



TENTH CONFERENCE

DOCUMENTS

A CITU PUBLICATION

FOREWARD

CONTENTS

This compilation consists of all the documents of the tenth conference of Centre of Indian Trade Unions held on 27th-31st December 2000 at Hyderabad, except the papers discussed by discussion in Commissions held during the conference. The documents have been published in a separate booklet titled,

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The documents compiled in this booklet outlined the outlook of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions in respect of important developments in the national socio-political and economic scenario including appraisal of activities in the intervening period since the 9th conference of CITU with a focus on future tasks. These documents have been deliberated in detail by the delegates at the conference. In the Report of the General Secretary the suggestions and amendments by the delegates as adopted by the conference have been incorporated. Needless to state these documents are intended for discussion at every level of the CITU organisations.

We trust that the affiliate unions and committees of CITU will also discuss these documents and translated the draft papers presented to the Conference in vernacular for the benefit of their delegates. It is recommended that all the State Commissions and Committees of CITU should disseminate these documents in their respective areas. The policy of the CITU should have a wide reach among the workers and trade union activists all over the country.

General Secretary
CITU

FOREWARD

This compilation consists of all the documents of the tenth conference of Centre of Indian Trade Unions held on 27th-31st December 2000 at Hyderabad, except the papers finalised by discussion in Commissions held during the conference. Those papers have been published in a separate booklet titled, 'CITU Policy Papers'.

The documents compiled in this booklet outlined the outlook and approach of CITU in respect of important developments in the international and national socio-political and economic scenario including appraisal of activities in the intervening period since the 9th conference of CITU with a focus on future tasks. These documents have been deliberated in detail by the delegates and adopted by the conference. In the Report of the General Secretary the suggestions and amendments by the delegates as adopted by the conference have been incorporated. Needless to state, these documents are intended for further in-depth study and discussion at every level of the CITU organisation.

We trust that the affiliate unions and committees of CITU will benefit from this publication. Many State Committees of CITU took keen interest on these issues and translated the draft papers presented to the Conference in vernacular for the benefit of their delegates. It is recommended that all the State Committees plan to publish these documents, in their final form, in their local languages, so that the policy of the CITU can have a wider reach among the workers and trade union activists all over the country.

1st May, 2001

M.K.Pandhe
General Secretary
CITU

WELCOME ADDRESS

Comrade President,
Delegates to the Tenth Conference of the CITU,
Distinguished Guests from the international fraternity,
Leaders of fraternal Trade unions and Mass Organisations,
Friends and Comrades,

It is with great pleasure that I, on behalf of the Reception Committee, extend a warm and hearty welcome to you all. I welcome the architects and builders of C.I.T.U. who have braved many odds and built this militant organisation. I also welcome those heroes who have gone through the nightmare of emergency, survived it, nourished the organisation and made it what it is today. I welcome the thousands of indomitable young persons who are daily sprouting and jumping into activity. I warmly welcome the guests from abroad who today are in the forefront in the struggle against hegemonism, globalisation and liberalisation. I welcome the battle-steeled workers and activists who, in their millions, are upholding the banner of working class unity and struggle.

Andhra Pradesh is mainly an agrarian state and its industrialisation is of post-independence period. They have great traditions of anti-imperialism and struggle. In the "non-co-operation" movement of 1921, many youths inspired by the call of the country left their colleges and schools and joined the movement. Our national hero, Alluru Sreeramaraju, took a step further and waged a war for independence from 1921 to 1925, in which many hundreds were killed by the British military. In post-independence period also their contribution to the country

is not little. The question of abolition of feudalism and significant land to the tiller was first raised by them and the great Telangana armed peasant revolt, in which more than four thousands have sacrificed their lives, showed clearly how this system could be abolished.

Today it still remains the basic problem haunting the country. Again, it is the Andhras that raised the slogan of formation of linguistic states and the abolition of feudal states. They fought for it and achieved Andhra Pradesh State and abolition of the rule by the Nizam. This had unleashed a wave of struggles, which ultimately led to the reorganisation of India on a federal basis with the States organised on linguistic platform. When the waters of river Krishna was sought to be taken out to serve the needs of other regions the entire state rose as one man waged a bitter campaign and ultimately achieved Nagarjuna sagar project. All these achievements were secured after bitter and prolonged struggles and sacrifices. The movement to have Visakhapatnam Steel Plant also remains a land mark in its history.

In the recent period also, many struggles of the working class were waged often leading to immense sacrifices. Jute workers, Cement Workers, Tobacco Workers and Nellore Trade Union leaders have made supreme sacrifice in defending the interests of the working class. Two months ago, in the struggle against the hike in power tariff, three valuable comrades, including the leader of State Rajaka Sangham, were killed in brutal police firing. It is these martyrs and their martyrdom that fostered the organisation and steered it. CITU can take legitimate pride in contributing a major share in all these struggles.

In the field of social and literary reforms Andhras are in the front ranks. A giant among men, Kandukuri Veeresalingam, did yeoman service to social reform and the movement that he had launched for widow marriages, inter-caste marriages, anti-dowry marriages, harijana uplift is now being carried on by millions. Gurajada Apparao, a stalwart in literature had written the unique patriotic poem DESABHAKTI GEETAM, which permeates universal brotherhood and love. His drama, KANYA

SULKAM, is unsurpassed and it preaches all social reforms that Veeresalingam fought for. Gidugu Ramamoorthy had advocated for spoken Telugu, and against bitter feud, carried on the struggle which ultimately led the government and the Universities to adopt the spoken language.

Above all, the contribution made by comrade Sundarayya is everlasting. He had initiated and instituted the system of whole-timers in the organisation. He had donated all his property - he came from a landlord family - to the organisation and worked as a whole-timer with a meagre wage percept. This was copied by hundreds and thousands of workers in organisations, both political and popular and has become the sheet anchor of any organisation today.

Today we are carrying forward the banner of patriotism which our forefathers have bequeathed to us. The ruling classes are slowly surrendering our precious freedom sovereignty and national integrity at the dictates of American imperialists, and its hand-maids the World Bank, IMF and the WTO. If the struggle for freedom was a patriotic duty in the previous period the duty to defend it is the patriotic duty of today. I hope this conference will give us guidance in this sacred duty of fighting imperialist menace.

I, on behalf of the Reception Committee, once more extend warm welcome to you all.

Many shortcomings may be there and I earnestly request you to bring them to the notice of the reception committee and concentrate on the proceedings of the conference.

N.PRASADA RAO

Chairman

Reception Committee

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Distinguished guests, Comrade delegates and Friends,

Let me greet all of you present here in this inaugural session of the Tenth all India Conference of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions, which is being held in this famous city Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh.

This conference is being held at a time the world capitalist economy, despite claims of boom, is at present faced with a slow down, which according to many economic pandits will burst into another serious crisis. For example, Paul Krugman - a famous US economist - has said in his article 'The Return of Depression Economics': "the underlying problems generating instability have not gone away, and that we may be simply waiting for the third act of a three-act play, the first in Mexico in 1995, the second in Asia in 1997 and 1998, and the third yet to occur. Perhaps this third has already begun. For, the real third act in these events may not be an economic one (which is surely to come) but resurgence of a social revolt". (Monthly Review)

The imperialist driven economic policies pushed through by the IMF-World Bank-WTO trio has resulted in concentration of wealth in a miniscule minority, mainly the transnational corporations based in imperialist countries - especially the United States, while adversely affecting 80% of the world's population. Unmindful of these developments, the Govt. of India is engaged in implementing the structural adjustment programme dictated by the World Bank and IMF. Privatising Govt. owned enterprises, including the financial sector and services, slashing of Govt. spending, promoting export oriented economy, liberalizing trade and investment, reducing subsidies

on fertilizers, eliminating subsidies on consumer items such as food, fuel, medicines, scaling down of tax rates etc. are vigorously pursued. These measures are facilitating the domination of our economy by the foreign multinational capital, endangering the hard-earned freedom of our motherland. The ruinous effects of these policies are affecting not only the working class as a whole, but also the peasantry in a serious way - forcing many of them to commit suicide in different parts of the country.

The trade unions of the country today are in ferment. Protest strikes in different industries, which are being privatised, are on the increase. Though it is a welcome feature, they are not adequate to reverse the Government's policies. However, the mood of the working class has transformed into taking up the challenge, through unified serious actions.

The Indian economy is showing symptoms of slow growth affecting all sectors. The foreign exchange liability is on the increase, because of adverse trade balance. The rising oil prices and continuously depreciating rupee value is further aggravating the situation. According to Prabhat Patnaik: "the country is leading to a debt trap. On 31st March 1999, the total liability of the Central Government was Rs.10,12,486 crore, which constitutes 57.44% of the GDP. From 1994-95 onwards, the total inflow was not sufficient to meet the repayment liability of principal and interest, which forced the Government into fresh borrowing to meet this commitment. The repayment liability for the period April - August,2000 stands at 3.5 billion dollars and that the new three billion dollar loan promised by the World Bank will be exclusively required for servicing the previous loans and thus we are in a debt trap".

The Finance Minister is still boasting that by the end of the year the economy will be on the rails; but nobody, including his own admirers, takes this seriously.

The Indian monopoly houses are vocal in demanding that the Government should take speedy measures to implement the second generation of the structural reforms. They demand that

the process of disinvestment should be speeded up; all subsidies to be slashed; all the laws that restrict free play of foreign capital are to be removed; immediate liberalisation of labour laws to scuttle the labour resistance, etc. The only concern for them seems to be the grabbing of the wealth of the public sector in partnership with multinational capital. They are the least worried about the serious consequences of it on our own industrial development, the difficulties being faced by the entire small scale sector, besides the impact on the peasantry, the working class and large majority of the Indian population.

The aggressive communal agenda, being pursued by the BJP Government, dividing the people on the basis of religious beliefs, is weakening the unity of the country. The secular democratic foundation of our Constitution is also in danger. The country never faced such a serious situation since independence. The working class of the country should take serious note of it, which cuts at the very root of working class unity.

The General Secretary, in his report, will deal with the gravity of the situation in detail and the responsibility to be shouldered by the working class. Therefore, I shall confine myself to briefly draw your attention to the results of the globalised capitalist economy at work and the nature of imperialist offensive.

THE U.S. MILITARY HEGEMONY

It is well known that the American imperialism has, after dismantling of the Soviet Union, assumed the role of single super power. They are out to strengthen their global strategic military build up, ignoring even the concerns of their own NATO allies and of those countries, which were otherwise co-operating with them.

The expansion of NATO, by bringing more countries under its umbrella, was done by the US in haste, without proper prior consultation with its other partners. They attacked Yugoslavia, without UN sanction, which is a must according to the existing international legal framework. This shows that they have no regard for the United Nations and the international law. They

consider themselves above everything possessing "a sovereignty that overrides the sovereignty of other countries". This is reflected in their attempt to make laws, which applies to the other sovereign countries beyond their territory. For example, the notorious "Helms-Burton law", used for tightening the blockade regulations against Cuba. The latest is a new law "Justice for Victims of Terrorism Act", which enables the US Government to seize the assets of any country that they target. Based on this, an U.S. Court recently decreed that Cuban assets amounting to US\$ 58 million be seized and paid to the dependents of those who have been killed during the American aided attack against Cuba, by the so called "Cuban Americans" in February, 1996. This provoked huge protests in Havana. The increasing public outcry, the world over, for the revocation of US blockade - including the UN resolutions - is not only ignored but the US is also adopting further crude methods of attacks.

America now strides over the world like a colossus with its vast military power. It accounts for about one third of the world's military spending, which no other country in the world can afford. They are keeping hundreds of military bases all over the world, continuously replenishing them with modern weapons and additional forces. One of which is "Diego-garcia", targeted against the Indian sub-continent. They have now embarked upon a scheme of a "national missile defence system" claimed to be for protecting the continental interests of the United States, from the attacks by the "rogue states", such as North Korea, Iraq and Iran. Already 80 billion dollars have been spent for this project and an estimated 60 billion more is necessary to complete it, though its technical feasibility and effectiveness is still under question.

This ignores the 1972 anti ballistic missile treaty between United States and Soviet Union. That the weak North Korea, the war torn Iraq & Iran will venture a missile attack against the mighty United States looks patently absurd. However, the United States is proceeding with its National Missile Defence Programme, which will automatically provoke yet another race for missile defence by the other countries and the world's space will become a theater for military exercises. Opposition against

this is on the increase, in which the United States is almost isolated, barring only a few pliant states.

Many countries of Europe are also not clear about the continued existence of NATO, as they do not visualise the possibility of any imminent threat from Russia in the near future. Hence they do not see any role that NATO has to play. Though it helps to keep their own military budgets low, it has a restraining influence on their own independence. That is why the European Union has adopted a programme to create their own rapid action force comprising 60,000 men, in order to assert their independence. The US authorities and many others are suspicious about this move by the European Union. The British economist dated 18th Nov. 2000 said that "the European Union's military plan still needed some crucial steps, if Europe and America are to avoid an unwanted crisis and advised the European leaders "to resist being rushed into a separate defence" system.

The policy being pursued by Washington in West Asia to subserve "American interests" is not to the liking of Paris, London, Berlin and Madrid. Many NATO members have reservations about the US Policy on Arab- Israeli conflict and the policy towards the other Islamic countries of the world. They prefer "diplomacy and integration" in dealing with Russia and China. The theory of "rogue states" and the proposed National Missile Defence Programme are not to their liking, though many of them are not vocal. France is the strong opponent of these policies, airing its views openly.

Washington considers NATO as part of a vast and integrated international security system under their leadership. Gulf Oil, Central Asia and its resources, Russia still remaining a military power, China's emergence as a developing power in the geopolitical scene, the Koreas, the future role of Japan and the Arab-Israeli conflicts etc., are their priority concerns related to ensuring their hegemony over the world.

In this framework, they want to rope in all the countries of the world through diplomacy, coercion or by force. In this scheme, they give importance to India - the second biggest country in

the world, next only to China. They are cleverly using the Indo-Pakistan conflict and India's nuclear tests etc., with this objective. The Vajpayee Government has almost fallen into this trap, in their opposition to Pakistan on the question of Kashmir and the boundary dispute with China. The World Bank dictated financial lever is also being used to pressurise India to be in line with the U.S. strategic objectives. However, it is to be noted that India has expressed its reservation against the National Missile Defence Programme.

In West Asia, the conflict between Palestine and Israel is on the brink of a war. Daily clashes are taking place and Israeli forces are killing dozens of people. Though Clinton administration is posing as a mediator trying to find a solution to the problem, the fact remains that the arrogance of Israeli rulers is arising from the US support. The United States does not unequivocally approve the right of Palestine people for their homeland, but is limited within the Israeli prescriptions.

The US still insists to continue the blockade against Iraq, though the war was over long before. Iraqi people are put to untold hardships by the blockade; they are denied food, medicine, and all the basic necessities of life. Many countries are opposing this inhuman blockade and have started dealing with Iraq. Yet, the American writ is still at large.

Though the imperialist collective is acting in unison on many issues, reservations and resentment are on the rise. Many of them are realising the danger of the American policy to dominate the world through their increasing military might, their attempt to militarise space, which will pave the way for an arms race and will jeopardise human development. Above all, it is a threat to freedom, democracy and the sovereignty of nations.

As already noted, many countries of the world, including many of those who are in the NATO alliance, besides Russia and China, as well as large sections of the democratic minded people the world over, are openly coming out against the US hegemony over the world, in many cases. Therefore, we must make the working class of our country aware of the nature of

this imperialist offensive and they must be prepared to launch a broad democratic movement against the U.S. imperialism. In this, the CITU should be in the forefront.

WORLD CAPITALISM AT WORK: THE DISTURBING FEATURES

Comrades,

I do not wish to take your time to explain the present world capitalist economic development as a whole - the crisis of over-production, the sluggish growth, the unequal trade and trade wars etc., but will confine myself to bring to your notice certain disturbing features.

The UNCTAD 'World Investment Outlook' has brought out the details of operation of the Transnational Corporations in the world through FDI, mergers and acquisitions, which are the driving force of world capitalist economy today. According to the report, 63,000 Transnational Corporations are working world-wide with 6,90,000 affiliates. Out of these, the largest ones are based almost exclusively in the developed countries. They are the main leaders of global manufacturing activity. The globalisation is at work through FDI and in particular 'inter regional cross-border mergers'. The growth of TNCs since 1980's has been dramatic. The global FDI flow stood at 865 billion in 1999 and the WTO expects it to reach to \$1 trillion by 2000. Today the global FDI growth constitutes 14% of the capital formation around the world. The FDI growth in the global economy has mostly been directed to the developed world. It reached 865 billion dollars in 1999, of which the share of developed countries was \$ 636 billion, i.e. about three fourth of the total. The share of the United States alone was nearly one-third - 276 billion dollars - mainly driven by mergers and acquisitions. The mergers and acquisitions activity of the United States is stated to be about 233 billion dollars, one-fourth of it was deployed in foreign buy-outs in 1999, valued at 112 billion dollars. According to the WTO, the MNCs will be the gainers from the globalisation, while the small and medium enterprises in the developing countries are affected adversely.

From this it is evident that the MNCs driven world capitalist economy is more for the benefit of the developed countries, especially the United States, than for others. As we have noted earlier, the World Bank-IMF-WTO trio dictated policies of globalisation, structural reforms, trade & investment policies etc., are the instruments for subjugating the third world by the developed world, especially by the United States. The tremendous volume of finance capital, at the disposal of the monopoly Transnational Corporations, is doing millions of transactions per day. The modern information technology (IT) is also, in the final analysis, helping the very same process. The World Bank analysis itself brings to light the devastating effects of present day capitalistic development.

THE DEVELOPING INEQUALITY AND POVERTY

The total wealth produced, through production and services, in 1999 is estimated to be 41 trillion dollars, of which 45% was the share of the developed countries, where the total population is only 14%. More than 100 countries of the world are now economically poorer than they were 15 years ago. The big capitalists who pocket the lions share of the wealth are the Transnational Corporate giants - mainly based in United States. The combined assets of the 358 billionaires in the world is greater than the total annual income of 45% of the world's population, i.e., 230 crores. The wealth of three among them is equal to the total national income of 16 less developed countries. The third-world countries are the losers. The African and Latin American countries are the worst hit. Near famine conditions prevail in many of them.

The World Bank Report (2000-2001) on poverty, stated that out of the world's population of 600 crores, 280 crores, i.e. almost 50%, are living on less than 2 dollars a day and 120 crores on less than a dollar.

The "jobless growth" model, at work in the developed countries, has drastically reduced the complement of work force and unemployment rate is all time high. Official data provided about this is not giving the correct picture. The OECD average of

unemployment is well above 8%. Reduction of wages and welfare amenities, curtailing of trade union rights etc. has become the order of the day. People living below the poverty line in the developing countries are also on the increase.

Though economic growth is high in the USA, it is not reflected in the workers' income. Their real wages have not shown any improvement in the last one-decade, while salaries and incomes of the Chief Executives and the billionaires are booming to sky-high levels. A recent study published in the United States titled "The Economic Apartheid in America", highlights the economic boom of 1990s and a visible decline of amenities and income for the organised labour and large sections of the people. It points out that the United States is the only industrialised nation that "views health care as a privilege and not as a basic right". According to the report, 44 million US citizens currently do not have health insurance. The unemployment rate is around 4 percent. The number of uninsured non-elderly US residents is growing by 1 million a year and will reach 47 million by 2005 - equal to 1/5th of citizens under 65 years. About 90% of the earnings from the growth of the US share market goes to the top 10% households, while the real wages of the workers is presently less than during the period of Richard Nixon, who was the President in 1970s.

The World Labour Report 2000, published by the ILO, is a serious indictment of the economic policies implemented by the national Governments, under the dictates of the World Bank and IMF. The report says that of the 150 million people, who are unemployed in the world, 75% do not have any form of unemployment protection. The number of people living in extreme poverty has increased by 200 million in just last five years. 850 million people work less than they want and are earning less than a living wage. In almost all the OECD countries, the protection provided by unemployment benefit is taken away by tightening eligibility rules and reducing duration. Poverty is the major factor driving 250 million children to the labour market.

I do not wish to further elaborate the working of capitalist system

and the effects of it on the people at large, especially the working class. The pernicious system of capitalism cannot ensure human development and dignity even with the technological advancement.

A DIFFERENT SCENARIO

The scenario in the People's Republic of China is different. During the last two decades, the per capita income in China in real terms increased four times. The annual growth rate has been above 10%, which is more than any other country in the world. Some US economists estimate that China will overtake the United States, with the present rate of economic growth in per capita income, in three decades. This idea itself is a jolt to those who talk of superiority of the capital system.

Another shining example is the small country of Cuba. In spite of the heinous blockade against Cuba by the United States, Cuba is upholding socialism with marvelous determination. Com. Fidel Castro, the tallest living revolutionary of our times, has succeeded in mobilising tremendous public opinion against the US blockade, including among the people of America. As I have noted, the American imperialism is persisting with its heinous measures against Cuba.

THE DEVELOPING RESISTANCE

Big resistance against the system is developing everywhere in different ways, in which the role of the working class is on the increase. The conservative trade unions in the developed countries too are being drawn into big strike struggles.

Big protest demonstrations during the meetings of the WTO, IMF and World Bank forced them to pack up before completing the agenda. 50,000 protestors from different parts of the world blocked the ministerial meeting of the WTO held in Seattle, USA, from 27th Nov. to 3rd Dec. 1999. The huge police protection provided could not stall the protestors and finally the meeting ended without transacting any serious business. 30,000 protestors rallied against the meeting of the IMF and World

Bank, held in Washington DC on 16th and 17th of April 2000. The same was the story in Thailand, Melbourne, Prague etc., where the official meetings of World Bank and IMF and other connected organisations were conducted. Protest demonstrations are planned in advance for the ensuing meetings of these organisations too. The trade unions, human right activists, environmentalists, students and intellectuals are taking part in these protests. Workers contingent in these protests is on the increase. These protests had attracted world attention about the heinous role played by World Bank, IMF and WTO. These are described as the result of the general disenchantment developing against the capitalist system itself. 'Down with World Bank, IMF & WTO' is the common slogan raised in these protests.

A 13 days general strike, against the privatisation of the public water supply system, forced the Government of Bolivia to cancel privatisation and the American and British companies had to pack up. The protests against oil price hike by truckers and farmers in France, Britain and Europe as a whole are shining examples of increasing resistance. They wanted the Government to reduce taxes on fuel so as to lower the prices. The French and Italian Governments had to yield to the demands of the agitating farmers and truckers.

The AFL-CIO in the United States is also being drawn into serious struggles against closures and downsizing of industries. About 10,000 Korean workers had a strike against electricity privatisation. In different countries, small and big, developing as well as under developing, protest strike actions are developing against curtailing of privileges enjoyed by the workers, which I do not wish to list here. In sum, the mood of the workers is changing, though slowly.

