

रेक्टरायल लेबर यूनियन (पाली)

धुं. बां. वार्षिक अधिवेशन

14.16 नवम्बर 1946.

प्रस्ताव

मजदूरों के मजान सम्बन्धी

सरकारी योजना

पाली में उद्योगिक उद्घोषणा के अन्तर्गत मजदूरों के लिए सरकार ने बनवाये हैं, उनका किशया काम करने व अन्य-व्यवस्था करने के लिए कामेटी में मजदूरों की विधि-विधानों के द्वारा यूनियन को बार-बार सरकार से मजदूरों के सम्बन्ध में ध्यान और कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया।

यूनियन, धुं. बां. वार्षिक अधिवेशन, सरकार की

इस उदासीनता को नीज्या करके मुझे

निम्न संकल्पों का किशया देना कर मुझे

1. पानी व बिजली को रेगुलरी का शीघ्र प्रबन्ध

किया जाय।

2. अन्य सुविधाएँ जो योजना के अन्तर्गत मिलनी

चाहते शीघ्र दी जाय।

Respect in

Handwritten signature

मन्त्री

Sharma

दि. 27-2-56.

सं. 24-6-56.

रेल्वे इल लेबर यूनियन (पाली)

धौ. वॉ. वार्षिक अधिवेशन

74-76-नवम्बर

प्रस्ताव

75/56,
to
Secretary

सोवियत विज्ञानियों का अभिनन्दन

सोवियत विज्ञानियों ने अभी-अभी अन्तरिक्ष में दो उपग्रह छोड़ कर जो अभी तक पृथ्वी का चक्कर लगा रहे हैं, विज्ञान की प्रगति में दुनिया को चौंकित कर दिया है। उन्होंने इस तरह पुनर्जीवादी व्यवस्था कि होड़ में समाप्त की व्यवस्था कि श्रेष्ठता को सिद्ध कर दिखाया है। इन प्रयोग में सोवियत विज्ञानियों ने अन्तरिक्ष उड़ान व अन्तरिक्ष की शक्तियों पर जाबू करके मनुष्य के स्वप्न को पूरा करने की स्थिति पैदा कर दी है। और मानवता कि महान सेवा कि है।

अमेरिकन साम्राज्यवादियों के दुःकाया के बावजूद भी दुनिया ने सोवियत विज्ञानियों के महान कार्य कि प्रशंसा की है।

यूनियन के इस अधिवेशन व पाली के अजडूरी कि तर्फ से हम सोवियत विज्ञानियों को हार्दिक वधाई देने हैं।

.....
Secretary

दि: 2/7/26

मिति: 30/6/26

रेलवे अस्पताल लखनऊ युनिवर्सिटी (पाली)

दॉ. जॉ. वी. विल्किंसन उपाध्याय

74-76, नवम्बर 9 (1926)

प्रस्ताव

राजकीय बीमा योजना

E-5

राजकीय बीमा योजना के अन्तर्गत मजदूरों कि कमाई से कहीं
रकम पर जो व्यवस्था पाली में कि गई वह पूर्ण नहीं है और मजदूरों
को कठिनाईओं का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। अतः उपाध्याय
राजस्थान सरकार व बीमा योजना के अधिकारियों से माँग
करता है कि।

1. योजना की सुविधाये मजदूरों के परिवार के अन्य सदस्यों पर भी लागू की जाय।
2. अस्पताल में एक डॉक्टर, जहाँ डॉक्टर व अन्य स्टाफ बढ़ाया जाय, और यहाँ की संख्या व स्टाफ बढ़ाया जाय।
3. योजना के अन्तर्गत सुआवजा आदि देने कि व्यवस्था की और सरल बनाय जाय, 200 रु. के स्थान पर 400 रु. कि रकम हर मसाले आना चाहिए।
4. मजदूरों के लिये जिला अस्पताल व जोधपुर के अस्पताल में बेड रीजर्व करवाये जाय।

अखिल भारत फ्रेड यूनियन
कॉंग्रेस
(असहयोग श्रेय नहीं देली)

मार्गी
S. Karim

क्र. 22/6/26

टैक्सयामल लेबर यूनियन (पाली)

धुं. नॉ. वॉर्किंग अथिक्शन

16-16 नवम्बर 1926

प्रस्ताव

राजस्थान की कपडा मिलों की

लाला बन्दो

class 2 Pers: meet

राजस्थान कि चार कपडा मिलों में- किरानगढ़, कोरा, विजयनगर तथा महादेव कौरन मिलों में काफी जमीनें लाला बन्दो चल रही हैं। करीब तीन हजार मजदूर इसके फलस्वरूप बेकार हैं। इन मिलों के मजदूर साक्षीयों को पिछले 3-4 वर्षों में इस तरह कि मुमकिनता को बार-बार सामना करना पड़ा है। मालिक उनकी पगोरे, फंड-की जमा रकम आदि हजम कर गये हैं। टैक्सयामल लेबर यूनियन पाली का यह धुं. नॉ. वॉ. अथिक्शन इन साक्षीयों के प्रति आर्थिक मदद की प्रगट करता है।

राजस्थान सरकार जो मजदूरों कि हितों को ध्यान में रखते अपनी घरी दमन शक्ति का उपयोग करने को तय हो जाती है। परन्तु इन तरह बार-बार लाला बन्दो करने वाले मालिकों के खिलाफ कोई कदम नहीं उठाती। उल्टे सरकार इन्ही मालिकों को कि आर्थिक मदद करने को तय रहती है।

अथिक्शन सरकार को इस गलत नीती का विरोध करते हुये माँग करती है कि सरकार इन चारों मिलों पर अधिकार करके मजदूरों के सहयोग से चलाये- इन मजदूरों कि बच्चा पगार उठाती करे और इन साक्षीयों के विरुद्ध सरका कार्य वाही करे।

मन्त्री
--- Shrivast ---

अखिल भारत टैक्सयामल
कांसेस
8 अक्टोबर 1926 (नई दिल्ली)

TEXTILE LABOUR UNION

(Red Flag) *Red Flag Textile Labour Union, Bombay*

S. T. D. 1943. Affiliated A. I. T. U. C.

सं. सं. १६३३६२६
Dated 195

Ref. No.

प्रस्ताव

महंगाई भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें

S. B. + Nayal member

राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है। यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है। यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है।

राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है। यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है। यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है।

राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है। यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है। यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है।

राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है। यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है। यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है।

औद्योगिक मंडल का मत है :-

- 1. राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है।
- 2. यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है।
- 3. यह फैसला राजस्थान सरकार द्वारा राजदूतों को भत्ता व तनखाहृत ठोकरें देने का फैसला किया है।

TEXTILE LABOUR UNION

(Red Flag) Regd.

E. S. T. D. 1943. Affiliated A. I. T. U. C.

PALI (Marwar)

Ref. No.

Dated 195

पत्र. 2.

3. जब तक उपरोक्त दोनों पक्षों परीक्षा होती तक वह एक-दूसरे पर राजस्थान के राजा. किसानों के आन्दोलन में अग्र-स्थान बनाने के अर्थों में और कपड़ा उद्योग में अद्य काल की सुधारों के आगू करें।

अ. ल. उ. राजस्थान के उद्योग मजदूरों व कर्मचारियों तथा उनके संगठनों को इतना आशा है कि वे अतिरिक्त लोगों को पूरा करने के लिये उद्योग मजदूरों को प्रोत्साहित करके सभी समुक्त मोर्चा का निर्माण करें।

संगठन कार्यकारणी के आदेश देना है कि वह किन्हीं अन्य सदस्यों संगठनों कि मदद में राजस्थान के किसानों के संगठनों का प्रतिनिधि संगठन बनाने व समुक्त मोर्चा निर्माण करने के कार्य में मदद करनी करें।

प्रती

Message of Greetings read by T.K. Tangamari, General
Secretary Tamilnad Committee of AITUC

Comrade President,

I bring message of goodwill, love and friendship from the working people of India to the working people of China.

On behalf of the All India Trade Union Congress and also on behalf of its General Secretary Comrade S.A. Dange, I greet the 8th Congress of the All China Federation of Trade Unions.

The historic struggles of the Chinese working class in the past and the great achievements during the present period have inspired the Indian working class and we are deeply grateful. The present congress, we are informed, will discuss and decide the concrete tasks for the Chinese workers and trade unions in the period of the second five year plan. I am certain it will give useful lessons to us for our Trade Union work.

The Indian working class had to fight for Trade Union rights and for bettering the living conditions. At the same time it had to help in the national reconstruction work. The correctness of the dual role was amply proved by the results of the General Elections held early in 1957. Several known Trade Union Leaders were elected to the Provincial and Central Parliaments. In the State of Kerala, Ministry consisting of Trade Union leaders, has been formed.

Our country is now in the second year of the second five year plan. The fulfillment of the plan and the successful completion of the core of plan are basic questions before the Indian working class.

The problems facing the group of countries which had won political independence, as envisaged by the 4th World Trade Union Congress, are also the problems facing the India working class today. The Imperialists are trying their ^{best} to wreck the core of the plan. The India working class and the India people will surely succeed in this battle.

The people of India and the Government headed by Jawaharhal Nehru are dedicated to peace based on the 5 principles of Panch Shilla.

The sincere sympathy shown by the people of China over the death of Dr. Atal, one of the esteemed sons of India, is another example of our mutual love and regard.

Once again, I convey my greetings.

Long live the Chinese working class

Long live the unity of the India and Chinese working class and the people.

Long live International working class unity

Hindi - Chinese Bhai-Bhai

98 5

Pepsu Road Transport Corporation Workers Union

(Registered) PATIALA.

ON THE PATH OF STRUGGLE

Dear Friend,

The Pepsu Road Transport Corporation (a semi Govt. concern) is threatened with a general strike. In spite of the repeated efforts by the Union the Corporation Management & the Panjab Govt., have refused to hear to genuine & just demands of the workers. The workers have been forced to take to the path of struggle by the adamant and non-co-operative attitude of the management & the Panjab Govt. We fully realise that any strike in this vital industry would cause great hardships to our people but we are helpless.

We appeal to all citizens, all political parties & all organised trade unions to lend their support to the just cause of the workers and give them moral, financial & organisational help.

Yours sincerely

Jagan Nath
General Secretary.

Com. S. A. Dange M.P.
General Secretary,
All India Trade Union
Congress, New Delhi.

*Copy of the notice served on the General Manager of the P. R. T.C.
Patiala by the workers union on 7-12-57.*

The General Manager,
The Pepsu Road Transport Corporation,
Patiala.

SUB:—Demands Notice.

Dear Sir,

The Pepsu Road Transport Corporation Workers Union has made various representations to you on many occasions on the following demands of your workmen, who are members of our union. But our all efforts have proved fruitless and you are resisting our demands without any justification. Hence your workmen as represented by the above union have come to the conclusion that in order to get their grievances redressed they are left with no other course but use their industrial might collectively and resort to various forms of direct action.

You are hereby served with fifteen days notice to concede the following demands, failing which the Pepsu Road Transport Corporation Workers Union (Registered) will resort to various forms of direct action including hunger strike, general strike etc; Please note on or after 23rd December, 1957, we will be free to resort to direct action then you shall be responsible for all the consequences.

The demands are attached herewith.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/ Jagan Nath Gupta
Genl. Secretary.

DEMANDS.

1. That all the workers dismissed, terminated or suspended after or on 19-12-56 out of victimisation, should be reinstated in the service of the Corporation with continuity of service and with all the benefits of past service, in their old posts.
2. All the employees in the service of the Corporation on or before 31st March, 1956 should be granted bonus for the year 1955-56 at the rate of two month's total emoluments last drawn.
3. The Corporation should recognise the Pepsu Road Transport Corporation Workers Union.
4. The Corporation should constitute labour welfare fund.
5. All the labour enactments should be enforced on the employees of the Corporation, works committee be formed as per the provisions of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.
6. The Corporation should instruct its officers not to interfere with the trade union activities of the union and its members and also not to victimise the activists or members of the union.
7. Night out allowance should be paid to all the employees at the rate of Rs. 3/- per night, who are required to remain away from their fixed head quarters.
8. The Corporation should provide free medical aid to all its employees and their families.
9. (i) The duty hours of the running staff should be 9 hours a day or 48 hours a week, as per the Minimum Wages Act, 1948.
(ii) The workshop staff should be brought under the factories Act, 1948.

(iii) In no case the spread over period should not exceed 12 hours a day.

10. Over time wages should be paid to the staff under the above two categories as laid down in the Minimum Wage Act and the Factories Act, 1948 respectively. Staff other than men mentioned above should be paid overtime as per the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act.

11. (i) Rest intervals of the staff on lines should be fixed at their respective head quarters so that they may avail the same.

(ii) The Corporation should provide Rest Rooms at all stations for the use of the staff.

(iii) Facilities contained in the Factories Act particularly those mentioned in chapters IV & V should be provided to the staff concerned, as are obligatory on the employers.

12. All the employees should be provided with duty cards.

13. Leave when due should not be denied.

14. The Corporation should construct residential quarters for the workers or pay 10 percent of the pay for house rent.

15. The workers should be given full leave on gazetted holidays. If they are asked to remain on duty they should be paid overtime as per Factories Act.

16. The Provident Fund should be 9 N.P. per rupee, per month.

17. A canteen and dispensary should be opened at the workshop for the workers.

18. The Corporation should bear the fees for the renewal of the licenses of the running staff.

19. The Corporation should issue free of any charge six family passes to its employees in every financial or calendar year.

20. Uniforms should be supplied as under:—

(i) Running Staff } Two summer uniforms each year, one
Class IV Staff } winter uniforms every two years and a
pair of shoes to class IV staff each year.

(ii) Workshop Staff: Four dongries each year, one jersey for every two years.

(iii) A rain coat should be supplied every three years to the running Staff.

21. The Corporation should frame, without any delay and in due consultation with the union, Rules and Regulations governing the service conditions of the employees. No worker should be dismissed or discharged from service or otherwise punished in any way until the proper course of chargesheet, explanation, enquiry and appeal etc; has been gone into and the worker concerned has

been given full opportunity of his defence. A representative of the union should be allowed to represent the worker in an enquiry when held, if so desired by the worker concerned.

22. The workers when are being prosecuted for the offences committed at the time of duty should be supported with legal & monetary help.

23. The Corporation should frame a checking policy laying down the procedure for checking the tickets by the checkers and issue of tickets by the conductors, as well as the rules to penalise ticketless travel, on the lines of Delhi Road Transport Authority, New Delhi.

24. Workers who are suspended due to the prosecution and are acquitted or discharged by the law courts should be reinstated with full pay from the date of suspension.

25. The Corporation should not ask its employees to do a job for which they have not been appointed. The existing employees should be redesignated in the category or post; they are at present performing irrespective of the category or post mentioned in their letters of appointments, and duties of all the employees should be specified.

26. The Corporation should employ chowkidars for the watch over of vehicles at the places where they may be required to be parked at time when the running staff is not on duty. The running staff should in no case be held responsible for such a watch during their off duty hours.

27. (i) The workers concerned should be granted full protection against the consequences of the mechanical defects or incompleteness of the vehicle in violation of the Motor vehicles Act or the rules made thereunder.

(ii) No worker challaned or otherwise punished by the police or other authorities for accidents arising out of mechanical defect and/or vehicular incompleteness should be removed from service or otherwise punished in any way by the Corporation and all the consequences in such cases including the proceedings upto the appellate court should be under taken by and at the expense of the Corporation.

(iii) Liability for defects in a particular vehicle after it has been inspected by the supervisor at the workshop not in any way be attributed to the maintenance staff. The Corporation should keep its vehicles upto date as per requirements of the Motor Vehicles Act.



24A, Nimitolla Ghat Street,
Room No: 32, Calcutta 6.
7-11-12-57.

24A, Nimitolla Ghat Street,

To
The General Secretary,
All India Trade Union Congress,
4, Ashok Road,
New-Delhi.

Dear Comrade,
Thanks for your kind letter dated 28-11-57, in support of the hunger strike of the workers of m/s Indo Burma Wood Products Ltd, guided by the West Bengal Kath-Gola Mazdoor Union.

In West Bengal, the following statement issued by the important Trade Union Leaders on 2-12-57 which please note:-

We are extremely shocked to learn that 31 workers including a Secretary of the Union have been unlawfully retrenched, victimised and also declared lock-out of the Company by the management of Indo Burma Wood Products Ltd of 20 B, Toralagan Street, Calcutta, at this juncture and critical moment of the acute unemployment and grave economic crisis in West Bengal.

We also learn that, The West Bengal Kath-gola Mazdoor Union explored all the avenues for an amicable settlement of the dispute through the Labour office of the West Bengal Government in a peaceful method, and failed.

Finding no other alternative resorted to Sri, Propulla Kumar Chak and Biswanath Kar resorted to hunger strike from 21st Nov. and their condition causing great anxiety. So, we invite the attention of Sri. B. C. Roy the Chief Minister and Janab Abdus Satter the Labour Minister of West Bengal to the grave situation and request them to interfere into the matter immediately to save the lives and to see that an amicable settlement of the disputes is made.

We appeal to the workers of West Bengal to give full support to the hunger strikers for the noble cause they have undertaken.

4. Dr. Kanai Bhattacharjee, M.A. Sd/-

5. Com. Bibhuti Chakrabarty M.A. Com. Hemanta Kr. Bose, M.A.

6. Dr. Moni Chakrabarty, M.A. President:- P. P. T. U. C.

7. Com. Chitto Basu, M.A. 2. Sri, Jatun Chakrabarty M.A.

8. Com. Primaltha N. Ghosh, M.A. Secretary:- U. T. U. P.

9. Com. ...

For information to the G.S., A.T.U.

For information to the G.S., A.T.U.
Gulab Rai Secretary
N. Bengal Kath Gola
10/11/57

11
Dt- 11-12-57
98

To
The General Secretary,
All India Trade Union Congress
4, Ashoke Road,
New-Delhi.

Hunger Strike Withdrawn.

Dear Comrade,

As a mark of protest against the lock-out of M/S, Indo Burma Wood products Ltd, 2 important members of the West Bengal Katgolla Mazdur Union sri, Profulla Kr. Dhar and Biswanath Kar lunched hunger strike from 20th November to 5th December, 1957.

A deputation of the union representatives with Comrade Dulal Krishna Raha, the Secretary and Shyamal Roy - President of the union headed by Comrade Chitto Bose, M.L.A. met with the labour Minister, Govt. of West Bengal at Writers Building, Calcutta, talked more than half an hour. The Labour Minister shown his sympathy to the workers and to their justified demands. And he assured the representatives he will try his best to settle the disputes within a short time. He requested to withdraw the hunger strike and to solve the problem peacefully.

On 5th December, at the time of withdrawal the hunger strike, the President of the B.P.T.U.C. Com. Hemanta Kr. Bose, M.L.A. Comrade Ajit Biswas member of the A.I.T.U.C. were present and delivered a speech to give all out support to the workers on behalf of the Organisation.

Both the comrades Sri, Profulla Dhar and Biswanath Kar have been ^{removed} to the Hospital near to the locality, they are recovering day by day. The Residential Supdt. Of the hospital has taken keen interest to hunger striker comrades.

Thanking you,

Comradely Yours,

Dulal Krishna Raha
Secretary.

West Bengal Katgolla Mazdoor Union.

PUNJAB T.U.C. CONFERENCE

The fifth Annual Conference of Punjab-Himachal Committee of the AITUC was held at Sonapat from October 21 to 24. Nearly 200 delegates representing trade unions from cotton textile, engineering, cycle industry, hosiery industry, transport, Bhakra Nangal Dam, sugar, etc. attended this conference. The Textile Mazdoor Ekta Union of Amritsar, one of the strongest Unions of the Punjab and which is not affiliated to any central TU organisation sent a strong delegation of 22, ~~including~~ to attend the conference as fraternal delegates.

It is significant to note that during the last 18 months, the influence and prestige of the AITUC in this region has considerably increased. Nearly 20 unions have got themselves affiliated with the AITUC in this period, including Hosiery Workers Union of Ludhiana, one of the oldest Unions in the State. At present about 60 unions are affiliated with AITUC in this region. The growing influence of the AITUC in this region is also reflected in the preparations for the Conference. For the first time, practically every union participated in the fund collection campaign to stabilise the finances of PTUC centre. From Sonapat and its adjoining areas, nearly Rs.3000 were collected. Workers of Atlas Cycle Works alone contributed about Rs.900 for the conference. Almost the same amount was contributed by the kisans around Sonapat.

Another important feature of this conference was that for the first time in the history of AITUC in this region, a broadbased Reception Committee of the conference was formed. Apart from the representatives of the various Unions of Sonapat and the Kisan Sabha, leading citizens of Sonapat became the members of the Reception Committee. All the members of the Reception Committee took keen and active interest in the preparations and deliberations of the Conference.

Satish Loomba, General Secretary of the PTUC, presented his report on October 22 and practically one full day was devoted to the discussions on this report. As many as 3½ delegates participated in the discussions. The report made an attempt to apply the stand of the AITUC on the decisions of the recently held Fifteenth Indian

Labour Conference. There was a general agreement about the policy of the AITUC regarding the Second Five Year Plan, wage increase, rationalisation, discipline, etc. The representatives of the various Unions enriched the report with their concrete and living experiences.

After the discussions on the General Secretary's report, the Conference was split up into various commissions to discuss the problems of various industries in this region.

The Conference passed a large number of resolutions such as on recognition of trade unions, policy of the Labour Department of Punjab Government, trade union unity, on wages, on bonus, communal unity, amendments to existing labour laws, trade union organisation, Trade Union (fortnightly organ of PTUC), etc. But most lively discussions took place on four main resolutions, i.e., on trade union unity, communal unity, labour policy of the Punjab Government and strengthening of AITUC in this region.

In the ~~circumstances~~ discussions on trade union unity, the conference noted with satisfaction the progress made in this direction. It should be mentioned here that the Ghini Workers Federation including AITUC, INTUC and independent unions has been formed. Similarly, Textile Workers Federation has been formed. Besides this, trade union councils are being formed in important industrial towns. In some factories, various unions have been merged into one union, ~~such~~ such as the Co-operative Sugar Factory at Rohtak. In some other factories, joint committees were formed to wage struggle such as in the Textile Factory at Phagwara. The conference underlined the importance of trade/^{union}unity in the coming period and emphasised that special attention should be paid to unorganised workers.

In the resolution on communal unity, the conference appealed to the leaders of Hindi Raksha Samiti to withdraw the movement and called for convening a round table conference. The Conference also demanded that repression should be stopped.

In the resolution on the Labour Policy of the Punjab Government, the Conference pointed out that the Labour Department of the State Government "is still continuing a policy of discrimination" against AITUC unions, conciliation proceedings are subjected to prolonged delay, reference to the disputes are made after many months, awards

are not implemented and, above all, the adjudication proceedings in the Tribunals take a very long time.

On the resolution on strengthening AITUC, the Conference appealed to all the Trade Unions to launch a campaign to increase the membership of Unions and to further strengthen fraternal relations with those unions which are quite close to AITUC but hesitate to join AITUC. The conference also decided to strengthen PTUC centre and took a decision that at least three comrades should function at the PTUC Centre. In order to strengthen the journal of the "Trade Union", the Conference issued an appeal for funds. About Rs.200 were collected on the spot.

Com. Aruna Asaf Ali, Vice President of the AITUC addressed the delegates on 2 October 23. In her speech, she emphasised the role of the working class in India in the post-independence period and laid special emphasis on training and building working class leadership.

Com. S.A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC, addressed the open rally of the Conference on October 25, and explained the basic standpoint of the AITUC on the problems facing the working class and the nation at the present juncture.

In the delegate session as well as at the open rally, Comrades Vithal Rao, S.M. Banerjee and K.T.K. Tangamani addressed the conference.

The conference unanimously elected the office-bearers for the next session. Com. Kartar Singh was elected President and Com. Satish Loomba as General Secretary. Com. V.D. Chopra, outgoing President was elected as Senior Vice-President.

PRESS STATEMENT BY THE ALL INDIA PETROLEUM WORKERS FEDERATION.

The General Council meeting of the All India Petroleum Workers' Federation was held in Bombay from November 18, to consider the situation in the industry and to decide the guiding line for the affiliated Unions to meet the new developments after the last delegates Conference in March 1956.

The meeting took note of the new menace coming from the oil Companies who are resorting to handing over more and more of their regular operations to contractors provoking workers to resort to strike and the wholesale transfer of inland storage depots to agents resulting in retrenchment and shrinking the scope of direct employment. The Conference also took note of the fact that while the Govt. of India have undertaken studies of Contract labour in the Petroleum industry it has refused to associate the workers' organisations in this study of the problem. The Council stressed that there can be no important study of this problem in the petroleum industry without associating the organised workers and their unions with this important work, and therefore demanded that the Central Government should associate the All India Petroleum Workers' Federation in this important study.

The Council also took into account the hostile attitude of the oil companies towards this national organisation of the workers in India and their consistent refusal to deal and negotiate with the AIPWF. Such an attitude on the part of the oil companies negates all the concepts of equitable collective bargaining. The Council regretted that the Government of India so far taken up an attitude of non-interference in securing recognition to the AIPWF. The Council urged upon the Govt. of India to take positive attitude in the important demand of the oil workers to renew the collective contracts about to expire on a national level. The Council hoped that the new atmosphere being sought to be created in our country by the efforts of new Central Labour Minister Shri. Gulzarilal Nanda through the tripartite Conferences and other measures ~~which will be undertaken~~ aiming at direct settlement will enable the organised workers of this industry to achieve their object and that they will not be compelled to resort to measures which will have tendency to disturb this new atmosphere.

The Council was also of the view that the Government of India should appoint a committee to investigate the price structure of petrol and other petroleum products because of general tendency of the oil companies to overcapitalise to show a decrease in their rate of profit even while its volume increases. The Council was of the view that vast possibilities exist for enforcing reduction of the prices of petrol and other petroleum products which can bring relief to the consumers and reduce the cost of operation of many of the important projects launched under our Five Year Plan.

The Council assured the Government of India that if such an investigation is undertaken by it the organised workers will cooperate with it by placing at its disposal ways and means to ensure an effective investigation.

The Council also formulated an All India Charter of Demands on behalf of the oil workers in the distributing wing for standardisation of wages and other terms of service conditions. The Council further decided upon the steps to secure a settlement of this Charter on a national level.

The Council meeting was attended by 22 members and observers including Shri. Bankim Mukerji, M.L.A. of West Bengal, Shri Y.D. Sharma of Delhi, Shri. Shivaji Patil of Poona, Raj Gopal of Madras, and G.Sundaram and R.N.Kaul , the president and General Secretary respectively of AIPWF.

Bombay

21/11/57

ON THE STRUGGLES OF WORKING JOURNALISTS

This General Council of the ALL INDIA PETROLEUM WORKERS' FEDERATION meeting in Bombay expresses its solidarity with the Working Journalists in their struggle for the implementation of the Wage Board. This Council deplures the attitude of some State Governments in resorting to litigations and some State Governments in such litigation and denying the workers the fruits of the Wage Board. The Council also deplures efforts aimed at circumventing through various methods the decisions of the courts including Supreme Court.

This meeting therefore, calls upon the Government to effectively intervene on behalf of the Working Journalists to see that the decisions of the Wage Board are enforced without any further delay.

R.N.KAUL,
 General Secretary,
 ALL INDIA PETROLEUM WORKERS' FEDERATION.

Bill No. X-C of 1956.

THE RAILWAY PROTECTION
FORCE BILL, 1957

(AS PASSED BY THE RAJYA SABHA)

RAJYA SABHA

A
BILL

To provide for the constitution and regulation of a force called the Railway Protection Force for the better protection and security of railway property

(As passed by the Rajya Sabha)

GIPD—LS I—531 LS—11-6-57—1200

THE SCHEDULE

(See section 7)

A.B. has been appointed a member of the Railway Protection Force under the Railway Protection Force Act, 1957, and is vested with the powers, functions and privileges of a member of the Force.

Bill No. X-C of 1956

THE RAILWAY PROTECTION FORCE BILL, 1957

(AS PASSED BY THE RAJYA SABHA)

A

BILL

to provide for the constitution and regulation of a Force called the Railway Protection Force for the better protection and security of railway property.

BE it enacted by Parliament in the Eighth Year of the Republic of India as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Railway Protection Force Act, 1957. Short title, extent and commencement.

5 (2) It extends to the whole of India.

(3) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,—

Definitions.

10 (a) "Force" means the Railway Protection Force constituted under section 3;

(b) "Inspector-General" means the Inspector-General of the Force appointed under section 4;

(c) "member of the Force" means a person appointed to the Force under this Act other than a superior officer;

15 (d) "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act;

(e) "railway property" includes any goods, money or valuable security, or animal, belonging to, or in the charge or possession of, a railway administration;

(f) "superior officer" means any of the officers appointed under section 4 and includes any other officer appointed by the Central Government as a superior officer of the Force;

(g) words and expressions used but not defined in this Act and defined in the Indian Railways Act, 1890, shall have the meanings respectively assigned to them under that Act. 5 9 of 1890.

Constitution of the Force.

3. (1) There shall be constituted and maintained by the Central Government a Force to be called the Railway Protection Force for the better protection and security of railway property.

(2) The Force shall be constituted in such manner, shall 10 consist of such number of superior officers and members of the Force and shall receive pay and other remuneration as may be prescribed.

Appointment and powers of superior officers.

4. (1) The Central Government may appoint a person to be the Inspector-General of the Force and may appoint other persons to be Chief Security Officers, Security Officers or Assistant Security Officers 15 of the Force.

(2) The Inspector-General and every other superior officer so appointed shall possess and exercise such powers and authority over the members of the Force under their respective commands as is provided by or under this Act. 20

Classes and ranks among members of the Force.

5. There shall be the following classes of officers and other ranks among the members of the Force, who shall take rank in the order mentioned, namely:—

A. Class of officers—

- (i) Inspector, 25
- (ii) Sub-Inspector,
- (iii) Assistant Sub-Inspector.

B. Classes of other ranks—

- (i) Head Rakshak,
- (ii) Senior Rakshak, 30
- (iii) Rakshak.

Appointment of members of the Force.

6. The appointment of members of the Force shall rest with the Chief Security Officers who shall exercise that power in accordance with rules made under this Act:

Provided that the power of appointment under this section 35 may also be exercised by such other superior officer as the Chief Security Officer concerned may by order specify in this behalf.

390. 7. (1) Every member of the Force shall receive on his appointment a certificate in the form specified in the Schedule, under the seal of the Chief Security Officer or such other superior officer as the Chief Security Officer may specify in this behalf, by virtue of which the person holding such certificate shall be vested with the powers of a member of the Force.

Certificates
to members
of the Force.

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(2) Such certificate shall cease to have effect whenever the person named in it ceases for any reason to be a member of the Force, and on his ceasing to be a member of the Force, shall be forthwith surrendered by him to any superior officer empowered to receive the same.

id
of

8. (1) The superintendence of the Force shall vest in the Central Government, and subject thereto the administration of the Force shall vest in the Inspector-General and shall be carried on by him in accordance with the provisions of this Act and of any rules made thereunder.

Superintendence and
administration
of the
Force.

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(2) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (1), the administration of the Force within such local limits in relation to a railway as may be prescribed shall be carried on by the Chief Security Officer in accordance with the provisions of this Act and of any rules made thereunder, and he shall discharge his functions under the general supervision of the General Manager of the Railway.

9. (1) Subject to the provisions of article 311 of the Constitution and to such rules as the Central Government may make under this Act, any superior officer may—

Dismissal,
removal, etc.
of members
of the Force.

(i) dismiss, suspend or reduce in rank any member of the Force whom he shall think remiss or negligent in the discharge of his duty, or unfit for the same; or

(ii) award any one or more of the following punishments to any member of the Force who discharges his duty in a careless or negligent manner, or who by any act of his own renders himself unfit for the discharge thereof, namely:—

(a) fine to any amount not exceeding seven days' pay or reduction in pay scale;

(b) confinement to quarters for a period not exceeding fourteen days with or without punishment, drill, extra guard, fatigue or other duty;

(c) removal from any office of distinction or deprivation of any special emolument.

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(2) Any member of the Force aggrieved by an order made under sub-section (1) may appeal against the order to such authority as may be prescribed, and the decision of the said authority thereon shall be final.

Officers and members of the Force to be deemed to be railway servants.

10. The Inspector-General and every other superior officer and every member of the Force shall for all purposes be regarded as railway servants within the meaning of the Indian Railways Act, 1890, other than Chapter VIA thereof, and shall be entitled to exercise the powers conferred on railway servants by or under that Act. 5
9 of 1890.

Duties of members of the Force.

11. It shall be the duty of every superior officer and member of the Force— 10

- (a) promptly to execute all orders lawfully issued to him by his superior authority;
- (b) to protect and safeguard railway property;
- (c) to remove any obstruction in the movement of railway property; and 15
- (d) to do any other act conducive to the better protection and security of railway property.

Power to arrest without warrant.

12. Any superior officer or member of the Force may, without an order from a Magistrate and without a warrant, arrest— 20

- (a) any person who has been concerned in an offence relating to railway property punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, or against whom a reasonable suspicion exists of his having been so concerned; or
- (b) any person found taking precautions to conceal his presence within railway limits under circumstances which afford reason to believe that he is taking such precautions with a view to committing theft of, or damage to, railway property. 25

Power to search without warrant

13. (1) Whenever any superior officer, or any member of the Force, not below the rank of a Senior Rakshak, has reason to believe that any such offence as is referred to in section 12 has been or is being committed and that a search-warrant cannot be obtained without affording the offender an opportunity of escaping or of concealing evidence of the offence, he may detain and search, and, if he thinks proper, arrest any person whom he has reason to believe to have committed the offence. 30
35

(2) The provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, relating to searches under that Code shall, so far as may be, apply to searches under this section. 5 of 1898.

14. Any superior officer or member of the Force making an arrest under this Act, shall, without unnecessary delay, make over the person so arrested to a police officer, or, in the absence of a police officer, take such person or cause him to be taken to the nearest police station.

Procedure to be followed after arrest.

15. (1) Every superior officer and member of the Force shall, for the purpose of this Act, be considered to be always on duty, and shall, at any time, be liable to be employed in any part of the railways throughout India.

Officers and members of the Force to be considered always on duty and liable to be employed in any part of the Railways.

10 (2) No superior officer or member of the Force shall engage himself in any employment or office other than his duties under this Act.

16. A member of the Force shall not by reason of his suspension from office cease to be a member of the Force; and he shall, during that period, be subject to the same responsibilities, discipline and penalties to which he would have been subject if he were on duty.

Responsibilities of members of the Force during suspension.

17. (1) Without prejudice to the provisions contained in section 9, every member of the Force who shall be guilty of any violation of duty or wilful breach or neglect of any rule or regulation of lawful order made by a superior officer, or who shall withdraw from the duties of his office without permission, or who, being absent on leave, fails, without reasonable cause, to report himself for duty on the expiration of the leave, or who engages himself without authority in any employment other than his duty as a member of the Force, or who shall be guilty of cowardice, shall be liable, on conviction before a Magistrate, to simple imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months.

Penalties for neglect of duty, etc.

3 of 1898

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, an offence punishable under this section shall be cognizable.

18. The Police (Incitement to Disaffection) Act, 1922, shall apply to members of the Force as it applies to members of a police force.

Application of Act 22 of 1922 to members of the Force.

4 of 1936.
14 of 1947.
53 of 1948.

19. Nothing contained in the Payment of Wages Act, 1936, or the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, or the Factories Act, 1948, shall apply to members of the Force.

Certain Acts not to apply to members of the Force.

20. (1) In any suit or proceeding against any superior officer or member of the Force for any act done by him in the discharge of his duties, it shall be lawful for him to plead that such act was done by him under proper authority or order.

Protection of acts of members of the Force.

(2) Any such plea may be proved by the production of the order directing the act, and if it is so proved, the superior officer or member of the Force shall thereupon be discharged from any liability in respect of the act so done by him, notwithstanding any defect in the jurisdiction of the authority which issued such order. 5

(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force, any legal proceeding, whether civil or criminal, which may lawfully be brought against any superior officer or member of the Force for anything done or intended to be done under the powers conferred by, or in pursuance of, any provision of 10 this Act or the rules thereunder shall be commenced within three months after the act complained of shall have been committed and not otherwise; and notice in writing of such proceeding and of the cause thereof shall be given to the person concerned or his superior officer at least one month before the commencement of such proceeding. 15

Power to
make rules.

21. (1) The Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act.

(2) In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing powers, such rules may provide for:—

(a) regulating the classes and grades and the pay and 20 remuneration of superior officers and members of the Force and their conditions of service in the Force;

(b) regulating the powers and duties of superior officers and members of the Force authorised to exercise any functions by or under this Act; 25

(c) fixing the period of service for superior officers and members of the Force;

(d) regulating the punishments and providing for appeals from, or the revision of, orders of punishment, or the remission of fines or other punishments; 30

(e) any other matter which has to be, or may be, prescribed.

(3) All rules made under this section shall be laid for not less than thirty days before both Houses of Parliament as soon as possible after they are made and shall be subject to such modifications as Parliament may make during the session in which they are so laid 35 or the session immediately following.

AMENDMENT TO MINIMUM WAGES RULES

98

The Ministry of Labour, Government of India issued the following notification on December 10, 1957, to amend the Minimum Wages (Central) Rules, 1950:

"In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) and clauses (a) (b) and (n) of sub-section (2) of section 30 of the Minimum Wages Act 1948, (11 of 1948), the Central Government hereby makes the following further amendments to the Minimum Wages (Central) Rules, 1950, which have become necessary consequent on certain amendments made by the Minimum Wages (Amendment) Act, 1957, the said amendments having been previously published as required by sub-section (1) of the said section, namely:

Amendments

In the said rules -

(1) in rule 2

(i) clause (b) shall be omitted;

(ii) in clause (e), after the words "Advisory Board", the word "or" shall be inserted and the words "or the Advisory Committee" shall be omitted;

(2) for the existing heading of Chapter II, the following shall be substituted, namely:-

"Membership, meetings and staff of the Board and Committee";

(3) in rule 3,

(i) for the existing title, the following shall be substituted, namely:-

"Term of office of members of the Committee";

(ii) the words "or an Advisory Committee", and the words "or an Advisory Committee, as the case may be" shall be omitted;

(4) in rule 5, the words "an Advisory Committee" shall be omitted;

(5) in rule 6,

(i) in sub-rule (b), the words "or an Advisory Committee" shall be omitted;

(ii) in sub-rule (2) the words "the Advisory Committee in the two places where they occur and the words "Advisory Committee" shall be omitted.

(6) in rules 7, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 15, the words "Advisory Committee" and "the Advisory Committee" wherever they occur, shall be omitted.

(7) In Chapter III, in the heading and in rule 18, the words "Advisory Committee" wherever they occur shall be omitted; and in rule 19, the words "the Advisory Committee" shall be omitted.

TRANSPORT WORKER

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Price : 6 N. P.

DECEMBER, 1957

Vol : 3 No. 11

ALL GLORY TO THE UNITY OF R.T.D. EMPLOYEES!

Agreement reached between Union & Govt.

STRIKE NOTICE WITHDRAWN

On 27th November 1957, after a prolonged negotiations, at about 5 p.m. the representatives of the R.T.D. Employees Union and the authorities of the Department arrived at agreement in the presence of the Labour Conciliation Officer Sri. Ansari, Sri. K.P. Krishnan, Labour Welfare Officer of R.T.D., signed on behalf of the Department and Sarwasri. Makhdoom Mohiuddin, President, P. N. Abraham Chief Vice President A. Ramulu Vice President M. L. Anjiah, General Secretary and M. Satyanarayan Reddy, Treasurer of the Union negotiated the settlement successfully

It is learnt that this is the first agreement entered into between the labour and management of Government owned industry after the formation of Andhra Pradesh.

According to the agreement the Government conceded some of the demands pending since a long time. Which are as follows.

1. Cancellation of Demonstration: The period of 16 days General Strike of 1953 will be treated as leave due to the employees out of their present existing leave and the payment will be made accordingly. If there is no leave to the credit, the absence would be treated as leave without pay. Employees will not get any arrears of increment, but their increment will be restored on their due dates of 1957 only and arrears paid only for the current year.

2. Issue of residential bus passes to post 16.10.1950 employees: The staff who are residing at a distance of 3 miles and over from the place of work will be given a free buss pass.

3. Uniforms to mechanical staff: Such of the staff whose clothes or dresses are liable to be spoiled on account of the nature of their work for example staff working on oil, cleaning the engines or attending to break-down under the chassis, etc., will be supplied with two sets of uniforms per year. The scale of supply being half sleeves shirt and shorts for cleaners and half-sleeves shirts and trousers for others.

4. Provision of rest room at out-stations: It is agreed that in places where there are no rest rooms as per the RTD Scheme, at night out halts, these would be provided.

5. Liberalised Leave Rules: Half-pay leaves for 12 days per year will be commuted to 6 days full pay leave subject to the condition that this commutation could be done only in cases of sickness supported by medical certificate and that the limit and restriction on such commutation will be the same as shown in Rule II, Appendix 23 of H. C. S. R. (Volume II) subject to the extent and title of leave of classes III and IV employees of the RTD who are governed by the provisions of ex-Nizam State's Railway Establishment Code.

6. Revision of pay scales of Controllers T. T. Is, T. Is, and Stores Clerks: The pay of the Controllers only will be revised to Rs. 60-3-90. In the fixation of the pay of the employee the following formula will be applied:— "If the present pay does not coincide with a stage in the revised scale, then the next higher stage in the revised scale would be given to him, but the next increment would secure only after the expiry of the prescribed period for earning the increment

from the date of fixation of pay in the revised scale". It means that after fixing in the revised grade now, the next increment will be given on 27th Nov. and not on 1.11. as hitherto.

7. Absorption of the Canteen workers in the Department: They will be absorbed if there are vacancies and if they satisfy the departmental rules of recruitment.

8. De-casualisation of casual labour: Action will be taken according to the departmental rules if they will be made temporary if they are having a minimum service of 6 months.

9. Settlement of Provident Fund cases: Pending cases will be expedited. In future delays will be avoided as far as far as possible.

The Union agreed not press for the time being the demand for i) merger of D. A. into basic wage and ii) the amendments proposed by the Union to the Cadre & Recruitment Rules (promotion rules) since the matter is already under consideration of the Government.

As the following demands do not constitute an industrial dispute and since there are separate legislations on the subject with a provision to approach the court, they are not taken up for consideration.

1. Over-time to mechanical staff going on break downs.
2. Payment of arrears of over-time to workshop staff.
3. Implementation of Motor Vehicle Act.
4. Framing of standing orders.

On account of various considerations and the present position of the industry etc. the Government rejected the following issues.

SALARIES RESTORED ON PROMOTION

on the representation made by the Union, the Department has restored the original salaries to those employees who were promoted on completion of the period of reversion.

It may be remembered recently the employees who were promoted to their original posts after completion of the period of reversion were fixed on the minimum of the scale pending a decision in the matter.

1. Cash relief.
2. Wages of 1953 strike period
3. Gazetted holidays.
4. Festival holidays.
5. Service weightage.
6. Allotment of proportionate higher grades to mechanical staff and in Account Section.
7. Abolition of Rs. 90-160. grade of Leading Hands.
8. Increased staff quota.

The Central Council of the Union met immediately after entering into agreement and adopted a resolution ratifying the agreement and with drawing the strike. The meeting paid tributes to the mighty unity exhibited by the employees which has crowned with success. The meeting appreciated the helpful attitude of the Department and the role played by the Labour Conciliation officer in bringing about a settlement.

The readers may recall that the demands which are now solved were very much agitating the workers and they were pending since 3 years. Having exhausted all efforts for settlement the Union had served a strike Notice on 2nd Nov. informing the authorities that the RTD Employees will go on 6 hours protest strike on 29th. Nov. Subsequently the Conciliation Proceedings were instituted and a happy turn took place culminating in the agreement and withdrawal of strike notice.

The workers are jubilant over the settlement.

EDITORIAL:

HAPPY SETTLEMENT

It is gratifying to note that at last the Government of Andhra Pradesh and the R.T.D. Administration has realised the necessity of Industrial peace and therefore conceded some of the demands of the workers, thus averting the strike scheduled for 29th November 1957.

It has always been the policy of the Union, and will continue to be, to try to settle the issues through negotiations as far as possible, and with that spirit we waited for the last three years urging peaceful settlement since we are aware that the strikes lead to bitterness, thus adversely affecting the efficiency and the production of the industry, which consequently result in the national loss and inconvenience to the public. But unfortunately the Department and the Government were paying a deaf ear to the advice of the Union which ultimately resulted in the serving of the strike notice. However better counsels prevailed at least at last moment which resulted in an agreement between the Department and the Union. Since the long standing demands have been conceded to some extent, while leaving the others for future, it is now the responsibility of both the workers and the management to forget the bitterness if any created earlier, and settle down to work for the development of the industry which in turn helps them.

The workers of R. T. D. have always been ready and are so now, to co-operate with the management in its development and help each other to solve the problems confronting them. While it appears that the Government is also desirous of workers cooperation, which is essential as recommended by the Planning Commission, certain steps are to be taken by the management to see that the disputes are minimised since we are of the firm opinion that the majority of the disputes could be avoided if the representatives of the workers are taken into confidence and are consulted on the various problems on which decision are to be taken. It is relevant to point out that taking this aspect into consideration emphasis is now being laid on labour participation which we hope the R. T. D. Administration will give a lead in this direction as it would add another feather in its cap as the R. T. D. has already set an example to other industries to deal with labour issues.

It falls on the shoulders of the workers to realise that they are really the pillars of the industry and since we are serving in the national industry and protect its interests from the exploiters to which ever category they may belong.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND R.T.D. EMPLOYEES UNION

"Siasat" EDITORIAL COMMENT—

The following is the text of editorial comment of an influential local daily paper 'Siasat' dated 29-11-57. (Ed.)

The agreement reached between the Government and the RTD Employees Union has extraordinary importance in the history of the labour movement of the State, because this is the first agreement for industrial peace between the Government and a trade union. The RTD Employees Union has been waging struggle for the demands of the workers during the past 4 to 5 years but the Government was adamant. The demands were refused to be conceded on the plea of economic stringency and that the RTD employees are enjoying better facilities compared to others.

Now it is realised that for the success of the Second Five Year Plan, it is imperative that the management—labour relations should be cordial and for that agreement should be entered into for industrial peace. Similar agreements were concluded in Sirpur, Sirsilk and Nizam Sugar industries. But this is the first instance where a Government

Department i. e. Andhra Pradesh Road Transport made an amicable settlement with the workers and thus the talks conducted since 4 to 5 years have now borne fruit. For this happy turn and the attitude of 'give & take' exhibited by the labour leaders and the transport department as also the efforts of the Labour Department's officials is commendable. All the demands of the workers are not conceded and neither the workers were adamant to get all of them and in the broader national interests they accepted the settlement of their just demands while postponing the other demands for a future date.

Trade Unions in general and particularly the University workers should ponder over the lessons of the attitude exhibited by the RTD employees Union while it will also be a pointer to the Government that instead of totally rejecting the demands of the labour, by conceding the just issues and sympathetic gesture, it can satisfy the toiling people. In brief the agreement is commendable and it provides an example to other trade unions.

TO OUR READERS

After the trifurcation of the R. T. D. on 1. 11. 1956 several of our readers have gone to other States and thus the sales of 'Transport Worker' has come down to certain extent. Further on account of increased paper and printing costs, now your paper is virtually running under loss. Obviously this position cannot continue for long and a way out should be found to make the paper self-sufficient.

It is therefore proposed to increase the price of the T. W. to 10.00 N. P. per copy. In such a case we can even improve and some times add an additional page in the paper. We hope you will approve this proposition and cooperate fully in continuing the journal.

Representatives of various units have suggested to us that instead of loose sales every month, it will be better for all, if a drive is undertaken to enroll subscribers for the paper. This will not only help the journal but you will also be assured of securing your copy every month in time.

We sincerely hope that the R. T. D. Administration will take the representatives of the workers into confidence sincerely and this will pave way for better efficiency and economy which is desired by all.

Copies can be directly posted on the individual address of each subscriber.

Therefore you are requested to enrol yourself as annual subscriber and persuade your friends to get enrolled. Let the enrolment begin from the month of December 1957.

EDITOR.

NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE HAS DONE A FINE JOB

The Central Council of the Union met on 27-11-57 and recorded its appreciation for the efficiency with which the negotiating committee handled the issues and brought out an agreement.

The negotiating Committee consists of:

1. Sri. Makhdoom Mohiuddin, President
2. „ P. N. Abraham, Chief Vice President
3. „ A. Ramulu, Vice President
4. „ M. L. Anjiah, General Secretary
5. „ M. Satyanarayana Reddy, Treasurer.

RTD Workers of all units and districts are unanimously expressing hearty approval of the decision of the Union, and confidently look forward for further advances.

New Timings introduced In City Depot Workers Are Restive

The R. T. D. Administration has introduced new timings in City Depot from 24th November 1957, according to which the employees are forced to work in some cases even to 9 hours a day.

This, as is given to understand, is sequel to an order of the Government insisting on the management to extract 45 hours work in a week.

