

Jamshedpur, 13-17 October 1976

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THIRTIETH SESSION OF THE AITUC

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Report, Speeches and Resolutions

AITUC PUBLICATION

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THE AITUC**

Report, Speeches and Resolutions

Printed by: Tarn Sengupta
Paper back: Rs. 7.00
Clothbound: Rs. 12.00

Printed by Tarn Sengupta
in the office of the AITUC
JAMSHEDPUR
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Paper back: Rs. 7.00

Printed by Tarun Sengupta at New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi-55 and published by T. N. Sidhanta on behalf of the All India
Trade Union Congress, 24, Canning Lane, New Delhi-1.

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P R E F A C E

As scheduled the 30th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Jamshedpur (Bihar) on 13-17 October 1976. But there was no permission for holding the open rally which naturally disappointed the working class and citizens of Jamshedpur and other areas. There have been a lot of uncertainties about the holding of the session itself at Jamshedpur. Earlier, permission was granted, then suddenly withdrawn, and then again permission was given subject to certain conditions which were unacceptable to the AITUC, and finally the conditions were withdrawn and the session could take place. The final decision thus could be taken only about a fortnight before the actual dates of the conference. In this uncertainty, all unions could not also send the full quota of their delegates. Unions were asked not to bring any observers to the session. The preparatory committee was also put to great difficulty in the tasks of preparing for the Conference and the multifarious jobs connected therewith. Added to it, were the floods in Bihar which affected the preparatory work of the conference. Nonetheless, the conference which was limited to delegates' session was a magnificent success both in the content of the discussions, and also in its representative character. About 4,000 delegates from all over the country participated and the AITUC membership which stood at 23,00,900 at the 29th session in Calcutta, had gone up by 2,88,179 to 25,89,079 at this session. The session was attended by 17 delegations from fraternal organisations abroad and international organisations including for the first time representatives from the Cuban trade union centre. Delegations came from WFTU, AUCCTU (USSR), Czechoslovakia, GDR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Mongolia, Vietnam, Cuba, CGT (France), Ceylon TU Federation, Syria, Iraq, ILO and Yugoslavia. Their messages of greetings and speeches are included in this volume.

The Conference campus was named as Chandra Sekhar Nagar after Chandra Sekhar Singh, veteran trade union and communist leader of Bihar, and deputy leader of opposition in Bihar Legislative Assembly, who passed away last year.

The delegates' session pandal was named after Barin Dey, veteran TU leader of Jamshedpur.

Before the session opened on 13 October, the TUC flag was hoisted by Kedar Das, veteran leader of the working class of Jamshedpur and wreaths were placed by all delegates at the martyrs' column.

A presidium consisting of Dr. Ranen Sen, president and vice-presidents, Indrajit Gupta, B. D. Joshi, Md. Elias, J. Chittharanjan, M. S. Krishnan and Chaturanan Misra conducted the proceedings of the session.

The crucial importance of the conference was that it took place after fifteen months of the declaration of the emergency. The Indore Convention held on the morrow of proclamation of the emergency extended support to it as a necessary and timely measure to foil the conspiracy of the reactionary forces, both internal and external. The Indore resolution warned at the same time that the emergency powers must not be used against the workers, their rights and benefits, but vigorous measures should be taken to weaken and eliminate the socio-economic bases of the reactionary forces. But during the last 15 months, on the one hand, the monopolies have been given more and more concessions, restrictions on dividend withdrawn, issue of bonus shares liberalised, on the other, workers' right to bonus has been attacked, CDS has been extended and the impounded amount is under threat of not being repaid. Employers launched massive attacks in the shape of layoffs, retrenchment, closures and lockouts, trade union rights and privileges have been severely restricted, MISA and DIR are being used against the workers. The workers and trade unions are therefore placed in a difficult position.

The AITUC session discussed these issues and keeping in view the present complicated situation and the political tasks before the working class, emphasised resistance to attacks that have

come in the recent period against the working class. S. A. Dange in his report to the session and while summing up the discussions on the report, dwelt with the changing international situation, the complexity of the situation in the country, the new tactics of the monopolies in the economic and industrial spheres and in the context of the attacks on the working class, called upon the workers to strengthen their organisation and build up resistance to onslaughts coming against them. He urged to evolve new tactics combining bigger national perspective with the immediate demands. He laid stress on trade union unity which despite all hurdles is growing. Dange also stressed on the vital necessity of worker-peasant alliance, alliance with agricultural workers and rural poor. Dange also made it clear that the AITUC had not abandoned struggle. In fact, struggles have taken place in various forms even during the emergency.

