to day secretariat work. Kerala has also distributed jobs to the secretariat members but effectiveness of the system can be judged from the manner of its distribution. For instance, one comrade has been working after all the statewide industrial federations. However, there should be a team of comrades to collectively guide these organisations. Without specific responsibilities, the check up also creates a problem. In West Bengal the State Committee has taken a good step of forming sub-committees involving a large number of Working Committee

members in (1) closed and sick industries 2) state public sector undertakings (3) industrial safety 4) working women 5) labour laws 6) ESI and 7) central public sector undertakings. It would have been better if the experience of these committee would have been available with us so that other states could have been benefitted from the experience. If the Secretariat members are in charge of such committees it is helpful to check up the work of these committees periodically. There should be a system of submitting written reports on the functioning of these committees before the state committees at least once in a year so that the activities can be reviewed and improvements can be undertaken to strengthen the organisation.

8.13 It is generally observed that a handful of comrades are burdened with most of the jobs while some of the office bearers are without any specific responsibilities except attending the meeting and given opinion on issues. Collective leadership can be introduced only if a rational job distribution is arranged and check up of the work done in meetings. The tendency among some office bearers to pass on the effective responsibility on some one else should be avoided.

8.14 Effective functioning of the state secretariat depends on the ability of the members to meet on a regular basis. In Bengal the Secretariat meets regularly once in a week at a fixed date and time. In Tamilnadu apart from holding the meeting of the office bearers stationed at Headquarters regularly they have introduced the practice of holding extended meetings of the secretariat with secretaries of district committees as special invitees about 5 times in year. Such meetings have proved to be useful in coordinating the state level activities. It also helps in developing new leadership in the organisation. Kerala, Tripura and Gujarat hold their meetings once in a month. Delhi, Karnataka and Orissa once in two months while Bihar, MP, Punjab and UP, generally hold their office bearers meetings three to four times in a year. In Andhra Pradesh, Assam, HP, Haryana and Rajasthan secretariat meets only twice a year. Maharashtra report says it meets seven times a year.

8.15 In Adhra, Delhi. Gujrat. Tamilnadu, Haryana, HP, Karnataka, MP, the reported attendance to the office bearers meeting is comparatively better while on other states steps are necessary to improve it, Absence of large number of persons from the meetings

only indicates lacuna in the functioning. However it would not be correct to conclude that states where participation of office bearers is more are automatically functioning well. It is only necessary to mention here that the attendance and content of the meeting should be improved to make the state committee function well.

## 9. INDUSTRYWISE FEDERATIONS

9.1 We have been able to form the following federations since the foundation of the CITU.

9.1 1. Steel Workers Federation of India.

9.1 2. All india plantation Workers Federation

9.1 3. Water Transport Workers Federation of India.

9.1 4. All India Coal Workers Federation.

9.1 5. Construction Workers Federation of India.

9.1 6. All India Road Transport Workers Fed. of India.

9.1 7. Electricity Employees Federation of India.

9.1 8. Sugar Workers Federation of India.

9.1 9. All India Jute Workers Federation

9.1 10 All India Anganwadi Workers and Helpers Federation.

9.2 In addition to these we have formed Co-ordination Committees for public sector undertakings, BHEL, NTPC, HSCL, BEL, unorganised workers, cement, non-coal mines, working women, Oil, cotten textile, bidi, Food Corporation. Though comrades from the centre are directly associated with the work of these committees and periodically, some aspects of their functioning are discussed in the secretariat as and when some issue arises one cannot say that a proper review of their functioning is ever made by the secretariat. These federations have also not made any self-critical review of their functioning.

9.3. Most of the federations are holding periodic meetings to consider the problems faced by the industry, there is need to ensure that the meetings are held regularly. The federations in jute and sugar industry require immediate attention so that they are made active. The Co-ordination Committee of non-coal mines was unable to hold a national convention as decided during the last conference. The Co-ordination Committee of Food Corporation also has not met for a long time while the work in BEL and NTPC is not satisfactory.

9.4 It is observed that attendance in some of the committee meetings is very poor and many states do not participate regularly.

It has been suggested by some that the choice given is not sufficient and henceforth care should be taken to give enough time for members to adjust their programmes.

9.5 Some state committees have complained that the decisions of the All India Federation or Co-ordination Committee meetings are not informed to them regularly and steps should be taken to ensure that this is done in future. It is also necessary that the state committees whenever they get information about the decisions of the all India meeting they should take positive steps to implement them in their respective states. The state committees should ensure proper attendance of the members from respective states to the all India meetings. We should also introduce a practice of submitting written reports by all industrywise federations and co-ordination committees to the General Council or working committee so that monitoring of activities by the all India bodies will be ensured.

9.6 There is a just demand for formation of federations and co-ordination committees in various other industries. The major hurdle in the matter is the availability of comrades to take up all India responsibility of comrades to take up all India responsibility of co-ordinating the industrywise activities. If senior comrades in different states come forward to take up all India assignment, more can be done in this area.

9.7 Several state committees have taken steps to form state level federations or co-ordination committees to strengthen the industrywise activities. In Andhra, AP State Road Transport staff and workers federation has been functioning. In Assam there is no state level federation, but co-ordination committees in plantation, road transport and construction industries have been formed. In M.P, state level union has been formed in coal mines. State level unions operate in Tamilnadu in railways and electricity while state level federations have been formed in state road transport, cotton textile, sugar, construction, handloom, beedi and water drainage board. Efforts are being made to co-ordinate the activities in unions in Khadi village units, granite quarries of Tamilnadu minerals, plantations etc. Except Beedi the meetings of other federations are held regularly. State level conferences of these organisations are also being held periodically. In UP co-ordination committee of sugar workers has been formed which meets sometime. In West Bengal in-

dustrywise activities have developed well. Federations have been formed in Engineering, cotton textile, private and mini bus transport, electricity, chemical and pharmaceutical, bidi & Tobacco, Municipal and local self govt., printing press, cold storage and co-operatives. In addition to this state level units are operating in jute, handloom, shoppes and establishment, Mutiz Mazdoor (Headloader), Rickshaw and van, brick kiln, bakery, railway hawkers, railway contractors, jalpath parivahan, regulated market, forest security contractor guard, rice mill, ICDC, auto rickshaw, construction lacquer, CUDP, hoisery and customs. Kerala State Committee reported that there are 15 industrywise federations including coir, handloom, chashew, road transport, electricity etc. some of the federations have no regular functioning and financially they are weak in carrying out day to day functioning. In Punjab four state level unions and five industrywise co-ordination committees have been formed in the industries are not mentioned in the report. They however function on adhoc basis and collect funds whenever need arises for the movement. In Rajasthan state level federations are operating in Electricity industry and forest workers unions. State committees who have not taken steps to form state level industrywise federations or unions, they should take early steps in the matter.

9.8 There is need for better check up of the activities of these federations. Industrywise co-ordination of activities will give more impetus to the state level activities. We should pay more attention to this aspect of our work and allot responsibilities to different state leaders to look after industrywise activities. The industry level activities in the state will further strengthen the all India Federations. It must be noted here that the total number covered by our industrywise organisation is much smaller compared to the size of the working class in the particular sector. For instance in the construction industry out of our 50 lakh workmen employed we have been able to enroll less than 1,25,000 workers. In coal out of 7 lakh. In steel industry the the total employment in integrated steel plants is about 3 lakhs but our membership is only about 60 thousands. In port and docks out of over 2.5 lakh regular workers we have been able to enroll only about 50,000 workers while in tea plantations out of 12 lakh employed workers our strength is little over one lakh. These illustrative examples shows how much we have yet to grow to effectively carry forward our industrywiseactivities, keeping in

Maharashtra state committee has no information about the district committee functioning. This reflects the fragile state of organisational leadership of state headquarters over the district functioning and the system of information sharing.

10.8. Tamilnadu state committee has observed in its review of district committee functioning that district committee meetings are generally called to discuss on immediate campaigns etc. Questions of organisations, review of struggles etc are not undertaken by these committees. It is worth mentioning that the Tamilnadu state committee has taken an introspective view of District committee functioning.