This has created much strain on the employees since the hours stipulated requires the employees to do 5 trips in busy routes like 7B, 7C, 7 & 8 which is beyond the capacity of the employees particularly in view of the fact that the stages are very nearer unlike in other States and the strain imposed on the employees on account of the stages needs no emphasis. Coupled with this the traffic has increased abnormally during the previous years and rickshaw traffic which is the main cause of accidents is not being controlled inspite of our request.

In this connection it may be mentioned that during the year 1952, the Union representatives have submitted the following proposals in connection with the working hours, which have been accepted by the Department and were in force till recently.

1. The Working hours in a week in city can be between 42 to 45 hours a week.
2. The steering hours can be between 5 to 6½ hours a week.

Consequent on the introduction of new timings, the Union suggested for ceiling on the daily working hours to avoid extracting more than the 7½ hours a day including the time allowed for handing and taking over but unfortunately the Department has not agreed with the result it is telling upon the health of the employees.

The Union is pursuing the matter.

THE ROLE OF LABOUR DEPTT. APPRECIATED

The Central Council of the Union which met on 27-11-57 has appreciated the valuable service rendered by the officials of the labour Department particularly Sri. K. A. Ansari, Labour Conciliation Officer and Sri. Wahgery Dy. Labour Commissioner, in bringing the agreement between the Union and the Department.

Transport Workers' Conference

(Continued from Page 4)

compelled to study the problem from the point of view of centralising the manufacture of trucks and quickening its pace, and of reducing the oil prices and so on

The costs of living are going high the life of drivers and conductors, cleaners and others is not only becoming difficult because prices are high but also for the additional reason that there are practically no decent laws in order to control their overtime working or their conditions of living while in service from station to station, or their rights as against those employers who sometimes do not even pay wages that are due or observe other rules.

Unworthy Vehicles—a play with workers' lives

We still suffer as in many other capitalist countries from the fact that practically there is no inspection of the vehicle as regards their road-worthiness, their safety and such other questions. This not only results in danger in passenger transport to ordinary citizens but the first man to suffer is the driver and conductor himself. Yet the system of State inspection is so faulty and so corrupt that with a few exceptions, any kind of vehicle can be put on the road by any owner without the slightest care with regard to safety

The brakes are rarely tested and put in proper order even while these vehicles have to function on hill stations. And the demand from the owners for speed-up in turnover is so insistent and the necessity to make overtime wages to meet the high cost of living is so compelling on the drivers that he speeds on day and night without caring for his life or his living. With the result that we have accidents, injuries and if no accidents of a serious type, then we find the workers run down within a life of five to ten years hard driving.

We have had instances when because of insistence by the owners to save on oil, drivers sometimes try to run on hill stations either in the third gear or the top gear with the result that some times, trucks go down the hills killing the driver and his assistants and others.

All this madness is allowed to continue because everybody is after profits, without caring for the safety of the man as a passenger or the man as a driver, cleaner or conductor. This madness for profits exists even in the State sector where there is no private ownership. There this madness is fomented by bureaucrats who have their

own interests in the matter. Sometimes, even the workers get into this mad race and harm their own interests by following practices which are not healthy either for themselves or for the passengers or for the goods that they carry.

Therefore, I would say that you should look at this problem first, from the point of view of the economy that is being built in the country as a whole;

SECONDLY, from the way the Five Year Plan intends to build the economy based upon the transport system;

THIRDLY, from the point of view of the grip of foreign manufacturers of motor trucks and buses and foreign oil company who dominate the field of transport in our country;

FOURTHLY, from the point of view of the Government and its policies in regard to the above;

FIFTHLY, from the point of view of the profits of the operators, both private and State sector in this industry;

SIXTHLY, from the point of view of our role as the working class in influencing all the above factors and in changing the direction towards the needs of the people and the country;

SEVENTHLY, from the point of view of the main element in the whole question, i. e., the life of the workers in transport, the drivers, cleaners, technicians, conductors and so on.

Though I put this fact as the seventh one, it does not mean that it is the least important. All the other six and this one go together and this one has the most over-riding value in the consideration of the problem as a whole. Because transport exists for man and not we for the transport. The workers as a man is more valuable than any goods, trucks, and buses in the abstract. Therefore our interests must be safeguarded, must be developed but along with that the industry must develop. Because without the industry, we cannot exist. At the same time, the industry cannot develop at the cost of of the working class. We must find how to harmonise both these factors and in this Conference we should adopt resolutions for the defence of the interests of the workers in the transport industry.

He hoped that all the delegates will carefully deliberate over all these problems confronting the transport workers and take suitable decisions.

Com. Isher Singh, General Secretary of the National Federation of the State Transport Employees of India gave a report of the activities of the Federation during the previous year. He said within the span of short time, our Federations has attained

special status, representing the aspirations of the transport workers through out the country and the Government of India has in a way recognised the position of the Federation among the transport workers and our representative Com. Satish Chatterjee was taken in the Committee constituted by the Government of India to give its recommendations on the draft motor transport Bill. He said, the Federation campaigned on the lack of legislation assuring the facilities to transport staff and we have been able to focus the attention of the people and the Government as a result of which the Government has now decided to introduce a Bill in the Parliament.

He said, day by day the problems of transport workers in various provinces are becoming more integrated and the problems of transport workers on country wide scale, requiring mobilisation in all parts to solve the United movement and a strong Central organisation is most imperative for the successful advancement of the transport workers through out the country.

He further said that the Federation is facing shortage of funds which in turn will inevitably effect our activities. Therefore, he appealed that, the Federation should be strengthened financially too.

The delegates keenly discussed and adopted the report.

Leaders of delegations from all parts gave reports of their Unions.

In a joint session of delegates of public sector and private sector the resolutions were discussed and adopted. The important resolutions relate to changes to be made in the outmoded Motor Vehicles Act. 1939 with a view to reduce the working hours and lessen the penalties; 2) demanding as in the case of textiles appointment of all India wage Board for the scientific fixation of wage structure of road transport workers; 3) urging immediate wage increase to the extent of 25% of the present emoluments; 4) to bring about uniform service conditions through out the country; 5) to constitute a Tripartite Committee to enquire into the problems of road transport industry, working conditions and work loads of workers; and 6) immediate nationalisation of passenger road transport services and absorption of workers.

The conference has decided that on these issues DEMANDS WEEK should be observed in all provinces from 7th Feb to 13th Feb. 1958 and the demands of the transport labour should be widely popularised.

Sri. Sibbanlal Saxena M. P., and Sri Isher Singh were elected

President and General Secretary, respectively, of the National Federation of State Transport Employees of India. Comrades Makhdoom Mohiuddin, President and M. L. Anjiiah, General Secretary of Andhra Pradesh Union were elected as Vice President and Asst. Secretars, respectively, of the Federation. Com. Raghvender Rao Desai, General Secretary of the Raichur Divisional Union, was also elected a Vice President of the Federation.

Sri. S. A. Dange M. P., and Sri. Satish Chatterjee were elected President and General Secretary, respectively, of the private workers Federation.

A Co-ordinating Committee of 11 members was formed consisting of the leaders of both the Federations with a view to develop a coordinated and united movement of both public and private transport workers.

After conclusion of the Conference a most impressive procession consisting of various industrial workers marched through the streets of the Jodhpur. It was like a festival when the town people in their thousands came on streets to affectionately greet the delegates. They pured flowers and 'Kum-Kum' on the processionists. The procession culminated into a huge mass rally addressed by the leaders of the Federation.

Annual G.B. Meeting of Co-op. Society

The Third Annual General Body meeting of the Society was held on 25-11-57 at its shop's premises under the Presidentship of Sri. B. Raj Gopal, in the absence of the President and Vice President.

The report of the Hon. Secretary & the audited statement of accounts were approved by the meeting. The following were elected unanimously to the new Managing Committee for the year 1957-58.

Hon. Secretary & Treasurer :

Sri. C. V. Doraiswamy.

Members :

1. Sri. G. Nageshwar Rao
2. " M. N. Rao
3. " M. A. Rahman
4. " B. S. Padma Rao
5. " P. L. Naidu
6. " Gopirajulu
7. " E. Rajgopal
8. " Bhimeshwar Rao
9. " G. Govinda Rajulu
10. " Sriram Reddy
11. " Mrs. B. V. Naidu

A resolution was passed declaring a dividend of 6 1/2% for the year of 1956/1957.

The meeting came to a close with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

C. V. Doraiswamy,
Hon. Secretary & Treasurer

ALL INDIA TRANSPORT WORKERS CONFERENCE MEET

REDUCE WORKING HOURS ENACT BETTER LEGISLATION
APPOINT WAGE BOARD & INCREASE WAGESTRANSPORT WORKERS TO OBSERVE DEMANDS
WEEK FROM 7TH TO 13TH FEB 1958.

The 2nd Annual Conference of state & private road transport workers of all-India Federations was held from 17th to 20th Nov 1957, at Jodhpur. Large number of delegates representing about 2 lakh workers from various States attended the Conference.

A delegation of 18 members led by com. P. N. Abraham, Chief Vice President, representing our Union, attended the Conference. Comrades Makhdoom Mohiuddin, President and M. L. Anjiah, General Secretary of our Union could not attend the Conference as they were engaged at Hyderabad in the fateful negotiations on our demands.

Sri, A. K. Gopalan M. P. was the distinguished guest. A broad based Reception Committee comprising of the representatives of 18 Unions of Jodhpur, irrespective of their affiliations was constituted well in advance to make arrangements for the Conference. The entire working class irrespective of their industry extended their full support and contributed for the success of the Conference. The Reception Committee collected a sum of Rs. Six thousands for the Conference, in a week days time and impressive arrangements were made for the Conference.

Sri. Sibanlal Sexena, M. P., President of National Federation of the State Road Transport Employees of India, presided over the Conference.

Messages wishing the Conference success were received from Sri. Anantasayanam Ayanagar, Speaker of Lok Sabha; Speaker of Kashmir State Assembly; Sri. V. V. Giri, Governor of U. P.; Sri. N. Sanjeeva Reddy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh; All India Trade Union Congress several other trade union organisations of India, Japan, China, U. S. S. R. and other Countries.

**T. B. VITTAL RAO M. P.
INAUGURATES THE
CONFERENCE**

Inaugurating the Conference Sri. T. B. Vittal Rao M. P. observed that "the road transport workers of our country are playing and have to do much in the economic development of our country but these workers are much neglected and there is no legislation giving the minimum necessary facilities to them. The workers in all parts have much expectations with this Conference and they hope that this Conference will chart the way for the betterment of their living conditions" and he hoped that the Conference will fulfill the expectations of workers.

A. K. GOPALAN'S SPEECH

Sri. A. K. Gopala, M. P. addressing the Conference observed "the road transport workers

who are exploited both by the employers in the state sector and the Private sector have certainly to think about the problems of their wages, working time and their rights.

At the same time, it is plain to everyone that one cannot consider these problems in isolation from the economy of the country, the way in which it is being developed by the ruling Governments both at the Centre and in the States.

No Proper planning of road Transport

He said while railway development is planned to meet the needs of expansion of industry, motor transport and shipping are not planned in a proper manner. You know our country requires a large number of heavy trucks in order to transport goods and for passenger buses. But it is surprising to find that even after six years' planning, there is no progress made worth the name in the manufacture of building heavy trucks in our country. The anarchy in the Governmental centres is such that permits for assembling heavy trucks are given to various firms who introduce a variety of trucks in the country which has no capacity to absorb so many makes. The result is that a very large amount of capital is sunk in different makes of trucks, in different plants, at various centres in the whole country, separated from each other and having no coordinated policy of manufacture. The foreign firms from whom we take the patents, buy the tools, buy the dies for various models and buy the other equipment, make money on these supplies which being divided and distributed among various firms in England, Germany and America, allow them to dictate their prices to us, hold up the speed of establishing our own plants and allow them to make money on spare parts supplies.

You are aware that we in one place are buying Leyland trucks in another place we are buying MERCEDES-BENZ, in a third place we are buying FARGO trucks, in the fourth place DODGE trucks and in the fifth place THORNYCROFT and so on. Could we not concentrate on having one single truck in various weights serving the needs of the country? Could we not establish two or three plants in two or three centres manufacturing the same one kind of make so that we do not have to change tools in various patents of several manufacturers from foreign countries? But this policy has been neglected by the Government of India because their policy was made according to the requests put forward either by the Walchand Hirachand, or by the Tatas, or by

the Birlas or somebody in the South, each one becoming the agent of a particular foreign make, insist on assembling his own particular truck in the country.

Dependence on Foreign Countries

So we have a total anarchy in the matter of manufacture of trucks. The result is that not a single truck today, either for passenger buses or for heavy traffic of goods is being fully built in our country. Building them fully, though promised by the foreign firms to the fullest extent, is either done very slowly or purposefully neglected. Because once we are able to plan for the full manufacture of such trucks, the foreigner will cease to make extra super profits on the basis of their supplies of tools, dies and spare parts.

Super Profits to monopolists: Burden on workers & People

How does this affect us workers? he asked, and replied himself: "Because we are dependant and are kept dependant purposefully on the supply of these trucks of foreign monopoly manufacturers, the cost of these trucks is very heavy to us. When the manufacturers here, in order to make their own profits, pay high costs in partnerships with foreign monopolists, then transfer these high costs on the trucks they produce, which in turn is transferred, to the goods which they transport and on the passengers who travel."

So the transport of goods by lorries and transport of passengers by buses become costly. When these two sections protest against the high costs, then the savings in costs would be made by cutting down the wages of the bus driver, truck drivers, conductors and so on.

Ultimately, as you will see, this policy hits us in the end.

We are refused higher wages, we are refused our rights on the plea that it would increase the cost of transport and goods and transport of passengers. Why is not the saving then made in the cost of these trucks? Why is not the saving made in the oil prices which also is very high and which is also one of the bigger elements in determining the cost of transport?

OIL PRICES DICTATED BY FOREIGN MONOPOLISTS.

As every one knows, the prices of oil in this country are something like ten times bigger than the actual cost of production of oil at the source from where it is extracted by the big American and British monopoly companies.

The Government of India, however, is unable to get a reduction of the oil price because;

FIRSTLY, it has no oil resources of its own, SECONDLY, whatever resources it has got, it has already handed them over to the Burmah-Shell and Standard Vacuum of England and America.

THIRDLY, though they want to see that our economy should not suffer from the high oil prices they do not wish to take up this question as a matter of struggle against these monopolists.

Therefore on this account also, when the prices of oil hit the profits of the Indian transport operators, they want to make saving again in the cost of the workers—their wages, their bonuses, their hours of work and so on.

The Government of India now, is happily taking the course of establishing their own oil wells in the country with the help of technicians from the Soviet Union and Rumania. These two countries have agreed to help the Government of India in drilling for oil and if this drilling becomes successful, then the Government of India and we together can challenge the power of the Anglo-American monopolists in the matter of oil supplies and oil prices.

When that is done, then the excuse of the transport owners that they cannot pay higher wages, because the cost of transport in the country is so high due to oil prices and due to the prices of trucks and that if wage increases are given, the transport activity would go down, will have no ground left.

Therefore we as transport workers, must tell the Government what the correct policies ought to be. I hope you will pay attention to that in this Conference. Because as good, conscious workers, you certainly can think about these problems, can advise Government and can also act through your organisations on these questions.

WAGE INCREASE CAN BE MET

Does all these arguments therefore mean to say that our demands for higher wages, better hours of working and so on, are unjustified and should not be pressed so long as this problem of transport as a whole is resolved by the Government and the Five Year plan? Not at all. Because, even as it is within the framework of the present cost itself, there is enough margin left to the operators to allow us certain increase in wages and relief in hours of working and so on. Moreover, if we press for protecting the rights of the drivers, conductors, technicians, cleaners and so on and if we succeed in realising our demands, that also goes as a pressure on the owners and the Government to make economies in other sphere, such as oil prices, truck prices, spare parts prices etc.

So by our demands we do not disrupt the development of transport but we hope to introduce rational working amongst the owners, among the Governmental circles and amongst the manufacturers who then are

(Continued on page 3)

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DEVOTED TO
THE INTERESTS
OF WORKERS

Citizen Press, Kanpur.
PRICE TWO ANNA

THE CITIZEN

Year 18

KANPUR : SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1957

No. 3

MARCH TO LUCKNOW

There has been play-off in the Atherton West and the Cawnpore Cotton Mills. The former has also informed its workers that the Mill will have to close down in January in view of the continuing heavy losses. In the Muir Mills the workers went on a strike but returned to work on Friday to go on strike again to-day to join in a march to Lucknow to place their grievances before the Chief Minister. This March to Lucknow will be the second to be organised from Kanpur—on the last occasion the Cawnpore Woollen Mills workers had gone on a similar errand to demonstrate before the Chief Minister and also the Prime Minister, who was then visiting Lucknow.

In these columns on November 23 we had complimented Kanpur Labour on showing its moderation and putting up a model behaviour in regard to the arrears of one month's wages in the Muir Mills. Our congratulations it would appear were premature. Kanpur's labour has been heading for evil days and it is not possible for it to heed any counsel of moderation. Far too long it has been leaderless, and it has scant respect for those who would draw its attention to the stark realities.

The city's cotton textile industry is now faced with a grave crisis, such as it has never faced for the last 20 years. Reserves have been wiped out and there are continuing losses. Banks are unwilling to make further advances, and unless excise duty is reduced and costs of production lowered, the industry, atleast the weaker units, would perish. A majority of workers ignorant of the realities is not prepared to imagine even the possibility of any of the mills closing down for good and throwing its men out of employment permanently. The present generation of workers has not known the privations suffered by the workmen before World War II when the city's textile industry was on the brink of severe crisis. It has not been able to realise the significance of the shut-down of the Kakomi Factory and of the impending closure of the Cawnpore Cotton Mills, which was warded off last summer with great difficulty. Workers' psychology is also easy to comprehend. They are right in believing that it is as much in employers' interest that the industry should not shut down as it is in their's. But the workmen do not know that while they (workers) have only one job

and in one industry, the majority of employers have many jobs and have to mind several industries. If the cotton textile industry becomes a permanently losing proposition, they have other interests, like woollen, leather, engineering, etc., which are paying. Not for ever they would go on pumping profits of their one industry into another, specially as they get no thanks for it from any body.

In Kanpur the future to-day for the majority of cotton textile units is extremely bleak. There is no prospect of relief. For seven years the State Government and Labour force have held up rationalisation plans of the mills, till now rationalisation has become a lifeless issue. Any rationalisation as was proposed a few years ago would now be useless, and the managements no more seem to be pressing for rationalisation.

The Government of India are intent on maintaining excise duties which have crippled the back of the industry, specially of the marginal units in Kanpur, and those producing coarse cloth.

OUR CITY

CITY CONGRESS ELECTIONS

The City Congress Primary Elections which were due to be held on December 8 have been postponed to December 15. The postponement for a week follows a representation to the Returning Officer, former Deputy Minister Mr. Chaturbhuj Sharma, and which was signed among others by the City Congress Secretaries Mr. Jageshwar Prasad Trivedi and Mr. Balaji Hardikar.

The City Congress President Mr. Chailbehari Kantak assures that there will be no indefinite postponement of the elections as in the past years, and that

The burden of Sales Tax has been no less. High electricity charges, poor productivity of labour, super-high management costs, too many labour troubles, and numerous demands from Lucknow, all these have combined to produce a situation, which seems out of control of everyone concerned. The March to Lucknow is not going to help anyone. It is like running away from the realities.

his office was intent on seeing that the elections are held.

The last elections to the City Congress were held in 1949. After sometime the elected body gave way to an appointed body, and none seemed to mind this. At times there was demand from some quarters for holding the elections which should have been held yearly, but it was so feeble, that it died away no sooner it was raised.

It will be no mean achievement for Mr. Kantak if he is able to see the elections through during his regime as President of the City Congress. Revised Congress Constitution has provided an added impetus to the holding of elections.

Bharat Sewak Samaj

Everyone is congratulating everyone else that the visit of the Prime Minister on November 29 passed off peacefully. The city's officials have in particular rejoiced for it is they who had to bear the brunt of the visit and have to face the music if things go wrong. As the Prime Minister is allergic to loudspeakers, double the usual arrangements were made at the meetings addressed by him.

The Bharat Sewak Samaj was completely dwarfed by the personality of the Prime Minister. Few people of the city were even aware of the presence of the Planning Minister Mr. G. L. Nanda in the city, or for that matter of the Governor Giri and others entitled to be classed as VIPs. After Mr. Nehru had flown away the Bharat Sewak Samaj shrank to its normal stature, and on November 30 hardly a hundred persons attended the Samaj meetings. It is difficult for the BSS or any other organisation to keep pace with the Prime Minister who moves in a lofty world of his own. The cruel waste of time and money involved in the one day tamasha is a sad jest at the cost of the Second Five Year Plan, which enjoins austerity, simplicity, no ostentation, greater production and no waste, for the fulfilment of Plan Targets. This is what most people who could see through have concluded as the hypnotic effect of Prime Minister's visit has worn away.

(Continued on page 4)

Development Board Owes Rs. 4 Crores Price of One-Man Civic Rule

The indebtedness of Kanpur Development Board upto March 31, 1957 had increased by Rs. 3,10,55,000, since the supersession of the Board and appointment of a Civic Administrator in July, 1953.

No information is available yet regarding the indebtedness of Municipal Board, but in this case too it may be presumed that the rise in indebtedness will be equally staggering.

On March 31, 1957, only Rs. 25,60,500 remained to be repaid out of the total borrowing of Rs. 53,30,000 of the Improvement Trust. The Development Board between 1945 and 1953, before its supersession, borrowed Rs. 73,34,000, and of this Rs. 59,67,124 remained to be paid on March 31, 1957.

While the Development Board borrowed Rs. 73,34,000 between December, 1946 and March, 1953, after its supersession, that is, from July, 1953 to March, 1957, it has borrowed Rs. 3,10,55,000, making the total borrowing of the Development Board about Rs. 4 crore, and over Rs. 4 crore, if the old Improvement Trust's borrowing is also added.

The ordinary revenues of the Development Board are not sufficient to meet the charges of repayment of these loans and interest thereon. The annual interest charges alone would exceed Rs. 16 lacs.

Most of the Board's schemes are running at a loss, including city transport and sewage farm. The loss on the latter which is debited to the Board's ordinary revenues each year in 1956-57 was Rs. 2,94,043.

The cost of Establishment which was Rs. 5,45,251 in 1953-54, the first year of Administrator regim, had risen to Rs. 8,90,488 in 1956-57.

If the present pace continues the Development Board may be considered as heading for bankruptcy. When and if the elected Municipal Corporation comes into being it will have a difficult job raising its revenues in order to pay off the huge liabilities with which it has been saddled by the Government appointed Administrators.

There is also reason to believe that a very large amount of money has been wasted and spent in a most ill-advised, and thoughtless fashion.

Notes and Notions

Official Language—Congress Elections—Universities And Politics

It is stated that the Madhya Pradesh Government has decided to carry on all its transactions in Hindi. It is stated to be corresponding with other States on the

matter. This is good news. For one of the contentions of the advocates of postponing Hindi-isation was that the experiment should first be tried in one of the Hindi areas, and if the results prove satisfactory and if Hindi is found to have sufficient amplitude and resilience, then the question of further extending its use to other States may be considered. For some reason the other great Hindi State, Uttar Pradesh, had always boggled at such an ex-

BY ANGIAS

periment. Its attempts at improving the Dev Nagari script had recoiled on its head and perhaps the climate is not favourable to the attempt. Then there is the other question about Urdu.

Official Language Committee

The Minister of State for Home Affairs stated in the Lok Sabha the other day that the Parliamentary Committee on Official Languages will meet for a number of days in January. Anticipating this, some gentlemen in the south under the leadership of Mr. Rajagopalachari are calling for a conference to mobilise opinion against any "imposition" of Hindi by a side-wind, as if it were. They bitterly recount Dr. Ambedkar's story of how Hindi was put on the statute book as the official language almost by a sleight of hand. In the circumstances there is considerable force in the strongly voiced criticism of Mr. Frank Anthony that the Parliamentary Committee prefers to burrow like the mole in the dark. Why should it shun the light of publicity for its proceedings? Mr. Datar gave the perfectly correct answer that the Committee was the master of its own procedure, and a sub-committee had been appointed to make rules. Mr. Anthony has already complained that the membership of the committee itself has loaded the dice against the non-Hindi minority. Is it possible that the Hindi protagonists who have been known to speak insolently about others would see reason. In so grave a matter discussions ought to be carried on with the full glare of publicity.

The English Complex

For example, there is Sriman Narayan who the other day spoke of the English complex of many. His own complex he obviously did not stop to analyse. Had we not heard some overzealous gentlemen of Uttar Pradesh claiming they belonged to the land of Rama (and who else besides) and therefore they should lord it over others. A columnist has dismissed the whole thing with the cheap sneer that it is all a fight for appointments. What if? Do the Hindi-people—God bless their soul—not think of jobs. On any careful examination of the appointments newly made in Independent India it will be seen that the men from Hindi areas have had more than their share,

simply because of considerations other than merit. Bombay is unfortunately an illustration of the truth that you cannot impose anything on a people. The Madras Government a few days ago had an all-party consultation over this vexed question. Their own evidence before the Kher Commission indicates the utmost limit that a non-Hindi state can go with consistency to democratic protestations. Let the Centre and the Hindi enthusiasts be warned.

Medicalmen

Men of the medical profession in the south had their field day in places as far apart as Hyderabad and Coimbatore. At both the conferences reference was made to the urgent need for turning out a larger number of qualified and trained doctors and nurses. There was also fierce denunciation of what has been called quackery, and everybody knows what is aimed at. The Finance Minister of Andhra Pradesh thinks that the days of medical schools turning out what are called sub-assistant surgeons are over. He looks forward to more and more persons undergoing post-graduate courses; and at least the MBBS, should be the minimum qualification. These men may help man our medical colleges, he thinks. But it seems that the Government are not going the right way about this.

Dr. Waghay in Hyderabad discussed the policy behind admissions to medical colleges. Admission to not only medical and other professional colleges, but also to arts courses is a sore topic in the south, where not the merit but the community of the candidate is oftentimes the deciding factor. The worthy doctor has said that admission should not be at the cost of medical standards. In any case the heresy that once found favour in the south of short courses in medicine and then turning the trainees loose on the ailing public seems to have died without hope of resuscitation.

At Coimbatore Dr. Santhosham raised the issue of nationalisation of medicine. That is a question that deserves most serious and earnest consideration, as was once pointed out in these columns.

Congress Election

These are the time for congress elections. The feverish activities and manouvres of the various fighting wings in Kanpur were

often portrayed in this weekly. Now listen to an amazing story from Madhya Pradesh. It seems, according to a news paragraph, there are only 135 primary voters in Khairagarh. But according to a list of primary voters prepared in connection with the coming Congress Mandal elections, there are 4,000 inhabitants in the place. But while you cannot manage a crowd of 4,000 a mere 135 is tactically advantageous. The smallness of the number of primary voters derives its significance from the fact that Khairagarh is honoured by the residence of Congress members of Parliament, of the State Assembly and also of the Health Minister of Madhya Pradesh. There are any number of explanations possible; but even one of them can be creditable to the Congress.

University and Politics

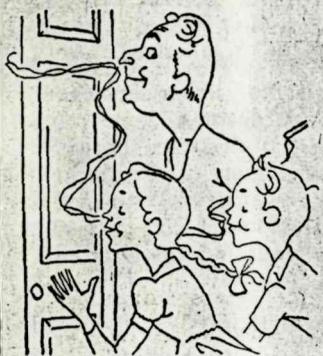
Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's address at the Delhi University Convocation is in many respects a remarkable document. It stands in vivid contrast with some of the gush poured out by Dr. Sampurnanand only a few days earlier at the Saugor University Convocation. It is true that Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister generously took on the elders much of the blame for the present plight of the student world, but all over when there has settled on the country, outside the Congress which has treated independence as a bonanza for its own benefit, a deep frustration and sense of futility. But instead of going into deeper analysis, Dr. Sampurnanand trailed off into a discussion of sovereignty and all those conundrums by which the old weary the youth and avoid the responsibility of action in the immediate present.

It is pleasant to note that the Chairman of the University Grants Commission devoted himself to an examination of the vital role of the universities in a changing world. He drew not only on his immediate experience as Chairman of the Grants Commission, in which capacity he had visited "intensively" nearly 30 of our universities. He also spoke with the weight of authority and knowledge gained in a life spent in important administrative and public activities. He expressed his anxiety about the future of

(Continued on page 3)



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The Chief Minister's Visit—Strike, Playoff and Closure Notice—Adjudication Delays—Workers' Plight

Chief Minister Dr. Sampurnanand comes to Kanpur next Saturday to open the newly built premises of the Babupurwa Labour Welfare Centre and inaugurate the four Standing Committees being set by the Labour Department. He comes at a time when the City's industrial

LABOUR NOTES

existence and employment possibilities need the Chief Minister's personal attention as they never did before. The industry on which the City's prosperity hinges is in trouble and thousands are faced with unemployment.

Welfare Centre

The building of a new premises for a Labour Welfare Centre at Babupurwa will open the possibilities of many more activities at the

Notes & Notions

(Continued from page 2)

our universities. And he spoke severely of the manner in which the Central Universities were functioning. Of the general body of universities he spoke of the political-minded governing bodies, unwarranted interference by the State authorities, pacts formed by teacher-politicians and irresponsible misguidance of students leaders, often of an age too mature to warrant their continuance in the universities and a fecklessness and general listlessness generated by the lure of urban life. He observed, what many had noted, that the law faculty seemed to be the special asylum of many of these student leaders. Many of these evils stare us in the face in the universities of Uttar Pradesh, even without the Chancellor's camps so stupidly inaugurated by a former Governor-Chancellor. The State Government has not been able to arrest the demoralisation both among the taught and the teachers.

Mr. Deshmukh rightly emphasised that as regards the process of amelioration of this degrading situation, "each and every improvement need not wait on finance." On the question of admission to universities the retiring vice-chancellor of Gujarat University has had some important observations to make. He thought with many others that the time had come to restrict admissions to the Universities. There are colleges and university classes which give you an impression of a kumbh mela with all the confusion and bustle these denote. But indiscriminate admissions mean money, which no college or university could dispense with.

University and Society

And when money comes in, its impact on academic autonomy has to be considered. After affirming that the State does not fully represent the entire society, Mr. Deshmukh says that the University must be able to reject

centre. It will of course mean the shifting of the centre from the old bustle to the industrial housing colony.

Standing Committee

Tripartite machinery in the state has been given a new fillip this year. The tripartite conferences at Ranikhet in June this year did not lead to many positive results because many important issues were left unsettled in the absence due to sudden illness of Dr. Sampurnanand who

BY ARJUN ARORA

has a decisive role in the shaping of the Congress Ministry's labour policy. One of the decisions taken was relating to the setting up of Standing Committees. Four Standing Committees are being announced this week and the

some of the demands of the State and to take up others of the society, "even at the cost of a contradiction from the State." But how many universities are amongst us prepared to do so. How many of the doyens even among university professors feel dedicated to the pursuit and imparting of knowledge. It is all well to quote from the Upanisads; but they have little relevance to modern conditions. For the ancient Aryan ideal was "learning to the pupil and alms to the teacher." So no complex questions of autonomy of the universities, the emoluments of professors, the rights of students ever arose in those forest universities of old, on which by way of escape from present duties some of our profound leaders sometimes expatiate.

University Authority

Today the question of University autonomy is vitally important. That some university professors do not understand it, or understanding betray that ideal in pursuit of their own interests, does not render it less necessary. Under the conditions prevailing in the country today, with a one-party Government and with its vast army of praetorians wanting to annex all good things to themselves and trying to suppress opinion in a thousand insidious ways that power places in their hands, it is necessary to provide somewhere in the State an institution which shall be utterly free from ulterior motives or outside pressure, and dedicated solely to the preservation and advancement of learning. We cannot expect a suborned Press to perform that function. The Press in India is not even to be trusted to preserve individual liberty or save society from the shackles of vested interests. So the only hope lies in our Universities. Yet, unfortunately, at the present day these academic bodies are almost poisoned at the root.

Chief Minister will preside over their joint inaugural meeting at Babupurwa on December 14. The committees will deal with electric supply, sugar, Kanpur textile industry and textiles outside Kanpur. Messrs. Surya Prasad Awasthi and Ganga Sahai Choubey represent the city's textile industry's labour while textile labour outside Kanpur is represented by Messrs. G.D. Bajpai and Jagdish Dixit. INTUC and Hind Mazdoor Sabha were asked to nominate labour representatives.

Textile Industry In Doldrums

The beginning of this week has witnessed the acuteness of the crisis that the city's textile industry is faced with. This depression has been repeatedly mentioned in these columns and only last week its gravity was alluded to in these notes. As feared the management of Cawnpore Cotton Mills reached the limit of its capacity to bear losses and laid off the entire labour force. The workers of the Muir Mills themselves brought the mill to a stand still on Monday morning in sympathy with the hunger strikers who were put under arrest on Sunday. The Atherton West Company has notified its intention to stop production altogether from January 1. While Cawnpore Cotton Mills employs 4300 workmen in two shifts the Atherton West Company employs over three thousand. Muir Mills' over six thousand employees have been unemployed, or partially employed, from September 28. They were not paid wages for that month and were on the verge of starvation when the new management took over last month. It is not known how long they may remain idle in support of their unknown champions who decided to resort to hunger strike. Though no recognised wing of trade union leaders has supported the action of Muir Mills' workers one can never be sure that the workers will not find spokesmen from amongst the city's trade union leaders. The fact remain that at the moment 13,000 of the city's textile workers, roughly 30 per cent, are either idle or faced with the prospects of a prolonged period of idleness:

Elgin & Cawnpore Textiles

Mills' prosperity is reflected in their capacity to pay bonus. Profit-sharing bonus is the only method in which the workers share the mills' prosperity. Though the workers in the city are not happy with the employers generally they do not have as many grievances against the mills which pay bonus every year. These mills are Elgin, J. K. Cotton and Cawnpore Textiles. Workers are worried at the rumours about two of these bonus-paying mills. The selling agency dispute has led to an accumulation of stocks in the Elgin and Cawnpore Textiles. Though the workers are not concerned with the disputes between the management and the mills' selling agents the fact that the mills' produce is not being lifted has been a source of great anxiety to the two mills' employees.

Some of my colleagues have as usual issued press statements asking the Government to act in the matter of Muir Mills' workers' arrears of wages, lay off in the Cawnpore Cotton Mills and the unenviable plight of the substitutes of all the city's cotton textile mills. The alarm of the workers of Elgin and Cawnpore Textiles calls for immediate action on the part of the management. The management must put its house in order, if it can.

The Crisis and the Trade Unions

The crisis affecting a large number of the city's textile workers has found the city's trade unions absolutely unprepared. The Suti Mill Mazdoor Conference in the middle of September adopted resolutions which made it absolutely clear that the leadership of the Sabha was absolutely unaware of the impending crisis and out of touch with the realities of the situation. The INTUC affiliated Rashtriya Textile Mazdoor Union has also failed in finding a constructive approach to the problems which can not be ignored.

The continuous litigation in which the city's industry and labour have remained engaged since 1948 has led us to a situation in which labour does not trust anything that the employers say. Normally the city's labour does not even believe the stock figures of the mills and views accumulation of stocks as an attempt to increase the rate of profit. Not long ago Ram Asre, an ex-general secretary of the Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha, writing in the Communist weekly *New Age* accused the city's mill magnates of deliberate stock piling to force the workers to accept rationalisation! It is obvious that he was neither serving industry nor labour, neither the country nor his party by feeding workers on phantastic ideas. Trade union movement has gathered strength only where it has been based on the hard core of realism.

Adjudication Delays

An adjudicator at Meerut heard an adjudication case 14 times before he was gratified to note that a month's wages were paid to a workman M. L. Jain. The industrial dispute between Jaswant Sugar Mills and the workmen related to the with-holding of a month's wages of Jain. The claimed amount was paid and the dispute settled on September 14. The dispute was referred for adjudication on February 23.

Workers' Agony

One of the handicaps from which the workers of the Muir Mills suffers arise out of the past management's failure to deposit the contributions with the Employees State Insurance authorities. The amount deducted from the workers as their contribution as well as employers' contribution, from January 1957, has not been deposited. Under the Employees State Insurance Scheme this is treated as discontinuance of payment and the

(Continued on page 4)

Atherton West Decide To Close Cawnpore Cotton May Also Follow

The Atherton West & Co. Ltd. in a notice put up by them on December 2 said that on account of unavoidable circumstances beyond the control of the management it had become impossible to run the Mills any longer and that the services of workmen will no longer be required from January 1. The circumstances referred to above were: huge accumulation of stocks and the locking up of the Company's finance therein, its inability to sell the manufactured goods, the credit having been exhausted and refusal of Banks to make further advances, and inability to procure from any outside source the necessary funds to continue working.

The workmen concerned have been informed that their earned wages and payment in lieu of unavailed leave with wages, if any, due, upto and including December 31, 1957, will be paid on January 2, 1958. Until further notice the management will retain only skeleton staff for the maintenance of certain essential services and such other workmen as may be required.

The above notice has caused much dismay and leaves no doubt about the very serious situation in city's cotton textile industry.

Cawnpore Cotton

If anything, the crisis of the city's textile industry was further deepened by another notice put up by the Cawnpore Cotton Mills laying off all their workmen from December 2 till further notice. The management's notice recalled that due to continued heavy losses in the cotton textile business of the British India Corporation, the Cawnpore Cotton

Mills Branch and a large accumulation of unsold stock, the Corporation had to issue notice of closure of business on April 27, 1957, extended upto July 28, 1957. This notice was withdrawn by another of July 22, 1957, with a view to try other alternative before being forced to take resort to any drastic step. Ever since the realisation of the existing position, the notice continued, the Corporation had been making vigorous endeavours to run this textile business economically and reduce the items contributing to the losses to the utmost. With this in view the Corporation had invited voluntary resignations by the notice dated October 31, 1957, from the workmen in order to lighten their burden in surplus labour as compared to other textile mills in Kanpur, but even these had not met with the expected response from their workers.

During all this while the unsold stocks had gone up considerably locking up over Rs. 75 lacs of the working capital of the Corporation. The losses in working this textile business of the Corporation had continued to grow steadily during the past several months and have now become a source of danger to the existence of the Corporation as a whole. Under the circumstances it was not considered possible to run the cotton textile business of this branch of the Corporation any further.

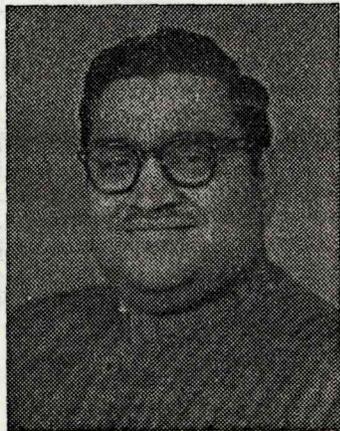
Both the notices have caused much commotion in Labour force of the city, specially those employed in the two Mills, and also cast much gloom in the business world of the city. The economic life of the city is bound to be seriously affected if the two mills have to close down.

Merchants' Chamber's Jubilee

For the Jaipuria family it was a proud day when the Prime Minister visited the Swadeshi House on November 29 to inaugurate the Silver Jubilee Year of the Merchants' Chamber of U. P. of which Mr. Sitaram Jaipuria is currently the President. A crowd of over a thousand people witnessed the inauguration.

Mr. Sitaram in his presidential address recalled how the Chamber was founded 25 years ago by the late Lala Kamalpat Singhania, whom he described as "possessed of a keenly patriotic and constructive spirit and always willing to face obstacles and risks for the industrial uplift of the country". The Chamber's views had been identical on economic matters with those of the Indian National Congress for the first 15 years of its life, and since 1947 its outlook was in full sympathy with the

Planning Commission and the Union and the State Government for the industrial development of the country.



Mr. Sita Ram Jaipuria

Mr. Jaipuria, concluded by saying: "Issues at stake are very clear. Production and more production alone is to be the saviour. We have to stand together shoulder to shoulder in this honour of need. May Almighty show us the light and you live long to lead us."

OUR CITY

(Continued from page 1)

Polish Envoy

The two-day visit to the city by the Polish Envoy in India, M. Juliusez-Katez Suchy, was climaxed by a dinner on November 26 by Mr. Virendra Swarup, M. L. C., President of the Indo-Polish Friendship Association of U. P. M. Suchy has been a professor of international law, an economist and his country's representative in the U. N. O. This is his assignment in India a second time, and he has welcomed the opportunity of promoting Indo-Polish friendly relations. A unique feature of the Dinner was presentation to the Ambassador and his Attache numerous presents by Mr. Swarup and Lala Ram Ratan Gupta, whose Lakshmiratan Cotton Mills was visited by the Ambassador during his stay in Kanpur.

Visit To Mexico

Mr. S. M. Bashir a Past President of Kanpur Rotary Club on November 28 gave a talk to the Club on his recent round-the-world trip in connection with the meeting of the I. L. O. Committee on Iron and Steel Industry. He served as a one of the two Employers' delegates from India, at the meeting which was held in Mexico.

Mr. Bashir gave a remarkably lucid and interesting account of his travels, with special emphasis on that part of it which concerned Mexico, which Mr. Bashir described as a land of fiesta and siesta. He also referred to it as a land of Maniana, which in Spanish means tomorrow, for there everything is promised to be done tomorrow. Mr. Bashir found Mexicans a highly friendly and courteous people very keen to learn about India. Mexico City, the capital, is a beautiful city of gardens and parks. The road safety arrangements there were very much admired by Mr. Bashir, who has a very poor opinion of the so-called roundabouts erected recently in Kanpur. Mr. P. D. Singhania presided over the meeting.

Rotary Cricket

A cricket match will be played in the Green Park on December 8 between the Cricket Elevens of U. P. Government's Chief Secretary and the Rotarian President P. D. Singhania. Rot. Dr. J. S. Mathur has been in charge of the Club's cricket.

General Cariappa

General K. M. Cariappa will address the Rotary Club on December 14. While in the city he will stay at the Kamla Retreat as Sir Padampat's guest. A Citizens' At Home is also being got up.

Eye Relief Camp

Dr. Rajendra Rohatgi has been holding eye relief camps in the District since November. The camp at Pukhrayan was visited by a number of important peo-

ple including Dr. Jawaharlal, Mr. Chandra Bhan Gupta and Mr. Ramswarup Gupta. A camp was also organised in Unnao District.

New Civic Administrator

Mr. B. P. Sahi, Judicial Member of the Board of Revenue is taking over as Administrator of Kanpur Municipal and Development Boards on December 10.

Mr. M. A. Quraishi was on a short visit to city this week-end. He leaves for Gorakhpur, his headquarters as Divisional Commissioner, on December 9, without meeting his successor, as he had formally handed over charge to Mr. Ram Sahay last month.

Flower Show

The Civic Administration's Chrysanthemum Show was opened in what now remains of the Phool Baugh by Chief Secretary Mr. A. N. Jha, on December 7. A Press Note issued by the Administration's Public Relations Officer on the eve of the show said that it was very happy to see "the growing popularity and the great aesthetic sense it is developing amongst the citizens of Kanpur." The Press Note concluded: "The credit for the beautiful and attractive arrangements goes to the energetic District Magistrate Shri Ram Sahay, I. A. S., who is the Administrator of Civic Bodies as well."

Company Report

The Saran Engineering Company

The working of the Saran Engineering Co. Ltd. (Managing Agents: Begg, Sutherland & Co. Private Ltd., Kanpur), for the year ended 31st March, 1957, after providing for all charges, including the provision for taxation, depreciation and adjustments, show a surplus of Rs. 1,92,736. After deducting Rs. 1,30,000 for Rehabilitation Reserve and adding Rs. 9,264, brought forward from previous year, there is a balance of Rs. 72,000 at the credit of Profit and Loss Account, which sum the Directors propose to distribute as follows: In payment of a dividend of 40 nP per ordinary share of Rs. 4—Rs. 60,000; To be carried forward Rs. 12,000.

(Continued from page 3)

workers have consequently been declared disentitled for cash benefits in the case of sickness.

The management's failure to deposit the contributions with the Employees State Insurance Corporation has led to a criminal prosecution and a civil suit. The proceedings for recovery of a portion of the contributions as arrears of land revenue have also been initiated.

२५ फी सदी तलब बढ़ाने

का प्रस्ताव

प० बंगाल विधान सभा में कम्युनिस्ट

सदस्यों द्वारा पेश

मुख्य मंत्री डा० राय द्वारा जोरदार विरोध

(हमारे स्टाफ रिपोर्टर द्वारा)

रोज व रोज की जरूरी चीजों के दाम आसमान छूने लगे हैं और साधारण लोगों की हालत दिन पर दिन बदतर हो रही है। ऐसी हालत में यह जरूरी है कि सरकारी और गैरसरकारी कर्मचारियों की तलब फौरन बढ़ा दी जाय।

२६ नवम्बर को यह मांग बुलन्द करते हुए कम्युनिस्ट सदस्य का० नारायण चौधे ने बंगाल विधान सभा में अवाग की जिन्दगी के लिए बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण प्रस्ताव पेश किया। दूसरे कम्युनिस्ट सदस्य डा० रणेन सेन ने प्रस्ताव को बेहतर बनाने के लिए कुछ संशोधन पेश करते हुए दिखाया कि कलकारखानों की पैदावार बढ़ी है, मजदूरों की पैदा करने की क्षमता बढ़ी है, पर मजदूरों की असली तलब कम पड़ी है। उन्होने मांग की कि सरकारी ननगेजेटेड कर्मचारियों का महंगाई भत्ता २५ रूपए बढ़ाया जाय और उद्योगधन्धों के ३ सौ से कम तलब पाने वाले मजदूर-कर्मचारियों की तलब २५ फी सदी बढ़ायी जाय। कहना न होगा कि कांग्रेसी पक्ष ने, खुद मुख्य मंत्री डा० विधान राय ने इसका विरोध जोरों से किया।

डा० रणेन सेन ने अपने लम्बे और एक तरफ सामाजिक न्याय की बातें तथ्यों से भरे भाषण में कहा कि अगर



स्वाधीनता

वर्ष १५ अंक १५] शुक्रवार, ६ दिसम्बर १९५७ [कीमत : ६ नये पैसे

कर्मचारियों की यह वाजिब मांग नामंजूर की जाय तो उद्योगधन्धों में अशान्ति का पैदा होना लाजिमी है और बात यही हो रही है।

अवाम की मांग

डा० रणेन सेन ने कहा कि बम्बई में तलबों पश्चिम बंगाल की तलबों से कहीं ज्यादा हैं। वहां चीजों के दामों की घटा-बढ़ीके साथ महंगाई भत्तेकी घटा-बढ़ी होती है। पर पश्चिम बंगाल में आम तौर पर यह बन्दोबस्त नहीं है।

उन्होंने बताया कि यह मांग जन-साधारण की है। पश्चिम बंगाल की मजदूर यूनियनों कुल तलब में २५ फी सदी

बढ़ती के लिए आन्दोलन कर रही है। केवल ए० आइ० टी० यू० सी० और दूसरे केन्द्रीय मजदूर संगठन ही नहीं, खुद आइ० एन० टी० यू० सी० ने भी यह मांग उठायी है। आंसाम के वर्तमान मजदूर मन्त्री श्री त्रिपाठी ने आइ० एन० टी० यू० सी० के सूरत अधिवेशन में इस मांग के पक्ष में भाषण दिया था।

सब बढ़ा, पर मजदूरों की असली तलब कम पड़ी

भारत सरकार और रिजर्व बैंक द्वारा प्रकाशित आंकड़ों को पेश करते हुए डा० रणेन सेन ने दिखाया कि १९५१ में कलकारखानों की जो पैदावार थी, मजदूरों ने उसे बढ़ा कर ड्योढ़ा कर दिया है। मजदूरों की उत्पादन क्षमता १९५५ में १९५१ की तुलना में १३ फी सदी बढ़ गयी।

पर मजदूरों की असली आय का सूचक अंक जहां १९४० में १०८६ था, वह घट कर १९५४ में १०२७ हो गया। सरकार कहती है कि पिछले दो सालों में मजदूरों की आय २ फी सदी बढ़ी है। इसे सच मान लेने पर भी देखा जाता है कि १९४० में मजदूरों की जो असली तलब थी, उसकी तुलना में आज की तलब ४६ (लगभग ४॥) फी सदी कम पड़ गयी है।

मास्को में विभिन्न देशों के कम्युनिस्ट नेताओं के बीच हिन्दुस्तान की पार्टी के जेनरल सेक्रेटरी का० अजय घोष दिखाई पड़ रहे हैं।

सरकार कहा करती है कि कलकारखानों में नयी नयी मशीनें बैठाने के कारण उत्पादन बढ़ा है। इस दलील की पोल खोलते हुए डा० रणेन सेन ने बताया कि चटकलों में के स्पिनिंग डिपाट में नयी मशीनें बैठायी गयी हैं, तबत विभाग में नहीं। पर चटकलों में उत्पादन तांतियों की बढ़ोतरी ही बढ़ा है

(बाकी पृष्ठ ६ पर)

प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी का

शर्मनाक कदम

कुछ ही दिन पहले प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी ने बड़ा शोरगुल कर केरल की कुछ घटनाओं के खिलाफ, खासकर कट्टमपल्ली के लाठी चार्ज के खिलाफ सारे भारत में प्रतिवाद दिवस मनाया। कांग्रेसी राज्यों में प्रायः राज ही कहीं लाठी चार्ज हुआ करता है और कहीं गोली चला करती है। उनके बारे में प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी न तो इतना शोर करती है और न सारे भारत में प्रतिवाद दिवस ही मनाती है। फिर केरल की एक छोटी-सी घटना को—ऐसी घटना को जिसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी केरल के थानू पिल्लई जैसे बदनाम प्रजासमाजवादी नेताओं पर है—लेकर इतना गुल गपाड़ा क्यों ?