The session summed up the discussions on various issues and in different commissions in a resolution on the United Campaign to defend workers' rights calling upon workers and trade unions to observe a week from 15 to 22 November as a "Week of Workers' Fundamental Rights".

Some of the main issues before the working class were thoroughly discussed in four commissions—

- (a) Wages, DA, CDS and Bonus;
- (b) Public Sector;
- (c) Trade Union Rights and Trade Union Unity; and
- (d) Functioning of Apex Bodies and Workers' participation in management.

The Reports of the Commissions are published in this volume. The resolutions finalised at the respective commissions and adopted at the plenary session are included in the chapter containing the resolutions, along with other resolutions adopted at the session.

The report of the Credential Committee appointed at the session is also included in this volume.

This volume also contains the General Report (Part I and II) adopted at the Session and the information documents circulated.

The Jamshedpur session of the AITUC gave a call to all workers and to all trade unions to unite and resist to defend their rights and gains. The attacks of employers must be defeated and the negative features of Government policies and measures have to change in the overall perspective of defeating reactionary forces, both internal and external, and to take the country forward.

January 1977

New Delhi

AITUC SECRETARIAT

WELCOME ADDRESS

*By Chaturan Mishra, Chairman,
Reception Committee*

Com. members of the Presidium,
Com. Fraternal delegates from other countries,
Com. delegates,

It is a matter of great pride and pleasure for me to welcome you, the delegates of AITUC, the fraternal delegates and the leaders of different working class movements, here in the first steel city of India, where the struggles of workers had started just after the first world war.

The All India Trade Union Congress has behind it the glorious tradition of not only being the first all-India Organisation of the working class and leading the working class struggles in the most difficult situations, but also of being the first to lead the working class in the freedom struggle of the Indian people. Naturally, this occasion of welcoming the comrades and leaders of such an organisation, with scars of great class struggle shining over their faces, gives a great pride to us the workers of Bihar.

Dear comrades,

We are very happy to welcome the fraternal delegates from the great land of Soviets and from other member countries of the socialist community, who have shown the way to the working people of the capitalist and the developing countries, stricken with price rise, unemployment, inflation, recession etc., to get rid of these socio-economic evils and march towards a better future free from all crisis. India has learnt from her own experience of friendships with socialist countries that socialist aid

is not only necessary for sustained economic growth but it is also a guarantee for safe-guarding the freedom and territorial integrity of our country. We are proud of welcoming the fraternal delegates from the undaunted and valiant Socialist Republic of Vietnam who in a longdrawn and most arduous struggle have defeated the U.S. imperialists and aroused among the working class and working peoples of the third world countries the confidence and determination to smash the intrigues and machinations of the imperialists and neo-colonialists, racists and fascists.

Present here amongst us are Com. S. A. Dange, the father of Indian working class movement, and other veteran leaders and comrades. To welcome them is always a proud and inspiring experience.

And it was this glorious tradition of untiring and heroic anti-imperialist struggles of the All India Trade Union Congress which attracted the front-line leaders of the freedom movement like Pandit Jawaharalal Nehru and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose to take up the presidentship of and lead this working class organisation. If some young maniacs of to-day are trying to supplant a pro-imperialist past on the glorious anti-imperialist history of this august organisation, they are only betraying their ignorance of their own ancestors.

We are meeting in Bihar after 48 years, and that too, in Tatanagar. That this pride of place is bestowed upon the workers of Tatanagar is but natural. In 1920 the workers here had to face a rain of bullets and their wounds still in bandage, the workers from here took part in the foundation conference of the AITUC. On every turning point of the freedom movement, i.e. in 1920-22, in 1928-30 and in 1942, the workers of Tatanagar resorted to strike actions. Apart from national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pt. Nehru, C. F. Andrews, Communist leader Singaravelu Chettiyar and British Communist Leader Philip Spratt came out to intervene on the question of the workers of Tatanagar.

Dear Comrades, This is the city of the martyrdom of comrade Hazara Singh. After independence the glorious TISCO strike struggle of 1958 and the forty thousand Engineering workers' strike struggle of 1969 are well known. The leaders of these

strike struggles are engaged in organising this session. It is true that the company and the ruling party have done every thing in their power to see to it that these leaders and the AITUC union do not get recognition. But it is also true that in their turn the workers and the people of Jamshedpur never allowed the ruling party to get representation from here. Both are still adamant on their respective positions. And our most popular leader, bodily lean and thin but as impregnable as a rock, com. Kedar Das is ably leading the workers.