THE IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

However, we have to take note of the fact that large contingents of the world working class are not yet moving consciously against the imperialist led economic policies and its disastrous consequences. They are, by and large, under the capitalist

ideological influence, which is spread through thousand and one ways, including superstitious beliefs. Now, new theoretical propositions are brought forth about the inevitability of the present day capitalism, especially after the set-back to socialism in the Soviet Union and the East Europe. The revolutionary role of the working class is negated and the theory of Marxism is held to be no longer valid.

Let me quote a small para from the editor's comment in Labour monthly, July-August 2000 issue:

"The uncritical acceptance of the notion that the globalisation as an entity in itself is somehow the underlying force now transforming the world is appearing everywhere, even among the left. This idea carries with it certain built-in assumptions: (1) "There is no alternative to the present world economic order - or in other words, capitalism itself (as distinguished from globalisation) is no longer in question, and socialism no longer a possibility"; (2) "The global economic landscape is a constellation formed primarily by multinational corporations, international finance, and a few international economic institutions such as the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank"; (3) "The only real oppositional force is a collection of non-Governmental organisations that represent global civil society"; and (4) "The goal is to reverse neoliberal policy and make corporations and the key international economic institutions more democratic and responsive to human rights".

These prescriptions are widely propagated consciously so that the role of the working class for social change through class struggle is minimised and the struggle for socialism is weakened. Many trade union leaders are brought around this idea of viewing the corporations and international institutions as being 'more democratic and responsive to human rights' and giving up the idea of fight against capitalism. This is not only applicable to the trade union leaders abroad but it is also true about many of the trade union leaders in our country. This imperialist inspired ideology, which is disarming and derailing the working class, is propagated by many Government financed Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and others. Therefore,

the fight against these ideological offensives assumes paramount importance. The CITU should shoulder the responsibility of educating the working class in this regard, as a priority job using all our strength.

DEVELOPING CRISIS IN OUR COUNTRY

The General Secretary's report covers our total experience during the implementation of the World Bank dictated policies by the successive Governments and its latest phase. Frantic attempt to privatise the whole of the public sector, including all those having vital strategic importance, as part of the second generation of reforms, financial institutions, telecommunication, energy sector comprising electricity, coal and oil, basic engineering industries, Indian Airlines, Air India, Port & Dock, railways etc. are sought to be handed over to the foreign and Indian monopoly capital at throw away prices. This can only be termed as a speedy recolonisation of India.

The unrestricted import of industrial and agricultural products is causing its ruinous impact on industry in general and the small-scale sector in particular. The crash in the prices of agricultural products due to unrestricted imports is the greatest danger being faced by the country now. This will totally destroy our food security and lead to pauperisation of our peasantry. Such a serious crisis had never before been experienced by the country since independence.

The workers in different industries are moving unitedly to face this offensive through industrial actions, which is spreading slowly, but concerted and effective joint actions are still lacking.

The peasantry throughout the country is moving ahead to oppose these policies of the Government. The small-scale industrialists throughout the country are in a fighting spirit against these policies. The unemployed youth, finding no opening or opportunity for getting employment, are in great distress. The Government's policy of downsizing and the ban on recruitment, besides large scale closing down of industries, is aggravating the situation of unemployment. This is creating a situation,

forcing the unemployed to resist the policies with their total might. Thus, a new situation is developing in the country, leading to a total united assault against the World Bank dictated policies of the Government of India. The CITU must take all necessary steps to unify all sections in this fight.

Comrades,

I need not emphasise the importance of this to you since you are already engaged in this job. However, I am constrained to point out that whatever we have done in this direction is quite inadequate. We have to make an all-out effort to unify the workers and the peasantry, together with all other sections for a determined battle to reverse these policies of the Government.

All the trade union leaders, to whichever organisation they belong, whatever politics they pursue, must be apprised of the danger faced by the working class and the nation as a whole. This requires their immediate coming together giving up all the reservations. Therefore, comrades, we must pledge ourselves to undertake this job, mustering all our strength.

Comrades,

Before I conclude I wish to draw your serious attention to the greatest danger being faced by the country. The aggressive Hindu Communalism, which was being pushed through by the BJP and the RSS, is now coming to a new turn using their Governmental positions. The Prime Minister, Vajpayee, has now openly come out for the construction of Ram temple at the disputed site at Ayodhya, where the Babri Mazjid was demolished 8 years ago. The Prime Minister's refusal to take action against the Ministers, who face charge sheets for their involvement in Babri-Mazjid demolition. The Prime Minister's statement in this regard was contrary to the facts and the findings of the CBI and of the Courts. It is, therefore, clear that he is trying to push through the RSS agenda using the Governmental lever. The Constitutional protection, provided for to the religious minorities and for their religious beliefs, is sought to be tampered with, which will cut the very root of Indian unity. Therefore, the

Working class of the country should be mobilised against these dangerous policies of the Vajpayee Government in implementing the RSS agenda.

Let me remind you once again, the goal of CITU is to unify our class for intensifying the class struggle, which is a task yet to be realised. Comrades, we, therefore, have to pledge ourselves that we will try our best to unify the class and to further strengthen the CITU, within the shortest time frame possible.

Thank you,
E BALANANDAN

Dear Comrades,

1.1 Since the 5th Conference of the CITU held at Ernakulam (Kochi) in April 1987, several important developments in national and international arena have taken place, which have long-term significance for the working class and the people of India. A proper assessment of these developments is imperative for us to chalk out guidelines for our future activities.

1.2 At the subject of this conference, we have paid homage to martyrs and departed leaders whose contribution to the social progress will continue to inspire us in our activities. We have already pledged to carry forward the unfinished tasks that they left for us to complete.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

*(Adopted by the Tenth Conference
of CITU, Hyderabad, 27-31 December 2000)*

Dear Comrades,

1.1 Since the 9th Conference of the CITU held at Ernakulam (Kochi) in April 1997, several important developments in national and international arena have taken place, which have long-term significance for the working class and the people of India. A proper assessment of these developments is imperative for us to chalk out guidelines for our future activities.

1.2 At the outset of this conference, we have paid homage to martyrs and departed leaders whose contribution to the social progress will continue to inspire us in our activities. We have already pledged to carry forward the unfinished tasks that they left for us to complete.

1.3 Our President, Com. E. Balanandan, in his address has already covered, in brief, the international developments and I need not repeat them in my report. I, therefore, propose to deal with the national developments during the last 3 years, so that we can pool our collective experience and evolve common understanding on these developments.

2.THE NATIONAL SCENE

2.1 As noted at the outset, the period since the 9th Conference of the CITU is marked by fast changing political events. The Government at the Centre has changed four times and the country witnessed two general elections to the Lok Sabha. The country was at war with the neighbouring Pakistan in the Kargil sector and the tension is brewing still. Instability has marked governance at the centre as well as in many of the States. The communal and divisive forces have intensified their machinations against people's unity and integration of the country. The situation has thrown up many a challenging task before the working class of our country.

2.2 The Congress Party headed by Sitaram Kesri withdrew its support to Deve Gowda Government nurturing ambitions of forming a Government led by Congress. When it did not click, the Congress President changed his tunes and insisted on a change of Prime Minister. The UF constituents, which were part of the Government, were left with no alternative but to abide by the Congress dictates and had to install I.K. Gujral as the Prime Minister.

2.3 But the Gujral Government also was later toppled by the Congress, which demanded ouster of DMK Ministers from the Cabinet, under a spurious plea of that party being indicted by the Jain Commission on Rajiv Gandhi assassination. This time, the UF constituents decided not to succumb to the blackmail of the Congress Party. With no chance for any alternative government being formed at the centre, the country was once again plunged into another nationwide electoral battle in 1998.

2.4 In the 1998 elections, three combinations - the UF, one led

by Congress and another led by BJP - sought the people's verdict. Unfortunately, the UF faced desertions in its camp and also splitting of votes by cross-contests. Besides, the continued pursuit of disastrous economic policies of the earlier Narasimha Rao regime by the U.F Government had alienated it from the people.

2.5 The BJP resorted to all possible opportunist and dubious means, pushing temporarily under the carpet its rabid hindutva agenda and cooked up an amorphous alliance. Sections of big bourgeoisie and MNCs backed the BJP in the electoral battle. The Congress could not pick up even the morale to put up a live contest, but it roped in Sonia Gandhi later in the campaign to boost up its chances without much success. As a result, the BJP emerged as the single largest party and cobbled up a motley coalition of eighteen parties. Vajpayee formed the Government and managed to survive in office with the support extended by the Telugu Desam Party of Chandrababu Naidu from outside.

2.6 Though the BJP led Government was swearing by the 'National Agenda for Governance put out on behalf of its coalition, the BJP ministers did everything to push through the saffron agenda surreptitiously. The outfits of 'Sangh Parivar' stepped up their attacks against minorities and even resorted to cultural terrorism.

2.7 The nuclear misadventure in Pokhran by the BJP Government in resorting to blasts and announcing nuclear weaponisation, with the narrow jingoism resorted to by them, breached decades as long stand of non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament pursued by India. Haunted by the sanctions imposed by the USA and its allies, the BJP Government started to bend backwards to win their favour, through several compromises with the imperialist forces at the cost of national interests.

2.8 Despite all its gimmicks, the disastrous economic policies pursued with vehemence by the BJP coalition, led the people to serious disenchantment. The BJP faced a worse defeat in

the elections to the four state assemblies of Delhi, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Mizoram in the same year.

2.9 The Vajpayee Government was facing intermittent turmoil from the coalition partners of the BJP. Things came to a flash point when the second largest party in the coalition, the AIADMK, withdrew its support.

2.10 Despite all out efforts by the BJP to win the confidence vote in Lok Sabha resorting to every foul means, the Vajpayee Government fell after 13 months of misrule.

2.11 The Lok Sabha had to be dissolved as no alternative Government could be formed, due to the refusal of the Congress Party to either accept coalition governance or support a Government by the third front. Another electoral battle became inevitable in 1999 itself.

2.12 In the run up to the 1999 elections, the attempt by Pakistan to push forward and militarily back up the terrorist infiltrators in the Kargil sector, blew up as a full scale conflict. Kargil was on one side a glorious chapter written by our armed forces with the blood of martyrs - on the other, it spoke volumes of the inept, incompetent handling, bordering to irresponsibility by the BJP Government.

2.13 But, the Kargil euphoria was was fully capitalised by the BJP in the election campaign, which was financed heavily by the Indian big business, MNCs, landlords and trading community. BJP succeeded in roping in parties like the DMK, TDP and National Conference in its 24 party National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in a bid to somehow return to power.

2.14 The election result witnessed the BJP coalition returning to power, even as the BJP itself could not gain much by way of number of seats in Lok Sabha. The Congress Party, which set its face against coalition governance and harped on return to one party rule only by 'itself, suffered a drastic reduction in the number of its seats, from 140 to 112 in Lok Sabha. As the congress was extending full support to the economic polices of

Vajpayee regime, people could not see it as an alternative choice. With the third front decimated, there was no viable third alternative also emerging before the people. The Left parties also were reduced in their strength, dropping from 48 to 43 seats in Lok Sabha.

2.15 The NDA Government led by the BJP has been swearing by the NDA agenda day in and day out. But the BJP Ministers holding crucial portfolios in the Vajpayee Cabinet are vigorously pushing through their communal agenda overtly and covertly. The Sangh Parivar is cashing in on the favourable atmosphere created by the presence of Vajpayee Government and is whipping up religious passions, resorting to barbarous attacks against the minorities.

2.16 The RSS, with its political arm viz. the BJP in the Government, is adopting a tactics of running with the hare and hunting with the hound. While the new President of BJP, Bangaru Laxman, is making an orchestrated campaign to woo the minorities and dalits, the RSS has exhibited the most disturbing aggressiveness against these very same sections. RSS chief Sudharshan's proposal for a 'Swadeshi' church and call to muslims to join the national mainstream by respecting and recognising their Hindu cultural roots, points to the insidious game being played by the Sangh Parivar.

2.17 Atal Behari Vajpayee, the mascot of the Sangh Parivar, speaking at the gathering of Hindutva activists in Staten Island during his visit to the US, asserted that he was a Swaymsevaka as ever before. He also said without mincing words that if the BJP got two third majority on its own, they would build the India of their dreams i.e. a Hindu State.

2.18 L.K. Advani, Home Minister in Vajpayee Cabinet and the trusted one of the Sangh Parivar, affirmed the loyalty of BJP to the RSS. He reasserted that the BJP had come into existence, as they were asked to cut off their relations with the RSS, while being part of the Janata Party in late seventies. ———

2.19 The non-BJP partners in the NDA - some of whom had

joined the alliance in the hope that the BJP would not allow the RSS to dictate the agenda of the Government - must be feeling dismayed. But, their lust to stick on to seats of power at the Centre has rendered them blind, not to see the true colour of the BJP.

2.20 The BJP imposed Article 356 in Bihar, only to retract its move, on the sane advise of the President. The BJP is never tired of talking of imposing President's rule in West Bengal, on a spurious plea of breakdown of law and order, if only the Congress was willing to oblige them. This outlook is an affront to the federal structure of Indian Polity. Yet the regional parties in the NDA are not expressing any concern.

2.21 The NDA Government has doggedly been pursuing a hostile attitude towards the Left led Governments, in the three States of Kerala, West Bengal and Tripura. It refused to heed the repeated requests for sending army reinforcements, to help the Left Front Government of Tripura to deal with the terrorist insurgency there. On the contrary, it had reduced the complement of armed forces, stationed there during the tenure of earlier Governments. It is shocking that the BJP Government has allowed its ant-Left prejudices to override even the country's security interests.

2.22 The BJP led NDA Government at the Centre has been blinded so much by partisan considerations that it has refused to provide the much needed relief and financial assistance to the State of West Bengal, affected by the worst calamity due to the recent floods this year.

2.23 The NDA Government had also gone ahead with its proposal to review the Indian constitution - again disregarding the sage advice of the President. Despite assertions to the contrary, the BJP leadership nurtures inner ambitions of tinkering with the basic structure of our constitution.

2.24 Though the Vajpayee regime is trying to show off as distancing itself from the Hindutva protagonists, its practice exposes its true design. The endorsement of Vajpayee

Government of the stand of the erstwhile BJP-Shiv Sena Government in Maharashtra on Sri Krishna Commission report, the kneeling down by the Home Minister before the Shiv Sena supremo when the cricket pitch in Delhi was dug up in opposing the match with Pakistan team, the clean chit given to Bajrang Dal in the murder of Christian Missionary Staines and his sons, the call for a national debate on conversion by Vajpayee after visiting the churches ransacked in Gujarat, sustained efforts to saffronise every institution under the Central Government - are all pointers to the ghastly wounds inflicted on the secular fabric of the country.

2.25 The BJP choosing to ride the nuclear bomb tiger, coupled with its aggressive talks of 'hot pursuit' in relation to Pakistan; Sangh Parivar proposal to trifurcate Jammu & Kashmir into a Muslim Kashmiri, Hindu Jammu and Buddhist Ladakh; stubborn refusal to consider the issue of grant of more autonomy to Kashmir as also to other States - are all damaging the prospects of return of peace in the Kashmir valley.

2.27 Despite all the bravado of 'pro-active' approach and 'hot pursuit' of cross border terrorism indulged in by the BJP hawks, the NDA Government deputed its External Affairs Minister, Jaswant Singh, to perform the most shameful act of taking along the dreaded terrorists in a special flight to Kandahar and handing them over to the hijackers of the Indian Airlines flight from Kathmandu.

2.28 On matters related to yet another neighbouring country, Sri Lanka, as well, the NDA Government has allowed its coalition partners from Tamil Nadu, the MDMK led by Vaiko and the PMK led by S. Ramadas to indulge in pro-LTTE rhetoric, which have serious consequences on our national interests.

2.29 The Vajpayee Government has manifested its keenness to be a pliable partner of the US imperialism. The visits of the US President Bill Clinton and the return visit of Vajpayee to the US, unmistakably point to the saffron surrender to imperialism.

2.30 With the active patronage extended by the BJP for the

demand for formation of smaller states, a new phase of bifurcation of existing states has begun. Three new states of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh have been carved out of UP, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. Internecine conflicts and bickering over the location of capital, inclusion or exclusion of certain areas, Chief Ministership etc, had marked the formation of these States. Simultaneously, a clamour for formation of more such smaller states have rent the air, from different regions across the country. The Government of India had not apparently given due thought to the economic viability of either the new states or the mother states. The experience of West Bengal in democratically fulfilling the aspirations of the Ghurkhas in Darjeeling, through the setting up of autonomous regional council, stands out as a distinct contrast. If the process of formation of new States is not followed up with devolution of financial resources for their fast development, it is bound to create frustration among the people with attendant consequences.

2.31 In short, the BJP led Government at the Centre poses the gravest threat to national unity and integration and it had never been so grievous before. The working class must rise to the occasion to meet this challenge and take upon itself the task of saving the country from this disastrous path.

2.32 The developments in the national arena, during the period since our last Conference, point to frequent changes in the correlation of political forces in the country. These changes are occurring in the background of the deepening economic crisis and its grievous impact on the common people, which are dealt with in the succeeding part of this report. This situation also enjoins upon the working class and the forces fighting against the economic policies and the communal offensives, to present a viable pro-people alternative before the people. Such an alternative can only emerge through sharpening of the struggle against the capitulationist economic policies and the forces of communalism, and not by any other means. This calls for determined efforts on our part to effectively link the struggle against the twin dangers and mobilise the people for a viable economic and political alternative.

3.THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

3.1 During the period under review, our country was under governance first by the United Front and then by the BJP led combine. While the UF Govt. pursued the economic policy of liberalisation, its dependence on the left parties and the intervention by the trade union movement did not allow it to proceed much on its agenda of economic liberalisation despite its frantic efforts. But the BJP's coming into power changed the situation. Despite opposition by the entire trade union movement, it started to push through the disastrous policy, more vigorously than ever before. This resulted in all round decline of the economy including deindustrialisation and expansion of the hegemony of the MNCs in the vital sectors of the economy.

3.2 The so-called second generation reforms, as frequently chanted by the Govt at the Centre, consists of a three-pronged scheme, viz., total deregulation of the financial sector and foreign trade, all out privatisation of the PSUs and complete deregulation of existing labour legislations. The above are, precisely, the basic content of the undeclared MOU between the BJP led Govt and the American lobby, arrived at during the frequent bonhomies between the BJP ministers and the officials of the US administration, both at home and abroad.

SURRENDER TO MNCs

3.3 Hence, EXIM Policy was modified frequently to usher in complete liberalisation; import restriction was withdrawn completely by removal of quantitative restrictions(QR) and drastic slashing down of custom duties. Indian Patents Act was amended to allow the foreign companies to have exclusive marketing rights of many products, which could otherwise be produced by Indian companies, and to pave the way towards doom for research and development work in India. Insurance Regulatory Authority Bill was enacted, opening the insurance sector to Indian and foreign private companies, banking sector has been targeted for gradual privatisation and the telecom and power sectors have been opened for unrestricted operation, including 100% equity holding by the foreign companies.

Foreign companies are allowed to have considerable stake in the country's airline companies. Legislation has already been made for entry of MNCs in Port and Dock operations. Similar move for privatisation of the coalmines is on the anvil.

3.4 The hectic drive for selling away the profit making Public Sector Units (PSUs) at throw away prices, primarily to the foreign companies, demonstrates the shameless servility of the BJP regime to their foreign masters in Washington. The decision to close down the sick PSUs, which could otherwise be revived by modernisation and moderate doses of investment - despite the fact that in most of the cases the cost of closure is much more than the cost of revival - has also exposed the Vajpayee Govt's anxiety to make space for the products of MNCs in the Indian market at the cost of national interests.

3.5 The Govt has been trying to argue that it was under a compulsion arising out of WTO agreement. The removal of QRs has been pre-poned by two years, despite the fact that US Govt, which is also a member of WTO, has openly declared to continue with similar restrictions in their country till 2005. Even within the framework of WTO agreement, the amendment of the Indian Patents Act could have been deferred further and if sincerely pursued, could be avoided and/or modified to a great extent for the benefit of Indian industry and Indian people. The situation can best be described by quoting one of the Ministers of the Vajpayee cabinet, Murasoli Maran, from his speech in G-15 meeting in Cairo on 15th June 2000. While commenting on the WTO agreement and its implementation he said, " We, the developing countries, met the same fate in the Uruguay round, because we knelt down. ... The result is that we...now feel the millstone around our neck."

DECLINE IN INDUSTRY AND INFRASTRUCTURE

3.6 The annualised growth-rates in all the sectors of the economy, particularly in the key sectors, during last three/four years will reveal that the country's economy has already been pushed onto the rails of decline. The industrial growth rate has slumped from 11.8% in 1995-96 to a continuously downward

journey to 6% in 1996-97, 5.9% in 1997-98 to 4% in 1998-99. In 1999-2000, the growth is estimated to be around 6.9% (Economic Survey, 1999-2000), but the figure has turned higher owing to a sharp drop in growth in the previous year and do not signify recovery in real term

3.7 The basic goods sector marked a sharp decline in growth rate from 6.5% in 1997-98 to 1.5% in 1998-99 and then went up to around 5% in 1999-2000. From March 2000 onwards, it dipped to 1.4% in the next four months till June 2000. In the capital goods sector, the decline is even more severe. From the growth rate of 11.5% in 1998-99, it slumped to 4.76% in 1999-2000. In the next four months till June 2000, it marked an absolute decline and went down below the March 2000 level by more than 15.4%. In the consumer non-durable sector, producing the commodities for the common people's consumption, the growth rate continuously slumped from 4.8% in 1997-98 to 3.2% in 1999-2000. During March-June 2000, the decline has been absolute by 21.1% in four months' period. The positive growth rate has been witnessed only in the consumer durable sector, mainly meant for the upper middle class segment of the society.

3.8 The infrastructure sector in general also reflects a situation of continuing gloom. Growth rate in mining and quarrying as a whole slid down from 9% in 1997-98 to only 0.4% in 1999-2000, compared to a negative growth in 1998-99. Coal production recorded an absolute decline in two of the last three years since 1998, owing to unrestricted coal imports accompanied by drastic cut in import duty. Crude oil production also recorded consistent decline during the last three years. The steel production marked a growth rate of 11.6% in 1999-2000, preceded by a negative growth in 1998-99 and only 1% growth in 1997-98. Unrestricted dumping of steel from abroad is again the villain for this phenomenon. Only electricity generation has marked growth during the last three years. But, despite increase in electricity generation, consumption of electricity by industry marked a sharp decline from 44.2% in 1990-91 to 39% in 1995 and further to 35.5% in 1998 (Economic Survey) and the trend continues.

3.9 Slow-down of domestic capital formation is another ominous symptom. Gross domestic capital formation has recorded a negative growth (at constant prices) in the two of the last three year-period during 1996-1999, the last year (1999) showing a growth of only 0.4%. This indicates that huge concessions granted to big corporate houses, stated to be for encouraging them for more investment in the economy, failed to yield any positive result.