10.9. District committees should review periodically position of CITU affiliations. It should discourage the system of sending affiliation fees only at the time of CITU conference. It is the common experience that this practice is one of the prime reasons of drop out of many unions in between two conferences which reflects adversely in the overall membership of CITU. It is observed there are number of unions which are based on overwhelming support of CITU followers and join all CITU programme but maintain independent character. District committees should make proper assessments and take initiative for getting those unions affiliated wherever objective situation permits.

10.10. As regards functioning of district committee offices very few state committees have provided informations. Kerala and Tamilnadu state committees have informed that in those states district committee offices are well maintained. Of course offices are shared mostly with others. In every district of Kerala two or three office bearers function s whole timers.

10.11. District functioning in most of the states suffers from financial constraints. With the meager quantum of levies collected from the unions even the most essential expenses for maintaining office becomes difficult to meet. Keeping of whole timers is all the more constraining. Irregular remittance of levy has caused further concern. Therefore, the matter of financing the district expenses demands consideration.

10.12. The state committees under whose guidance the district

committees are functioning should periodically keep the agenda of state committee meeting so that they function more efficiently. Efforts should be made to function the district committees where they are not doing so and attempts to function through them in areas whether we have not formed them despite sizeable membership. In the new re-orientation of our organisational set up the district committees will certainly play a crucial role in streamlining our organisation all over India.

## **11. DEMOCRATIC FUNCTIONING OF TRADE UNIONS**

11.1. Though by and large the state committees in their replies have noted that the trade unions in their states function democratically some have noted that there are shortcomings in this regard which need to be corrected.

11.2. Whatever steps we have taken during the last two decades to introduce democratic functioning of trade unions we can at the most claim that we have been able to introduce only a formal democratic functioning. However, we have not been able to grasp in full the spirit of the concept of this important aspect of our union functioning.

11.3. Trade union democracy as it is known is closely linked with the active involvement of rank and file members in day to day activities of the union and in the decision making process. Today in our unions the ordinary worker's participation is only passive. They implement whatever directives are given to them from above but they are not involved in deciding the policies of the union.

11.4. The rank and file member of a union is expected to be in close contact with the mass of workers and through him the union leadership can know the pulse of the workers at any moment. We have to seriously ponder over the question; how far we are using this close contact our workers are having with the ordinary worker to strengthen the union's mass influence and organisation?

11.5. We do sometime hold general body meetings of the union to explain its policies to the ordinary workers, though not all unions can claim that they have been regularly holding such meetings.

Moreover, attendance in these meetings is only a small fraction of the membership of the union. Quite often in the G B meeting the leader of the union only explains the policies of the union and practically no time is available for the rank and file workers to express their views and experiences. Though CITU has given directive to place the draft of agreements before the general body meeting of the union for approval before signing a settlement, many unions have not followed it strictly.

11.6. Though CITU unions are generally vigilant about the anti-working class clauses in the agreement, there have been cases when unions enter into wrong agreements with the managements without placing them before the GB meeting of the unions.

11.7. There are cases when local unions have signed such agreements without consulting the state committee leadership. We have to ensure that such practices are discarded by all the unions to preserve the class loyalty of our unions.

11.8. Many unions are not holding union conferences regularly as per constitutional requirement. Cases have been observed when union conferences were held after 8 or 10 years. The state committees should have some mechanism of ensuring that such conferences are held regularly.

11.9. There is need to improve the method of conducting of the union conferences. At times, it is observed that time allotted to the discussion by the ordinary members is very less and members are not given sufficient opportunity to express their views properly. Criticism from below is sometimes brushed side and stereotaped replies are given by the leadership. Union conferences should not be treated as mere rituals and rank and file workers should feel that their views are given due importance by the leadership of the union.

11.10. The union accounts are generally in a bad shape and system of internal audit has not been given due importance by many of our unions. Though misappropriation of fund is not involved in most of the cases, improper keeping of accounts has given rise to controversies which can be avoided with some efforts. Financial condition of several unions is extremely bad. Due to low level of membership the union does not have sufficient funds to carry out necessary activities. Many unions have not raised their rate of

subscription since the foundation of CITU which results in starving the unions of funds. Collection of funds on special occasions should not result in insufficient collection of union subscription. Condition of smaller unions particularly is very bad and they have to live a hand to mouth existence. The manner in which the accounts of the union are adopted in the union conferences is a reflection of this state of affairs.

11.11. The Executive committee meeting of the union is another channel of T U democracy. Not all the unions are holding these meetings at regular intervals. Though it is not possible to make a review of the periodicity of these meetings one can state that we have not been able to ensure regular functioning of these important bodies. Whenever these meetings are held the attendance is much below the mark. Even the duration of the meeting is at times much less, since it is held to consider one or two agendas of topical importance. There is no proper mechanism to check up the decisions taken in these meetings and no systematic efforts to make the inactive members participate in these meetings regularly and contribute in the discussion.

11.11. The functioning of the office-bearers of the union is also suffering from similar shortcomings and the entire burden of union activity falls on the shoulders of 3-4 limited office bearers of the union. Examples are not wanting when the entire union is managed by single individual who does all the jobs even making the entire executive committee a passive spectator.

11.13. Holding of union elections is an important aspect of trade union democracy. Generally the panel is placed before the meeting and workers do not get sufficient time to think about the names. WE should not brush aside the worker's right to suggest a name outside the panel or discourage him from suggesting any name he would like to propose. Support to the official panel should not be equated to the loyalty to the union by a member. Though the outgoing leadership has a right to suggest the panel for leadership, the right of the workers to choose that panel or make changes in it should be accepted by the leadership. Improper holding of election leads to bickering among the rank and file in the union which retards its further growth. Though the constitution of the union provides a form of democratic functioning, in practice its implementation is

faulty with the result that on one side we see the burden of work falls on select number of functionaries while several leading workers who could be involved in union activities are not made active. This also explains the acute shortage of cadres we are facing in the organisation.

12.14. Functioning of the departmental committees have an important role to play in democratizing the union activities. IT is in these committees the rank and file workers get more opportunity to express their views and consider the problems of the department. A proper functioning of such committees involves larger number of workers in unions activities. In our organisational framework unions do not pay sufficient attention to these committees. In the reply given by the state committees it is observed that many of our unions have not grasped the significance of functioning through Departmental Committees. Even some of our big unions have not paid much attention to this aspect of our functioning. This is preventing further growth of the unions and broadening their mass base. If the executive committees of the unions keep close contacts with the Departmental Committees and give responsibilities to them to increase the union membership there is every possibility that these committees can play a pivotal role in strengthening the union activities in all spheres. We should prevail up on our local union leadership to pay more attention to the formation and functioning of Departmental Committees so that rank and file initiative is further strengthened in our entire organisation.

12.15. Involvement of workers in the day to day activities of the union cannot be effective unless workers know about their role in the union. For this purpose proper education of workers assumes paramount importance. This question has been discussed elsewhere in this report. We have been doing well in our agitational activities, though its level can be improved. However, we are lacking in propaganda work among the rank and file workers as a result of which their level of consciousness does not grow beyond the sphere of economic struggle. For proper democratic functioning of trade unions this aspect cannot be ignored and we must seriously discuss this question so that educational level of workers is properly developed and the workers play an active role in the day today functioning of the union. It is necessary to monitor the level of democratic functioning of trade unions periodically so that the shortcomings existing in this field can be rectified.

## 12. GROWING BUREAUCRATIC TENDENCIES

12.1. Growing bureaucratic tendencies in our organisation are creating serious impediments in democratic functioning of our unions. Individualistic functionings of our leaders and activists have lent a helping hand to strengthen the bureaucratic functioning. Absence of collective functioning and information sharing and taking decisions individually or by a small group of persons results in lack of consultation with lower level committees. Andhra Pradesh Committee in its reports has mentioned bossism as a prominent feature in functioning of many of our local unions. In West Bengal the State committee has recorded these tendencies existing in a number of our unions. Some of the state committees have not reported this phenomenon which does not mean that it does not exist in these states. The Punjab State Committee has noted that many office bearers of the unions are removed in the annual conferences of the unions, due to their bureaucratic functioning and ill behaviour with the ordinary workers. Kerala state committee has noted that we still have to give up many of our bureaucratic styles and approaches.

