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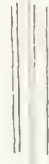
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THE WORKING CLASS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION

A. B. BARDHAN

the deep going social processes that are taking place today, both in our country and elsewhere, are presenting new problems before the trade union movement. The working class itself is undergoing structural changes. At the Bangalore session of the Indian Trade Union Congress (ITUC), we had taken note of some of these changes. The report of the General Secretary had drawn attention to the 'new worker' who is appearing before our eyes.

With development proceeding apace, despite several restrictions placed on it by the capitalist system that is pursued, we find a big numerical expansion and new generations joining the work-

More and more sections from the middle classes, from the urban and the rural rich are coming into industries as engineers, technicians, skilled and highly skilled workers. The pauperised peasant and rural workers are being driven to unskilled casual jobs in industrial centres. These are the new generation workers, and they bring with them the habits and consciousness derived from their social origin. This does not mean that they are lacking in militancy. But their militancy is not always associated with the proletarian class outlook, and sense of organisation.

The influx of women in industries is also on the increase. Women are job-seekers today just as much as their brothers. Today, when we talk of employment, we no longer talk only of employment for all male adults. At least, in the relatively developed regions of the country, and in major urban complexes it has come to mean, employment for both male and female, and their redistribution in the economy. This is an important social development within the tradition-bound society of our country, which is laying the basis for the 'feminine ferment', without which no revolutionary change is possible.

In advanced countries, as a result of the Scientific and Technological Revolution (STR), serious changes are taking place in the basic industrial structure. The centre of gravity is shifting towards

the service industries, including clerical and administrative work. Fewer persons are working at the shop level, and more in operating rooms. In a developing country like India, this impact is not so serious. But even here, one cannot ignore the trend completely. Here too, we find the structural change being reflected in the changed composition of the working class. The percentage of engineers and technicians, of service and commercial personnel, of clerical and administrative cadre, is increasing at a faster rate, than the expansion of the class as a whole. Our institutes of higher learning, are turning out such personnel in larger numbers, we are already the fourth in the world in the matter of the size of our scientific and technical personnel. It is outstripping the present needs, restricted as it is by narrow market. It has therefore meant a growing number of educated unemployed in our country, - unemployed, with graduate and post-graduate degrees, with high technical qualification. This is proving to be a vast reserve for the 'brain drain', by which imperialist countries are extracting a huge tribute, utilising the rare resources in manpower which we can ill afford to lose.

The proportion of engineers, technically qualified and highly skilled workers has gone up, particularly in the new and sophisticated enterprises, and in the rapidly expanding service branches of economy. These, either happen to be in the public sector, or in the private monopoly-controlled sectors, including TNCs masquerading under 'India Limited' signboards. The open door policy towards TNCs and investment from non-resident Indians, as well as the several concessions to the monopolists, is likely to accelerate this trend. It is the trade unions in this organised sector of the economy which have a heavy responsibility to shoulder. They have to place themselves at the head of the Indian trade union movement, in all its struggles, especially, where questions of government policies are involved.

The engineers and other professionally qualified workers are generally required to perform certain managerial duties assigned to them by the top management. But the compulsions of capitalist economy are forcing them down towards the working class. They are more and more identifying themselves with the workers, adopting trade union forms of organisation and tactics of struggle. In recent years, we have had several such actions by these elements. Sometimes, they join in common unions, though the government is placing all types of obstacles towards their being in common organisations. A significant event was the participation of officers' associations from public sector enterprises, in the joint public sector convention held recently in Delhi, which opposed the policy of 'privatisation' and has given a call for a strike on January, 21, 1987.

On some occasions unfortunately, there are confrontations between these sections and the mass of workers, indicating that the sense of common identity with the workers is either weak or forgotten. But there are signs of growing cooperation and joint action. The ranks of the workers' allies have thus swelled. These professionally trained workers connected with high technology in modern industry, have the capacity to understand and harmful social effects of the economic policies that are being pursued by government, especially the unrestrained drive towards computerisation. They are in a better position to initiate and provide leadership to the several mass actions against these ill-conceived policies.

It is necessary to understand that the 'White Collar' workers do not differ materially from the 'Blue Collar' workers. All labour involves expenditure of mental energy along with the physical, the proportion differing in each case. The lines dividing the white collar from the blue collar workers are becoming blurred. All those who are engaged in the production of wealth, who produce surplus value, and have no means of production themselves, form part of the working class, and irrespective of their origin or nature of job are sooner or later driven to adopt working class positions. In brief, although the working class has changed in several ways, its essence has not. The working class is changing, but it is not disappearing or declining. Those who preach theories about the

decline in the revolutionary mission of the working class or about other social forces—'technocrats' for instance, or even undefined and nebulous 'youth power' taking the place of the working class as the motive force of social progress about the class struggle becoming obsolete, and so forth, are proving their bankruptcy with each passing day. In our country, as also elsewhere in the world, we are witnessing not a decline in working class actions, but actually increasingly powerful actions of workers and also mass actions of the entire people in which the working class is the main and leading core. It is enough to recall the several 'bandha' industrial strikes etc., on national, state or regional levels, which had powerful impact on government policies, and exercised a restraining influence in many cases. In the coming days, with the deepening of the crisis in all spheres, the class struggle is likely to sharpen further, and bring out ever larger sections of workers to head the masses on the streets.

Another major development at the present time, is the increase in the absolute number of workers in construction industry, in contract labour, and in several other fields of the unorganised sector. They constitute the bulk of sweated and highly exploited workers. The gap between them and the organised workers is widening, in so far as their economic and social conditions are concerned. This is sought to be exploited by the government and bourgeois spokesman, in order to further widen the breach and disrupt the phalanx of the working class. Apart from the ideological offensive meant to disorient the advanced contingent of the working class, the effort of the bourgeoisie is also directed towards isolating the most militant sections from the rest of the class. All in all, the working class composition is becoming more heterogeneous. There is more stratification connected with skill, qualification, wages etc.,. It is in this context, that the AITUC gave the call to 'Organise the unorganised'. The task is to extend a helping hand to our unorganised class brothers, inspire them by force of example, and draw them into common class actions. The vastness of this task can be understood from the fact that today barely 10 per cent of the work-force in our country is organised in unions.