3.10 The industrial sickness is also compounding the crisis in the economy in general. It is having a cascading effect on other industries in small and medium scale sector, which have forward and backward linkages with the sick and closed ones. The textile sector demonstrated the massive sickness and closure, despite mushrooming of smaller high-tech units in this sector with export orientation. But, even those units are not displaying a 'doing-well symptom', because of the restrictive practices in the European and American markets in respect of textile related trade. During the span of last one and half years, more than 150 textile mills have closed down, leading to loss of 58000 jobs in textile sector alone. The engineering sector as well depicts a gloomy picture with a very high incidence of sickness, both in public and private sectors. The crisis in the traditional labour-intensive industries like Jute also experienced worsening of the situation.

DECLINE IN AGRICULTURE

3.11 In agricultural front too, the decline shows an alarming trend. From an annual growth rate of 9.3% in 1996-97, agricultural production declined in absolute term by 6.1% in 1997-98. It again recorded an absolute decline by 2.2% in 1999-2000, compared to the previous year. The food-grain production in 1999-2000 also recorded a negative growth. During the two out of the last three year-period (1997-2000), it remained below the production level of 1996-97. Further, owing to increasing import of agricultural products and the commodities produced by our agro-based industries/occupations, following the process of removal of quantitative restrictions on import, crisis is looming large in the non-agricultural rural occupations as well, severely

affecting the rural economy as a whole.

DECLINE IN FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR

3.12 The data on India's foreign trade reveals consistent loss of market share for the country's export even in those commodities where country was in dominant position earlier. As for example, in tea export, India's share in world export has sharply declined from 22.1% in 1990 to 2.4% in 1997, in spices from 7.7% to 2.7%, in leather from 4.8% to 2.7%, in leather manufacture from 13.4% to 2.5% during the same period.(Economic Survey 1999-2000). Again in 1998-99, India's export in primary products declined by 10.4%, manufactured product by 2.8%, engineering goods by 16.3%, ores and minerals by 15.8%, cotton yarn by 15% and carpet by 2%(Annual Report of RBI, 1998-99). Despite a positive growth rate of India's export in 1999-2000 by 13.2% in dollar terms and 16.6% in rupee terms which has been higher than the rate of growth of import (11% in dollar terms and 14.7% in rupee terms), the trade balance continued to remain even worse, courtesy sharp decline in the value of rupee. The deficit became 41.5% higher in 1998-99 and it recorded a further increase by 4.8% above that level in 1999-2000.

3.13 Till March 2000, India's foreign exchange reserve worked out to US\$ 38 billions, of which US\$ 23 billion is the deposits by NRI and a sizable section in Gold Bonds, signifying heavy payment and interest liabilities. The external debt rose to US\$ 98 billion in March 2000, the external debt-GDP ratio touching 22% mark. Of the total capital inflow since 1996-97, debt-creating inflows always remained above 55% and in 1999 it touched 62.7%, signifying much deeper indebtedness.

MYTH OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT EXPLODED

3.14 The last three-year period since 1997 witnessed phenomenal concessions to MNCs, granted by the Govt of India. Despite all such allurements, the foreign direct investment inflow marked a consistent decline from \$ 3.5 billion in 1997-98 to \$ 2.4 billion in 1998-99 and further to \$ 2.1 billion in 1999-2000.

This is exclusive of the portfolio investments, which has little bearing on the real economic growth. More than 70% of the same has gone for take over of existing Indian companies. The take-over of TOMCO, Lackme and Modern Food by Hindustan Lever (Unilever), Malhotra Blades by Gillette, Parle by Cocacola, Modi-Xerox by Xerox, Kelvinator by Whirlpool, Shriram-Honda by Honda, etc are among the 256 take-over/merger, financed by almost 70% of the FDI on the Indian soil. Data released by Reserve Bank of India revealed that those foreign companies sold more in domestic market than they have exported. Whatever foreign currency, those MNCs have brought in through export, much more have been sent out by them through import of spares, consultancy fees and various other mechanisms. Further, in almost all those cases of taken-over companies, the FDI has not contributed to the employment generation at all; it was rather instrumental in reducing the employment drastically.

DESPITE INDUSTRIAL DECLINE PROFIT GALORE

3.15 The Economic Times Study of the working of 300 large companies reveals that corporate houses and MNCs garnered more net profits, which moved faster than their net sales. During the last ten years, the MNCs could increase their sales by 322%, gross profit by 369%, while their excise duty obligation increased by only 197%. The Indian corporates, on the other hand, could garner an increase in gross profit by 336% and net sales by 303%, while excise duty payment was much below that level. This also explains as to what extent concessions on tax and various other accounts were granted to big business and MNCs, which enabled them to immensely enhance their fortunes, despite decline in production and sales. Besides this, in the tax evasion also the big business and the MNCs are in the forefront. This was confirmed by the statement of none else but the Union Finance Minister of State that MNCs are the biggest tax evaders. Further the list of defaulters of income tax, corporate tax, and customs duty placed in the Rajya Sabha on 25th July 2000 also confirmed that the top hundred defaulters during last three years, include many of the big corporate houses and business barons. In fact the BJP Govt has been promoting this process of earning huge unjust profit by the big business baron. The

cartelised cement industry manufacturers have arbitrarily raised the price of cement by Rs 50 per bag without any justification. This only added to their profitability and the BJP Govt just connived at the unjust price hike in cement.

WORKERS GOT A RAW DEAL

3.17 On the other hand, in the face of big gains by the business lobby despite recession, the working class both in urban and rural India got a raw deal, notwithstanding increase in their productivity. The wages of the agricultural workers declined in real terms by more than 2% in 1999 and in some States, the extent of decline is around 10 to 13%. (Economic Survey, 1999-2000). Poor and marginal farmers are losing land in a big way and incidence of crop failures and market-failures is leading to destitution and suicides among the farmers. The statutory minimum wages have not been revised for several years for most of the States in the country; this itself denoting a decline in the face of inflation. As per data released by the Annual Survey of Industries, and also the updated data of Central Statistical Organisation, during 1990-99 period, the real value added per worker increased by 39%, whereas the real wage of the workers increased only by 10% and the share of casual and contract workers in the total employed workforce has been increasing rapidly.

PHENOMENAL PRICE-RISE

3.18 The period since our last conference also witnessed a phenomenal price rise of all essential commodities, despite all the noise of falling inflation rate to single digit. During 1997-98 and 1999-2000, the wholesale price index marked a rise of 8.4%; the consumer price index recorded a jump of 13.4% during the same period. But if looked into more disaggregated terms, incidence of price rise have been much more severe. During the two tenures of the Vajpayee regime, in 1997-1999 period, the price index of rice jumped by 21% wheat by 30%, and pulses by 21%, giving no respite for common people in the period of so called single digit inflation.

3.19 The Public Distribution System (PDS), which is meant for giving relief to the poor in the background of rising prices, displayed a faster and higher rise in the prices than the market price. During 1997-1999, the PDS price of rice increased by 27%, and wheat by 51.5%. In the last Union budget, the Govt had hiked further the prices of both rice and wheat by 64% and 46% respectively. It is clearly aimed at ultimately dismantling the PDS itself at the behest of the profit hungry traders and black marketers. The Govt. itself engineered the price rise of fuel by a 40%, immediately after coming to power. Thereafter, price of petro-products have been increased thrice, both by direct and indirect measures, in January, March and September 2000, generating inflationary pressures on other commodities as well.

3.20 All other essential commodities required for a civilized and humane living also witnessed a tremendous price hike. The cost of education and education-materials has also gone up phenomenally. Most of the essential drugs have also marked a steep increase, in some cases from 77% to 457% following gradual dismantling of price control on drugs and most of the cheaper variety of drugs have just disappeared from the market, thanks to joint operation by the MNCs and the Vajpayee Govt. Further, privatisation move in the power sector starting with unbundling of State Electricity Boards in many States, along with operation of foreign power companies with counter guarantees, has led to huge rise in power tariff in those concerned States, while most other States are waiting in the queue to follow suit. In the States, where already such unbundling and privatisation have taken place, like in Maharashtra, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh etc, power tariff had gone up by 200 to 300%. On the whole, despite tall claims of controlling inflation, each and every step being taken by the Vajpayee Govt. is fuelling price rise of everything of common people's need, aggravating impoverishment, further squeezing of market and consequent gloom in industrial activities.

3.21 On the whole, the reckless pursuit of liberalisation policies has been leading the country's economy towards ruin and disaster. The industrial economy, with its manufacturing base

built up during last 50 years, is sought to be converted into servicing and marketing centre for foreign products, in a phased manner. Poverty, unemployment, industrial sickness and closure are all aggravating everyday, while the big business and MNCs are looting the country at random.

3.22 While holding the BJP led NDA Govt responsible for all the chaotic situation in the country, we cannot ignore the fact that the process of surrendering to the dictates of IMF and World Bank was initiated by the Congress Govt led by P V Narashima Rao. After all, the GATT was signed by Pranab Mukherjee as the then Commerce Minister in indecent haste when even the advanced capitalist countries did not sign. It was Dr Manmohan Singh, who, ignoring everything what he himself wrote in the Report on South-South Cooperation, shamelessly accepted all the conditionalities of IMF on the eve of getting loan to meet the foreign exchange crisis. This crisis was also created by the policies of liberalised imports followed by Rajib Gandhi Govt during the second half of the eighties. The Structural Adjustment Programme was imposed on the country without prior discussion at any level. The steps towards deregulation of the economy, privatisation of PSUs, offering huge concessions to MNCs were all initiated during the Congress regime. The NDA Govt has made the policy package much worse on the plea of accelerating the pace of so called reforms.

4. DISMANTLING OF PUBLIC SECTOR

4.1 The BJP-led Government at the Centre has taken a definite resolve to wipe out public sector from the country. In their very first budget itself (1998), they unequivocally declared that the sick public sector units would be closed down and Government's share holding in the PSUs shall be brought down to only 26% by selling off 74%. The steps towards disinvestments were given a deadly push by the Government with a sharp rise in the target. It is this Government, which devised a peculiar uncharted path of cross-holding of PSU shares and extracted from the profit making PSUs a sum of Rs. 4,184.00 crore from their precious investible resources and thereby pushing them into cash crunch situation. Up to 31st January 2000, shares have been

disinvested from 39 PSUs, which include the top profit making blue chip companies. Total amount realised is Rs.18,394 crore. The Disinvestment Commission itself has observed that, "the shares in blue chip companies have been sold in the GDR and domestic markets without any concomitant benefits to the public sector, resulting in reduction of Government's equity in blue chip companies merely to bridge budgetary deficit of the Government."

4.2 In their zeal to establish their credentials as the 'most efficient PSU killers', the Vajpayee Government has created a new ministry itself - the Department of Disinvestment - ostensibly to accelerate the liquidation of the public sector.

4.3 While addressing the Chief Executives of the PSEs on 1.4.2000 in New Delhi, the Prime Minister, A B Vajpayee recklessly spat venom against public sector and the trade union movement. His long list of blames against the PSUs included: "fast breeders of jobs", "careless about productivity and profit", "loss-incurring units"; "capacity utilisation less than 50%, and returns (on investment) are yet to be commensurate with inputs," "long-term effect in the form of declining productivity and falling profits" etc. The public sector baiting of the Prime Minister, with the help of untruths and half-truths apart, let us look at certain facts from the official record itself.

4.4 Despite the hostile policy regimes since 1991, the following indicators show as to how the public sector in the country has been continuously attaining newer heights of success. It is worth-mentioning that the much-publicised budgetary support as a percentage of the total Plan outlay of the public sector has declined from 32 per cent in 1990 to 13 per cent in 1995. It will be seen from the table below that the PSUs have been making substantial contribution to augment the resources of Government, through payment of dividend, corporate taxes, excise duties etc. In the process, the public sector has been helping in financing the development projects of the Government. In the year 1998-99, the PSUs have contributed to the central exchequer an amount of Rs.46,925 crore, an increase of 11 per cent.

CONTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC SECTOR TO EXCHEQUER

Rs. In crores

Year	Gross Profit	Dividends	Corporate Tax	Excise Duty	Customs Duties	Others
1991-92	13,675	687	1858	8652	7269	1485
1992-93	15,975	792	2160	8200	8008	3289
1993-94	18,556	1028	2348	9861	6999	2752
1994-95	22,630	1436	2720	12256	7003	4057
1995-96	27,587	2205	3998	11916	9785	2974
1996-97	30,915	2836	5280	13895	13246	763
1997-98	37,212	3609	7026	16693	10970	778
1998-99	39,766	4932	8479	18771	9352	2488

4.5 Apart from the above indicators, there are other factors to measure the significantly improved performance of the PSUs. The net profit to capital employed has gone up from two per cent in 1991-92 to 6.2 per cent in 1997-98. The gross profit on capital employed has also gone up from 11.6 per cent in 1991-92 to 16.2 per cent in 1997-98.

4.6 The oil & petroleum, power, telecom, rail, road and air transport, ports & docks, airports and of course of financial sector have become the major target of attack. Some of the big PSUs, which have become the recent prey, are SAIL, Coal India, NTPC, NHPC, BHEL, IPCL, NFL, GAIL, Indian Airlines, and Airport Authority of India.

4.7 Among the PSUs under the closure decision of the Government are the Kolar Gold Fields and HSCL, besides seven others for which declarations have been made earlier. With the complete privatisation of Modern Food Ltd., - the first case of complete privatisation of a PSU - has also taken place in this period. The decision to privatise the Indian Airlines and five major airports of the country has already been announced by the Government. Further, the Union Cabinet has approved the privatisation of Air India by selling 60% shares, including 26% to foreign companies.

4.8 For the Oil and Natural Gas sector, the report titled 'Hydrocarbon Vision 2025', prepared by the Committee appointed by the Government, has recommended that the Government equity in all the oil PSUs should be brought down to near zero, by the year 2005. The report has categorically asked to "increase the ceiling of Foreign Direct Investment in

refining sector from the present level of 49% to 100%. Due to the anti-public sector oil policies of the Government, the Reliance Petroleum Company of the Ambani Group has become the leading refining company with their strategically located Jamnagar refinery, with a capacity of (both open and hidden together) 35 MMTPA. Further, it is noted that this expand company has already acquired 15 most potential fields, discovered by the ONGC. The major oil companies like HPCL, BPCL, MRL, IBP are in the process of privatisation. In fact, the Government has cleared the privatisation of IBP. Further, in compliance with the directive of the said report to effect "mergers and alliance of oil PSUs", with the aim of attaining higher market value of these companies and "disinvest in a phased manner in oil sector," the Government has announced their decision to turn NRL and CRL the subsidiaries of BPCL and MRL and BRPL the subsidiaries of IOC.

4.9 In order to make the public sector attractive to the prospective buyers, various steps like closing down so-called unviable units, capital restructuring, bifurcation of companies etc. are taken by the Government. Yet another retrograde step in this direction is the reduction of number of employees. Such reduction is actually carried out through the notorious means of allurements coupled with an element of arm-twisting - "take VR or face retrenchment". A revised VR Scheme has been announced recently, by categorising the PSUs into three - profit making, commercially unsound and sick ones.

4.10 The Omkar Goswami Committee constituted by the Congress (I) Government had recommended to do away with the SICA, 1985, and to establish some fast track process to close down all sick PSUs. The entire trade union movement in the country had totally rejected such proposal long back. But the BJP-led Government has already initiated the dangerous move to repeal the SICA.

5. NEW TEXTILE POLICY

5.1 The BJP led Government has ultimately announced the new textile policy, bringing the vast Indian Textile industry under

the net of imperialist globalisation. The policy is based on the recommendations of the notorious Satyam Committee, which consisted of twelve protagonists of the globalised financial economy.

5.2 In short, the main thrust of the policy is for manufacture of textile products mainly for export, and not for domestic consumption. The Govt. expects that it can double up the exports in two years and more so, after the phasing out of the Multi-fibre Arrangement by the end of 2004, heralding the so-called free trade under the WTO regime. On the one hand, the Govt has to liberalise imports, and on the other, there is increasing protectionism by the imperialist countries with anti-dumping measures. Furthermore, the Govt is withdrawing all quantitative restrictions on imports and withdrawing the items of production reserved for the handloom sector.

5.3 Besides, the composite character of the organised mills will now be officially phased out. This will result in closure of the weaving sections and loss of jobs in thousands. Apart from this, the restructuring of the handloom and powerloom sectors will also lead to closure of large number of small and medium handloom and powerloom units. For the public sector NTC mills also, the Govt. has officially declared that overwhelming majority of the mills will be closed down. The workers have already staged a joint demonstration in Delhi on 5th December, 2000. It is absolutely necessary that all our State committees and textile unions should intensify the united agitations in all the three sectors of the industry demanding withdrawal of the policy. The All India Coordination Committee of CITU and the Joint Action Committee of all trade unions should take further actions in this regard.

6.HARROWING CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE

6.1 The all round decline in the economy has resulted in aggravation of poverty, massive job-losses and unemployment, depressed earnings, which is pushing downwards the quality of life below humane living for the majority of our people.

6.2 According to official statistics, the percentage of people below the poverty line is 37.3 and 32.4 in rural and urban India, the national average being 36%.

6.3 But the situation is much more precarious. The survey made by National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) reveals that 58% of the rural household and 37% of the urban households are in the lowest household income group of below Rs 20000/- per annum (at 1994 prices) or Rs 6/- per day per head to meet the minimal needs of subhuman existence. The same survey also points out that the people under the poverty line (in terms of lowest household income) and those just above that line constitute 88.6% of the rural households and 69.8% of the urban households. In the event of any crisis and calamity, like cyclone and drought, or massive industrial closures and shut down as has been surfacing in recent times, these sections of people remain most vulnerable to destitution. A World Bank Study reveals that the poverty incidence in the low income states like Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Rajasthan covering more than 40% of the population is 50% higher than the other Indian States of similar size.

6.4 While 36% people stay below the official poverty line as per income parameter, the rural population consuming below the minimum 2400-calorie norm constitute 70% of the total. And the gap between poverty line population and those falling below the minimum humane consumption norm has been widening everyday during last ten years (India-Human Development Report, 1999-2000), thereby rendering the Govt stipulation regarding poverty line income absolutely meaningless.

6.5 The situation turned worse during last three years putting the mass of the common people in a more harrowing condition. The Economic Survey (1999-2000) had to admit that "recent samples of household expenditure.... do not show clear positive trends of poverty reduction." The price level has gone up many times, the PDS prices increased faster than the market price. The statutory minimum wages, which are already below the poverty line for most of the States, have not been revised for the last five years or more. And for majority of the workers in

the vast unorganised sector representing 90% of the workforce, even the statutory minimum wages are not fully implemented.

6.6 For the agricultural workers, the condition is even more serious. From 1998-99, the real wages for the agricultural labourers marked a decline by 2.12% according to The Economic Survey, 1999-2000. Even the World Bank document on Indian Poverty (31st January 2000) noted that "The growth in real daily wages in rural areas-a key link between agricultural growth and poverty reduction, slowed down in 1990s."

6.7 Further non-agricultural employment in rural areas has also remained stagnant indicating worsening of the situation. The World Bank report also pointed out that during 1990s dependence on agricultural employment in rural areas has actually increased owing to decline/stagnation of growth in non-agricultural employment. The rural joblessness has in fact increased substantially owing to total import liberalisation by way of removal of quantitative restrictions affecting the agro-based industries and rural occupations in a big way. Crop-failures remained a continuing feature in many parts of the country leading to suicides by the small land owning peasant families, not to speak of landless workers alone.

6.8 Drastic curtailment in Govt spending in poverty alleviation and other developmental programmes in real terms has also worsened the situation further. From 1996-97 onwards, central plan outlays for rural development, employment generation and poverty alleviation did not mark any significant increase and whatever fund allotted under these heads, have not been spent and actual expenditure fell short of the budgeted allocation by Rs 500 crore to Rs 1000 crore every year. And from 1998-99, even the budget allocation on these heads marked absolute decline. This has affected not only the people below the poverty line pushing them to destitution but also pulled down a sizable section of the households just above the poverty line towards further deterioration.

6.9 Further, industrial sickness marked a phenomenal increase during the recent years and closures are mounting as well,

number of which has already reached around Six lakhs. Besides, the number of undeclared closures/shut down/winding up of industries in private sector have gone up phenomenally while the workers are being deprived of their settlement-dues including the statutory ones. Thousands of workers in public sector units like HSCL, NPCC, IDPL etc are not getting their salaries, sometimes for more than a year during the last three years' period. The conditions of the workers in private sector units are even more precarious, which for most of the cases are even not reported. In this context, the condition of the workers in Export-processing Zones are worst who are being subjected to inhuman exploitation, and irregular and unlawful retrenchment, closure of the units and reopening of the same in another name with a new set of workers, have become the order of the day. Taking advantage of the Govt policy of practically not allowing any labour law to operate in those zones and trade unions not being allowed to function, practically a jungle-raj is going on in the 10 export processing zones all over the country.

6.10 In the name of restructuring of business or industrial units particularly in the private sector, what is going on is massive retrenchment under the garb of downsizing the workforce with full Govt support. Moreover, after retrenchment of permanent workers, contract workers are carrying on same work. In some cases retrenched workers are being taken as contract workers with half or even less salary in the same industrial units. Further, in many cases, in collaboration with the enforcement authorities, one industrial unit is being shown as three/four separate companies with less than 10 workers, and often operating at high tech level, do not even maintain regular employment register, thus keeping all workers always vulnerable to retrenchment, denying all statutory compensation in case of accident and loss of limbs on work etc.

6.11 In totality, in the employment front in general, although Vajpayee Govt had committed to generation of one crore additional employment every year, the trend is just the opposite. As per Economic Survey, 1999-2000, employment generation in industries had been only 0.46%, but this does not include

the loss of jobs by lakhs of workers both in public and private sector through so called VRS and retrenchment, undeclared closure etc. Further, whatever job is created depicts serious degradation in the quality of employment, skilled permanent jobs being replaced by low-quality, low-paid unskilled employment or self-employment, that too in limited spheres. Moreover, serious dearth of urban employment opportunity has been putting serious pressure on rural employment, intensifying poverty and distress all around.

6.12 As a result, under the BJP rule the workers, both rural and urban, are being gradually pushed towards destitution and sub-human living. As pointed out by NCAER- even among the people below poverty line, 63 out of every 100 households, mostly daily-wage-labourers, are virtually destitutes. They get hardly 153 day's work in a year and are compelled to beg or become bonded labour for survival. Their children cannot dream of going to school. They are the victims of worst kind of ailment and morbidity and most of the death and disability are not even reported and attract the reports of so called Govt surveys.