You must be enchanted with the beautiful natural and geographical situation of this steel city. We are reminded of the wisdom of those who selected this site and laid the foundation. Steel being so important for independence, the foundation of this steel mill was a challenge to the British imperialism. Facing keen competition from the British imperialist traders and with the co-operation of the national movement and of the workers, this industry and the city has steadily flourished from strength to strength. But too much water has flown down the river Suvarnarekha, on the bank of which this city is situated. During the long span of time and the house of Tatas, which was nourished and which flourished in the anti-imperialist atmosphere, is now vying for wooing imperialist and multinational companies.

The Industrial map of Bihar has changed considerably during the last five years against of course, the will of the present Tatas, Coal and Copper industries being already nationalised, and with the Govt. take over of almost one third of the sick sugar mills. Tatanagar and Dalmianagar are the only two main industrial centres in the State still left in the private sector. Rest of the industrial centres such as Hatia, Bokaro, Barauni, Dhanbad, Ramgarh-Patratu etc., are in public sector. Thus the public sector has achieved a dominant position in the State. But for a will of the political leadership even the biggest factory of Tatanagar, the TISCO would have come under the Govt. control because the Govt. share in the factory has already crossed the 42% mark and only the public sector can provide a large amount of money necessary for its modernisation.

As you all are aware, Bihar is one of the most backward states of India. Three fourths of its population are languishing under

the poverty line. Fertile land fragmented into underproductive small land holdings with all sorts of feudal exploitation provide for the backdrop of the rural landscape while on the other hand, the strong monopoly concentration is strangulating the small and medium local industries. Wealth created here is transferred and invested elsewhere. Feudal and monopoly elements have combined together in keeping the local and tribal population in the state of perpetual backwardness. One of the richest in mineral wealth and natural resources, the Biharis are among the poorest in the country. Unemployment is rising at the rate of six hundred thousand per annum and the people's anger is not lagging behind in this race. Spiralling prices, scarcity etc., apart from the national problem have nowhere been more acute than in Bihar. No tangible efforts were discernible on the part of the ruling party for ameliorating the situation.

In this background, the fascist forces selected this state as a starting point for their general offensive in 1974. But even in these days of mounting discontent, the working class of Bihar came out on the streets to oppose the J. P. led fascist movement and inspired the others to resist the fascist onslaught. That onslaught was beaten back by the workers and other working people's movement in the state. So far as the ruling party is concerned, it was feeling helpless with one of its section seeking some sort of compromise with JP. Administration was paralysed and a section of it was giving salute to JP. It was the staunchness of the working class which at last brought the ruling class with it. I hope many of you might have seen this unity during the great international Anti-fascist conference last year.

Thus, dear friends, we may be economically backward and due to lack of money there may be lack of proper amenities necessary for your comfortable stay in this glorious city of the working class, you can rest assured that there is no dearth of fighting determination whenever an occasion for united fight against the enemy arises.

During the emergency the workers of Bihar like those of the whole country as a whole rose to the situation, increased production, helped in establishing peace which has greatly contributed in arresting the economic drift in the country. In the public sec-

for there was a considerable rise in production but in the private sector, specially those producing consumer goods, the rise in production was not up to mark the main responsibility for which rests with their owners. Some of the concerns arbitrarily closed down by their private owners have recently been opened in this state too. The state Apex Body have been formed with equal representation of the INTUC and the AITUC. There has been a rise in the wages in those industries which come under the Minimum Wages Act. The Govt. has decided to take over two or three closed sugar mills. Old age pension scheme has been enforced for destitute citizens. May Day has been declared public holiday. Effort is on for implementing the Minimum Wages Act for the agricultural labourers.

A campaign for abolishing bondage labour is getting momentum. A law has been enacted for debt relief, nearly one hundred and fifty thousand acres of surplus land has been acquired under the land ceiling act, more than half of which has already been distributed. House sites have been distributed rapidly. All this has shaken the bastion of feudalism to the hilt. The working class has given its whole hearted co-operation in implementing the 20-point economic programme. During this period AITUC and INTUC have worked in close co-operation in Apex Body as well as in other official committees.