ग्राम चुनाव से लेकर आज तक केरल में प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी के कामों पर नजर डालने से उसके इस काम की गम्भीरता साफ दीख पड़ती है। ग्राम चुनाव के वक्त कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने केरल की प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी से जनवादी संयुक्त मोर्चा बनाने की अपील की थी। पर ऐसा संयुक्त मोर्चा खास कर दो बातों के कारण न बन सका। अगर चुनाव में कांग्रेस हार कर अल्पमत में हो जाती, संयुक्त जनतान्त्रिक मोर्चे का बहुमत हो जाता, तो यह लाजिमी हो जाता कि संयुक्त जनतान्त्रिक मोर्चा अपनी सरकार बनावे। पर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के साथ सरकार बनाने को प्रजासमाजवादी नेता तैयार न हुए। फिर उन्होंने अपनी ताकत से ज्यादा सीटें मांगनी शुरू की। चुनाव के नतीजे ने केरल प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी के खोखलेपन को साफ जाहिर कर दिया। उसे १२६ में केवल ६ सीटें मिलीं।

चुनाव के बाद केरल विधान सभा में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का अकेला ही बहुमत कायम हुआ। फिर भी उसने प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी को सरकार में शामिल होने और शासन व्यवस्था को चलाने के लिए निमन्त्रित किया। पर जिन प्रजासमाजवादी नेताओं ने ग्राम चुनाव के पहले कांग्रेसी समर्थन की टूटी बैसाखियों पर खड़े होकर सरकार बनाने में शर्म न खायी थी, उन्होंने एक वामपंथी दल के साथ जनतान्त्रिक मोर्चा बना कर सरकार चलाने से इन्कार कर दिया।

कम्युनिस्ट सरकार बनने के बाद केरल की प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी ने जिस बचकाना और गैर-जिम्मेदाराना ढंग से काम करना शुरू किया, उसे देख कर यह कहना मुश्किल हो जाता है कि वह कोई वामपंथी पार्टी है। उसके नेताओं ने ऐलान किया कि वे कम्युनिस्ट सरकार को चलाने न देंगे। खुली **पम्पादकीय** सभाओं में उन्होंने कम्युनिस्ट मन्त्रियों को मार डालने की धमकियां दी। उनके खाद्य प्रदर्शन का स्वागत करने के लिए खुद मुख्यमंत्री और खाद्य मन्त्री फाटक पर आये। पर उनसे बात करने के बजाय ये प्रदर्शनकारी उन्हें धक्का देकर विधान सभा के अन्दर धुस गये। उस वक्त केरल सरकार ने जिस धैर्य से काम लिया, उसकी तारीफ किये बगैर कोई जनतन्त्रवादी नहीं रह सकता।

सारे देश के शिक्षकों ने केरल सरकार द्वारा पास किये गये शिक्षा का स्वागत किया है। पर केरल के प्रजासमाजवादी नेताओं ने इस सवाल पर मुट्ठी भर कैथोलिक धर्माधिकारियों के साथ गठबन्धन किया।

इन सब के बाद कट्टमपल्ली की घटना हुई। केरल सरकार ने शासनभार संभालने के ६ महीने के अन्दर खेत मजदूरों और हरिजनों में लगभग ३० लाख बीघा जमीन बांटने की योजना बनायी और उसे अमल में लाने की तैयारी शुरू की। उसने ऐलान किया कि हर गांव में २५ फी सदी जमीन केवल हरिजनों को दी जायगी। जमीन के लिए दरखास्त देने के हजारों फारम हरिजनों और खेत मजदूरों में बाँटे गये। जमीन का वटवारा ठीक ढंग से करने के लिए हर तालुके में सर्वदलीय कमेटियां बनायी जाने लगीं।

पर केरल की प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी ने सर्वदलीय कमेटियों में शामिल होने के बजाय जमीन के वटवारे में अड़ंगा लगाने की नीति अख्तियार की। उसने लोगों को जबरियां और कानून तोड़ कर सरकारी जमीन पर कब्जा करने को भड़काना शुरू किया। उसके भड़कावे में आकर जब ६ हरिजन परिवारों ने दो महीने की मोहलत देने पर और यह वादा किये जाने पर भी कि वे सर्वदलीय कमेटी के पास दरखास्त दें और यदि वे जमीन पाने के योग्य होंगे तो उन्हें भी जमीन दी जायगी, सरकारी जमीन से हटने से इन्कार किया तो मजबूर होकर सरकार को उनके खिलाफ पुलिस का इस्तेमाल करना पड़ा। इन्हीं ६ हरिजन परिवारों को लेकर प्रजासमाजवादी नेताओं ने बड़ा गुलगपाड़ा शुरू किया। जब कि वहाँ के हरिजन खुद ही उनका समर्थन नहीं कर रहे हैं। वे सर्वदलीय कमेटियों के जगह भूमिहीन किसानों और हरिजनों में जमीन बांटने की सरकारी योजना के मुकाबिले में सरकारी जमीन पर जबरियां कब्जा

त्रावन्कोर की जमीन्दारी प्रथा को

खत्म करने का बन्दोबस्त

जिस काम को करने का साहस कांग्रेसी और प्रजासमाजवादी सरकारों को न हुआ उसको पूरा करने के लिए केरल सरकार का साहस पूर्ण कदम

(हमारे त्रिवेन्द्रमस्थित संवाददाता द्वारा)

त्रावन्कोर की जमीन्दारी प्रथा को जेनमीकरण प्रथा कहते हैं। इस प्रथा को मिटाकर जमीन्दारों को नाराज करने का साहस न तो कांग्रेसी सरकार ने किया था और न प्रजासमाजवादी सरकार ने। केरल की वर्तमान सरकार ने उसे मिटाने के लिए और जमीन पर किसानों का मालिकाना कायम करने के लिए कदम उठाया है। १२ दिसम्बर को विधान सभा में वह इस बारे में एक बिल पेश करने जा रही है। बिल का पूरा मसौदा सरकारी गजट में छप चुका है।

जेनमीकरण प्रथा के मुताबिक राज्यों में कांग्रेसी सरकारें किसानों से लगभग १॥ लाख एकड़ जमीन के जमीन पर मालिकाना हक के लिए जितनी मालिक लगभग ५॥ हजार जमीन्दार हैं। रकम वसूल कर रही हैं, उससे कहीं कम केरल सरकार इस सारी जमीन का रकम केरल के किसानों को देनी पड़ेगी। मालिक किसानों को बना देगी। इसी तरह कांग्रेसी राज्यों में जमीन्दारों का मालिकाना इस पर न को जितना हर्जाना मिल रहा है, कहीं कम हर्जाना केरल में जमीन्दारों को

रह जायगा।

यद्यपि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का नारा

रहा है बिना हरजाना जमीन्दारी प्रथा

खत्म करो। पर केरल सरकार को

देश का मौजूदा विधान मान कर काम

करना पड़ रहा है। और इस विधान

में कांग्रेसी नेताओं ने व्यवस्था कर रखी

है कि जमीन्दारों को बिना मुआवजा

दिए जमीन्दारी नहीं छीनी जा सकती।

ऐसी हालत में केरल सरकार को भी न

चाहने पर भी जमीन्दारों को हरजाना

देने की व्यवस्था करनी पड़ी है। इस

रकम को चुकाने के लिए यह भी लाजिमी

हो गया है कि वह किसानों से मालिकाना

हक के बदले में कुछ रकम वसूल करे।

पर इन दोनों ही को तय करते वक्त केरल

सरकार ने ध्यान रखा है कि किसानों

पर बाँफ कम से कम पड़े और बड़े बड़े

जमीन्दारों को हरजाना कम से कम

मिले। दूसरे राज्यों में सरकारों के

जमीन्दारी प्रथा को मिटाने और केरल

सरकार द्वारा जमीन्दारी प्रथा को मिटाने

में यहीं बड़ा भारी फर्क है। दूसरे

देश का हर जनवादी करेगा।

जमीन पर किसानों का मालिकाना

कायम करने और जमीन्दारों को हर्जाना

देने में केरल सरकार को पहले पहल ५१

लाख रुपया कर्ज करना पड़ेगा।

जो काम कांग्रेसी और प्रजासमाजवादी

सरकारें न कर सकी थीं, उसे करने

के केरल सरकार के साहस की तारीफ

देश का हर जनवादी करेगा।

करने की नीति रख रहे हैं। वे कांग्रेस के साथ गुट बना कर कम्युनिस्ट सरकार को

उखाड़ फेंकने की कोशिश कर रही हैं।

ऐसी हालत में जरूरी यह था कि सारे भारत की प्रजासमाजवादी पार्टी केरल

समाजवादी पार्टी की लगाम कसती और उसे केरल सरकार के जनसेवा के कामों का

करने को बाध्य समर्थन करती। पर उसने उसके ही सुर में सुर मिलाना शुरू किया।

देश में केरल को सरकार पहली वामपंथी जनवादी सरकार है। उसी की सफलता पर देश के समाजवादी और जनतान्त्रिक आन्दोलन की सफलता निर्भर

करती है। पर उसी सरकार के खिलाफ कांग्रेस के साथ मिल कर प्रजासमाजवादी

पार्टी जिहाद बोल रही है। यह अपने को समाजवादी कहनेवाले किसी भी आदमी के लिए शर्म की बात है।

कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की विराट चुनाव रैली बिहार जन-सुरक्षा कानून खत्म करो

का० जेड. ए. अहमद द्वारा पी. एस. पी. के दिवालियापन की कड़ी आलोचना

मुजफ्फरपुर शहर श्री इसके अगल-अगल के गांवों में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के उम्मीदवार का० किशोरीप्रसन्न सिंह का चुनाव प्रचार काफी जोरों से चल रहा है। ता० २४ नवम्बर को मुजफ्फरपुर के कोने-कोने में लाल झण्डे की बहार छा गयी। गांव के किसान, खेत मजदूर, शहर के मेहनतकश मजदूर, विद्यार्थी और साधारण नागरिकों का जोश देखते ही बनता था। गाने-वाजे के साथ "कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को वोट दो" के नारे लगाते, 'हंसिया धान की बाली' का बड़े-बड़े चुनाव चिन्ह लिए लोग जुलूस बना कर मुजफ्फरपुर टाउनहाल की तरफ बढ़ रहे थे। मुजफ्फरपुर टाउन हाल लाल झण्डों से भर गया। मुजफ्फरपुर में यह पहली मोटींग थी जिसने शहर के तमाम तबकों के लोगों के दिल को आन्दोलित कर दिया। यह रैली ५ घण्टों तक चलती रही और १५ हजार लोगों ने इसमें हिस्सा लिया।

इन चुनाव रैली की सदरत मुजफ्फरपुर शहर के मजदूर नेता श्री द्वारकानाथ कपूर ने की। रैली में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के मशहूर नेता और पार्टी की केन्द्रीय कमेटियों के सदस्य का० जेड० ए० अहमद, केरल के एम० पी० का० ईश्वर ऐय्यर, का० कार्यान्वयन शर्मा, एम० एल० ए०, का० चन्द्रशेखर सिंह और का० हबीबुर रहमान ने भाषण दिया।

पी. एस. पी. को दिवालिया नीति की अहमद द्वारा आलोचना

का० जेड० ए० अहमद ने अपने भाषण में बताया कि पी० एस० पी० की सारे देश में एक अजीब-सी हालत हो गई है। इसके नेता हीशो-हवास खो बैठे हैं। इनकी नीति मोकापरस्ती की हो गयी है। कहीं ये कांग्रेस के खिलाफ अन्य वामपथियों के साथ होते हैं, कहीं कांग्रेस के साथ वामपथियों के खिलाफ। इन्होंने बताया कि दोनों आम चुनावों के बाद पी० एस० पी० के नेतागण एकदम पस्त दिग्भ्रत हो गये हैं और बौखलाये हुए लगते हैं। इस बौखलाहट में इन्होंने अपनी नीति का दिवालियापन दिखाना शुरू कर दिया है। इनके बड़े-बड़े नेताओं (जिनमें मेहता खास तौर पर) ने हमेशा देश की शान्तिपूर्ण विदेशी नीति का विरोध किया है। इनके नेताओं ने गत पार्लियामेंट में कृष्णामाचारी की टैक्स नीति का समर्थन किया है। इसी का नतीजा है कि इन्हें इस बार के आम चुनाव में करारी हार खानी पड़ी है। इनके कई नेता पार्लियामेंट के चुनाव में हार गये और श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी तो कांग्रेस में ही शामिल हो गयीं। इन्होंने बताया कि वास्तव में

सामाजिक स्वाधीनता

कांग्रेस और पी० एस० पी० में मूलतः कोई अन्तर नहीं है। इसका सबूत तो यही है कि अशोक मेहता के खिलाफ कांग्रेस ने कोई उम्मीदवार खड़ा न किया।

अशोक मेहता की अमरीका परस्ती

का० अहमद ने कहा कि अशोक मेहता कांग्रेस और पी० एस० पी० के अन्दर जो प्रतिक्रियावादी तबकों के

समर्थक हैं। इसलिए अमरीका की नीति का समर्थन और ब्रिटिश कामनवेल्थ से रिश्ता बनाये रखने के हिमायती हैं। का० अहमद ने आगे बताया कि खाद्य-कमीशन के सदर के नाते इन्होंने जो रिपोर्ट सरकार के सामने रखी है जिससे आम जनता को राहत नहीं मिल सकती। मेहता साहय सरकार की नीति का पूरा समर्थन करते हैं और इसीलिए तो इस चुनाव में जीतने के लिए इन्होंने कांग्रेसी आला कमान के सामने अपना दामन फैलाया है।

केरल के एम० पी० का० ईश्वर ऐय्यर ने अपने भाषण में पी० एस० पी० की नीति की कड़ी आलोचना की और बताया कि किस तरह पी० एस० पी० के नेता केरल में कांग्रेस और प्रतिक्रियावादीयों के साथ मिल कर कम्युनिस्ट सरकार द्वारा जनता की भलाई के लिए किये गये कामों का विरोध कर रहे हैं। इन्होंने लोगों से अपील की कि

बिहार-विधान सभा में कम्युनिस्ट नेता का० कार्यान्वयन शर्मा की जबर्दस्त दलील

बिहार विधान सभा की इस बैठक में कांग्रेसी सरकार की तरफ से कई जन-विरोधी बिल आ रहे हैं जिस पर सरकार को विरोधी दलों की ओर से जबर्दस्त आलोचना का सामना करना पड़ा है। सरकारी मन्त्रीगण जब बिल के समर्थन में बोलते हैं, प्रश्नों की झरी लग जाती है और मन्त्रीगण विरोधी दलों के सदस्यों का माकूल जवाब नहीं दे पाते। लेकिन बहुमत के बल पर "अपनी भैंस कुल्हाड़ी से नाथनेवाली कहावत को ये कांग्रेसी शासक चरितार्थ कर रहे हैं। सूखा और अकाल पर बहस करते समय तो किसी भी मन्त्री ने यह जरूरी नहीं समझा कि जनता को राहत देने के लिए एक बिल पेश किया जाय, बल्कि जनता के अधिकारों को कुचलने के लिए बिहार जन सुरक्षा बिल को और पांच वर्षों के लिए बरकरार रखने के लिए एक मन्त्री ने यह बिल पेश किया।

इस जन-सुरक्षा बिल के खिलाफ सबसे पहले कम्युनिस्ट दल के नेता का० कार्यान्वयन शर्मा, एम० एल० ए० ने बहस शुरू की। उन्होंने अपनी बहस के दूर्यांन सरकार के सामने सबूतों के साथ ऐसी दलील पेश की कि कांग्रेसी एम० एल० ए० लोगों ने भी शर्मा जी के विरोध का नैतिक समर्थन किया।

जन आन्दोलन को कुचलने की साजिश

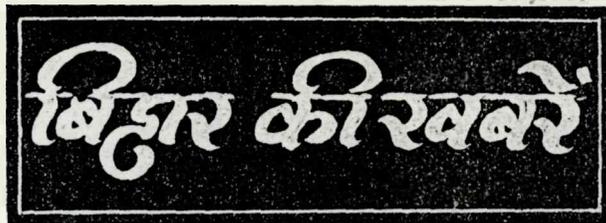
का० शर्मा ने अपने भाषणों में

बताया कि सरकार की ओर से यह बिल पेश इसलिए किया जा रहा है कि सरकार जनआन्दोलन को कुचल सके और जन-आन्दोलनों की रहनुमाई करनेवाली विरोधी पार्टियों के नेताओं और कार्यकर्त्ताओं को इस बिल के नाम पर जेल में सड़ाए और मुकदमे चलाये। इन्होंने बताया कि पी० डब्लू० डी० के मन्त्री का यह कहना है कि यह खास कर साम्प्रदायिक तत्वों के खिलाफ लागू होगा, बेकार है; क्योंकि अभी भी राज्य भर में इस बिल के अन्दर दरभङ्गा जिले के हजारों किसानों पर और कई जगहों के राजनीतिक (कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी खास तौर पर) कार्यकर्त्ताओं पर मुकदमे चल रहे हैं। इन्होंने कहा कि मुख्यमन्त्री के खिलाफ का० भोला प्रसाद जिन्होंने २७ हजार वोट प्राप्त किया, इस बिल के शिकार हैं। इस तरह इन्होंने सारे राज्य में इस बिल के खतरनाक कदम का विरोध किया।

किसानों पर सामूहिक जुर्माना

का० शर्मा ने आगे बताया कि इस बिल के चलते हजारों हजार किसान तबाह और बर्बाद हो गये हैं। मुझे ताज्जुब लगता है कि जो सरकार समाजवादी जनतन्त्र का दम भरती है, वह इस बिल का हथियार बना कर बिहार की भूखी जनता पर सामूहिक जुर्माना लगा रही है। नावकोठी, गोपालपुर आदि इलाकों में किसानों पर अब भी सामूहिक जुर्माना लगाया जा रहा है। इस तरह इन्होंने इस बिल का जबर्दस्त विरोध किया और दूसरे ईमानदार सदस्यों से भी इस बिल के विरोध में आवाज बुलन्द करने की अपील की।

और धान की बाली।" इस संवाददाता ने आगे लिखा है कि चुनाव का संघर्ष बड़ा ही तगड़ा मालूम होता है और अशोक मेहता के हराने की ये ही आशांका तो है।



अशोक मेहता को हरायें ताकि सच्चे जनवाद की जीत हो सके।

मीलों लम्बा मशाल जुलूस

चुनाव प्रचार के सिलसिले में मुजफ्फरपुर शहर में रात में एक बहुत बड़ा मशाल जुलूस कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की ओर से निकाला गया। इसमें बिहार के कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के प्रान्तीय मन्त्री का० योगेन्द्र शर्मा, का० कार्यान्वयन शर्मा, का० चन्द्रशेखर सिंह, का० इन्द्रदीप सिंह और का० किशोरी प्रसन्न सिंह थे। यह मशाल जुलूस मीलों लम्बा था। इसका असर जनता पर खूब अच्छा पड़ा है। बिहार के दैनिक अंगरेजी "सर्चलाइट" के संवाददाता ने लिखा है कि ऐसा मशाल जुलूस आज तक मुजफ्फरपुर में देखने को नहीं मिला था। जुलूस में बूढ़े, नौजवान, औरतें और बच्चे थे उनमें नई उमंग थी। सारा शहर मशाल की रोशनी में चमक उठा और इस रोशनी में चमक रहा था कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का चुनाव चिन्ह "हंसिया

शांति की अपार शक्ति युद्ध रोक सकती है

६४ देशों के कम्युनिस्ट नेताओं की शान्ति घोषणा

सोवियत संघ की राजधानी मास्को में समाजवादी नवम्बर क्रान्ति की ४०वीं वर्षगांठ के मौके पर होनेवाले सम्मेलन में शांति का घोषणा-पत्र सर्व सम्मति से स्वीकृत हुआ। (हम इसका संक्षिप्त रूप पिछले अंक में प्रकाशित कर चुके हैं और अब पूरा प्रस्ताव आप के सामने उपस्थित कर रहे हैं।—सं० स्वा०) इस सम्मेलन में नीचे के देशों के कम्युनिस्ट और मजदूर पार्टियों के प्रतिनिधि शामिल थे—

अलबानिया, अलजीरिया, अर्जेंटीना, आस्ट्रेलिया, आस्ट्रिया, बेलजियम, बोलिविया, ब्राजिल, ब्रिटेन, बुल्गारिया, कनेडा, लङ्का, चिली, चीन, कोलंबिया, कोस्टारिका, क्यूबा, चेकोस्लोवाकिया, डेनमार्क, डोमिनियन रिपब्लिक, इक्वेडोर, फिनलैंड, फ्रांस, पूर्व जर्मनी, पश्चिम जर्मनी, ग्रीस, गुआतेमाला, हंगरी, होन्डुरास, भारत, इन्डोनेशिया, इराक, इजराइल, इटली, जापान, जोर्डन, कोरिया, लक्समबर्ग, मलाया, मैक्सिको, मंगोलिया, मोरक्को, नीदरलैंड, न्यूजीलैंड, नावें, पनामा, पेरु, पोलैंड, पोर्तुगाल, रमानिया, सानमेरिनो, सोवियत संघ, स्पेन, स्वीडन, स्वीटजरलैंड, सीरिया और लेबानन, थाइलैंड, अशिया, टर्की, उराग्वे, वेनेजुएला, वियतनाम और युगोस्लाविया।

मजदूर और किसानों! विज्ञान और संस्कृति के सेवकों! सभी देशों के सुबुद्धिवाले मनुष्यों!

महान अक्टूबर (७ नवम्बर को हुई क्रान्ति को रूस देश के पुराने पंचांग के अनुसार अक्टूबर क्रान्ति कहते हैं) समाजवादी क्रान्ति की चालीसवीं वर्षगांठ के मौके पर मास्को में एकत्रित कम्युनिस्ट और मजदूर पार्टियों के प्रतिनिधि हमलोग आपसे, आपकी बुद्धि और हृदय से अपील करते हैं।

दूसरे महायुद्ध की बर्बादी की याद अब भी हमारे मन में ताजी है। इस युद्ध के खूनी नतीजे अब भी पूरी तरह से नहीं मिट पाये हैं और इसी बीच इससे भी सौ गुना नाशकारी भयानक महायुद्ध की छाया शान्तिपूर्ण गांवों और शहरों के प्रत्येक घर की घेरने लगी है। प्रत्येक देश पर और एक डरावने युद्ध के आतङ्क की छाया घिर रही है और जीवन के आनन्द को अन्धेरे से ढक रही है। हर घर पूछता है :

कल क्या होगा? एक महीने या

एक वर्ष बाद क्या होगा? क्या फिर युद्ध की लपटें हमें घेर लेंगी? सर्वनाशी परमाणु और हाइड्रोजन बम क्या हमारे बाल-बच्चों को खतम कर देंगे?

दो महायुद्धों का कटु-अनुभव संसार के लोगों को है। युद्ध में साधारण लोगों की ही सब से अधिक हानि होती है। वे जानते हैं हर दूसरी लड़ाई पहली से अधिक तकलीफ लाती है, अधिक बर्बादी करती है, अधिक लोगों को मारती है और अधिक डरावने और मुश्किल से मरनेवाले घाव—नतीजे—छोड़ जाती है।

पहले विश्वयुद्ध में, जिसे सम्राज्यवादी शक्तियों ने भड़काया था और युद्धवादी जर्मनी ने छोड़ा था, १ करोड़ लोग

मरे तथा कई करोड़ लोग घायल और रोगी हुए थे। कई राष्ट्रों की सारी जनता को भूख और दुर्दशा का सामना करना पड़ा था।

दूसरे विश्वयुद्ध का मुख्य अपराधी था जर्मनी का फासिस्टवाद। इस महायुद्ध में न केवल विशाल सेनाओं को सत्यानाश करने की खुला छोड़ दिया गया, बल्कि बहुतेरे अरक्षित खुले शहरों को बमबारी से वस्तु कर दिया गया। लाखों असैनिक नागरिकों की हत्या की गयी। लाखों मर्द-औरत और बच्चों को हिटलर के कैदखाने में कटीले तारों के घेरे के भीतर बने गैस घरों में मारा गया। इस महानाश और मौत के काम में इतना ज्यादा धन और सामान लगाया गया था जिनसे हजारों सुन्दर और विचित्र शहर बसाये जा सकते थे और सभी राष्ट्रों की रोटी और कपड़े का इन्तजाम हो सकता था। घायलों और विकलांगों के अलावा भी ३ करोड़ लोग इस दूसरे महायुद्ध के सत्यानाशी बवण्डर में समा

गये। इस महायुद्ध के अन्त में चार-छ दिनों में दो अरक्षित गैर फौजी शहरों पर दो परमाणु बम गिरे और उससे इस बात का इशारा मिला कि आगे आने वाले महायुद्ध कैसे सर्वनाशी होंगे।

आदमी अगर तीसरा महायुद्ध छिड़ने दे तो इस युद्ध के नाश की मात्रा पहले के तमाम युद्धों को बहुत पीछे छोड़ जायगी, इसे समझने के लिए विज्ञान के ज्ञान या कवि कल्पना की जरूरत नहीं है। योरोप, अमरीका, एशिया, अफ्रीका और आस्ट्रेलिया के लोग जानते हैं कि आदमी ने आज जिस बेहद प्राकृतिक शक्ति पर कब्जा किया है, ऐसे शक्तिशाली सामान तैयार किये हैं कि इनकी सहायता से धरती के किसी भी स्थान से महानाश की लीला शुरू की जा सकती है। आगामी लड़ाई में कोई बचाव या सुरक्षा नहीं हो सकेगी। पारमाण्विक और राकेट युद्ध की आग की लपट सारे राष्ट्र को निगल जायगी। पीढ़ियों तक आदमी को बेहिसाब कष्टों का सामना करना पड़ेगा।

सभी राष्ट्र, जाति, धर्म एवं वर्ण के लोग शान्ति से जीना चाहते हैं।



सार संसार के आमलोग कहते हैं कि आदमी का दिल और दिमाग प्रकृति के छिपे, भेदों पर कब्जा कर रहा है, धीरे धीरे प्रकृति को ज्यादा से ज्यादा बस में करता जा रहा है, बनावटी चांद उड़ाने के बाद आदमी आज तारों तक पहुंचने की तैयारी कर रहा है। उस विजयी आदमी का दिल और दिमाग अवश्य ही युद्ध और आत्म संहार को रोक सकता है।

मनुष्य के भाग्य के प्रति अपनी जिम्मेदारी के बारे में पूरा सचेत होकर कम्युनिस्ट और मजदूर पार्टियों के प्रतिनिधि, हमलोग घोषणा करते हैं कि :

युद्ध अनिवार्य नहीं हैं, उसे रोक जा सकता है। शान्ति की रक्षा कर इसे स्थायी बनाया जा सकता है।

हम एक ऐसे देश की राजधानी में आज इकट्ठे हुए हैं, जिसने ४० वर्ष पहले मनुष्य जाति के इतिहास में नये युग का आरंभ किया है। १९१७ ई०

में पहली बार समाजवादी क्रान्ति रूस देश में विजयी हुई। भूमिक बग ने राज्य सत्ता दखल की और मनुष्य द्वारा मनुष्य के शोषण और पीड़न के सभी रूप और ढंग को नाश करना शुरू किया। लेनिन के नेतृत्व में रूस देश के मजदूर और किसानों ने अपनी पताका पर शान्ति का निशान जड़ दिया और तब से आज तक वे इसके प्रति ईमानदार रहे हैं। अपनी जिन्दगी के इन ४० वर्षों में सोवियत संघ ने सभी जातियों के लिए शान्ति का रास्ता खोल दिया है। साम्राज्यवादियों की बाधाओं के बावजूद उसने तमाम देशों के विभिन्न समाज-व्यवस्था वाले लोगों के साथ शान्तिपूर्ण सह-अवस्थान की रक्षा करने की चेष्टा की है।

पूँजीवादी देशों के मजदूरों ने अपने प्रमुख हितों की रक्षा करते हुए शान्ति संग्राम में मुस्तेदी से हाथ बटाया है। संसार के तमाम प्रगतिशील लोगों ने शान्ति के इस महान संग्राम का समर्थन किया है। तब भी शान्ति की शक्तियां दूसरे महायुद्ध के संहार से मानव समाज को बचा नहीं सकीं। क्योंकि उस समय वे काफी मजबूत नहीं थीं। सिर्फ सोवियत संघ ही दृढ़ता के साथ शान्ति रक्षा के लिए लड़ रहा था।

हम कम्युनिस्ट लोग यही कहना चाहते हैं कि अब युद्ध को रोकना संभव है, शान्ति की रक्षा करना संभव है। यह हम पूरे विश्वास के साथ ही कहते हैं क्योंकि आज विश्व की परिस्थिति तब से काफी बदल चुकी है, ताकत का पलड़ा पलट चुका है।

महान अक्टूबर क्रान्ति से उत्पन्न सोवियत देश आज अकेला नहीं है। फासिस्टवाद पर विजय पाने पर एक विशाल समाजवादी दुनिया पैदा हुई है जिसको आबादी करीब १०० करोड़ है। दूसरी शक्तिशाली समाजवादी शक्ति—चीन—शान्ति, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सहयोग और विभिन्न राष्ट्रों के बीच शान्तिपूर्ण सह-अवस्थान के लिए सोवियत संघ के कंधे से कंधा मिला कर आगे बढ़ रहा है।

एशिया और योरोप के अन्य जनवादी गणतन्त्रात्मक राष्ट्र भी इन्हीं उद्देश्यों के लिए यत्न कर रही हैं।

विश्व के रंगमंच पर और एक नई ताकत पैदा हुई है। वह है अक्टूबर (शेष पृष्ठ ५ पर)

शान्ति की अपार शक्ति

(बाकी पृष्ठ ४ पर)

शान्ति के प्रभाव से पैदा हुई उपनिवेशिक जनता की शक्ति। उनमें कुछ ने युग युग की गुलामी का जुआ उठा कर फेंक दिया है, कुछ उठा फेंकने को तैयार है। वे शान्ति से रहना चाहते हैं, अपने घरेलू मामले में साम्राज्यवादी दखलन्दाजी नहीं होने देते हैं। अपने पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने के लिए वे शान्ति और निरपेक्षता की नीति अपना रहे हैं—यह पंचशील की प्रसिद्ध नीति है—यानी एक दूसरे की सीमा और सार्वभौमत्व को मानना, हमला नहीं करना, दूसरे देश के भीतरी मामले में दखल न देना, बराबरी और परस्पर के फायदे के साथ लेन देन करना और शान्तिपूर्ण सह-अवस्थान।

केवल समाजवादी देश या पूर्व के राष्ट्र ही युद्ध नहीं चाहते, ऐसी बात नहीं है। पश्चिमी पूंजीवादी देशों के लोग भी जिन्होंने दो बार महायुद्ध का नतीजा देखा है, इससे घृणा करते हैं।

आज शान्ति के सैनिक की तादाद गिनना मुश्किल है।

वे युद्ध को बन्द कर शान्ति की रक्षा कर सकते हैं। फिर भी हम कम्युनिस्ट लोग पूर्ण विश्वास के साथ दुनिया के तमाम लोगों को यह चेतावनी दे देना अपना कर्तव्य मानते हैं कि एक सर्वनाशी राक्षसी युद्ध का खतरा अभी भी मौजूद है।

जनता की शान्ति और सुरक्षा पर यह खतरा कहां से आता है? पूंजीवादी बड़े बड़े उद्योगपतियों से, युद्ध का सामान बनाना जिनका कारबार है, पहले दो महायुद्धों में जिन्होंने अपार धन कमाया है। हथियारों की वर्तमान होड़ से उन्हें बेहद मुनाफा हुआ है। युद्ध की तैयारी पूंजीपतियों की पैली भरती है पर आम लोगों, मजदूर-किसानों पर वह बहुत भारी पड़ती है। वह देश की माली-हालत को बिगाड़ देती है। कुछ देशों की और खास कर युक्तराष्ट्र अमरीका की पूंजीवादी सरकार ने इन एकाधिकारी पूंजीपतियों के दबाव के कारण निरस्त्रीकरण, परमाणु अस्त्रों पर रोक लगाने, तथा नये युद्ध को रोकने के उद्देश्य से लाये गये प्रस्तावों को ठुकरा दिया है।

दुनिया के शान्ति प्रेमी राष्ट्रों ने राष्ट्रसंघ में अनेकों ऐसे अन्धे प्रस्ताव सामाजिक स्वाधीनता

पेश किये हैं जिनके मानने पर शान्ति की शक्ति बढ़ती और युद्ध की संभावना कम होती। राष्ट्रसंघ में प्रस्तावित हथियारों की होड़ कम करने, परमाणु युद्ध की धमकी बन्द करने, राष्ट्रों के बीच शान्तिपूर्ण सह-अवस्थान और आर्थिक सहयोग का सम्बन्ध कायम करने के प्रस्तावों से राष्ट्रों में एक दूसरे का विश्वास पैदा होता और सभी राष्ट्रों के बड़े स्वार्थों की रक्षा होती, इसे कोई इन्कार नहीं कर सकता है। संसार और संसार की आनेवाली पीढ़ियों का भविष्य इन समस्याओं के समाधान के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है। इन प्रस्तावों का विरोध सिर्फ वे ही देश करते आये हैं जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय उत्तेजना के बने रहने में अपना लाभ देखते हैं।

हर रोज हजारों अखबार और रेडियो स्टेशन अमरीका, ब्रिटेन, फ्रांस, इटली और दूसरे देशों के लोगों के दिमाग में यह भर रहे हैं कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय साम्यवाद (कम्युनिस्ट) उनकी आजादी, रहन-सहन के ढंग और शान्तिपूर्ण जीवनयात्रा को खतरे में डाल रहा है। किन्तु कम्युनिस्ट पार्टियों या समाजवादी राष्ट्रों की ऐसी कोई इच्छा या कारण नहीं है कि वे दूसरे राष्ट्र पर फौजी आक्रमण करें किसी देश को गुलाम बनावें। सोवियत संघ और जनवादी चीन की भूमि दूर तक फैली है जिसमें अपार प्राकृतिक सम्पत्ति भरी है। सोवियत और अन्य समाजवादी देशों में युद्ध से मालामाल होनेवाला कोई वर्ग नहीं है। राज्यसत्ता मजदूरों और किसानों के हाथ में है, हर युद्ध जिनका नुकसान ही होता है, कष्ट ही बढ़ता है। वे युद्ध पसन्द करें, क्या यह कभी सम्भव है? कम्युनिस्टों का मकसद है एक ऐसा समाज बनाना जिसमें सब सुखी हो सकें, सभी राष्ट्रों का विकास हो और अचल शान्ति कायम हो।

ऐसा समाज बनाने के लिए, समाजवादी देश पूर्ण और स्थायी शान्ति चाहते हैं। इसीलिये कम्युनिस्टों से बढ़ कर शान्ति का समर्थक और युद्ध का शत्रु कहीं मिल नहीं सकता।

समाजवादी देश दूसरे राष्ट्रों पर अपनी राजनीति या समाजव्यवस्था लदना नहीं चाहते। उन्हें विश्वास है कि समाजवाद जरूर विजयी होगा, पर वे

काश्मीर प्रस्ताव पर वीटो करने की सोवियत प्रतिनिधि की घोषणा

पाकिस्तानको चढ़ाकर मतलब निकालने की साम्राज्यी साजिश

काश्मीर के मामले को फिर तूल देने के लिए अमरीका, ब्रिटेन आदि ने राष्ट्रसंघ की सुरक्षा परिषद में एक प्रस्ताव पेश कर ग्राहम मिसन भेजने की चेष्टा शुरू की है। उनका मतलब था कि किसी तरह काश्मीर से भारत और "पाकिस्तान" की सेना हटा कर उनकी जगह राष्ट्रसंघ के नाम पर ब्रिटिश-अमरीकी सेना पहुंचायी जाय। पर सोवियत प्रतिनिधि सोवोलोव की खूली घोषणा ने उनके इरादों पर पानी फेर दिया।

उन्होंने कहा कि ग्राहम मिसन के प्रस्ताव पर सोवियत संघ वीटो करेगा। क्योंकि इस प्रस्ताव से कुछ फायदा नहीं होगा। इसमें सिर्फ पाकिस्तान की मांग का विचार विना गया है। काश्मीर इलाके और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय हालत में जो तबदीली हुई है उसका विचार नहीं किया गया है।

उन्होंने कहा कि अमरीका और अन्य साम्राज्यी ताकतें अपना मतलब निकालने के लिए पाकिस्तान को चढ़ा रही हैं। अमरीका बेहिसाब फौजी मदद दे रहा है। आजाद काश्मीर एक फौजी इलाका बन चुका है।

उन्होंने कहा—“भारत की आशङ्का सही है। क्या अमरीका पाकिस्तान को फौजी सामान भेजना बन्द करेगा? नहीं, फिर तनातनी कम करने का बहाना करना बेकार है। इससे मसला हल नहीं

मानते हैं कि समाजवाद बाहर से थोपा नहीं जा सकता, वह देश भीतर ही, वहां की जनता—मजदूर किसानों और अन्य प्रगतिशील शक्तियों के संघर्ष से कायम होगा। इसी कारण अन्य देशों के भीतरी मामलों में हस्तक्षेप करने की कोई इच्छा समाजवादी राष्ट्रों में नहीं है। साथ ही वे किसी बाहरी शक्ति को अपने भीतरी मामले में हस्तक्षेप करने देना नहीं चाहते। इसलिए यह कहना कि समाजवादी राष्ट्र शान्ति के लिए खतरनाक हैं, कि वे अपनी व्यवस्था दूसरे पर लादना चाहते हैं, शान्ति प्रेमी मनुष्यों को गुमराह करने का प्रयत्न सिवा और कुछ नहीं है। जिन्हें शान्ति प्यारी वे अगर एकता कायम करें, लड़ाई लगानेवाले के उकसाहट के प्रति चौकन्ने रहे, और शान्ति, जो आज खतरे में है उसकी रक्षा के लिए संग्राम करने के अपने कर्तव्य के प्रति सजग रहें, तभी शान्ति की रक्षा हो सकती है।

होगा। अतः सोवियत सरकार अमरीकी प्रस्ताव पर वीटो करेगा।

(राष्ट्रसंघ की सुरक्षा परिषद का नियम है कि पांच बड़ी शक्तियों के एकमत हुए बिना कोई प्रस्ताव पास नहीं होगा। अगर उनमें से कोई एक शक्ति प्रस्ताव के खिलाफ वोट दे तो वह वोट वीटो या विशेषाधिकार माना जायगा। अमरीका, फ्रांस, ब्रिटेन, सोवियत संघ और चीन को वीटो करने का अधिकार है। चीन की जगह चर्चाकाई शेक का प्रतिनिधि बैठता है।)

इस बार वीटो की घोषणा कर सोवियत संघ ने शान्ति रक्षा की सोवियत नीति और भारत-सोवियत दोस्ती का इजहार किया और इस प्रकार भारत के उन अमरीकी दलालों के मुंह पर, जो सोवियत की निन्दा करते नहीं अघाते, काली चूना पोत दिया।

सारे संसार के लोगों की भलाई को ध्यान में रख कर तथा हर राष्ट्र की प्रगति और सुन्दर भविष्य की शुभ कामना करते हुए हम कम्युनिस्ट सभी स्त्री-पुरुष, किसान-मजदूर, वैज्ञानिक, कारीगर, कलाकार, शिक्षक, आफिस बर्म-चारी, युवक-युवती, दस्तकार, व्यापारी और उद्योगपति, सारे समाजवादी, प्रजातन्त्रवादी और उदारपन्थी, विभिन्न राजनीति व धर्म माननेवाले व्यक्ति, सभी देश-प्रेमी युद्ध विरोधी, शुभ बुद्धिवाले मनुष्यों से अपील करते हैं। हथियारों की होड़ को, जो प्रतिदिन युद्ध के खतरे को बढ़ाती है और जिसका बोझ आपलोगों को, आमलोगों को ढोना पड़ता है, बन्द कराने की मांग कीजिये।

हाइड्रोजन और परमाणु अस्त्रों के बनाने और इस्तेमाल करने पर रोक लगाने की, और इसकी पहली सीढ़ी के रूप में अस्त्रों की परीक्षा बन्द करने की मांग कीजिये;

(बाकी पृष्ठ ६ पर)

बंगाल केमिकल के मजदूरों की नमूना हड़ताल

ट्राइबूनल के फैसले के मुताबिक बंगाल केमिकल के हर मजदूर को सात रुपये की दर से बढ़ती महंगाई भत्ता न देने की वजह से पिछली २० नवम्बर को मानिकतला और पानीहट्टी में मजदूरों ने नमूना हड़ताल की। इसके बाद मजदूरों ने श्रम मन्त्री से मुलाकात की। पुलिस ने राज भवन के सामने मजदूरों का जुलूस रोक दिया। इसके बाद मजदूरों के सात प्रतिनिधि श्रम मन्त्री से मिले और ट्राइबूनल के फैसले के मुताबिक महंगाई भत्ता देने की मांग की।

म्यूनिसिपल कर्मचारियों की नमूना हड़ताल सफल

पश्चिम बंगाल म्यूनिसिपल कर्मचारी एसोसियेशन के ऐलान पर पिछली २० नवम्बर को कलकत्ता कार्पोरेशन के अलावा पूरे पश्चिम बंगाल के म्यूनिसिपल मजदूर-कर्मचारियों ने शांतिपूर्ण तरीके से नमूना हड़ताल का पालन किया।

चुनाव में आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० के उम्मीदवारों को बुरी तरह हराकर मजदूर एकता कमेटी के उम्मीदवारों ने शानदार जीत हासिल की। कुल ८ सीटों में से ६ सीटों पर मजदूर एकता कमेटी के उम्मीदवारों ने जीत हासिल की है। इस चुनाव को काफी दिनों से आई० एन० टी० यू० सी० के नेता रोकते आ रहे थे।

रेसीडेन्स प्राइवेट लिमिटेड के सफाई मजदूरों पर जुल्म

रेसीडेन्स प्राइवेट लिमिटेड (करनानी स्टेट, २०६, लोअर सर्कूलर रोड, के मालिक श्री इन्द्र कुमार कारनानी ने अपने २१ सफाई मजदूरों को ६ महीने से तलब देना बन्द कर दिया है इन लोगों ने जब मालिक से तलब की मांग की तब मालिक ने इन्हें फटकार दिया और इन लोगों को सताने के लिए भूठा मुकदमा भी दायर किया है। शंकरलाल, रामस्वरूप और प्रेम सभी को मूठे मुकदमों में फसाया गया है। लोअर ग्रेड इम्प्लाइज यूनियन के नेताओं ने इस मामले को सुलझाने के लिए कई

कल-कारखाने मांग को पूरा करने में असमर्थ

(पृष्ठ २ से आगे)

सरकार यह दलील दिया करती है कि कल-कारखानों के मालिक मजदूर कर्मचारियों की इस मांग को पूरा करने में असमर्थ हैं। सरकार की इस दलील का खण्डन करने के लिए डा० रयोन सेन ने मालिकों द्वारा प्रकाशित आंकड़े पेश किये। उन्होंने दिखाया कि १९४६ की तुलना में १९५३ में मालिकों का मुनाफा बढ़ा १११२ फी सदी, जब कि मजदूरों, महंगाई भत्ता आदि बढ़े केवल ७१ फी सदी।

डा० रयोन सेन ने सबूत के लिए रिजर्व बैंक के आंकड़ों को भी पेश किया। खुद सरकारी रिजर्व बैंक ने मालिकों की जायदाद और मुनाफे की जांच कर बताया था कि ५ लाख रुपए से अधिक अदायी मूलधनवाली ७५० ज्वायन्ट स्टॉक कंपनियों की जायदाद १९५० की तुलना में १९५६ में ३४१४ फी सदी और खरा मुनाफा ५३८ फी सदी बढ़ा।

इन सब आंकड़ों से यह साफ है कि उद्योगधन्धों के मालिक मजदूर कर्मचारियों की इस मांग को पूरा करने में असमर्थ हैं।

डा० राय की दलील

मुख्यमंत्री डा० राय ने तलब बढ़ाने के इस प्रस्ताव का विरोध करते हुए दलील दी कि तलब बढ़ाने से सरकार को ४ करोड़ ७६ लाख रुपया सालाना अधिक खर्च करना पड़ेगा और मुद्रा की बाढ़ आ जायगी। उन्होंने परमाया कि मजदूर कर्मचारियों की तलब काफी बढ़ गयी है इसलिए और बढ़ाने की जरूरत नहीं। को दंडित करने के लिए सरकार से मांग की।

वात यह थी कि यहां की पुलिस कोयला चोरी करनेवालों का पता लगा रही थी और कुछ लोगों पर मुकदमा चलाया। इस मुकदमे में यहां के आर्य स्कूल के विद्यार्थियों को गवाही देने की पुलिस अफसर ने कहा। पर विद्यार्थियों ने इन्कार किया। इसी पर पुलिस अफसर ने विद्यार्थियों को पीटा था। विधान राय की समाजवादी सरकार की पुलिस का यह काम हिटलरशाही का नमूना है।

शान्ति की अपार शक्ति

(पृष्ठ ५ से आगे)

फौजी गुट बनाने तथा पराये देश में फौजी अड्डे कायम करने की नीति को खत्म करने की मांग कीजिये ;

गत महायुद्ध के लिए सब से अधिक जिम्मेदार युद्धवादी जर्मनी, जिससे पुनः अस्त्रीकरण न कर सके, इसकी मांग कीजिये ;

मध्यपूर्व में साम्राज्यवादी पड़यंत्र और फौजी छेड़खानी बन्द करने की मांग कीजिये ;

सम्मिलित सुरक्षा, विभिन्न समाज व्यवस्था के बीच शान्तिपूर्ण सह अवस्थान सभी देशों की जनता में व्यापकतर आर्थिक और सांस्कृतिक सहयोग की नीति का समर्थन कीजिये।

हम आप सभी को सम्बोधित कर कहते हैं कि आप सब अपनी अपनी सरकारों से मांग कीजिये कि वह राष्ट्रसंघ में शान्ति की नीति का विरोध करे।

हम सारी दुनिया के सभी सुबुद्धिवाले मनुष्यों का आह्वान करते हैं कि वे—

- १—परमाणु और हाइड्रोजन अस्त्रों की परीक्षा फौरन बन्द कराने के लिए संगठित हों और काम करना आरंभ करें;
- २—विनाश और जल्दी इन अस्त्रों के बनाने और इस्तेमाल करने पर रोक लगावाने के लिए संगठित हों और काम शुरू करें।

हम कम्युनिस्टों ने समाजवाद के लिये अपना जीवन लगा दिया है। हम कम्युनिस्टों को पूरा निश्चय है कि इस उच्च आदर्श की विजय होगी और चूंकि हम अपने आदर्शों की—माक्सवाद-लेनिनवाद की—सर्वहारा अन्तर्राष्ट्रीयता की विजय में पूर्ण विश्वास रखते हैं, इसी लिए हम शान्ति चाहते हैं और शान्ति के लिए काम करते हैं।

आज से विभिन्न समाज व्यवस्थावाले देश शान्ति के लिए विज्ञान और यन्त्र विद्या के विकास में एक दूसरे से होड़ करें वे युद्ध के क्षेत्र में नहीं, बल्कि तरक्की और और जनता के जीवनस्तर को उठाने में होड़ कर अपनी श्रेष्ठता सिद्ध करें।

हम सभी सुबुद्धिवाले व्यक्तियों की ओर अपना हाथ बढ़ाते हैं। हम उस हथियारबन्दी से छुट्टी लें जिससे जनता पीड़ित होती है। हम संसार को युद्ध के खतरे से, मृत्यु और सर्वनाश से मुक्त करें।

हमारे सामने उन्नति पथ पर बढ़ती हुई मनुष्य जाति का उज्ज्वल भविष्य है। दुनिया में शान्ति स्थापित हो।

साप्ताहिक स्वाधीनता

मजदूरों की खबरें

सरकारी कर्मचारियों की तलब के बराबर तलब, महंगाई भत्ता, प्रविडेंट फण्ड, छुट्टी तथा दूसरी सुविधाएं देने, पक्की नौकरी, तलब कानून के मुताबिक नौकरी की सुरक्षा का कानून, पिछले अप्रैल महीने से सरकारी कर्मचारियों के दिये गये अतिरिक्त महंगाई भत्ता देने वगैरह कितनीही जरूरी मांगों की बुनियाद पर पश्चिम बंगाल के म्यूनिसिपल मजदूर कर्मचारी आन्दोलन करते आ रहे हैं। उन्हीं मांगों के आन्दोलन को और जोरदार बनाने के खयाल से उस दिन नमूना हड़ताल की गई। सरकार और म्यूनिसिपल अधिकारियों से उन्होंने फौरन अपनी मांगें मंजूर कर लेने की अपील की है।