7. AGGRAVATING UNEMPLOYMENT

7.1 The gap between growth of labour force and employment has been increasing continuously during the last decade. The Planning Commission had projected that employment should grow at the average annual rate of about 2.6 to 2.8 percent up to 2000. However, during the decade preceding the year 1994, the actual annual growth of labour force was 2.5% against the employment growth rate of only 2%. But, the worsening trend did not stop there. During 1991-96, against the annual average growth of 2.38% in labour force, employment grew at the rate of 1.9%. This disturbing gap is bound to widen further due to the abject surrender of the ruling classes to the foreign MNCs - the players of the dangerous game of "jobless growth".

7.2 As per the 1999-2000 Annual Report of the Union Labour Ministry, there was a 0.7% negative growth in employment in public sector. In 1991-92, the number of regular employees in CPSUs was 21.79 lakhs and in 1998-99, it has been reduced

to 19.00 lakhs. If the retrenchment plan, announced by the public sector giants like SAIL, BHEL, CIL, is materialised and also the decision to close down several PSUs is carried out by the Government, then several lakhs of employees shall join the huge army of unemployed in the country.

7.3 The position of private sector is the least said the better. The FDI kills more jobs than it generates. The main reason is that more than 70% of the total FDI comes for merger and acquisition. In our country, from 1993-94 to 1999-2000, the total number of such merger-acquisitions has reached 256 and many more are in the pipeline.

7.4 The Vajpayee Government constituted a five-member commission called 'Expenditure Reform Commission' under the chairmanship of K.P.Geethakrishnan. This Commission has recommended winding up of a large number of Government Departments of the different Ministries, privatisation of work and retrenchment of the employees. For instance, it has recommended easing out ten departments of the Ministry of I & B and reducing the number of employees from the present 7,779 to 2,176. The summary of the recommendations of the Committee, inter-alia, are as follows:

- (a) A cut of 10% of the staff as on 1.1.2000 to be carried out by the year 2004-2005.
- (b) Total ban on creation of new posts for two years.
- (c) Those who do not opt for Voluntary Retirement Scheme are to be compulsorily discharged from services.

7.5 Due to merger, closure and restructuring, thousands of employees in the banking sector are facing a serious threat of retrenchment. The restructuring prescriptions of the Verma Panel for the three public sector 'weak' banks are, in effect, closure of bank branches, retrenchment of the employees and imposition of wage freeze. As per the target set by the Panel, more than 20,000 workers are to be thrown out from the employment of these three banks alone. Again, the State Bank of India has recently announced their decision to ease out one-lakh employees.

7.6 That the unrest arising out of alarming unemployment situation is poised to take crucial shape and is prone to create serious social tension is causing concern to the various international bodies, including the ILO and the UN. Expressing his concern at the fall out of the so called market economy, Juan Somavia, Director-General, ILO has said, " Financial policies should be geared towards stimulating productive investment that generate decent jobs rather than towards sustaining the casino economy." The former UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali had said in one of his speeches: "If you cannot find any solution to the problems of unemployment, the disintegration of the social fabric and globalised poverty, you shall see new revolutions and extremely serious destabilisation of the world order."

7.7 The all India trade union convention on "Right to Work" held at Durgapur on 2-3 April 1990, organised by the CITU, was a significant initiative in the right direction. With the burgeoning of the unemployment problem, wherein the job losers are also contributing in a big way, it has become imperative for the trade union movement to take up the issue as one of the priority tasks. We have, however, failed to take regular follow up action on this question and to build a powerful movement of the unemployed youth to fight for more job generation in the economy. The CITU has, therefore, decided to have a detailed discussion in one of the commissions in this conference. We should prepare some action programme on this question so that the issue is properly raised at the national level. We will have to work in cooperation with our fraternal mass organisations with a view to make the movement comprehensive.

7.8 The vast multitude of unemployed youth in the country are living a life of destitution and many are becoming victims of drug-traffic, smuggling activities and even extremist appeal. Unemployment of women amongst extreme poverty are compelling many to live a life of shame, while Children are forced to do unhygienic and hazardous jobs. The new entrants in the employment market are finding no job opportunities while downsizing of manpower in every sector of the economy has

resulted in fast swelling of unemployment all over the country. The recent Exim policy is going to further aggravate the situation while closure of small scale units will make the conditions of the jobless more vulnerable. Suicide rate in the rural areas has increased phenomenally. All these are causing social tension and instability in the country.

7.9 All these developments are bound to affect the workers who are still employed as well as their trade union movement. The trade unions, therefore, have to intervene in the situation and involve the unemployed youth in the struggle for employment generation and job creation in the industries. In view of the vast potential of the movement of the unemployed for job creation, CITU will have to pay more attention to the question of more effectively involving the unemployed youth in the struggle against globalisation.

8. STRUGGLES INTENSIFY

8.1 Last three years have witnessed intensification of working class movements both in the international arena as well as inside our country. It is being distinctly noted that the focus has shifted further from conventional issue based movements towards a resistance battle against the perils of globalisation. Seattle fiasco, where the WTO meet had to be aborted because of stiff internal resistance against globalisation that snow-balled in the United States itself, remains a landmark movement that set pace for such movements all the world over. Today, demonstrations against WTO, World Bank and IMF have become a common feature, be it in Geneva, Davos, Lyons, Prague, Bangkok, Melbourne or Tokyo.

8.2 In our country also, the struggles against globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation are taking precedence over other struggles on local or other industry specific issues. This shifting of focus is a direct fall-out of the policies followed by the Government of India, which went for more expeditious and blatantly anti-national drive for privatisation and selling of country's assets, Overzealous drive to allow MNCs to enter our financial, insurance and banking sectors had evoked a wave of

reaction among the working people, which is helping to build greater unity in action among the unions and organisations, which have not been in the picture before.

8.3 After the second BJP-led government was installed in March '98, they announced their resolve to carry out the so-called economic reforms with greater speed. It was decided by the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions in April '98 to revitalise the NPMO to face the challenges posed by the Vajpayee Government. The 5 major central trade unions, namely INTUC, CITU, AITUC, HMS and BMS also met together to take stock of the situation and to consider possibilities to strengthen united movements.

8.4 The country-wide two general strikes organised by the NPMO, one on 11th December 1998 and the other one on 11th May, 2000 have created history in post-independence India. They received massive response all over the country, particularly because the call was given by mass organisations. These general strikes assumed great significance because the major issues were against economic policies like privatisation, disinvestment, surrender to foreign multinationals, liberalisation of imports at the cost of domestic industry and agriculture, as well as the issues of unemployment and so on.

8.5 The intensive countrywide campaign for these general strikes through circulation of printed pamphlets, documents, coupled with other mass actions like State wise, area wise demonstrations, dharnas, mass meetings created such an impact that as many as 14 political parties supported the strike on 11th December 1998 which saw a total bandh like situation in 8 States and partial bandh in many other States. A remarkable feature was that 60 lakh State Govt. employees, defence establishment employees, Port and dock workers and a good section of Central Govt. employees joined the strike. A large number of unions affiliated to INTUC and BMS also had joined the strike. West Bengal unit of INTUC had joined the strike openly defying the directive from their all India leadership

8.6 The 11th May, 2000 general strike has seen even wider

and higher participation by all sections of agricultural and industrial workers, employees and people from other professions like lawyers, even small scale industrialists, plantation owners etc. In some establishments, managerial staff also participated, though tacitly. All these manifested the people's anger and denouncement of NDA Govt's economic policies. Through these actions the NPMO has become a powerful rallying point of all the forces opposed to the Govt policies. NPMO ranks are being joined by new forces, sufferers of the economic policies.

8.7 After NDA's return to power in October 1999, in the name of second-generation reforms, the drive for dismantling Public Sector Units, Insurance and Banking institutions has been intensified. As a result, the struggle by the workers and employees in these sectors has also peaked to a militant height. The strike by the PSU workers on 2nd February, 2000, at the call of Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions (CPSTU), is the most successful one, in terms of its coverage and intensity, cutting across trade union affiliations. The repeated calls for strikes by Insurance and Bank employees & officers against privatisation and entry of foreign MNC's, is the high water mark of the struggle for national sovereignty in financial sector. The signature campaign by Insurance employees and PSU employees to President of India have created greater awareness among the people about the efficacy and predominant role played by them.

8.8 This period has witnessed a remarkable spate of solidarity struggles by other sections of people, in specific locations, against closure, privatisation and disinvestment. The movements around steel plants like IISCO, Vizag, Salem, Durgapur, Rourkela, around other PSU's like MAMC, BOGL, TAFCO, IDPL, Fertiliser plants, textile units, coal fields, Kolar Gold Fields, petrochemical units, cement units etc., to name a few. The canard and dis-information campaign by the ruling classes against public enterprises and their employees, which had some impact on peoples mind, is gradually getting cleared, after seeing the real design and purpose of privatisation. But, much more is required to be done in this regard.

8.9 The struggles in private sector units also have grown to unprecedented heights, manifesting the militant resolve of the working class not to be cowed down by employers' offensives. Even in the States, where democratic movement is otherwise weak, working class struggles have asserted itself in a noticeable manner.

■ The three months long strike of the workers in Nathpa Jhakri Power project in Himachal, braving heavy repression by the administration, the strike of the project workers in Mallana Hydel project and the continuous strike by Birla Textile Workers in Himachal are also examples of such militant struggles. The struggle of the industrial workers in and around Bhopal against the mill-workers' bid to go for massive retrenchment in collusion with local administration and replace the permanent workers by contract workers, have drawn, the support of the local people in a big way. The struggle against mass-scale retrenchment of daily-rate workers by Madhya Pradesh led by CITU is still continuing.

■ The workers of PEPSICO in Kanpur have unitedly been fighting against the MNC employer's undeclared lockout of the factory and their effort to crush the CITU union there. The textile workers at Kanpur have also fought many battles on the street. The Coastal shipping workers from Mimbai to Kavaratti launched several action programmes for wage rise and rightof recognition of the FSUI.

■ The workers of Maruti Udyog are also unitedly fighting the Japanese Management's ploy to debar the workers from entering into the factory, unless they give an undertaking of not to go for any agitation.

■ The textile workers at Panipat went on an united strike for several days in November 2000 to compel the factory owners to maintain workers' registers, issue of identity cards and increase the wages under leadership of CITU. The brick kiln workers in Haryana went on various forms of statewide agitation including month long strike under the leadership of CITU braving

arrests and repression and ultimately achieved substantial wage rise. The employees of Airport Authorities have launched several struggles for their long pending demands and for right of recognition for their union elected through secret ballot.

■ In the southern part of the country, the plantation sector in Tamilnadu witnessed an upsurge with the workers and small plantation workers raising their voice against unrestricted import of tealeaves. The industrial sectors in Tamilnadu, Karnataka, AP and Kerala also witnessed numerous industry-based actions during this period. In the unorganised sector in Bengal, Tamilnadu, Kerala, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh and other regions, there had been a massive upsurge from time to time against the oppression of the employers. The Federation of Medical and Sales Representatives Associations have planned a six day strike action In next January opposing privatisation and victimization of trade union activists.

8.10 In the last two years, there have been several strikes by State Government employees, P&T employees, nurses and other para-medical staff, sometimes lingering for months, on the question of wages and other conditions of service. Special mention is to be made about the strike by electricity employees all over the country, in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh in particular, who have fought valiantly against privatisation of power industry. The Port and Dock workers have also conducted united struggles that kept the entire port and dock services paralysed for 5 days.

8.11 The struggle of the telecommunication employees against corporatisation, the struggle of NTC and IDPL workers for revival of industry are some of the notable struggles in this period. And last but not least, the historic three days' strike by the coal miners all over the country on 20-22 November 2000, by single-handed effort of the CITU, which has drawn out six lakh coal workers in action, despite opposition by all other major trade unions. The strike reflected the anger of the rank and file workers of all affiliations against the anti-worker derogatory agreement.

8.12 The basic feature of the struggles during this period is that even in the areas, where the trade union movement is weaker, workers of both organised and unorganised sectors demonstrated their anger against the mounting offensives of the Govt-employers nexus and desperate violation of all labour legislations. The spontaneous upsurge of the workers of the small scale industrial units in Delhi along with their owners, united road-blockades staged by them for days together in November 2000, against the order for closure and ban of the operation of those industrial units in Delhi, also manifests the depth of discontent against the anti-worker moves of the Govt., even among those who could not yet be unionised. Despite strong repressive actions by the Government and the employers, expression of such anger of the mass of the workers, through numerous spontaneous actions, is a pointer to the rising potential of a much bigger militant countrywide working class action, provided the trade union movement takes proper initiative to reach and organise them in a planned manner.

8.13 At this juncture, all India and local struggles are on a higher curve, and the common peoples resentment is growing daily. But one thing has to be noted that in spite of commendable efforts made by the NPMO, CPSTU and other all India organisations, we are still way behind in co-coordinating all these movements and channelise them into a powerful force of mass action that can effectively challenge and change the Government policies.

8.14 Generally speaking, these movements have remained somewhat disjointed and sporadic. In some cases follow up actions were absent. It is worrisome that in some places, the will to carry on with the struggle, is getting weak. Comrades, let us, therefore, discuss how we can develop a powerful mass movement with sufficient strength that can stop de-industrialisation of our country and degradation of the lives of working people.

9. ATTACK ON TRADE UNION RIGHTS

9.1 The BJP-led Government, immediately after occupying

power at the centre, declared their resolve to effect drastic changes in the labour laws. In fact on 11th December, 1998, the then Union Labour Secretary, while addressing a meeting organised by the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) in New Delhi, termed the existing labour laws as "antiquated" and expressed the Govt.'s resolve to address the so called "inflexibility" in the labour market.

9.2 The design behind the sinister amendments to the Trade Unions Act is to severely restrict the workers' trade union rights in all respects. The Union Minister for Labour, Satyanarayan Jatia, told that the BJP Govt is taking initiative to identify "where hire and fire can be and where it cannot be permitted." The message is quite clear, Govt is definitely moving towards "Jungle-Raj", in the matter of industrial relations. Taking cue from the anti-trade union move of the Government, the private sector employers, particularly the foreign MNCs, have already unleashed virulent attack against the trade union movement, without even waiting for the draconian new laws to come into being. Take for example the incidents in Pepsi Cola at Kanpur and Maruti Udyog in Gurgaon (Haryana), India Enterprise at Panchkula (Haryana) etc.

9.3 Refusing to implement the tripartite agreement arrived at in course of conciliation proceedings in the Labour Department of the Government of UP, Kanpur, the management of Pepsi Cola unit resorted to an undeclared lockout, summarily dismissed the union leaders from the services and put illegal pre-condition of signing an undertaking of 'good conduct' before the workers for joining duty. In Maruti Udyog, the lowering of the Govt share to less than 50% is accompanied by worst victimisation of the trade union leaders and a move to virtually ban the trade union by the Suzuki Management of the Maruti Udyog. Here also, to counter the just demand for revising the incentive scheme, in view of tremendous rise in productivity, the management just closed the gate of the factory, debarring entry of workers from 12-10-2000, unless they give a written undertaking to 'observe discipline' and not to join any agitation against the management. In both the cases the majority workers rejected to give such undertaking and are still on struggle. And

in all such cases, the labour Dept. and the local administration are openly supporting the gross illegal acts of the employers.

9.4 To understand this danger in depth, it is necessary to note that it is a global lethal offensive of the crisis-ridden capital against labour. The information contained in the annual survey report for the year 1999 on violations of trade union rights in 113 countries published by ICFTU is shocking. The report says: "At least 140 trade unionists were assassinated ... because they had the temerity to stand up for workers' rights ... Nearly 3000 people were arrested, more than 1,500 were injured, beaten or tortured and at least 5,800 were harassed because of their legitimate trade union activities. Another 700 trade unionists received death threats. Some 12,000 workers were unfairly dismissed from services."

10. DECLINING TRIPARTISM

10.1 All the Central Trade Unions in the country have been expressing their serious concern at the steadily declining trend in tripartism. The Govt. at various tripartite forum, has reiterated, as a matter of routine, its commitment to tripartism. But, the hollowness of such 'commitment' is thoroughly exposed with the dismal picture on the action taken reports placed in every session of the Indian Labour Conference(ILC) and the Standing Labour Committee (SLC).

10.2 The 36th session of Standing Labour Committee was held on 9th February 2000. The 36th session of Indian Labour Conference was held on 14th and 15th April 2000. For the first time after assuming the Prime Ministership, Atal Behari Vajpayee inaugurated the session on 14th April. The speech of the Prime Minister in the session was a naked demonstration of the anti-labour and pro-capital bias of the BJP-led Government. The press, controlled by the monopoly capital, hailed his speech with headlines: "PM gets tough with labour." Vajpayee began with a sanctimonious patting by saying: "we must look upon our labour force as a source of strength - and never as a liability." However, it took no time for him to mock himself. He heaped unfounded abuse on labour for "inflexibility in labour deployment in the face of changing market conditions"

and termed it as one of the reasons for industrial sickness. The PM continued to clamour for "change, urgent change and radical change, in labour laws to reap the full benefits of economic reforms."

10.3 These sessions of SLC and ILC have become sheer talking shops. Issues are merely debated upon, without achieving any positive results for the working class. Of late, the Govt. has adopted the practice of drawing up unilateral conclusions on the subjects debated, without even incorporating the workers' views and comments. Thus, the whole exercise has been reduced to a mockery. It is deplorable that the Govt. of India does not act even on some of the unanimous conclusions/recommendations of these tripartite fora. But, at the same time, the Govt is moving fast in the direction of imposing fetters on the democratic rights of the workers and trade unions.

10.4 There are 36 statutory/advisory tripartite committees including the Indian Labour Conference (ILC) and Standing Labour Committee (SLC), under the Ministry of Labour. The Government has made most of these committees ineffective and defunct. While the meetings of these committees are not convened regularly, many of them are not meeting at all. The result is that important issues of the workers, which are expected to be addressed by these committees, are continuously remaining unresolved. Although the sessions of the ILC were supposed to take place yearly, between 1942 and May, 2000 the ILC had met only on 36 occasions. Out of these meets, 23 were held between 1942 and 1968 and the remaining 13 during subsequent 32 years! The situation in respect of functioning of several industrial tripartite committees are more pitiable, as many of them have not even met once or have met only once since their formation. Such a situation had not developed automatically. Consequent upon the surrender of the Government to the 'market forces', under the garb of 'New Economic Policy', the employers' lobby, in collaboration with the the Government, had systematically been carrying out a sinister campaign against the labour laws.

11. SECOND NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR

11.1 The Vajpayee Govt has constituted the Second National Commission on Labour, comprising a chosen few who are pro employer and pro Sangh Parivar in their outlook. The terms of reference have only one objective-to dovetail the existing labour laws with the requirements of employers and MNCs, fitting in with the liberalisation and globalisation policies.

11.2 The terms of reference of the second National Commission on Labour was been notified by the Government on 15th October,'99, i.e., the very next day the Vajpayee Government was sworn in. It may be recalled that the composition and the terms of reference of the Commission had been formulated/decided ignoring the opposition of majority of the central trade unions.

11.3 The terms of reference of the Commission are: (a) to suggest rationalisation of existing laws relating to labour in the organised sector and (b) to suggest an "umbrella" legislation for ensuring a minimum level of protection to the workers in the un-organised sector. A set of atrocious guidelines has also been put on record. It is a matter of serious concern that the terms apart, the Commission has been asked to formulate their recommendations based on the proposals put forward by the Task Force constituted by Vajpayee in May,1999 with the captains of the industry, viz. K.M. Birla, Nusli Wadia, P.K.Mittal and Ratan Tata. These proposals include, inter-alia, changes in ID Act providing for 'hire and fire', closure at will, no restriction on working hours and introduction of 'flexi-time' system, drastic changes in the Factories Act, Payment of Wages Act, ESI Act, EPF Act and abolition labour inspection system.

11.4 A careful scrutiny of the terms of reference and the guidelines would reveal that the whole motive behind the exercise is to legalise the atrocious anti-labour designs of the employers' class, under the garb of bringing in labour market flexibility. It should be clearly understood that by 'flexibility', the employers' class really want to wield monstrous authority on labour matters. They want to have authority to deal with labour

solely at their total discretion, to be fully guided by absolute profit-motive. They do not want Government to have any statutory authority in regulating industrial relations and at the same time Trade Unions to be rendered ineffective. Precisely, the labour law reform is designed to dismantle whatever little legal protection has been earned by the trade union movement, through long drawn struggle. Moreover, it is aimed at doing away with the long standing concept and practice of permanent workers and go for massive casualisation of employment, and thereby, empowering the employers with the dangerous right to 'hire and fire'.

11.5 Countrywide united movement of the working class is the only way to reverse the onslaught of the BJP-led Government against the trade union movement. Such unity must be the broadest one, the country has ever witnessed. For achieving such unity, the message of the unprecedented danger before the working class movement must reach every nook and corner of the country. The CITU unions must take due initiative with utmost urgency in the coming days.

12. ATTACKS ON SOCIAL SECURITY

12.1 During the last three years, the Government and the employers had mounted serious attacks against even the existing low level of social security measures extended to the working class.

12.2 Despite the Government claim of bringing more establishments and workers under coverage of the Employees Provident Fund Scheme, between 1995-96 and 1998-99, a total of 60.84 lakh subscribers have ceased their membership of the Provident Fund Scheme, both in the exempted and unexempted establishments. The membership in respect of the exempted establishments had registered a net decrease of 4.39 lakh members during the last four years. The net decrease in membership of the exempted establishments, which generally fall under the category of organised sector industries, indicate the increasing trend of casualisation of employment in the country.

12.3 The arrears of Provident Fund, accumulated due to the default of the employers, have been increasing over the years. As at the end of 1998-99 the arrears figure had crossed Rs.570 crore. Out of these arrears, 77.54% for unexempted sector and 98.74% for exempted sector are classified non-realizable.

12.4 The Government of India had not taken any step for extending coverage of the EPF act to more workers. The trade unions have been demanding abolition of Schedule of the Act, specifying the industries/class of establishments to bring all industries/establishments under the coverage of the Act. The trade unions have also demanded the stipulation on number of workers for purpose of coverage be brought down from 20 to 10. They have further urged removal of wage ceiling of Rs.5000 in the PF Act. But, due to pressure from employers' lobby, the Government had turned a deaf ear to these demands.

12.5 On the other hand, the Government had cut down the rate of interest on Provident Fund from 12% to 11%. This again is a move to please the industry, which had been demanding a low interest regime for making bank credit available to them cheaper.

12.6 The implementation of the Employees Pension Scheme 1995, over the last 5 years had proved the apprehensions voiced by the CITU to be correct.

12.7 While the number of subscribers who ceased their membership of the EPF Scheme between 1995-96 and 1998-99 was more than 60.84 lakhs, the number of (EPS '95) pension beneficiaries for the period up to 31.3.1999 stood at a mere 3,03,030, of which majority were members of old Family Pension Scheme. The case filed by CITU and others in the Supreme Court is still going on. We are pursuing the case vigorously.