In spite of all these good things a backward current has also, once again, begun to flow. On the one hand India is proposed to be declared a socialist democratic republic in the Constitution, the monstrous multinational companies are being invited on the other. The owners are free to get away with their dividend, are getting several types of subsidy and tax relief but the workers bonus is banned. Our strike is banned but they are free to resort to lockouts resulting in huge losses of manhour. The trade union rights have been strictly limited, even meetings are not allowed. The workers resorted to peaceful "Dharna" against bonus-cut and one thousand people were arrested throughout the state. DIR is freely used against the workers. At several places our comrades have been arrested even under MISA. Even permission for this all India session of the AITUC has been secured with great difficulty. A conscious effort is being made on the

part of the ruling party to break some of our organised Unions. The talk of containment is in the air and enlistment of so-called internal disorder and disruption of Public services in the proposed constitutional amendments is supposed to ban the strike for ever, without knowing, that those who ban strikes are at last banned themselves.

As if all this was not enough, a devastating flood has engulfed 16 out of 31 districts in the State. All on a sudden ten million people have been rendered homeless. For the first time the industrial belt had also to face the fury of flood in which all the coal mines of Ramgarh area were submerged and ten workers lost their lives. Industries at Barauni had to be closed due to flood.

And very recently, our dear leader comrade Chandra Sekhar Singh, who was so much enthusiastic for this session, left us for ever. Our other local leader com. Barin Dey and com. Ramnand had already left us. Their absence is deeply felt on this occasion.

Comrades,

The session had to be organised under this difficult situation and it is but natural that there might be some shortcomings here and there. But all of us being the warriors of struggle for the same cause, I do believe you will not mind them.

On this occasion I must acknowledge the wholehearted co-operation and enthusiasm shown by the workers of the state without which organising this session in this difficult situation would not have been possible. And in this connection mention must be made of the workers of Jamshedpur, specially the contract labourers, Bokaro, Coalmines, Barauni and the electric supply workers of the state, who responded exceptionally for the success of the session. In a short span of time, and despite several festivals falling around the date of the session, more than one hundred thousand workers have contributed to the fund collected for the session.

In a difficult period of struggle as we are, the reception committee is confident the 30th session of the AITUC will show

the way for further onward march of the working class movement in the new situation.

Before concluding, I must express my gratitude to the civil administration of the TISCO, who have arranged electricity, water, sanitation etc., and to those institutions who have provided living space for our delegates.

Once again I, on behalf of the Reception Committee, welcome and greet all of you comrades. Thank you.

INQUILAB ZINDABAD !
WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE !



ADDRESS OF
RANEN SEN, PRESIDENT, AITUC

Esteemed delegates from sister Trade unions of foreign countries, Comrade delegates, friends,

The 30th Session of the AITUC meets after more than three years in this historic city of Jamshedpur which have witnessed glorious struggles of the working class in olden days and in recent period.

AITUC born fifty six years back has its strong roots in this city. It is the militant organisation of the working class of not only workers of this city but also of the whole country. From a tiny small organisation of the Indian working class, the AITUC has grown into a mighty big organisation leading the workers step by step. Its contribution in the national struggle for freedom of India, its contribution in the popularisation of the ideals of socialism of workers raj in the country and its relentless struggle to organise the class for its fight to get better livelihood have endeared it to the working class of India. Today, AITUC has more than 2.5 million membership in its register. It is strongest and oldest central Trade Union in India.

It has been the constant endeavour of the AITUC to unite all other central trade unions in the country to present a united front of the class against the employers. It is intervening in the national political situation by rallying the working class against internal and external forces of Reaction.

Imperialism had to quit India reluctantly in 1947. But since then it has been trying to undermine the sovereignty and independence of the country under various disguises. Of late the conspiracy to subvert the independence of the country, to destabilise the Government has been pronounced and shameful.

Under the pressure of exigency the Government of India were taking more and more progressive stand in regard to foreign and domestic policies which were not to the liking of Imperialism and

native reactionaries. More the Government took firm measures in external and internal affairs more it roused the ire of the reactionaries who attempted to resort to subversive activities inside the country. The outspoken stand of the Government of India in support of Vietnam's fight for freedom, in support of the Arab peoples' fight against Zionism and against the installation of military base in Diego Garcia by American Imperialism angered USA. Certain policies pursued by the Government of India in regard to internal matters like Nationalisation of Banks, abolition of privy purse, constitutional amendments which cleared the deck for further advancement of the Country and strengthening of Public Sector, etc., could not but rouse the wrath of internal reaction and their foreign master namely US Imperialism.