In developing countries as a general rule, and specifically in Indian conditions, the bourgeoisie

traditional divisive means, - communal, tribal etc, to fragment the working class the union movement is called upon to a multi-pronged campaign, ideological, social and economic to combat these moves. Practical actions have to be under this direction

poses the question of unity in the trade movement, with all force and urgency. The based National Campaign Committee has led despite sever strains. Its very existence more than four eventful years, despite different directions, proves that the urge objective necessary for unity among the has deep roots. This will no doubt in the coming days. Even the INTUC had kept out for so long, has been drawn several united and common actions, both on l and international issues, as well as on al issues. It underlines the expanding of working class unity in the present situa- But the key question remains the unification leftled trade union movement, leading to an al merger, It is this that will give a powerful s to the move for trade union unity, and the movement with a unified revolutionary hip. It goes without saying, that such unity ification is not meant to be directed in a an manner against other non-left trends trade union movement. It has no , partisan interest to serve. The call of TUC which was directed specifically towards iU, thus assumes great importance. That s not yet evoked a positive response. But t conforms to objective reality and the needs there from, it has to be persisted in. We the problems facing be working class today

cannot be solved by any single ideological or political current. They call for the joint effort of several trends, of various forces and segments of the movement. Unification of the left led movement, which shares common ideological and political positions, and follows similar tactical methods and practices, is in no way directed against the broader unity of the movement, dictated by present-day needs.

To conclude, in modern times, the role of the working class and its trade union movement is actually expanding. The necessity to save this planet and all man kind from a nuclear winter has greatly enhanced its role. Its struggle for a better life and a better social order, is linked up with this struggle for a nuclear-free world, for peace on earth. This realisation has driven the Indian workers to observe September, 1 as a 'Day of Trade Union Action for Peace', to be in the fore-front of the struggle for peace.

The Indian workers are more and more called upon to take up the banner on issues which concern the entire community and the nation. It has to stand up against encroachments by the TNCs and their imperialist patrons, on our political stability, economic self reliance and sovereignty. It has to struggle for a strategy of development which inter-relates the goals of employment creation, technological choice and self-reliance. In order to succeed in its historical mission, it has to defend national integrity and unity against the imperialist destabilisers and internal reactionaries. Sandor Gaspar, President of WFTU, aptly expressed the role which the working class has to play in relation to the people, in the following words: "If the working class turns its back on the people the people will turn their backs on it."



ROLE OF CZECHOSLOVAK TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

By VACIAV POKORNY

The Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) is the organization with the most mass character among the political parties and social and special-interest organisations associated in the Czechoslovak National Front. A total of 6.5 million working people (total population, 15 million) are members of the more than 27,000 primary ROH organisations in industrial and agricultural enterprises, institutes, schools and the like.

Practically all the ROH members are employed Czechoslovak citizens together with hundreds of thousands of pensioners. The ROH has two fundamental functions within the Czechoslovak political system. On one hand, it acts as the opponent of the employers, defending in every way the interests of the employees, and, on the other hand, as the most important social organisation of the Czechoslovak National Front, it takes part in the political life of the country and sees to the promotion of initiative at work, growth in productivity of labour, introduction of new techniques and technology and the like.

Protection of interests :

The ROH has a role in which it cannot be substituted in protection of the interests and rights of employed persons and in implementing important social measures. The trade unions conclude collective agreements, give their opinions on changes in wage and bonus regulations, make or help to make decisions in health care, factory catering, allocation of enterprise flats, spa care, etc. Together with the enterprise management, it decides on granting interest-free loans to employees and on many other personnel and social matters.

The trade union organisation also supervises places of work from the point of view of work safety and protection of the health of the workers. Should serious shortcomings be found, it may insist on the immediate closing down of the workshop concerned.

When a dispute arises between the management of an enterprise and an employee, the trade union provides the employee with advice and the assistance of a legal advice bureau free of charge. These bureaux have been set up at district and regional secretariats of the ROH. The final verdict in the negotiation of any work dispute is given by a trade union arbitration commission. Its decision is binding for the management of the enterprise too. An employee cannot be dismissed from his job until the primary trade union organisation has given its consent.

Recreation facilities :

The ROH plays a significant role in caring for the recreation of employees and their families. The ROH has at its disposal 102 hotel-type holiday homes which are situated in the most beautiful parts of Czechoslovakia. These holiday homes can accommodate 13,000 and are run the whole year round. More than 3000 persons care for the well-being of holiday-makers and the ROH expends 150 million crowns a year on the upkeep of the holiday homes.

In addition to the ROH recreation facilities, there are 8000 holiday homes with accommodation for 180,000 persons belonging to enterprise trade union organisations and their upkeep is covered by special enterprise funds.

The number of trade unionists taking advantage of the trade union recreation facilities grows from year to year. Around half a million employees and their families spend holidays in ROH facilities every year. An even larger number of trade unionists took advantage of the very cheap holiday facilities belonging to enterprises.

Czechoslovak trade unions also organize holidays for children during the spring and summer school vacations. Last year 364,000 children enjoyed such holidays under very advantageous financial conditions.

on :

Another important mission of the trade unions is to assist in fulfilling the intentions of the state economic plan and in strengthening the Czechoslovak economy, these being fundamental tasks for raising the living standard of Czechoslovak citizens. Czechoslovakia is a socialist state and the means of production are the property of the people and the national economy is vigorously developing according to plan.

The ROH plays an important role in organizing and leading the initiative of trade unionists at the enterprises. The trade unions organize socialist emulation, the movement of socialist pledges, they perform various tasks, popularize new methods of work, successful innovators and the like.

The highest form is the competition to win (or to receive the honorary title of "Team of Socialist Emulation"). Those taking part in this movement strive for all-round improvement of their work; they raise their qualifications in a planned manner, participate in cultural activity and the like. At the present time there are 180,000 such teams comprising roughly 2.5 million trade union members.

The trade unions also organize other forms of socialist emulation and the activity of rationalization, the movement of inventors and improvers, etc. The pledges are concerned with various national economic problems; raising producti-

city of labour, saving raw materials and other materials, fuel and power, introducing new techniques and technology, the quality of products, etc. Suggestions for improvement and inventions submitted by trade union members are of great importance for the Czechoslovak economy bringing an annual financial increment of around 4,000 million crowns.

Education :

The ROH gives all possible support to raising the skills of employees. There are Factory Schools in practically all Czechoslovak enterprises. In them, employees can improve their skills and thus qualify for better jobs without paying any fees.

There are also 9000 "Schools of Socialist Labour" in Czechoslovakia. They instruct trade unionists on the work of the unions, on the Czechoslovak labour laws, on the economic policy of the state and topical political events. About 300,000 members of Czechoslovak trade union organisations attend these schools every year.

Trade Union organizations are also in charge of the running of factory clubs and trade union houses, of culture. There are six hundred such social and cultural facilities in Czechoslovakia.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement holds an important position and high authority in socialist Czechoslovakia.