12.8 The two annual valuations made under the scheme could only result in providing a paltry relief of 4% and 5.5% over pension amounts as on 15.11.96 and 31.3.1998. Though the fourth valuation is due and the fifth one will be due by 31.3.2001, even the third valuation is yet to see the light of the day. Linking

the pension to cost of living index remains a pipe dream.

12.9 The Government of India is holding over Rs. 15000 crore of the former Family Pension Fund in Public Account, paying only 8.5% interest. The unanimous recommendation of the tripartite Indian Labour Conference and other forums, to enhance this interest rate to 12%, has not been conceded by the Government. Rather, the Government had mooted the proposal to withdraw their 1.16% contribution to the Pension Fund.

12.10 As in other respects, the World Bank is the demy god for the rules of our country, in the matter of social security as well. The World Bank publication (1994) entitled "Averting Old Age Crisis" prescribed dismantling of the social insurance and social assistance schemes and replacing them with such schemes based only on own savings plus interest/returns thereon. The Government of India is trying to carry out the World Bank prescription, cunningly, through the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, bypassing even the Labour Ministry.

12.11 The Project OASIS (Old Age Social and Income Security) carried out by an Expert (Dave) Committee had made drastic recommendations curtailing the existing social security benefits. Despite the tripartite Central Board of Trustees of the EPF, unanimously rejecting the Dave Committee report, the Social Justice Ministry is still pursuing its recommendations. The employers' bodies are busy organising workshop/seminars on the "Development of Pension Fund Industry" with the aim of diverting the huge funds in the Provident Fund and Pension Fund Schemes, a well over Rs.70000 crore, to energise the capital market, and use in stock market for speculative purposes.

12.12 The situation prevalent in respect of the Employees State Insurance Scheme is not much different. The meeting of the CITU General Council held at Chennai during April 1998, thoroughly discussed the inadequacies of the ESI Scheme and outlined the areas where it needed improvement. Nationwide protest demonstrations have been organised before the ESI

offices demanding improvement of the ESI scheme.

12.13 But, the Government of India had not taken any steps to improve the ESI Scheme. The arrears of ESI contribution in default by employers, is over Rs.452 crore as on 31.3.1999. Out of these arrears, an amount of Rs.237.21 crore, i.e., 52.45% are under 'not-realizable' category. However, the Government had used the ESI Scheme also as a source of mobilising huge funds.

12.14 Again, the Government of India constituted the Satyam Committee, which has made several adverse recommendations like the ESI should not aim to provide full medical care, privatisation of ESI hospitals etc.

12.15 Thus, it will be seen that while the workers jobs are at constant threat, the Government, acting in concert with the employers, is putting to jeopardy the existing social security benefits. While copious tears are shed on the pitiable conditions of unorganised workers, the Government is doing nothing to extend social security benefits to them. On the other hand, schemes in operation for a minor segment of the working class are also sought to be tampered with.

13. CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

13.1 liberalisation of the economy is naturally leading towards demolishing the foundations whatever democracy prevailing in the country. On the plea of review of the Indian Constitution, the BJP led NDA Govt is showing its keenness to amend the Constitution of India on the US model. The 5SS and the BJP want to bring presidential form of Govt and indirect election in the name of bringing political stability in the country. They are also keen to give up secular character of the Indian State to achieve their dream of Hindu Rashtra, which will ultimately hit the interest of the minorities and endanger the integrity of the nation. Despite open and all out disapproval to these damaging proposal and exercise from the people at large, the BJP is determined to go head with their exercise for constitutional amendment which will spell doom for the country.

13.2 Judicial intervention on issues pertaining to democratic rights and labour matters has been on the increase in the recent past. The Kerala High Court judgement against political bandh and Supreme Court's endorsing the Stand of High Court, explains how the judiciary is interfering in legitimate democratic movements. The Delhi High Court judgement regarding removal of over 4000 factories from Delhi on the plea that they are polluting the atmosphere in the city, without caring for the livelihood of several lakhs of industrial workers, highlights the state of concern of the judiciary on the problems of the common workers. Several judgements of High Courts and Supreme Courts have taken clear cut stand against the interests and the rights of the workers. Influenced by the policies of liberalisation they are quite often playing a derogatory role in the present situation.

14. OUR ORGANISATIONAL WEAKNESS

14.1 We are, undoubtedly, continuing to play the major role in the countrywide struggles against the disastrous economic policies and communalism, as well as in the sectoral and day-to-day struggles of the working class. But, our organisational weaknesses continue to be an area of serious concern for us. These weaknesses must quickly be overcome and CITU should emerge with a wider base and stronger organisation. Otherwise, it will be increasingly difficult to carry forward the struggle, in the face of the challenging ferocity of the attack by the exploiting classes and their Government, with the blessings of the imperialist forces.

14.2 In my report to the 9th Conference, it was self-critically noted that the Bhubaneswar Document on Organisation, though 4 years old (by then), an in-depth review with all seriousness was yet to be done. The report pointed to the failure at all levels to implement the major tasks laid down in the Bhubaneswar Document, specially emphasising the lapses on the part of the CITU Centre.

14.3 Subsequent to the 9th conference, a serious attempt was

made to carry out a full-fledged review of implementation of the Document in the Working Committee meeting held at Shimla during 1998. The meeting devoted a half-day session for discussion on the review report prepared by the Centre. However, this exercise seemed to have only a marginal impact on the organisation and functioning of the CITU. It is in this background that the Ghaziabad session of the CITU General Council decided to organise a workshop on the problems of implementation of the Bhubaneshwar Document with the participation of the Presidents and General Secretaries of State Committees and industry wise Federations.

14.4 The workshop was held on 13 -15 March 2000. This was, by far, a serious attempt to find out ways and means of overcoming the shortcomings in respect of implementation of the Bhubaneshwar document. All papers relating to the workshop were placed before the Kozhikode session of the CITU General Council. After a round of discussions, the General Council ratified the conclusions of the workshop, as enriched by the contributions made by the General Council and the CITU Centre was authorised to prepare the final document for circulation. Having thoroughly examined the material of the workshop, the CITU Secretariat decided to short list the tasks to be immediately taken up for implementation. The document entitled "Implement the Bhubaneshwar Document in Right Earnest" is being circulated to this conference (Annexure I).

14.5 The tasks, enlisted in the present document, follow from the discussions in the workshop on the prevailing state of organisation and functioning at different levels and in regard to the major aspects of organisation. The document incorporates, in brief, the salient points from the papers, which served as inputs to the workshop, along with some important points thrown up during the discussion, prefacing the list of immediate tasks.

14.6 Since the state of organisation has been discussed in the tasks document and the same will be discussed in this Conference, I do not propose to repeat them here. In short, the position, as reported to the 9th conference, was found more or less the same at the time of the workshop in respect of the

Centre, the States, as well as the Federations, with some minor improvement. What is worse, even the three-day exercise in the workshop does not seem to have created any significant impact.

14.7 The workshop on organisation has specifically pointed to the trend of limiting the activities and movement within the usual known periphery and reluctance to go beyond. This trend is also seriously affecting the organisational growth and also the movemental prospects. This trend was also reflected in the poor performance and implementation in the countrywide independent campaign programme, adopted in the last CITU General Council session, held at Kozhikode (April 2000). Our performance, in the mass signature campaign as well as in the sale of CITU publications, clearly revealed that in most of the States, we failed to carry out the campaign even to our entire membership, not to speak of reaching the wider section of workers and the common people.

14.8 It has been repeated time and again that the development of the process of organisational improvement is largely dependent on the improved functioning of the Centre. The stark reality, however, is that so far the centre has not been able to substantially reorient its functioning in accordance with the Bhubaneswar document. This, of course, does not absolve the State Committees and Federations of their share of responsibility. The document laid down specific tasks for them, which are to be implemented by independently.

14.9 However, it is paramount task of the Centre "to hold a full-fledged discussion on the responsibility of the Centre in regard to implementation of the Bhubaneswar Document in the CITU organisation as a whole." The discussion at the centre will have to take into account that in spite of repeated discussions in different fora, the situation has remained basically unchanged and the failure of the Centre to implement the tasks specified for it, when the Centre itself is repeatedly arranging discussions either in the Working Committee or General Council or in the form of a workshop. Again, many State committees had also taken steps initially to implement the document with

seriousness. Some marginal improvement was also observed but sustained efforts were lacking.

14.10 Again, the major responsibility of finding out the root cause of our failure and remedial measures rests mainly with the Centre. This, however, cannot be possible without assimilating the experience at all levels. The CITU Secretariat that will be elected by this Conference will have to give first priority to this task in association with the State and District committees and industry wise Federations.

15. ACTIVITIES AMONG WORKING WOMEN

15.1 Some efforts have been made, after the last conference, to improve our activities among workingwomen. According to the suggestion made in the 5th All India Conference of Working Women, the All India centre of the AICCWW has been strengthened. The CITU Secretariat and the General Council of CITU discussed the 'review report on two decades of activities of the AICCWW' and decided to take the necessary steps. With a view to train and develop women cadres, the CITU organised trade union classes for working women activists - in the Hindi States, for plantation workers in South India, for anganwadi employees in the Hindi States, and working women activists in South India. In Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu, the CITU State Committees have organised special classes/ workshops for working women.

15.2 The CITU Working Committee meeting at Jaipur had decided to conduct a joint All India campaign on the major problems of working women together with AIAWU and AIDWA. We have to plan and implement the programme after this Conference.

15.3 For the first time, the 6th All India Conference of Working Women was held separately from the CITU Conference, on 16-17 September 2000, at Haldia. 295 delegates from 15 States and 25 industries/sectors attended it. A 61-member Coordination Committee was formed in the conference. The report adopted in that conference is circulated to all the

delegates here (Annexure II). The working women's conference could not discuss the issue of organising the home based workers, due to lack of sufficient time. As home based work has increased several fold, particularly after the advent of the liberalisation policies, it is necessary that the CITU should pay special attention to organise the home based workers, majority of whom are women.

15.4 The circulation of the English journal 'The Voice of The Working Woman' is now around 3,600. Efforts are being made to improve the quality of the journal and to make it self-supporting. We should strive to increase the circulation to 5000.

15.5 A Hindi bulletin, 'Patrika' has been started. It is being published once in 3/4 months and circulated mainly among the anganwadi employees.

b) WOMEN IN CITU

15.6 There is a marginal improvement in the percentage of women in the membership of CITU, which has gone up to 16.44% in 1997. This was sought to be reflected in this conference by allotting 15% seats for women delegates. In most of the State conferences working women have been elected as office-bearers of the CITU State Committees. These newly elected office bearers should be given proper guidance by the State Committees, so that they can effectively bring more and more working women into the trade union movement and struggles. The proportion of working women in the State Committees and the District Committees has also recorded improvement. The State Committees should play more effective role in organising State level classes for working women, so that they can be promoted to leadership positions at the union and other levels in the CITU.

15.7 However, it must be noted that we could not achieve the objective because of our own weaknesses. The number of women delegates in this conference is about 11% of the total number of delegates. Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh and few other States have however shown better performance in this

regard. Some States have not sent even a single women delegate. This weakness of our functioning should be seriously taken note of by all of us so that we pay proper attention in ensuring active participation of working women in all our activities.

c) ANGANWADI FEDERATION

15.7 Our Anganwadi federation is trying to expand its activities. Most of the State Committees are active and try to address the local issues of the anganwadi employees. We have mobilised around 5,000 anganwadi employees for the joint rally of the SSS at Delhi, on 28th April 2000. But, the BJP led NDA Government is not willing to concede any of their demands. The Federation has membership in 16 States at present, but 70% of its 1 lakh membership comes from 3 States. The CITU centre circulated a detailed note to the State Committees, drawing their attention to the immense scope for improving our organisational position in this Federation. It is unfortunate that most of the State Committees have not responded. In view of the importance of organising the anganwadi employees, all the CITU State committees should pay proper attention to this task.

16. UNORGANISED SECTOR

16.1 We have been discussing about the unorganised sector since many years, particularly after the formation of the All India Coordination Committee in unorganised sector in 1991. It is true that we have made good strides in this sector and about 50 percent membership of CITU is from this sector now. But, considering its vast, scattered and heterogeneous character, we have to admit that so far we have been able to reach out to a very small section of the workers only.

16.2 Before we discuss about our activities and tasks in this sector, it is necessary to see and understand the changing situation, which demands more planned and assiduous work in this sector.

16.3 The capitalist development strategies earlier were largely

oriented towards large-scale industries, generally termed as the formal or organised sector. The informal or the unorganised sector as it is called in India, comprising large number of small scale and tiny units, cottage industries, traditional and ancillary industries, etc. existed on the fringe of its parent, the organised sector. With the deepening crisis in the capitalist system, the capitalist planning and mode of exploitation have now been changing, according to the needs of imperialist bourgeoisie for the sustenance of capitalism. With the philosophy of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation, the production centres are undergoing a sea change with a transnational global economy.

16.4 With the structural adjustment programme, the organised sector is being downsized and products are off-loaded to the informal sector. The advantage is that of low overheads, low working capital, cheap labour and scuttling of all labour laws, social security schemes, safety and occupational health measures and so on, to help garnering of huge profits by big business.

16.5 Proliferation of the informal sector has thus become a global phenomenon - a planned result of liberalised and globalised economy. India, being a third-world country, the situation here is very grim. In macro-economic terms, the informal sector is a residual concept, i.e. what is left over of the agricultural and the organised manufacturing and service sectors are subtracted from the whole economy. But what is left over is, in fact, the vast multitude of extremely different and diverse activities ranging from a large number of small and tiny scale, sprawling manufacturing industries like beedi, handloom, powerloom, tanneries, small chemicals, brick-kiln, quarries, fire works, matches, slate pencils, garments, cashew, coir, carpet, bangles, glass works, potteries, diamond and gem cutting and so on, to other sectors like casual and contract workers, construction workers, self-employed persons, home based workers, etc. According to National Commission of Labour (1969), the list is never ending; and this is increasing under the globalised economy.

16.6 The overwhelming majority of the Indian workforce, about 92 per cent, is in these unorganised sectors including agriculture. In so far as production is concerned, the unorganised sector of industries produced goods worth from Rs. 28,060 crore in 1980-81 to Rs. 3,56,213 crore in 1995-96, a jump of over 12 times. On the export front, the SSI units exported goods worth Rs. 1643 crore in 1980-81 to Rs. 36,470 crore in 1995-96 - a growth of over 22 times. As proportion to total exports, it increased from 24.5 per cent to about 36 per cent during the period. It is therefore no wonder that the imperialist countries and their collaborators, the Indian monopolists, targeted the informal sector in India.

16.7 The basic framework of the 1991 Industrial Policy was based on World Bank Report (1989) - "India: An Industrializing Economy in Transition". This practically reversed the 1956 Industrial Policy, withdrawing the policy of reservation of items for production in the small scale and tiny sectors and raising the investment limit by 500 times, allowing poaching by the MNCs and the large monopoly houses into the informal sector, in the name of "promotion" and "development" of this sector with the capitalist motto of competition. This resulted in closure of large number of small units and joblessness.

16.8 The BJP Government is accelerating this process now. The entire CITU organisation and its leaders from the States to the Centre have to look into this changing situation. If this vast workforce in the unorganised sector can be unionised and brought under the aegis of trade union movement, along with the organised sector workers, then the dimension and sweep of the CITU movement can be changed.

16.9 In the above background let us self-critically analyse the organisational activities of the CITU in the unorganised sector. In the Chennai General Council meeting held in April, 1998, it was noted that out of 43 members in the Coordination Committee from 16 States, attendance in the meetings, which are held twice a year, have never gone beyond 20 from 9 or 10 States. The States, which are regular in attending meetings are West Bengal, Bihar, Delhi, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh,

UP and Rajasthan. Kerala, Maharashtra and Tripura attended the meetings occasionally. But, for the last several years Punjab, Haryana, Karnataka, Gujrat, Orissa and Himachal Pradesh have not attended any meeting. MP, although has developed significantly in the unorganised Sector, has still not joined the All India Coordination Committee. Assam also has not joined the Coordination Committee yet.

16.10 The States do not send reports either to the convener or to the Centre, in spite of repeated decisions. The steps to form co-ordination committees have not been taken in many States. At present, only in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Delhi, Rajasthan, M.P. and UP, State level Coordination Committees have been formed. In the rest of the States, no step has been taken to form such State level Committees. The Chennai General Council meeting directed all the State Committees to form such committees within six months, which these States have failed to implement.

16.11 The other suggestions, which were accepted in principle in Chennai, were as follows: -

“ In view of the vastness of the unorganised sector, the State Committees should keep this sector as regular agenda and identify, on priority basis, certain manufacturing industries or other sectors and form sub-committees to monitor the activities of the State level Co-ordination Committees. Both these committees should meet regularly and report to the State Committees, which in turn should send reports to the Centre, once in a month. Besides, special attention should be given to women workers in the unorganised sector and women leaders should be included in the State and All India Coordination Committees.

* At Central level, likewise, the CITU Secretariat should form a Sub-committee to monitor the activities of the State Committees. This Sub-Committee should include one leader each from some States and one or two All India office bearers from the Centre. This All India sub-committee should meet in between two meetings of the All India Coordination Committee, and the CITU

Secretariat, including the full Secretariat, should discuss the unorganised sector in their meetings. TU classes should also be held both by the States and the Centre. The Hindi belt and the weaker States should get special attention in this regard. It was also suggested that to carry forward such organisational activities and all India movement a separate central fund may be necessary, for which the Centre was authorised to take a decision."

16.12 However, it can be seen that in absence of formation of State level committees, the decisions taken at Chennai have, by and large, remained unimplemented. This has resulted in our failure to conduct State level and all India movement to strengthen our activities in the unorganised sector.

16.13 Comrades, This conference should consider these aspects self-critically and ensure implementation of the decisions of Chennai General Council in a time bound manner.

17. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

17.1 CITU has taken big strides in developing its international relations since its 9th Conference. As one of the major trade union centres which has remained in the forefront of the struggle against globalisation and liberalisation in recent years, CITU has participated in almost all major international conferences, seminars and meetings to forge solidarity among the working class and oppose the onslaughts of World Bank, International Monetary Fund and multinational corporations. It has exchanged a number of visits in the past 3 years with the trade union centers of several countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe in order to exchange views on matters concerning the interests of working people and to strengthen fraternal relations among the trade unions of various countries. These activities have, indeed, provided a good opportunity to our comrades to get first hand information about the world trade union movement and interact with fraternal colleagues engaged in organising the working class in various countries.

17.2 Due to paucity of space I do not wish to give you a detailed

account of our activities in respect of international relations. Reports concerning CITU participation in international Seminars and conferences have appeared in our journals "The Working Class" and "CITU Mazdoor" from time to time. The reports, placed before the successive meetings of our Working Committee and General Council, have also covered most of the events. Therefore, I do not deem it necessary to repeat them here.

17.3 However, I would like to say a few words on the growing significance of our international relations. As you may be aware, the trade union movement in India is an integral part of the international working class movement. Unless we forge close links with our fraternal organisations abroad, interact with them and learn from their experiences, we cannot succeed in advancing the TU movement in our own country. The CITU therefore pays great attention to the promotion of bilateral relations with the major trade unions of the world irrespective of their affiliations. We have established friendly ties with both WFTU and ICFTU affiliated unions with the sole purpose of bringing together as many trade unions as possible on a single platform to oppose the growing menace of globalisation and liberalisation.

17.4 The international trade union movement is, unfortunately, divided today, when effective resistance to imperialist attacks on the working class interests is the need of the hour. Realising this, even some ICFTU unions have come out openly to oppose globalisation and have expressed keenness to join solidarity actions against globalisation and liberalisation. Although worldwide unity of trade union movement is not possible in the near future, local and regional struggles can be launched by the trade unions of all affiliations. The CITU wishes to play an important role in all these united actions. We should, therefore, strengthen our activities in the direction of expressing solidarity with the working class of other countries for resisting the imperialist offensive of globalisation and liberalisation.

17.5 Comrades, growing international relations entail increasing expenses on foreign travel and need substantial resources.

However, wherever our unions have organised the drive for fund collection for the international visits of our leading comrades, the workers have responded positively. We should educate the workers on the importance and need of international working class solidarity, so that we are able to raise necessary resources to forge friendship and unity with fraternal TUs abroad. We must keep in mind that without effective and united international struggle of the working class, globalised offensives of the international capital cannot be defeated.

18. ROLE OF THE LEFT FRONT GOVTS

18.1 The Left front Govts in West Bengal and Tripura and the left democratic front Govt in Kerala have been consistently fighting against the policies of the Central Govt and have been emphasizing implementation of the alternative pro-people policies for the country. They have refused to implement various anti-people and retrograde policies of the NDA Govt even within the framework of constitutional limitations. These Govts are important outposts of the anti-liberalisation struggle in the country.

18.2 Since the Indian Economy itself is passing through a deep crisis, these three States are also affected by the crisis. Issues like growing industrial sickness, rising unemployment, lack of resources with the State for faster economic development and the fall out of the Centre's policy of dismantling the public distribution system are all dogging the economy of these three State as well. However, these pro-people Govts have been making sustained efforts to reduce the hardships being faced by the people in these States despite brazen discrimination by the Centre, while projecting pro-people alternative policies of governance. The refusal of the Central Govt to provide assistance to the Govt of West Bengal to overcome the destruction of the economy due to unprecedented flood in the State is a clear case of shameless discrimination by the Central Govt against the left-led State Govt. The irresponsible withdrawal of para-military forces by the Central Govt from Tripura in the face of mounting extremist activities engineered from outside is another example of such

discrimination and deliberate ploy of the Centre to discredit the left-led State Govt at the cost of life and security of common people. Yet the State Govt did its best to protect the life and livelihood of the people. The rise in the prices of foodgrains supplied by PDS adversely affected the system in Kerala and other States but the left-led Govt decided to continue PDS in best possible manner.

18.3 The defence of these three progressive State Govts from the attacks and conspiracies of the reactionary forces actively backed by the Central Govt is an important task of the trade union movements in India. All out Attempts are being made to topple and dislodge these Govts by the forces of reaction are being made through opportunist alliances and various other means in the process of forthcoming elections there. It is therefore the duty of the working class to rally behind the left led Govts so that the games of the reactionary forces are foiled.

19. PROBLEMS OF TRADE UNION UNITY

19.1 The struggles we are conducting today, against the economic policies of the Government of India and against communal and divisive forces, are getting more and more response from the workers all over India. In the early stage, such response was confined mainly to West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura and some other States. However, over the period these struggles have acquired all India character.

19.2 It is also noticed that workers belonging to other organisations, who were earlier not in the united movement, are coming forward to join these struggles. The intensification of the economic crisis is forcing newer and newer sections of workers into the arena of struggles, which has given a national character to these struggles.

19.3 The Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions has grown in popularity among the mass of workers and the workers of all affiliations increasingly respond to its calls.

19.4 The Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions (CPSTU)

has been able to bring together several independent trade unions as well. Despite its weaknesses in launching massive actions of workers on some issues, it is the only united forum to champion the cause of two million public sector workers in India.