They hatched a conspiracy to subvert the Government pursuing these policies. These reactionaries backed openly by Imperialist forces tried to take advantage of economic difficulties in the country as a result of some wrong policies of the Government of India. In the name of democracy they wanted to bring chaos in the country, unleash a condition of instability and help Imperialism to reap the benefit out of such anarchy. But what Imperialism could achieve in neighbouring Bangladesh, could not be achieved in India, a more advanced country which has a long standing history and tradition of anti-imperialism and democratic struggles.

These conspiracies have been nipped in the bud by the proclamation of Emergency and attack on the rightist forces by the Government of India. Working class of India hailed this promulgation of Emergency. AITUC took a lead in this respect. In fact AITUC and the peasants' organisations were fighting against the machination of these reactionaries and were urging upon the Government to take strong actions against these reactionary forces. At the time of the declaration of Emergency, AITUC in its national Convention at Indore fully supported the Prime Minister and the Government. Since then AITUC has been supporting unequivocally the measures taken against these imperialist stooges. While not abjuring the right of the working class to strike, the AITUC voluntarily agreed to ask the workers settle the industrial disputes as best as possible.

Big business, the main prop of these reactionaries was cowed down to some extent and gave their lip service to the Prime Minister and the Government and pledged to play fairly in the situation obtained after the promulgation of Emergency.

The main problem before the working class in those days was lay-off, closure, retrenchment and lockout resorted to by the employers. In the name of recession they since 1974 laid off and retrenched workers, closed down or locked out industrial units. Main task before the workers as laid down by the AITUC was to fight against such policies of the employers. The Prime Minister realised the gravity of the situation which was not only affecting the workers but also the nation as a whole.

An apex body called National Apex Body (N A B) was formed consisting of employers' and workers' representatives to thrash out these problems with Labour Ministry to carry out decisions of the NAB. The specific task given to the NAB was to deal with the cases of Lay-off etc. Employers representatives have not implemented the agreed decisions of the NAB and other Apex bodies under it and the cases of lay off etc. are still continuing unabated in many states.

In the wake of announcement of Emergency the prices of essential commodities were reduced by the wholesalers and industrialists to some extent as they were apprehensive of stern Government measures. D. A. of the employees was cut due to fall in consumers price index. But again it is rising during the last 8 months. The pay packet of the workers has been adversely affected as a result of the machination of the big business. The Government seem to be complacent. Under a wrong theory of industrial development of the country by boosting industrialists, big business is being given every concession.

New amendment of the Bonus Act has virtually taken away the right of the workers to bonus, a right that workers wrested after series of bloody battles of more than two decades. Thus the workers are put in a difficult position and all their expectations of getting a better deal during the Emergency has been more or less belied.

ATIUC is the only organisation that has stood by the workers, giving them leadership all throughout. During the Emergency period AITUC has advocated the following policy namely support

to the Government in all their steps to fight right reaction and organise the working class to fight for their rights and for a better livelihood. Several battles have been conducted by the workers during this period under the leadership of the AITUC.

AITUC has underlined the need of unity in the rank of the working class and has tried to forge joint front of all patriotic T. U. centres. In this respect also the role of the AITUC as unifier of the class has been recognised by workers. Where leadership of other unions could not be drawn into movement, the rank and file of other T. U. centres have been drawn into movements. The AITUC has become an unifying factor in the working class movement. AITUC in its last several meetings urged upon the trade unions affiliated to it to forge links with the landless labourers and the village poor who are the most downtrodden section of our society. The workers following the AITUC have in many industrial centres gone to the rural side, fraternised with the village poor and helped them to organise themselves fight against feudal forces in the villages. Under the guidance of the AITUC, workers undertook padayatras (march on foot) in the villages for rousing the village poor and implement the 20 point programme enunciated by the Prime Minister. Thus process for the formation of a grand alliance of workers and toiling peasantry has started. This is bound to strengthen the workers movement as well.

Thus gradually and steadily this oldest and the most militant TU centre of the Indian working class has grown into a mighty organisation.

The Indian working class is facing numerous problems currently and is looking to the AITUC for guidance and leadership. In this session we have to grapple with those problems and hammer out a correct policy in the context of national and international situation. We would strive to forge unity of the class and rectify some negative features that have been manifested in the Government policies. We are confident that through relentless struggle we can change the situation in favour of workers. With these few words I conclude.