उसी दिन कलकत्ता कार्पोरेशन वर्कर्स यूनियन के ऐलान पर एक सभा की गई जिसमें म्यूनिसिपल मजदूर कर्मचारियों की मांग का जोरदार समर्थन किया गया। उनकी लड़ाई का स्वागत किया गया।

अम्बिका जूट मिलमें जीत

पिछली १८ नवम्बर को बेलुर अम्बिका जूट मिल की वर्कर्स कमेटी के

बार कोशिश की। वे लेबर कमिश्नर के पास गये और लेबर कमिश्नर ने कन्सोलिडेशन के लिए मालिक को दो बार बुलाया, पर कोई सुनवाई नहीं हो रही है। इसलिए यूनियन की तरफ से पश्चिम बंगाल सरकार को इस मामले में दखल देने का अनुरोध किया गया है।

कांकिनारा के विद्यार्थियों को पुलिस जुल्मके खिलाफ हड़ताल

कांकिनारा के तीनों हाई और अन्य स्कूलों के विद्यार्थियों ने पिछले सोमवार को पुलिस जुल्म के खिलाफ एक घण्टे की प्रतीक हड़ताल की। कांकिनारा पुलिस के अफसर ने गत सोमवार को आर्य स्कूल के कुछ विद्यार्थियों को एक मुकदमे की गवाही नहीं देने के कारण पीटा। पुलिस के इस जुल्म के खिलाफ सारे कांकिनारा के विद्यार्थियों में गुस्से की लहर दौड़ गयी और सभी स्कूलों के विद्यार्थियों ने एक घण्टे की प्रतीक हड़ताल की और पुलिस अफसर के खिलाफ जुलूस निकाला और उक्त पुलिस अफसर

ट्राम कम्पनी की वादा खिलाफी

ट्राम मजदूरों का विश्वोभ प्रदर्शन

(स्वाधीनता रिपोर्टर द्वारा)

कलकत्ता ट्रामवे वर्कर्स यूनियन के मंत्री का० धीरेन मजुमदार ने पिछली २७ नवम्बर को एक प्रेस सम्मेलन में बताया कि विलायती ट्राम कंपनी मजदूरों के लड़ाइयों से हासिल किये गये अधिकारों को एक-एक करके छीनती जा रही है। कंपनी अपने सभी किये वादों को तोड़ रही है। का० धीरेन मजुमदार ने इस जुलूम को बन्द करने की अपील करते हुए जोरदार ढंग से यह ऐलान किया कि अगर कंपनी इस अपील पर गौर नहीं करेगी तो मजदूर सीधी लड़ाई के रास्ते पर बढ़ने को मजबूर होंगे जिसकी जिम्मेदारी कंपनी पर होगी।

श्री मजुमदार ने बताया कि विलायती ट्राम कंपनी गैरकानूनी तरीके से तरह-तरह की बहानेवाजी बना कर १९५५ साल के दिसम्बर महीने के ट्राइबुनल के फैसले को अमल में नहीं ला रही है। यहां तक कि यूनियन के कार्यकर्ताओं को चुन-चुन कर काम से हटाया जा रहा है, उनकी छुट्टी की जा रही है। पिछली पूजा के मौके पर कंपनी ने यूनियन के कार्यकर्ता श्री प्रफुल्ल घोष की छुट्टी कर दी थी। अभी हाल में फिर दो यूनियन कार्यकर्ताओं को सस्पेंड कर दिया गया है। इसमें इम्पलाइज को-ऑपरेटिव क्रेडिट सोसाइटी के संचालक श्री संजीव बनर्जी भी शरीक हैं। इसी बीच करीब १४० मजदूरों की छुट्टी कर दी गई है। हर रोज १५ से २० मजदूरों को सस्पेंड किया जा रहा है।

का० मजुमदार ने यह भी बताया कि सिर्फ यही नहीं, ट्राइबुनल के फैसले के मुताबिक जो मजदूर काफी दिनों से बीमार हैं उनको १८० दिनों तक तलब और आधा भत्ता देने की बात है। लेकिन कंपनी यह नहीं देती। ट्राइबुनल के फैसले के मुताबिक रजिस्टर्ड डाक्टरों की सर्टिफिकेट मंजूर करने की बात है लेकिन कंपनी यह भी नहीं मानती।

का० मजुमदार ने बताया कि इस साल की २६ अप्रैल की त्रिदलीय सम्मेलन में जो फैसले किये गये थे कंपनी उनको भी अमल में नहीं लाती। ट्रामवे को जाड़े का कपड़ा नहीं दिया जाता। बीमारी के नाम पर बराबर छुट्टी की जाती है।

का० मजुमदार ने बताया कि यूनियन वातचीत के जरिये सभी मांगों के फैसले की कोशिश करती आ रही है लेकिन बड़े दुःख की बात है कि श्रमदफ्तर में बार-बार हाजिरी बजाने पर भी कुछ फायदा नहीं होता।

साप्ताहिक स्वाधीनता

कंपनी के तरह-तरह के जुलूमों के खिलाफ तथा अपनी विभिन्न मांगों की बुनियाद पर ट्राम मजदूरों ने पिछली २८ नवम्बर को ट्राम कंपनी के सदर दफ्तर के सामने मिशन रो में विज्ञोभ प्रदर्शन किया।

डी. वी. सी. के अधिकारियों का बयान गलत

दामोदर घाटी कार्पोरेशन के स्टाफ एसोसियेशन के जनरल सेक्रेटरी श्री सुनोल सेन गुप्त ने एक प्रेस सम्मेलन में बताया कि पिछली २५ नवम्बर को डी० वी० सी० के अधिकारियों ने जो बयान दिया है वह भ्रामक है। इस बयान के जरिये स्टाफ एसोसियेशन द्वारा पेश की गई मांगों की उपेक्षा की गई है। अधिकारियों ने बताया है कि नवम्बर से मार्च महीने के अन्दर दस हजार नहीं बल्कि दो हजार कर्मचारियों की छुट्टी की जायेगी। इस संख्या को अगर सच भी मान लिया जाय (हालांकि यह गलत है) तो भी यह कहा जा सकता है कि अधिकारियों ने फौरन होनेवाली छुट्टी की बात को मंजूर कर लिया है। श्री सेन गुप्त ने फिर ऐलान किया कि यह खबर विश्वस्त तरीके से मालूम हुई है कि इस अवधि में दस हजार कर्मचारियों की छुट्टी की जायेगी।



मजदूर नेताओं द्वारा सरकारी डी. वी. सी. में दस हजार कर्मचारियों को छुट्टी का फैसला

सरकारी कर्मचारी सिर्फ सरकार द्वारा मंजूर यूनियन के हो सदस्य बन सकेंगे' इस आशय का जो हुक्मनामा सरकार ने जारी किया है इसके खिलाफ लोकसभा के ६ सदस्यों ने एक बयान निकाला है। बयान में उन्होंने बताया है कि सरकार अगर इस बारे में और आगे बढ़ेगी तो मजदूर कर्मचारी अपने हकों की रक्षा के लिए दसगा सक्रिय कदम उठाएंगे। इस बयान पर दस्तखत किया है ए० आई० टी० यू० सी० के जनरल सेक्रेटरी की एस० ए० डोगे,

हिन्द मजदूर सभा के श्री नाथ भाई, श्री एथोनी पिल्लई, फ्रांक एथोनी, श्री एम० बनर्जी (सुरक्षा दफ्तर यूनियन) श्री अरविन्द घोषाल (आर० एम० एस० इम्पलाइज यूनियन)।

इन मजदूर नेताओं ने अपने बयान में कहा है कि सरकार लगातार जिस तरह मजदूर कर्मचारियों के अधिकारों पर हमले कर रही है उसे फौरन बन्द कर देने के लिए हम सरकार से अपील करते हैं।

कुल्टो के मजदूरों की शानदार जीत

पांचवी औद्योगिक अदालत के जज ने इंडियन आयरन ऐण्ड स्टील कंपनी के कुल्टी कारखाने के १९५५ ई० में छुट्टी किये गये ६ मजदूरों को फिर से काम पर वापस लेने का हुक्म दिया है। जज ने अपने फैसले में कहा है कि मालिक लोग छुट्टी को उचित ठहराने में असमर्थ हो गये हैं। यूनाइटेड यूनियन की कोशिश से श्रमदफ्तर ने इस मामले को उद्योग-अदालत के जिम्मे सुपुर्द किया था। मामले की पैरवी यूनियन के संयुक्त मंत्री श्री चन्द्रशेखर मुखर्जी और आडवोकेट डी० सेन कर रहे थे।

इंडियन मालियबुल कारखाने के मजदूरों का विश्वोभ

बेलघरिया के मलियाबुल कार्टिंग कारखाने के मालिक की बदइन्तजामी की वजह से १३६ मजदूरों को दो महीने से काम से हटा दिये जाने के चलते पिछले दो महीने से ये मजदूर अपने स्त्री-बच्चों समेत इस भीषण महंगाई के जमाने में बड़ी मुश्किल से दिन काट रहे हैं। मालिक के इस जुलूम के खिलाफ मजदूरों में भारी विज्ञोभ फैला हुआ है।

मयूराक्षी योजना के कर्मचारियों की छुट्टी

पश्चिम बंगाल वर्क चार्ज्ड मेकॉनिकल और वनसंस एसोसियेशन के सभापति श्री अरुण कुमार सेन ने एक बयान के जरिये ऐलान किया है कि इस योजना के मजदूर कर्मचारियों के अधिक परिश्रम से यह योजना सफल हुई है। लेकिन आज इस योजना के मजदूर कर्मचारियों की धड़ल्ले से छुट्टी की जा रही है आपने बताया कि इस गैर-वाजिब सरकारी हक से दुर्गापुर के मजदूरों और कर्मचारियों में घोर अपतोष फैला हुआ है।

जे. स्टोन ऐण्ड वी. आई. सी. के मजदूरों को मदद कीजिये

खिदिरपुर के जे० स्टोन ऐण्ड वी० आई० सी० कारखाने के मजदूर पिछली १६ अक्टूबर से ही कारखाने में तालाबन्दी के खिलाफ लड़ाई चला रहे हैं। इस कारखाने की मजदूर यूनियन के मंत्री श्री रामसूरत सिंह ने एक बयान देकर बताया है कि मजदूरों की हिम्मत तोड़ने के लिए कंपनी ने कुछ गुण्डों को बहाल किया है लेकिन इससे मजदूरों की हिम्मत नहीं टूटी है। हाइड रोड के सभी मजदूर एक होकर इस लड़ाई का समर्थन कर रहे हैं।

लेकिन मजदूरों को भीषण आर्थिक संकट उठाना पड़ रहा है। ऐसे मौके पर अगर दूसरी यूनियनों मजदूरों की आर्थिक मदद करेंगी तो मजदूरों को लड़ाई में भारी मदद मिलेगी। श्री सिंह ने दूसरी यूनियनों से आर्थिक मदद देने की अपील की है।

नारायणगंज में पाट मजदूरों की हड़ताल

नारायणगंज (पाकिस्तान) के विभिन्न कारखानों के करीब ३७ हजार पाटकल मजदूरों ने हड़ताल शुरू की है। यह हड़ताल नारायणगंज लेबर एसोसियेशन के ऐलान पर की गई है। एसोसियेशन के सभापति जनाव दीन महम्मद ने ऐलान किया है कि इस हड़ताल में और भी मजदूर शरीक होंगे। मजदूरों की मांग है कि मन प्रति एक आने की बढ़ती की जाय तथा ठेकेदारी प्रथा खत्म कर दी जाय।

अगर घोड़ा बेकाबू होने की कोशिश करे तो कोड़े लगाकर उसे काबू में लाना जरूरी

कृष्णमाचारी के बयानों की लोकसभा में कड़ी आलोचना

(हमारे दिल्ली संवाददाता द्वारा)

अमरीका, कनाडा, ब्रिटेन और प० जर्मनी के दौरे के समय अर्थमन्त्री कृष्णमाचारी ने जो बयान दिये थे, उन पर लोकसभा में २७ और २८ नवम्बर को बहस हुई। इस बहस के दौरान में भारत की स्वाधीन परराष्ट्र नीति का समर्थन करते हुए और राष्ट्रीय सम्मान के सवाल की सामने रखते हुए कम्युनिस्ट सदस्य प्रो० हिरें मुखर्जी ने जो भाषण दिया, वैसा भाषण कई साल से लोकसभा में नहीं सुना गया। दूसरा बहुत माके का भाषण प्रजा समाजवादी पार्टी के नेता आचार्य कृपलानी का था। लोकसभा की आवहवा देखकर कोई भी यह बात कह सकता था कि यद्यपि कांग्रेस सदस्य अपने दल के सचेतक (हिप) के हुक्म से चुप थे, पर उनमें से ज्यादातर लोगों का मनोभाव वही था, जिसे प्रो० मुखर्जी और आचार्य कृपलानी ने जाहिर किया था।

अर्थमन्त्री कृष्णमाचारी के बयानों की कड़ी आलोचना करते हुए प्रो० मुखर्जी ने कहा कि अर्थमन्त्री को फरमाया

है कि मैं न तो कोई आशा लेकर विदेश गया था और न कोई निराशा लेकर वापस आया हूँ। उनका यह कहना शब्दों के जाल से असफलता को ढकने की कोशिश के अलावा और कुछ नहीं।

परराष्ट्रनीति सौदेकी चीज नहीं

प्रो० हिरें मुखर्जी ने मांग की कि यह साफ ऐलान किया जाय कि अर्थमन्त्री ने भारत की नीति के सवाल पर कोई सौदा नहीं किया। उन्होंने कहा कि जब सोवियत संघ केवल २॥ ६० सैकड़ा व्याज पर हमें ६० करोड़ रुपए का कर्ज दे रहा है, उस वक्त कृष्णमाचारी सोवियत और चीन के साथ भारत के सम्बन्ध को तीता बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं। इतनी कम दर पर कर्ज देने की बात हमारे पूंजीवादी मित्र स्वप्न में भी नहीं सोच सकते।

उन्होंने कहा कि भारत की परराष्ट्र नीति कोई सौदे की चीज नहीं। पूर्व या पश्चिम के किसी भी देश के साथ इसे लेकर सौदा करना बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता। हमारी अर्थनीति और कार्यक्रम पर जो भी हमले आवें, हमें उनका मुकाबिला करना होगा। समाजवाद की स्थापना करना भारत ने तय कर लिया है। हम निजी मालिकाना को हटा नहीं सकते या अभी हटाना नहीं चाहते। पर हमें शंका है कि अर्थमन्त्री पूंजीवादी स्वार्थों की रक्षा करने का वादा करने में बहुत दूर आगे बढ़ गये हैं। अखबारों में एक रिपोर्ट छपी है कि उन्होंने वादा किया है कि और किसी भी उद्योग का

मदद की कोरो आशा

प्रो० मुखर्जी ने कहा कि अर्थमन्त्री ने अपने बयान में कहा है कि हमें मदद देने के सवाल पर ब्रिटिश सरकार ने अच्छा मनोभाव दिखाया है। इस बारे में कुछ असली बातें कहना जरूरी है।

ब्रिटिश बैंक ने सूद की दर बढ़ा दी है। इसके चलते हमें २५ करोड़ रुपए का नुकसान हो सकता है, क्योंकि हमारी अर्थनीति प्रिपरें के साथ बंधी है। ब्रिटेन से भी गरीब बहुत से समाजवादी देशों ने भारत को लम्बी मियाद के कर्ज आदि देकर मदद की है, ऐसी कोई भी मदद ब्रिटेन ने नहीं की। मॅचेस्टर गार्जियन जैसे उदारपन्थी अखबार के सम्पादकीय में यह राय जाहिर की गयी है कि भारत की पांचसाला योजना जुबै का खेल है और यह नाकामयाब हुई है। अर्थमन्त्री इन्हीं सब चीजों को अपनी थैली में भर कर देश लौटे हैं।

प० जर्मनी हमें कर्ज देने का लालच दिखा रहा है, पर इसके लिए हमें व्यक्तिगत पूंजी के मालिकों के अबाध मुनाफे का दरवाजा खोल देना पड़ेगा।

प्रो० मुखर्जी ने कृष्णमाचारी की आलोचना करते हुए कहा कि अर्थमन्त्री ने कांपते कांपते धनियों के दरवाजे पर जाकर हाथ फैलाया। उन्हें बाहर लग रहा था कि समाजवादी देश गठन करने की इच्छा रखने के कारण कहीं सजा न भोगनी पड़े।

कृष्णमाचारी का एक और रूप

प्रो० मुखर्जी ने अर्थमन्त्री के कामों

की आलोचना करते हुए देश की भलाई के खिलाफ उनके एक और काम का हवाला दिया। उन्होंने बताया कि जब श्री कृष्णमाचारी बाण्ड्य और उद्योग मन्त्री थे, तब भी उनकी नीति के चलते देश को भारी नुकसान उठाना पड़ा था। विदेश मुद्रा को बचाने के लिए विदेशों से कम माल मंगाने की नीति अपनायी गयी थी। उस वक्त खुद कृष्णमाचारी ने बयान देकर बाहर से मंगाये गये माल को कम खरीदने का निवेदन किया था। पर अमल में उन्होंने विदेशों से माल मंगाने के लाइसेंस पूंजीपतियों में खुल कर बाँटे। उनकी इस नीति के चलते १९५६ में ६ करोड़ ५० लाख रुपए का जमाया दूध, ७ करोड़ ४० लाख रुपए की नकली रेशम और ८ करोड़ ३० लाख रुपए का तेल का बना माल मंगोया गया, जब कि देश को मशीनों आदि की ज्यादा जरूरत थी। श्री कृष्णमाचारी ने १९५३-५४ में साधारण लाइसेन्सों की बाबत २२ करोड़ रुपए के खर्च की इजाजत दी थी, पर उसीको बढ़ाकर ६५ करोड़ कर दिया। यानी पूंजीपतियों को २२ करोड़ की जगह ६५ करोड़ का माल बाहर से मंगाने की इजाजत दी।

चाबुक लगाना कम से कम जरूरी

प्रो० मुखर्जी ने कहा कि मैं जानता हूँ कि लोकसभा में बहुत से ऐसे लोग हैं जो देश के अर्थ विभाग के भार को विश्वास के साथ अर्थमन्त्री के ऊपर छोड़ देने में हिचकिचाहट नहीं करते। हो सकता है कि प्रधान मन्त्री भी बीच दरिया में पीठ पर माल लादे घोड़े को बदलने को तैयार न हों। पर फिर भी अगर पीठ पर माल लादे हुए घोड़ा बेकाबू हो जाना चाहता है, तो उसे चाबुक लगाकर सजा देना उचित है। अर्थमन्त्री के हाल के दौरे के बाद मैं कल्पना भी नहीं कर सकता कि उन्हें देश के अर्थ विभाग का भार देना या हमारे भारत के गौरव के किसी सवाल पर उन पर विश्वास करना उचित है।”

आचार्य कृपलानी का भाषण

अर्थमन्त्री की कड़ी आलोचना करते हुए आचार्य कृपलानी ने कहा कि पहले ही से अर्थमन्त्री ने यह दिखाना शुरू

किया मानों वे भीख मांगने के लिए निकले हैं। अमरीका जाकर उन्होंने बयान भाड़ने शुरू किये, मानों वे इसी लिए वहाँ गये थे। इससे विदेशों में केवल हमारी बदनामी ही नहीं हुई, बल्कि देश में निराशा भी फैली है। धन की सहायता के लिए किसी मन्त्री का विदेश भेजना हमारे देश के लिए उचित नहीं।

आचार्य कृपलानी ने कहा कि कृष्णमाचारी के रूप में हमने एक “अति कूटनीति विशारद” को विदेश भेजा था। इन हजरत ने वहाँ जाकर न तो हमारे प्रतिनिधियों से कोई राय मशविरा किया और न उन्हें कुछ बताया। आचार्य कृपलानी ने जोर दिया कि धन के लिए हमें देशवासियों पर ही निर्भर करना चाहिए।

अनुचित बात

प्रो० मुखर्जी के भाषण की तरह आचार्य कृपलानी के भाषण का भी लोगों ने स्वागत किया, पर इस सिलसिले में उन्होंने एक ऐसी बात कह डाली जिसे कुछ अमरीका प्रेमी और ब्रिटिश नौकरशाहों के अलावा कोई पसन्द नहीं कर सकता। उन्होंने कहा कि भारत सरकार विदेशी मालिकों पर हाथ लगाने का साहस नहीं करती जब कि नासेर तक ने उन पर चोट करने का साहस किया है। उनकी यह बात अच्छी थी। पर इसी सिलसिले में उन्होंने हमारे देश के मित्र मिस्त्र को “बबर देश” कहा डाला। आचार्य कृपलानी के मनोभाव से एक बात साफ झलक पड़ी। ब्रिटेन और फ्रांस के साम्राज्यवादियों की कटपुतली इजराइल की समाजवादी सरकार ने मिस्त्र पर हमला करने की शरारत की थी। मिस्त्रवासियों ने इस हमले का उचित जवाब दे साम्राज्यवादियों और उनकी पुतली इजराइली सरकार के मंसूबों पर पानी फेर दिया था। लगती है कि इजराइली सरकार का दुनिया की सब से बेहतर—रूस और चीन से भी लाख गुना बेहतर समाजवादी सरकार माननेवाले प्रजासमाजवादियों के नेता आचार्य कृपलानी अब भी मिस्त्र को क्षमा नहीं कर सके।

स्वाधीनता का चंदा

वार्षिक— ४॥ छमाही— २॥ ६०
तिमाही— १॥ एक प्रति १॥

COMRADE S. A. DANGE'S SPEECH

ON THE RAILWAY BUDGET - 21.5.57

In discussing the Railway Budget, I do not wish to go into too many details of the financial structure or the structure of rehabilitation, renewals and so on as is presented in the Budget. Railways are an extremely vital part of our economic life and the Plan has rightly given due weight to this sector of our economy. I have no hesitation in paying a tribute to all the workers, to all the technicians, all the managerial staff, and such others who have been doing all they can to rehabilitate the railways, to run them efficiently and to see that the Plan is fulfilled in this respect. All these things have been done by the people. What do we see in the Budget as it is presented? Does the Budget take note of this fact that the people do want the Plan to be fulfilled in respect of transport and that the workers also do want to contribute their best in the fulfilment of the Plan? I would like to present one or two questions in this matter.

There is no doubt about the fact that the Government are in difficulties with regard to certain items of the Plan in regard to transport. For example, they have difficulties in getting imports, they have difficulties in balance of payment, they have difficulties about prices, about getting loans, and so on. All these difficulties are appreciated and we from the Opposition, if I may say so, are not merely here to oppose for the sake of opposition. I for myself and for my party, and, without being impudent to speak on behalf of other parties, for other parties, may say that we want to make constructive suggestions so that the Plan in the Transport sector should be fulfilled in order that the benefits may come to the community as well as to the working classes. If we speak from that point of view, we will certainly have to criticise and also to suggest measures. I do take the responsibility to criticise and I do take the responsibility to suggest measures which should form the basis of the removal of that criticism and to help the Government in such a way that they can fulfil the Plan. I just take two items in the Plan. The whole Budget hinges on these two things. There is, they say, shortage of money and we must tax more. There is a tax on goods, and there is a tax on travel. The hon. Minister says there is likely to be a shortage of Rs.200 crores and he must somehow or other make it up. That amount he proposes to make up by taxing goods traffic at 12½% and travel by some other per cent. The one is expected to bring about Rs.140 crores or so in the five years, and the other Rs.14 crores per year, and at that rate, about Rs.70 crores in the five year period. So, an attempt is made to tax traffic of goods and tax the passengers in order to produce this Rs.200 crores needed for the Plan.

Do I support such a taxation? If it were shown to me that the whole thing would sink, would fail, if such taxation were not imposed, that in no other way can we get this Rs.200 crores, then I should certainly be ready to make sacrifices for the sake of the Plan. We are not averse to making sacrifices. The question is: at whose cost are the sacrifices to be made, and for whose benefit are they going to be made, or are at present being made?

My submission is that the intentions of the Ministry and those who execute the Plan are good, but unfortunately, the direction of execution of the Plan is certainly not as it should be, and therefore the Budget gets into difficulties, the execution of the Plan gets into difficulties, and we are faced with the prospect that in order to overcome the difficulties, we have to tax the movement of goods, tax the passengers, deny the rights and the demands of the working class and this just generates a movement which militates against the Plan instead of favouring the Plan. A sort of contradiction develops out of these difficulties. There is the desire to fulfil the Plan, but this imposition of taxation generates opposition to the Plan and the result is a conflict between the good wishes to execute the Plan and the desire of the people to protect themselves from the effects of taxation and such other injurious measures under the Plan. Therefore, I want to resolve this contradiction if possible, and make certain suggestions for the acceptance of the Government.

For example, take the measures that are being proposed. Even a casual reading of the speech of the Railway Minister and some of the items mentioned here would lead you to proposing certain solutions if you know properly what is happening in the countryside. For example, I give you one instance. A lot of money has been spent on stores, on import of locomotives, on import of wagons, while some, of course, are manufactured inside the country. My question is: is the import policy which is adopted in this Budget for building up certain lines, for extension of lines for meeting the needs of the people, correct? And, secondly, is it being executed with due honesty? My submission is that the import policy is incorrect, because some of the items of the Plan on Railways as presented in the Budget today are unnecessary and incorrect. And the second thing I want to submit is that those who take the measures, not all of them, but some of them do not take them due regard to the morals of our society and to the needs of the country. In other words, there is, as has been already mentioned even by the Prime Minister sometimes, in some parts of the administration, corruption and wastage, steps in which dislocates the financial proposals, dislocates the Budget, the execution of the Plan and becomes a vicious tax on the people. On these two points, need I submit many more facts?

Take for example the proposal to electrify the railways. Is it necessary to carry out electrification of 800 miles of our railways today? The 800 miles are more or less running today. They are carrying goods and passengers. Why do you want immediately, in this year or in the next two or three years, to rush into electrification? I can understand electrification of 10, 15 or 20 miles around a city like Calcutta or Bombay where the staff of

the offices have to be rushed in, and quick movement and increasing traction capacity as it is called ~~is~~ has to be achieved. What is the necessity to electrify the railway from Igatpuri to Bhusawal, the line on which I travel often. Bombay to Igatpuri is electrified. Electrification of the line from Igatpuri to Bhusawal is totally unnecessary. What is the necessity to electrify from Asansol to Gomoh and Gomoh to Moghalsarai? Is not the present locomotive capacity sufficient? Or is not the present method of traction sufficient? It may be that it is not so speedy; it may not be without some difficulties. But electrification is a thing in respect of which we have to depend primarily on English and American supplies. And we know how these supplies are being made.

There is the story that the Americans give us some few millions of dollars in aid by one hand, and by the other they charge double the prices in the ordinary market for the same goods which they are supplying from the loan. This is the perpetual story of American loans from A to Z in all the cases. It is on record that we went to buy locomotives from the aid or loan given by the Americans, and we were charged double the prices than were normally necessary. The English locomotives, the German locomotives and the Japanese locomotives were far cheaper; they were costing just one-half or one-quarter of the prices of the American locomotives. But they said, 'We give you loan'. That is the string or the rope round your neck. They give us aid; they say, 'without strings' but that is the rope they hang round your neck and say, 'You pay at our prices, or we do not give you the loans'. We could have bought in the English market, but we refused to buy because there was this loan to be taken, and we got locomotives at double the prices. It is on record, and even the Estimates Committee has made a reference to this practice of loans being given often by the Americans and their asking double the prices for the supplies that are made under these loans. Could we not save on this practice? That is one item of saving. It can be done.

I am told that recently an order has been placed for Alco Diesel locomotives. I do not know which technician advised the purchase of these locomotives from the American company. But orders worth Rs.10 crores have already been placed. Is that at all necessary? I want to know. Is electrification of 800 miles of track necessary today before the Second Plan is completed? My submission, and my request to Government is, please postpone the electrification of railways for the next five years, until the Second Plan is completed.

Now, Rs.80 crores have been allotted for electrification. And Rs.80 crores represent the sum total of the taxation proposed by the Finance Minister by taxing the railway fares, and the railway passengers. Is it necessary that the passengers in this country should pay Rs.80 crores by way of new taxation in order to electrify a railway which is already running? I do not think it is necessary. Therefore, I would request, please save these Rs.80 crores by abolishing this electrification of 800 miles of railways, and abolishing thereby the necessity to tax passenger fares.

Buying in the cheapest market is another thing which the railways can carry out. But they are not doing it. You know, after all - and there is no doubt about it; I cannot blame the Railway Minister for it - that we are working in a capitalistic society, and when purchases are made, all the capitalistic practices come into being. Some of them are called normal business practices. But in the context of a national plan, they can become corruption. Corruption does not necessarily mean pocketing Rs.100 lakhs or Rs.10 lakhs or Rs.1 lakh or Rs.1000 by someone. It is not that. The moment you divert a certain order from one firm to another and make it cost the exchequer a little dearer to benefit that firm, corruption has already set in, though you may do it with the best possible motives. In a capitalistic society, certain normal capitalistic practices are absolutely normal corruption, when judged in the light of people's needs and socialist practices.

While referring to corruption, I am not referring to persons. What I mean to say is that we are functioning in a certain environment of capitalistic practices, and these practices have got to be watched. And by whom can they be watched, when the function of watching these practices is handed over to those very capitalistic elements who are interested in continuing these practices? Therefore, I would say that when this thing has got to be executed, you must import a new element which is not concerned with capitalistic practices, a new force in society. And what is that force? That force in society is the worker on the railways, who is not interested in capitalistic corruption, capitalistic profits and commissions to buy locomotives in America or in England or in Germany. This new force is the force on which Government should rely in order to see that there is no wastage, that there is no corruption, and that things are executed properly.

You will ask: how is this force to go and sit in the ministerial offices and check up? Yes, this force can do the check-up in many ways.

Therefore, my first point is: please re-study the schemes you have been proposing, chuck out electrification, watch the system in which the element of corruption due to capitalist practices enters, and then you will be able to save a lot. You would be able to avoid the necessity of taxing fares and taxing goods.

Secondly, I come to ~~the~~ some of the surveys that are being made. I do not oppose the surveys that have been made and the new railway lines that have been proposed. I would just add one more survey. That is a survey which has so far been obstructed or rejected. I refer to the whole system of movement of goods from Bombay down south to Mangalore. That area is void of a railway system. On the whole Konkan line system, we have no big shipping, and we do not develop extensive shipping on that side; if we do develop it, it is subject to such monopoly control that fares on these shipping lines have increased four, five or six times. Now people are complaining about the monopoly practice of the shipping lines on this route.

Again, this area is a good area, a very highly populated area, an area which supplies the bulk of the skilled working class to mills and factories in Bombay City. But this part of the country is remaining totally unsurveyed and is not proposed to be given a railway system in the near future. I ask: why this discrimination? Is it that this area has been very rebellious in regard to the capacity of the ruling party to get its MLAs and MPs elected from that area? I hope no such discrimination will be practised. I hope all the bitterness of the election days will be forgotten when economic problems are discussed in this House. Of course, some people are angry with me for remembering elections. But what can you do? It is out of the elections that we are born here, and we cannot forget the mother, the people, within ~~the~~ two months of it and just say, 'We do not remember the elections and the results'. We cannot help it. The people and their voice have got to be remembered, whether it is two months or two years after. So let not some friends of mine get derailed or lose their temper if I refer to elections. So much with regard to surveys.

I was mentioning the new force, which is really the force that has to keep the ruling circles in trim, that is supposed to check up and be vigilant. This force is the working class. And how is it being looked after? In fact, when it comes to a question of blaming people for things, it is always the worker or sometimes it is God. When there is an accident or when some bridges are washed away, when anybody is to be blamed, we find now that the agency generally to be blamed is God. I want to sound a note of caution here. If you blame that agency too much, it might recoil on you! Blaming God or acts of God for all these accidents too often might bring some other dividend, the wrath, in a greater proportion!

I was just looking into the report of the Mahbubnagar Accident Inquiry Committee. What does the Government say there? It says: Why did not the watchman make four rounds when he was allotted two bridges at two ends at a distance of 100 yards? (An Hon. Member: 1000 yards). Everybody else is absolved and the question is asked: why did not the watchman do it? This tendency to find fault with the worker alone, this tendency to neglect one's own faults, is a tendency which will land our country in the non-fulfilment of the Plan and obstructions and difficulties in the way of the Plan. Therefore, this tendency must be avoided.

The other point is about the workers' terms and conditions of service. Here are one million workers working on the railways. There are 10 to 11 lakhs of people. These people suffer from an anarchy of wage rates. I find an inspector, who is in charge of guarding the lines and looking after them, a technician, classified as an unskilled fellow. I wonder why this is done. I wonder how such a function as guarding or maintaining the lines is classified as unskilled for the purpose of payment of wages and for the purpose of grades.

Then throughout the country now, as a result of the rise in prices and difficulties in meeting the cost of living, there is a demand for a uniform Pay Commission which should look into the grievances of all government servants, including railway servants.

Now, this demand is made not only by the communists or the socialists or the Praja-Socialists or the Scheduled Caste Federation but, in fact, it is supported even by the INTUC. But, then, there is a tremendous resistance to fulfil that demand. I do not know why the Congress Party yet does not overcome that old habit which some of them might have learnt from the ICS civil services, to resist whenever a demand is made. Then, after a lot of argument, spontaneous strikes, firing, this and that, they say: All right, we concede. If they are congratulated for the concession or criticised for conceding later on, they say: Is that so; we will stop. Then, they carry on with their old bureaucratic stolidity which refuses to move unless it is moved by the people. Therefore, this sort of approach to the demands of the working classes should be really scotched and should be improved so that we might come to a tolerable system wherein the workers and the top men can co-operate in the development of the transport system, in guarding it and developing it further for the fulfilment of the Plan. This is with regard to the question of wages.

The other point which I should like to mention is the way in which the Ministries themselves or some of them - not particularly the Railway Ministry - but some others are responsible for disturbing the collective organisational efforts of Trade Unions on the Railways. Victimization is being carried on on the Railways today for one reason or another in various centres. I do not want spontaneous explosions in the form of strikes. Certainly, I should like to avoid them as far as possible. When the top does not move and when the steam is there and is being suppressed, well, the Law of Nature will act and the steam will try to come out in its own way. Here, there is discontent on the Railways and to suppress it victimisation is taking place and in what funny way! In fact, a nice satire can be written on the way in which the ruling circles are carrying out this victimisation.

In the first place, they say: we want to guard the Railways from the hands of the political parties. Of course, the ruling party is not a political party; it has become a Sarvodaya party which includes politics and everything. They want to guard the Railways from political parties. They do not want the Communists; they do not want the Socialists; they do not want the Praja-Socialists because the Railways are in danger from these people. Victimization takes place immediately they find that a worker is connected with a trade union which does not belong to their political party. A sort of monopoly of trade unionism is being foisted on the workers on the Railways by the action of the State itself. If a monopoly is backed by the State against the willing support of the people, it becomes a dictatorship and does not remain a democracy. This is what is happening on the Railways.

I have no time to give some of the wonderful examples of victimisation on the Railways. But, here, I have got a memorandum printed by two or three unions which the Minister can peruse if he has not already got it. I am sure they must have got it but they refuse to take note of it. If you permit a little digression, a memorandum on locomotive purchases was submitted by me 3 years ago to the Finance Minister at that time, Shri C. D. Deshmukh and to the hon. Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. They have denied knowledge of the facts and when I referred to facts authoritatively,

after six months I got a reply saying that they were just an exception and not the general practice. Now comes the Estimates Committee saying that it is not an exception and that it is generally taking place. This is the way in which they respect the representations made by the workers. Here is a memorandum and there are cases of victimisation of trade union leaders just because they are office-bearers of trade unions which are not to the liking of the Congress Party.

Let me request them to give up this prejudice against the All India Trade Union Congress, against the Hind Mazdoor Union or against the political parties which are not on their side because no kind of suppression or want of patronage or want of support from the Ministry is going to stop the All India Trade Union Congress from functioning and its trade unions from continuing to live. Let me make that very clear.

Here is one case of victimisation of a railway worker. He was first suspended; then, he was prosecuted; he was acquitted and taken back. Again he was suspended and taken back and made permanent. Then, again, he was called to show cause why he should not be suspended. One of the causes was that he was supposed to be moving about with a girl - I do not know why ~~ix~~ should it be an offence in this country even by the standards of the ruling party - and that girl was a Communist. He replied: I am very sorry, but she is my wife. Now what is the offence? Was it that he was moving with his wife or what. The other cause was that he was ~~xxxxxx~~ attending an open public meeting, in which Communists were going to speak. Is that an offence under the Constitution? Then the third cause was that he was going to attend a meeting.....(Interruption) The show cause statement is not made by the Communists; it is given by the Railway Officials to this gentleman concerned; they said he was attending a meeting which was going to be addressed by me in which the proceedings of the All-India Trade Union Congress were going to be reported. It is very wrong on the part of the officials of the Railways to stop people attending such meetings. It is not my fault if people try to attend my meetings and if people refuse to attend other meetings, even though they are threatened with hunger strike unto death. If they are so popular that people will not go to their meetings, but will impose Janata curfew, is it my fault? If I am not unpopular, why should the Ministry threaten people because they attend my meetings? This certainly is a peculiar practice in the building up of trade unions and in the building up of the Plan.

I would, therefore, request the Government to drop this practice. There is that mess about the unity between the unions of Vasavada and Guruswami Unions. Why should there be trouble about that? Mr. Vasavada does not like the Trade Unions of Mr. Guruswami. Why should they not be given recognition? Why should there be perpetual halocaust about this problem on the Railways on this question, on which even the President's powers are invoked in order to dismiss the workers, who belong to the Union which is not recognised by the Railway Ministry? I think the House knows it that the 'show cause' has become difficult to be depended on, because the Congress Committees which get reports from the Police or the Police which get some

ON RAILWAY PROTECTION FORCE

INTRODUCTORY

A Bill providing for a special Railway Protection Force of over 36,000, as passed by the Rajya Sabha was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 15th July 1957. Government stated that this large force, which already existed under the name of "Watch and Ward" department of the Railways was not being newly created but only reorganised and given new powers, in view of the growing theft of railway property.

The railways, it was stated, have to pay annually Rs.3 crores in compensation for goods stolen, besides the loss of railway property itself.

Thefts are reported to be increasing. In 1938-39, the percentage of the amount paid in compensation to gross earnings was 0.04. In 1953-54 it rose to 1.06. The percentage increased 26 times.

At the same time, in the attempt to save this payment of Rs.3 crore compensation, some members pointed out the fact that the cost of the force itself was going to be Rs.2.3 crores recurring per year and Rs.3.5 crores for buildings in five years.

There have been four inquiry committees so far to deal with this problem. One was the inquiry by Mr. Mallick; another by Mr. Brown; and yet another by Mr. Ramaswami Ayyar. The fourth was the Railway Corruption Inquiry Committee.

Four departments have been working so far to check corruption and other things: Government railway police, the watch and ward, the Investigation Organisation and the Special Police establishment - with the result that thefts increased 26 times!

The new force is not just the old Watch and Ward reorganised. It is a new armed force. Clause 12 gives it power to arrest and detain any person without warrant. The clause read as follows:

"12. Any superior officer or member of the Force may, without and order from a Magistrate and without a warrant, arrest—

"(a) any person who has been concerned in an offence relating to railway property punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, or against whom a reasonable suspicion exists of his having been so concerned; or

"(b) any person found taking precautions to conceal his presence within railway limits under circumstances which afford reason to believe that he is taking such precautions with a view to committing theft of, or damage to, railway property."

It has power not only to arrest and detain but also to shoot.

Shri Shahnawaz Khan, the Deputy Minister for Railways, said:

"If anybody comes to damage the railway property . . . they may have to fire."

"It is in order to perform these duties which include 'arming' a certain percentage of this force, that this bill has been brought forward."

Referring to his inspection of the Force, he said "their training and standard of drill are as good as any of the best military units" — "a strength of three divisions of the Army", as Com.Dange described it.

4000 TEXTILE WORKERS DEMONSTRATE

----- by Ram Asrey

Nearly 4,000 textile workers of Kanpur held a demonstration on December 9, before the U.P. Secretariat in Lucknow demanding a ban on closures, lay-off, retrenchment and lock-out and payment of arrears to of wages and lay-off compensation ~~of~~ over 6,000 workers who have been locked out from the Muir Mills from December 7.

The majority of the demonstrators had walked on foot from Kanpur covering the distance in about 24 hours. The demonstrators were addressed among others by Raj Narain Singh, Socialist M.L.A., Triloki Singh, PSP Leader of Opposition in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha, S.K.D. Paliwal, and Jharkhande Rai, Leader of the Communist Group. A deputation on behalf of the demonstrators consisting of Ganga Sahai Chaubey, S.S. Yusuf, M.A. Khan, Ravi Sinha, Vimal Mehrotra, Shyam Sunder, Ram Asrey and others met the Chief Minister and informed him about the deteriorating labour situation in Kanpur.

The Chief Minister disapproved of the workers' march and called it a 'tamasha'. However, at the end of the meeting he agreed to intervene, after having consulted "the other party", in the dispute in Muir Mills ~~where~~ where arrears of wages and lay-off compensation have not been paid to the workers for the last three months. The Chief Minister also blamed the workers for having created "a situation in which the employers have declared a lock-out".

The Chief Minister's attitude is entirely unjustified. At present, nearly 7,000 workers of the Muir Mills, 4,000 workers of the Kanpur Cotton Mills and another 1300 workers of the Atherton West Mills are either locked out or remain laid-off. The textile mill owners of Kanpur are acting in a concerted manner and have created a situation in which a large number of workers have been thrown out of employment and, as a press note of

Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha stated, an atmosphere of uncertainty and fear prevails.

The issue in the Muir Mills dispute is simple: whether the workers be paid their earned wages of the second fortnight of September and lay-off compensation for the period from September 28 to November 1, and if so, who should be responsible for the payment of these arrears - the former management of the Baglas or present management of the Singhania's? And if the managing concern does not pay, what legal remedy does the Government have to get these wages paid?

On December 2, when two hunger-striking workers were arrested by the police, the Muir Mills workers went on a spontaneous stay-in-strike demanding fixing of a definite date by when the arrears of wages will be paid and their arrested comrades released. Since then the Suti Mill Mazdoor Sabha has made all possible efforts to settle the dispute through negotiations.

At one stage a workable solution seemed in sight but the intransigence of Padampat Singhania and "politics" of local INTUC leaders worsened the situation. The Sabha offered agreement on the condition that the J.K. Commercial Corporation Ltd. (the present management) undertakes to pay arrears of wages from and on March 1, 1958 in instalments. But the JK bosses made the profits of the concern a pre-condition for such payment.

No trade union could agree in principle to this proposition - the worker who has sold his labour power has the right to get his wage whether the purchaser makes a profit or not. The local INTUC leaders in agreeing to the condition of profit betrayed the workers. The Labour Commissioner is also said to be party to this betrayal though he denied it to the SMMS leadership.

It was in this situation that the workers' meeting held on December 6, attended by about 15,000 workers, took the decision to march to Lucknow on

The dispute of the Kanpur Cotton Mills workers also remains unsettled for the last six months. The management has been insisting on reducing the working labour force on the plea that the unit is uneconomic. The SMMS leadership which has examined the matter closely from the very beginning, has categorically declared that reduction in number of workmen and increase in workload for those retained will not be acceptable. The Labour Commissioner was also apprised of the Union's stand but the management insists on reducing the number of workers and forcing others to accept increased workload.

About a month ago, the management notified that those who voluntarily resigned would be paid retirement gratuity in accordance with the rates fixed by the Bind Basini Prasad Committee. Over 300 resigned but only 180 have been accepted from those working in the Carding Section.

Having had failed to get the workers to do increased work without an agreement with the Sabha, the management have laid off workers for an indefinite period with a view to compel them to accept increased workload. And this is the "situation" which the Chief Minister accused the workers of creating which caused the lock-out.

The Atherton West Mills are laying-off nearly 1300 workers and issued a notice to close down the entire unit by January 1, 1958--without paying even retrenchment relief as required by law. The Mills are said to be negotiating a loan from the State Bank of India while they threaten unemployment on a big scale for the workers. Dr.Sampurnanand maintains that the matter is being examined by the Government and necessary steps will be taken to keep the Mills running.

Some other units are about to "close" or lay-off due to alleged heavy accumulation of stocks and financial difficulties. That the story of

On the floor of the Lok Sabha, Manubhai Shah of the Industries Ministry admitted that the accumulation of stocks in many cases was due to mill-owners expectation of removal of Excise Duty on cloth.

The situation in Kanpur is serious. The Chief Minister's policy is full of pitfalls and if not changed in time will result in a major industrial breakdown. Government has to take steps to ensure continued running of mills. The workers of Kanpur have emphasised the urgency of the matter. It is for the Government to act.

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(Shri S.A. Dange)

Shri S.A. Dange (Bambay City - Central): The Prime Minister, when he opened the discussion, made certain observations which illustrate to us what has been the net result of this inquiry. The observations made, the original motion put forward which is absolutely vague, and the amendment that comes forward immediately after the original motion moved -- all this shows what a terrific confusion and contradiction exists in the ranks of the Government. They did not know whether to go before the public accepting the findings; then they see that it will not do good to themselves and their health, and they change their minds; and all that is reflected in the last half hour's discussion about substitute motions and amendments and so on.

(contd. by N)

(Shri S A Dange--contd.)

And it is quite natural that there should be confusion, that there should be, in fact, panic, and that there should be sadness accompanied by self-congratulatory speech that we are a great democracy, and that we are certainly far better than other sinners; we sin less than other countries. That is the conclusion. One can congratulate oneself, if he likes, on being a smaller sinner while others are big sinners. But that does not lead us to the right conclusion.

Therefore, I would like to help the House in looking at the matter in a more realistic manner. It is not a question of bringing in false accusations or generalisations or in general damning the Government or in general damning the ruling party. That is not the point. The point is that from the things which have happened, correct conclusions are not yet being drawn.

See the way in which ~~the~~ things are being discussed. There was a debate in December on this question. Government took one month to appoint an enquiry Commission. The Prime Minister says, perhaps, the Parliament hustled Government. Is that correct? There was one month to consider the whole problem, and to appoint a commission. The terms of reference were discussed by the Finance Minister in consultation with the Attorney-General, and perhaps in consultation with other Ministers. Maybe, according to the rate and speed of governmental functioning, one month was not enough, and maybe, it was hustling.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Not one month. I am sorry to interrupt the hon.Member. The hon.Member's timing is not correct.

Some Hon.Members: Twenty days.

Shri Nath Pai: ~~was~~ The debate was over by the 17th December, 1957, and you appointed the commission on the 7th January, 1958.

Shri S A Dange: All right. Twenty days. You can reduce it to ten days. I have no objection. I am coming to the real question later on. It is not such a hustling as it seems. Now, here, the commission was appointed. But on the day when this question was brought up in this House, what was the attitude of Government? It was to deny everything and to say that maybe, something has happened, we will look into it and so on. And a tremendous pressure including the pressure from the Congressmen themselves was needed in order to make Government accept the demand for the appointment of a commission.

An Hon.Member: Only from Congress Benches. (Interruptions)

Shri S A Dange: Are you ashamed of this pressure? No, I do not think so. You did good; it is good that the Congress Benches also joined in the Demand.

Some Hon.Members: No, no. (Interruptions).

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): They initiated the debate.

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(Shri S A Dange--contd.)

Shri S A Dange: I thought Shri Feroze Gandhi was a Member from the Congress Benches.

Some Hon.Members: Yes.

Shri Tyagi: And he had initiated the debate.

Shri S A Dange: That can be excused. You can deny, because many things are being denied now, because the skeletons in the cupboards are getting out one by one. So, naturally, there is confusion and denials are there. However, at that very point, there was resistance to the appointment of a commission. But Government knew that the matter was serious, and they agreed to a commission. In fact, I would have been prepared to congratulate Government on agreeing to appoint a commission with a judge like Chief Justice Chagla. Certainly, Government should have deserved congratulations, but should they get them? The way they started looking at the conclusions shows that after appointing the commission, when they saw how things were moving, they repented about the appointment....

Some Hon.Members: No.

Shri S A Dange:..and started detracting from the conclusions. And it was an astounding thing to hear, before the matter came up before the House, the Prime Minister passing judgments, giving certificates to officials and to people saying that there was no corruption involved; certainly, handing over Rs.80 lakhs of public funds to a well-known fraudulent speculator was the highest kind of morality that was shown in the ranks of the officers who dealt with it; it was not a case of corruption at all. And I am quite sure, we should not be surprised later on, if Shri H M Patel and the officials were to get a title next year, of Padma Vibhushana or Bharat Ratna. It has become a habit. I am sorry, either in his magnanimity or in his blindness to reality, the Prime Minister develops a habit of sheltering people whom he should not and hitting at people whom he should not. The result is the confusion that is being seen in the debate and even in the remarks which he was making. He accepts the findings that the transaction was wrong, and yet, he says that the officers were good, they were honest, they were not corrupt, and they have to be congratulated.