19.5 The National Platform of Mass Organisations (NPMO) has become an instrument of democratic struggle bringing together trade unions, agricultural workers' organisations, Kisan sabhas and organisations of women, students and youth.

19.6 NPMO initiated common movements of all sections of mass organisations. At the same time, it encouraged sectoral movements, which highlighted the problems of different constituents of the NPMO. The students and youth rally on 27th November, the Kisan and agricultural workers' rally on 30th November, several rallies organised by the women's organisations, T.U. rallies organised by the sponsoring committee are indicative of this developing common movements. Though it is difficult for the Government of India to ignore these struggles, it must be admitted that these struggles are, in essence, defensive in character. These movements seek to preserve the gains of our movement in the past.

19.7 These struggles have not yet been able to change the basic thrust of the Government of India's economic policies. Though from time to time, we have succeeded in slowing down the pace of economic reforms, we have not yet been able to either put a powerful break or reverse these policies. The pressure on the Government by the IMF, World Bank and the WTO is much more powerful than the pressure of our movement. Despite growing opposition to Vajpayee Government's economic policies, it is going ahead and talking about accelerating the process of economic reforms. Certain weaknesses of our movement should be noted here, so that we can take corrective measures to remedy the situation.

a) We have not yet been able to achieve all-in unity of the working class. Some of the TUs have been talking against the

policies of globalisation but have no clear-cut perspective about strengthening the movement. Hence, they try to keep away their mass of followers from the united movements of the working class.

b) The capitalist propaganda machinery on the issues of privatisation, globalisation and liberalisation is creating confusion among a section of the working class and T.U. leadership. They try to compromise with the capitalist class and do not join the struggle to oppose the policies of globalisation.

c) The bourgeois propaganda machinery, through print and electronic media, is trying to spread the illusion that there is no alternative (TINA) to the policies of globalisation. Our propaganda about the alternative policies to the policies of globalisation has not yet reached the vast sections of the masses. There is need to make our campaign more effective and powerful so that it can convince these sections that there is a viable alternative to the policies of globalisation and that the country can advance economically and poverty can be eliminated only by fighting against globalisation. The Governments of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura have, on many occasions, placed alternative policies before the Central Government. We have not made sufficient efforts to popularise these alternative policies before the people.

d) Though unorganised workers are increasingly joining our movements, the participation of these workers is becoming symbolic, when compared to the phenomenal expansion of this sector. Huge sections of these strata, though worst victims of the policies of globalisation, are not coming forward in the movement in a big way. Most of them are still not unionised and our propaganda does not reach them. It is necessary to pay special attention to this aspect. Impact of our united movement will be many times more, if these strata of the working class are brought into the movement.

e) It is observed that a section of the leadership who are with us in the movement does not implement in full the decisions

taken by the joint movement. Some important sections are, thus, remaining outside our nation-wide actions, which create obstructions in further intensifying our joint movements.

f) We have not been able to make the working class understand the gravity of the situation. It is necessary to organise a powerful nation-wide educational campaign, to make all sections of workers aware of the dangerous consequences of the economic policies of the Government of India. However, whenever our unions have effectively campaigned among the mass of workers, even followers of other unions join the struggle and it acquires a broader character. We have already seen that in the all India strike calls, which we had given, workers of other affiliations have also joined in large numbers and with enthusiasm.

g) We have to strengthen our relationship with organisations of Kisan, agricultural workers, women, students and youth, so that the struggles of the working class are suitably synchronised with the struggles of our allies in the society. If all the mass organisations work effectively to bring millions in the mass actions our struggles will be able to create much greater impact than they are making at present.

19.8 Our efforts to form a confederation of trade unions, as a weapon of united struggle, have not yet achieved much success. Though the opposition by other organisations to the idea of confederation is declining, we have not progressed much in the direction of consolidating organisational unity of the working class.

19.9 Efforts towards merger, attempted by some central trade unions, have not achieved success. However, it has brought to the fore the difficulties in immediate merger of trade unions. Concept of mechanically merging trade unions is not practicable. Even if some organisations try to merge without bringing in all India consolidation, such merger may not last long.

19.10 We have to take initiative to organise a nation wide debate to evolve common understanding regarding steps to achieve

consolidation of the unity of trade unions. Unless all trade unions come to a common understanding about the need for such a consolidation, it cannot take concrete shape.

19.11 We must, on the one hand, strengthen bilateral and multi-lateral dialogue with the other trade unions to strengthen the unity of the working class, in the struggle against globalisation. On the other hand, we must also organise nation wide independent campaign among the working class that a body like confederation can alone consolidate and strengthen the unity of the working class.

19.12 We have already made it clear that the concept of confederation is an interim organisational form, which will ultimately lead to formation of a single national trade union centre in the country. The period of this transition will depend on the relationship developing during struggles.

19.13 We have to give special emphasis of building unity with the ranks of other organisations. There is tremendous urge for unity among the ranks of all the central trade unions. We should fully utilise this opportunity in building unity of workers of all affiliations. For this purpose, we have to train our rank and file workers to keep regular contacts with the ranks of other organisations, so that they can be brought into the united struggle.

19.14 The experience of the three days nation wide strike of six lakh coal workers on 20 - 22 November 2000 have very important lessons for all of us. When the four central trade unions viz INTUC, AITUC, HMS and BMS signed a derogatory memorandum of understanding with the management, which gave a raw deal to the coal miners, the CITU did not sign the MOU and explained to the coal miners the derogatory character of the MOU. A wave of discontent rose among workers of all coal miners against the MOU when the management circulated the fitment chart. A remarkable unity of workers of all affiliations was built up to oppose the MOU and the 3-day strike was a grand success. Never before such a massive strike was organized in coal industry in the past. Though the call for strike was given by CITU alone, the workers of all affiliations joined

together to fight unitedly against the derogatory MOU and a wider unity of the workers in action manifested at grass-root level.

19.15 This experience, as well as our experience on several occasions in the past, teaches us how we can build powerful class unity, if we adopt proper united front tactics. Planned and systematic work to increase the membership of the CITU, unleashing independent campaigns and struggles, coupled with constant efforts to reach out to the rank and file workers of all affiliations, will alone meet with the requisite response, from the leadership of the other unions, to our appeals for unity.

19.16 The experience of various industry wise struggles has also brought forth the fact that our effort for building up all in unity of the working class should proceed along a two-pronged strategy; one - there should be consistent and frequent dialogue with the leadership of various trade unions for united actions against anti-people policies, both at national and grass root level; two - independent activities have to be undertaken simultaneously by the CITU from all India level to unit level. Our independent campaign, agitation and direct actions, against the policies and onslaughts, will alone create conditions for united actions. The workers, irrespective of affiliations, will generate an urge from below for all-in unity of the trade unions at all levels. This will also help in addressing the problem of vacillations surfacing at leadership level, among a section of trade unions, on taking the struggle to a militant height

19.17 Comrades, the task of building working class unity is of great importance today and the CITU will have to play a crucial role in achieving all-in unity of the working class. The experience we gained during the last 3 years has to be properly analysed by us, so that we can discharge our tasks more effectively in the forthcoming period.

19.18 The struggles we are conducting today are essentially defensive in character. The Govt of India is trying to take away all the rights we have achieved through struggle, and make the conditions more difficult for the working class to suit the interests of the capitalist and landlord classes. So long our struggle

remain defensive in character, we will not be able to reverse the policies of the Govt of India. For that purpose, we have to launch offensive struggle which require great deal of political and organisational preparations. The unity of the entire class has to be widened and strengthened substantially to be in a position to launch offensive struggle against the Govt policies.

19.19 In the forthcoming struggles, we must make conscious systematic efforts to win over the sympathy of the people from other sections of the society who are also victims of the same policies. Our struggles cannot master required strength of offensive without active support of the popular masses. We have to convert our trade union struggles against the policies into democratic mass struggle of the entire people. Our past experience has shown that whenever we have been able win support of common people in our struggle we could achieve great deal of success, since pressure on the Govt become manifold if the popular masses rally behind the struggle.

20. BTR MEMORIAL

20.1 It gives me immense pleasure in informing you that we have finally moved in to our own building - the BTR Bhavan - by 10th December 2000, after the inaugural function held on 7th December 2000. It is a matter of great pride and satisfaction for the CITU that we are in the process of setting up an Institute for Trade Union Education and Research, the first of its kind in India. This was one of the dreams of our beloved Com. BTR.

20.2 In this we had received the wholehearted support and contributions from lakhs and lakhs of our members, as also from the members of several other Trade Unions, our well wishers and sympathisers. But for this, it would not have been possible for the CITU to translate the dream of one of the tallest leader of the working class movement - Com. BTR, into reality.

20.3 However, one issue, which overshadows our remarkable achievement, is the fact that we are yet to fulfill our commitments regarding contributions to BTR memorial fund. You will appreciate that our entire future activity which will tremendously increase our financial burden, will be in jeopardy if, in spite of

our repeated appeals we fail to get the funds. This apart, huge payments to the contractors, architect and others are kept in abeyance, due to paucity of funds, causing much embarrassment to us. Now that we have moved to our new building, in the coming days, expenses will immediately increase manifold under electricity, conveyance, maintenance and other heads. I once again request you to understand this. It is, therefore, urgently necessary that the State Committees, take up this issue seriously and fulfill its quota of contribution as quickly as possible. Details of the contributions received till dates are given in the table (in Annexure III). On your behalf, I wish to specially convey our sincerest thanks to our comrades in Banking, Insurance and State Government Employees Organisations as also scores of well wishers and sympathisers who have contributed substantially (above Rs.20 lakhs) towards BTR fund.

21. ON MEMBERSHIP

21.1 The Government of India has already initiated the process of fresh verification of membership of the Central Trade Union Organisations. All the central TUs participating in the verification have submitted their claims according to which BMS has claimed membership of 67,26,669, INTUC - 61,67,480, AITUC - 38,56,885, HMS - 36,67,082, CITU 28,34,314, UTUC (LS) - 14,47,484 and others below 10 lakhs.

21.2 The State wise membership given in the statement enclosed in the 'Annexure IV' will reveal that many of our unions, in spite of repeated requests, did not submit the Annual Returns and the affiliation fees within the stipulated time for filling claims. For instance, we could claim a total membership of only 28,34,314 whereas today as per the statement for the year 1997 our membership stands at 31 lakh plus and this in spite of the fact that Bihar, Maharashtra, Orissa and Punjab are, apparently, submitting some more returns and affiliation fees for 1997 only now. This means, our claim could have been much more, had our State Committees taken up the issue more seriously. This is one area of our weakness, which requires to be overcome, as early as possible. The annual returns, filled up properly with

all the details, affiliation fees along with the subscription amount for our journal, must be sent to the centre every year within the stipulated time envisaged in the constitution i.e., by 30th June. This has to be ensured by our State Committees. Now that the verification of membership of Central TUs is already on, our State Committees at least should now ensure that our unions substantiate the claims we have made, when records are called for.

22. OUR IMMEDIATE TASKS

22.1 The fast changing situation in the country is becoming more and more favourable to us. The day-to-day experience is convincing the working class and the people of India about the dangerous consequences of the policies of globalisation. A new nationwide strike wave is in the offing, with the living conditions becoming unbearable to the working class and the toiling millions. Even the middle class employees are coming in the vortex of struggle owing to accumulated discontent among them.

22.2 The NDA Government's high and mighty attitude towards these struggles, in an effort to please the World Bank-IMF bosses, is making the workers more determined to fight the Government policies. The struggles of electricity, telecom, postal, bank and insurance employees, the coal miners, the State Government employees and numerous struggles in various industries all over the country, braving onslaughts and repression, are just portents of rising curve of working class struggles.

22.3 The CITU has to play an important role in the forthcoming struggles. We should mark our presence, not only through solidarity actions, but also by being a part of these struggles. The deliberations of this Conference must lead to preparations of our plan of actions, which will enable us to discharge our responsibilities in these struggles.

22.4 Without taking firm steps to overcome our organisational weaknesses at all levels, our resolve to play a leading role in these struggles will not fructify. The indifference in overcoming

our weaknesses must be ended without any further delay. Mere ritualistic discussion and expression of lip-sympathy to Bhubaneswar document and organisational workshop conclusions, will not take us too far. The CITU Centre will have to monitor implementation of these decisions, so that we can discharge our duties in a time bound framework. Any negligence on our part in this regard will cost us very dearly.

22.5 Carrying on consistent struggle against communalism and the naïve design of the communal and divisive forces to disrupt the unity of the working class and toiling people is also a major task before us. This struggle is a continuous one and must be carried out along with other activities simultaneously.

22.6 The growing challenge to class unity of the workers from the casteist forces needs to be countered, keeping in mind our commitment to uphold social justice and end social oppression.

22.7 We will have to pay more attention to our work among the unorganised sector and strengthen our organisation among the most neglected segment of our class.

22.8 We have to implement the tasks on the working women's front, as proposed in our documents, and see that we must accelerate our progress in this sector. With growing unemployment in the country, we can ignore our responsibility in this regard, only at great peril. Our campaign for right to work as a fundamental right must be pursued seriously by us, so that we can mobilise the youth in our movement, to fight for generation of more jobs in the economy.

22.9 We must develop close fraternal ties with the kisan sabha and agricultural workers' union and take expeditious steps to build an active worker peasant alliance. It is only through coordinated struggles that such an alliance can be built. Our dialogue with the leadership of AIKS and AIAWU should be pursued continuously, so that the alliance does not merely remain a concept, but becomes a reality. Our fraternal relations with organisations of women, students and youth should be developed further, so that solidarity actions and coordinated

moves can help in strengthening of nationwide direct mass action programmes.

22.10 Cadre building and their education should be given more priority at all levels in our day-to-day activities. In our new premises, we will have sufficient infrastructure to undertake these activities. Thousands of workers, who have come nearer to us in the recent struggles, should be involved in educational activities. Training of teachers will have to be organised on a priority basis to fulfill the task.

22.11 We have to improve the quality of our journals and increase their circulation, so that our message and policies reach larger and larger sections of the working class. Making these journals financially self-sufficient should be given special emphasis in our activities in this regard.

22.12 We have not been able to fulfill the quota of 40-lakh membership during the last 3 years. Our weakness in the matter is most glaring. Let all the State Committees and industry-wise Federations decide on appropriate targets, so that the 40-lakh membership can be fulfilled in the next three years.

22.13 Our growing international relations must be developed further to widen the worldwide struggle against globalisation and improve our participation in international gatherings, so that the struggle assumes broader character. Special emphasis should be given to our solidarity actions with the TU organisations in SAARC and other Asian countries, so that we can play a more important role in regional cooperation.

22.14 Comrades, the present situation all around has thrown up innumerable challenges, as well as a great opportunity. The overzealous and desperate pursuit of the Fund/Bank dictated economic policy has posed a serious threat, not only to our economic sovereignty but also to the democratic structure and rights of the workers and common people. The dangerous pursuit of the communal agenda by the Sangh Parivar and the Government drive for saffronisation of administration and education and social institutions, has brought to the surface

the imminent threat to the secular fabric of the society and unity and integrity of the country and the people.

22.15 On the other hand, the fast rising discontent and anger against the misrule of the BJP led Govt is expressing itself in various ways - through numerous sectoral struggles all over the country, in all segments of the society and with surging spontaneity. We must take up these challenges and convert them into an opportunity to channelise the spontaneous expression of discontent of the common people into organised countrywide mass actions against the anti-people and anti-national policies. We should, thus, seize the initiative to force the reversal of the disastrous policies, defeat the communal, divisive and disruptive forces to save the country from disaster, to defend the people from economic and social onslaughts.

22.16 This conference should give a call for nationwide struggle against the disastrous policies of the Govt of India. On 24th January, 2001, let us organise a National Protest Day to highlight the dangerous character and consequences of the policies of the Central Govt by holding countrywide demonstrations, dharnas etc, involving broadest section of workers.

22.17 The left led peasants and agricultural workers' organisations have given a call to hold nationwide programme of picketing and dharna before the Central Govt offices all over the country on 5-7 February 2001. The CITU has decided to hold demonstration on 7th February 2001 in all the States to express solidarity with the legitimate demands of the agricultural workers and the peasantry such as comprehensive legislation for the protection of the interests of the agricultural workers, procurement of crops by the Govt with a proper support price, opposition to removal of quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural products etc. We must organise this solidarity programmes with widest possible participation by the working class so that we can make effective stride towards the direction of building workers-peasants alliance through direct action.

22.18 The forthcoming budget of the Central Govt is going to spell disaster for the working class and the toiling millions in

the country. Therefore, we must prepare ourselves to launch a powerful campaign against the forthcoming Union Budget so that the working class be fully mobilized to oppose the budgetary proposals of the BJP led NDA Govt at the Centre. We should plan campaign in advance so that the working class can be brought into action soon after presentation of the Union budget in Parliament.

22.19 The National Platform of Mass Organisations(NPMO), The Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions, Committee of Public Sector Trade Unions(CPSTU) have become accepted united platforms for the working class and the toiling masses in the country. If they are fully activated, they can play an effective role in the forthcoming battles. CITU has to play an effective role in initiating struggles and mass actions in the forthcoming period.

DEVELOPING SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG WORKING CLASS

22.20 The CITU unions and activists, while carrying out day to day struggles should not forget the need for developing socialist consciousness among the workers. Unless special efforts are made in that direction, there cannot be qualitative change in our movement. Workers must be educated that the struggle against various forms of exploitation by the capitalist class should proceed in the direction of ending the system of exploitation itself. Without abolition of the capitalist system and establishment of the socialist system, there cannot be qualitative change in the working and living condition of the workers and the people. Reformist trade union leadership try to keep the working class away from the political struggle against capitalism.

22.21 Without inculcating class consciousness among the workers, it is not possible to develop socialist consciousness. However, capitalist landlord classes in India are trying to keep away the working class from class-outlook, making continuous attempts to rouse caste or religious sentiments among the workers. They also try to sow illusions in the mind of the workers about the so called virtues of capitalism. The dismantling of

socialism in USSR and eastern European countries has become a handy weapon for them to create confusion in the mind of the workers.

22.22 Hence the struggle against alien class ideology has become an integral part of the struggle for development of socialist consciousness among the workers. The reformist, communal and casteist influences are still prevalent in a big way in the workers. Unless CITU unions organise sustained programme of educational activities, it will not be possible to advance towards development of socialist consciousness among the workers.

22.23 We have to educate our own union activists and members whose level of consciousness needs to be heightened to enhance the quality of our organisation and movement. The CITU Centre, State Committees, and industrywise federations will have to take this task seriously and on a priority basis so that we can do away with the shortcomings in our work.

22.24 Comrades, I have only outlined some priority tasks for your consideration. These are, by no means, exhaustive. Fulfillment of these tasks will enable us to play a more effective role in the ongoing class battle. Let us look forward to fulfill these tasks. Let us all swiftly prepare ourselves to undertake these challenging tasks.

We shall overcome!

Long Live CITU!

Workers of all lands, unite!

M K Pandhe
General Secretary

TASKS ON ORGANISATION

The Report on Organisation, better known as the Bhubaneswar Document, is an important landmark in the brief but chequered history of the CITU. It was adopted by the Working Committee at its meeting in Bhubaneswar in June 1993. The document identified the weaknesses and shortcomings of the CITU organisation and formulated tasks for overcoming them.

But, even after seven years since its adoption, the tasks remain largely unimplemented and the weaknesses and shortcomings persist. Greatly concerned about this situation, the Ghaziabad session of the CITU General Council decided to conduct a three-day workshop on organisation.

The workshop was held at BTR Bhavan, New Delhi on 13-15 March 2000. 63 comrades from 18 States participated. The paper entitled "Task Before the Workshop" presented at the session made it clear that the workshop was organised for a limited purpose of working out concrete steps to be initiated for implementation of the tasks laid down in the Bhubaneswar document. The paper also explained the methodology of discussion.

Four main aspects of the organisational problems were discussed separately. These were:

- 1) Expansion of membership and organizational network
- 2) Democratic functioning
- 3) Education, cadre training and ideological work
- 4) Functioning of the Federations.

The participants were divided into 4 groups each undertaking discussion on one of the four aspects. The groups recorded their conclusions and recommendations.

A detailed report on the workshop was presented at the General Council meeting held at Kozhikode on 20-22 April 2000. The General Council, after a round of discussion, directed the Secretariat to prepare the final document.

As directed by the General Council, the Secretariat has worked out in the light of conclusions and recommendations of the groups and subsequent discussions, the immediate steps that need be initiated to restart or reinforce the process of implementation of the Bhubaneswar Document. The tasks will be best understood, if only if they are viewed in their context, as provided in the background paper for the group discussion. Therefore, the contents of the papers are summarised here.

CENTRE'S RESPONSIBILITY AND TASKS

As self-critically stated in the report on the workshop presented to the Kozhikode session of the General Council, "One major shortcoming in the conduct of the workshop was the failure on the part of the CITU Centre to submit a self-critical review report on the functioning of the Centre" particularly in respect of the lapses on its part in implementing the tasks assigned to it by the Bhubaneswar Document. Admittedly, such a review report would have further stimulated the discussion and served as a model for the participants in the workshop. It is therefore in

order to preface the present document with a brief self-critical reviewed report on the centre's functioning.

The Report on Organisation rightly stated: "Any corrective measure in our organisational set up must begin with the centre itself which has the primary responsibility of having an over all review of the entire organization." The Report itself dealt with the functioning of the all India centre first. But a self-critical report of the Centre was missing in the input provided for the workshop, which had detracted from the possible value of the workshop. The following is a brief review of the work of the centre.

The tasks laid down for the centre, as summarised in the section "Our urgent task" are:

- a) Strengthening of collective functioning of the centre so that teamwork can be improved. It involves information sharing, collective discussion and decision making, check up on implementation of decisions including monitoring of the work of each member of the Secretariat. Periodical review of implementation of the organisational tasks laid down in the document.
- b) Induction of some senior comrades.
- c) Two-day quarterly meeting of the full Secretariat for complete review of the organisation so that steps can be taken to overcome the weaknesses. The work done by it to be regularly reported to the General Council/Working Committee meetings.
- d) To discuss the question of expansion in priority areas with the respective State committees and prepare well knit growth plan for strengthening organization in priority sector, in industries owned by multinationals and monopoly houses, cadre deployment according to priority.
- e) Efforts to be made at all levels to put comrades in proper position and give higher responsibility to comrades having merit. Education sub-committees to prepare syllabus and lecture notes

for chalking out country wide educative programme by end of October 2000.

f) More attention to ideological mouldings of the working class, preparation of materials, systematic effort to develop socialist consciousness, to refute alien ideologies.

It has to be admitted by the centre that implementation of the tasks pertaining to the centre has largely gone by default. Some senior effective comrades have joined the centre. Of course the centre has also been deprived of the services of some comrades including the late Com. Vimal Ranadive. There has no doubt been improvement in the work allotted to new comrades both in terms of quality and quantity. Particular mention may be made of the journals. But as the document states, sum total of individual work cannot effectively ensure collective functioning and there is urgent need to show more alertness by the Secretariat members functioning from the centre in this regard.