12.2. Bureaucratic tendencies further result in leadership becoming isolated from the ranks. Intolerance to criticism from below also arises from their style of functioning. Such leaders refused to learn from other comrades and at times even betray the interests of the workers. We cannot ignore the fact that since its inception the CITU had to expel 3 General Secretaries and one President of the CITU state committees for their refusal to follow CITU line, highly individualist style of functioning and indulging in several malpractices. They were functioning most undemocratically and trying to establish individual control over the organisation. Our failure to struggle against their style of functioning led to their carrying some cadres with them. Such instances are there in several of our local unions also. Hence the struggle against bureaucratism is the bedrock of the struggle for strengthening the democratic functioning of our unions. The general replies from the states indicate that we have not yet applied our minds sufficiently to this problem.

## 14. DEVELOPMENT OF CADRES

14.1 One of the major causes of our organisational stagnation

is the callous neglect of the urgent task of cadre development. Without a sustained growing contingent of cadres to discharge multifarious responsibilities facing the organisation the required all round development of organisation cannot take place. In several meetings of the Working Committee and the General Council comrades have mentioned the question of paucity of cadres as a bottleneck they face in advancing in existing centers and expanding in newer centres. However it must be admitted that the task of cadre development in all its aspects never found its due place in our collective consciousness. Unless the paramount importance of this task is assimilated by us and we decide practical steps to overcome to shortcoming in this field our day to day work will greatly suffer in days to come.

14.2 During innumerable struggles conducted by us we have come across a large number of workers who show interest in our organisation. It is our failure that we have not been able to involve them in day to day union activity, give them suitable responsibility after making objective assessment about their capability, extending regular guidance to them with a view to help them in discharging their work more effectively, appreciating their capabilities when they perform well and helping them to learn from their mistakes and promoting them to higher responsibility when they exhibit necessary capabilities to do so.

14.3 It is not that we are not doing anything in this regard. Individually comrades at different levels may be doing so in some respect. However a planned and conscious efforts are lacking on our part. Casual discussion also takes place at times in some of our meetings but we have never kept this subject on the agenda of any of our all India meetings and made any attempt to pool our experience in this area and prepare proper guidelines for our organisation.

14.4 Several workers who came nearer to us during campaigns have either become inactive or lost interest in the organisation due to the lack of attention on our part to develop these workers into active cadres of our unions. There is an element of absence of confidence among section of our leadership in the capacity of workers. This results in reluctance to give them responsibilities while some of leading comrades in the union are not prepared to share responsibilities with new activists which is also coming in the

way of adequate cadre development. We have amongst us comrades who behave like "burra babooes" (Head Clerks) in the offices during British days who looked with some contempt towards their juniors and refuse to share their knowledge and experience with people below them lest their importance would get reduced.

14.5 We have not assessed how many cadres we have in each district and state, nor prepared a plan to develop them and giving them higher responsibilities. By this process it would be possible to release several of our comrades who are bogged down to unit level work to take more important jobs and in the end we will get comrades to do state level all India as well as industry level responsibilities. We must make it a point to review our activities in this field reallocate responsibilities to different cadres to make our functioning more efficient and result oriented.

14.6 Special attention should be paid to the development of cadres from amongst working women, unorganised workers and workers coming from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as well as from among the minorities. Though these are the most downtrodden sections, the activists among them are much less in our movement which is further adversely affecting our work among these sections. A proper attention to the development of cadres in these sections. A proper attention to the development of cadres in these sections will go in a big way in involving more workers in our field.

14.7 The reactionary and divisive forces have penetrated deep into these sections utilising the prevalent backwardness among them. They have been successful in diverting their attention to frivolous issues and keeping them aloof from the general TU movement or forming separate unions to disrupt the TU movement. Development of cadres in these strata is therefore going to be a difficult task but we cannot afford to ignore the work among them in the present complex situation.

14.8 The question of development of full time cadres occupies a pivotal role in the cadre policies of the unions. These professional trade unionists who are prepared to make any sacrifice for the cause of working class and the toiling sections of the society. However, are we doing justice towards them? Their development is sadly neglected and at times they are treated just as employees and not given

due status they deserve.

Promoting them to leading positions after necessary training is not always encouraged. Though it was not possible to collect details of all the fulltimers working in our organisations in various states, it is necessary that all the states should review the problems faced by the fulltimers so that steps can be taken to fully utilise their potential for strengthening the organisation.

14.9 Overwhelming majority of the fulltimers have no financial security and some of them are ill paid. Due to incapacity of the unions to pay them regularly the required wages, they are facing innumerable problems which affect their functioning in the organisation. Many comrades have given up the work as full timers when they find it extremely difficult to make their both ends meet.

14.10 Mechanical approach to tackle the problem of cadre development will lead us no where. By issuing stereotype guidelines also is not going to help us in a big way. Perhaps in every state the problem may have to be tackled differently keeping in mind the position of the organisation. It is therefore necessary to consider the question of evolving a suitable cadre policy in the light of what has been discussed above and chalk out practical steps to be taken to ensure that effective measures are taken to implement a well thought out cadre policy to meet the requirements of the organisation.

14.11 The discussion on cadre development will be incomplete with proper reviewing the question of development of cadre from among the working class. We should be proud that we have thousands of good working class comrades who have made several sacrifices for the cause of TU movement but they cannot reach the leadership position. Their inability to understand and express themselves in English is coming in a way of their advance. It has also resulted in a new entrant in the TU movement with good knowledge of English getting quick boost in the organisation while the non-English knowing comrades are destined to remain as rank and file members throughout their life.

14.12 Our TU correspondence essentially is in English while our all India meetings are all conducted in English. Many capable working class comrades are unable to follow the deliberations and ultimately get frustrated or remain passive. We should not ignore

the fact that about one third of the delegates in the last CITU conference had practically no experience of work inside the factory or establishment. Many of our leaders are known as "Babus" among the rank and file workers. While the need for inducting educated comrades in the TU movement should not be underestimated,, the task of understanding with sympathy the difficulties faced by the working class comrades in taking higher responsibility in the organisation should be given necessary emphasis it deserves. Our success in future depends on how far we bring to the front a large number of comrades who are languishing in the organisation due to their lack of knowledge of English. This problem is more acute particularly in Hindi speaking region.

## 15. TRADE UNION EDUCATION

15.1 Trade Union education is an inseparable part of the cadre development programme without organisation with sustained education of cadres and activists they will not be able to discharge their duties effectively. However from the reports received from the State Committees indicate that some State Committees have shown increasing awareness. Yet by and large we are callously neglecting this important task.

15.2 In Andhra Pradesh district trade union classes were organised during the last three years while in some districts several classes were held. Assam State Committee conducted three state level classes during the same period. Delhi could organise only one state level class in 1989 while some unions organised local classes. Three classes were organised in Gujarat state while in Haryana some district level classes were conducted. One state level class was organised in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. Maharashtra reported some local classes but details are not available. No state level class was organised in MP but some local classes were conducted. Tamilnadu state committee organised 8 classes in 4 regions involving about 150 activists. In addition, state level classes were organised by electricity and transport unions. One day classes in some districts were organised by the state transport union. In UP and Punjab State Committees conducted only one State level class each. In West Bengal no state level class was reported but district committees and state level unions organised classes with the help of state committee leadership. The Kerala, Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and

Tripura State Committees have not been able to organise any class during the last 3 years.

15.3 The CITU Centre has not organised a single central TU school or a regional school during the last 22 years of its existence. Naturally, the task of preparing a team of teachers to conduct classes in states and districts still remains unfulfilled. Though the demand was frequently raised by the General Council members the CITU Centre has not been able to prepare a syllabus with detailed lecture notes to conduct TU classes. This dismal failure cannot be explained and we must overcome this shortcoming without any further delay.

15.4 The CITU Centre has been sending teachers to take classes whenever there was a demand from the state committee or industrywise federation. We have also extended assistance to fraternal organisations in conducting classes. However, in absence of well prepared syllabus the outcome by these classes has been below the mark.