POLISH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT TODAY

Towards the end of 1982, with Lech Walesa launching his movement of disruption of the united trade union movement in Poland, only one in five workers expressed the desire to join any trade union. One of every two stated that he would "wait and see". The rest were strongly opposed to the new "regime-controlled" trade unions.

The NSZZ Solidarity Union and the autonomous unions were banned by the Polish Government and the Sejm (Polish Parliament) passed a new law granting rights to workers to form trade unions.

The first result was the setting up of an organising committee at the Bobrek Coalmine in Bytom. At the end of 1982, as many as 971 trade unions had been formed with a membership of 92,000. By June 30, 1986, the number of trade unions in Poland has grown to 25786 with a total membership of 61,21,500 including old-age and disabled pensioners. Today Polish workers have a truly representative organisation.

The trade union movement in Poland today, enjoying its legal autonomy and independence is divided into three different groups.

1. The All Poland Trades Union Alliance (OPZZ) which has brought together 130 national organisations, mostly of industrial federations and representing 92 per cent of all trade union membership.

2. National organisations - which have not signed the OPZZ agreement, which number only three and represent 0.1 per cent of the total membership.

3. Unions which have not joined any national bodies and appear to demonstrate their independence by refusing to join larger bodies, though many of them simply cannot afford to pay their dues to a federation. They represent about 8 per cent of the total membership in the country.

The Union of Polish Teachers is the largest national union with a membership of 505,000

members. The next are the federations of Miners and Farm workers each with a membership of 441,000 members. The federation of construction employees has a membership of 296,000 and the federation of workers in the metal industry, 283,000 members.

At the end of November, the second Congress of the All Poland Trades Union Alliance (OPZZ) is taking place. More than 1500 delegates are expected to participate in this Congress, which will discuss the present state of the trade union movement in the country, and will seek ways to establish the OPZZ as a central trade union organisation. This will mark a successful end to a period of four years during which attention has been paid to the reconstruction of the trade union movement in the country on a sound and democratic basis. Such a decision will enable the trade unions in Poland to play a more constructive role in the economic and political life of the country. Such a decision will enable them the trade union movement to make a contribution to evolving and implementing the plans for industrial progress and development. At the same time, the trade unions will be better placed in defending and extending the rights and privileges of the workers in keeping with the requirements of a socialist economy.

It is significant that 24.6 per cent of the total membership in the trade unions in Poland consists of young people who total 12,97,000 and women comprise 18,03,000 or 34.2 per cent. This number is growing and more attention is being paid to the specific problems of these sections.

The Polish trade union movement under the leadership of the OPZZ has played a significant role in mobilising the workers of Poland in support of the peace initiatives of the government of the USSR, in support of the appeal of the Delhi Six. There has been increased and growing participation in all activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The coming Congress will also discuss the task of implementation of the decisions taken at the recent eleventh World Trade Union Congress.

TRADE UNION'S ACTIVE PART IN THE STRUGGLE FOR DISARMAMENT, ANTI-IMPERIALIST

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From the day of its foundation the GDR of Free German Trade Unions has as its most important mission as of workers' interests to work for disarmament and a peaceful life for the planet, the spiralling arms build-up, the current nuclear threat to mankind, the nuclear holocaust which would destroy the planet, the aggressive imperialist circles, all these GDR unions that they commit themselves to the accomplishment of economic tasks but also to the peace policy of the socialist state.

At its 14th session on 23-28 April 1986 its chairman Harry Tisch emphasized:

The struggle for peace has become the central task of the international union movement. For social and union rights, for jobs, education and prosperity would be even impossible if we do not manage to bring about a peaceful life on this planet. And vice versa, every very little step on the way to stopping the arms race, and abolishing nuclear weapons opens new prospects of a peaceful life, without unemployment, hunger and the spectre of a secure future for the working class.

The GDR fully backs the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the whole socialist bloc which is aimed at scoring results, a policy of practical dialogue and an amelioration of the international situation and a return to detente. It endorses the decision of the 11th Congress of GDR's leading trade unions in April 1986.

The GDR Trade Union's mould-breaking approach, its comprehensive programme and its demand of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 to establish a system of international disarmament opened a new stage in the pursuit

of peace. We fully agree with the decision announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th CPSU Congress, and we will be playing our part in putting them into effect. They are consonant with our ideal of a world without weapons or violence, a world in which all nations can freely determine their own path of development and way of life."

Referring amongst other things to this passage the chairman Harry Tisch said at the 14th session of the FDGB National Executive :

"What was said and decided at the party congress strengthens the conviction held by the working class and all other working people in the GDR that their own place of work has an import which even transcends that of the job and the wage - good work strengthens socialism thus being beneficial to peace."

And regarding the Soviet proposal to reduce conventional armaments in all of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals and to subject these reductions to stringent verification, Harry Tisch said :

"Everybody can see - The Soviet Union persistently stands for an amelioration of the international situation. Moreover, the Soviet proposals concur with the most basic demands by almost all trade union federations in the world - i.e.

- jobs instead of nuclear missiles
- a world free of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction
- no militarization of outer space
- nuclear and chemical-weapons-free zones
- no more money for armaments but for comprehensive social programmes, environmental protection and effective support developing countries."

The GDR unions are an integral part of the international union movement. The FDGB's inter-

national relations are based on proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity. From the very first hour of its existence the FDGB has rendered active political, moral and material support to those workers and peoples who are fighting for peace, social justice, against imperialism and colonial oppression.

- Since its foundation the FDGB has given a total of over 2 billion marks of solidarity support to unions and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America,
- It goes without saying that FDGB members make a monthly donation for solidarity.
- Since the beginning of course for foreigners in 1959 more than 3100 unionists from 88 countries have attended the Fritz Heckert Trade Union College in Bernau. Members of organi-

zations from 54 countries have been given vocational training, and college or university education.

The FDGB is part of the international union movement, has been a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) since 1949 and enjoys active cooperation with all those unions that champion peace, democracy and social progress. At present the FDGB has relations with more than 100 unions in over 90 countries. Leaving controversial points aside it rallies with all those forces in the world whose very concern it is to battle against the prospect of a nuclear inferno. It is all for a matter-of-fact dialogue on the basic issues of our time with all people of good will. To meet this end the FDGB uses international meetings and congresses.