But in the task of developing collective functioning and team spirit, after some initial improvement there has been considerable deterioration. Daily meetings of the available Secretaries were the effective means for information sharing and such meetings at the initial stage were more or less frequent. Now such meetings are few and far between resulting in drastic deterioration in information sharing. So individual functioning or at best a sort of group functioning in some cases is the predominant feature.

Job distribution was done several times but change in the job allotment was hardly made on the basis of any review of the work of the individual comrades or of the work of the centre as a whole. There is no system of "regular check up of the work done by each office bearer."

Given this deficiency in the method of its own functioning, the centre can hardly be expected to accomplish all the tasks it is supposed to fulfill in respect of the entire organisation. A major failure of the centre is the failure to effectively monitor the implementation of the Report on Organisation at different levels

including the federations and the unions. The centre has failed to regularly carry out review of the activities at all levels. This failure of the all India centre partly accounts for the failure of the States and districts, federations and unions in implementation of various tasks.

There has been a complete failure on the part of the centre to discuss the question of expansion in priority areas with the respective State committees and prepare well-knit plan for growth etc. No doubt, in some cases individual office bearers are helping some States in planning their work for expansion. But again this is just individual effort, not the effort of the centre as a whole.

Only in the case of Hindi-belt, a number of meetings with the leadership of the States pertaining to this area was conducted. But these meetings could not be used (at least could not be used to the desirable extent) for strengthening and expansion in all these years. One trade union class with the leading Hindi-belt activists could be organized.

It is a signal failure of the centre in the matter of organising education and training and introducing a regular system for cadre development. Failure to prepare lecture notes on subjects included in the syllabus has attracted repeated criticism. The root of all failure is the basic failure to introduce collective functioning, collective responsibility and collective spirit at the centre. The document states correctly: "The overall functioning of the CITU Centre largely depends on coordinating role played by the General Secretary. Without his proper supervision the work may suffer and despite hard work done by Comrades working at the centre, the focus of priorities may get lost. The collective functioning of the Secretariat to a considerable extent has to be the responsibility of the General Secretary". But, as he is carrying a heavy burden of multifarious responsibilities, it has become difficult for him to do adequate justice to this all-important role, as assigned to him by the Bhubaneswar document. And that is of necessity reflected in centre functioning, and in turn on the functioning of the CITU as a whole.

It will, however, be a grave mistake to conclude from the above discussion that the centre has nothing but lapses and failures to its credit. What a tremendous volume of work the centre is doing can very well be seen from the list of jobs performed by it which is incorporated in Section 4 of the document - para 4.3 to 4.3.23. Besides, it is the role played by the CITU in general and the CITU centre in particular that the struggle against liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation is growing from strength to strength. Today nobody has any doubt about the predominant role of CITU in this great crusade. The centre is, of course, carrying a heavy burden. But, it is not merely a question of burden; it is also a "question of attitude". Rationalisation of the methods of functioning itself may give strength to carry more burdens.

STATE COMMITTEES

While dealing with the organisational tasks of the State Committees, the Report on Organisation prescribed some specific tasks for improvement of functioning of the State Committees:

1. To start with, preparation of self-critical Review of functioning of various organs of the CITU in the State in the light of the Report, organize discussion in State and district Committees and work out corrective mechanism.
2. Review of struggles conducted by the unions, to be widely circulated in the state
3. Launching Statewide drive for increasing membership of CITU fixing target.
4. Strengthening of industry wise coordination and steps to introduce TU democracy at all levels.
5. Review of functioning of District Committees and giving them concrete task.

Besides, the document prescribed some norms of functioning of the State Committees. (1) Normally 3-4 meetings in a year and periodical review of activities, (2) adequate preparations for meetings to ensure that there is detailed discussion of policy issues instead of mere reporting, (3) proper check up of work done by the committee. (4) Systematic struggle against erroneous ideas and policy, (5) Due emphasis on the task of further strengthening the organisation. (6) Improvement of attendance in the meeting. (7) Written report of the General Secretary. (8) Discussion on improvement of CITU's position in different industries.

An effective functioning of the State secretariat through proper job division and check up which is the key to collective leadership.

Some initial steps were taken in some States to implement the tasks laid down in the report; review report was prepared in some States and organised discussion at State and even district levels. In some cases frequency of meetings increased; there was improvement in attendance; written report of the General Secretary to the State Committee was introduced; in a word, there developed awareness about the need for strengthening the organisation, resulting in some improvement in the functioning. But even the little improvement that was achieved did not sustain in all respects, functioning has by and large reverted to in the old position.

It is noted that most of the States have failed to develop effective functioning of the State centre. What is alarming is the lack of realisation among many comrades in the state leadership regarding the importance of a strong functioning centre, which is also contributing to our failure to develop an effective district level team of leaders functioning from a district centre.

EXPANSION OF MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANISATION

The Bhubaneshwar Document attached great importance to the task of expansion in terms of membership as well as to area and industry wise expansion.

Though there has been some over all increase in membership, in many of the States, membership has declined from 1995 level. The extent of decline ranges from 22000 to 1000 as per membership particulars received at the centre till March 2000. Some states have of course increased their membership, which accounts for over all increase.

The aggravating sickness, closure, massive reduction in workforce are of course a reason for decline but these alone cannot explain the decline in many states. Defective method of our functioning is mainly responsible for the decline in membership in most cases.

A very pernicious trend which has developed in our functioning is a major obstacle to our expansion, the trend of limiting our activities and movements within the known familiar periphery, showing reluctance and even resistance to go beyond.

The CITU membership profile shows extreme unevenness among various sectors of industries/services. In many states our presence in the organised sector and modern industries is minimal and in some cases nil. There is a tendency to leave strategic industries totally out of our organizational plan in some states.

On the other hand, particularly in weaker states, in view of lack of sufficient trained cadres, we are yet to reach vast sections of unorganised sector workers as well.

On the whole, there remained serious lack of realisation on the urgent need for 'round the year membership drive' and linking the 'membership enrollment' with every TU actions and activities.

We are to aim at (1) making headway in the organised sector, (2) reaching the uncovered areas in the States, (3) orienting our work in the unorganised sector more concretely towards trade/profession/industry based organisations, and 4) evolving concrete organisational mechanism and coordination between

the State, the centre and other leading bodies.

The task of drawing up "well-knit plan" for expansion to new areas and industries on the basis of priority determined through consultation between state committee and the Centre has gone almost entirely by default.

Some steps have been taken by the Centre for improvement in the work of Hindi belt states but more is required.

The task of enrolling and properly organising the working women is yet to receive due attention.

DEMOCRATIC FUNCTIONING

The Bhubanehwar document has laid great emphasis on democratic functioning of CITU at all level and in all respects. It is the focal point of our organizational task.

Only through democratic functioning a trade union can grow through unleashing of all round initiative both at leadership and grass root level, create condition for expansion and consolidation of organisation at all level.

The other aspect is the democratic functioning of all the organs of CITU right from the Secretariat to the union executive committees. Collective functioning is the core concept of democratic functioning. Collective functioning is hardly practiced at any level to the desired extent.

Concrete steps are needed for a) adequate two-way communication, with the workers' views receiving due attention, b) for ensuring the holding of union conferences regularly in a truly participative manner,

c) to think out what changes are required in the role of the Centre, State committees and all higher committees.

In the face of powerful ideological offensive of imperialism and the ruling classes, both extensive and intensive communication assumes urgency.

We must make due introspection of our organisational habits that have developed at various levels which stand in the way of democratising our functioning.

TU EDUCATION CADRE TRAINING AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK

We have failed to develop a system of trade union education, cadre training. We will have to consider steps for development of appropriate system.

For a trade union organisation with a socialist perspective, ideological work is always important. But, with imperialism and the ruling and exploiting classes having launched a powerful ideological offensive, the task has assumed greater importance. Disruption on communal, casteist and regional lines has to be met ideologically and other wise. Our performance in this regard is not very significant.

INDUSTRYWISE FEDERATIONS

Membership of our federation compared to the workforce is unsatisfactory, in some cases, insignificant. In some cases stagnation is observed in recent years and decline in some.

In most of the cases membership enrolment is left to spontaneity. Planning is mostly absent in regard to enrolment as well as on the question of expansion to new areas.

While CITU's influence and importance in many industries are unquestionable, it is not reflected in organizational strength.

There is no plan for round the year membership. Two of our federations are practically defunct. Most of the federations are yet to function as a true all India platform of the workers in the respective industries. Barring coal, steel, waterfront and Anganwadi, no all India movement of entire workers of the industry could be developed.

The weakness flows from the irregular and ineffective functioning of the apex level team of leadership. Meetings are in many cases held infrequently, attendance is also unsatisfactory in many cases. A cohesive and regularly interacting team of leadership is yet to develop. Some leading comrades placed inability to pay attention to federation functioning because of other assignments.

In many industries CITU unions have earned negotiating status. But a disturbing feature is that in some industries the representation of our comrades in the apex negotiating forum, instead of increasing the pace of our activity has contributed to decline in mass activity.

Some of our federations have played crucial role in developing united struggle in the concerned industry. This exercise needs to be speeded up and other federations also should make serious efforts in this direction.

A basic shortcoming in the federation functioning is the lack of initiative in educating our cadres and workers in raising organising skill and level of consciousness.

Besides broad general education of trade union issues, industry specific issues and linkage with general policies must find place in curriculum. Federation leadership should undertake preparation of such education material.

There is urgent need to improve coordination between the federations and the state committees.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

The CITU Secretariat, basing itself on the conclusions and recommendations of the groups as well as subsequent discussions, has worked out the following immediate tasks. The State Committees and federations must hold extended meetings of their committees, preferably workshops in consultation with the Centre, to work out plan for implementing these immediate tasks. Attempt should be made to complete the process before

the 10th conference of CITU.

TASKS FOR THE CENTRE

1. To hold a full-fledged discussion on the Centre's responsibility in regard to implementation of Bhubaneshwar Document in the CITU organisation as a whole.
2. Revival of the system of daily meetings, sharing information, regular exchange of views etc to ensure collective functioning, with proper role of the General Secretary as a coordinator and team leader, regular check up on the work of the Centre and individual comrade at the Centre.
3. Exercise on identification of "priority" areas for development and expansion in consultation with concerned State Committees. To start with one or two states should be selected for the purpose.
4. Similarly one or two Hindi belt states should be selected for special attention.
5. The education sub-committee may if necessary be reconstituted, the syllabus must be finalised and lecture notes prepared before the 10th conference. Plan for organising a system for education should also be finalised immediately after the conference.
6. Suitable machinery should be evolved for regular monitoring the implementation of organisational tasks.

TASKS FOR THE STATES

1. Several States did not prepare a review report in the light of the Report on Organisation for a detailed discussion on how to implement the tasks laid down there in. The defaulting State Committees must immediately undertake the work.
2. Those States, which had organised discussion and took initial steps to implement the tasks should organise in consultation

with the Centre, review meetings or workshops to assess the present position and work out steps for progressive implementation of all organisational tasks.

3. Only in a few advanced states there are functioning State centres. No improvement in organisation and functioning in the state is possible without a functioning state centre.

For the States, which do not have a functioning State centre, the most important immediate task will be to take steps for setting up such centre.

4. While the State level workshops will of course identify priority area/industry for expansion, a detailed review of State level movements and those conducted by major unions should be undertaken in a following extended State Committee meeting.

5. To ensure submission of annual returns and affiliation fee in proper time is a regular priority task of the State Committees.

TASKS FOR THE FEDERATIONS

1. The Federations are also to organise workshops adopt plans for membership expansion and expansion to new areas/unity.

2. Ensure proper functioning of the Federation committee and Centre

3. Develop proper mechanism for coordination with State Committees for joint effort for development of State level activity and organisation.

TASKS IN RESPECT OF DEMOCRATIC FUNCTIONING

1. Task for the Centre has been enlisted above

2. One major aspect of democratic functioning as discussed in the earlier documents and also in the workshop is involvement of ordinary members and general workers. The problems will of course be discussed in the State and federation workshop.

To start with at least some pilot projects involving some major unions/industry must be taken immediately. Collaboration between State Committees and federation leadership will be helpful.

3. All unions must make it a regular practice to complete their conferences according to the periodicity prescribed in their respective union constitutions. If the periodicity is not otherwise prescribed, the unions must complete their conferences before every all India conference of the CITU. The State Committees must ensure this and Federations also should cooperate.

4. Regular meetings of the State Committees (at least once in two months every year) and more frequent meetings of the State Secretariat have to be ensured. Regular meetings of Federation committees must also be ensured. Meetings must be prepared with written reports as stipulated in the documents.

TASKS IN RESPECT OF WORKING WOMEN

1. All the State Committees should identify the priority areas/industries with large number of working women.

2. Allot cadre, preferably women, for work among working women, at the State Centre, and wherever possible, at district level. One office bearer of the State Committee, functioning from the State centre, to be given the responsibility of this work.

3. State Committees should review the work among working women periodically.

4. The State Committees should ensure that necessary funds are provided for the activities among working women.

5. State Co-ordination Committees to be formed immediately, wherever they are not formed; they should be made functional where they exist, but are not active.

6. The All India and state centres should regularly check up the implementation of the decisions.

7. Special attention should be paid to identify and train cadres.

TASKS IN RESPECT OF EDUCATION, CADRE DEVELOPMENT AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK

1. Primary responsibility lies with the Centre. Centre's main tasks in this regard have already been noted.

2. Centre has planned publication of a number of pamphlets on various issues related to the policy of liberalisation and globalisation, etc. The remaining pamphlets must be brought out early.

3. State and Federation committees should make serious effort for their sale on large scale and translate them in local languages, publish own pamphlets on state and industry specific issues.

4. Organise popular lectures on all-important issues.

Implementation of the tasks brooks no delay. For a whole decade the working class in India has been carrying on relentless struggle against the offensive launched by the imperialist forces and the Indian ruling classes in the name of the new economic policy, the policy of liberalisation and globalisation and CITU has played the most significant role. The attack is intensifying with every passing day communalism is being increasingly used along with other traditional weapons to disrupt the struggle. On the other hand however the beginning of the current year witnesses definite symptoms of a fresh upswing in the working class movement. The recent strike wave in the country, and wider participation of the workers and other toiling people in 11th May general strike are clear indications of this trend. The situation demands strenuous efforts on the part of the trade unions to carry forward the struggle to its logical end by properly harnessing and consolidating the new forces that are coming up to join the struggle. The CITU will have to play the most important role. But, the CITU cannot play its historic role effectively unless it overcomes all its weaknesses and shortcomings and strengthens the organisation. Here lies

the paramount importance of implementing the Report on Organisation. There is no doubt the CITU at all levels will adequately respond to this urgent need of the hour.

TASKS ON WORKING WOMEN'S FRONT

The Tenth Conference of the Centre of Indian Trade Unions endorses the report adopted by the Sixth All India Conference of Workingwomen on 16-17 September 2000 at Haldia. The CITU conference agrees with the observations of the workingwomen's conference regarding our work on this front and welcomes the suggestions and tasks laid out by the Haldia conference.

CITU had vowed to unite the working class to lead the struggle to end exploitation and is aware that the working class cannot be united if a big section of it- the workingwomen - remain outside of the trade union movement. In its second conference itself CITU decided to pay special attention to the task of organising workingwomen and formed the All India Co-ordination Committee of Working Women just before its fourth conference.

CITU recognises that to bring the large mass of women into trade unions, it is necessary for and the responsibility of the unions to address the specific problems of women, to consciously encourage their participation in regular union

activities and to train and promote them to responsible positions in the unions.

Though there is some improvement in the participation of women in trade union activities in general and in CITU in particular, there is no significant change in the conditions of workingwomen. The liberalisation and globalisation policies initiated by the Congress and pursued more vigorously by the present BJP led NDA Government have rather multiplied the problems of workingwomen.

96% of workingwomen are in the unorganised sector, where no legal provisions are available; whatever are available are not implemented. The jobs of women in the organised sector are further being reduced; women in several Public Sector Undertakings, Banks, and Central Government Departments etc. are forced to opt for VRS or accept transfers to far off places. Job opportunities in departments like education and health, where women work in large numbers have come down due to reduction in welfare expenditure. Thousands of women employed in the EPZs are denied minimum wages and other benefits by the owners who enjoy the benefits provided by the Government and mint huge profits.

Government of India has not ratified the Maternity Benefit Convention of the ILO. The Maternity Benefit Act is not applicable or is not implemented even where it is applicable in the unorganised sector, where most of the women work. Women are paid lower wages than men for the same or similar work; women's work is segregated and treated as inferior to avoid paying equal wages. Women both in the organised and unorganised sectors are subjected to sexual harassment. Some studies indicate that 98% of workingwomen in the metropolitan cities faced sexual harassment at some time in their working life. More than three years after the Supreme Court judgement on sexual harassment, the Government has not enacted a law against this scourge on society.

These problems concern not only the workingwomen but should be of concern to the entire trade union movement. As such,

CITU and its affiliated unions should mobilise the entire membership on these issues.

The workingwomen's coordination committees at different levels and the workingwomen's subcommittees of the unions/federations assist the CITU in addressing these issues of workingwomen. Our weakness lies in the fact that this aspect is not recognised by many State committees and federations. As a result, coordination committees and subcommittees are not formed; where they are formed attention is not paid to their proper functioning. They are considered to be the jobs of only the workingwomen activists.

Taking into consideration all these aspects, the Tenth All India Conference of CITU takes up the following tasks suggested by the All India Conference of workingwomen and calls upon all the State committees and affiliated federations of CITU to implement them.

- ◆ All the State committees should allot a full timer, preferably a woman, for the work among workingwomen.
- ◆ An office bearer of the CITU State committee should be given the responsibility of the work among workingwomen.
- ◆ All the affiliated unions/ federations in industries with large number of women should form women's sub committees. This should be completed by March 2001.
- ◆ Efforts should be made to organise the unorganised women workers by deciding priority sectors/ industries.
- ◆ Priority should be given to train and develop women cadres.
- ◆ An All India campaign should be conducted on the three major issues of workingwomen - Equal wages, Maternity benefit and Sexual harassment- culminating in a mass mobilisation of

workingwomen in Delhi in the first quarter of 2001. The campaign should consist of:

- ◆ Surveys
- ◆ Leaflets distribution
- ◆ Signature collection
- ◆ Group meetings/street corner meetings/ gate meetings
- ◆ Rallies at district and State levels
- ◆ Com Vimaldi's birthday to be observed every year by organising a memorial lecture on one important issue concerning workingwomen.
- ◆ An All India Convention on home based workers to be organised in March 2001 and take up a campaign programme on the issues of home based workers.

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE

Com. President & Comrades,

On behalf of the Credential Committee I am placing this report before you.

In all, the Xth conference of CITU is being attended by 2603 delegates and observers the highest in the history of CITU. Apart from 2542 delegates representing 21 states and CITU Centre 32 office bearers out of 37 are also attending this conference. 41 special observers 32 from Punjab and 9 from the CITU Centre apart from 15 fraternal delegates from our central organizations and national federations are attending this 10th conference.

We record with satisfaction the presence of 23 leaders representing various trade union organizations of Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Vietnam, Japan and France and of SIGTUR and IUF, who have attended and greeted the delegates to the conference. Leaders of the National TU organization, the AITUC, HMS and TUCC also greeted the delegates.

Out of the total 2544 credential forms issued to the delegates the committee has received back 2522 forms. The form was intended to gather some interesting information and therefore was required to be filled up properly which unfortunately was not done carefully. Nevertheless, some interesting information derived on analyzing the forms reveal that 262 women are attending this conference as delegates out of total of 2544 delegates. This does not represent 15% of the total delegation as was decided by the Secretariat. Excepting, Karnataka no other state committee has carried out the decision. It is interesting to note that the largest section of the delegation (1082) is in the age group of 41-50 years. The education profile reveals that majority are matriculate (1108) while a substantial section are graduates (604). Professionally, 547 delegates come under the category of factory workers while 1116 are wholetimers. 630 of them are attached to district centre, 189 to State Centre and 322 are in local area. The major section of the delegates (1089) attending have joined the TU between 1977 to 1990 and 495 have joined between 1970 & 1976. 534 of them are committee members at the district level, 372 are council members at the state level.

825 delegates have been jailed in connection with TU work at some time or the other and Com.D Reghuvaran (Kerala) had to serve the largest period of imprisonment-4380 days. Com.Phatik Banerjee spent the longest period of underground life in connection with TU work—11680 days.

The youngest delegate attending this conference is Com.Malati (Tripura) and B Sheela (TN) both 19 years of age while the honour of the eldest delegates goes to Com.Gurupada Pal from West Bengal (92 years old).

Comrades, today CITU is widely accepted as one of the leading central trade union organisation in the country. Therefore, larger and larger section of the workers want to come under the fold of CITU. 218 applications for affiliation covering a total membership of 46305 was placed before the Credential Committee for scrutiny. After, scrutiny the committee recommends grant of affiliation to 210 unions covering a total

membership of 45,511 which fulfils all the requirements.

On scrutiny of the other applications the committee finds that many of the State Committees did not take care while forwarding the new applications this time. Many of the applications were forwarded without the signature of the General Secretary even. Many of the applications did not fulfill all the requirements. The State Committee will have to be careful while forwarding the application, otherwise the unions have to suffer.

For Credential Committee

Ranjit Basu (Convenor)
A K Padmanabhan (Member)
N Padmalochanan (Member)
S B Bhardwaj (Member)
Somen Kundu (Member)

WE CAN TAKE ON THE STUPENDOUS CHALLENGE

E BALANANDAN

Comrades, during the course of last four days, you have deliberated thoroughly on almost all relevant issues facing the working class and the country your debate manifested an ardent desire for unleashing a more vigorous initiative by CITU, from all levels, right from top to the grass roots, for an all out fight for a change-change of the policies, change of governance and a change in correlation of forces.

You have also deliberated on the fast changing situation in all fronts as well. Yes fast changes are taking place. And more important is that the mood of the mass of the workers, even those who were earlier not in struggle, is also changing. Newer and newer forces among the workers are joining strike actions and various other struggles. The struggle in power sector is an example. During the last few years, a large section of them, who were earlier not there, are coming to the front line of struggle, not for any economic demands, but in the struggle against the policies. The postal employees also went on strike for ten days braving all threats, again not on any economic

demands. The heroic struggles, braving all brutalities of Govt and employers by the workers in many private sector units, multinational companies as well, are also testimony to the fast changing mood of the mass of workers to fight and resist.