And he singled out one Governor of the Reserve Bank for a special certificate that he is not at all concerned. So far as the Finance Minister was concerned, he was the least concerned. Then, we should like to know who was concerned; not the Finance Minister, not the Principapl Secretary, not the Governor of the Reserve Bank, not the Chairman of the State Bank, not the president of the Stock exchange, and not the Cabinet; then, who was concerned? Only one person, Mr Mundhra. He was the man who somehow or other inveigled people and ran away with Rs.80 lakhs. And, of course, he was a great man. In fact, he himself claims that he was just following

the foot-steps of the Prime Minister. (Interruptions).
He was trying to build an empire.
And building an empire is not a special virtue of
Mr Mundhra; building such empires is the virtue of
all the big monopolists that are still rampant.
One Mundhra has been found. But others also still
exist in the world of monopoly capital. Let us
remember that.

The matter does not end there. You may detract
from the conclusions; you may run down the method.
In fact, there was a frowning at the installation
of loudspeakers, and it was said: 'Why were people
allowed to hear the whole thing? It was going to be
a public enquiry, but a public enquiry where no
one should hear anything. That should have been
the method. That should have been the approach.'
We fail to understand that sort of criticism.
The enquiry is there. Let the people hear. We
must congratulate Mr Chagla for making it so
public. We should congratulate the public of
Bombay for their political consciousness, when
in thousands they went to the court and they
wanted to hear what was being done. Instead of
congratulating the people, congratulating the
Chief Justice, and congratulating the way in
which things were done, there comes the state-
ment, no, the approach was wrong, the method was
wrong; and later on, you deny and say, no, no,
it is not a reflection on Mr Chagla. What a
confusion, one statement being contradicted by
another? However, let us not deal with the
confusion part any more.

The question is this. Why was this done? To
my mind it seems that in this House, there have
been references to many scandals before. The House
knows it. There were references, I do not know, to
how many scandals. In fact, it is rather difficult
to make a list. It is presented as if this is *only*
one scandal which has suddenly come upon the
people, come upon Parliament and come upon
Government, and they are surprised that such a
thing did take place. No *h* there was reference
to many scandals in this House. There was the
jeep scandal. It was suppressed. There was the
fertiliser scandal. One or two officers were
just prosecuted or something was done, and
Shri T T Krishnamachari gave his parting kick, *with*
He said that the Minister at that time did not
find it convenient to resign. Of course,
he took the compliment for himself that like an
honourable man he accepts and walks out, while
the other gentleman who once becomes a Governor,
and at another time a Cabinet Minister and a third;
time a petty lawyer who goes *hawking* about for defence
cases against working classes, did not have the
courage ~~honour~~ to resign when he was the Minister. The
hit was right, and I congratulate Shri T T Krishna-
machari for having given that hit, *h* Both of them
belong to the *h* Congress Party.

h that is not so

with partial reference
to this scandal

h though

same h

Then, there was the debate about the affairs
of the Industrial Finance Corporation. There was
resistance to giving names of those who took loans.
It was found that the amiable gentlemen of the

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(Shri S A Dange--contd.)

Industrial Finance Corporation were appropriating loans for their own concerns or for the concerns run by their brothers-in-law or sons-in-law. When the scandal came out, ~~there was some control~~; somebody resigned, and the whole thing was hushed up.

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(contd. by 0)

Shri S A Dange - contd.

There was the Stores Purchase scandal also. There was somewhere, I think, a reference to the supply of defective vehicles to the Defence Department running into a bill of crores and the man who exposed it, a simple worker, is victimised and dismissed. And I do not know what has happened to these defective vehicles. I am told they are being returned.

Things are going on; people do talk. People are asking questions. But what is the result? Questions are asked but evade replies. They evade telling the truth and when the whole thing accumulated like a dead weight of heavy sins, this Government thought, let us ~~hit~~ hit it out. They thought nothing much would come out of it, ~~in the face of light~~. They said: You have mentioned so many scandals. Here we are appointing an Inquiry Commission. And, they were horrified to find that things came out which they did not expect to come out. Therefore, there was confusion; there was panic.

However, I want to say this that the concession to appoint a Commission was not so much due to a high sense of democracy. Things had accumulated too much and they wanted to let out a little steam and see if the whole thing could be covered up in a way. But the Commission did reveal things they did not expect.

What did the Commission reveal? There was practically no reference to the simple thing, the truth that is revealed - and all parts of the truth are not yet known. The truth that is revealed is so stinking that the whole world is talking about it. And, what is the truth? We should pay some attention to that.

I do not want to go into the details of the case, but I want friends and hon. Members to see the essence of that. What is the essence of that? It is that fraud was discovered in insurance funds when it was in the private sector. I am told that some Dalmia was hauled up for that and something. Then, they nationalised it and they handed over the administration, the investing power, to those very people who opposed nationalisation. Mr. Vaidyanathan, the Chairman (Several Hon. Members: The Managing Director) of the LIC campaigned against nationalisation. It was handed over to them and with what policy? That the funds shall be put at the disposal of the private sector as they were done before.

So, what was the net result? The net result was funds were taken over from the Dalmias and handed over to the Mundhras, from the private sector to the public sector. This is the net result. And, it illustrates the truth of the statement by the Prime Minister that there is no difference really in our economy between the public sector and the private sector. That is the truth. But the traffic is only one way traffic; funds go out from the public sector to the private but they never come from the private to the public sector. This is the way in which nationalisation is handled.

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Shri S. A. Dange - contd.

Was this policy correct? It was not correct. What was the importance of nationalisation? That small savings of poor people should be gathered together and put at the disposal of the Plan. When we ask bonus payments, we are told by the Ministry and the Government, ~~taking~~ savings certificates; ~~do not~~ take cash. *and* When people ask for higher wages, even in this Insurance Corporation, they are told: Do not ask for higher wages; save and lend to the Government. Yes; save and lend to the Government so that the Government can lend to Mundhras. That is the slogan. So, that is the policy! It was not the ~~policy~~; and yet who changes the policy? It looks as if any Minister, any Finance Secretary, any Reserve Bank Governor can change the policy of the Government and change the policy of the Plan. Is that the way Government should function? That is the question we should all ask Government: Why such functioning takes place.

What was revealed? ~~It~~ is now made out as if it is a bolt from the blue. No, Sir. This thing happened because there is a certain method of functioning of the State machine. There is a certain method of Cabinet functioning; a certain method of functioning of the permanent bureaucracy and that method is the cause of this.

For example, it is said that the thing has come upon us suddenly. Is that so? It is on record from the Company Law Administration that the history of Mundhras was known to the Government since the year 1954. It is not merely June or December. This is not a thing in which hustling has taken place in 20 days' time. The Government of India knew Mundhra since 1954. What were they doing; what were all the Ministries doing about this affair?

The Reserve Bank made a report against the Mundhras. What was the Government doing. There is a letter in July about these transactions. What did the Government do till December until the House brought it forth in the debate? Not only that. Who does not know that ~~the~~ Omnipotent and omniscient Home Ministry, which can chase communist workers from railway departments and can find out who is walking with whom and with what politics, ~~it~~ could not find time to chase the Mundhras and find out what they were.

Is it a fact that they were not known? The Commerce Ministry has been concerned with the foreign exchange of the Mundhras and their concerns. What were they doing? What were all these Ministries doing? It is on record - in the Chagla Commission Report - that the Prime Minister himself knew it. It is no use simply hanging TTK for a sin for which he should suffer and did suffer. It is no use doing that.

Acharya Kripalani: Don't bother; he will come back.

Shri S. A. Dange: No, no; he will not come back.

It is on record that the Finance Ministry knew about the Mundhras in 1954. Mr. T.T.K. knew it in August

Shri S A Dange - contd.

1955 when he was the Commerce Minister. Mr. Rama Rau, Governor of the Reserve Bank knew in February 1956 and reported to the Government. One Justice Tendulkar, when he was confronted with a petition from the Mundhras, put it on record that he was a dishonest man; and the Prime Minister wrote to the Ministry saying that there is a new star appearing, please watch it. And, the Ministry started watching it. And, they were so ~~so~~ dazzled by the star that they became satellites and started moving round the star, and the star has landed them ultimately. When they became satellites, the result is bound to be a crash that we saw in December in the debate. Why were not steps taken? The Prime Minister also knew that the star required to be watched. Why was not that done?

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After the June transactions, in September 1957, for a time when T.T.K. was out and the Prime Minister was acting as the Finance Minister, at that time, he got a file from the Finance Ministry on certain affairs - we do not know what those affairs were - and he writes on that: "I have no good opinion of this man; he has a bad reputation." He had no good opinion about the reputation of the man. He should have asked the other Ministers. We are yet to know what was the file on which ^{his} remark was made. Why did not the Prime Minister make a statement before the Chagla Commission on this? It was after the June transaction. There must be some explanation about it. It is recorded in the evidence before the Commission.

What I am going to say is this. There was a sort of hypnotism cast almost over every Ministry by this gentleman. Everybody knew about it and nobody would move about it. And they started running criss-cross with this man and that brought a crash. This is the picture that comes out. From 1954 till 1957, the whole picture is that every Ministry knows about it and yet nobody moves about it. And, when the thing did crash, even the June transactions did not come before the people, even when the Governor of the Reserve Bank and others reported in their July letter to the Finance Ministry, even when the Prime Minister knows from the files that were before him. This is the sort of paralysis that ~~is created~~ over the governmental system for 4 years, when this man, a known fraudulent man, a gambler, a flamboyant personality, a man who wants to build an empire of industry with no money in his pocket by speculating on the Stock Exchange goes on. For 4 years it goes on and yet no Ministry can do anything.

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Shri S A Dange - contd.

What is the secret? ^{of this?} What is the use of blaming the ICS or giving good certificates? The permanent bureaucracy was involved in it. Shri H M Patel is a brilliant man ^{of this bureaucracy} but his brilliance ~~is~~ ^{went to} the service of the Mundhras.

Who are the officers involved? The list is very interesting. There is Mr. Bhattacharya, there is Mr. Iyengar, there is of course TTK, then there is Mr. Kamat and then there is Mr. Chaturvedi. In this you will find that there is no difference of language, community or linguistic provinces. No difference of south or north or east or west. Every direction is equally represented - Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Tamil Nad and U.P. Every body is represented. They have acquired one very good understandable common language - the quotation of the stock exchange. It could be understood without any differences ^{of} language or philosophy.

What are these men? They are the men who are the power behind the throne. Who rules us? Sometimes the Ministers, sometimes ~~these~~ gentlemen. Many of them are honest. I do not want to cast a reflection on the whole service as such. What is the system? TTK is asked a question. From behind comes a ^{pad} and he says: 'I do not know what was written there'. Who is running the Government? Who is running the democracy? There is a wonderful and funny division of labour, ^{between the Ministers and the ICS}

Even today you can illustrate it. TTK went out. What about the Budget? Just as easily or with greater ease, the Prime Minister will get up and read the Budget. Who makes the Budget? We should like to know. What is the relation between the ICS service, the steel frame which we have inherited from the British and the democratic functioning of the Cabinet and the Parliament. Why has this happened?

Why could ~~the~~ these ICS people be bamboozled? I do not want to say just now about their particular careers. But why are they taken in? Because the State machine has tremendous faith in private capital. They are dazzled by the power of the monopolists. It is not unnatural. ^{Mr. J R D Tata or Mr. G D Birla or for that matter Mr. H D Mundhra} walks into the office of an ICS Secretary, ^{he} is overwhelmed by the power of the millions, by ^{the} ownership of the sugar mills, textile mills, iron mills, railways and so on. There are ten directors controlling hundreds of crores of rupees of capital, 20 or 30 companies despite the new Companies Act. When these ^{capitalists} of finance capital walk into the office, what can the poor Secretary do? Even the Ministers collapse. What to talk of the ICS.

They believe that the ^{of capital} words weigh more. They fling abuses at hunger strikers, on students' indiscipline. ^{What} paralytic faith, what imbecile faith ~~is there~~ in these owners of millions of finance capital? What is their power? ^{Ministers and Officials} _{But what}

I will remind the House of this. My friend, Shri Asoka Mehta, some ten years ago wrote a book Who owns India? There you will get a description of this whole power of finance capital. It is this finance capital in the hands of private profiteers, buccaneers of the middle age, who annex now not pieces of land but huge blocks of capital and factories and mint millions, that owns India. This is the power that controls the Government and takes the policy in the wrong direction.

Shri S A Dange - contd.

What is the source of evil? The source of evil is the power of private capital. Therefore, I agree with the Prime Minister that this scandal is not a reflection on the State sector. No. The solution is not to halt the growth of the State sector but to expand it.

Nationalise the banks. If you want to find out their frauds, the best key to them is the bank books. Yet the bank books are in their hands. The biggest banks are at their disposal. Nationalise the banks. Take over the Jessops Company. That is where the scandal started. You can read it. Jessops is a gold mine and there are many people who want to grab it. One fellow grabbed it and then others started informing on him. It is the rivalry among the powerful monopoly capitalists that has brought the truth out. When thieves quarrel, honest men come into their own. This is the example.

There are many hidden scandals and they are not known. Because, there they have a pact among themselves. When they fall out and quarrel, they inform against each other and then a very sorry spectacle started. One says that he is not responsible. The other says that he was not responsible. Everybody deserted everybody else and we were left with the things as they were.

What should be the lesson and what should be the solution? This Government is under the influence of big business - including the Ministers and the ICS officials. They sometimes take their lessons from the Ministers' directions or from the Ministers and sometimes they do it on their own. I had asked the Chagla Commission in my letter to ask one question: "Will you ask how many benami transactions were made in the last three years by all those who were connected directly or indirectly with several Ministries in this Government?" Of course, Mr. Chagla said that it was beyond his terms of reference. Now, will the Government do that?

The Government passed laws about corrupt officials. Will the Government make enquiries as to how many ~~new rich~~, "nouveaux riches" new millionaires had blossomed into power, owning millions of shares in various factories in the names of other people during the last ten years after they came into power. How many Ministries or Ministers and their ~~enemies~~ friends have blossomed into new millionaires and by what methods?

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Certainly if ~~the~~ private enterprise were honest, we should have no objection. But it is a matter for enquiry. The whole functioning of the Government is there. The Prime Minister referred to ICS officials being taken over ^{after retirement} by business men. That is supposed to be a certificate for the way they develop these officers as good businessmen. No, Sir. There are many officials of various Ministries who retire and are taken over by these businessmen so that they can ~~be~~ give ~~ing~~ them advice in what expert way they could get licences and how their bills could be got sanctioned quickly. Bills are hidden in files. They remember their old friendship and their old school ~~days~~ and these officers come back either on behalf of Tatas or on behalf of Birla or ^{L ties} Muthra and say: 'Let us ~~pass~~ the bill quickly.' That is why they are taken back by these businessmen into their service, not because they have blossomed into very fine economists,

Shri S. A. Donge - contd.

or philosophers or efficient administrators. That is not the only thing. I should like to know why the other aspect is not mentioned: why the Government takes business men or their friends inside the Cabinet.

There is a two way traffic. Government servants go back to businessmen and businessmen come to Government. For instance, here is the balancesheet of this very company about which there has been such a lot of discussion - Jessops. The Chagla Commission asked: "What was the driving force, motivating force? What was the haste?" The motivating force ~~is~~ ^{was} the possession of Jessops. The driving force was the badla day that was coming - the crash of Mundhra and others. Anybody who knows the stock exchange should find out what was the haste.

In this Jessops, you have the example of the other way traffic - private business ^{men} coming into the Cabinet. The Directors' report of Jessops, signed by the managing directors, Mr. Satchell and Mr. Graham, dated 31.10.1956 says: "Mr. A.K. Sen joined the board on 20th August, 1956 and retired on his appointment as Minister in the Central Government." It is a two-way traffic, not one-way traffic.

I do not at all allege anything. Let me be very clear. I am a frank speaker. I do not allege anything. ~~I say~~ that Shri A. K. Sen ^{men} was unconnected with this transaction. I am simply saying that the State machinery is relying on capital ~~finance~~, relying on the private sector, talking theoretically of socialism but really feeding private monopoly. That is how it functions,

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Shri S. A. Dange -- Contd

how Ministries are composed, how I C S servants function. Therefore, you will pardon me, Sir, when I say that once again the old man from the grave has got to be quoted, however much you might dislike him, and that is Karl Marx. One hundred years ago he said: "What is the modern capitalist State? It is an executive committee to manage the affairs of the bourgeois." The Mundhra affair shows that modern State machine, I C S officers, Ministers and others, all were managing the affairs of this Mundhra. He was crashing, wanted two crores. They took public money from the L I C and handed it over to him, and when the thing burst everybody wants to run away from the stink. You cannot run away from the stink like that.

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There was hesitation in accepting the report; there was hesitation in having a further probe. ~~No, Sir.~~ I am very glad to hear that the Prime Minister at last accepted finally the main recommendations. I am glad that they are going to probe. What I want to ask is this. Will they, for once, use that Presidential power under which they dismiss hundreds of railway workers without assigning any cause, against H M Patel? The Railway Ministry knows that the President of the Republic signs warrants: "You are dismissed; cause will not be assigned in the public interest." Will he dismiss at least one I C S man? A very brilliant man, release him for using his brilliance further in the service, if not of Mundhra who is in jail, *if somebody else* o

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On the previous day Mr Mundhra gave an interview in which he said that he had paid Rs. 1 lakh to the Congress funds; the next day he finds himself in jail.

An Hon. Member: Not more?

Shri S. A. Dange: Maybe that statement also may be wrong. Who knows whether we could believe Mr Mundhra or not; we do not know. In any case, there it is. Therefore, Sir, I would say that the State machine is revealed in all its glory of ~~private~~ enterprise in the service of private capital.

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~~At the same time~~
~~In the same way~~ I want to fight the conclusion that nationalisation is bad. I agree with the Prime Minister that if scandals did exist in private concerns, they could not be debated in Parliament. That is the main advantage of State sector. Whether we agree or disagree with what is being done, we can debate them before the public; we can challenge the bona fides of what is being done. Therefore, it is one great advantage in having concerns in State sector. State sector does not stand condemned.

An Hon. Member: Advantage of parliamentary democracy also!

Shri S. A. Dange: Yes, advantage of parliamentary democracy also, if its conclusions are not to be denied, if it is consistently followed and its conclusions are not hurriedly denied by high men in power.

Shri S. A. Dange - Contd

In conclusion what I would say is this. Let us study the way our State machine functions; let us study the way things are being influenced by private capital; let us study the power that is still wielded; let us find out how that power can be curtailed and finally abolished. Let us think of nationalising the big key concerns; let us think of taking over the Jessops in which we have already invested funds and let us take it over and nationalise it, because it is already running on orders from the Government.

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Mr T T K has paid for his sins, whatever they may be, or they may not be. But he did tell the truth while he parted, and the truth was: beware, the man-eater is at large. I wish he had told the truth before he resigned. In fact, he accompanied the man-eater to America and to England, and helped it to secure aid and more blood. And having tasted blood the man-eater turned round and mauled him. In any case he survived and has given the lesson that powerful private vested interests are out to smash the development of the Plan, and especially the State sector. They are out to discredit the State sector; they are out to take possession of the public funds in the Plan, in order to enrich themselves and this man-eater has got to be watched. Well, I hope, Sir, Government will not watch it as they watched that new star rising and started going round it. I hope they will not have the ambition of thinking they can tame the man-eater and put it in the service of socialism.

No, Sir, the man-eater has got to be shot, and shot in the most non-violent way, if you like, but has got to be shot! The man-eater's claws have to be taken away and its poisonous fangs have got to be knocked out. What are the claws and what are the fangs? The power of capital, the power of banks, the power of ownership of vast textile mills, where they can do and undo things, where they can buy men, persons, morals and everything. This power of the man-eater has got to be curtailed and smashed. And I hope that in faithfulness to the principles which have been laid down by this House towards the development of socialism and democracy, these private vested interests, this power of finance capital will be smashed and the permanent bureaucracy, not all of them, but those who trip and fall a victim to it is taught the lessons that arises from this. I also want that Government does not sleep over scandals for years passing files from one Minister to another, that it does not disbelieve rumours that go in the newspapers or in the lobbies and scoff at these rumours as being inventions either of this party or that party and that they will take the correct lessons and cure themselves of the sin that they have committed.

Ends.

DAY-TO-DAY TRADE UNION FUNCTIONING.

Introduction- The importance of proper day-to-day functioning of our TUs is not as obvious as it seems. This is proved by the fact that though all TU workers pay lip service to it, we find that in fact the majority of unions do not function ~~efficiently~~ efficiently and planfully in their daily activities, and the ordinary worker, even when he is 200% loyal to the Union, ~~complain~~ complains very often of lack of practical help and guidance in every day matters.

We frequently find day to day jobs and tasks neglected by TU comrades because they cannot find 'time' for them, or because they consider them to be 'petty' matters of detail and routine, or because they are too 'busy' with more 'important' jobs such as a demonstration or a conference.

But such an attitude towards the DETAILS of day-to-day TU work is wrong and harmful. Lenin always emphasises the necessity of paying most careful attention ~~of~~ to matters of details.

He said, "Look after the corners of the room and the middle will look after itself."

In the same way unless a conscious and planned attention is paid to the hundred and one detailed requirements of the TU work the union as a whole can never prove equal to its role of a truly mass democratic organisation.

If it is true that the proletariat has no weapon other than its own organisation, then it is equally true that the trade union - which is the broadest and most primary mass organisations of the proletariat - can be an effective weapon only to the extent that it can satisfy all the detailed, concrete and specific requirements of the workers in their day-to-day struggles against capitalism.

In the period of direct British rule in India, the TU movement was easily accepted by the people as a part of the broader national movement. It was seen as a specific form of struggle by the working class against a common exploitation, for which the imperialist domination of the country was directly and indirectly responsible.

The general anti-imperialist national consciousness provided the background for a spontaneously-evoked strike movement of the Indian working class; the State machinery was in foreign hands. The Indian bourgeoisie, though it mercilessly exploited the workers and sought the alien government's help to crush any serious threat to its profits, was at the same time conscious of the value of strikes as a means of political pressure-tactics against the British, when occasion demanded it.

How All This Has Changed:- The big bourgeoisie controls the State apparatus. The hand of imperialism no longer directly visible, but concealed. The big bourgeoisie, sheltering behind the smoke-screen of "national independence" not only uses the State apparatus to launch ferocious attacks upon the TU movement, it also tries to-

A) isolate the working class from other sections of the people by pitting the interest of the one against the other;

B) divide and disrupt the class through its (bourgeoisie's) agents within the TU movement;

(C) intensify the penetration of the bourgeoisie ideology and culture into the working class in order to corrupt it.

Hence, the paramount need to day is for a new type of TU movement, a CONSCIOUS ORGANISED movement relying not solely on "strikes" but on the ALL-ROUND abilities of our TUs to counter economic/the repressive, ~~economic~~, ideological and splitting tactics of the bourgeoisie spontaneous resistance by the workers to the attempt to pass on to their shoulders the burdens of the deepening economic crisis is growing and will continue to grow.

~~But~~ But spontaneously launched and spontaneously conducted struggles alone cannot win today- they must be properly foreseen, carefully prepared, and consciously led with skill and initiative. This means the TUs must be equipped to beat back every weapon of the bourgeoisie!

i. Repression must be countered by maintaining the unbroken continuity of TU leadership, without losing contact with the masses.
ii. Disruption must be countered by forging invincible class unity of all sections of the workers in each factory, office & industry.

iii. The ideological offensive ~~must be~~ of the bourgeoisie must be countered by the exposing its economic plans and policies and their anti-national results in such a way as to forge common identity of interests between the working class and other ~~democratic~~ democratic classes and build their fighting alliance.

iv. The bourgeoisie cultural offensive to corrupt the working class and to bring it under alien influence must be countered by educational, cultural, social and welfare activities organised by the TUs.

v. The frenzied attempts by the bourgeoisie to ride roughshod over certain of their own labour laws which do not now serve their selfish purposes, must be countered by proper utilisation of the same laws, which represent the gains of years of working class struggles.

In this way, the TUs have to carry on an all-sided and complex movement in the conditions of today.

An essential part of this movement is the day-to-day functioning of the Trade Unions.

On this functioning depends to a great extent
i) the democratic character of the organisation, ii) the strength of its link with the masses, iii) the efficiency and maturity of its leading cadre, iv) its influence at the place of work itself, and v) its capacity to mobilise the working class unitedly.

" In the present imperialist phase of capitalism, it would be a sign of weakness and of considerable lack of understanding to fail to reckon with the new methods which imperialism is introducing into trade union movement," says Com. Saillant, the General Secretary of the WFTU (Journal No. 12, 1952).

He enumerates these new methods, which are in addition to the most violent and brutal repression, as
§ IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL CORRUPTION in order to divert the working class from the path of struggles for its economic and social demands.

This is carried out mainly by the ~~more~~ powerful propaganda

propaganda apparatus of the modern capitalist state.

§§ CREATION BY CAPITALISM OF A TYPE OF TU LEADER WHO ACTS AS ITS CONSCIOUS AGENT, who spreads disruption and provocation ~~in the~~ among the workers, and sows confusion and doubts in their minds, and tries to distort the trade unions to serve interests which are not those of the working class.

Therefore, our TUs, in their day-to-day functioning, must never lose sight of the planned tactics of the enemy, but must so function as to make the TU a really mass democratic organ of the class struggle capable of defeating the 3-HEADED monster of

§§ REPRESSION
§§ CORRUPTION
§§ DISRUPTION.

This is all the more necessary in a semi-colonial country like India because-

- o. the vast majority of the working class is still unorganised and ~~falls~~ hence falls easy victim to the bourgeoisie's ideological barrage;
- oo. among big sections of ~~the workers~~ our working class political illusions still exist about the 'national' and 'progressive' bonafides of the Congress leadership
- ooo. despite the growth in the TU movement especially after World War II, the propaganda means which the exploiters have at their disposal for influencing the workers are immensely more numerous, developed and powerful than those which the workers possess;
- oooo. our TU movement has to bring together workers of such different religions and national-compositions with all the complications of caste and tribal problems etc., and such different political opinions or without any ~~xx~~ clear cut political views, that it would be foolish not to believe in the possibilities of the penetration of decadent but still deeply rooted bourgeois ethics into such a broad movement.

From all these considerations arise the need for systematic, day-to-day organisational and educational work among the masses.

This is a necessary condition for the strength and authority of the TUs, and the only guarantee of effective struggle leading to victory.

The purpose of this lecture is to indicate some of the most common and elementary every day tasks which every TU organiser and militant has to face and how to fulfill them. Every-one of these 'routine' jobs- if properly done- plays its part in uniting the workers, strengthening the Union and making it a force with which the bourgeoisie has to reckon. Conversely, a careless, bureaucratic, complacent, unpleasant, impatient or anarchic attitude towards them will lead to weakness in the TUs' mass work and organisation, to isolation and defects.

Separate lectures are dealing exhaustively with the problem of:

- .. study of the economic plans and industrial policies of the Congress Govt. & the bourgeoisie, both foreign and Indian;
- .. study of the major industries and their specific problems;
- .. study of the labour laws, our attitude to them and how to utilise or combat them concretely.

Here, we shall deal with some other problems of day-to-day functioning.

I. FORMULATION OF DEMANDS

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Let us first of all take up the apparently simple question of formulation of demands- a task which confronts every T.U., everyday.

How often do we find- though we may not always care to admit it- that the demands formulated by us fail to arouse much enthusiasm or active response among the workers? Often we go mechanically repeating the same set of demands month after month, though the workers do not show any inclination to move into action behind them. Often, again, we put forward such demands that workers themselves nod their heads sceptically as though to say, "our leaders are well meaning, but they are a bit too far up in the clouds"!

(We are speaking here mainly of the immediate demands which are of direct everyday concern to a particular factory or industry and for the realisation of which it is necessary to initiate united action immediately.)

(There are also general demands and rights, affecting the working class as a whole, which may have to go on being popularised and explained systematically for a considerable period of time before the workers' own experience brings them to the point of moving into action. Such demands are, for example, those relating to the working day, to unemployment insurance, to the repeal of a particular legislation; etc, or even basic general demands affecting be formulated carefully, and precisely and to be popularised in a convincing and not an abstract manner.)

What is the ROOT cause of incorrect and unreal formulation of demands? The answer is; SECTARIANISM and BUREAUCRACY in the attitude of the T.U. leadership towards the sentiments, desires and the will of the workers themselves.

1. Very often the T.U. leadership does not even keep track of latest events inside the factory and does not know which issue is ~~really~~ ~~agitating~~ ~~the~~ ~~mind~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~workers~~ ~~at~~ ~~a~~ ~~given~~ ~~moment~~.
really agitating the mind of the workers at a given moment.

2. More often, the actual demand is formulated without consulting the *rank and file*

3. Exaggerated, and extravagant demands are sometimes put forward. These are not reasonably attainable; they not only fail to enthuse the mass of workers, but may discredit them and the union in the eyes of the democratic public.

4. Such demands are put forward sometimes from false notions of "prestige", particularly where the "competition" of a rival union is present. Sometimes, they are inspired by the naive notion that the higher you pitch your demand, the more you are likely to get out of the boss, so why ask for less?

5. Conversely, there is also met the "ultra-revolutionary" idea that workers must be ~~led~~ ~~through~~ ~~the~~ ~~fire~~ ~~of~~ ~~struggle~~, ~~hence~~ ~~demands~~ ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~made~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~boss~~ ~~is~~ ~~bound~~ ~~to~~ ~~reject~~ ~~them~~, ~~leading~~ ~~thereby~~ ~~to~~ ~~no~~ ~~alternative~~ ~~but~~ "struggle" for the workers.

6. And many demands- real demands- are simply "overlooked" because they are too small and "petty" to be taken seriously as the basis for action!

When all these mistakes are ~~exp~~, committed, what are the essential factors which are ignored by our TUs? They are Three:-

1) It is forgotten that the person in whose name and on whose behalf the demands are, formulated in the worker. Therefore, to ~~ask~~ consult him while formulating the demands. is not only wise ~~rather~~ renderly but also elementary politeness and common sense;

2) It is forgotten that however big and impressive a demand or "charter" of demands may sound, it will remain written on paper ~~and~~ and until the workers ACT for its realisation. The demands must therefore be such as will help initiate mass action, otherwise it is not worth the paper it is written on. It is well to remember that "Every step of actual movement is more important than a dozen programmes" (KARL MARX; Letter to Bracke, 1875)

3) It is forgotten that the ~~only~~ only successful action can be UNITED action. Therefore, the demands must be such as are intelligible to and supported by all actions by the backward as well as the advanced workers, by the workers of our TU as well as those of other TUs in the same factory or industry, and by the unorganised workers.

If these principles are remembered, the day-to-day task of formulating demands will always and correctly be guided by certain simple RULES which may be defined as follows:

1) Before demands are finally adopted, they must be thoroughly and exhaustively discussed by the workers. Democratic consultation of the workers and discussed by them is obligatory on our T.U. leadership. It must be consciously organised through varied types of meetings best suited to the concrete situation through leaflets: posters wall papers, etc. The demands should be finalised by the Executive Committee of the union and put before a general meeting for endorsement.

Only if the ordinary worker participates in the formulation of the demands and feels that they are the expression of his own will, and not something imposed on him from above, will he be inspired to fight doggedly for their realisation.

II) The demands should be sober, precise and easily intelligible, not abstract and complicated.

That is to say; they must be comprehensible to the level of understanding of not only the advanced, class-conscious militants (who are always in the minority) but of the average and backward sections who are in the majority and hence constitute an enormous potential fighting force. All must be united around the most immediate burning demands.

iii) Demands must be based on a careful study also of general principles; of the comparative situation in similar concerns in the industry and adjacent centres, of the actual strength of the workers, and so on. They must be based on the ACTUAL grievances inside the factory as reported by the workers.

Uptodate reports by workers will come to the T.U. leadership only if it, for its part, carries on systematic day-to-day agitation and exposure of ~~the~~ oppression at the factory gate ~~in~~ in the bustees and chawls, and where possible, inside the factory ~~also~~ also. Such living contact is essential if real grievances are to be collected timely as the basis for immediate demands.

iv) The demands must aim above all at ensuring the broadest unity and mobilisation of the mass of workers.

From this point of view, no demand, however small, and "trivial" it may look, should be ignored. Times without number we have seen how, when the union has failed to give, the workers themselves have spontaneously united and fought for such demands as reduction of the price of meals served by the employer's canteen or provision of uniform and working clothes or some similar issue.

" United action can be achieved around a single demand which might seem to be very modest in itself, but which has the merit of uniting all workers..... We know of brothers who consider opportunist to limit themselves to the modest demands. But in actual fact their so-called revolutionary intransigence leads to the worst kind of opportunism, because it results in inaction. It is also true sometimes that, on the pretext of achieving unity, brothers sometimes do less than it is possible to do, and this is equally harmful to the development of unity! (Benoit Frachon-Report at the WFTU General Council Meeting, Berlin, November 1951).

Such are the rules we ~~shall~~ should painstakingly and consciously adopt when formulating demands. But of them all, undoubtedly the most important is the need for thorough consultation, with the workers and democratic discussion by the latter of the demands for which they must fight. There is no substitute for this.

Once the demand grips the mind and imagination of the workers it becomes a mighty invincible force.

The classic example of this was provided in pre-revolutionary Russia ~~xxxxx~~ by Stalin himself who, as TU leader in the Baku Oil-fields, organised such widespread and democratic discussion of the demands to be presented to the oil magnates that for three weeks in the midst of raging Tsarist terror, a workers' "Parliament" presided over by a worker, met in Baku discussing the demands! Thus, the workers under Bolshevik and Menshevik influence alike, and Russian, Moslem and Jewish workers together, were united together for tremendous strike battles. We should learn from history.

II. Leaflets & Speeches.

Generally speaking, the drafting of TU handbills and making of speeches (whether in general meetings, or gate and bustee meetings) tend to become the 'monopoly' or specialised function of one or two middle class (i.e. intellectual) organisers or whole time officials in each union. It must be admitted that in a large number of cases, the standard of agitation thus produced is neither educative nor inspiring.

But the standard so set becomes the ~~But the standard...~~ accepted 'model' in that particular union, and the worker militant feels lack of self confidence to write or speak unless he can conform to that standard which he cannot.

Why does this happen? What are the most common defects in our day-to-day agitational work, in our slogans of propaganda?

Leaflet and speeches often lack objectivity. The picture they depict of a particular event or situation is so exaggerated or worded in such highly coloured language that it does not make any ~~xxxxxx~~ sense to the average worker.

Secondly, agitation is often carried on, like so many other things, quite spontaneously. That is, the speaker or writer makes no previous efforts.....

no previous efforts to understand the prevailing mood and sentiment of the workers, what are the concrete doubts and questions worrying them, what is the immediate slogan to be put across etc. Instead, refuge is sought in generalised and vague demogogy which sounds very hot but ~~the~~ leaves the worker cold.

Thirdly, there is too often, ~~the~~ no-clarity regarding the specific purpose of a particular leaflet i.e. whether it is to be mainly agitational or mainly explanatory, according to the needs of the situation. The result is a hotch-potch of both, which can never be effective and often creates confusion.

Fourthly, too many leaflets and speeches are full of our favourite jargons and phrases which are quite incomprehensible to the rank and file workers.

Fifthly, there is the all-too-common fault of long-windedness. This often arises out of the confused notions that every occasion for a speech and leaflet, whatever the immediate issue, must be utilised for putting across the whole of one's pet "thesis", economic and political! A leaflet dealing with, let us say, the mismanagement of the mill ration shop will not be considered complete unless it argues out the "link" between this issue and the final social and economical emancipation of the proletariat!

Is it any wonder, then, that the average TU militant, even when he can read and write, shrinks from making speeches or writing out the matter for a poster or a short handbill? He feels he has not got the capacity! Yet he puzzled also to find that the union's leaflet and the union's organisers' ~~speeches~~ speeches have not made such difference to the situation inside his shop or department.

Our day-to-day agitation must be properly planned and thought out, must be carefully prepared in advance and carefully checked up afterwards from the workers' reaction. The whole purpose of good agitation is to give expression to the innermost feelings and desires of the workers and to draw conclusions arising out of the workers' own experience and level of consciousness.

Handbills and speeches should-

- * avoid exaggeration of facts and extravagant language.
- * be sober, simple, to-the-point, and at the same time educative.
- * avoid political and "party" jargons
- * answer shortly, directly and in a polemic form, the arguments of the bourgeoisie and their agents and doubts of the workers.
- * state the "essential FACTS" in such a manner that the obvious conclusions emerge easily for the worker to grasp
- * formulate "clear-cut slogans and directives, & demands
- * be full of class confidence, and militancy so as to rouse the workers into activity.

(Give examples from actual leaflets of good and bad points; also read examples of leaflets drafted by Stalin for Baku and Tiflis Workers).

The length, language and content of a particular handbill depends upon many factors which it is not possible to define rigidly. For example-

- If it is primarily agitational in purpose, it should be brief, direct and rousing.

- If it is -----

- If it is mainly explanatory, it must pay special attention to sober facts, the enemy's arguments, simple but polemical in form.
- Degree of literacy amongst the workers concerned, their reading habits etc. must be taken into account (e.g. compare urban worker with the worker in mines and plantations).

It must be remembered that day-to-day agitation cannot ~~be~~ never be really alive and inspiring unless active workers and leaders active workers and leaders are helped and educated to grow from among the ranks of the backward section. Even if all of them cannot become the agitators themselves, it is by LEARNING FROM THEM that others can improve the quality of their TU agitation.

" Perhaps these leaders may still be too inexperienced, not sufficiently literate, perhaps they do not know how to express themselves well in words or writing, but they are linked to the masses, they know their thoughts, their feelings and state of mind, and they are often better leaders than educated and enlightened elements who have come from outside and who are not completely rooted in the life work and struggle of the masses." (Rostovsky- "Work With The Masses")

All the above directions apply with even greater force to agitation during strikes and struggles.

* * *

III. CONDUCT OF MEETINGS

If TU democracy is to be more than formality, it is essential that all union meetings be properly conducted.

This is one of the day-to-day activities which is most often neglected by us. TU Executive bodies meet irregularly, there is no sense of continuity or checkup in their work, discussion is often formal, and the E. C. members themselves take their responsibilities casually since they are not conscious of their own authority and duties.

General meetings of Union members (as distinct from ordinary "mass" meetings in which only agitation is done) are practically unknown except on the occasion of the "annual" conference. Even the latter would not be held in many places, were it not for the constitutional obligation under the rules of registration.

Basically, ofcourse, the grave defects and omissions in our work have their root in a wrong outlook regarding TU democracy. But it is also true that, where meetings are held, the manner in which they are conducted further contributes to a lack of seriousness and breeds a passive, apathetic attitude towards the union's management.

In such a situation, bureaucracy flourishes. The principle of collective leadership on the basis of democratic opinion and mandate of the union members is violated. Annual election of the Executives becomes a lifeless routine without any live discussion. The rank and file union member feels his only part in the union affairs is payment of his dues.

It is with the specific aspect of the conduct & organisation of meetings that we are concerned here. Once the vital bearing of this as a lever to build the mass democratic character of the TU is grasped, it will not be difficult to follow the simple rules stated here:...

stated here:

Executive Committee- The E. C. must work collectively under the direction of the General Secretary. What does this mean concretely?

- a) Every initiative and decision must be discussed before hand by all the E.C. members before being submitted to the general meeting.
- b) The decisions thus arrived at must be taken down in a verbatim report (minutes).
- c) These minutes must be read out at the subsequent meeting to ensure that the decisions taken are enforced, whatever their importance (check-up and verification).
- d) The agenda must be drawn up before the meeting or at its very outset; it must be followed point by point, and each point must be concluded and decision taken.
- e) The General Secretary leads the discussion, keeps it to the point of agenda, and sums up. The E.C. makes its contribution either by accepting the proposal made by the Secretary to it or by altering it.
- f) In cases of difference of opinion, the decision of the majority always prevails.
- g) If important disagreements arise, they must be always settled by reference to the general meeting.
- h) E.C. meetings should be held regularly; all members should make it a point to attend punctually, discussion should be carried out freely and frankly, but always in a fraternal spirit.

General Meetings- Why are general meetings of all union members at regular intervals necessary?

Because:

* The Union leadership is elected by the whole membership in order to run the organisation in the workers' best interests; therefore, the leadership, which can at any ~~moment~~ moment forfeit the confidence of the trade unionists, should always be under the control of the whole membership.

** The general meeting establishes and maintains contact between the leadership and the members (discussion on demands, etc.)

*** The general meeting enables the leadership to submit to the members at regular intervals a review of its activities.

The place, time and other details connected with the calling of general meetings should be so fixed that:

- the members are informed in good time;
- it is possible for them to be present;
- they know from beforehand the agenda of the meeting;
- they can participate freely in discussion of the reports and resolutions;
- they can arrive at effective and binding decisions.

At the beginning of the meeting, the union secretary asks the meeting to appoint a chairman who may or may not be the Union President. The Chairman's role is very important one.

He opens

He opens the meeting;

- @ directs the discussion, keeping it to the point of agenda;
- @ gives the floor to the member who asks for it;
- @ ensures discipline and order in the discussion;
- @ if necessary, fixes a time-limit for each speaker and adheres to it impartially;
- @ puts resolutions to the vote and closes the meeting.

The success of the meeting depends on to a great extent on a good Chairman, who is responsible and objective and has authority and confidence of the members. It is desirable to train up worker militants capable of discharging these functions.

Minutes of the discussions and especially of the decisions of a general meeting must, of course, be kept and read at the beginning of the next meeting, because these decisions constitute a "mandate" for the union leadership. The E. C. is responsible for implementing that mandate, dividing up jobs and checking up on their fulfillment.

The ~~resolutions~~ resolutions for all meetings must be carefully drawn and drafted. They should be simple, straightforward and to the point. Resolutions are not lengthy "theses" of policy. Nor are they polemics or arguments. They should state things as positively as possible so that the members understand clearly, what they are voting for or against.

Such are the rules ensuring democratic and business-like conduct of meetings.

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IV. CONDUCT OF STRIKES

In this lecture we are not concerned with all the details of strike tactics in different situations. Nor, of course, is it possible to lay down any rigid tactical line to be followed at all times and in all cases.

But we can with profit discuss some simple DO's and DONT's which are generally applicable in case of strikes and then deal in somewhat more detail with one or two specific problems. These Do's and Dont's are some of the elementary rules of strike conduct which our TUs should bear in mind from day to day, so that they neither run ahead of the workers' consciousness and the degree of their preparedness and unity, nor lag behind.

Let us deal first with the principal rules of what we should not do.

- 1) Dont launch strike without fully ascertaining the workers' wishes, or just because we feel strike is necessary even if the workers dont.
- 2) Dont hesitate to launch strike, after failure of conciliation and negotiations, if the workers are agreed on the necessity for it.
- 3) Dont deliberately flout certain legal obligations re: strike procedure which may be there in the case of essential services etc.,
- 4) Dont close the door for negotiations and settlement after the strike is launched.
- 5) Dont expose all the union cadres and leaders to the risk of arrest and victimisation.
- 6) Dont do anything which may alienate the sympathy and support of the non working class public.
- 7) Dont hesitate to call off the strike when the mood of the workers their unity and strength justify an organised retreat.
- 8) Dont on the other hand, get panicky and call off the strike simply because of fear of "repression."

As against these cautions (which are of course, not ready-made rules) the positive directives of the general nature may be listed as follows:

Before the strike decision is finally taken, explore all available means of conciliation and settlement, both official and non-official.

2. The readiness and will of the workers for strike action MUST be soberly and objectively gauged, either by means of strike ballot or through meetings, or under certain conditions, by extensive consultation with the worker cadres inside the factory.

3. Defend the strike boldly and fearlessly against ~~xxx~~ blacklegs police repression, employers' goondas and provocations.

4. Guard the safety of the key cadres, though not at the expense of effective day to day leadership of the strike.

5. Consciously and planfully mobilise support and active sympathy of (a) other workers, especially in adjacent areas and allied industries and (b) the democratic sections of the public and especially when the strike affects a public utility concern (railways water and electricity, city transport etc.,).

6. Take the initiative for opening negotiations if opportunity ~~xxx~~ permits - instead of just sitting tight and waiting for the other side to climb down.

7. Organise measures of relief in case the strike is a prolonged one or likely to be so.

These Do's and Dont's taken together, are only the minimum rules for conducting any strike. Many more have to be discussed and ~~added~~ added to cover the wide variety of cases which arises in everyday life, e.g., "token" strikes of a limited durations, stay in strikes; lightning strikes in reply to some sudden attack within the factory by the employer etc.. No hard and fast rules can be laid down for these,

But one of the most common and MAJOR problems during a strike is THAT CONCERNING CADRES CADRES TO MAN THE STRIKE COMMITTEE CADRES TO ORGANISE VOLUNTEERS FOR PICKETING AND DEFENCE AND OVER ALL PROBLEM OF GUARDING THE SAFETY OF THE KEYCADRES AND LEADERS.

A strike is the battle of the working class. Never more so than today when capitalism in crisis is trying desperately to pass the burden of the crisis on the working class in the shape of rationalisation, wage cuts, retrenchment etc. This means that every strike struggle today will be fiercely fought out by the bourgeoisie. There will be any amount of victimisation, and arrests, drastic use of Sec.144 etc. But despite all repressive measures, the workers will develop their struggle on the basis of their unity, and these struggle will have to be led and organised either directly ~~or~~ by our TUs or with their active help.

Too many strikes are conducted by us from first to last without any proper, authoritative, functioning strike committees. Sometimes this is due to sheer neglect and a bureaucratic or formal understanding of the vital need for the strike committee; at other times, we may be conscious of the tasks of organising such committees, but the practical difficulties in the way are such that we fail.

It is necessary to restate here, with renewed emphasis, the basic law of strike organisation, namely, that NO STRIKE SHOULD EVER BE CONDUCTED WITHOUT A STRIKE COMMITTEE REPRESENTING THE RANK AND FILE OF THE STRIKERS AND ACTING AS THEIR GENERAL STAFF IN THE BATTLE AGAINST THE BOSSES. A strike does not organise itself.

- The strike Committee---

* The strike Committee, under ideal conditions, must be elected by the general body of the strikers, whose full confidence it must command as a sine quo non of its effective leadership. It must represent the broadest unity of all sections of the workers participating in the strike.

* Where workers belonging to more than one union are party to the strike, the need for the joint strike committee is obvious.

only

* But where one union is ~~only~~ involved, in a particular factory or concern, many times the need for a proper strike committee is bypassed on the plea that the Union Executive Committee is already there and can very well serve the purpose.

This is a fallacious idea. The total body of strikers, which naturally embraces all or the overwhelming majority of the workers in the factory (unless the strike itself is a bogus one!), is generally a much wider than the total membership of the union; hence, the unorganised workers must also be represented on a broad, rank and file committee which can speak for ~~itself~~ itself.

Secondly, even if the union happens to have a very high percentage of membership and strong influence over the non-members, a Strike Committee is essential; because the existing union ~~executives~~ executives does not necessarily include all the best and most class-conscious militant workers while, on the other hand, it may include quite a number who are weak and ~~unreliable~~ unreliable elements, when it comes to struggle.

Hence, in every case, a strike committee must be set up either before or during the course of the strike itself.

- As mentioned earlier, wherever possible, the strike committee has to be formed elected by the mass or strikers. Union Executives are generally composed of representatives of different departments and shops; but this principle obviously cannot be the only guiding one in the case of a Strike Committee which has generally to conduct the struggle outside the factory. (The case of stay-in strike is, of course, different). Here the main considerations will, therefore, be class consciousness, militancy, experience, resourcefulness etc. as well as proper representation of different categories of workers.

- But in the great majority of cases under the present day conditions, it is not physically possible to hold strikers' meetings for the express purpose of openly electing a Strike Committee and announcing the name of its members. Such methods would play straight into the hands of the police and the employers. Moreover, no Strike Committee would even be formed because the militant workers, who are wiser than we, would refuse to allow their names to be put forward in such meetings!

- In these cases, and they are going more and more to be the rule rather than the exception, what are we to do? It is these practical difficulties, which we often get round by the simple expedient of not having Strike Committee at all!

- The solution is not admittedly an easy one, especially where our day-to-day work prior to the strike has not linked us firmly with the mass of workers both inside the factory as well as in the bastees and chawls. Where the unions' mass contact itself is weak, the strike committee may at the outset have to be largely handpicked by the union leadership. But the object should be

as the strike develops from day to day, to pick up new active workers, and to draw them into the Committee. The Committee in such case will have to earn the confidence of the rank and file by the work it does as the struggle goes on.

- But when there is already a core of good active workers' cadres inside the factory, it is possible to "elect" a Strike Committee enjoying the confidence of the workers, provided we give serious attention to it in good time.

- It is possible and practicable to invite and secure names from the workers of departments and shops before the strike commences; and through group meetings in bustees, chawls workers' colonies and other localities after the strike has been launched. In this way, Committee can be formed representative of the will of the strikers. Everything depends upon the initiative and mass contacts of the Union cadres.