राष्ट्रीय नेतृत्व बनने के लिये आगे बढ़ो

चतुरानन मिश्रा

संस्था, आईएफ

राष्ट्रीय और राष्ट्रीय स्थिति ऐसी होगई है और
से बिगड़ती जा रही है जिसमें मजदूरवर्गके
क्षेत्र की सख्त जरूरत हो गई है। दक्षिण
गोरी सरकार के खिलाफ जिस तरह तेजी से
गण बना और राष्ट्रपति रीगन को भी दक्षिण
गोरी सरकार के खिलाफ आर्थिक कारवाइ के
प्रति करना पड़ा उससे स्पष्ट है कि विश्व
आज कितना महत्व हो गया है।

मजदूर संघ की वर्लिन कांग्रेसने विश्वशांति
तन-मानस तैयार करने का आह्वान किया है।
राष्ट्रीय कम्पनियों के खिलाफ मजदूरवर्ग की बहु-
कारवाइयों का आह्वान किया है। शांति के लिये
भारत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अंश कर रहा है।
लिये कि शांति के लिये संघर्ष न सिर्फ मानवता
के लिये संघर्ष है बल्कि द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध में
के बाद सोवियत संघ की महान सफलता के
न्तर्राष्ट्रीय पैमाने पर शक्ति-संतुलन साम्राज्यवाद
त चला गया है और विश्व साम्राज्यवाद का
अमरीकी साम्राज्यवाद और प्रेसीडेंट रीगन
युद्ध की धमकियों, आक्रामक कारवाइयों और
नयनयुद्ध की धमकियों के जरिये विश्व संतुलन
न पक्ष में लाना चाहता है। भारत और दुनिया
अजाद देश स्वभाविक रूप से इस अमरीकी
ज विरोध कर रहे है। ये नयी विश्व आर्थिक
नी मांग कर रहे है और शब्दों पर खर्च होने
पार धन को मानवता की गरीबी दूर करने के
गाने की मांग कर रहे है।

शांति आन्दोलन में भारतीय मजदूरवर्ग ने नी
त्मव पर अच्छी शिरकत की है लेकिन अभी तक
रूप से भारतीय मजदूरवर्ग भारतीय शांति
उन का अगुआ इस्ता नहीं बन पाया है। साम्रा-
का प्रत्यक्ष शासन अपने देश से भी समाप्त हो
लेकिन उसका आर्थिक शोषण जारी है। इसि-

लिये जबतक भारतीय मजदूरवर्ग शांति आन्दोलन का
अगुआ इस्ता नहीं बनता है वह राष्ट्रीय नेतृत्व का
स्थान भी नहीं ले सकता है न भारत के एकाधिकारी
पूंजी की साम्राज्यवाद से माइंदारी की नीति का मुका-
बला कर सकता है।

भारतीय मजदूरवर्ग का शांति आन्दोलन में प्रमुख
भूमिका हो इसके लिए एटक ने पेशकदमी ली। इंटक
सहित सभी राष्ट्रीय ट्रेड यूनियनों की शांति, निरस्त्रीकरण
और दक्षिण अफ्रिका के आजादी के आन्दोलन के प्रश्न
पर संयुक्त घोषणाएं हुईं। किन्तु बहुत कम राज्योंमें
राज्यस्तर या प्रतिप्रान्तेस्तर पर इन सम्बन्ध में आन्दोलन
चलाये जा रहे है। इस कमजोरी को दूर किये बिना
मजदूरवर्ग के आन्दोलन को नई धरातल पर नहीं लाया
जा सकता है और न मजदूरवर्ग की विशाल एकता ही
स्थापित हो सकती है।

दूसरा राष्ट्रीयस्तर का महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न देश की
अखंडता की रक्षा, साम्प्रदायिक और जातिवादी तत्वों
से लड़कर राष्ट्रीय एकता का प्रश्न है। आज पंजाब,
कश्मीर या गुजरात, दिल्ली, यू.पी., बिहार आदि राज्यों में
हिन्दू-मुसलिन दंगे, जातीय दंगे, हरिजन हत्याओं,
बहुओं को दहज के ग्वातिर जलाना आदि के जरिये
राष्ट्रीय एकता तेजी से धरबाद हो रही है। साम्राज्य-
वादी शक्तियां इन राष्ट्रीय विघटन की शक्तियों को
मदद दे रही हैं। राष्ट्रीय विचारधारावाले या धर्मनिरपेक्ष
शक्तियां विखरी हुई हैं। भारतीय संविधान ऊंची अदा-
लतों, संसद और विश्वविद्यालयों की चर्चाओं में सीमित
है। वह हमारे जीवन की शैली नहीं बनी है :

यह अत्यन्त जरूरी है कि भारतीय मजदूरवर्ग
संयुक्तरूप से इन विघटनवादी ताकतों का मुकाबला कर
राष्ट्रीय एकता और भारतीय गणतंत्र के झंडे को थाम
ले। इसी उद्देश्यसे एटक ने पहलकदमी की और साम्प्र-
दायिकता के खिलाफ सभी केन्द्रीय मजदूर संगठनों के

अनुदान हुए। संयुक्त घोषणापत्र बने। किन्तु बहुत समयों का प्रतिदानों में इस घोषणापत्र के अनुरूप काम हुआ और हम राष्ट्रीयपथ स्थापित करने में अभी भी पीछे हैं।

एक तीसरा राष्ट्रीय महत्व का प्रश्न प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी का पब्लिक सेक्टर विरोधी, मजदुर विरोधी और स्वतन्त्री पूंजी पक्षी नीतिका है। वह और उनके मंत्री झूठा आरोप लगा रहे हैं कि भारतीय मजदुर दिना धन पैदा किये अपनी तनखा और सुविधा वगैरह जा रहे हैं। उन्नत देशों के मुकाबले भारत का भ्रम स्वर्ण बहुत ही कम हैं। नीचे हम कुछ प्रमुख उद्योगों का गत दो वर्षों के आंकड़े प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं कि किस तरह मजदुर जो नया मूल्य पैदा करता है उसका ही एक अंश अपनी तनखा आदि में लेता है :-

I - प्रति माह नया मूल्य जोड़ना
II - प्रति माह प्रति मजदुर कुल कमाई

इस्पात :

	1983-84		1984-85
I -	2481	—	3726
II -	2071	—	2074

काचला :

I -	2432	—	3140
II -	1704	—	1880

विजली :

I -	6140	—	6381
II -	1412	—	1734

भारी इंजिनियरींग :

I -	4572	—	5206
II -	1974	—	1894

उपभोक्ता सामान :

I -	4043	—	9043
II -	970	—	1363

रसायन एवं खाद :

I -	8794	—	9941
II -	1965	—	2326

मिनरल और मेटल :

	1983-84		1984-85
I -	2984	—	3719
II -	1288	—	1615

पेट्रोलियम :

I -	35564	—	38023
II -	2693	—	2871

ट्रान्सपोर्ट :