15.5 However, it must be noted that one single syllabus will not serve the purpose. We have to differentiate between the task of educating ordinary workers, active workers, leaders and teachers. Even programme of industrywise education will have different aspects of training. More over there is urgent need of training specific comrades on specialist training programme in view of emerging technology.

15.6 Without creation of a team at the Centre with specific responsibility the task cannot be fulfilled. We have to give special priority to this work keeping in mind the urgency of the situation. The General Council should periodically review the work in the matter and lay down specific tasks so that proper check up of the work in this field can be ensured.

15.7 It is a sad commentary on our work that we have not been able to consider the aspect of research work and development of information system in our activities. Periodically preparing research papers on different aspects of TU activity and supply of necessary agitational and propaganda material to our activists we will not be able to make qualitative improvement in our activities. Though we have to undertake these jobs in a phased manner too much delay

will cost us very much. We have to consider our concrete tasks in this area so that we can take steps to improve our work substantially.

15.8 The CITU Centre has taken a preliminary step to establish a library with about 2000 books. It needs further development but the costs are heavy. However, some funds are to be provided for this purpose so that we will have a proper information and documentation centre.

15.9 We have not even thought of establishing a proper research centre for conducting research on TU and labour problems. In a new situation when the bourgeoisie is adopting new methods of creating illusions among the workers to counter act their ideological offensive we need such a centre. Moreover supplying factual information on national economy developments in the capitalist world, impact of modern technology etc requires immediate attention by such a centre. Resources and cadre problem are real bottlenecks in this regard but if comrades cooperate we may be able to take steps in this regard also.

15.10 Without availability of specialised comrades to undertake these stupendous tasks the centre will not be able to cope up with the situation. Without supplying such comrades to the centre from the states mere criticising the centre may not help in overcoming our weaknesses in this field.

## 16. WORKING AMONG WORKING WOMEN

16.1 Despite repeated criticism in the CITU conferences and all India meetings, the working women's front shows utter callousness on the part of our unions and various committees. Since 1979 when we held our 1st all India convention of working women, it has almost become a ritual to criticise our neglect in this regard and comrades put up with this without making serious improvements in our approach towards working women. Even the replies given by some of the state committees do not tally with the reality. Even now states like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Goa, UP have not taken steps to form women's sub-committees or state level coordination committees. In Bihar, Gujarat, Orissa, Tripura, Rajasthan and Delhi state level committees have been formed but since Calcutta conference not a single meeting of such committees have been

reported. Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Punjab, Haryana have shown activity in holding meetings. In MP only one meeting was held which was attended by 2 women only. Tamilnadu reported 4 meetings since Calcutta conference but the average attendance was only 50 per cent of its membership. However, the Tamilnadu State Committee has been giving regular guidance and has even initiated convention to organise movements. The attendance in other states except West Bengal was not upto the mark. West Bengal has shown substantial progress recently. They held 14 meetings during the last 16 months and the average attendance was 85 per cent of the membership. Except West Bengal, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Haryana and Orissa the other state committees failed to keep the work among working women on the agenda of the state committee meetings. Recently Kerala state committee called meetings of district committee members and decided to hold district level conventions to strengthen the work among working women. Through working women sub-committees at union level our work among cashew, coir, garment, construction, beedi, plantation and agricultural women workers can be considerably increased.

16.2 Inclusion of working women on state committees is rarely seen in most of the state committees. Assam, Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh have no women member in the state committee while Delhi state has not mentioned the matter in its report. UP, Rajasthan and Gujarat have only one symbolic member on the State Committee while Andhra, Bihar, MP have two members only. Maharashtra and Tamilnadu have reported 3 members each on their state committees, while more women membership was reported in West Bengal(10), Orissa(7), Karnataka(5) and Tripura(4), Kerala(8). One of the reasons for less attendance to the state level and all India meetings was mentioned as reluctance of the unions to pay their travelling expenses. Since we have decided not to form a separate organisation of working women they have not separate funds and unless unions finance their travelling their participation in such meeting is bound to be symbolic. Those who can raise funds on their own can afford to participate in these meetings. The state committees have to impress upon the unions to help the working women financially to enable them to attend the all India and state level meetings. Financial assistance to the functioning of the state coordination committee is also necessary.

16.3 We have not been able to form women's sub-committees at union level wherever sizable working women are working. In absence of local activities of unions on this front what is there to coordinate at the state level? Without formation of union level sub-committees merely holding a state level convention once in a while or on the occasion of state conference is not going to help in the long run. As a matter of fact the State Coordination Committee of Working Women should coordinate the activities of working women's sub-committee formed by the union.

16.4 At the initiative of some state level committee activities among working women in Insurance, Banks and state govt. employee was made considerable headway but our own affiliated unions are lagging in this regard. Without development of activities among our own class the working women's movement cannot be developed properly. In unorganised sector where large number of women employees are working we have not been able to work effectively with the result that their involvement in the TU movement is much less.

16.5 The only notable advance can be mentioned is about the work among Anganwadi workers where we have been able to bring in the movement larger number of women employees. Although the independent functioning of the Anganwadi Federation requires gearing up, we have been able to take initiative in building a united movement of these employees. As a result of the movement, paltry rise was granted by the Central Government. But the general conditions of this strata is extremely pitiable which will force them to come forward for further struggle. The CITU's initiative in other sector of women's employment should be seen distinctly which alone will enable us to advance the movement in this sector.

16.6 Without educating the working women activists it would not be possible to make them work more effectively in the trade unions. The CITU centre has therefore decided to hold a special TU class for the working women activists. The data will be finalised by the All India Co-ordination Committee of Working Women being held at Bangalore along with this General Council meeting. The State Committees should cooperate in sending active working women to this class. A special syllabus has to be prepared to meet the requirement of training of working women.

16.7 We must keep in mind the criticism made by Com.B T Ranadive regarding our neglect of work among women during the 06th conference of CITU at Bombay, ".....the major part of CITU committees either ignored the problems or made some cosmetic changes in their practices.... The problem of working women is a part of the struggle of the working class against the capitalist society and not just a question which concern women alone." He further pointed out, o"What is the basis of this incorrect attitude? It is nothing but underestimation of women and their work."

16.8 Com.BTR's criticism is still valid today despite passing of several years. Unless we correct our attitude in this regard involvement of working women in larger number in our movement is bound to be symbolic and seriously obstruct the very advance of our movement.

## 17. CITU JOURNALS

17.1 We have already noted that the CITU Centre is bringing out 4 journals in addition to the 8 journals published by the different state committees. They are Shramik Andolan(Bengali), Karmika Lokan(Tamilnadu), CITU Sandesham(Malayalam), CITU Sandesha(Kannada), Shramik Ekta(Oriya) CITU (Tamil) and Punjabi Journal(No name given), CITU Bihar(Hindi). A chart of circulation during the last 3 years is given Annexure-4.

17.2 Some of the journals are running at a loss while some have reached the break even point. The data relating to this also is given in the annexure mentioned above.

17.3 In addition to the state journals several industrywise federations are bringing out bulletin. The SWFI is bringing out 'News Clip', the CWFI is publishing "Construction Workers", AIPWF is publishing a cyclostyled bulletin. The Forward Seamen's Union of India is bringing out Nabik Bhikashar every month.

17.4 In Kerala 3 journals are published by CITU affiliated unions. Kerala State Electricity Board Workers Association is publishing a monthly journal "Electricity Worker"(6,000 copies). Kerala State Road Transport Employees Association is publishing a monthly journal "Transport Employee"(8000 copies), Kerala Cooperative

Employees Union is also publishing a monthly journal "Cooperative Worker(6,500 copies).

17.5 Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Staff and Workers Federation brings out a monthly "RTC Workers" (5000 copies), Electricity Employees Union periodically brings out bulletins, Kheda Jil Mazdoor Sangh brings out Gujarathi monthly bulletin "Janata Yug", Mazdoor Sangram Samithi(Haryana) brings out Hindi Journal "Mashal".