• To underestimate the capacity of such initiative would be a defeatist blunder. Even backward and unorganised workers, when circumstances compel them, come with true proletarian instinct to the realisation that a democratic, rank and file strike committee must be set up if their struggle is to be properly conducted. They may not call it a "strike committee", they may not observe all the formal niceties as laid down in a TU organisers' text book, they may not be able to plan out and discharge all its theoretical functions systematically.

But we find numerous instances of how the workers throw up a leadership of their own choice and out of their own ranks in order to lead struggles. How else can we explain the example of the Burnpur Iron and Steel workers and their creative initiative in setting up their own "Action Committee" in defence of the reactionary INTUC leadership? -

- Where large number of workers are involved and a very high degree of solidarity and militancy has been achieved, the management and Government may sometimes hesitate to attack the members and leaders of the strike committee for fear of worsening the situation. But such cases are rare. We must always proceed on the assumption that the strike leaders will be marked out for arrest and victimisation. The following precautions should, therefore, be observed to the extent demanded by the concrete situation, the actual degree of repression etc:-

i) The names of the Strike Committee members should not be publically announced in mass meetings, handbills etc.

ii) This is not to say that the enemy may not get to know some of them through other means; some, including a few important cadres, e. g. the Secretary of the Committee, may have to get more or less exposed if the struggle is to be properly led - that is an inevitable risk. (But even they should take certain elementary precautions when moving about, sleeping at night, etc.) The point is: why should we make a present gratis of the militant cadre to the police?

iii) Some of the cadres and leaders must, however, be kept unexposed even when they are strike committee members. Experience shows that their physical absence from the platform, as it were, is never misunderstood by the workers. There are hundreds of other ways of reaching them. They have to be made responsible for jobs which can be performed with the requisite degree of safety. This is essential in order to maintain unbroken the continuity of leadership and

Leadership and to prevent total wipe-out of the organisation.

3) There should not, however, be unnecessary panic and wholesale tendency to stay 'unexposed' - even from the workers! This would be disastrous for the struggle and such a strike committee would not be tolerated for long. The extent of precautions taken must be objectively determined by the real dangers present, not imaginary ones. Naturally, the final decision as to how many and who are to be guarded will be taken by the Strike Committee itself. But we have to be vigilant also against the possible presence within the Committee itself of suspicious or unreliable elements.

The Strike Committee, once formed, has to divide up responsibilities for organising the following tasks and to put one member in charge of each, i.e. answerable for it to the whole Committee:

- FINANCE
- PRESS AND PUBLICITY
- CONTACT WITH ALLIED FORCES
- CORRESPONDENCE
- RELIEF
- VOLUNTEERS FOR PICKETING & DEFENCE.

The comrades incharge of each of these separate functions sit together with the Secretary (and President, if there is one), who has over-all responsibility, to constitute the executive body of the Strike Committee.

This Executive body or, where necessary, the union leadership must take the initiative to call meetings of the full Strike Committee as and when required by the situation. The Strike Committee will hear reports on, discuss and take decisions on all such problems as, for example, weaknesses to be corrected orientation of the movement, how to combat lies and false propaganda put out by the bourgeoisie to confuse the strikers, proposals to be made to the employer, organisation of solidarity actions, strike bulletin, etc. etc.

No important decision of the Strike Committee should be binding unless the strikers have been consulted and have been given the opportunity to express their views thereon. These views will naturally have to be ascertained by whatever means are best suited to the prevailing conditions in each specific case.

The pattern will, of course, vary from place to place, being more elaborate, mobile and 'open' in the case of industries in the big cities, and more simplified, elementary and precautionary in the case of, let us say, mining areas or plantations where jungle law prevails.

But in ALL CASES WITHOUT EXCEPTION IT IS THE UNWRITTEN LAW FOR OUR TUs AND T.U. WORKERS TO AIM AT SOME FORM OF RANK AND FILE STRIKE COMMITTEE AS THE BASIC ORGAN OF STRUGGLE.

If the Strike Committee is the General Staff of the strikers' army, its active and vanguard soldiers are the VOLUNTEERS who must man the picket lines, defend the strike fearlessly against the police and goondas, and perform a hundred other jobs from propaganda work to collection of cash and food-grains for the strikers and their families.

Many a struggle is lost by poorly organised or inadequate volunteers. Many a struggle is won by the energy, heroism and discipline of the volunteers which rally the whole fighting mass

and stimulate its morale.

The role of the strike volunteers and picket becomes more and more important in the period when deepening capitalist crisis makes the bourgeoisie increasingly ferocious, and growing unemployment puts at the employers' disposal a reserve labour force whose misery and starvation can be exploited for strike-breaking.

Such a volunteer force cannot be created overnight out of nothing. Its nucleus has to be built up in the normal course of day to day work, without waiting for a strike to develop. Precisely because this is not done in many cases, volunteer mobilisation during the strike itself becomes difficult and unplanned.

Our TUs, if they are serious about the prospective of fierce class struggles that lie ahead, should seriously tackle the following tasks:

- 1) Every T.U. should normally organise a permanent Volunteer Force whose day-to-day job is to learn elements of parade and drilling, to control mass meetings and demonstrations, to carry out marches (shouting slogans, etc.) through the working class localities. One or two special trainers have to be allotted for this job.
- 2) This standing volunteer force need not be numerically very large, but it should be properly disciplined and trained and composed of the most energetic, militant and cool-headed workers who show an inclination for this type of work.

These cadres will form the solid nucleus for recruiting, training and leading the mass volunteers during periods of strikes and struggles, when hundreds more and eager to play their part.

- 3) Experience shows that the best and most courageous volunteers come from the ranks of the YOUNG workers. In their everyday work, therefore, our TUs must pay special attention to the problems and requirements of the working class youth. They must seriously study the grievances of apprentices, formulate their demands and fight for their realisation. They must try to organise literacy classes for the young workers, other education, libraries, recreational clubs, sports, etc., after working hours. This is of great importance.
- 4) Even when there is no strike actually on (and, of course, even more so during strikes) there is increasing danger of physical assault on T.U. leaders and key cadres by the hirelings of the capitalists (e.g., ICFTU, inspired attacks on Calcutta Seamen, etc.). When the masses are with us, and yet we cannot defend our cadres, this leads to demoralisation and panic. It is essential that trained volunteers be available to give a fitting reply to such planned attacks.

This does not mean that we everywhere organise 'armed' squads for clashes. Nor does it mean that we go in indiscriminately for counter 'mara-mari' even where our mass position is weak. But it does mean that we keep ourselves prepared for the worst, that we do not preach 'non-violence' as a principle and that we are organised for defence.

It is necessary to emphasise this because the great majority of our unions today, because they are 'legal' seem to be suffering from legalist illusions about the tactics and methods which the bourgeoisie will employ against the workers. Hardly a handful of unions can boast of any volunteer organisation worth the name.

5) During a strike, particularly a prolonged one, it is necessary to pay special attention to the physical needs (duty hours, replacements, extra 'tiffin' etc.) of the volunteers, so that their morale does not flag. These little details make a lot of difference to their enthusiasm and capacity for hard work. It must be remembered that an efficient volunteer force does wonders to rouse and maintain the fighting spirit of the mass of workers on strike. And the converse is also true.

V. ORGANISATION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES.

One of the fundamental weaknesses of the majority of our TUs is their lack of organisation at the actual work-place itself. T.U. activity, even where there are a considerable number of active worker cadres, remains largely confined to the union office, the factory gate, the bustee and the chawl. This is the typical bourgeois-reformist pattern of T.U. organisation, in which the T.U. leadership 'leads' from above and outside, while no real rank and file activity is developed inside the factory.

It should be clear that without a BASIC SHIFT in T.U. organisation from outside the factory to inside it, our TUs can never become real mass democratic TUs firmly linked with the workers (Experience of Bombay Textiles etc.).

Com. Rostovsky says: "To ensure the participation of the mass of the workers in the activity of trade union organisations requires, at least,.....that liaison between the trade union and the mass of trade unionists and non-unionists as well, be systematically organised at the place of work.

In the capitalist countries it is there, on the job, that the close link between the trade union and the mass of the workers is forged. It is therefore, through meetings on the job, in conversations from bench to bench, machine to machine - between the workers and the ordinary trade union militants....that the demands of the workers are revealed, that unity is brought about and that the struggles which the trade union must lead are waged. It is there, through the experience which the mass of the workers themselves acquire when the trade union is their faithful interpreter and unfaltering guide, that trade union recruitment is carried on, that is, the organisation of ever-wider masses for increasingly decisive struggles." (Democracy in Trade Union Work).

This is clear enough. The factory and department or shop committee is thus the KEY to mass work and democratic participation by the workers in the T.U. movement.

In our country, this lesson in the ABC of trade unionism is badly applied at all because :

- a) it does not remain real in the consciousness of our T.U. leaders, the overwhelming majority, of whom are of non-working class, intellectual origin; and
- b) of practical difficulties similar to those encountered in the case of strike committees also.

It is true that the factory committee can only function properly where there is a trained core of working class militants - courageous, watchful, and with plenty of natural initiative. The point is : precisely for what jobs should they be trained up?

There is too often a mechanical idea among our trade unionists that the sole purpose and function of the factory or dept. committee and its members is to 'lead' militant actions inside

the factory, to stand in the forefront of the workers when they go to surround the manager or other company officials; in short to risk their jobs by exposing themselves generally as 'trouble-makers' and ring leaders, to use the bourgeoisie's phrases.

If this is how the functions of the factory committee are understood and explained to the cadres, is it any wonder that the militant always finds some excuse or other to shift the responsibility, and the factory committee remains, at best, on paper and practically defunct?

This incorrect theory is the counterpart of that which holds that the trade union has no functions other than to lead strikes.

According to this theory, the factory committee can have no regular, systematic day-to-day responsibilities, but can act only when a stay-in-strike, or a 'gherao', or some other demonstration inside the factory is to be organised.

Is it surprising, then, that many of our T.U. leaders, with the best intentions in the world, find themselves at a loss to explain to the cadres exactly what they are supposed to do as members of the factory committee?

Let us try to lay down some simple rules and suggestions for the day-to-day activity of the factory committee members:

- 1) Firstly, each member's sphere of activity should be LIMITED and strictly ALLOTTED. That is, he is put in charge of a specific number, a group, of workers, say 15 or 20, in his own department, (or, also, adjacent departments if they are easily accessible in a particular workshop). He must be made to understand that looking after the interests of these 15 or 20 of his fellow-workers is his supreme responsibility. How does he do this?
- 2) He discusses with his group all questions affecting them, their working and living conditions, their family, social and cultural problems, their grievances etc. etc.
- 3) He passes on to his group the decisions and proposals of the union Executive Committee and discusses them, with the main purpose of listening to their opinions.
- 4) He creates an atmosphere of good comradeship and fraternal fellow-feelings within his group and inspires confidence in the union.
- 5) He answers his group's questions on various problems such as new labour legislation, accidents at work, security of service, etc. If he does not know the answer, he passes on the questions immediately to the union leadership, collects the necessary information, and then informs the workers concerned.
- 6) He maintains vigilance to see whether any worker of his group be he a union member or not - seems to be dissatisfied or dejected, and takes the trouble to find out the cause for it. It may be some financial difficulty, or illness of some family member, or some other similar problem. In that case, the factory committee member tries to help the worker concerned, gives him advice, appeals to the others, if necessary, to give him a small loan as relief, or arranges, through the union, for medical attention by a sympathetic doctor. There are hundreds of such concrete ways by which active trade union solidarity is built up.
- 7) He reports regularly to the union leadership on the grievances of his group, thus acting as the union's eyes and ears within the factory and providing the union leadership with the information which

8) He is responsible for collecting the union subscription from his group. There are ~~dozens~~ of ways of doing this, even within the factory, in an unobtrusive way. However, if the risk is too great, he arranges for the workers of his group to go to the union office and pay. The point is: if the factory committee member has functioned systematically along the lines suggested above and has thereby earned the confidence and respect of his group, it will not be at all difficult for him to realise the union dues from them. He will not have to argue and canvass and make repeated appeals, which is always a distasteful job.

The Factory committee, as a whole, meets from time to time at the initiative of the union leadership, reports on and discusses ~~xxx~~ common problems and issues affecting the factory and acts as a permanent consultative body of the union.

Thus, factory committee serves not only as the instrument for drawing the mass of workers into T.U. activities, but also as a first-rate school for training worker cadres in mass work ~~xxxx~~ on the basis of their own experience.

This method of organisation must be made part and parcel of our day-to-day T.U. work, though the precise forms may be adapted to different conditions, especially in such backward areas as mines and plantations and in non-factory occupations (e.g. transport) where the basis of the committee and its activity have to be different (e.g. 'line', gang, section, etc.).

It ~~xxxx~~ goes without saying that should ~~be~~ the occasion arise for organising militant mass action within the factory itself, the chances of greatest success and minimum danger to the active cadres will be precisely in those instances where the worker vanguard has already linked itself firmly with the mass through its day to day work. Victimisation by the management is comparatively easy where the united mass does not solidly back up the factory or department 'leader'; but where he has won for himself a real leader's status through prolonged, patient, and determined activity, there neither he nor the mass of workers will hesitate to act together in defence of their common interests. That is the surest guarantee of success.

VI. FUNCTIONING IN WORKS COMMITTEES

The lecture on 'Labour Legislations' has dealt with the question of Works Committees, the rules pertaining to them, the Govt's purpose in setting them up, and what our attitude should be.

Here, we are concerned with one aspect only - how to train up the worker cadres who get elected to the Works Committees to function therein.

Experience shows that in a great number of instances, even where our T.U. ~~x~~ cadres have won sweeping victories in Works Committee elections, the task of giving them detailed and concrete training is grossly neglected. They are left to shift for themselves. The link between their work inside the Committee and ~~the~~ the mass movement outside is lost sight of. As a result all sorts of distressing situations arise.

Sometimes, the most militant of workers remains tongue-tied in the presence of the company 'Schnitz', with whom he has never been accustomed to sit around the same table.

At other times, he over-rates the importance and potentialities of the Works Committee, gets sunk in illusions based on the management's assurances, and begins to counsel patience where the workers are justifiably impatient. He often falls into the bosses' trap through lack of class vigilance, particular when he is in a

minority among the workers' representatives.

Conversely, we have many examples, especially where either our cadres are in overwhelming majority, or are more or less evenly matched in numbers with INTUC or HMS workers; the continual obstruction of the latter or by the management to our proposals and demands often breeds a feeling of frustration and disgust, leading to the theory that we should immediately resign and walk out of the committee.

Cases are not unknown where due to defective functioning, our Works Committee members have got themselves identified with unpopular decisions and thus become suspect in the eyes of the very workers who had elected them.

In order to avoid these and other mistakes, and to combine skilfully the task of squeezing every possible advantage out of the Works Committee with the task of exposing its undemocratic character and its pro-employer bias, our T.Us must train up our worker-cadres so that:-

- 1) They are thoroughly acquainted with the statutory rules and regulations governing procedure and know exactly what are their rights.
- 2) They are always vigilant against any manoeuvre or proposal by the employer's side which would have the effect of counterposing the Works Committee to the union and thereby weakening the latter.
- 3) They use the Works Committee planfully and effectively to ventilate the real grievances and demands of the workers, after having consulted the latter as to which issues require immediate representation; this would preferably be done on the basis of the very departments, shops, or sections which comprised the voting constituencies for the Works Committee elections. In other words, the electorate must be consulted regularly and widely by its representatives before every meeting of the Works Committee.
- 4) In the Committee meeting itself, they but always speak firmly and sharply with a class approach.
- 5) They spare no effort to see that a united stand is taken in the Committee by all the workers' representatives, irrespective of differences in union affiliation, etc., in defence of the workers' interests, and campaign actively for the same among the mass of workers.
- 6) They report back promptly and faithfully after every Committee meeting; ~~in~~ a factual report of the stand taken by the different interests and their own concrete contributions to the discussion, and sharp exposure of the management's manoeuvres and any other anti-worker trends.
- 7) They demarcate themselves sharply from any decision which goes against the workers' interests, and which the majority tries to force through as representing the opinion of the Works Committee (this is usually necessary where our cadre is in a small minority).
- 8) They always emphasise among the workers that the decisive voice lies with them, in their mass mobilisation and strong T.U. organisation, and that this alone can enable their representatives to wring concessions, however, limited out of the Works Committee machinery. All such partial gains should be popularised as the gains of the movement and not as individual efforts.

It is generally seen that where we are the majority of workmen's representatives, the management tries its best to bypass the Works Committee and sabotage even its formal meetings etc.

Where the position is otherwise, however, our cadres may resign at a certain stage if the Works Committee has become thoroughly discredited and unpopular as nothing but an instrument of the management. The situation has to be assessed carefully.

But so long as illusions persist among a considerable section of workers, our representatives must remain there and work in a positive and planned manner, tenaciously defying all the disadvantage of being in a minority, and utilising the legal 'platform' of the Works Committee to the fullest extent possible. To run away in 'disgust' and leave the Committee 100 percent in the hands of the management and pro-employer elements is no solution.

The basis has to be created by our patient work for a big mass movement of the entire working class demanding wholesale overhauling and revision of the existing law, so that the Works Committee are either democratised or completely discredited.

VII. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL WELFARE ACTIVITIES.

Com. Rostovsky teaches us:

"A trade union is not a temporary, but a permanent organisation, called upon to protect the workers' interests...and to assist the workers in their daily struggle to satisfy their needs. That is why it is important for ordinary members of trade unions to show a continual interest in their organisation, and not only during disputes. Trade union members must be able to call on their organisation for help in the solution of the many vital questions which confront them; and it is the duty of the organisation to provide this help" - (Democracy in T.U. work).

In India we have traditionally regarded and organised our TUs as nothing more than 'strike committees', which is a major reason why

- the majority of unions have not become real mass unions, except for short period when a strike upsurge was on;
- the mass of workers regard our T.U.s only as agencies for putting and winning 'demands' from the boss, and not primarily as their own organisation in which they have a real stake;
- T.U. day-to-day activities tend to flag between one 'dispute' and another, one strike and another; membership is unstable;
- A considerable part of the union militants, the potential cadres, and many others who would like to do some union work but don't know how to set about it, are never properly organised and absorbed and tend to become inactive;
- During periods of extreme repression and retreat, or when there has been a set-back in 'struggles', T.U. activities practically come to a standstill.

For all these reasons, it is essential that we re-orientate our whole understanding of the role of the Trade Union. The WFTU has sharply drawn our attention to it.

Basing ourselves on the need to widen the scope of T.U. activity so as to cater to all the multifarious needs of the worker in every aspect of his daily life as a wage-earner under capitalism, our T.U.s must pay serious attention to their cultural, educational and other welfare activities.

This does not mean, and must not be interpreted to mean that we now go to the other extreme, that we fall into the typical reformist outlook of converting the T.U.s into welfare societies and emphasising only this aspect as opposed to, and to the detriment

of, mass struggles. This should be clear.

If we look at it from a more fundamental angle, properly organised socio-cultural activities themselves contribute to the class struggle, by providing, on the basis of self-help, some of the facilities and services which capitalist society by its very nature denies to the working class. A trade union which provides such facilities, on however limited a scale, not only really gives concrete help to the workers, but also strengthen itself immensely by arousing a militant feeling of solidarity for the union.

For example:

- The bourgeoisie denies the right and the means of education to the children of working class families.

The T.U. should organise at least a primary school for children. If it is serious about it, the workers will not hesitate to find a suitable place for it and contribute for the maintenance of the teacher.

- The bourgeoisie denies education to the worker himself. Lakhs of workers, not only in mines and plantations, but also in the big industrial towns are illiterate.
- The T.U.s should organise at least a literacy class, if not a more advanced night-school for adult workers. Part-time services of many friends and sympathisers of the T.U. movement can be utilised for this purpose.
- ~~xx~~ The bourgeoisie denies adequate medical facilities to the workers and particularly to their families.

The T.U. should at least procure the services of a sympathetic doctor to pay visits on one or two fixed ~~xx~~ days in the week to the working class locality to examine the worst cases. This may be combined with cheap supply of medicines through a popular organisation on which the T.U. itself is represented (PRC in Bengal).

At times of epidemics, the T.U. can very well organise mass vaccination, inoculation, etc. in the bustees where its workers live, and at the union office itself.

- The bourgeoisie and its State deny the worker who is victim of industrial accidents even the full scales of compensation to which he would have been entitled had he got proper medical certification and prompt legal assistance.

Is it not possible for the T.U., or at least a group of T.U.s to set up and organise their own 'Claims Bureau' manned by one or two sympathetic doctors and lawyers? The workers could, confidently come there for both medical examination and legal advice, and thus not be cheated out of his rightful dues.

- The bourgeoisie denies lakhs of workers any sort of housing at all.

Our T.U.s may not always be in a position to emulate the great initiative of the Rangoon Dock Workers' Union for co-operative housing of the homeless workers. But similar methods may be adapted to local situations. We must remember that Rs. 10 crores a year is 'sanctioned' by the India Government for industrial housing, and they are committed to subsidise schemes put forward not only the employers ~~xx~~ but by workers' co-operatives also.

At present the employers are either not coming forward with any housing schemes at all, or are trying to grab a part of the subsidies and loans for bogus 'schemes'. Our attitude on the other

on the other hand, remains negative. Is there any leadership why the TU leadership, backed by powerful mass mobilisation, should not put forward at least the simple but useful scheme to meet the requirements of a particular locality or factory where the condition of housing is specially acute?

- The bourgeoisie denies the workers the right to cultural education and self-advancement, based on his national and class traditions, instead the bourgeois ideological offensive of moral and cultural corruption is being stepped up through various means e. g. the official radio, the growth of cinema houses in working class localities etc. For lack of other deep and healthy recreational facilities the worker is wily nilly brought under these penecious influences.

The TU- every TU in fact- can easily organise, even on a small scale, a library and a reading room.

It can provide facilities for at least a few simple indoor games which do not cost much (a chess board, a carrom board etc.) and which will keep the worker youth away from the poison of the bourgeois cinema!

The TU must organise good, healthy cultural entertainment for the workers, whose hunger for it is undeniable as experience has shown in many places. Short dramas dealing with the people's problems sketches satirizing the exploiting classes, folk dances and songs, cinema shows of progressive films from USSR and China, posters and photographs exhibitions and magic lantern shows depicting the new life the workers are building in the countries of socialism and people's democracy etc.- all these will not only popularise the TU itself but exert a powerful educational influence on the masses.

Such activities stimulates the initiative of the workers themselves, produces out of their own ranks real proletarian composers and ~~proletarian~~ playwrights, song squads and drama groups.

- The bourgeoisie continually drives lower and lower the living standard of the workers, inflates prices and increasing denies him access to the most elementary and indispensable necessities of ~~his~~ everyday life- foodstuffs, cloth etc.

The TU may lack the resources to organise and run on its own a workers' Cooperative society, where the working class income is already so meagre.

But it can certainly campaign for, and win through mass mobilisation, the type of employer- subsidised cooperatives which do exist at some places. Even these provide real measure of relief for the workers; The TU can virtually control its administration through its representatives on the Managing Committee, which must be democratically elected. The same principles apply to factory and office canteens supplying cheap meals and eatables.

These are a few suggestions for the guidance of our TUs, if they are to develop this hitherto neglected but vital factor of their activities. They should never forget the simple rule that "no detail" should be neglected; if that details concerns the workers' interests." (Rostovsky).

VII. SOME ASPECTS.....

VII. SOME ASPECTS OF OFFICE FUNCTIONING

The legal requirements governing registration of trade unions their constitution etc. have been extensively dealt with in the lecture on "Labour Legislation."

Here we are concerned only with their bearing on the day-to-day functioning of our TU offices. There is nothing controversial about it.

It must be admitted that the minimum requirements of good office-keeping are not fulfilled by a large number of unions, especially in respect of :

- ** their accounts and funds-
- ** their record.

The keeping of accounts and essential records is one of the important requirements of a good TU leadership, and demands the strict application of a number of simple but systematic measures, viz:

i) There should be a strict monthly check-up on the collection of union dues.

ii) There should be regular vigilance regarding fluctuation in membership. i.e. often while new members are recruited, it is forgotten that the old members have only partially paid their dues. If it is forgotten to recover the balance from them, the unions's total membership get reduced at the end of the year.

iii) The treasurer should not be a 'treasurer' in name only, but should actually be responsible for keeping the accounts, receipts and expenses, with great care.

iv) The treasurer should take the initiative to report at every Executive Committee meeting and to keep the members informed on the state of the budget, which departments or shops are forging ahead and which lagging behind in dues collection etc.

v) The treasurer should try to furnish the regular dues collectors with list of members in order to check whether the dues are up to date or not.

vi) The Office-in-charge must see the following papers are always kept tip-top and up to date in the Office:-

- * Membership register (every entry to be checked against its corresponding membership receipt counterfoil)
- * Minute Book of proceedings of ~~Executive~~ Executive Committee meeting (Secretary to be responsible).
- * Accounts Books
- * Vouchers for every item of expenditure incurred.
- * Copies of the Union Constitution.
- * Copy of the Annual Returns submitted the previous Year to the Registrar of Trade Unions.
- * Registration Certificate of the union.
- * Essential files containing correspondence with the Management and Government, papers relating to conciliation, adjudication etc.
- * Principle Labour Legislations, and at least:
 - .. Factories Act.
 - .. Trade Union Act.

.. Payment of —

- .. Payment of Wages Act.
- .. Industrial Disputes Act and Rules.
- .. Workmen's Compensation Act.
- .. Provident Fund Act and Scheme.
- .. Employees' State Insurance Scheme.
- .. Works Committees - Rules.
- .. Copy of the Standing Orders in force.

The other important side of the day-to-day Office work is the handling of INDIVIDUAL CASES of workers.

This may be broadly divided into two categories:-

- @@ the drafting of PETITIONS and necessary action to follow this up; and
- @@ the drafting of replies on behalf of the workers, to CHARGE SHEETS.

These are vital tasks facing the comrades who man the TU Office. Upon their efficient discharge depends, to a very great extent, the mass popularity which the union can acquire by its reputation for "kanooni" skill. Every Trade Unionist knows from personal experience the tremendous importance attached to this work by the average, backward, uneducated Indian worker, who is helpless to cope by himself the complexity of his "legal" relations with the boss.

To help him promptly and efficiently is a MAJOR responsibility of any union worth the name. This is particularly so in conditions of today, when the all-out bourgeois offensive against the working class is being increasingly reflected in its growing measure against individual worker. Curtailment of existing rights and privileges, tightening up of factory "discipline", intimidation and harassment by the supervisory staff, stricter enforcement of standing orders, rationalisation and increase in workload, charge sheet and warning on a mass scale - all these factors have led to a marked INCREASE in the number of individual cases which the union is called upon to tackle. It is a reflection of the deepening crisis.

Can it be said that the majority of our TUs are equal to the task? It cannot. The general standard of Office work is poor and amateurish, in some places shocking, while not a few unions are notorious for their complete neglect of the job and a callous attitude towards the needs of the workers. Cases are not taken up in time or at all; petitions are so carelessly and irresponsibly drafted that the worker's interests are more harmed than helped; piles of charge sheets lie unanswered even after the final date for reply has expired. These features are present, in greater or less degree, in many unions.

Even where more or less systematic office work is attended to, what do we very often find?

- The job of receiving complaints, writing petitions, representing cases to the labour officer, conciliation officer, etc. is NOT the specific responsibility of any particular comrade. The two or three union organisers who look after all the day-to-day activities of the TU, also attend to, whenever time, opportunity, and adjustments with other TU jobs permit, to deal hurriedly with one or two cases each.

- The TU Office is not regularly opened at a fixed time every day to ~~fit~~ suit the workers' convenience, and is sometimes kept closed altogether -----

closed altogether for half the days in the week. The worker who has an urgent petition to get written, often wanders about searching for the union secretary at the latter's house, favourite tea shops etc.

- The worker is often repelled from the TU Office by the sort of behaviour he encounters there. He is not patiently and politely listened to; the attitude of the office comrades is irritable and "superior," as though he is doing the worker a great favour for which the latter ought to be properly grateful. Sometimes the worker is told there is no "time" to deal with his case, however urgent it may be, and he should therefore come back another day.

- Drafting of petitions is often done in most abstract and abusive language calculated to provoke the very management to whom the request is addressed. Sometimes petitions contain whole lectures and sermons telling the manager or conciliation officer what he ought or ought not to do. All sorts of irrelevant arguments and long-winded repetitions are brought in, while the essential facts are missing or submerged.

- The same is the case with replies to charge sheets, upon which may very well depend upon the worker's livelihood. Instead of trying to answer the charges correctly and convincingly, all sorts of general 'denunciations' and challenges are thrown out or unverified statements made which cannot stand the test of subsequent inquiry.

- The comrade in the office is not infrequently quite ignorant of the relevant labour laws and regulations, of the provisions of the standing orders, and of the procedure of representation and conciliation. As a result, petitions are addressed to the wrong authorities, legal violations by the management are not caught, and Government intervention is not secured.

It is not surprising that large numbers of workers are driven willy-nilly to getting petitions written for them by professional writers of postcards, money order, etc. or by any one of their knowledge who knows a little English. In many cases, they go to the INTUC offices where more prompt and efficient service is available - even though it be at a price! Such features, where they exist, are a sharp reflection on the office work of our TUs.

We must, therefore, make it mandatory for our TUs to observe the following rules in their conduct of day-to-day office work:

1) At least one comrade in every TU must be a specialist at the jobs. He must understand that he is manning a key sector of TU activity, and that upon the efficient discharge of his duties depends a good deal of the union's mass influence and support. He must not grouse and grumble all the time because he is being kept away from more "revolutionary" activities!

2) He must be responsible for regular daily attendance at the TU office at a fixed time suitable to the workers' convenience. ~~Rxk~~ This is his main job. He must consciously train up one or two other comrades in the technique to help him or substitute for him in an emergency.

3) He must conscientiously study and make himself thoroughly familiar with all the essential labour laws, rules and regulations; the specific provisions of the Standing Orders in his particular factory or industry; and the existing machinery and procedure of representation to the management's Labour Officer as well as the Government conciliation

Government Conciliation Officer, factory inspector, Labour Commissioner, etc. It is precisely in mastering this knowledge that his specialisation consists.

4) The worker coming to the Union office must be treated with the maximum of consideration, fact and sympathy. Often he cannot express himself clearly and logically; he must be listened to patiently and helped to explain the essential facts of his case. He must never get the impression that he is not taken seriously, however small the issue at stake may be. If it is an urgent case, no effort should be spared to deal with it immediately.

5) A petition addressed to the management or Labour Commissioner is not an exchange of polemics or "theses" with him! It must not be vague, abstract, irrelevant, or couched in provocative and abusive language. It should be based strictly on facts and stick to facts. It should be concise and to the point. It should marshal all the worker's complaints and suggestions for redress in a concrete and logical manner.

6) A charge-sheet must be answered within the prescribed time limit i.e. it is the first rule to be observed.

If the charges are false, as they usually are, the reply must be firm and straight forward, and the facts must be clearly stated. If it is really an attempt at victimisation, that should also be asserted at the end as the conclusion following logically from the facts stated earlier.

A 'strong' denial of charges should not mean resort to abuse, challenges and "threats". Such a course does not help the worker to defend himself.

If the charges are more or less correct, and there is no alternative but to admit them, the reply should base itself primarily on extenuating circumstances and appeal for reconsideration. This also does not necessarily mean resort to abject and humiliating language which is derogatory to the worker's personal dignity.

In ALL cases, the FACTS stated must be reliable and verified facts. This is most important. Nothing can do greater damage to the worker's case than to make statements and assertions which later on are proved to be incorrect. We must be SURE of our facts. Never rely on reports which have not been carefully checked and proved. If a "fact" is not verifiable, omit it, don't use it carelessly.

7) While carrying on this office-work and attending punctiliously to the worker's needs, educate him gradually to realise on the basis of his own personal experience the real class character of bourgeois "labour relations".

IX. MOBILISING THE PEOPLE'S SUPPORT

Today all trade unionists are agreed from experience that popular support and mobilisation of the democratic sections behind the worker's demands and struggles are essential. The bourgeoisie can often crush working class struggles which are fought in isolation from the people. But where the workers' alliance with other classes is effective, the bourgeoisie more often than not can be compelled to retreat.

The scope of this lecture does not extend to detailed discussion of the various tactics which our TU should employ in winning public solidarity. But it should be obvious that unless this problem - the vital need for WORKER-PUBLIC LIAISON - forms part of the DAILY consciousness of our TU leadership and finds expression in certain systematic day-to-day activities also, it will be difficult to rally the people all of a sudden, only when strikes break out or close-downs and retrenchment take place.

But very few....

But very few unions have as yet cultivated this outlook. In the normal course of every day work, the link with the workers' allies is usually forgotten, is not maintained or developed.

Here we deal briefly with a few simple suggestions for methods by which our TUs can take the initiative for building STABLE fraternal relations with different sections of the people;

1) Each TU must depute at least one capable comrade for making a study of the industry with which it is connected.

On the basis of such study, the TU must formulate concrete slogans and demands whose aim is -

- * To defend the NATIONAL interests in so far as they are affected by the present structure of the industry, and its working (foreign competition, etc.);
- * To defend the interests of the consuming public i.e. by giving them relief against high prices, blackmarketing, etc.;
- * To emphasise the identity of interests between the above demands and the economic demands of the workers, i.e. against monopoly capital, exposure of profiteering, and proving that it is not the worker's wages which are 'responsible' for the high prices extorted by the monopolists.

2) These slogans and demands, backed by essential FACTS & FIGURES which are easily intelligible to all must be systematically popularised by the TU through handbills, booklets, press statements, public meetings, mass signature campaign among the public and ventilation in the Assemblies and Parliament, etc.

3) TUs concerned with PUBLIC UTILITIES in particular (Railways, City Transport, Electricity, Water, Gas, etc.) have to be especially vigilant against the attempt of the bourgeoisie & Govt. to sow antagonism between the worker and the public. The TUs here should not only canvass people's support much more painstakingly BEFORE launching any struggle, but should consciously -

- Take up and champion specific demands of the public for cheaper and more efficient public utility service;
- Make positive suggestions for the same;
- Try to set up COORDINATION OR LIAISON COMMITTEES of representatives of the TU and the public to safeguard their mutual and common interests (Calcutta trams);
- Seek PUBLIC COOPERATION in exploring all avenues of settlement of the workers' demands before resorting to strike action.

4) Every TU should prepare a brief, factual memorandum incorporating both the workers' own demands and the demands, if any, for developing the industry along progressive lines in the people's interests; this memorandum must be made available to every local MLA and MP, irrespective of his party affiliations, with the request that the demands be suitably ventilated in their respective legislative bodies.

MLAs and MPs should be systematically lobbied by workers' deputations from the TU; fraternal relations should be established with as many of them as possible, all necessary material should be supplied to them.

It is a fact that the majority of our TUs make very inadequate use of the Parliamentary forums to rally public support.

5) The TU should invite, regularly, to its important mass meetings, union conferences, etc. local representatives of different mass organisations and sections of the people, e.g. peasants, students, women, teachers, refugees, clubs and cultural societies and other TUs and thus stress the common solidarity of the democratic classes.

6) In areas where....

6) In areas where the factory is situated in the countryside, the majority of

6) In areas where the factory is situated in the countryside, the majority of workers often are natives of the surrounding villages. The same is broadly true of many mines and plantations. It is obvious that here the alliance of the worker with the PEASANTRY can be a decisive factor for the strengthening of the TU movement (South India, parts of Bengal's jute belt, new industries in hitherto undeveloped areas, etc.).

In today's economic conditions, when the strain of a prolonged strike struggle or lock-out imposes an unbearable burden on the worker and his family, the active help and solidarity of the adjacent villages may make all the difference between victory and defeat. Many of our TUs especially in the South, have already had rich experiences of how the tide has been turned against the bourgeoisie by the peasants coming forward to help the struggling workers with foodgrains, other eatables, shelter, and so on. (Examples)

When the workers are resisting unemployment, it is for the TU to explain to the peasantry that the workers are fighting their common battle, because unemployment will mean further pressure on the land and more privation for the villagers.

Conversely, the TU in these areas has systematically to find ways and means of rendering concrete help, on behalf of the workers, to the peasants. It can, for example, take up their demands for supply of essential goods such as cloth, salt, oil, etc. at controlled or cheap prices; agitate for these demands by mobilising the workers before the local authorities; demand opening of cheap grainshops and relief measures in distressed rural areas; and organise collections from the workers' own rations as symbolic measure of assistance to peasants affected by acute scarcity.

The inter-dependence of interests of the worker and peasant in these areas is so living and real, that even some planned TU activity in this direction can produce striking results. On the other hand, to ignore this problem and to lead struggles of the workers in isolation in such areas will play into the hands of the bourgeoisie and allow it to crush the workers.

7) In all areas and most industries, the workers' struggle against retrenchment and unemployment is becoming the main issue. The TU has to carry on regular explanatory propaganda work among all sections of the people to show how unemployment is the national scourge. Popular consciousness must see in the worker resisting retrenchment, close-down of factories, lay-offs, mass discharges, etc. the vanguard fighter for the national interests and against the complete crack up of the national economy.

The TU must make full use of the spontaneous popular sympathy which already exists for the victims of enforced unemployment, to raise it to the level of active solidarity with the workers' struggles.

This is easiest to achieve in small industrial centres situated in the mofussil towns and in predominantly working class localities of the big towns, where the majority of the local population - shopkeeper, small trader, teashop and hotel owner, barber, washerman, small doctor, lawyer, etc. - is itself dependent for its livelihood on the employed worker.

If the TU functions correctly and with initiative from day-to-day, tremendous public support can be rallied here. Cash and other forms of relief, credit for striking workers at shops and many other things can be realised; we have seen whole populations observing 'hartal' in sympathy with the workers (examples).

X. ORGANISING WOMEN WORKERS

The problem of organising women workers inside our TUs remains largely unsolved except in some of the industries of South India. Nearly 30,000 women workers in the Bengal jute industry remain untouched by trade unionism. The mass of women labour in the tea plantations of Assam and Bengal and the mines have not been drawn into the movement at all.

This is a knotty....

This is a knotty and complicated problem with many practical difficulties whose solution requires very careful study and experience. But it is true that our TUs generally have not even carried on systematic agitation for the specific demands of women workers.

Women workers in our country are doubly exploited as the worst paid workers in industry and as victims of social and cultural inequality and oppression which are characteristic of our feudal, semi-colonial economy. They are also generally the first to be thrown out of their jobs in the present period of rationalisation and retrenchment (jute mills).

Our TU leadership has not been immune from the influence of bourgeois ideologies towards women. That is why the problem of the woman worker has always been neglected. Special attention to her grievances has not been given, nor specific demands formulated.

The least our TUs can do immediately wherever women workers are a considerable factor is to study their conditions with special reference to the following problems and to raise demands on that basis:

- * Equal pay for equal work;
- * Hours of work; night shifts, etc.; whether the management is observing the legal restrictions or not;
- * Maternity benefits - the working of the Act in that particular factory or industry;
- * Industrial creche for children; facilities for mothers to feed them at required intervals;
- * Supply of free milk for children;
- * Proper provision of separating washing and sanitary facilities as required by law, etc.

If genuine grievances exist, their systematic exposure by the TU and corresponding demands will be the first step in drawing the working women towards organisation. Even this much is not adequately done at present.

However, agitation is not enough by itself. The KEY to organisation in the conditions prevalent in our country is the WOMAN ORGANISER. This is precisely where our TUs have so far failed to cross the hurdle.

In South India, due to specific social and cultural traditions and economic pressure, the TU leadership apparently does not find much difficulty or embarrassment in directly approaching the women workers. The latter's men-folk-themselves employed in the same or adjacent occupations - do not place any serious obstruction in the way of their women getting unionised. Thus, in Coimbatore, Mangalore, Travancore-Cochin and other places women are well organised; they visit the TU offices regularly and freely, pay their dues scrupulously and are extremely militant.

But under different conditions, where more backward and conservative social outlooks prevail, the approach to women workers by male TU organisers is severely limited and liable to be strongly resented by the men-folk (Hindustani-speaking jute workers in Bengal, tribals in tea-gardens, Santhals in coal-mines, etc.). These realities of the existing social set-up, the strong attachment of the worker to certain customs, conventions and traditions - all these must be carefully studied and very cautiously tackled, before any attempt to approach women workers directly is made. Workers' sentiments must be respected.

Even the worker militant of our TU would sometimes resent his wife getting "union" ideas into her head, because it may distract her from her household duties. If we try to bypass him and get his wife behind his back, a first-rate crisis is liable to be precipitated in the union itself.

For all these...

For all these reasons, experience shows that at the present stage of development of the TU movement, we must make serious efforts to work through WOMEN ORGANISERS. Specialised attention has to be given to the task of picking up even one or two women cadres from each factory or locality and giving them intensive training to discharge the elementary tasks of organisation. This task is difficult, but without fulfilling it not much progress can be made.

In big industrial towns and cities, it may be possible at first to take the help of middle-class women's organisers to pick up and train the preliminary core of cadres (Calcutta experience). Such cadres, once found, must be jealously guarded and preserved at all costs and not allowed to drift away and become inactive and discouraged.

But wherever possibilities of work are opened up, whether we are dealing only with selected cadres or with the mass of ordinary women workers, our TUs must remember that the same standards do not apply to them as to men. Meeting places must be selected primarily at their convenience. The time and duration of meetings must be so adjusted that the union is not accused of diverting them from all their cooking and sweeping jobs at home. And so on. Neglect of the smallest details can lead to disruptive practices.

Our TUs must wake up and attend to the problems of the women workers wherever they constitute a big part of the labour force. Being the most exploited and oppressed section, they are at the same time the most militant and conscientious when properly educated and roused. And the mounting horror of unemployment is itself rousing them more and more to seek the path to organisation and unity.

XI. PERSONAL BEHAVIOUR IN EVERY DAY WORK

An important part of day-to-day TU functioning is the personal behaviour of our TU leaders and cadres and their attitude towards the workers.

- 1) We should always be patient and modest, not bureaucratic and "superior".
- 2) In our attitude towards workers belonging to other organisations (to INTUC, HMS etc.) we should eschew all sectarianism and pin-pricks; we should treat them on the same footing as our own workers with respect for their views and as fraternal fellow trade unionists.
- 3) Even if the non-AITUC worker is hostile towards us, regards us with enmity and suspicion, we should not get provoked into retaliation. "We should emulate the heroic militants of the French CGT who say, 'Stretch out the hand of cooperation; if the other fellow spits on it, wipe it clean and stretch it out again.'"
- 4) In our attitude towards workers of different nationalities, castes, religions or tribal groups, we must never be guilty however subconsciously of any chauvinism ourselves (attitude to Hindustani workers in Bengal).

We must try to study and understand their different traditions, customs, loyalties and ideologies and be vigilant never to offend their sentiments on these grounds.

We must master their language, if it is other than our own, sufficiently well to be able to carry ~~some~~ conviction to our slogans of class outlook, class solidarity and TU unity.

- 5) In our attitude towards the unorganised and backward workers, we must never adopt a contemptuous, taunting attitude nor an irritable one. We must remember they are still the majority of our working class; the fault for it is not theirs but ours; so we must be very, very patient and helpful in all our dealings with them.
- 6) We must cultivate habits of efficient, punctual and thorough work Slipshod methods...

(Incomplete)

WAGE BOARD QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name: B. L. Joshi, General Secretary, Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union, Delhi.

2. Yes. The Union of which I am the General Secretary is an industrial Union of Textile workers having membership of over 13000 in all the 4 Textile Mills of the Territory- namely, the Delhi Cloth Mills, The Birla Cotton & Spinning & Weaving Mills Ltd., The Swatantra Bharat Mills and The Ajodhya Textile Mills.

These answers have reference to all the 4 units.

3. Fairwage for :

- (a) the unskilled- Rs.240/- per month;
- (b) clerical category- Rs.432/- per month;
- (c) supervisory category- Rs.480/- per month;
- (d) skilled- Rs.360/- per month;
- (e) highly skilled- Rs.480/- (the same as supervisory).

4. The above estimates have been arrived at by actual calculations of a fairwage on the basis of : (i) the norms of expenditure approved by the 15th Indian Labour Conference; (ii) recommendations of the Fairwage Committee (iii) actual living requirements as ascertained by an enquiry conducted by the Union, into the expenditure of workers families. The family budgets, reproduced in appendices 1(a), 1(b) and 1(c), together with explanations and arguments contained in appx. 2(a) will give an adequate idea as to the living requirements of an average Delhi worker and his family at the current standard of living. The data so collected has further been utilised to work out a fairwage, the details of which are contained in appendices 3 (a) to 3 (e).

5. Prices of different commodities and services entering into the family budget of an average industrial worker are given in appx. 2 (b). The details of cost of living of a family of 3 consumption units are contained in appendices 3 (a) to 3 (e).

6. The minimum wage payable to the different categories enumerated in question number (3) should be as under :-

- (a) unskilled Rs.185/- per month;
 - (b) clerical category Rs.333/- per month;
 - (c) supervisory category Rs.370/- per month;
 - (d) skilled category Rs.278/- per month;
 - (e) highly-skilled Rs.370/- per month (i.e., the same as supervisory)
- Details leading to the above conclusions are contained in appx.4(a).

7. The living wage for the same category should normally be 50% above the fairwage.
8. Changes in wage rates since 1947, have affected the standard of living of the workers only to a limited extent. For one thing, there has been no increase in real wages in case of majority of workers. In fact real earnings of piece-rated employees have suffered a decline due to steep rise in prices of commodities unaccompanied by a commensurate increase in rates of Dearness Allowance. Introduction of Bombay Scheme of Standardised Wages, however, has resulted in increase of wages in case of about 8 thousand employees. With few exceptions wage-increases, in such cases, have been diverted to purchase of essential items of food in which the workers' dietary badly lacked. For example the following items of food which they could earlier ill-afford to buy, have during the past few years, started figuring prominently in the workers' diet :-

(i) Sugar (ii) Vegetables (iii) Milk and Milk-products curds, and Lasi in summer (iv) Fruits- particularly melons, cucumber and mangoes in summer and bananas, cashewnuts, monkey nuts (Akhot), guava etc. in winter (v) increased quantities of pure ghee to the total exclusion of vegetable oils or Vanaspati ghee (vi) mineral waters and ice in summer and increased consumption of tea in winter.

To a limited extent increase in wages has also been reflected in improvement of acknowledgedly scanty clothing of an average worker and in an addition to the hitherto almost non-existent house-hold effects, including chattels, bedding, particularly winter-bedding and clothing.

In case of a very small number of piece rated workers, numbering not more than 150-200 in all, the introduction of highly modernised automatic machines in Warping and Sizing Departments has resulted in sizable increase in wages during recent years. In such cases, a marked effect on standard of living has been noticed. Besides bringing about an improvement in their diet the increase has been utilized to improve the general standard of living- for purchase of minor articles of furniture, better clothing and footwear, purchase of utility articles like sewing machine, cycles, umbrellas and raincoats, table(electric) lamp-stand and irons, radio sets, etc.

Certain changes in social habits and customs which have taken place during the last 10 years are common to all categories of workers- from the least paid categories to highest paid ones. The frequency and the uniformity with which these changes in living manners are observed to persist, leave no room for doubt that they have acquired a more or less permanent nature. It is noticed that workers in lower-income groups are increasingly resorting to borrowing from their Provident Fund Accounts, and if need be from private money-lenders, in order to be able to defray expenses connected with their changed ways of living and pattern of consumption. The more important amongst such changes are as follows :-

(i) Increased display of pomp and show on the occasions of events like marriages etc., to correspond to contemporary standards- e.g., playing of Gramophone records, with the aid of loudspeakers etc., installing shamianas, electrical decorations, serving of refreshment including iced drinks like 'Sharbat', mineral waters or Lassi in summer and hot tea in winter, use of printed formal invitation cards for such occasions, have become a common habit;

(ii) Almost every worker has started sending his children including girls- to school; this has naturally added to their expenditure on education;

(iii) Visits to cinema-houses or similar other places of entertainment have likewise acquired a habitual character with every worker

(iv) Use of conveyance like tongas, motor-cycle Rickshaws or scooter Rickshaws or even taxi, is in evidence;

(v) Consumption of iced and aerated waters and Lassi in summer and tea in winter.

The above observations are being made on the basis of factual data available in the Union Office, collected in the course of objective studies made by Union workers.

PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR

10. The present productivity of labour in the Textile Industry of this territory, must by every standard be described as substantially high.

11. Obviously, and irrefutably, there has been substantial increase in the productivity of Textile labour in this territory in 1956 as compared to the period 1947-49.

With a decline of about 2-4% in the working strength of operatives and with practically no increase in spindleage and loomage and with minor variation- working upto less than 1.1/2 in the Mondays worked during each year- there has been phenomenal increase of production both in terms of yardage of cloth woven as well as poundage of yarn spun between the years 1950-1955 as the figures containing in Appendix 4 would clearly illustrate.

12. The conditions under which production has been carried on between the years 1950-1956, have remained more or less static or constant, barring the substitution of automatic machinery for plain one in a limited number of cases- mainly in Winding, Warping Department, and replacement of 2-3 hundred plain looms by the same number of automatic looms in one of the Mills. By itself this cannot be said to have influenced production or productivity to any appreciable extent, when it is borne in mind that nearly all the Mills have simultaneously gone finer during the period in question.