I -	16670	—	18289
II -	2836	—	2862

कन्स्ट्रक्शन :

I -	13880	—	15060
II -	1978	—	2167

ट्रेडिंग :

I -	86659	—	105658
II -	1545	—	1778

इस नीति का विरोध करना न सिर्फ मजदुरों के लिये जरूरी है बल्कि सर्व साधारण के लिये, देश से गरीबी दूर करने के लिये अनिवार्य है। भारत से भी बड़ी आवादीवाला चीन गैर पूंजीवादी, समाजवादी तरीका अपना कर भारत से बहुत आगे बढ़ता जा रहा है। वह हमसे दार्ढ़ गुणा ज्यादा अन्न, चार गुणा ज्यादा इस्पात और पांच गुणा ज्यादा काचला उत्पादन करता है। तेजी से निरक्षरता, बेरोजगारी और गरीबी को दूर कर रहा है और भारत विश्व में सबसे दरिद्र, सबसे ज्यादा बे बेरोजगारों और अनपढ़ों का देश हो गया है। यह तब हुआ जब हमारे राष्ट्रपति बैंक गरीबी रखा हटाओ में धन देते हैं, दो करोड़ टन गन्ने का स्टॉक रखकर खाद्य कीमतों को बढ़ने में रोकते हैं या शहरों में सरकारी भवन दस्ते मकान भाड़ों को बनाते हैं। बैंक राष्ट्रीकरण के बाद ही किसानों को कर्ज बड़े पैमाने पर मिलने लगा है। राजकीय क्षेत्र के कारण ही गाँवों में विजली जा रही है। ऐसा कोई काम स्वतन्त्री पूंजी नहीं कर सकता है।

ये भारत सरकार की मौजूदा धनीपक्षी नीति करने के लिये दिल्ली में राजकीय क्षेत्र का आ जिसमें २१ जनवरी को राजकीय क्षेत्र की राष्ट्रीय हड़ताल करने का निश्चय किया गल बनाने के लिये तेजी से राष्ट्रव्यापी चाहिए। यह तैयारी ऐसी हो जिसमें न केवल मजदूर, किसान सभी सम्मिलित हो प्रतिरोध का रूप दें।

अभीतक भारतीय मजदूरवर्ग अपनी मांगों का अपने से सम्बन्धित सरकारी नीतियों का विरोध करता रहा है। पहलीबार हम राष्ट्रीय आर्थिक नीति में परिवर्तन लाने के लिये राष्ट्रीय संघर्ष पर जा रहे हैं। यह संघर्ष सफल होने पर भारतीय मजदूर आन्दोलन की नयी ऊंची धरातल पर ले जायगा।

और इसके लिये एटक की दृष्टी कांग्रेस में ज़रदार तैयारी करनी है।

TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS TODAY

-HOMI DAJI

At the very first session of the AITUC the President of the session Lala Lajpatrai had spelt out the aims of the AITUC as-

- 1) Defending the interests of the workers;
- 2) Fighting for the freedom of the country;
- 3) Fighting for a society free from exploitation of man by man.

These objectives hold good even today. Of course, the fight for freedom of the country takes on a different dimension today. India won her freedom in 1947. But today it is under attack from the imperialist forces directly and indirectly through subversion, communal and caste strifes and destabilising forces, including armed terrorism. All this has to be combatted if our hard-won freedom is to be preserved.

Though there have been failings and shortcomings on the part of the working class in fighting on this front, by and large the organised working-class is conscious of this important task. Particularly in Punjab one can say with pride that the workingclass has covered itself with glory in standing united against the divisive terrorism against heavy odds and has even moved into joint actions against the divisive forces. But this aspect of the role of the trade unions has to be stressed today both because of the urgency of the task as well as some lag in the awareness of the importance of this role as noted above.

The workingclass will have to overcome this lag and play the vanguard role in maintaining national unity, integrity and foiling the designs of imperialism against our country. In so doing the workingclass will not only be discharging one of its very important class duty, but it will also be able to come out as the leading national force which will heighten its weight in society and thereby help its own class battles also.

Recently the new economic policy being pursued by the Rajiv Gandhi Government has posed

a new challenge to the nation and the working class.

The new policy can be summed up as :

- placing heavier accented reliance on the private sector;
- sidelining the public sector to one mainly for building the infrastructure;
- denigrating it as being inefficient, costly and running in chronic losses and moving towards its 'privatisation';
- withdrawing restrictions on monopolies and MNCS;
- liberalising imports in the name of increasing the export potential of Indian industry;
- drive towards collaboration with foreign private capital, in the name of acquiring modern technology, as an essential condition of modernisation; and
- pursuing a fiscal policy which favours big business and monopolists.

It has almost made the private sector the main engine of national development. Even the public sector boards are being filled in by private tycoons. The chairmanship of such important public sector enterprises as the Air India, Indian Air Lines Corporation and Trading Corporation have gone to big monopolists. The policy of inviting foreign technology, machines, capital-multinationals is causing serious damage to our national economy. Even such well established public sector units as BHEL, BEL, ITI, etc. are under serious threat of lagging in orders and necessitating shut-downs. While fertilisers are being imported, four public sector fertiliser plants face closure. Same is the story of IDPL. These policies are a grave threat even to our self-reliance besides leading to increased closures and unemployment. In a way, the

en the limited gains of the post-independence are being eroded

policies are not only economically ruinous, also politically dangerous. Because penetration of foreign capital and multinationals is not only economically harmful but is very dangerous too. Multinationals are the Trojan horses of imperialism and are bound to prove as bases and abetting destabilising forces in our

The fight against the new economic policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government is not only a fight against the attacks on the workers and industries, also a fight to secure the rear in our fight against the anti-national forces of disintegration. In fighting to defeat these policies the working class is fulfilling a double role—that of defending its rights and particularly their right to work but also carrying out the national task of closing the door to the Trojan horses or imperialist forces in the form of multinationals and private capital entering our country.

In this connection the revolutionary working-class trade union movement has a special responsibility. It must be clearly understood that in the end it will be the revolutionary working class that will have to fight the battle as the

vanguard. This or that social force may sometimes unite in fighting against specific anti-people manifestations of this policy. But this will be not out of conviction but opportunism because at heart many social forces who are today formally vocal against the government policies have been previously advocating these very policies. Some other honest forces who can be later drawn into a joint fight against these policies are yet to be roused into consciousness. It, therefore, devolves as an urgent revolutionary duty of the working class to take the lead in this fight.