17.6 Bangalore Auto Rickshaw Drivers Union publishes monthly bulletin "Autochalaka." In Tamilnadu Transport Workers Federation Publishes journal in Tamil "Pokkuvarathu Thozhilali"(30000 copies) Electricity Union publishes a journal with 5000 circulation. Dakshin Railway Employees Union brings out a monthly "Thozhilalarasu" (2000 copies). In West Bengal, Calcutta Municipal Corporation Union, West Bengal State Electricity Board union and HFC union publish bulletins occasionally. The unorganised workers issues are focussed through a bulletin brought out in Bengali and Hindi.

17.7 Despite several journals published by us we have never centrally discussed how to improve their standard. Attempts can also be made to increase their circulation. We should plan a meeting of the Editors of all the CITU journals so that we can review the contents of the journals and take steps to make quantitative improvement in these journals.

17.8 One major weakness of all our central and state journals is that their circulation is mainly confined to the CITU followers. Very few copies go to the workers outside the influence of CITU. We have seriously to ponder over the steps we should owe take to increase the circulation among the non-CITU readers so that the CITU journals can really be an instrument to draw in large readerships of non-CITU workers.

17.9 We also have to finalise our tasks on the organisational front so that we can overcome our shortcomings and make it really a fighting organisation of the working class. The secretariat could not finalise them due to preoccupations in the 25th November rally. After hearing the suggestions of the General Council members in

this meeting, we can finalise.

17.10 I would request the General Council members to give their valuable suggestion in the matter so as to enable the Secretariat to finalise them.

## 18. OUR URGENT TASKS

Comrades,

18.1 In the present national situation, the economic crisis is taking the country into a debt trap with increasing conditionalities by the World Bank and the IMF. The economic policies pursued by the Narsimha Rao Government are creating a hunting ground for the multinational companies and monopoly capitalists in India. In this General Council we are passing a resolution on this subject which has underlined the need for much broader struggles to defeat these policies. Our advancing struggle against these policies in which we are involving all other mass organisations is a significant development in the present day situation. The historic 25 November rally before Parliament last year has given before the nation a clear cut perspective for a democratic advance. However, the communal and reactionary forces are determined to destroy the secular fabric of the society and taking the country towards a fratricidal war. Unless we effectively nip these conspiracies in the bud the country will face alarming situation.

18.2 The international situation after the set back of socialism in former Soviet Union and East European countries, has become more complicated. The US imperialism after the emergence of a unipolar world has become more aggressive and its intervention in the third world countries has become more vicious. Its capacity to use the signboard of UNO for its depredations has made the situation more complex. Anti-socialist propaganda by the bourgeoisie, both Indian and foreign has become more ferocious and systematic attempts are being made to confuse the working class. Under these circumstances we have to play a crucial role in defending the unity and integrity of the country and our cherished goal of socialism. Without a strong and well knit organisation and correct policies we will not be able to play our role effectively. Therefore the task of overcoming our shortcoming was never so much pronounced as it is today.

18.3 We have to particularly note that in a period of deepening crisis we have to take up industrywise and unitwise issues separately without which we cannot evolve effective alternate policies to overcome the crisis. The bourgeoisie is trying its utmost to pass on the burden of this crisis on the shoulders of the working class and the people of India. To counteract this pernicious move we have to popularise the alternate approach among the workers so that burden of the crisis is not allowed to be fallen on them or the toiling millions. We will have to seriously strive to improve our style of work so that we can soberly explain the implications of the capitalist offensive which alone result in winning over non-committed sections of the workers to our side. Trotting general principles will not help us in this critical juncture. Our approach should be such it will go deeper into the minds of the ordinary worker who would feel that our line is actually helping to solve his problems.

18.4 Any corrective measure in our organisational set up must begin with the CITU Centre itself which has the primary responsibility of having an overall review of the entire organisation. The following steps will have to be taken in this regard in a time bound programme:

18.4.1 Improvement in the functioning of the CITU Secretariat. Strengthening of the collective functioning of the Centre so that team work can be improved.

18.4.2 Induction of some senior comrades in the CITU Centre with good experience of mass work and ability to guide the all India movement. State Committees should come forward to propose the names of comrades who can take such assignments.

18.4.3. The quarterly meetings of the full Secretariat should be held for two days and complete review of the organisation and activities should be made regularly so that steps can be taken to overcome the shortcomings. The work done by it should be regularly reported to the General Council/Working Committee meetings.

18.4.4. The Centre should prepare a plan in consultation with State Committees to strengthen the organisation in priority sector. Cadre deployment to be done according to this priority.

18.4.5. More attention to be paid by the Centre on ideological moulding of the working class. Preparation of necessary material by the Centre on a regular basis to highlight the ultimate objective of the TU movement. Consistent efforts to expose the alien ideology within the working class.

18.5 The State Committee should implement the following tasks.

18.5.1. Preparation of a self critical review of the functioning of various organs of the CITU in the State in the light of decisions of the General Council and organise discussion at State level in State Committee and District Committee levels.

18.5.2. Review of struggles conducted by the union to be prepared and widely circulated in the State to pool the rich experience gained during day to day activities and make it known to all the ranks of the CITU.

18.5.3. Launching Statewide drive to increase the membership of the CITU by fixing target of enrollment every year so that organised strength can be increased in a planned way.

18.5.4. Strengthening of industrywise co-ordination and effective steps to introduce T.U. democracy at all levels in the State.

18.5.5. Review of the functioning of all District Committees and concrete tasks to be given to the District Committees to implement the general tasks efficiently by regular checking up of the work done.

18.6 Regarding the cadre development efforts to be made at all levels to put comrades in proper position and give higher responsibility to comrades having merit. Regarding education, a Sub-Committee of following members should be entrusted with the task of preparing syllabus along with lecture notes within 3 months so that countrywide educative programme can be chalked out on the basis of the syllabus: 1. M.K.Pandhe, 2. Sukomal Sen, 3. R.Umanath, 4. P.K.Ganguly, and 5. Kanai Banerjee. Advanced syllabus for specialised training can be suitably developed later.

Our senior leadership has also to note that they have to develop their own knowledge and equip themselves with all information so that they can contribute effectively in evolving suitable policies for the organisation. Their capacity to lead in the present complex situation largely depends on how far they become competent to tackle the problems facing our movement. Unless every senior leader becomes teacher in the trade unions as schools of socialism we cannot effectively lead our own masses, let alone the question of leading the general masses influenced by various ideologies.

18.7 Regarding Hindi speaking areas, the State Committees in these state should prepare plan of expansion of activities in consultation with the CITU Centre. The Centre can take the help of advanced States so that the region is helped to strengthen its activities.

18.8 Regarding working women, State Committees should ensure that every union where sizable women workers are employed should form women's sub-committees so that women's problems are taken up by the unions. Development of cadres from among the working women. Programme of holding T.U. classes for working women activists should be implemented so that they assume the responsibility of leadership. Formation of coordination committees of working in all the states. Periodic review of the activities by the General Council/Working Committee meetings.

18.9 Special attention to be paid to development of cadres among SC and ST workers and minorities while through them involvement of larger sections in the union activists. More efforts to bring to the leading position the promising cadres among these strata.

18.10 In day to day activities, unions should give proper emphasis on Cultural activities so that genuine cultural aspirations of workers are given proper shape. Statewise programmes to be discussed to coordinate activities in the field. If possible formation of All India team to guide the activities in this field.

18.11 Comrades, if we take expeditious steps in overcoming our organisational lapses the scope for increasing our strength manifold will be available to us. With improved organisational framework

our ability to lead the working class movement will grow immensely and our capacity to develop in weaker areas will increase substantially. We will be able to bring into the vortex of struggles thousands of devoted cadres who have come to us in the past. Once our striking power against bourgeoisie landlord classes becomes much stronger we will be able to effectively contribute in changing the co-relations of forces in our favour. With collective leadership emerging at various levels and deepening of TU democracy our organisation will become more vibrant to discharge its responsibilities in the present period.