Other factors remaining constant, such a change in the pattern of production would operate against increase in the volume of production- both in respect of yardage as well as poundage. The phenomenal increase in production evident from the afore-mentioned figures, therefore, unmistakably suggest a substantial increase in productive efforts or productivity of the workers.

13. Hardly needs further comments.

14. The question is more than answered in the preceding replies. That even slight increases in earnings have resulted in considerably higher productivity and efficiency is a patent fact- almost an axiom. Every one has by now become too familiar with the propaganda carried on by the most reactionary section of employers and their stock argument about 'higher earnings leading to less production and deterioration in quality' stands totally refuted by facts and figures.

15. We are not in favour of extension of system of piece-rates to other time-rated or partly-time rated occupations. We cannot consent to any such extension until and unless four basic conditions are fulfilled :

- (i) acceptance of a guaranteed minimum fall-back wage, sufficient to enable an average worker to maintain himself and his family at a reasonable standard of living ;
- (ii) A total ban on unilateral imposition of workloads and production norms on workers by the employers and revision of existing workloads or production norms wherever they are considered to be excessive by the workers ;
- (iii) Effective steps to be taken towards Standardization of qualities of raw-material and of the product and of working conditions generally.
- (iv) Effective guarantee against change in wage rates without workers' consent.

16. The present system of piece-rate work is highly scientific and constitutes a unilateral imposition by employers on workers of unfair wage rates and highly unreasonable production norms or workloads.

17. We cannot approve of any such scheme until and unless we are convinced of the propriety and reasonableness of the present piece-rates and the basis underlying them.

18. Undoubtedly the number of time rates at present prevailing in respect of time rated occupations is on the high side. There should, in our considered opinion, be not more than 4 time rates :

- (i) Unskilled and semi-skilled;
- (ii) Skilled ;
- (iii) Highly skilled ;
- (iv) Supervisory.

WORK LOADS

19. No. We cannot consent to any scheme of workload assessment of this type.

20. No.

21. The question does not arise.

22. Yes. Since conditions of work- including state and type of machinery, temperature, light, spacing, quality of raw-material as well as products etc. are generally found to vary from unit to unit even in the same centre, no workload study or assessment can be useful unless it is undertaken separately in respect of each separate unit.

There can thus be no question of assessment of workloads on a regional or All India basis. Secondly, every Scheme of Workload assessment must proceed on what we consider to be a perfectly valid assumption that the present workloads are the optimum under the present conditions. A bipartite machinery consisting of equal representatives of workers and the management in each unit is the only suitable machinery to go into the question of workloads. Such Committees can be charged with the responsibility to investigate specific complaints of excessive workloads made by the workmen as well as to scrutinise proposals received from the management for adding to the existing workloads. Only unanimous recommendations or findings of such a Committee should be enforced. Such committees can, of course, take the help of technical experts provided by the Government.

23. No.

24. Yes. Past experience confirms the view that in all piece-rated occupations speed ups- accompanied by surreptitious cut or reduction in piece-rates- have become the order of the day with the employers. As already stated no Scheme of extension of piece-rate system, which does not have the necessary safeguard that the guaranteed fall-back minimum in every case is equal to a fair wage and that the norms of production or of workload will be decided with the fullest concurrence of organised labour can be worth consideration.

PREVAILING RATES IN REGION

25. The minimum basic wage paid to the lowest category of workmen (i.e. Rs. 30/- p.w.) are practically the same in the territory of Delhi. This is so not only in the Textile Industry, but also in most of the commercial undertakings. Occupational wages however, do differ from mill to mill. The biggest group of mills- accounting for more than 60% of the spinnage and loomage installed at the centre- namely, the Delhi Cloth Mills and the Swatantra Bharat Mills follow what is commonly known as the Bombay Scheme of standardised wage, with minor variations in favour of the workers. The Birla Mills and the Ajuchia Textile Mills pay 5-25% less than Delhi Cloth Mills in different occupations. The claim of these workers for increase in wage-rates to bring them on par with the other two units is already pending before the Industrial Court. The differences are the result of unequal bargaining due to organisational weakness of the workers in the two Mills.

26. In the case of the Delhi Cloth Mills and the Swatantra Bharat Mills the wages have been fixed as a result of 'Collective Bargaining', though such bargaining was initially done with a labour organisation not fit to secure a fair deal for workers. However, in the course of the past several years, successive attempts by more representative and stronger Union of workers, have yielded additional gains for the workers bringing the average wage level almost on par with Bombay.

In case of the Birla Mills and the Ajodhia Mills there has been no collective settlement of any description on wages. The collective settlement on which the present wages are based took place in 1948. There has been no change in the Rate of Sickness Allowance paid to the workers since 1947, when the same was fixed as a result of arbitration between one of the constituent Unions of this organisation and the management of the Delhi Cloth Mills.

27. There are two industrial Unions working in the Textile Industry- of the Territory. Besides, there are half a dozen small 'craft' unions having influence on a small number of workers in the occupations concerned. Major details about these organisations, listed in order of the strength of membership and influence are given below :

(a) The Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union (Regd.) came into existence in 1953 as a result of amalgamation of three major industrial Unions, namely: (i) the Textile Mazdoor Sangh, affiliated to Hind Mazdoor Sabha, established in 1945; (ii) The Textile Mazdoor Sabha, established in 1936, functioning as an independent Union; (iii) The Delhi Prantiya Textile Mill Mazdoor Sabha (Red Flag) affiliated to the A.I.T.U.C. and established in 1950-51. Paying membership according to the latest available figures is 12589. This is the biggest Union of the Textile workers wielding considerable influence over the workers. Before 1953 its three constituent Unions among them represented more than 75 % of the workers in the industry. After their merger this influence has grown still more. Prior to 1953 a series of struggles unleashed by the three Unions in their respective spheres of influence compelled the employers to increase wage rates as well as rate of D.A. Thus during the period 1946-49 a number of strikes were launched by these three organisations resulting in adoption of Bombay Scheme of Standardisation of wages by the Delhi Cloth Mills and also in general increase

result of an arbitration award given after one of these strikes. Since their merger into Kapra Mazdoor Ekta Union in 1953, this organisation has succeeded in concluding a number of collective agreements leading to increase in wages in individual occupations or individual Departments of the different Mills. In the Delhi Cloth Mill Group of Mills (Comprising of the Delhi Cloth Mills & the Swatantra Bharat Mills), upward adjustment in wage rates in line with modifications in the standardised list of wage rates in force in Bombay Industry, have been made from time to time in agreement with the Union. Other agreements relate to workloads, adjustment of piece-rates, Bonus etc. The Union however has not been able to force the acceptance of its long-outstanding demand for enhancement of basic rate of Dearness Allowance and the matter is now under adjudication. One of the main concerns of the Union has been to successfully counter continual attempts by the employers at nibbling of piece-rates and at undue increase in workloads without corresponding increase in emoluments. A dispute raised by the Union for general wage increase in Birla Mills is at present pending before the Industrial Court.

(B) The other Union, till lately known as the Textile Labour Union, now re-named as the Textile Mazdoor Sangh, has been in existence since 1948. It has influence only among a limited sections of workers- constituting together not more than 5-10% of the total working strength in the 4 Textile Mills. It has also been carrying on agitation for increase in wages and rates of D.A. but due to its limited influence the mill-owners can, and do, conveniently ignore it.

Many of the Jobbers, Watch & Ward Staff and sanitation personnel have organised separate Unions on craft-basis. Their main organisation is known as the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh. They have mostly kept busy in contesting cases involving their sectional demands before the Industrial Tribunal.

The Clerical Staff in the Industry is organised in a separate Union of their own. The Union has mainly followed the path of negotiations and representations and has obtained some concessions, including favourable changes in pay-scales for the Clerical Staff only.

As already stated the present wage-structure in the industry is the product partly of Collective Bargaining and partly of unilateral wage fixation as in the case of Birla Mills and the Ajodhya Mills. In majority of cases the Bombay Standardization Scheme is followed with very minor variations in favour of the workers.

NATIONAL INCOME

29. The argument of level of national income is in our opinion irrelevant and inapplicable to the question of wage-fixation in the Textile Industry at the present stage when the general wage-level in the industry is still far below even a 'nutrition standard'.

CAPACITY OF INDUSTRY TO PAY

30. The Textile Industry of India is the nation's biggest organised enterprise, holding a pivotal position in its economy. It is also one of the country's main source in earning foreign exchange. We would rank it 2nd in importance after agriculture. The whole nation has made considerable sacrifices to bring the industry to its present stature. It is therefore but proper that the industry is made to take the lead in securing fair wages to the worker.

QUESTION NOS. 31, 32 & 35

The Textile Industry is the largest and one of the earliest established industries of the State. It consisted of 3 full-fledged units till recently and with the Ajodhya Textile mills conversion into a composite unit, there are now 4 textile Mills in Delhi. The financial and administrative organisation of the industry is so complicated that it is not at all easy to obtain a clear picture of its financial position. Some of the broad facts which would seem to be indisputable are given below :-

The industry at Delhi at present has about 3000 Looms and 158,820 Spindles. It gives direct employment to about 21000 workers, out of whom 18,500 work daily in 3 shifts. The industry has enjoyed un-interrupted prosperity from the very beginning and even in the dark days of depression in 1930-35 when concerns in other centres sustained huge losses, and quite a few units were forced to close down, the Delhi industry was paying

substantial dividends to its share-holders. The position of the industry as regards its capital, productive equipment, production etc. will be clear from the statements appended as appendices 5,5(a) & 5(b).

Utilising the basic data available in Shri M.P. Gandhi's "Indian Cotton Textile Industry 1954-55 Annual" (Tables Nos. 16 & 17 at page XI) we come to the following interesting and important conclusions :

Taking the figures of production for 1954, as the basis, the average production per spindle in lbs. in case of the Delhi Industry works out to 352 as against 146 in U.P., 103 in Ahmedabad and 141 in Bombay City. Similarly production per loom in Yds. figures out to 35,804 in Delhi, as against 28,400 in U.P., 27,430 in Ahmedabad, and 24,193 in Bombay City. As regards the number of operatives employed, the position is as follows :-

The working Party for the Textile Industry set up by the Central Government had found out, (Vide p.109 of the Report of the working Party for Textile Industry) that the number of operatives employed per 1000 spindles on 18 counts in the Mills surveyed by it varied between 17 to 21.11. The number of persons employed per 100 looms for the same average counts was found to be about 108.7. Adopting the basis furnished by the above figures we would require at least about 2640 operatives in three shifts in the Spinning Department (with 1.58 lakh spindles) and not less than 11700 workers in the weaving Department (3600 looms). This gives us a minimum daily employment of 20340 workers as against 18500 which is the actual figure of average daily employment in 1957. This means that the Delhi Mills are already working with a complement of workers 10% less than that of the Mill employing the least number of hands.

On the above showing there is a clear cut case for an increase of working force by at least 2000 hands. This comparison serves to bring out the extent to which "Rationalisation" has already been carried out by the Mill-owners surreptitiously.

.. H. 11

AUTOMATION

Not content with this a drive for "automation" has for some years past been going on. Almost 45 % of the looms in the Mill-industry in the State are automatic ones. It is significant that of about 3669 automatic looms installed in the country in the eight years (1945-1953) about 1500, i.e., over 40 %, have been installed in Delhi though the total lockage of the Delhi Industry (i.e., about 3623) forms only about 2 % of the total loomage of the country (i.e. 2,00 Lakh).'

The Delhi Industry also occupies an unassailable, nay un-matched, position as regards its profit-making capacity. The average annual rate of dividend on paid-up capital, after making liberal allocations under all possible heads, in case of Delhi Cloth-Mills units, come to about 184 % during the last 10 years. For the Birla Mills this rate works out to about 30%. The industry has adopted the practice of issuing Bonus-shares by large-scale capitalisation of Reserves. This enables them to claim dividends on Reserves on an equal footing with the original paid-up capital. It will be interesting to note that over 66 % of the present capital of the industry, (treated as paid-up capital, amounting to about Rs. 1 Crore and 70 Lakhs), is made up of Capitalised Reserves. This is a very convenient way of carrying on unbridled exploitation of the workers since it is easy to hide real profits by setting apart huge sums as Reserves and then to distribute them to share holders as Bonus-shares.

Modernisation and Rehabilitation of the industry has been going apace and by now almost 80 % of the Block comprising of the Buildings and Machinery¹ valued at 158.87 lakhs in 1952 has been either replaced or written off.

* Figures taken from Bombay Mill Owners' Association leaflet entitled "Rationalisation of the Indian Cotton Mill Industry;

¹ Vide Report of the Seventh Census of Indian Manufacturers' 1952-Table 18.2-p.280.

The foregoing facts and figures are sufficiently indicative of the productive as well as financial sight of the Delhi Industry. It can be said without any fear of contradiction that the industry enjoys almost a monopolistic position in the adjoining markets of the prosperous North-Western region of the country— comprising the rich districts of Western U.P. and the Punjab and Rajasthan.

Against the back-ground of this astoundingly prosperous career of the industry must be reviewed the service and working condition of the workers whose diligence, unremitting toil and sacrifices are largely responsible for placing the industry on such impregnable footing. Unlike Bombay where the workers' movement has traditionally been strong, the Delhi workers were all along weekly organised and hence could not effectively take advantage of the war-time boom to raise their low wages. It was only after 1946 that they were able to improve their service conditions after a series of struggles. The last 4 years have seen a phenomenal growth in their organisation and solidarity. But even after a long series of struggles, agitation, adjudications and settlements, the real wages of the workers have still not reached the pre-war mark. At no time has the Dearness Allowance paid to the workers been sufficient to fully offset the rise in the prices of commodities. For example even during the year 1954— the year which witnessed a record level of Textile production and with the sales of the industry reaching 3 times their 1946 level— The real wages of the Textile workers were much below the pre-war level. The average monthly basic wage of a Textile worker about the year 1935-40 was approximately Rs.32/- p.m. The Cost of Living Index Figures for 1956 (with 1939= 100) was 375, while the total monthly wages including Dearness Allowance averaged to about Rs.98/- per month for the entire industry. This falls short of the pre-war average by about Rs.22/- to Rs.25/- per month. In other words, the index of real wages has fallen to about 81.6 with prewar at 100.

COSTS

Let us examine the facts and figures bearing on the issue of wage costs. The latest period for which comparative figures of production as well as wage-costs are available for important textile centres is 1952. According to these figures, obtained from the "Report of the Seventh Census of Indian Manufacturers, 1952" (published in 1955) the position of production and manufacturing wages was as follows :-

State	Manufacturing Wages (in Lakhs of Rs.)	Production of cloth in Yds. (in 000's)	Production of Yarn in Lbs. (in 000's)
Bombay	5,861.75	30,172.47	7374.98
U.P.	616.57	3,365.80	1217.48
Delhi	210.87	1,132.07	467.53

WAGE COST PER UNIT OF PRODUCTION.

BOMBAY	U.P.	DELHI
Per Yd. (As.) 3.1	(As.) 2.9	(As.) 2.50
Per Lb. (As.) 12.4	(As.) 8.5	(As.) 6.50

This comparison completely knocks the bottom out of the Mill Owners' argument put forward to negate the workers' demand for increase in wages.

The organised Textile workers in Delhi have been clamouring for a general 33% rise in wages including Dearness Allowance. Infact this demand has been underpitched.

A 33-40% rise in basic wages and Dearness Allowance will involve an addition of approximately Rs.70-80 Lakhs to the present annual wage bill of the industry. Nearly 50% of this can be met out of the normal surplus profits of the industry, which profits are liberally appropriated by the mill-owners either directly through dividends, commissions, etc., or indirectly through issue of Bonus-shares by capitalizing Reserves set apart from such profits under various heads, e.g. "Dividend Equalisation Reserves", "Reserves for modernization", "Reserves for fall in prices", "General Reserves," and "Rehabilitation" etc. A substantial

portion of the remaining 50% can be met by effecting economy, eliminating waste and by improving upon the present technique of production. A very insignificant portion of the increase (say about 20-25 Lakhs p.a.) will have to be debited to the manufacturing account. This will occasion an increase of about 2.5% in the manufacturing Costs - i.e. an increase of less than 2.5 n.p. per rupee. This can, however, be totally offset by reduction or elimination of unnecessary overheads, cutting down 'distributive costs' and rationalization of management.

It can, therefore, be stated without any fear of contradiction that the industry at its present stage of development can undoubtedly sustain a fair wage at a level roughly over 40% above the present wage-level.

38. The mill-owners themselves are hopeful that per-capita consumption of Cloth must reasonably be assumed to increase beyond 18 Yds. envisaged by the Government. This means the industry entertains no fears as regards the disposal of its products *despite Casual Katchalls* and hence the inevitable drive for expansion of the productive capacity of the industry.

38. No such damage is foreseen.

39. Upward revision of existing wage levels in the industry in this centre is certainly not going to affect the present level of employment or the capacity of the industry to maintain production and efficiency.

Firstly, a wage increase of the order proposed in our reply to questions No. 31, 32 & 35, is capable of being sustained by the industry without affecting its cost-structure.

Secondly it has been noticed that the industry is prepared well in advance to meet the situation arising from satisfaction of workers' wage-claims. Modernization and automation have already reached a high level and the plants have been steadily expanding. All the mills are running three shifts and some of them, the bigger ones particularly, are working on all the 7 days of the week. This clearly shows that the industry has a safe market for its entire production. In such a situation there can hardly be room for ^{an} ~~any~~ curtailment of production;

3. Since the industry has already taken sufficient strides towards automation and modernization, followed by reduction of working force to the minimum there is no further room for retrenchment of labour force or for introducing rationalisation, unless curtailment of production is desired - but this has already been ruled out above;

4. Wage increases will tend to raise efficiency, since faced with the need to maintain the existing levels of production, and with no further scope for retrenchment or addition to workloads, the mill-owners will be compelled to give better working conditions to workers to improve their productivity and efficiency;

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5. It has already been shown that even after giving a 33% wage increase to workers, the latter do not even get a fair wage in terms of the Labour Conference formula. There can thus be no danger of their relaxing their productive efforts - even when the employers' absurd thesis of 'higher wages resulting in lesser productivity and efficiency' is accepted.

40. A representative cross section of the industry, in a centre or region, should in our opinion be taken as the basis for ascertaining the 'capacity to pay'.

41. Of course wages must have priority.

42. In the present context of a highly developed and fully established industry with an assured future, Fair wages to Labour must in our opinion have precedence over all other items like fair return on capital and remuneration to management and a fair allocation of Reserves and Depreciation, etc.

43. We hold that a fair wage must be paid at any cost - short of encroaching on Capital to pay that wage.

Nothing short of a fairwage, calculated on the basis of the norms accepted by the Indian Labour Conference would satisfy the interests of social justice at the present stage of development of the industry.

44. No. Everyone should get the increase, since even the higher paid categories of workers fail to reach the level considered to be the lower level of a fairwage.

45. We definitely hold the view that the cost of living of three consumption units on the basis of the lower level of a fair wage based on the Fair Wages Committee's Report, as further developed and clarified by the Indian Labour Conference, should be assured to the workmen.

contd.....

DIFFERENTIALS.

46. No. The present-day differentials are arbitrary and unscientific in nature and do not take into account important factors like skill, physical strain, responsibility involved etc.

47. Yes. Of course it would not be easy to upset the present differentials to which the workers have become accustomed. The task has to be tackled with caution and patience. A beginning should be made by reducing the present multitude of time and piece-rates, so that in course of time all occupations are grouped together in 5-6 broad categories and arranged in order of importance on the basis of several factors mentioned in our reply to Question No.50.

48. Obviously no one can expect the present differentials to provide incentives for advancing skill when the very basis thereof is unscientific and irrational as stated in our reply to Question No. 46. We have no cut and dried solution for the problem. The key to the problem is in reorganization of the entire wage-structure along the lines indicated in the reply to the previous question.

49. Yes. This would be desirable from the view point of both the workers as well as the industry.

50. The weightage to be given for the several factors which must be taken into account in the fixation of wage differentials, should in order of priority be as follows:

1. Strain of work
2. degree of skill
3. disagreeableness of task
4. hazard of work
5. fatigue involved
6. experience involved
7. responsibility undertaken
8. training required.
9. mental and physical reasons.

CATEGORIES UNDER INVESTIGATION

51. All occupations in the Textile Industry, including technical and supervisory staff and the clerical staff.

52, 53 & 54. All categories up to Rs. 500/- a month - including technical, supervisory and clerical categories.

55. Certainly not. Already employers are misusing their right to engage apprentices and learners.

THE WAGE STRUCTURE

56. We are strongly opposed to the present system of a basic wage plus Dearness Allowance. The maintenance of the artificial distinction between basic wages and Dearness Allowance, designed to cover an entirely different situation, operates to the disadvantage of workers. It is imperative that the disproportion between the constant and variable part of the wages should be ended by effecting a merger of the existing quantum of D.A. with basic wages. The trend of prices during the last 10 years is a sufficient proof that the general level of prices is not going to fall below a point roughly represented by Cost of Living Index figure of 350 - with 1939 as 100. Moreover in an expanding economy like ours, there can be no question of a general fall in price level. A consolidated minimum fair wage should be fixed for each category at a price level represented by 350 Cost of Living Index. Future rises above 350 should be compensated to the full by devising a Scheme of Dearness Allowance. Of course there is no question of providing for falls in cost of living. There are not likely to be any falls of permanent or even semi permanent nature. Experience shows that, if at all, falls would be of insignificant magnitude.

57. The present system of D.A. has dismally failed to safeguard the already meagre standard of living of workers. An account of how the system has resulted in inflicting untold misery on the workers is contained in our reply to Question No. 30), and appendix 6. Any future scheme of D.A. should proceed on the following broad pattern:

- (1) A minimum consolidated wage, worked out

on the basis of the decisions of 15th Indian Labour Conference at a level of (retail) prices represented by the index figure of 350 should be fixed for the lowest paid employee;

(2) Minimum consolidated wages in each occupation should likewise be fixed on the basis suggested in our reply to Question No.6. This would roughly give us the minimum emoluments at a cost of living represented by the index figure of 350;

(3) The official cost of living indices, which are hopelessly inaccurate and out of date, should be revised and fresh Family Budget Enquiries undertaken so that genuinely representative budgets reflecting the existing standard of living and pattern of consumption could be compiled. Future rise and falls should be measured by such an index alone. Future rises above 350 point of such an index should be compensated to the full, no account being taken of any fall below 350 points;

(4) As regards the mode of payment of compensation over 350, we would prefer payment in kind - i.e. by supply of commodities at subsidized rates which should correspond to the rates taken into account for constructing the Cost of Living Index series in the base year, and for other items of expenditure in cash.

58. The basic wage should be calculated on the basis of the year 1953 or 1954, or both together. It would definitely make a lot of difference in a scheme involving total consolidation of D.A. with basic wages. It would, for example, affect the quantum of Bonus or of retiring benefits like gratuity etc.

59. See our reply to preceding three questions.

60. To the fullest extent, as already urged.

61. Factual data collected by the Union clearly indicate that expenditure on items like education and medical requirements has become an essential part of the average workers budget. The present incidence of contribution to Employees' State

Insurance Corporation works out roughly to Rs. 3/8/- per month per worker. If expenditure on the medical requirements of the family is taken into account this amount is likely to go up to Rs. 13-14/-. Even if the E.S.I.C. Scheme is extended to cover the insured person's families the worker would still have to spend money on patent medicines, on purchase of items like Blood for blood-transfusion, on conveyance from and to Hospitals etc. In any case a provision of about Rs. 8/- per month must be made under the head Medical Requirements in case of every worker - besides the usual contribution towards E.S.I.C.

As regards expenses on education a minimum amount of Rs. 8-10 per month covering the cost of educating children must be made.

62. A guaranteed wage for a piece-rate worker should be a time rate, (fall-back rate) making a reasonable standard of life for the worker a first charge on the industry in all circumstances. Expected earnings should be not less than 40% above the fall-back rate.

The fall-back rate should be payable:

- (i) when the piece rate worker is not able to fulfill norm fixed with the consent of the organised labour in the factory or mill concerned;
- (ii) Involuntary unemployment due to break-down of machinery or shortage of raw-material or any other cause beyond the control of the worker;
- (iii) In case of stoppages lasting only for certain portions of the working day or shift, payment for the period of enforced idleness should also be made at the fall-back rate, in addition to the earned wages.

63. Instead of scales of wages, as the term is generally understood, there should be provision for automatic increment in wages at the rate of 3% every year during

the 2nd Plan period. This percentage may be subject to revision at the end of the period.

64. It is not possible to deal exhaustively with the various measures taken by organised labour to increase efficiency and productivity. The Union backed every genuine effort of the employers to increase productivity and efficiency of labour. It has generally refused to encourage deliberate negligence or go-slow, loitering, indifferent attitude to quality of production, etc. Particularly during the last 5 years, labour has cooperated with the managements in eliminating wastage, removal of bottle-necks in production and improvement of technique of production. The workers, too, were persuaded to willingly accept job assignments and workloads considered to be reasonable. Wherever and whenever the employers dealt with organised labour, the results were beneficial for all concerned. Set-backs to great productivity and improvement of efficiency were caused whenever the employers tried to force workloads and speed-ups on workers or refused to bargain collectively with an organisation of the workers' choice.

65. In any case there should be no compulsion in this matter. As a general rule we prefer cash payments of all types of wages. Workers - particularly those in higher income groups, should, however, be encouraged to voluntarily accept payment in the shape of National Saving Bonds, Insurance Policies, or Children's Educational Policies.

WOMEN'S WAGES

Question Nos. 66-70.

The number of women workers in the industry is small. Generally they are employed on jobs done exclusively by them. It is not possible therefore, to compare the wage-rates of men and women.

Minimum level of earnings for men and women, whatever their occupations, should be the same.

70. Without prejudice to our opinions as regards the view of the Fair-wages Committee on the issue, we do think that the present wages of women workers are extremely low. Whatever the method of calculations, the resultant wages should ensure to every woman worker fair-wages on an equal footing with male workers.

Replies to the remaining questions are to a large extent embodied in our foregoing replies. Reply to question number 135 is contained in appendix 2(b).

Sd/- (B.D. Joshi)

GENERAL SECRETARY

KAPPA MAZDOOR EKTA UNION.

APPENDIX 2 (a).

FAMILY BUDGETS.

The family budgets appended to this memorandum have been compiled after careful investigation and check-up. The results correspond to a great degree to the existing reality. Price rates have been obtained from open market with all possible precision. They were further tallied with the rates obtained from business and commercial institutions, like Delhi Chamber of Commerce, and also with the list of Retail Prices issued by the Delhi Administration in the Official Gazette. The cost of subsistence of a working class family has also been worked out scrupulously on the basis of norms accepted by the Indian Labour Conference. The results are revealing. They correctly ~~clearly~~ demonstrate the total inadequacy of the emoluments of a Delhi worker in relation even to a minimum wage on the basis of a standard of living envisaged by the Government and the employers themselves. The gap between the current wages and the minimum essential to ensure even a 'nutrition standard' is something between Rs.80 to Rs.100/- per month. Even in case of a Rajasthani worker, who admittedly has the lowest standard of living in Delhi, the gap works out to about Rs.45/- per month at the current level of prices and on his present standard of living.

SOME IMPORTANT SOCIO-ECONOMIC PHYSICAL &
CLIMATIC FACTORS WHICH SHOULD BE GIVEN ADEQUATE
CONSIDERATION IN WAGE FIXATION FOR DELHI.

STANDARD OF LIVING IN THIS ZONE.

The standard of living of a Delhi worker has been subject matter of long and bitter controversy. The workers have always contended, and with considerable amount of truth too, that the standard of living of a worker in this part of the country - and particularly in Delhi - is and must be higher than that prevalent in other parts of the country. As always happens, however, the workers' case suffered from set-backs imposed by their inability to produce and marshal facts and figures in support of their contention. On the other hand the results of an ill-conducted semi official enquiry into their living standard, (Deshpande Enquiry of 1943) tended to tilt the already unfavourable balance against them. No adjudicator was ever prepared to view the problem with any degree of objectivity and repeated attempts to induce the State Administration to institute a fresh enquiry into the problem proved abortive. Not only did the Tribunals, under strong pressure from the employers, refuse to find the actual facts for themselves, they even went further. In not a few cases they awarded wages etc. on a lower level than the ones which the workers had through their concerted action or collective bargaining already attained. In almost every case adjudicator proceeded on unwarranted presumptions and on mere assumptions. The situation therefore presents extremely confused picture and the question of fixation of a minimum wage, which could satisfy the essential needs of a worker in this part of the country bristles with difficulties. Unless therefore the following features are constantly kept in sight, any attempt to place the wage-structure on sound or scientific footing

besides missing the reality, will in fact negate its very purpose and create disastrous consequences for labour management relations.

Delhi lies in the rich North-Western-zone of the country which is inhabited by a strong and robust marshall races, like Rajputs, Jats, Sikhs, Ahirs and Dogras. Its labour force comes mainly from the rich Western Districts of U.P., the ~~rich~~ fertile plains of the Punjab etc. It is an area of rich pesantry, accustomed to a standard of living which must be considered high as compared to the general standard obtaining in the country. Apart from their robust physique*, the maintenance of which necessarily entails greater expenses on food, the harshness of the weather with its extremes of cold in winter and scorching heat in summer imposes certain heavy and unavoidable liabilities on him. I cite a few examples:

*An average worker from Punjab or the adjoining districts of Rohtak, Karnal and Mathura is normally 5 ft. 10" in height and weighs anything between 145-150 lbs.

i) The average worker by habit must have pure ghee and milk to enrich and supplement his food - 2 out of every 3 workers will be found consuming these articles; Articles of diet like sugar, nutritious pulses like Arhar, Urd, etc. form an indispensable item of the diet of an average workers' family.

ii) Since he maintains social links with his home town where his people retain their respectable social status, he must by habit spend well in observance of traditional festivals, ceremonies etc;

iii) He must spend liberally in frequent visits to his native place for marriages, deaths and other social, religious and cultural occasions;

iv) Climatic conditions force him to equip himself well for meeting their challenge - this necessitates:

Separate sets of clothing for Winter and Summer - comparatively finer apparel for Summer and Woollens for Winter; Moreover the extent of clothing has to be abundant - for example a 'Safa' turban or any other suitable head-gear is essential in summer. A woollen

Jersey, a Coat or a Woollen or semi-woollen 'Chaddar' or Wrapper would be essential in Winter;

b) Sufficient foot-wear - generally leather shoes both for winter and summer;

c) Quality of diet has also to be adjusted to meet the requirements of the ^{the} rigors of the weather - e.g. 'Sharbat' or aerated or mineral waters and ice in summer, extra quantities of tea etc. In winter are indispensable. Again increased consumption of fuel, fire-wood or charcoal - becomes necessary during peak winter months.

d) Besides adequate wearing apparel, a worker must arm himself with extra bedding for winter. Woollen blankets or quilts and cotton-stuffed mattresses are a dire necessity. Moreover unlike South India, Bombay or Calcutta or coastal areas, one cannot do without 'Charpoys' in these regions;

e) Climatic extremes also necessitate greater expenditure on medicines;

f) Housing accommodation has also got to be on a more liberal and better scale. People cannot just huddle into one dingy room in blood curdling summer. Even the quality of roof and walls of the house matter much when it comes to obtaining protection from bleak winter winds or scorching 'lobe' (Hot winds) of the summer;

g) Additional expenses have also to be incurred on house-hold requisites like hand or other types of fans and earthenware (surahis, gharas) to ensure supplies of drinking water in summer. Even expenses on hair-cut go up in summer.

2. Delhi is a sprawling city - a city of extraordinary distances. But public transport arrangements are admittedly inadequate. Not only has one to depend on other and costlier transport (e.g. Taxis, Tongas, Motor-cycles, rickshaws and scooters), even the transport charges on public (DPS) buses are about 30-50% higher than those of Bombay and Calcutta. The charges

per mile in DTS are -/1/- per mile as compared to -/-/6 for Bombay.

3. Even Electricity charges are 33-40% more in Delhi.
4. Delhi is now the Capital of one of the most respected and outstanding independent countries of the World. The frequent visits of distinguished World-figures, coupled with a continuous flow of visitors from all parts of the World (as well as from other parts of India) have placed its citizens under the necessity of improving their appearances, so to say. The workers also find themselves under the necessity of adjusting to the new developments. This also has forced them into the race for further raising their material and cultural standards.

These are only a few of the several factors which call for a dispassionate consideration in determining wages for Delhi.

The most convincing factor in favour of the workers' claim of being accustomed to a standard of living higher than that of Bombay, Madras or Calcutta are the conclusions of the National Sample Survey reports. All controversies with regard to the comparative level of living standards in the country were set at rest when it observed.

"The per capita expenditure varied a good deal from one zone to another. The average consumer expenditure per person was highest, about Rs.314 in North-West India, and appreciably smaller, but still quite high, Rs.253 in West India. It was roughly of the same order in the remaining 4 zones, namely Rs.210 in East India, Rs.205 in North India, Rs.203 in South India and Rs.198 in Central India. These results are broadly in accordance with the general impression that the people in the North Western India have the highest level of living". (Para 10.2 p.14 of NSS General Report

No.1. on First Round).

The report then proceeds to discuss the details of the consumption pattern as well as the actual expenditure on food. The findings of the report more than fully our above observations. It might be stated that Delhi is specifically included in what has been described as the North-Western-zone - Vide Table 1 below para. 6.2 on page 12 ibid.

The above recital of facts should have no room for much argument as regards the high standard of living of a Delhi Worker and hence higher wages to which circumstances and factors very much relevant to the situation fully entitle him.

RETAIL PRICES IN DELHI

(Average for the months of April-May-June-July 1957)

Item	Variety chosen	Qty.	Price (Rs.)
<u>(A) FOOD</u>			
1. <u>Cereals</u>			
Rice	Medium to fine	1 seer	-/11/- to 1/-/-
Wheat	-do-	1 maund	14/8 to 19/-
Jowar	medium	"	15/-
Bajra	-do-	"	16/-
Maize	-do-	"	14/-
2. <u>Pulses</u>			
Gram	"	1 seer	-/5/3
Black gram	"	"	-/7/- to -/9/-
Urd	"	"	-/10/-
Urd(whole)	"	"	-/10/-
Masoor	"	"	-/8/-
Arhar	"	"	-/9/-
3. <u>Other articles of food</u>			
Raw sugar	"	"	-/9/-
Refined sugar	"	"	-/15/-
Tea	Lipton	1 pound	3/6/-
Fish	-	1 seer	1/8/- to 2/8/-
Mutton	-	"	1/8/-
Eggs	-	1	-/2/-
Milk	-	1 seer	-/8/-
Ghee	pure	"	6/-/-
sweet oil	-	"	2/-/-
salt	-	"	-/1/3
Chillies	medium	"	2/-/-
Tamarind	-	"	-/6/-
Turmeric	-	"	-/10/-
Onion	-	"	-/15/-
Carlic	-	"	1/-/-
Potatoes	-	"	-/7/-
Baddish	-	"	-/6/-
Brinjals	-	"	-/10/-
Cabbage	-	"	1/-/-
Khira	-	"	-/8/-
Tomato	-	"	1/-/-
Capli Flower	-	"	1/8/-
Spinac	-	"	-/5/-
Metti	-	"	-/6/-
<u>Fruits</u>			
Plantains	medium	1 doz.	-/8/-
Mangoes	-	1 seer	-/14/-
Figs	medium(dry)	"	2/8/-
Grapes	-	"	1/8/-
Guava	-	"	-/5/-
Lemon	-	"	-/10/-
Orange	medium	1 doz.	2/4/-
Sweet Orang	-	"	1/8/-
Papaya	medium	1 seer	-/10/-
Coconut	"	1	-/6/-
Apples	"	1 seer	2/4/-

(B) FUEL & LIGHTING

Fire-wood	Babul	1 maund	3/8/-
Coal	-	"	2/8/-
Chercoal	-	"	8/-/-
Kerosine Oil	-	1 bottle	-/4/3
Match boxes	-	1 doz.	-/12/-
Electricity Charges	-	1 unit	-/3/6

(C) HOUSING

1. one room: 96 sq-ft. one varandah: 120 sq.ft. enclosed area: 108 "	pre-war Delhi Cloth Mills Quarters.	1 month	3/8/-
2. 2 rooms: 96 sq.ft. verandah: 240 " encl.area: 216 " with kitchen	-do-	1 month	8/4/-
3. 2 rooms : 108 sq.ft. 2 verendahs: 2 kitchens, one latrine with water-rent	post-war Delhi Cloth Mills "	Quarters	32/-

(D) CLOTHING

Dhoties per pair of 10 yds.	fine & super-	1 pair	10/13 to 16/8
Cotton Coating	fine		
Woollen costing	medium-fine	1 yard	2/2/- to 3/10/-
Shirting	medium	"	16/8 to 19/8
Pajamas or pants	medium to super-		
	fine	"	1/2 to 3/5
Sarees	long-cloth or		
"	cloth for pants "		1/4 to 3/4
Blouse pieces	fine to super-	1	5/12 to 11/15
	fine		
	Silk	1	20/- to 60/-
Stitching charges :	medium to	1 yd.	1/2 to 3/4
	super-fine		
(a) male adult cotton coat	-		12/-/-
" " woollen coat	-		25/-/-
(b) " " shirt	-		1/4/-
(c) " " khamis	-		1/8/-
(d) " " cotton pant	-		4/-/-
" " woollen pant	-		10/-/-
(e) " " half pant	-		2/8/-
(f) " " pyjamas	-		-/12/-
(g) blouses	-		2/-/-
(h) children's cotton coat	-		7/-/-
(h) " woollen coat	-		15/-/-
(i) " shirts	-		-/12/-
(j) " trousers	-		-/8/-
(k) " half pants	-		1/8/-
(l) Petti-coats	-		-/6/-
(m) Frocks	-		2/-/-

.. 3.

Bed cover	54"x90" handloom		3/11/6
Bed sheet	54"x108" Elgin		5/4/-
Blanket	60"x90" medium		25/12/6
Darys	48"x84" medium		6/3/-
Shoes	medium		13/6/6
chappals	"	1 pair	5/8/-
Shoes for children	"	"	10/5/-
Chappals	"	"	3/8/-

Sd. B.D. Joshi

(vide Delhi State Gazette dt.8.8.57)

Appx. 3 (a)

Estimate of a Fair Wage based on the present-day
living requirements of an average industrial
worker in Delhi on the level of Retail
Prices prevailing in the period
January- March, 1957

<u>Items</u>	<u>Cost</u>
	Rs. Np
I. <u>FOOD</u>	
Cost of a balanced diet as per chart 3(b)	121.62
Spieces, salt, condiments etc.as per chart 3(c)	5.42
II. <u>CLOTHING</u>	
Essential items of clothing -12 yds. of cloth as per chart 3 (d)	7.41
Stitching charges as per chart 3 (d)	3.81
Additional items of clothing including winter clothing, bedding and footwear as per chart 3 (e)	11.56
III. HOUSE RENT for a 2-roomed tenement	30.00
IV. MISCEELANEOUS Exps. @ 20% of the above 3 items	35.96
V. COMPULSORY DEDUCTIONS on account of E.S.I.C. & Provident Fund	8.38
VI. EDUCATIONAL & MEDICAL REQUIREMENTS (vide reply to Q.No.61)	16.62
Total under all heads =	Rs. 240.78 nP

Appendix 3(a).

Estimate of a Fair-wage based on the present day living requirements of an average industrial worker in Delhi on the level of Retail Prices prevailing in the period January - March, 1957.

<u>ITEMS</u>	<u>COST</u>	
	Rs.	pP.
I. <u>Food.</u>		
Cost of a balanced diet as per Chart 3(b).	121	62
Spices, Salt, Condiments, etc. as per Chart 3(c).	5	42
II. <u>Clothing.</u>		
Essential items of clothing - 72 yds. of cloth as per chart 3(d).	7	41
Stitching charges as per chart 3(d).	3	81
Additional items of clothing including Winter Clothing, bedding & footwear as per chart 3(e).	11	56
III. House Rent for a 2 roomed tenement.	<u>30</u>	<u>00</u>
Total Food, Clothing and House Rent ..	179	82
IV. Miscellaneous expenditure @ 20% of the above 3 items.	35	96
V. Compulsory deductions on account of E.S.I. Corporation & Provident Fund.	8	38
VI. Educational and medical requirements (vide reply to Question No.61).	16	62
Total under all heads	<u>240</u>	<u>78</u>

STATEMENT SHOWING THE COST OF CHEAP BALANCED DIET IN CASE OF A DELHI WORKER ON
 THE BASIS OF RETAIL PRICES AS ON 15th July, 1957.
 (As per norms decided upon by the 15th Indian Labour Conference)

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>QUANTITY (a)</u>	<u>Rate (b)</u>	<u>COST:</u>
Wheat Flour	9 Ozs.	0.43 per seer or .0132 per oz.	.1188
Rice	3 ozs.	0.69 " " or .0216 " "	.0648
Bajra	2 ozs.	0.38 " " or .0118 " "	.0236
<u>PULSES.</u>			
Urd	1 oz.	0.59 " " or .0184 " "	.0184
Arhar	1 "	0.45 " " or .0140 " "	.0140
Gram, Moong, Masur.	1 "	0.59 " " or .0184 " "	.0184
Green Leafy-vegetables.	4 "	0.34 " " or .0106 " "	.0424
Root vegetables	3 "	0.30 " " or .0940 " "	.2820
Other vegetables	3 "	0.60 " " or .0188 " "	.0564
Fruits	3 "	0.69 per doz. or .0040 " "	.0120
Milk	10 "	0.68 " Seer or .0212 " "	.2120
Sugar (Crystal)	2 "	0.96 " " " .0300 " "	.0600

contd:-

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>QUALITY (a)</u>	<u>RATE (b)</u>	<u>COST.</u>
Vegetable Oil (Ghee) etc.	2 ozs.	1.10 per Lb. or .0688 per oz.	.1376
Meat	3 "	1.50 " Seer or .0470 per oz.	.1410
Eggs.	1 Egg.	1.87 " doz. or .15 " egg.	.1500
Total cost per head per day -		1.3514	Total 1.3514
-do- per month of 30 days -		40.54	
Total cost per 3 consumption units per month			121.62

(a) Vide Dr. Aykroyd's Health Bulletin, p. 16 of "The Nutritive value of Indian Foods & the Planning of Satisfactory Diets".

(b) Vide Delhi Administration Gazette, dated 8th August, 1957.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF DIET

Condiments of spices etc.	@ 3 seers per month for a family	@ Rs 1.75 per seer	Rs. 5.25
Salt	@ 3/4 ozs. per unit per day- 2.2 Srs. for a month.	@ Rs. -/1/3 per seer	.17
			<u>Rs. 5.42</u>

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF CLOTHING INCLUDING BEDDING, WINTER CLOTHING ETC.

I t e m s	No. Reqd.	Cost per pair or per item	Approx. Life	Total Cost Rs. nP	Cost per Year Rs. nP	R e m a r k s
Pair of shoes	1 pair	13.41	1 year	13.41	13.41	For male adult
" of chappals	1 pair	3.50	1 year	3.50	3.50	-do-
" of sandals	1 pair	5.50	1 year	5.50	5.50	For female adult
shoes for children	2 pairs	10.31	1 year	20.62	20.62	For 2 children
Total footwear					<u>43.03</u>	
Bed sheets	3	3.72	1 year	11.16	11.16	For 3 beds
Towels	2 pairs	4.00	1 year	8.00	8.00	
Carpets (Daries)	3	6.19	4 years	18.57	4.64	For 3 beds
Blankets	2	25.78	5 years	51.56	10.31	
'Razais' (Quilt)	3	12.00	3 years	36.00	12.00	
Total Bedding					<u>46.11</u>	

Additional items of Clothing for winter :

I t e m s	No. Reqd.	Life	Approx. yardage	Rate per yard	Cost of Cloth Rs. nP	Stitching Charges Rs. nP	Total Cost Rs. nP	Cost per Year Rs. nP	R e m a r k s
Woollen coat	1	4 yrs.	1-3/4	16.50	28.90	25.00	53.00	13.47	For male adult
Childrens' woollen coats	2	3 "	2-1/2	16.50	41.25	20.00	61.25	20.42	For 2 children
Woollen 'chaddar' or shawl	1	5 "	-	20.00 Per Pc.	-	-	20.00	4.00	For adult female
Mixed cloth payjama or trousers	1	3 "	3	3.25 yd.	9.75	5.00	14.75	4.92	For male adult
-do- -do-	2	3 "	4	3.25	13.00	6.00	19.00	6.33	For 2 children
Total additional winter clothing			11-1/4				49.14	(43.03)	
Total Bedding, footwear & winter clothing								46.11	

Total monthly expenditure on the above: Rs. 11.56138.28

STATEMENT SHOWING EXPENDITURE ON ITEMS INCLUDING FOOD FOR A FAMILY OF 3
CONSUMPTION UNITS.

	According to weighty distribution of monthly budget as given by Deshpande in his Family Budget Enquiry.	(a)	According to Conclusions & Recommendations of the 15th Indian Labour Conference.
Clothing, House Rent, Fuel, lighting, House hold requisites & miscellaneous	39.02% Rs. 77.82	Clothing House Rent (b) Fuel, Lighting & miscellaneous-20%	7.56 14.00 35.79
Food	60.98% Rs. 121.62	Food	Rs. 121.62
Total	Rs. 199.44		Rs. 178.97
Compulsory Deductions on account of Employees' State Insurance & Provident Fund Contributions (Rs. 2.76 & Rs. 5.62 respectively- Totally Rs. 8.38)	8.38		8.38
Total	207.82		187.35

(a) Clothing- 72 Yds. consumption per year for a family of 4:

Dhoties 2 pair - 20 Yds.	@ 3.66 per pair	Rs. 19.32
Long Cloth 12 "	@ 1.31 " Yd.	15.72
Khadi 6 "	@ .94 " "	5.64
Coating 10 "	@ 2.12 " "	21.20
Shirting 12 "	@ 1.06 " "	13.72
Printed Chhit 6 "	@ .94 " "	5.64
Drill 6 "	@ 1.75 " "	10.50
Total Cost (Annual)		90.74

(b) Standard Rent - Vide P.7 of "Govt. of India Subsidised Housing Scheme for Industrial Worker".

Essential Clothing Requirements - as per decision of the 15th Indian
Lab. Conference- 72 yards for a family of 4

<u>I t e m s</u>	<u>No. Required</u>	<u>Approx. Yardage</u>	<u>Rate per Yard</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Stitching Charges</u>	<u>Total Cost</u>
Dhoti 1 adult male	1 pair	10 yds.	9.66 p.pr.	9.66	-	Rs. 9.66
Sari for adult female	1 pair	10 yds.	10.00 "	10.00	-	10.00
Long cloth for :						
Payjama for adult	2	6	1.31	7.86	1.50	9.36
-do- for children	4	8	1.31	10.48	2.00	12.48
Khadi for petticoats	2	4	0.94	3.76	0.74	4.50
Coating for adult's coat	1	4	2.12	8.48	12.00	20.48
Childrens' coat	2	4	2.12	8.48	14.00	22.48
Shirting for :						
adults' shirts	2	6	1.00	6.36	2.50	8.86
childrens' shirts	4	8	1.06	8.48	3.00	11.48
Printed chhit for Blouses	3	2-1/4	0.94	2.12	3.00	5.12
Drill for half pant for male adult	1	1-3/4	1.75	3.07	2.50	5.57
-do- for 2 children	2	2-1/2	1.75	4.40	3.00	7.40
Underwears (Benyans)	3	3	1.00 p.piece	3.00	-	3.00
Longcloth Langots for underpants	2	1-1/4(khadi)	0.94 p.yd.	1.18	0.74	1.92
cholis	2	1-1/4(longcloth)	1.31 "	1.62	0.74	2.37
T o t a l		72 yds.		88.96	45.72	134.68

Cost of cloth per month =
<u>88.96</u> = Rs. 7.41
12
Stitching Charges =
<u>45.72</u> = Rs. 3.81
12
Total Expenditure on essential items of cloths:
= Rs. <u>11.22</u> per month

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF PRODUCTION AND CERTAIN OTHER IMPORTANT PARTICULARS
ABOUT THE TEXTILE MILL INDUSTRY IN DELHI.

<u>Item</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1956</u>	Increase (+) or Decrease (-) <u>% between 1950-53</u>	Increase (+) or Decrease (-) <u>% between 1950-56</u>
Working Spindles (in lacs)	1.40	1.41	1.60	(+) 1%	(+) 14.25
Working Looms	3,450	3,455	3,700	(+) .10	(+) 7.25
Cloth produced (in '000 Yds).	959.16	1233.80	1447.84	(+) 28.00	(+) 51.00
Cloth produced (in '000 lbs).	249.48	342.84	377.28	(+) 37.00	(+) 51.00
Yarn produced (in '000 lbs.)	343.72	470.52	550.68	(+) 37.00	(+) 60.00
Yarn consumed (in '000 lbs).	280.92	402.48	423.24	(+) 44.00	(+) 51.00
Fixed capital (in '000)	225.99	156.02	153.81	(-) 31.00	(-) 32.00
Number of employees	16,084	14,898	18,200	(-) 7.00	(+) 13.00

Quarterly Digest and Economics & Statistics, Delhi State Administration -
1st and 2nd Quarter 1956 and 1st Quarter 1957.