Of course, we should try to take with us as wide a section of social forces as possible. But we cannot wait or mark time. We must join the battle. Tomorrow may be too late. As the battle unfolds, wider sections are sure to be drawn in and a wide national front can emerge. But that can unfold only if the revolutionary working class realises the gravity of the situation and plays its vanguard role. By so doing the working class shall be defending not only its class interests but also national interests. This is the dialectics of today that class and national interests intertwine. Therefore, to lead the fight against the retrograde economic policies of the Rajiv Gandhi Government which endanger our very freedom and self-reliance is the historic call and duty of the working class today.

पंजाब के मजदूरों का आतंकवाद विरोधी संघर्ष

— मदनलाल दीक्षी

पंजाब एक बार १९४७ में उजड़ा था। उस समय पंजाब के मजदूर वर्ग में बड़ी दबल-पुथल हुई थी अधिकांश मजदूर जो पाकिस्तान गये वे धर्म के लिहाज से मुसलमान थे।

हरेक यूनिवर्सिटी के दर्जना कार्यकर्ता जो परखे हुए मजदूर प्रतिनिधि थे उन्हें पंजाब को छोड़कर पाकिस्तान जाने पर मजदूर कर दिया गया। वह लोग जो पंजाब में आए, उनमें से बहुत से लोग दुकानदारों, जमींदारों और मजदूर वर्ग के लोग थे। तमाम मजदूर यूनिवर्सिटी नये सिरे से बनीं, उद्योगों के बड़े केन्द्र लाहौर, उकारा, गबलपिन्डी, करांची आदि पाकिस्तान में रह गये। आज के पंजाब में अमृतसर, लुधियाना, गोविन्द गढ़, फरीदाबाद, पानीपत आदि केन्द्र रह गये।

१९५४ में दुसरी बार पंजाब का बंटवारा हुआ और कई उद्योगिक केन्द्र हरियाणा तथा हिमाचल में चले गये। एच. एम. टी. पिन्जोक, पानीपत, सूरजपुर, फरीदाबाद अलग हो गये और इसके साथ ही बहुत सी यूनिवर्सिटी हम से जुदा हो गईं।

अब तीसरी बार पंजाब की संगठित मजदूर शक्ति पर हमला हो रहा है। हिन्दू-सिखों में फूट डालकर, भारत से जुदा होने का नारा देकर एक बार फिर पंजाब की मजदूर एकता को तोड़ने फोड़ने की साजिश रची जा रही है। जितनी बार देश का बंटवारा हुआ, प्रांतीय की हृदय बन्दी में तब्दीली हुई या देश में साम्प्रदायिक झगड़े हुए, या अब खालिस्तान के नारे के नीचे तोड़ फोड़ की जा रही है, इस सब का राजनीतिक असर मजदूर आंदोलन पर पड़ता है। देश के पतन व अधोगति के साथ मजदूर वर्ग का भविष्य भी बंधा हुआ है। इसलिए पंजाब के हालात को देश के समस्त हिस्से में रखकर ही देखा जा सकता है, केवल एक दृष्टि से ही परखा जा सकता है कि पंजाब का मसला क्या है

उसका क्या हल हो और मजदूर वर्ग का इसमें क्या कर्तव्य है।

साम्राज्यवादी षडयंत्र - खालिस्तानी आतंकवाद

अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य ने सबसे पहले देशों को तफसील करने का दांव पेच अजमाये। आज तक आयरलैंड का अलस्टर प्रांत अपने देश से अलग ही रखा गया है। वहां पर बटवारा कैथोलिक तथा प्रोटेस्टेंट ईसाई धर्म के नाम पर डाला गया। देश की आजादी के बाद भी अलस्टर पर अंग्रेजों का कब्जा जारी है।

भारत में हिन्दु मुस्लीम में फूट डालकर भारत का बंटवारा करवाया। नया सिद्धान्त अमल में आया कि मुस्लीम अलग कौम है। अंग्रेजों की कूपलैंड योजना इससे भी दो कदम आगे थी जिसके अंतर्गत राजे-महाराजे तथा नवाबों की रिवाजतों का स्वतन्त्र रहने का हक दे दिया गया। उस समय भी यह कोशिश की गयी थी कि सिखों को भी अलग कौम मान लिया जाय किन्तु यह सब न हो सका। १९४७ में देश का बंटवारा हुआ लाखों लोग मारे गये तथा लाखों बे रोजगार हुए तथा वे घरबार हुये।

आजादी के बाद उत्तर पूर्व में ईसाईस्तान की लहर शुरू हुई, दक्षिण में द्राविड़स्थान के नारे उठे, अछूत-स्थान की रूप रेखा भी निखारी गयी, कई अन्य नारों व झंडों के नीचे देश के टुकड़े टुकड़े करने की योजनाएं बनीं। आज गोरखास्थान की मांग भी मैदान में है। इस पृष्ठ भूमि में भाषा की वृत्तियां पर पंजाबी सूबा बनाने के अकाली मोर्चे अस्तित्व में आये। सिखों पर अत्याचार के नारे उठने लगे। हिन्दु पंजाबियों ने अपनी मात्रभाषा हिन्दी लिखवाई तो मसला और गंभीर हो गया। पंजाबी सूबा का तो उसमें से कांगडा, कालका, आदि इलाके जुदा कर दिये गये। सिख महज गिनती का सूबा बना दिया गया। अकाली

न प्रान्त में अपना एक छत्र राज्य स्थापित करने के लिये तैयार हो गयी। मध्यमिती हो कर हिन्दू, कांग्रेस का साथ देने लगे। हिन्दू और सिखों के फूट परस्ती व नकरत की आग फैलने लगी।

कांग्रेसी संघ पंच

अकाली पार्टी सिखों के अधिकारों की रक्षा के लिये छोटे से छोटा इलाका लेने को तैयार हुये, अकाली अपना राज है। संघ खतरे में है के झुंझ करत रहे, किन्तु जितनी बार भी चुनाव प्रीमिषल बनाया आपसी फूट के कारण हमेशा राज खुद ही खत्म करत रहे।

अकाली फूट का फायदा उठा कर कांग्रेस बार नारा मनोरथ सिद्ध करने में सफल हुयी। कांग्रेसी न बल सका क्योंकि कांग्रेस के अन्दर फौ को भी के लुकी। एक हिस्सा अकालियों से ने मशगूल रहा।