SURGING STRUGGLES

The present situation also manifests the militant mood of the workers not to accept everything lying down. The coal workers refused to accept the agreements signed by some of the trade unions and went on three days' countrywide strike enmasse at the call of CITU and forced the management to change the settlement substantially. The workers of Maruti and Pepsi refused to accept the individual good conduct bond insisted by the employer; braving dismissal and all forms of victimisation. The fighting mood of the Plantation workers in the South has forced the Plantation owners to join the struggle against the crisis in the industry fuelled by Govt policy. The struggles in textile, engineering and various other sectors both in private and public sector, in the unorganised sectors like brick -kilns, quarries etc, throughout the country, and even where our movement is very weak, are all bringing forth the mounting intolerance of the mass of the working class to this disastrous policy regime.

Added to this is the fast expanding discontent among our brethren in the villages- the peasants and the agricultural workers. Frequent rail-roko by the peasants in many parts of the country have forced the Govt to again commit for procurement of wheat and paddy from the farmers. Yes, the peasantry have started coming on the streets in a big way against the same policies and its grievous impact on their lives and livelihood.

REVERBERATING ECHOES

You must not fail to note that because of our consistent campaign and struggle, change is taking place in other camps as well. When we, the trade unions opposed the power policy of the Govt, we have been ridiculed as outmoded. And now,

after Enron revelations, after manifold increase in power tariff and still with no improvement in the economics of the electricity boards, muscle-flexing of the foreign power companies etc., all are now reflecting the same views we had been ventilating from the beginning. I have already told about the hue and cry by the plantation owners. Even the owners of other industries, both small and big started murmuring about the disastrous import liberalisation, threatening their ouster from the market.

A new opportunity is emerging before the working class movement, discontent and intolerance is rising high, expanding widely, even in other camps, and we must reach out to them all and give it a shape of countrywide militant action of the toiling people for a decisive change, for reversal of policies. I am sure, the massive action of the toiling people would also find echoes in the other camp, at least among a section of them, louder and louder to force a change of correlation of forces countrywide.

We must not fail to see as well, that along with rising struggles all around, the attack is also mounting on the people, against their unity and rights by the ruling class in various routes.

ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY

The democratic structure is the target of the ruling polity and they are active in their exercise through the constitution-review panel, in diluting the existing parliamentary set up and to give it a more unitary character. The country is also witnessing greater servility of the ruling polity to the imperialist pressure/ manoeuvre both on political and economic issues. At the same time the labour right is under ferocious attack, in the background of increasing pressure from the foreign capital lobby and also from Indian corporate houses. Judiciary is also overactive to undermine and negate the democratic rights of the workers and the common people. Supreme Court and Kerala High Court had put a ban on hartal. Delhi High Court wanted ESMA to be invoked against the Postal employees' strike but commented nothing on the issues involved. The labour laws are being openly violated with equally open-Govt support, without any camouflage. The labour laws are sought to be thoroughly

changed in favour of the mill-owners — in order to make you all slaves, contract/casual workers and the like. They want to completely disarm you - the working class, so that you are not able to mobilise, not able to resist and fight. Will you accept this lying down ? In the face of rising struggles, the State machinery, with all its wings, is consolidating itself. This is a big challenge.

COMMUNAL FRENZY

Another big challenge is the attack on the unity of the people and the country. The communal Govt, headed by BJP has started already sidelining the NDA agenda and putting forth the RSS agenda in the frontline more desperately and arrogantly. The minorities, the Muslims and the Christians are being attacked with frequent ferocity, temple-masjid issue is being rocked by the highest seat of the governance - most unscrupulously designed to engineer divisions among the people, more so the common toiling people of the country.

We have to fight simultaneously, both against the mounting attack on our rights and the democratic structure and also against the communal divisive design, if we are to confront effectively the challenges of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation(LPG). All are closely interlinked, the imperialist manoeuvre and offensive, the disastrous policies of LPG, the attacks on trade union and democratic rights and the communal divisive designs. We must have a comprehensive understanding of the issues in entirety and that is most important.

CONFRONT THE CHALLENGES

To do all these things, to confront the challenges before us - we must equip us organisationally. We must be able to reach all, intervene in all the struggles, particularly emerging in new areas, for which we need a much stronger organisation at all levels- than we have at present.

You have deliberated on organisation at length, made valid criticisms, identified some weaknesses as well. But that is not

enough. We must all put all the dos and don'ts in concrete action and implement the organisational tasks already formulated by you all only — I reiterate again, at all levels. Yes, without unleashing initiative at all levels—from the top to the lowest end, through a meaningful, effective democratic functioning, creating a widest cadre base, we cannot discharge the stupendous task of intervening and widening the canvas of the struggle to the broadest extent, as required, and consolidate them in countrywide streams of actions. How do we politicalise the workers without going through this process ? There is no shortcut to this.

If we are to discharge the tasks before us, if we are to avail of the opportunity unfolding before the working class movement and meet the challenges, if we are to change the correlation of forces towards a viable alternative, and if we are not to miss the bus, we are to organise ourselves befittingly at all levels, to be able to exploit the potential and the sharpen and widen the struggle of the entire toiling masses. I am sure, we will be able to do it. Future is definitely ours.

KUDOS TO AP COMRADES

Comrades, before concluding, I must thank our Andhra Pradesh comrades. It is just not a formality. The manner, they have discharged very efficiently the stupendous task of hosting this mammoth conference of CITU- confirms our confidence - yes we can take up all the challenges before us. It is not only our comrades in AP, it is the toiling people of the entire State, cemented more in the process of the last long drawn heroic battle against the power-tariff hike, whose support and good-wishes and expectation as well, got reflected in the success of this five-day-conference. I thank them again, all the veterans, leaders and the huge army of disciplined volunteers working day and night, on behalf of all of you. With this I conclude.

(Concluding speech at the Tenth Conference of CITU)

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- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. E. Balanandan | - President |
| 2. M.K. Pandhe | - General Secretary |
| 3. Ranjit Basu | - Treasurer |

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- | | |
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| 3. R. Umanath | 4. Ahilya Rangnekar |
| 5. Md. Amin | 6. M.M. Lawrence |
| 7. Susheela Gopalan | 8. C. Kannan |
| 9. T.K. Rengarajan | 10. S. Suryanarayana Rao |
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| 11. S. Dev Roye | 12. K. Hemalatha |
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| 17. P.K. Gurudasan | 18. S.K. Bakshi |
| 19. S. Veeraiah | 20. M.A. Gaffoor |

Special Invitee

Manik De

GENERAL COUNCIL AND WORKING COMMITTEE MEMEBRS

A & N ISLANDS

1. B. CHANDRACHOODAN

ANDHRA PRADESH

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| * 2. CH. NARASINGA RAO | * 3. R. SUDHA BHASKAR |
| * 4. P. ROJA | * 5. Y. SIDDAIAH |
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| f 16. D. SARADA | 17. RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY |
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ASSAM

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
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| f 30. MAMONI DUTTA | 31. SUSHIL CHOUDHURY |
| 32. MATHURA DAS | 33. NOGEN CH. CHUTIA |
| 34. AMAL GHOSE DASTIDER | |

BIHAR

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 35. ARUN KUMAR MISHRA | 36. (Kept Vacant) |
|-----------------------|-------------------|

DELHI

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| * 37. MOHAN LAL | * 38. K.M. TIWARI |
| 39. BALIRAM VERMA | 40. UDEY CHANDAR JHA |
| 41. UPENDER JHA | 42. NATHU PRASAD |
| 43. VIJAY JHA | |

GOA

44. S.S. NAIK

GUJRAT

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 45. SUBODH MEHTA | 46. NAGINBHAI PATEL |
|------------------|---------------------|

HARYANA

- * 47. SATVIR SINGH
49. PARBHAT SINGH
51. RAMCHANDER SIWACH
48. S.N. SOLANKI
50. RAMESH KUMAR

HIMACHAL PRADESH

52. KASHMIR SINGH THAKUR

JAMMU & KASHMIR

53. KAPOOR SINGH

JHARKHAND

- * 54. MIHIR CHOUDHURY
56. B.K.L. DAS
58. G. PANDAY
60. A.K. ROY
- * 55. G.K. SHUKLA
57. MD. EKBAL
59. D.D. RAMANANDAN
61. MITHILESH SINGH

KERALA

- * 62. (Kept Vacant)
* 64. M. CHANDRAN
* 66. K.M. SUDHAKARAN
* 68. N. PADMALOCHANAN
* 70. K.K. DIVAKARAN
* f 72. A. NAZIMUNNISA
* 74. PEROORKADA SADASIVAN
75. R. PARAMESWARAN PILLAI
77. NANNIYODE RAVI
79. M.R. RAVI
81. THIRUVALLAM SIVARAJAN
83. PULLUVILA STANLEY
85. P. VAMADEVAN NAIR
87. A. SAMPATH
89. P.K. KUTTAN
* 91. P. KESAVAN NAIR
93. K. THULASEEDHARAN
95. OCHIRA THANKAPPAN
- * 63. T. SIVADASA MENON
* 65. K. PADMANABHAN
* 67. ANATHALAVATTOM ANANDAN
* 69. K.O. HABEEB
* 71. K.K. CHELLAPPAN
* 73. K. ANIRUDHAN
* 76. S.S. POTTI
78. KATTAKKADA SASI
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92. E. KASIM
94. K.P. VISWAVALSALAN
96. P. LALAJI BABU

97. V. RAVINDRAN NAIR f 98. KULAKKADA INDIRA
 99. MURALI MADANTHANKODE
 100. KADAKKAL SUNDARESAN
 * 101. V.V. SASEENDRAN *f 102. J. MERCYKUTTY AMMA
 103. S. PRAKASAN 104. K. SUBHAGAN
 * 105. K.C. RAJAGOPAL 106. P.K. SOMARAJAN
 107. P.J. AJAYA KUMAR * 108. V.S. MANI
 109. K. PRASAD 110. B. RAJENDRAN
 111. P.P. CHITHARANJAN 112. A. ABDUL KHADER
 113. N. RAMAKRISHNAN 114. N.R. BABURAJAN
 115. K.K. DINESAN * 116. K.M. ABRAHAM
 117. V.R. BHASKARAN 118. V.N. VASAVAN
 119. K.P. SUGUNAN * 120. K.K. JAYACHANDRAN
 121. O.G. MADANAN 122. P.R. GOPALAKRISHNAN
 123. S. SUNDARA MANICKAM 124. R. THILAKAN
 * 125. K. CHANDRAN PILLAI 126. E.K. NARAYANAN
 127. K.A. PUSHPAKARAN 128. K.R. GANGADHARAN
 129. M.T. VARGHESE 130. S. KRISHNA MOORTHY
 131. C.K. VIJAYAN 132. K.J. JACOB
 133. K.N. GOPINATH 134. P.S. MOHANAN
 f 135. K. THULASI * 136. C.O. POULOSE MASTER
 137. M.A. KRISHNAN 138. E.K. MENON
 139. K.F. DAVIS 140. V. RAMAKRISHNAN
 141. K.A. KOCHAPPU 142. K.V. JOSE
 * 143. A.K. BALAN 144. A. PRABHAKARAN
 145. N.P. SAIDALAVI 146. M.S. SCARIA
 * 147. P. NANDAKUMAR 148. GEORGE K. ANTONY
 149. K. RAMADAS 150. V. PRABHAKARAN
 * 151. K. MOOSAKUTTY * 152. T.P. RAMAKRISHNAN
 * 153. ELAMARAM KAREEM 154. M. VASU
 155. P.T. RAJAN 156. K. DASAN
 157. V.P. KUNHIKRISHNAN 158. T. DASAN
 * 159. P. KUNHIKANNAN * 160. K.P. SAHADEVAN
 * 161. P. RAMACHANDRAN 162. P.V. KRISHNAN
 163. T. RAMAKRISHNAN 164. ARAKKAN BALAN
 165. C. KRISHNAN 166. VADI RAVI
 167. P.P. NARAYANAN 168. T.P. SREEDHARAN
 f169. K.V. VASANTHAKUMARI * 170. P. RAGHAVAN
 171. K. BALAKRISHNAN 172. A.K. NARAYANAN
 173. T.K. RAJAN * 174. P. SARASAPPAN
 f 175. M.K. KAMALAMMA 176. A.P. VASU
 177. NEDUVATHOOR SUNDARESAN 178. C.V. JOY

- f 179. G. RAJAMMA
 181. E.B. KALIDAS
 183. T.N. RAJAN
 185. S. SUSEELAN
 187. K. SUKUMARAN
 189. K. CHANDRASEKHARA PILLAI
 191. V. MOHANDAS
 193. R. RAGHAVAN PILLAI
 195. P.V. GANGADHARAN
 197. LINDSAY MELVILLE
180. P.M. MOHAMMED
 182. P. DAS
 184. D. VIJAYAN
 186. M. SUKUMARAN
 188. P.S. MADHUSOODHANAN
 190. C.J. JOSEPH
 192. C.B.C WARRIER
 194. K.A. ALI AKBAR
 196. P.S. CHERIAN

KARNATAKA

- * 198. V.J.K. NAIR
 200. S. PRASANNA KUMAR
 202. SYED MUJEEB
 * 204. E.K.N. RAJAN
 * 206. B. MADHAVA
 208. J. BALAKRISHNA SHETTY
- f 199. S. VARALAKSHMI
 201. V. SUKUMAR
 203. MEENAKSHI SUNDARM M.S.
 205. H.N. GOPALA GOWDA
 207. K. SHANKAR

MADHYA PRADESH

- * 209. BADAL SAROJ
 211. MAHESH SHRIVASTAVA
210. PRAMOD PRADHAN
 212. KAILASH LIMBODIA

CHATTISHGARH

213. S. SUDEVAN
 214. M.K. NANDY

MAHARASHTRA

- * 215. SAYEED AHMED
 217. Dr. VIVEK MONTEIRO
 218. NARASAYYA ADAM (MASTER)
 f 219. SUMAN SANZGIRI
 221. AMRUT MESHARAM
- * 216. Dr. D.L. KARAD
 220. UDHAV BHAVALKAR
 222. SURYAJI SALUNKHE

ORISSA

223. LAMBODAR NAYAK
 * 225. BISHNU MOHANTY
224. SIVAJI PATTANAIAK

PUNJAB

* 226. MANGAT RAM PASLA 227. to 236. (Kept Vacant)

RAJASTHAN

* 237. RAVINDRA SHUKLA 238. VAKAR-UL-AHAD
239. HET RAM BENIWAL 240. B.S. RANA
241. R.K. SWAMY

TAMILNADU

* 242. J. HEMACHANDRAN * 243. K. CHELLAPPAN
244. MALAVICAI BASI 245. K. KANAKARAJ
246. M. ASOKAN 247. V. KUMAR
* 248. U.K. VELLINGIRI 249. R. GOVINDHA RAJ
250. A.P. GOPAL 251. K. RAMASAMY
252. DURAI ARUMUGAM 253. S.K. THIYAGARAJAN
254. E. PONMUDI 255. M. CHANDRAN
256. K. PALANIVELU 257. T.N. NAMBIIRAJAN
258. G. SUKUMARAN 259. S. CHANDRASEKHARAN
* 260. P.M. KUMAR * 261. A. SOUNDARARAJAN
262. P.N. UNNI * 263. P.V. RAMDOSS
264. B. AYYALU 265. R. ILANGO VAN
266 R.S. RAJENDRAN 267 S. KASTHURIRANGAN
268 P. MARIMUTHU 269 R. KARUMALAIYAN
270 A.P. ANBAZHAGAN 271 D. JANAKIRAMAN
272 S. PANCHARATNAM 273 K. VIJAYAN
* 274 R. SINGARAVELU 275 M. RAJANGAM
*f276 M. RAJI f 277 T.A. LATHA
f 278 MALINI CHITTIBABU f 279 P. INDIRANI
f 280 M. MALLIGA

TRIPURA

* 281. MANIK DEY * 282. PIJUSH NAG
283. SUDARSHAN DAS 284. TAPAN CHAKRABORTY
285. MADAN DAS 286. SUDHAMAY MAJUMDAR
f 287. SMT. INDU BALA DAS 288. RANINDRA DEBBARMA
289 KANU GHOSH

UTTAR PRADESH

- * 290. DAULAT RAM 291. K.N. BHATT
292. KAMALAPATI TRIPATHI 293. VIRENDRA BHANDARI

WEST BENGAL

- * 294. SANTI GHATAK * 295. BIREN ROY
*f296. ARATI DASGUPTA * 297. SOMEN KUNDU
298. PRASANTA GHOSH * 299. DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE
300. TARAPADA ROYCHOUHDURY 301. AJOY KSHETRI
* 302. NIRUPAM SEN 303. DEBASISH MOITRA
* 304. SUBHAS CHAKRABORTY (PORT)
* 305. JAGADISH DAS * 306. TARIT TOPDAR
307. BANSDEO MONDAL 308. JAHAR SHAW
309. MD. ISLAM 310. GOPAL BISWAS (HOWRAH)
f 311. P. GANGAMMA 312. MD. ISRAIL
313. RUNU CHAKRABARTY 314. DILIP DASGUPTA
315. SAMIR BANJERJEE 316. DIPAK MUKHERJEE
* 317. GOBINDA GUHA 318. ASHUTOSH BANERJEE
* 319. SADHAN KANJILAL 320. HEMLAL CHATTERJEE
321. HIMANGSHU DAS f 322. NIRUPAMA CHATTERJEE
f 323. NILIMA MOTRA *f324. RATNA DUTTA
f 325. MALINA GHOSH f 326. MANISHA CHATTERJEE
* 327. LAKSHMAN SETH
* 328. DEBANJAN CHAKRABORTTY 329. PRANAB DAS
330. BIJAN MITRA 331. S.B. KARMAKAR
* 332. PRASANTA NANDI CHOWDHURY
333. KEDAR NATH MUKHERJEE 334. MURARI BASU
*f335. NISHA ROY 336. ABUL BASAR
337. BHIM KUMAR 338. ARUN GHOSAL
339. D.K. BASU 340. KINKAR POSAK
341. SOUMEN MUKHERJEE 342. SK. ISLAM
* 343. SUNIL BASU ROY * 344. DILIP MAZUMDAR
345. BAMAPADA MUKHERJEE * 346. HARADHON ROY
* 347. MRINAL BANERJEE * 348. BENOY CHAKRABORTTY
349. HARADHON JHA 350. DEBABRATA BANERJEE
351. DILIP SARKAR 352. GOUTAM GHATAK
353. S.K.N. CHOWDHURY 354. GANGA YADAV
* 355. BIKASH CHOWDHURY f 356. DIPALI BOSE
357. JITEN DUBEY * 358. RAJDEO GOALA
359. RAGHUNATH KUSARI * 360. MD. NIZAMUDDIN

- * 361. RATIN SEN
- * 363. BIMAL CHATTERJEE
- f 365. SHIBANI SENGUPTA
367. LAKSHMI DEY
369. VIJAY TEWARI
371. AMAR GANGULLY
- f 373. LILA DAS
375. HARIDAS MALAKAR
377. S.P. LEPCHA
- * 379. AJIT SARKAR (Darjeeling)
- * 380. SANTASREE CHATTERJEE
- * 381. DILIP CHATTERJEE
383. SUKHENDU BISWAS
- * 385. DIPAK DASGUPTA
387. DEBI PATHAK
- * 389. MANTU BOSE
- * 391. ZIA-UL-ALAM
393. KRISHNA BANERJEE
395. SANKAR BISWAS
- f 397. SUKMOTI URAON
- f 398. CHANDRAMOYEE BRAHMAN
400. KALI NAYEK
402. KIRITI DEY BOXI
404. GURUPADA BARMAN
406. ABUL HASNAT KHAN
408. KANAILAL MISHRA
410. PRANAB BISWAS
412. BISWANATH MITRA
414. KRISHNA PRASAD SINGHA DEB
- * 415. AJIT CHOWDHURY
- * 417. T.K. TEWARI
419. PRADIP CHAKRABORTY
- * 421. SANTIMOY BHATTACHARJEE
422. NIRMAL MUKHERJEE
424. SUSHANTA DAS
426. PIJUSH SARKAR
- * 428. SUBHAS CHAKRABORTTY
429. LAKSHMAN BHATTACHARJEE
431. MASADUL HOSSAIN
- f 433. APARNA DAS
435. SAMIR PAL
437. BATA KRISHNA ROY
- * 362. NARAYAN SAHA
364. DILIP SEN
366. BADAL KAR
368. PRALOY DASGUPTA
370. PELAB MUKHERJEE
372. SUDHIR CHATTERJEE
374. BEJOY BHATTACHARJEE
376. ANANDA PATHAK
378. BIREN BOSE
382. AJIT BHOWMIK
384. SUNIL SARKAR
- * 386. NEMAI SAMANTA
388. SUBINOY GHOSH
- * 390. MANIK SANYAL
392. ROBIN ROY
394. ADITYA MISHRA
396. RAMLAL MURMU
399. DIPAK SARKAR
401. BISWNATH DAS
403. PRASANTA PATRA
- * 405. TUSHAR DEY
407. CHITTARANJAN SARKAR
409. BIJOY BHOWMICK
411. SUBODH GANGULY
413. PRODYUT SEN (PURULIA)
- * 416. GOPAL BHATTACHARJEE
418. SUBHAS MUKHERJEE
420. PARITOSH LAHIRI
423. SUBIR BISWAS
- * 425. MRINAL DAS
427. SIHARAN ACHARYA
430. RANJIT KUNDU
432. KRISHNA SWAPAN MITRA
434. ALOKE BHATTACHARJEE
436. SUDHIR SARKAR
- * 438. NIKHIL MUKHERJEE

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 439. BASUDEV ACHARYA | | 441. NIRMAL PODDAR |
| 440. PRASANTA GHOSH (Hooghly) | | 443. ANADI SAHOO |
| 442. RATAN DASGUPTA | | 445. ASIM BANERJEE |
| 444. JAYANTA DASGUPTA | | 447. KALI SANKAR PAL |
| 446. SWAPAN SAHA | | 449. SUJIT GHOSH |
| 448. SUDHIR ROY | | 451. NIRMAL JANA |
| 450. TARIT GHOSH | | 453. RASH BEHARI PATRA |
| 452. HEM BHATTCHARJEE | 453. RASH BEHARI PATRA | 455. BAIDYANATH CHAND |
| 454. TARINI ROY | 455. BAIDYANATH CHAND | 457. SUBHAS BOSE |
| 456. RADHARAMAN HENS | 457. SUBHAS BOSE | |
| 458. LAGAN DEO SINGH | | |
| 459. NEPALDEB BHATTACHARJEE | 460. RABIN PAL | |
| 461. BHASKAR SEN | 462. PRADYUT SEN | |
| 463. NIRANJAN CHATTERJEE | 464. AMITAVA NANDI | |

CENTRE

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| * 465. PARAMESWAR SINGH | * 466. SUKOMAL SEN |
| * 467. J. BALLABH | 468. RANJANA NIRULA |
| 469. ASHOK VASHISTH | 470. A.R. SINDHU |

** Indicates Working Committee Member*

f Indicates Female Member

**f Indicates Women Working Committee Member.*