Estimate of a minimum wage for an Industrial Worker in Delhi based on the minimum human requirements approved by the 15th Indian Labour Conference.

No	ITEMS:	COST PER MONTH:	
1.	<u>Food:</u> Cost of a cheap balanced diet as per chart 3 (b)	Rs. np. 121.62	
2.	<u>CLOTHING:</u> Essential items of clothing [72 Yds, of cloth as per chart 3 (d)] Stitching charges as per chart 3 (d)	7.41 3.81	146.84
3.	House Rent (Standard Rent- vide P.7 of "Govt. of India subsidized Housing Scheme for Industrial Worker ")	14.00	
4.	Miscellaneous expenditure (including Fuel, Lighting, Bedding, Household requisites, Social & Religious expenses, education etc) as per Recommendations of the 15th Labour Conference-at 20% of the above 3 items.	29.37	
5.	Compulsory Deductions on account of E.S.I.C. & Provident Fund.,	8.38	
	Total:	184.59	say Rs. 185/- per month.

IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT DELHI TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

First Textile Mill established in Delhi - 1891.

Number of major Textile Units - 4.

Total number of workers employed - about 21, 000.

Average daily attendance - about 18, 500.

Total number of operating spindles - about 1, 52, 000.

Total number of operating looms - about 3, 600.

Complement of workers for 1000 Spindles - 12.5

(with auxiliaries or helpers)

Complement of workers per 100 Looms - 69.8

(with auxiliaries or helpers)

Paid up Share Capital of the industry in 1955-56 -	Actually subscribed	Approx. 53.54
	Bonus shares	" 116.96

Total	170.50	(Lakhs of rupees)
-------	--------	-------------------

Total Turn-over during 1955-56 - Approx. 1600.00 Lakhs of rupees.

Net value of Fixed Assets as on 31.3.56 - Approx. 153.81 lakhs of rupees.

Average annual rate of dividend during the last 15 years:	On share-capital actually subscribed	- about 60%
	On entire Share-capital	- about 15%

Total Wage Bill for the industry - about Rs. 300.00 Lakhs.

Labour costs per Lb. of Yarn - about As. 6.50

Labour costs per Yard of cloth - about As. 2.50

Average cost output per spindle in 1955 - about 352 Lbs.

Average output per Loom in 1955 - about 35804 Yds.

Wage costs as percentage of total manufacturing costs - about 23.6% to 24%.

STATEMENT SHOWING CAPITAL, FUNDS & PROFITS ETC. OF DELHI CLOTH MILLS & SWATANTRA BHARAT MILLS

	<u>DELHI CLOTH MILLS.</u>		<u>SWATANTRA BHARAT MILLS.</u>	
Average daily attendance:	9, 686		3, 500	
Average daily number of Spindles worked per shift:	75, 604		41, 032	
Average daily number of Looms worked per shift:	1, 800		672	
Complement of workers per 1000 Spindles:	about 14		about 11	
Complement of workers per 100 Looms:	" 82		" 38	
Average Count:	" 25s		" 14-16s	
Present Wage Bill:	Appx. 200.00 Lakhs of Rs p. a.			
Wage costs as percentage of total manufacturing costs:	about 22%			
Funds other than Depreciation held by the Mills at present:	Appx. 200.00 Lakhs of Rupees.			

Total Turn-over during the year 1955-56: 1254.43 Lakhs of Rupees.

Year ending. 30th June.	Written down value of the Stock Capital (Appx.)	Paid-up Share Capital			Managing Agency Commission.	Profits excluding Depreciation but including Managing Agency Commission & Taxation-
		Actually subscribed, (Appx.)	Bonus- Shares. (Appx.)	Total (Appx.)		
1952	115.83	18.50	87.01	105.51	7.33	89.18
1953	91.97	18.50	87.01	105.51	7.25	72.54
1954	165.48	18.50	87.01	105.51	5.86	58.60
1955	159.53	18.50	87.01	105.51	5.71	57.15
1956	152.57	18.50	87.01	105.51	9.75	99.29

Average annual rate for the last 5 years: 7.18 75.35 or 71% on total
subscribed
Share-capital.

(Figures in lakhs of Rupees).

Note:

The Company publishes one consolidated Balance-sheet in respect of its various concerns, including Textiles, Sugar, Chemicals, Tents & Garments, Vanaspathi, Power, Alcohol, spirits etc. The figures are therefore subject to minor modifications.

STATEMENT SHOWING FIXED ASSETS, FUNDS, PROFITS ETC. OF THE BIRLA COTTON SPINNING & WEAVING MILLS LETC: DELHI.

Average daily attendance: 4857
 Average daily number of Spindles worked per shift: about 40,000
 Average daily number of Looms worked per shift: about 1090
 Complement of workers per 1000 Spindles : about 11
 Complement of workers per 100 Looms: about 67.8
 Average Count: 18 - 20s
 Present Wage Bill: Approx. 73.17 Lakhs of Rupees per annum.
 Wage Costs as percentage of Total manufacturing costs: 27%

Total turn-over during 1955-56: 287.90 Lakhs of Rupees.

Year ending 31st March.	PAID UP SHARE CAPITAL			Fixed Assets at original cost.	Fixed Assets net or written down value.	Deprecia- tion.	Additions during the year.	Funds other than deprecia- tion fund.	Profits including Managing Agency Commission & Taxation but after deduction of Depreciation.
	Actually subscribed	Bonus Shares	Total						
1950	5.04	9.95	15.00	67.16	18.99	3.55	4.81	Not available	14.18
1951	5.04	9.95	15.00	71.98	19.76	3.27	5.17		57.15
1952	5.04	9.95	15.00	72.17	26.20	6.05	12.72		47.54
1953	5.04	9.95	15.00	84.27	34.05	9.75	17.99		35.12
1954	5.04	9.95	15.00	101.44	33.40	11.41	11.05		15.29
1955	5.04	9.95	15.00	112.05	31.35	9.01	7.36	140.91	8.61
1956	5.04	29.95	35.00	119.14	28.31	8.84	6.02	87.76	14.45 (Figures in lakhs of rupees)

Average annual rate of dividend for the last 7 years: Approx.: Rs. 27.50 Lakhs or roughly 79% on the total Subscribed Share Capital.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE MINIMUM WAGES & DEARNESS ALLOWANCE PAID TO THE WORKERS
IN TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN DELHI.

YEAR	BASIC WAGES	DEARNESS ALLOWANCE (AVERAGE FOR THE YEAR)	TOTAL EMOLUMENTS.	COST OF LIVING INDEX WITH 1939 = 100	100% NEUTRALIZ- ATION OVER RS.30 TAKEN AS PREWAR- MINIMUM.	DEFICIT PER MONTH.
	R. A. P.	R. A. P.	R. A. P.		R. A. P.	R. A. P.
1950	30 0 0	52 1 0	82 1 0	344	103 8 0	21 7 0
1951	-do-	55-3-0	85-5-0	353	106- 0- 0	21- 0- 0
1952	-do-	58-15- 0	88-15-0	373	112- 0 - 0	23- 0 - 0
1953	-do-	56-4- 0	86- 4- 0	366	110- 0 - 0	23-12- 0
1954	-do-	55-0- 0	85- 0- 0	359	108- 0 - 0	23- 0 - 0
1955	-do-	50-10- 0	80-10- 0	337	102- 0 - 0	22- 0 - 0

(for 7 months only)

Representative Family Budget of a Textile Worker (Originally belonging to Punjab) based on actual investigations conducted by the Union.

(Family consisting of 1 male adult, 2 female adults and 2 children)

I Items of expenditure	II Actual quantity used per month.	III Prevailing market rates per Md. or per Sr. or per Lb. or per Yd as the case may be			IV Annual expenditure, R.A. P.	V Amount spent per month.		
		R.	A.	P.		R.	A.	P.
Wheat	1 Maund.	17	8	0 per Md.		17	8	0
Rice	10 Seers	1	0	0 " Sr.		10	0	0
Maize	2 Seers	0	8	0 " "		1	0	0
Pulses (includes Urd, Masoor, Gram, Moong, Arhar etc.)	9 Seers	Av 0	8	3 appx per Sr.		4	10	0
<u>Vegetables.</u>								
Potatoes	4 Seers	0	8	0 per Sr.		2	0	0
Onions	5 Seers	0	3	0 " "		0	15	0
Green leafy Vegetables	10 Seers	0	9	6 " "		6	0	0
Fruit	5 Seers	1	0	0 " "		5	0	0
Milk	1 Md.	30	0	0 per Md.		30	0	0
Sugar	8 Seers	0	14	6 per Sr.		7	4	0
Mustard Oil	1 Seer	2	2	0 per Sr.		2	2	0
Ghee (Desi)	3 Seer							
" (Dalda)	2 1/2 Seers					24	10	0
Electricity charges						2	0	0
Coal & Fire-wood						7	15	0
Kerosene Oil	8 Bottles	0	4	6 per bottle		2	4	0

(Contd.)

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>
<u>Clothing (a) *</u>				
Dhoties	2		10 - 9 - 0	
Pant	4	1		
Pajamas	4	1		
Half Pants	2	1	30 - 12 - 0	
Saries	4		32 - 0 - 0	
Salwars	8		50 - 0 - 0	
Shirts	6	1		
Kurtas	8	1	57 - 0 - 0	
Petti Coats	4	1		
Blouses	4	1	19 - 8 - 0	
Banyan	8		11 - 12 - 0	
Underwear	8		8 - 0 - 0	
Woolen Coat	1		50 - 0 - 0	
Cotton Coat	1		12 - 0 - 0	
Half pants for children	8		12 - 0 - 0	
Shirts " "	6		18 - 0 - 0	
Frocks " "	8		12 - 0 - 0	
Tailoring charges			20 - 0 - 0	
Shoes & Chappals			55 - 12 - 0	
Shoes & Chappals for children			15 - 0 - 0	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>
Woolen Sweater	2		36 - 0 - 0	
Bed Sheets	6		24 - 0 - 0	
Towels	4		6 - 0 - 0	
Woolen Blanket	1		20 - 10 - 0	
Durries	2		10 - 5 - 0	
Woolen Pants	1		30 - 15 - 0	
Woolen Pajamas	1		<u>16 - 8 - 0</u>	
		Total:	558 - 11 - 0	46 - 9 - 0
House Rent				16 - 0 - 0
Barbar				2 - 0 - 0
Soap				5 - 4 - 0
Hair Oil				1 - 8 - 0
Doctor's Fees & Medicinés.				10 - 0 - 0
Cigarettes etc.			3 - 0 - 0	6 - 0 - 0
Union Subscription			0 - 12 - 0	0 - 4 - 0
Combs				0 - 1 - 0
Bangles				0 - 8 - 0
News Papers				3 - 12 - 0
Postage				2 - 0 - 0

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>
Conveyance				2 - 0 - 0
Travelling to the Village & back			96 - 0 - 0	8 - 0 - 0
Contribution to Provident Fund				8 - 8 - 0
" E.S.I.C.				3 - 12 - 0
School-fees for children				2 - 0 - 0
Books etc. " "				2 - 0 - 0
Social, Religious & Festival Ceremonies.				10 - 0 - 0
Cinema etc.				5 - 0 - 0
Death, Marriages etc.				10 - 0 - 0
Charpai, Utensils etc.				10 - 0 - 0
				<u>Rs. 279- 6 - 0 per month.</u>

* (a). Clothing expenditure is based on an actual inventory of the existing clothes with the family. Cost also is taken as the actual Spent. This expenditure is taken for one year and monthly average taken on that basis.

Representative Family Budget of a Textile Worker (Originally belonging to Western U.P.) based on actual investigations conducted by the Union.

(Family consisting of 1 male adult, 1 female adult and two children).

I Item of expenditure.	II Actual quantity or number used per family per month	III Prevailing market rate per Md. per seer, per Lb. or per yard as the case may be.	IV Amount spent per month.
		R. A. P.	R. A. P.
Wheat	1 Md.	16. 00 0 per Md.	16- 0 - 0
Rice	5 Seers.	0- 12 - 0 " Sr.	3 -12 - 0
Pulses (including Urd, Mansoor, Gram, Arhar & Moong)	6 Srs.	Av. 0 -10 - 0 " "	3 -12 - 0
Potatoes, Onions, Leafy vegetables and others.	6 - 0 - 0
Fruits			2 - 0 - 0
Milk			15 - 0 - 0
Sugar	5 Seers	0 -15 - 0 per Sr.	4 -11 - 0
Jaggery	2 Seers	0 - 6 - 0 per Sr.	0 -12 - 0
Mustard & other Oils	1 Seer	2 - 4 - 0 " "	2 - 4 - 0
Ghee (Dalda)	1 Seer	2 - 4 - 0 " "	2 - 4 - 0
Ghee (Deshi)	1 Seer	6 - 0 - 0 " "	6 - 0 - 0
Electricity charges			1 - 8 - 0
Coal & Fire-wood	1 Maund		2 - 8 - 0
Kerosene Oil			1 -14 - 0
<u>CLOTHING.</u> (a)			
Cotton Pant	2 per year		1 - 8 - 0

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>
Saries	4 per year		2 - 0 - 0
Pajamas	4 per year		1 - 0 - 0
Shirts	6 per year		2 - 0 - 0
Petti-coats	2 per year		0 - 4 - 0
Banyan	4 per year		1 - 0 - 0
Underwear	4 per year		0 - 8 - 0
Coat (Woolen)	1 per ^{two} years		2 - 4 - 0
Coat (Cotton)	1 per year		1 - 8 - 0
Caps	1 per year		0 - 4 - 0
Half-pants for children.	4 per year		2 - 0 - 0
Shirts " "	8 per year		2 - 0 - 0
Caps for children	4 per year		0 - 8 - 0
Frocks "	5 per year		1 - 0 - 0
Tailoring charges			2 - 0 - 0
Shoes & Chappals	2 shoes & 2 Chappals per year		4 - 0 - 0
" " for children	2 per year		0 - 12 - 0
Woolen Sweater	2 per year		1 - 8 - 0
Bed Sheets	5 per year		2 - 0 - 0
Towels	3 per year		0 - 4 - 0

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>
Blanket	1 per two years.		1 - 8 - 0
Durries	2 per year		1 - 0 - 0
Woolen Pants	1 per two years.		1 - 8 - 0
House Rent			20 - 0 - 0
<u>MISCELLANEOUS.</u>			
Barbar			1 - 0 - 0
Soap			4 - 0 - 0
Hair Oil			0 - 8 - 0
Medical (Fees & Medicines)			10 - 0 - 0
Pan, Supari etc.			2 - 0 - 0
Union Membership			0 - 4 - 0
Combs			0 - 4 - 0
Bangles			0 - 8 - 0
Postage			1 - 0 - 0
Conveyance			4 - 0 - 0
Travelling to village & back			5 - 0 - 0 (Rs 60/- per year)
Contribution to Provident Fund			9 - 0 - 0
" E.S.I.C.			2 - 0 - 0
School books etc. for children			2 - 0 - 0
Recreation			5 - 0 - 0

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>
Religious, Social, Festival ceremonies etc.			3 - 0 - 0
Deaths, marriages etc.			5 - 0 - 0 (Rs 60/- per year)
Miscellaneous (Charpais, utensils, Sweeper etc.)			15 - 0 - 0
			<u>19</u>
			Total: 191 - 1 - 0 per month

(a) * Cloth^gin/expenditure is based upon an actual inventory of the existing * clothes with the family. Cost also is taken as the actual spent. This expenditure is taken for one/two years and monthly average taken on this basis.

Representative Family Budget of a Textile worker (Originally belonging to Rajasthan)
based on Actual investigations conducted by the Union.

(Family consisting of 1 male adult, 2 female adults and one child)

I Item of expenditure.	Actual quantity used per family per month.	Prevailing market rate per Md. per Sr. per Lb or per yard as the case may be.			Annual expenditure.	Amount spent per month.			
		R.	A.	P.		R.	A.	P.	
Wheat	1 Md. 10 Srs.	14	-8	- 0	per Md.	19	- 2	- 0	
Rice	3 Seers	0	-10	- 0	per seer.	1	-14	- 0	
Pulses (include 1rd, Moong, Gram, Masur & Arhar)	5 seers	Av:	0	-8	- 0	per seer	2	- 8	- 0
<u>Vegetables</u>									
Potatoes	2 seers	0	-7	- 0	" "	1	- 5	- 0	
Onions	1 seer	0	- 5	- 0	" "	0	- 5	- 0	
Leafy & other vegetables	10 seers	---4/- to 8/- per seer				4	-14	- 0	
Fruits	2 seers 1 Doz. Bananas					2	- 0	- 0	
Milk	7 seers 11 chh.					5	- 5	- 6	
Sugar	2 seers					2	- 0	- 0	
Mustard Oil	1 seer 11 chh.	2	- 4	- 0		3	-12	- 0	
Electricity charges.						2	- 0	- 0	
Coal & Firewood						4	- 4	- 0	

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>
Kerosene Oil	2 bottles	0 4 /- per bottle		0 - 9 - 0
<u>CLOTHING. (a). *</u>				
Cotton Pant	2		9 - 0 - 0	
Saries	6		36 - 0 - 0	
Pajamas	3		13 - 4 - 0	
Shirts	5		24 - 0 - 0	
Petticoat	6		18 - 0 - 0	
Banyan	2		2 - 0 - 0	
Bushirt	1		10 - 0 - 0	
Under-wear	2		2 - 0 - 0	
Half Pants for children	2		5 - 8 - 0	
Shirts " "	2		3 - 0 - 0	
Headwear " "	2		1 - 0 - 0	
Frocks " "	3		5 - 0 - 0	
Tailoring charges.			10 - 0 - 0	
Shoes & Chappal	2		11 - 8 - 0	
" " for children	1		4 - 0 - 0	
Bed Sheets	2		12 - 8 - 0	
Towels	2		5 - 0 - 0	

Total Annual: 171 - 12 - 0

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>
House Rent				15 - 0 - 0
<u>MISCELLANEOUS</u> *				
Barber				1 - 0 - 0
Soap				1 - 4 - 0
Hair Oil				1 - 4 - 0
Medical				5 - 0 - 0
Bidis (Smoking)				10 - 0 - 0
Union membership				0 - 4 - 0
Combs etc.			2 - 4 - 0	0 - 3 - 0
Bangles				0 10 - 0
Newspapers & Pamphlets etc.				3 - 0 - 0
Postage				0 - 12 - 0
Water & Sanitation				2 - 0 - 0
Travelling to village & back			100 - 0 - 0	8 - 5 - 0
Contribution to Provident Fund				6 - 8 - 0
Contribution to E.S.I.C.				2 - 8 - 0
School Books etc. for Children.				5 - 0 - 0

(Contd.)

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>
Recreation (Cinema etc.)				5 - 0 - 0
Religious, Social, Festival ceremonies etc.			60 - 0 - 0	5 - 0 - 0
Utensils, including earthenwares				2 - 0 - 0
Charpai			6 - 0 - 0	0 - 8 - 0
Quilts (one every 3 years Rs.18/-)			6 - 0 - 0	0 - 8 - 0
				Total: <u>139 - 13 - 6</u> per month.

(a) *. Clothing expenditure is based on actual inventory of the existing clothes with the family. Cost also is taken as the actual spent. This expenditure is taken for one year and monthly average taken on this basis.

III

WAGES, WORK AND DEMANDS

17. The Government asks the people to judge the success of their economic activity in relation to industrialisation by pointing to investments and indices of production. The capitalists measure their success by the profits they make. We, workers, judge it mainly by the wages we get and the load of work we have to do, in the context of this growth of production, profits and living costs. Questions of wages and work are the most vital part of our life and demand prime attention from the trade unions.

Lack of Proper Statistics

If someone were to ask whether in the ten years since independence, and particularly in the five years of the First Five Year Plan and the first two years of the Second Plan, the workers have advanced on the wages front, or lost, what can we say? A precise answer to that is rather difficult in view of the fact that the Government collection of statistics on this matter is not so cast as to give us a picture of the wage map of India. The Payment of Wages Act gives us an annual sum of average earnings in an industry. But it is unrelated to the output of total production. The cost of living indices or the consumer price indices do not reflect the reality of family living costs correctly and to the full extent. The collection of prices and costs is not only faulty, but some unions alleged that it is even doctored to prevent workers' claims. Government keeps on changing the bases for the index from time to time. The change in base years disables comparisons and unwittingly helps the employers to confuse the workers' demands. So far three base years have been used, viz., 1939, 1944 and 1949, for consumer price indices.

We have as yet no computations on the total wage and salary bill of the whole country, of its industry, trade and services. Returns under the Payment of Wages Act provide some limited data. The study that is published on the net product of industry, from which one can find the share of wages and the share of the capitalist, embraces only about 29 industries. But it can give some guidance to find the trends. The

index of profits published by the Government also are a rough guide to trends. (See appendices at the end.)

Wages Advances - Nominal and Real

in
On the basis of material that is available, answer to the above question, we can say that wages and earnings in the major sectors of industries have gone up since 1947 as follows:

Average Annual Earnings: Rs. per Worker							
1947	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	
702.4	965.8	1028.9	1108.7	1108.7	1108.1	1170.0	

These are collected on the basis of returns under the Payment of Wages Act (Indian Labour Gazette, September 1957)

This shows that workers' battles won them a rise from Rs.702.4 in 1947 to Rs.1108.7 in 1952. In the next three years, there was almost no change. Then again, a rise was obtained in 1955 from Rs.1108.1 to Rs.1170.0.

The index of nominal earnings from 1947 to 1955 with 1951 as 100 shows:

1947	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
71.0	95.4	93.7	100	102.1	107.7	107.6	116.0

All this shows that workers were out to fight for overcoming the wage-cuts of the war period and securing an improvement of their conditions and they succeeded in making significant gains.

But this picture would be unreal if we do not find out what was happening to prices and to the cost of living of the workers.

Every worker knows that the money in his hands is now more. But that money buys less than before because the capitalists are raising prices and making life dearer.

If we take that fact into consideration, what do we find?

We find that the workers have succeeded in overcoming the wage-cuts of the war-period and also keeping pace with the rise in prices imposed on them by the employers. It means that not only money wages have made an advance but real wages also have advanced, mainly in the large-scale organised industries.

Year	All-India consumer price index (1939 - 100)	Index of real earnings (1939 - 100)
1947	323	78.4
1948	360	84.4
1949	371	91.7
1950	371	90.1
1951	387	92.2
1952	379	101.8
1953	385	99.9
1954	371	102.7

It may be said that since independence, all that the success of the First Five Year Plan did for the working class was to take it back to the standards of living of 1939! But such a reading would not be correct. It would be saying that all that our heroic struggles led to was to throw us back to 1939! What we have really achieved is to overcome the heavy wage-cuts of the war-period and to secure a wage-rise to neutralise the rising prices which soared even after the end of the war. The Indian big bourgeoisie after securing power did not hesitate to fleece its working class and people for their selfish profits and the workers fought it back.

In judging the real content of the advance, one, of course, has to study how the advance was secured and the relation it bears to the prosperity that the other classes have secured. But before we look into it we have to point out the form and the basis in which the earnings of the workers have advanced.

War-time Loss and Regain in Basic, D.A., Bonus and 8-Hour Day

18. Our wages system takes several forms of payment. There is a basic wage, whether on time basis or on piece-rates. When in war time, prices rose, an addition was made to the basic wage, called dearness allowance. This was paid directly in cash on some ad hoc basis as a fixed sum or as percentage of basic wages. In some places, a part of the dearness was met by giving rationed supplies of food and other items of necessity at fixed prices or free. When the workers saw the

immense prosperity of the employers, they began to ask for a share of it, as their "reward". Thus the annual Bonus came into existence. In the last seven years the struggle for higher wages embraced all forms of wages - that is, for a rise in basic wages, for higher dearness allowance to neutralise the rise in the prices, and for bonus.

The demand for higher dearness allowances and bonus dominated in the war and post-war period. When the Second World War broke out, the Bombay Government under the leadership of Mr. K.M. Munshi was the first to allow the traders and manufacturers a rise of 20 per cent in prices. The Government of India and ~~some~~ Provincial Governments had ruled for only 10 per cent.

The textile workers of Bombay retaliated by asking for dearness allowance, which was conceded only to the extent of 10 per cent. The general strike of March 1940 followed but no change was immediately made. But as a result of it, the dearness allowance was linked to cost of living indices for the first time in India and annual bonuses were promised by the millowners. That became the beginning of a widespread movement for dearness allowance and bonus throughout the country.

But the dearness allowance never neutralised fully the rise in the cost of living and none was conceded in several industries and centres, where the trade unions were weak or workers could not unite and struggle. Calcutta is an instance. So was it in coal, tea, etc. The table in the appendices at the end, will show the vast disparities between one centre and another, despite tremendous rise in cost of living in all places.

The result was that real wages fell enormously. By 1946, they were 73.2 per cent of 1939. The workers were made to suffer the burdens of the war, while the employers reaped huge profits.

Post-war Upsurge

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19. With the end of the war, there was upsurge of the national movement for independence. It was backed by political general strikes on a nationwide scale, which also put forward economic demands for increase in wages and reduction of working hours. All anti-imperialist forces, including the Congress leadership, sympathised with the demands for a wage-rise to overcome the war-time fall in wages and consequent

hardships. The AICC even adopted a resolution to that effect but cautioned against strikes. The Government appointed a Pay Commission for all services, including railways, which had been given an interim relief.

The most outstanding post-war gain was the introduction of the eight-hour day in the country, the realisation of that most historic demand for which the trade union movement throughout the world had been fighting since the first May Day Manifesto of 1889. The 8-hour day was introduced from 1st August 1946, without any wage reduction, which means a gain of 10 per cent in wages.

The historic task that the first Pay Commission performed was to bind all the services and Government workers round a central slogan of uniform wages, a uniform minimum for the whole country.

There were tribunals and boards for other industries also. The movement for dearness allowance, for a national minimum, for bonus, for a standardised basic wage made headway from 1946 to 1948 with substantial gains in dearness allowance and bonus and some gains in the basic wages in some industries, Government services, railways, post and telegraph, coal-mining, textiles, iron and steel; that is, the major sector of the working class made an advance. The real wage index rose from 73.2 in 1946 to ~~84.0 in 1948~~ 91.7 in 1949.

At the same time, the employers were fleecing the country most mercilessly with the help of Government policies which removed the war-time controls on several commodities and thus allowed the speculators to rob the people. Alarmed at the way the most patriotic and pious bourgeoisie robbed the people and roused their protest actions, Government and the Congress Party had to re-introduce certain controls. (For the statistics of the strike wave of that period see the appendices.)

* Conditions stabilised relatively for a time, from 1950 onwards. The strike wave came down appreciably, through disputes on bonus, dearness allowance and basic wages were pending in many places.

The most famous dispute, that lasted for over six years and gave a new turn to the question of salaries of middle-class employees in the main and to their organisation, was the dispute of the Bank Employees. This dispute was unique in many respects. In this dispute the workers had a taste of the Constitution, had the pleasure of an ordinance, perhaps the first of its kind, had the taste of the Central Government intervening on behalf of the bankers and refusing higher salaries given by a Tribunal, had the pleasure of seeing a Labour Minister resign and ultimately through a threat of strike and last minute compromises, and a new tribunal, had the fortune to secure a substantial part of their demands. The success of demands, the organisational build-up, the all-national character and unified behaviour and action under the banner of the All-India Bank Employees Association (AIBEA) - all made this struggle of the bank workers quite outstanding in the newly rising developments in the trade union field. Just as the Pay Commission set the level of the national minimum at Rs.30/-, below which no basic wage should fall for Government employees, this dispute set the tone for the levels of the salaries of the middle-class employees. The AIBEA was an independent federation. But all the three national trade union centres, AITUC, HMS and UTUC, rallied in its support on a united platform.

First Plan and Defeat of Wage-Freeze Policy

20. It was in the midst of the bank workers' dispute that the First Five Year Plan came. It put forward a wages policy for the Plan. What was its essence?

The essence of the policy was a wage-freeze for the five years of the Plan. It was plainly stated that if workers were given increase to meet the rise in prices that would take place, there would be inflation and harm to the Plan.

The policy of wage freeze was openly stated by the Sastri Tribunal in the Bank Award. They quoted with approval the following from the First Five Year Plan:

"In recent years prices have risen rapidly. Industrial profits have also increased considerably and organised labour has obtained substantial increases in wages. To check inflation, however, profits and wages will need to be controlled to some extent during the period of the Plan. . . . An increase in wages at this juncture may injure the country's economic stability by raising the costs of production."

This policy of wage-freeze, however, evoked a strike struggle almost in every case where it was attempted. In those major industries where dearness allowance was linked to cost of living, the rise in wages used to be automatic. Even there the struggles arose on questions of bonus.

The workers instinctively found the way to attack this policy. During this period, instead of struggling for rise in basic wages, the workers linked the wages demand with bonus.

The declaration to control profits remained only on paper. The Plan gave huge profits to the capitalists, production increased, prices also rose. The workers retaliated by asking for more wages and bonus. Earnings of the workers rose, both in money and real wage. But it was not because wages-rates went absolutely up but because productivity and production continued to rise uninterruptedly. Full time work and productivity raised the wages more than the rates of wages and amount of bonus paid. That is the real picture of the rise in ~~wages~~ wages. The worker has contributed more of his labour and earned more and not because he increased the real price of his labour power. In 1952, the index of real wages came to 102.7 over 1939. We had overcome the war-time loss and got a little more. Thus the policy of wage-freeze was defeated.

Workers' Share of Wealth Produced by Him

21. Factory production has been rising in volume and value since 1950. The workers have given their labour in the service of capital and the country. If one studied the share of the workers' wages in the net product of industry and compared it with the share of the capitalist, we find the following:

(In Rs. Crores)

	1950	1954	1955
Net income from Factory Industries	528.6 (100)	732.6 (136)	775.5 (145)
Earnings of workers	236.4 (100)	292.3 (123)	319.5 (135)
Profits or Share of Capital	292.2 (100)	440.3 (150)	456.0 (156)
% share of wages in output	44.7	39.9	41.1

Thus wealth has grown. Even the worker has got a little more money. But his share of the growth of wealth, in the creation of which he is the main factor, has fallen from 44.7 per cent in 1950 to 41.1 per cent in 1955.

Earnings of the worker increased from 100 in 1950, to 123 in 1954 and to 135 in 1955. But the idle earnings of capital increased from 100 to 150 and then to 156.

The worker earned more because he worked more. But the profiteers earned more than the worker out of the workers' labour.

The gains made are never secure. They are under the constant threat of attack. Only the struggles, strength and vigilance of the trade union movement has enabled the worker to make the gains he has. Neither the Government nor the employers have ever willingly conceded anything. And they are ever ready to attack what the worker has gained. Hence advances in real wages remain unstable unless backed by trade union strength and then also not always as can be seen from the example of other capitalist countries as England where the unions are so strong.

Though we speak of overall averages and all-India picture of the wage situation, as already stated above, we have no national standard of wages. The wage rates are totally anarchic and in many cases, a product of ad hoc considerations. Capitalist industry and the working class have now spread to every corner of India. It is necessary to arrive at some national standard of wages which, while being a standard, provides for differentials of skills, loads of work, intensity and hazards of work and regional, cultural and climatic

differences. Some studies in this direction are being taken by the Government through their wage study groups and the Steering Committee on Wages.

As is well-known, it is not the capitalist employer, who is interested in a national wages standard or standardisation. Capitalist employment is based on the very principle of competition to lower costs of production and enhance profits. By different wage-rates, they make the workers also compete with each other for the job, until by experience he fights anarchy in his own rank through his trade union. Uniform rate for the job - standardisation helps the workers to unite and get the same price for his labour for the same job everywhere except for certain differences.

The employers and the Government, faced with pressing demands for bonus and wage-increases from all parts of India, appointed an (L.A.T.) All-India Labour Appellate Tribunal/in 1950 to evolve some unified line on the granting of demands, especially on bonus and dearness allowance.

The L.A.T. and Its End

22. The Labour Appellate Tribunal did lift bonus ~~and~~ from an ex-gratia payment to a right under certain conditions. It was declared to be a deferred wage, but only until a living wage was attained. The L.A.T., however, worked out a formula for the disposal of the surplus product in such a way that it enabled the employers to appropriate a major part of the surplus before anything could be left for bonus. But it allowed the consideration of "social justice", obviously meaning thereby the bad condition of the worker and the need to improve it to be made an element in the final judgment. Soon, however, on an appeal from the employers, the Supreme Court blew up the conception of social justice from consideration of bonus payment.

The L.A.T. formula was heavily weighed in favour of the employers. Every section of trade unions protested against it, including the INTUC. But curiously enough, it was the INTUC which first signed a five-year agreement on bonus in Ahmedabad and Bombay in terms of that very formula, it had denounced.

The L.A.T. verdicts, their delays and costliness incensed the workers, and ultimately on a demand from all sections of trade unions, including the INTUC, the L.A.T. was abolished without accomplishing any standard system or norms of wages or bonus for the whole country.

23. In the last two years, that is, 1955 and 1956, and also this year (1957), the pressure of demands for higher wages and dearness allowance has increased. This time it is not so much bonus as direct wages and dearness allowance that are on the agenda. The reason is that food scarcity has become acute, prices have gone up and production and profits have risen to new heights.

The Bombay cost of living index at 338 in 1955 (average), rose to 353 in 1956 (average). In October 1957 it was 374. The whole-sale price index of cereals has gone up from 373 in 1955-56 to 499 in 1956-57 (financial year) - a rise of 126 points in one year. The wholesale price index of all food articles has risen for the same period from 313.2 to 388.5. We must remember that the base for this rise is 1952-53 as 100.

The ~~index~~ index of industrial production rose thus:

(1951 - 100)
 113 - in 1954
 122 - in 1955
 133 - in 1956
 148 - for November 1957.

This is the period of the Second Plan. Herein, the policy of wages-freeze was changed to a policy of linking wages to productivity. Wages would rise only on the basis of increased productivity was the new slogan of the Government and employers. But in effect it works the same way. And soon every employer began to complain that in his plant productivity was going down.

The pressure of the increasing hardship is seen in the increasing strike wage. Number of man-days lost has been rising as below:

The all-India wholesale price index of food articles has gone up from 304.5 in 1955 to 372.9 in 1956 - a rise of 68 points in one year. For 1957, the index has gone up to 416.8 (Base 1939 - 100). (Source: Monthly Abstracts of Statistics). Thus all attempts to hold the price line from rising, said to have been done by the Government have not borne fruit. The cost of living in the industrial towns have risen even more sharply than is shown by the wholesale index.

The index of industrial production rose thus:

1951	-	100
1954	-	113
1955	-	122
1956	-	133
1957 (November)	-	148

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The pressure of the increasing hardship is seen in the increasing strike wave. Number of man-days lost, workers involved, and disputes has been rising as below:

	Disputes	Workers involved	Manddays lost
1954	840	477,188	3,372,630
1955	1166	527,867	for 5,697,848
1956	1263	734,168	7,136,512
1957 (upto November)	1885	1,020,854	5,754,961

The jump from three million to five and then to seven is quite sharp and shows the quick reaction of the workers to the worsening of their conditions or to the desire to improve the existing position. In this year (1957) also, though the number of man-days lost is not as high as in 1956, the number of disputes and the number of workers affected is even higher than in 1956.

Major Gains from 1955 to 1957

24. All these three years of 1955, 1956 and 1957, the workers in several major industries have raised claims for wages and dearness allowance and tribunals and boards have been giving their verdicts.

The most outstanding gain was of the coal miners who after ten years got a revision of their wages, grades, dearness allowance and some attempt at standardisation. Over 36,000 coal miners have secured an increase and an Implementation Committee to check up on the application of the award. The tea plantation workers were able to make a settlement on bonus and a wage-increase. In both these cases, the longstanding payment of dearness allowance in the form of rice was abolished and converted in money. The third notable industry which received larger bonus and some ad hoc increases is the iron and steel industry. Burnpur Iron (IISCO) which was the worst paid, received 65 days' bonus - a jump from 10 days to 30 days last year and 65 days this year. Jamshedpur of Tatas also had to make concessions. The fourth most outstanding wages ~~dispute~~ dispute this year was that of the P. & T. workers and other Government employees in August 1957. They secured a Pay Commission which has granted an interim relief effective from July at Rs.5 per month in dearness allowance "to alleviate hardship caused to employees in the lower income groups on account of a significant rise in the cost of living which appears likely to persist." In spite of

this it is strange to find that the Pay Commission has asked that the sum of Rs.30 which will accrue to the poor employees in December should not be given in cash but in national savings certificates. If they could save, why should they have risked a strike and why should the Commission have given the relief? About 16 lac employees, including railways, post and telegraph, aviation, P.W.D., defence employees, Government presses, will get this dearness allowance increase. Their last increase was in 1951 (Rs.5) and one in 1949 (Rs.10). Several other professions and trades have also secured wage increases.

While the organised working class through its trade union struggles has been able to secure gains, that has not been the case with workers in small-scale industries or those working on big construction works, contract labour, etc. The boom in production and profits and inflation has helped all to make profits but the unorganised, unskilled worker gets the benefit too slowly, if at all. In this sector, which has been tried is to secure the fixation of minimum wages. Committees for several industries and trades have fixed the minimum. But even now the minimum does not operate in manganese and ore mines. Wage advance in these sectors of employment is either non-existent or extremely meagre, compared to that of the organised workers.

Wage-Price Spiral - False Theory

25. The Government failed to keep the prices ~~fr~~ from rising. In fact, they encouraged it by allowing the banks to make speculative advances on food gains, until the situation became serious. The profits too are up. But they wanted to oppose wage-increase, which means they wanted the workers to suffer real wage-cut. A tremendous propaganda barrage was launched with all the backing of "economic experts" that if wages are increased, prices rise and this game of wage-price spiral does not help the worker and harms society.

It was also alleged that the AITUC unions were fomenting wage demands and a strike wave. The AITUC replied to this propaganda in the parliamentary debate on August 4, on the P&T Strike notice. We had to show that in all these years prices have risen first and were rising continuously without the workers getting any commensurate rise in wages.

We had to show that in the countries of Europe and America, where trade unions are of the same thought as the INTUC, workers have been fighting for higher wages as the monopolies are fleecing them and making profits.

The ~~monthly~~ ^{monthly} journal of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organizations, ~~the AFL-CIO~~ ~~the~~ (AFL-CIO), the big trade union centre of America, wrote in its June 1957 issue:

"The Bureau of Labour Statistics (BLA) has issued a report that explodes the propaganda of the 'wage-inflation' advocates, the business spokesmen and politicians, who claim that wage and salary increases are the primary cause of price increases. . . . Price increases have been pulling up unit labour costs, not vice versa."

The BLA study says: ". . . the index of non-labour costs (profits, depreciation and other non-labour payments) was higher than the price index for every year prior to 1956. . . ." (Economic Trends and Outlook, published monthly by AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee, June 1957)

The British Trade Union Congress, who is another "responsible" body in its session ~~xxxxxxx~~ in September, 1957, passed a resolution which said that Congress had no wish to "chase an inflationary spiral" but were not prepared to accept a policy which would debase workers' living standards. They accordingly repudiated the principle of wage restraint in any form and re-affirmed the Union's determination, while prices and profits remain uncontrolled, to take such steps industrially as would ensure that wages kept pace with rising costs.

The same is the answer to the ALIUC to the Government and the employers. We do not make the rise in prices. Unless the Government agree to supply the essential items of living at fixed prices, unless Government take over the enormous profits made by the employers from workers' labour for public good and for the Plan and stop taxing the poor, the Unions will not halt their wage claims and agree to further worsen their already poor living standards.

Demand for General Rise in Wages

26. It was three years ago that the AITUC called upon the employers and Government to discuss the question of a wage increase all round in the country. We called for a 25 per cent rise in wages in view of the low wages prevailing and the rise in production, profits and prices. Both the INTUC and the HMS took the same view.

These two organisations have a Joint Consultative Board with the employers' organisations in India, from which the AITUC is excluded. This Board, though a non-official body, receives from the Government all the status of the tripartite bodies. Through this Board, we are told, the INTUC and HMS come to fruitful agreements with the employers. When the AITUC refused to agree in the Tripartite Standing Committee to the amendment of Section 33-A of the Industrial Disputes Act to permit employers to retrench or dismiss workers during the pendency of a dispute before a Tribunal, this Joint Consultative Board quickly secured agreement and the Government carried out the amendment to the detriment of the workers. But on the question of wage increase the Board first kept silent. When the movement for wage increase began to grow and when the INTUC and HMS joined it, the employers protested. We read the following in the proceedings of that meeting of the Board on January 19, 1957:

"While reviewing the development in the field of industrial relations, the employers' representatives expressed regret that while the Joint Consultative Board was seized with the question of rationalisation of the wage structure, workers' organisations had gone to other forums to agitate for wage increase and had thus damaged the confidence and the atmosphere created by the Board.

"The representatives of workers said that perhaps there was some misunderstanding due to workers' recent demand for wage increase. Such action should not be interpreted as expression of lack of faith in the Board. The spirit of the Joint Consultative Board was an article of faith with them. However, they pointed out that there was a need for strengthening the Board and making its voice dominant in the field of industrial relations. Till that was done workers had no other alternative but to resort to other constitutional channels." (Indian Labour Gazette, February 1957, p.645)

The AITUC brought the question before the Labour Panel meeting called by the Government in September 1955.

But nothing was done to give the problem a serious thought on

an all-national level. This attitude naturally compels the workers to have their demands heard through struggles.

But a concerted action to press the demand has not been possible so far. Various trade unions and federations have acted on their own and secured some gains.

From experience, it is found that the formulation of the demand in such concrete and definite terms as 25 per cent increase has tended to make some unions rigid about the figure. In some cases, even the most petty and small employers have been faced with "nothing less than 25 per cent wage increase." In some cases, small employers have even closed down the concerns or migrated. It is also the experience that in some cases, workers have secured more than 25 per cent increase. Hence, it is suggested that the demand should be re-formulated as asking for "adequate rise" in wages, the actual figure being left to the unions concerned.

When the demand is raised on an all-national level, it obviously means that the national wage bill should be increased by 25 per cent on an average, the share of each trade and industry depending on given conditions. It is generally believed that all industries and trades together can stand a wage increase of 25 per cent, though one may not be rigid about it in every trade and every place.

The same considerations apply to our demand for a minimum wage of Rs.100 in organised industries. This demand also has led to rigid thinking. In some places, even backward trades were asked to pay this minimum. Hence, we now leave the minimum to be calculated in terms of the Tripartite Conference Resolution. If some most backward trades cannot pay that minimum, the trade union movement will have to think how to reconcile this demand with the threatened closures and the need for continuity of employment with a decent minimum.

New Tripartite Agreements - July, 1957

27. When the employers found that the movement for wages cannot be stopped, they took to the usual capitalist method of rationalisation and retrenchment, using the pressure of unemployment to beat down the employed workers' struggles.

To introduce rationalisation measures, in the name of advancing India's production by technological improvement, the employers have secured huge sums under the Five Year Plan. No doubt, some new machines were bought, but we have yet to know how much the country gained thereby. We, however, know that thousands of workers have been retrenched in the Bombay textile industry. Thousands in the jute industry. Rationalisation and so-called productivity movements anywhere under capitalism are bound to lead to retrenchment and unemployment and so they do in India.

Though those who remain in employment in the rationalised industries get some advance in wages, yet the working class as a whole loses on the total wage bill and its conditions get worse.

Technological improvements under capitalist system is used by the big capitalists to advance their profits and power of monopoly. Unless the trade unions fight for higher wages and reduction of hours of work and the people fight for lower prices, the gains of technology do not come to the help of the people to make life better. Temporary gains are made, but they are soon lost in crisis and struggles. Unless socialist economy is established, technology and productivity will not help workers and the consumers with permanent gains.

The Government of India has stirred itself on all these questions, when confronted with the rising unrest. The 15th Indian Labour Conference was called in July 1957 to discuss problems of wage-policy, rationalisation, discipline in industry, housing, workers' education, etc.

The results of that Conference have been before the trade union movement for the last four or five months.

The Conference indirectly acknowledged that wage-freeze was a failure and a wage-rise was necessary. In his opening address, the Labour Minister, Mr. Nanda put it cautiously thus: "As regards wage policy I am not proposing a wage freeze and I am sure also that this Conference will not give countenance to any demand for a general rise in wages, irrespective of its feasibility in particular conditions."

~~But~~ Instead of admitting an overall increase in wages, the Conference

decided to level up only the minimum wages. The terms of the minimum are those given by the Committee on Minimum Wages and need not be repeated here.

To give effect to this agreement, Government agreed, despite the dissent of the employers' delegates, to the suggestion of the workers' delegates, to appoint Wage Boards for the following industries:

- (a) Jute
- (b) Plantations
- (c) Mines other than coal
- (d) Engineering
- (e) Iron & Steel
- (f) Chemicals
- (g) Sugar
- (h) Cement
- (i) Railways
- (j) Posts and Telegraphs
- (k) Civilians employed in defence establishments covered by the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, and
- (l) Ports and Docks.

This, if translated into practice, would be an advance.

The conference decision on Rationalisation was also an advance on previous positions. It was emphasised and agreed that Government might make arrangements to ensure that measure of rationalisation which did not serve the real economic interest in the present conditions of the country might be avoided. The AITUC had demanded that such employer must produce a "certificate of national necessity" before he could introduce rationalisation, and even thereafter, it must satisfy three conditions: No retrenchment, equitable sharing of gains between workers and employers and proper assessment of work-load.

It is four or five months since the Conference and over two years since the famous Kanpur struggle against rationalisation. But reports are already reaching us that the employers are violating the agreement.

The Conference agreed in certain principles of "discipline" applicable both for the workers and the employers. The agreement ~~was~~ has attracted wide attention because we accepted certain obligations of discipline, in the matter of notice of strike, no go-slow and peaceful settlement, etc.

Was there anything surprising? Yes, there was. The AITUC had never accepted that it would refuse to support "go-slow". We consider it as a form of strike. We also do not accept that there can be, in principle, any such thing as an illegal strike. In certain cases, strikes, without notice become inevitable due to provocation.

Obligations - Mutual, Not One-sided

28. By this agreement we have modified our position and that is a surprise to the Government and the employers and perhaps to some trade union workers also.

The working class, in fact, would be the last to deny discipline. In fact, the socialist order, led by the working class is the only order where real discipline combined with freedom for all can be built, because, it eliminates the anarchy of the capitalist order where private profits and ambitions can ruin the lives of millions.

But we cannot accept the discipline of the prison or the barrack. Discipline must serve social purpose and social good and must be based on democracy. The worker will accept discipline willingly if he is given reciprocal rights and freedom. His complaint must be heard, he must have right to criticise the management and have his just demands satisfied quickly. He must, in fact, be treated not merely as a "hired hand" but a citizen worker with equal rights and freedom. Then he will observe the discipline of production and requisite industrial behaviour. At the Conference, this was made clear. The agreement on code of discipline is to be read as an integral part of all the agreements and not by itself. It is not a new edition of the present code of Standing Orders, which are aimed to convert the factory into a prison house and which only works as a watch-dog on the worker to smell his "misconduct" and "insubordination" all the while.

At the conference it was agreed that the employers will observe their new obligations and hence we do. It is we who are aggrieved and exploited and not they. Hence we have to emphasise these conditions.

The Government and employers, however, seem to have soon forgotten this. They tried to elaborate a code quite against the spirit of the agreement. For example, in the draft they made, they banned all strikes and even demonstrations lest they "cause alarm" to the employer. Of course, the AITUC had to reject such non-sense. We are asked to ratify the agreement. We can do that only on the conditions we have mentioned.

In conclusion of this subject, we can say that by our struggles and sacrifices, imposed on us by the employers and Government, we have succeeded in changing their wrong policies of wage freeze and wage-cuts. We have been able to secure some ~~wage~~ increases in wages or earnings by way of basic pay, D.A., or bonus. Provident Fund now applied to almost all major industries is a new addition. We have got the Government and the employers to accept in principle at least, ~~as~~ to begin with the necessity to evolve some rational human policy on wages, on rationalisation and retrenchment, and on discipline with democratic rights. These have not been times of defeat for the working class but of gains and advances.

The tasks that lie before us on this question of wages and work, therefore, are as follows:

- 1) To secure an adequate general rise in wages and D.A., to meet the rise in the cost of living and to improve the standard of living; to secure a guaranteed minimum wage. To merge the D.A. in basic wages. To revise the bonus formula.
- 2) To secure the fulfilment of the conditions agreed to in the Tripartite Conference before rationalisation and productivity measures are introduced, to resist them where they are not.
- 3) To secure the reduction and stabilisation of prices.

- 4) To agitate against compulsion to take D.A. or bonus in national loan or other savings certificates. To support them where workers agree voluntarily.
- 5) To work out and establish a national standardised wage system without loss to any section. To expedite the work of the Pay Commission and Wage Boards for all industries.
- 6) To reduce hours of work to seven without loss of pay in those occupations where there is danger to health and life, viz. mining, transport and chemicals; to enforce strict observance of the 3-hour day in all other occupations.