य कांग्रेसी राज होता तो अकाली संघ खतरे के नारे बुलंद करने लगते, मोर्चा लगाते और ही फूट का फायदा उठा कर ताकत में आ जाते। अकाली राज होगा तो कांग्रेस वाले अकाली फिरका बक्के गार्ही, हिन्दुओं और हरिजनों पर जुल्म देकर और अकाली फूट का फायदा उठा कर नरद से फिर से सत्ता पर वापिस आ जाते। परस्ती को अकाली सीधी हवा देते, कांग्रेस भी जनता का बोद देने के लिये फिरका परस्ती का ठाती। कांग्रेस की चुनावत के बिचदू अकालियों लगाया, - वह मोर्चा लम्बी लड़ाई में जब कुछ कर सका, तो भिडरानवाला सशस्त्र युद्ध का मैदान में आया खलिस्तान का नारा तो भारत-पाकिस्तान युद्ध में से ही पाकिस्तानी दे दिया जाता रहा किन्तु उस समय कोई भय हमने जरा भी शक नहीं अकालियों पर दबाव कांग्रेस ने भिडरानवाला के हथियार बनाया पर दबाव डालने के लिये अकालीओं ने भी लड़े को हथियार बनाया।

भिडरानवाले ने अकाली व कांग्रेस दोनों को केया ओर अपनी ताकत मजबूत बना ली।

साम्राज्यवाद ने विदेशों में रह रहे सिखों के जरिये जगजीतसिंह चौहान व गंगासिंह दिल्ली के द्वारा खलिस्तान के नारे को और हवा दी। पाकिस्तान के अंश से बंगला देश में भारत की इन्वैज्मंती का बदला लेने के लिये पाकिस्तान भी मैदान में उतर आया। अमरीकी साम्राज्य कश्मीर तथा पंजाब को भारत से अलग करने के सपने देखने लगा। खलिस्तानी आतंकवाद और धारो बढ गया। जब अहमदार थोपरेशन, फौज में गढबढी, हरमिन्दर साहय में फौजी इखल के फलस्वरूप सैकड़ों सिख नौजवान पाकिस्तान चले गये तथा उनकी पाकिस्तानी जेलों में ट्रेनिंग देनी शुरु की गयी।

प्रधान मंत्री इन्दिरा गांधी के कत्ल के परिणाम स्वरूप दिल्ली व अन्य शहरों में सिख विरोधी दंगे, इनका पंजाब में प्रतिबिम्ब और पंजाब में हिन्दुओं का कत्लेआम और इसका पंजाब से बाहर प्रतिबिम्ब, इसने हालात को और बिगाड़ दिया। राजीव तथा लोगोवाल समझौता एक सही कदम था। चुनाव में ताकत अकालियों के हवाले कर दी गयी तथा बार बार कमिशन बनते रहे किन्तु चंडीगड व नहरों के पानी का मसला हल न हुआ।

क्योंकि हरियाणा में दर मसले चुनाव के मजीव नारे बन गये। विरोधी दलों व कांग्रेस की टक्कर से पंजाब का मसला हल किये बिना रह गया।

पंजाब के मजदूर वर्ग का गोल

पंजाब के मजदूरों और उनके राजनीतिक नेताओं ने हमेशा पंजाब के मसलों पर अपना अलग दृष्टिकोण लोगों के सामने पेश किया।

१९४७ में हम लोग भारत-पाकिस्तान बंटवारे के खिलाफ थे। हमने हमेशा पंजाबी बोली के आधार पर सब पंजाबियों की एकता के लिये संघर्ष किया। पंजाब को तोड़ने मरोड़ने व कमजोर करने के हर सुधे का विरोध किया। हिन्दू सिख फिरका परस्ती का लगातार विरोध किया, कांग्रेस व अकालियों की मौकापरस्ती को नंगा किया। हमने अकाली मोर्चा का विरोध किया। निरंकारी मत वालों द्वारा किये गये कत्लों का विरोध किया। भिडरानवाले के आतंकवाद का विरोध किया।

धर्म का सिद्धान्त को अलग रखने के लिये संघर्ष किया और कहा कि धर्म स्वार्थों को राजनीति के लिये इस्तेमाल न किया जाय। हिन्दू सिखों में फ़साद करवाने की कोशिशों का इट कर मुकाबला किया तथा सभी देश भक्त शक्तियों को एकता का प्रवास किया। साम्राज्यवादी साजिश का पंजाफेड़ किया। सरमायेदार जागीरदार पार्टियों की तंगदिल सिद्धान्त को वे नकाब किया, मजदूरवर्ग की एकता बनाने के लिये भरपूर संघर्ष किया।

अमृतसर के बहादुर मजदूरों का संघर्ष

इस दौर में राजनीत का केन्द्र अमृतसर ही बना रहा। अमृतसर में ही मजदूरों ने फिरका परस्ती विरोधी लहर का जन्म दे दिया। अमृतसर मजदूर लहर का चुनाव केन्द्र है। देहरादून की म्युनिसिपल कमिटी पर मजदूर आंदोलन का वर्षों तक कब्जा रहा है। कामरेड सत्यपाल डांग इसी स्थान से चुनाव जीतते रहे। कांग्रेस के मुखपत्रों को हटवाया तथा नेशनल में भी रहे।

अमृतसर टैक्स्टाइल मजदूरों की लम्बी हड़तालों के संघर्ष का भी केन्द्र रहा है। फिरका परस्ती विरुद्ध कहर का भी केन्द्र अमृतसर का मजदूरवर्ग बना।

फिरका परस्ती और कत्लों के विरुद्ध हड़ताल

जब एक निरंकारी का कत्ल हुआ तो अमृतसर के मजदूरों ने एक एक बंदे की हड़ताल विरोध दर्शाने के लिये की। जब छहरटा के स्कूल में धो शिक्षकों का कत्ल हुआ तो तमाम शिक्षक संगठित हो हड़ताल पर चले गये तथा जबरन प्रदर्शन व रैली निकाली गयी। जब पांच बिजली कर्मचारियों को कत्ल किया गया तो बिजली मजदूरों ने कई दिन तक हड़ताल की और तब पंजाब के मजदूरों ने हड़ताल में भाग लिया। तमाम ट्रेड युनियनों ने (एटक, इन्डक, सीटू, बी. एम. एस., एच. एम. एस.) संयुक्त मोर्चा बनाकर फिरका-परस्त तथा आतंकवादी शक्तियों के खिलाफ संघर्ष शुरु किया। आईडुक के जनरल सेक्रेटरी कामरेड इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता ने पंजाब का दौरा किया तथा अमृतसर, लुधियाना, खन्ना, गोविंदगढ़ और चर्दीमंड में विशाल रैलियों की गयीं। आईडुक के मुख्या कामरेड चतुरानन मिश्रा ने