18.12 Let us all put our heads together, pool our rich experience gained in several struggles fought under our leadership and after a free and frank discussion, examine our shortcomings self-critically and come to definite common understanding about the tasks to be implemented so that we can champion the interests of the working class more effectively. Despite severe shortcomings our organisation has the competence and capacity to overcome these shortcomings. No central TU in India has so many devoted cadres as we have and that is our real strength. I have no doubt that the deliberations of this General Council will go in a big way to fulfil the long pending need for streamlining our organisation. If we succeed in this task this Bangalore General Council will be a historical landmark in the annals of the CITU.

# Resolutions

—Com.Ganesh Ghosh

The General Council meeting of CITU mourns the death of Com.Ganesh Ghosh, the veteran freedom fighter and the legendary leader of the Chittagong armoury raid. He devoted his entire life for the advancement of communist movement. He was a member of the W.Bengal State Committee of CPI(M), a member of the W.Bengal Assembly and also of the Parliament. The meeting pays respectful homage to Com.Ganesh Ghosh.

## Com. Biren Datta

The General Council meeting mourns the death of Com.Biren Datta, former member of the Working Committee, General Secretary of the Tripura State Committee of CITU and the Minister of Labour of the Left Front Government of Tripura. He was a veteran leader of the communist movement in Tripura and a member of the Tripura State Committee of CPI(M). For some time he was also a member of Parliament. The meeting pays respectful homage to Com.Biren Datta

## On Condolence

This General Council meeting mourns the death of Com.Dalip Singh Joha, the veteran Kisan and communist leader of Punjab; Com.Thakorbhai Shah, the veteran communist leader of Gujarat; Com.N K Krishnan, the veteran leader of the CPI from Tamilnadu; Com.K A Rajan, former secretary of NFPTE, who made valuable contributions in the advancement of the United Council of Trade Unions; Com.K K Roy Ganguly, the former General Secretary of Water Transport Federation of India; Com.K M Mathew, the General Secretary of All India Defence Employees Federation and Com.Dalip Singh, Tapiala, the CPI(M) leader of Punjab.

The meeting further condoles the death of those who were killed in the communal carnage that engulfed the country in the wake of the Babri Masjid demolition by the vandals of RSS-VHP-BJP-Bajrang Dal and thereafter in Bombay by the Shiv Sena.

### On Martyrs

The General Council meeting held at Nagpur from February 019-21, 1993 pays homage to all those martyrs who were killed by the extremists in Punjab and Tripura, while defending the unity and integrity of the country.

The meeting also pays homage to those martyrs who laid down their lives under police and gangster attacks, while defending the cause of the working class and the toiling people.

### ON COMMUNAL SITUATION

This General Council meeting of the CITU held at Bangalore from February 019-21, 1993 expresses serious concern on the communal situation in the country created by the RSS-BJP-VHP-Bajrangdal and the Shiv Sena.

The demolition of the Babri Masjid was the worst vandalism and assault on the Constitution and the secular Indian state. The communal riots that followed were unprecedented since independence, affecting the industrial centres also. The Shiv Sena thereafter created a holocaust in Bombay. Workers belonging to the minority community and even non-Maharashtrian Hindus are not allowed to enter the factories and other establishments.

With a fascistic vengeance the Sangh Parivar and the Shiv Sena are trying to polarise the people of the country on communal basis. While the Sangh Parivar has announced the programme of proceeding to Varanasi and Mathura to demolish the mosques, the Shiv Sena have declared their plan of performing Maha Aratis at Kanpur, Lucknow, etc apart from Bombay. These fascistic forces have made declarations to go ahead with the 25th February rally at Delhi defying the ban, to repeat the Bombay carnage at Delhi.

In this entire development the Narsimha Rao Government at the centre has utterly failed to stem these communal forces or protect the Babri Masjid. It has on the contrary compromised with them at every step, thereby encouraging them to go ahead to threaten the unity and integrity of the country and undermine the Constitution and the rule of law. It is condemnable that the Government equated the anti-communal rally announced by the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan with the BJP rally and banned all the rallies to show neutrality.

While condemning the Sangh Parivar and the Shiv Sena for their communal onslaught and the Government for its appeasement role, the General Council calls upon the CITU state committee and the unions to gear up their activities to mobilise the trade unions and other secular, democratic and patriotic forces in the struggle to resist all the fundamentalists and fascist forces and safeguard the unity and integrity of the country.

The meeting further appreciates that the INTUC has also signed a pledge with other trade unions to carry forward the struggle against the communal forces. All State Committees should make all out efforts to strengthen the unity in the common struggle of the trade unions against the communal and divisive forces who receive all help from imperialism.

The formation of the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan with the secular opposition political parties and the mass organisations is a welcome development in this regard. The meeting congratulates the Rashtriya Ekta Abhiyan for organising massive rallies and human chain in different states and calling for a central rally at Delhi on 30th March rally a big success.

## ON ECONOMIC SITUATION

The General Council meeting of the CITU held at Bangalore from 19th to 21st February 1993 expresses its deep resentment oot the constant all round deterioration of the economic situation of the country. True to the apprehensions expressed by the trade unions the IMF-World Bank dictated New Economic Policy (NEP) pursued by the Narasimha Rao Govt has been playing havoc in all fronts of the economy and the false propagation of the government that NEP

would put the economy to a very sound position totally belied.

One of the main justifications propagated for going for the hefty loan from the Fund/Bank under the conditionalities to which the Government has compromised our economic sovereignty has been to fight the balance of payment crisis. But within two years the BoP situation is moving towards a crisis opposition due to increasing imports and growing trade deficit. As per reports, in the coming financial year the country's imports are likely to reach i\$ 33.5 billion and exports at o\$ 27.5 billion leaving a trade deficit of \$\$ 7.00 billion. Further the external debt now has reached \$ 75.00 billion. The debt to GDP ratio has reached 25 percent and debt service ratio has also risen to 32 percent.

According to a recent Reserve Bank's survey the Indian economy is slowing down. The industrial growth has registered clear decline in many important sectors which includes basic sectors, durable and non durable consumer good etc. The nondurable category, which includes salt, tea, coffee, vanaspati, biscuits etc, has registered average decline of 1.67 percent.

The Chellaiah Committee recommendations on the tax structure is highly favourable to the multinational companies Indian monopoly houses and the rural rich.

The share scam and the facts brought before the JPC have highlighted the scandalous behaviour of the financial institutions and the share brokers resulting in swindle of thousands of crores of rupees of public funds.

Prices of all essential commodities are continuously rising despite the so called fall in the rate of inflation which does not have any reflection in the market price. Price of steel after decontrol has been hiked four times. Coal is also going to be decontrolled and the price to be enhanced by 17% just before the ensuring budget as recommended by the BICP. The issue price of foodgrains through PDS has been increased.

The privatisation drive is going on in full swing through disinvestment of shares, entry of foreign and Indian monopoly in the industries earlier reserved for public sector; off loading of jobs and

marketing of products as has been done in case of coal. The privatisation of banks and massive infiltration of foreign banks in the country's banking sector has been given green signal by the Government. Customs duty on foreign goods is being reduced while excise duty on domestic products is being increased, thereby increasing the prices of the domestic products and allowing the multinational companies to capture the country's market and making the indigenous industries sick. The FERA has been amended whereby restrictions under the Act have been almost totally withdrawn as a result of which the multinational companies would tighten their grip on our economy.

Due to withdrawal of financial support, stoppage of investment for revamping the old units which have become technologically obsolete due to aging many public sector units are on the verge of closure. Industrial sickness is increasing alarmingly particularly in the small scale sector.

Thus lakhs workers are threatened with retrenchment, accentuating the unemployment situation. This is not enough; the labour laws are sought to be amended to incorporate the Exit Policy and put a curb to right to strike as per the demand of Fund/Bank.

The General Council welcomes the decision of the Sponsoring Committee to convene a meeting of all other mass organisations of peasantry, Agricultural workers, students, youth, women etc on March 3 as per declaration of the 25th November rally, which called for phasewise movement culminating in a Bharat bandh. The meeting calls upon the State Committees, unions and federations to start immediate immobilization of all sections of workers and other mass organisations to implement the call of the 25th November rally successful.

## Minutes of the general Meeting held at Nagpur from 13-15 March, 1992

The following Comrades attended the meeting:-

Ravindra Shukla, R K Swamy, Naginbhai Patel, Lila Das, D K Bose, SSibani Sengupta, Dibash Chowdhury, Nandkumar P, Harikrishna Shah, H K Pisharadi, Kalishankar Paul, D Shetti, R>Ramanathan (Spl. Invitee), Arvind Kumar, K M Haribhatt, K R Gangadharan, SPancharatnam, Gopalakrishna Kurup, GRamakrishnan, T K Rangarajan, P G K Krishna, Ochira Thankappan, T R Purushotam, Amiya Nayak, Vimal Ranadive, Raghunath Kusari, A K Padmanabhan, Joy Gopal Roy, Kanai Banerjee, D Bhattacharjee, Krishna Kant Verma, K Padmanabhan, C Kannan, Sunil basu Ray, P Vovindan, K F Davis, Md.Israil, P.Marimuthu, Debanjan Chakrabarti, P.V. Balagopalan, Ajit Bhoumick, Atul Dutta, P M Kumar, V Balakrishnan, V N Vasavan, V R Bhaskaran, P K Somarajan, K P Sugunan, Dipali Bose, V S Chandrasekharan Pillai, Shailendra Shaily, V J K Nair, K Shanker, V Uma Maheshwara Rao, M B Katti, Robin Sen, S.Kumar, LJayaprakash V, Elamaran Kaareem, Mahadeb Mukherjee, P V Krfishnan, Lakshmi Seghal, Nirmal Ray, Santasri Chatterjee, BK Chakravarty, Sukhendu Biswas, Tushar De, Prabir Sen, Chittabrata Majumdar, R.Umanath, P K Ganguly, E.Balanandan, M K Pandhe, Chandi Prasad, Kali Ghose, F Ranjit Basu, Rabin Mukherjee, Biren Roy, Tapan Sen, K M Batobyal, LB P Kashyap, K.Venkateshwaralu, V B Cherian, Parsa Satyanarayana, D G Narasimha Roa, K K Divakaran, T S Mani, Biswanath Sinha, SUkhomoy Paul, N>Padmalochanan, Shyamal Chakraborty, Mohan Singh, N G Krishnan, Samar Mukherjee, Jibon Roy, Balwant Singh, Harsahay Singh, P Kesavan Nair, Soosai Antony, C J Joseph, N.Prasad Rao, Gulab Singh, S Punyavathi, V.Saroja, Tirlochan Singh, Sucha Singh, Nataha Singh, K M Abraham, G S Balaji Das, Vijay Misra, Raghunath Singh, Kadakkal Sundaresan, Satpal Bharati, Amar Nath Koom Kalan, Sujit Das, Bimal Chatterjee, Amal Ghos Dastidar, K A Ali Akber, K Moosakutty, M Vasu, T P Ramakrishnan, K Dasan, P T Rajan, V M Sreedharan, V K Devasikutty, Md.Nizamuddin, Rajdeo Goala, C B C Warriar, S K N Chaudhury, Abul Hasnat Khan, Mahadeb Mukherjee, Pradyot Sen, Basudeb

Acharia, Nikhil Mukherjee, Ziatul Alam, K B Subba, Ajit Sarakar, Achintya Ghatak, Prakash Mini, MOhan Mahato, Shantimoy Bhattacharjee, P R Krishnan, K L Malabade, Sayeed Ahmed, Sailen Chatterjee, P M Vartak, Dinkar Kadav, S N Solanki, Ram Briksh, K Karunakaran, M Nanjappan, V K Vellingiri, D Janakiraman, C Nanjudappa, E KN Rajan, N J Iyer, K KN KUty, J Ranga REddy, G Malyadri, T K Tewary, Shanti Ranjan Chatterjee, Pradeep Das, Shivaji patnaik, Lambodara Nayak, Ashok Vaidya, Bali Ram VERma, Rupam Sen, C O Poulouse, Prasanta Ghosh, Somen Kundi, Bhagwan Prasad, Brahmit Singh, M D Samiullah, Gopal Bhattacharyya, Santan Mallick, Krishnarjun Mitra, Dilip Chatterjee, Lakshman Seth, Sudhir Chatterjee, Dipak Sarkara, Hemlal Chatterjee, Pranab Das, Kali Nayak, Nirmal Jana, Himangsu Das, Hem Bhattacharya, Mohan Mahato, Ajit Kumar Mukherjee, Bhibhuti Das Mondal, S Chandrasekharan, Gouranga Chattergee, Nimai Samanto, P Gangayama, S K SULTan Ali, Gopal Biswas, Mohanlal, S B Bhardwaj, Jagdish Chand Minocha, Sirajuddin Mollah, Abul Basak, Sitaram Manjrekara, Krishna Banerji, Kajiman Colay, Aditya Misra, Shiharan Acharya, Ratan Das Gupta, Tapan Dutta, Pralay Das Gupta, Badal kar, Asim Banerjee, Vijay Tewaari, narayan Saha, Kamal Bhattacharya, Sisir Chakraborti, Amar Ganguly, Kulakadu Indira, M K Kamalamma, R M Rajan, S Jayakumar, Prasanta Nandi Chowdhury, nani Kar, Subodh Ganguly, Gopal Biswas, Niren Ghosh, Sudarasan Das, Durai Arumugam, P V Ramadas, R Elangovan, R Singaravelu, M Rajangam, V Karmegam, Chandra Shekhar, Inderjeet Singh, Nayan Bhaumik, Dilip Ganguly, T H K Variar, Kashi Nath Adak, Nirmal Roy, P. Sampath, Nabani bauri, Samar Bhaumick, Dilip Dutta, Radhamadhan hans, Jawaharlal Shaw, P K Mukherjee, Tarapada Basak, Basdeo Mandal, KP Sugunan, Motilal Sharm a, Haribal Debaath, Shiba Das Baidya, V G Bhaskaran Nair, M A Sayeed, Ashutosh Banerjee, Bamapada Mukherji, H S Mitra, N Datta Biswas, Prakash Rajkhowa, Sarabeswar Das, HAradhan Jha, Amalendu Ghatak, Gautam Ghatak, Bikash Chowdhary, haradhan Roy, P V Gangadharan, P Lalaji babu, S Damodaran, C K Vasu, C Krishhan, K Balakrishnan, S S Potti, S K Baksi, Peroorkada Sadasivan, P S Gangadharan, D R Pisharady, Badal Ch. Bose, Nisha Roy, K Anirudhan, K A Pushpakaran, M A Krishnan, V Ramakrishnan, K F Tripathi, Nirupam Sen, Badya Nanth Chand, Lakman Bhattacharjee, Ajit Chowdhary, Nepaldev Bhattacharjee, Pradip Chakravarty, Ranjit Kundu, Ainul Haque, Subhas Chakravarty, S Dev Roye, PSingh, Tarit Baran Topdar, Subodh Mehta, Rabin Majundar, Ganga

Yadav, J L Vincent, Robin Chakraborty, Biswanath Singh.

The meeting started after flag hoisting by Com.E.Balanandan and placing of wreathes at the martyrs' memorial. Com P.Sanzgiri, Chairman of the Reception Committee delivered the welcome address.

Com.Balanandan read out his presidential address. The meeting adopted condolence resolution on the demise of the following comrades: Com O J Joseph, Com.Niranjan Mukherjee, (Working Committee Members); Com.A B Jha, Com Swapan Bose (Gen.Council Members); Com A B Sawant, CITU leader from Maharashtra; Com.Abdulla Rasul, Veteran Kisan Sabha leader; Com. N K Kalu, Com Biren Gupta, Com Janaki Ammal, Com R C Singh, Com Anant Rout; and Com.Biswanath Mukherjee, veteran CPI leader.

The meeting also adopted resolutions paying homage to the following martyrs: Com.Swaran Singh Cheema, Gen.Secretary of Punjab Kisan Sabha alongwith 5 other comrades who were murdered by the Khalistan extremists at Abohar and Sangrur. The meeting also noted with deep concern the murder of Sankar Guha Niyogi, the prominent trade union leader of Dalli-Rajhara of MP who was murdered by the killers engaged by the employrs. The meeting further paid homage to the martyrs who sacrificed their lives in the struggle for the cause of the working class and for the unity and integrity of the country.