इन्डक, बी. एम. एस., एच. एम. एस., तथा सीटू के नेताओं कामरेड सतर मुखर्जी सहित पंजाब का दौरा किया। अमृतसर, और जलंधर में विशाल प्रदर्शन, असन मोर्चा, रैलियां तथा जन सभाये आयोजित की गयीं। बिजली मजदूरों ने जलंधर में भारी प्रदर्शन किये। पटियाला में अपने साखाना अधिवेशन के समय सैफ्टों मजदूरों ने शान्ति मोर्चा बनाने का हक मत्तबाने के लिये गिरफ्तारिया दी। शान्ति कन्वेंशन, शान्ति मोर्चा, कत्ल विरोधी हड़तालें तमाम ट्रेड युनियनों की एकता अपनी मांगों की लड़ाई और देशकी अखंडता और एकता की लड़ाई के लिये आपस में संगठित हुये।

दुश्मनों का तमला

भारत सरकार के साथ साथ इल्हदार की जवाब-दारी सोवियत संघ पर डाली जाने लगी। भारत दुश्मन है और पाकिस्तान मित्र है यह प्रचार किया जाने लगा। भारत में सिखों को इस्पाफ नहीं मिल सकता इसलिये खालिस्तान के नारे को ज्यादा तरजीह दी गयी। कांग्रेसी, कम्युनिस्ट, लोंगोवाल अकाली, आम हिन्दु कत्ल किये जाने लगे, तरन तारन ने हिन्दुओं को बजाया गया। प्रीत लड़ी के नौजवान सन्पादक सुनीतसिंह का कत्ल, मशहूर किसान नेता कामरेड अर्जुनसिन मल्लाना का कत्ल, कम्युनिस्ट एम.एल.ए. का कत्ल, का. महेंद्रपाल का कत्ल और बीबी गुरों और उनके पिता तथा भाई जो स्वन्त्रता सेनानी थे इन सबका कत्ल इसी सिलसिले की कड़ियां हैं। का. अजीतराम और उनकी आठ बप का देटा इसी लिये नारे गये कि वे हिन्दुओं को पंजाब से भगाये जाने के विरोध में थे।

कामरेड दर्शनसिंह केनेडियन मशहूर कम्युनिस्ट नेता व विभायक का तरन तारन पट्टी के आजाद इलाके में दाखल हो कर फिरका परस्ती और आतंकवादियों के विरुद्ध जोरदार आवाज उठाने की वजह से गोली मार दी गयी। पुतलीपर जहां पर टैक्स्टाइल मजदूर युनियन का दफ्तर है वहां पर नजदीक ही मकान लेकर रहने वाले और सत्यपाल डांग पर हमले की तैयारी करते हुये कुछ आतंकवादी पकड़े गये। ट्रान्सपोर्ट मजदूरों के नेता जसवंतसिंह सभरा को जान से मार देने की धमकिया मिली हैं। पंजाब भर में पन्द्रह कम्युनिस्ट

जानसे मारे जा चुके हैं। नक्सली पाटों के संवेधानिक जान की निर्मम हत्या, माक्सवादी का. अघतारसिंह का कत्ल, यह सब मजदुर न पर हमले की ही एक कड़ी है।

दिंडा में अघतारवादी बाबा जोगिन्दरसिंह दल द से हमारा युनियनों को तोड़ कर प्रवासी को भगाना चाहते हैं। जिस में उन्हें कामयाबी है क्योंकि अकाली सरकार उनके खिलाफ करने से डरती है। अमृतसर, जलंधर, लुधियाना, गोविंदगढ़, भदोडा, रोपड़, तांगल, चंदीगढ़, इन शहरों में मजदुरों - किसानों की सरगर्मी नों का मुकाबला करने के लिये मैदान में उतर

धर्मकाट में खेत मजदुरों ने शानदार प्रदर्शन व रैली की और आन्दोलन को आगे बढ़ाया।

आईटुक का पंजाब हमदर्दी फंड

आईटुक जनरल कांसिल ने मद्रान में पंजाब के ट्रेड युनियनों की मदद के लिये फंड इकट्ठा करने का आवाहन किया जिसमें अब तक ४५,००० रुपये पंजाब पहुँच गया है। हर तरह की लड़ाई लड़ने के लिये पंजाब की मदद करने के लिये आईटुक मदद फंड में अधिकसे अधिक फंड भेजे।

पंजाब की ट्रेड युनियन आन्दोलन किसी सूरत में दोबारा १९४७ के हालात पैदा नहीं होने देंगे। यही हमारा प्रण है।

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Year	Place	President	General Secretary
1920	Bombay	Lala Lajpat Rai	Dewan Chamanlal
1921-22	Jharia	Joseph Baptista	"
1922-24	Lahore	C. R. Das	"
1924	Calcutta	D. R. Thengdi	A. J. Ginwala
1925	Bombay	V. V. Giri	A. J. Ginwala
1926 March	Madras		
1927	Delhi	Rai Saheb Chandika Prasad	N. M. Joshi
1927 Nov.	Kanpur	Diwan Chamanlal	"
1928	Jharia	M. Daud	"
1929-30	Nagpur	Jawaharlal Nehru	"
1931	Calcutta	Subhash Chandra Bose	V. S. Deshbandhu
1932	Madras	Jitindra Nath Mitra	Mkundalal Sircar
1933	Kanpur	G. L. Kandalkar	"
1935	Calcutta	Hariharnath Shastri	Sibnath Benerjee
1936	Bombay	R. S. Ruikar (in jail) Maniben Kara	R. A. Khedgikar
1938 Jan.	Delhi	Sibnath Benerjee	Maniben Kara
1938 Apr.	Nagpur	Dr. Suresh Chandra Benerjee	B. K. Mukherjee
1940	Bombay	Dr. Suresh Chandra Benerjee	N. M. Joshi
1942	Kanpur	V. R. Kalappa	"
1943	Nagpur	V. V. Giri (in detension) C. C. Benerjee	"
1945	Madras	S. A. Dange (not present) Fazal-Elahi Qurban	"
1947	Calcutta	M. K. Bose	"
1949	Bombay	S. A. Dange (in jail) V. Chakkarai Chettiar	N. M. Joshi (resigned) Manek Gandhi (detained) Amrith Sheh
1954	Calcutta	V. Chakkarai Chettiar	S. A. Dange
1957	Ernakulam	S. S. Mirajkar	"
1961	Coimbatore	"	"
1966	Bombay	"	"
1970	Guntur	"	"
1973	Calcutta	Dr. Ranen Sen	"
1976	Jemshedpur	S. A. Dange	K. G. Srivatsava
1980	Visakhapatnam	S. A. Dange	Indrajit Gupta
1983	Banglore	Chaturanan Mishra	"