The main resolution of the General Council - on the economic policy of the Government was placed in the inaugural session itself, by Com M K Pandhe and seconded lby Com.Umanath. The resolution endorsed the call of the Calcutta Convention of March 5 and 6 and called for the sccond countrywide strike action.

Minutes of the last G C meeting held at Calcutta on 13th February 1991 were confirmed. The Resolution Committee and the credential committee were then constituted as follows:

Resolution Committee: Com.Jibon Roy(Convenor), Com.Kanai Banerjee, Com.Tapan Sen,, Com.V B Cherian and Com.A K Padmanabhan.

Credential Committee: Com.Kali Ghosh(Convenor) Com.P Satyanarayana and Com.S Dev Roye.

Com.M K Pandhe placed the General Secretary's report. 42 comrades participated in the discussion on the General Secretary's report. The comrades elaborated success of the 29th November strike and expressed the preparedness for the second strike action. They also pointed to the organisational aspect and urged for its consolidation at all levels. They also pointed to the necessity of a confederation to close in trade union unity to fight against the economic policy of the govt. They further referred to the growth of communal and divisive forces and urged for stepping up united struggle against them to safeguard the unity and integrity of the country. The report of the General Secretary after the reply given by Com.Pandhe was unanimously adopted.

The statement of accounts for the year was placed by Com.Ranjit Basu, which was also adopted unanimously.

The question of approach to new technology was discussed separately after a report was placed by Com.Pandhe. 14 comrades participated in the discussion. It was decided that the issue would be discussed more elaborately in the states and based on the reports the centre would prepare a report on the issue.

The meeting decided to hold a special General Council meeting at the end of 1992 to discuss organisation.

Vimal Ranadive and Kanai Banerjee placed reports on working women and railways respectively.

Com.Pandhe placed a report on the developments in Orissa, where he had made a visit as deputed by the Secretariat examine the problems created by Ajeya Rout and others. After hearing his report, the General Council expelled Ajeya Rout and Jagat Jivan Das from the General Council.

The meeting adopted several other resolutions, viz on Punjab situation, on imperialist pressure on India, on communal and divisive forces, on the Left Front Government of W.Bengal, on victimisations of railway workers, on Jute workers' strike, on Bata workers'

strike and on Cauveri Water Dispute. Several other resolutions, viz on Dunkel proposals, on Tripura, on Price rise, etc were referred to the Secretariat for finalisation.

The General Council coopted Ashok Vaidya as Working Committee member from Himachal Pradesh in place of DN Kapoor. The meeting also coopted Kashmir Singh Thakur as a General Council member from Himachal Pradesh.

The meeting also coopted Raghunath Singh as a Working Committee member from Punjab and Sucha Singh and Natha Singh as General Council members.

The meeting coopted Raja Rao as General Council member from Andhra Pradesh in place of K George, who had died.

The meeting expelled Puran Chand of Delhi from General Council membership, owho was earlier expelled by the Delhi State Committee due to his anti-union activities.

The open session was held on 15th March evening. The session was presided over by Com.Ahiliya Rangnekar and addressed by Com.E Balanandan, Com.M K Pandhe, Com.BP Kashyap and Com K L Bajaj.

## Annexure-1

### FUNCTIONING OF THE OFFICE BEARERS IN THE STATE COMMITTEES

State	No. of office bearera	No.How Many function from state Center	No.of meeting Held in last 3	Averaage attend, perent- age	Any job Division done among office bearers	Method chack up of the work of office
Andhra	12	4	7	85	Yes	Yes
Assam	11	3	7	55-72	Yes	Not Proper.
Bihar	10	4	13	55	Yet to be systemati- cally regular- ised.	
Delhi	6	2	21	80	Yes	Yes
Gujarat	6	3	36	80	No	No
Haryana	10	3	6	72	Not Regular.	Not Regular
HP	12	5	7	65	yes	No
Karnataka	9	5	23	67	No	No
Kerala	17	4	29	56	Yes	Yes
Maharashtra	18	4	19	55	No	No
M.P.	9	2	14	70	Yes	No
Orissa	10	2	22	40	Yes	No
Punjab	11	2	14	60	Yes	-
Rajasthan	13	2	6	45	Yes	Yes
T.Nadu	16	5	12	85	Yes	Yes
U.P.	11	2	10	55	Yes	-
W.B	28	7	87	50	Yes	Not Proper
Tripura	19	10	41	60	Yes	No

## Annexure-2

### MEETINGS OF THE STATE COMMITTEES

State	No. of meeting held			No. of stste perencent	Average attend. state	Duration of the submitted	Whether written vreports aare
	'91	'92	'93				
Andhra	2	3	2	58	64	1-2days	Yes
Assam	3	4	-	22	40-75	6 hrs	Yes but not regular
Bihar	2	2	2	62	25-40	1 day	Yes
Delhi	4	5	7	20	70	1 day	No
Gujarat	4	4	3	22	82	8 hrs	Yes
Haryana	7	5	5	27	56	1-2 days	No.
H.P.	4	3	2	0	40	4 hrs	No.
Karnataka	3	4	5	46	55	1 day	-
Kerala	5	3	4	117	64	1-2days	Yes but not regular
Mahara-shtra	2	2	1	78	67	2-5 hrs	Yes
M.P.	1	1	1	33	40-45	1/2 days	Yes
Orissa	5	3	2	75	30-40	1-2days	Yes
Punjab	6	4	4	58	50	-	Yes but not regular.
Rajas-than	3	5	-	46	55	-	No
T.Nadu	3	2	3	65	80	3 days	Yes
U.P.	3	3	3	31	55	1-2days	Yes but not regular.
W.B.	4	3	3	206	50	5hrs	Yes
Tripura	3	4	3	61	60	2days	Yes but not regular.

### Annexure-3

#### WORK AMONG WORKING WOMEN

State	Whether working sub-committee or co-ordination committee Formed	How Many meetings held since last CITU conference	Average attendance	Whether work is kept on the agenda of state Committee	No.of women members of state committee
Andhra	-	-	-	-	2
Assam	No	-	-	-	-
Bihar	Yes	-	-	-	2
Delhi	-	-	-	-	NA
Gujaraat	Yes	-	-	-	1
Goa	-	-	-	-	-
haryana	Yes	2	10	Yes	-
H.P.	-	-	-	-	-
Karnataka	Yes	2	10	No	5
Kerala	Yes	4	25	Yes	8
Maharashtra	Yes	9	NA	No	3
M.P.	Yes	1	2	No	3
Orissa	Yes	NA	NA	Yes	7
Punjab	Yes	2	50%	No	-
Rajasthan	Yes	-	-	No	1
T.Nadu	Yes	4	12 (24)	Yes	3
U.P.	No	-	-	-	1
W.Bengal	Yes	14	85%	Yes	10
Tripura	Yes	NA	NA	Yes	4

## Annexure-4

### STATEMENT ON CIRCULATION OF CITU JOURNALS

sl.	Name of the Journal	Circulation year-wise			Whether Running in loss or not.
		1990	1991	1992	
1.	The Working Class	4300	4400	4750	At par
2.	CITU Mazdoor (H)	2800	2800	2900	At par
3.	The Voice of The Working Women(E)	1500	1200	900	In loss
4.	Kamkaji Mahila(H)	1800	1200	600	In Heavy Loss
5.	CITU Sandesan (Malayalam)	3000	3000	5000	No loss
6.	Karmika Lokam (Telugu)	9400		7600 Jan 6560Sept.	No loss
7.	CITU Sandesha (Kannada)			1000	In loss
8.	Shramika Ekta (Oriya)		1500	1500	In loss
9.	CITU Sethi	14000	11500	10500	No loss
10.	Shramik Andolan (Bengali)	9400	9800	10000	No loss
11.	Punjab		5000	5000	No loss
12.	CITU Bihar			2000	-