LONG LIVE AITUC!
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION

I

The 30th session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Jamshedpur (Bihar) on 13-17 October 1976, condoles the death of the following leaders of the international trade union movement:

LAZARO PENA—Secretary General of National Confederation of Cuban Workers.

AGOSTINO NOVELLA—President of Italian CGIL and Vice-President of WFTU.

LOUIS SAILLANT—President of Honour of WFTU and General Secretary of the WFTU for over two decades since its foundation in 1945.

HERBERT WARNKE—President of the FDGB of German Democratic Republic, veteran of the anti-fascist struggle and one of the builders of G.D.R.

BENOIT FRACHON—President of honour of CGT of France and Vice-President of the WFTU—Leader of the French and international working class movements, veteran of the anti-fascist resistance movement and one of the founders of WFTU.

LOUIS FIGUREOS—President of CUT of Chile—Minister for Labour in Allende Government who came out of Chile after fascist takeover. Died in Stockholm.

II

The 30th session of the AITUC condoles the death of the following prominent personalities abroad:

R. PALME DUTT—One of the founders of the Communist Party of Great Britain who was closely associated with India's freedom movement.

PAUL ROBESON—The great American singer, an indefatigable fighter for racial equality and human rights, for democracy and social justice.

MARSHAL GRECHKO—Soviet Defence Minister, outstanding soldier and political leader, a sincere friend of India.

WALTER ULBRICHT—Chairman of the Council of Ministers of GDR, a veteran of international communist movement.

SALVADOR ALLENDE—Immortal hero of Chile who was killed while fighting against the fascist takeover in September 1973.

PABLO NERUDA—Chilean poet of international repute who died while under house arrest by the fascist junta.

WILFRED JENKS—ILO Director-General.

MARSHAL ZHUKOV—Legendary hero of the Second World War, of the defeat of fascist forces in Europe.

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN—Founder of Bangladesh who was killed along with his entire family by counter revolutionary forces as a result of a conspiracy in collusion with imperialism.

TAJUDDIN AHMED, SYED NAZRUL ISLAM, QOMARUZZAMAN, MANSOOR ALI—Close associates of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who were brutally killed in Dacca Central Jail where they were imprisoned.

CHOU-EN LAI—Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, one of the leaders of the Chinese revolution.

CHU TEH—Legendary figure of the Chinese revolution and commander of the People's Liberation Army.

MAO-TSE TUNG—Leader of the Chinese revolution.

MAURICE DOBB—A prominent marxist economist and a friend of India.

III

The 30th session of the AITUC pays homage to the memory of the following leaders of the trade union movement in India who passed away during the last three years:

SATISH LOOMBA—Secretary of the AITUC, one of the dynamic leaders of the trade union movement in India who met with tragic death in a plane crash at Palam on 31.5.1973.

SUBODH BANERJI—Trade union and Kisan leader and former Minister of the United Front Government in West Bengal.

VASANT KULKARNI—Hind Mazdoor Sabha leader of Bombay.

M. K. RANGANATHAN—Secretary, Tamilnadu State Committee, AITUC.

KHANDUBHAI DESAI—Prominent leader of the INTUC and lately Governor of Andhra Pradesh.

H. L. PARWANA—One of the foremost leaders of the Bank employees and builder of the AIBEA.

PETER ALVARES—Veteran TU leader and a former president of the AIRF.

NAREN GUHA—Vice-President of the West Bengal Committee, AITUC and AITUC General Council member.

GEORGE CHADAYAMURI—Veteran TU leader of Kerala and AITUC General Council member.

GOPI—Secretary of Karnataka State Committee, AITUC and AITUC General Council member.

BABURAO NAIK—Veteran worker leader of the Bombay Girmi Kamgar Union.

CHANDRA SHEKHAR SINGH—Veteran freedom fighter of Bihar, former Minister in Bihar and a member of AITUC General Council.

M. R. SALVI—General Secretary, Petroleum Workers' Union, Bombay.

RAM ASREY—Well known TU leader of Uttar Pradesh. For many years a member of the AITUC Working Committee till he joined CITU.

LALJI PENDSE—One of the veterans of the working class movement in Bombay.

P. D. MARATHE—One of the pioneers of the working class movement in Vidarbha and Madhya Pradesh.

B. S. SITHARAMAIAH—Secretary, Andhra Pradesh State Committee of AITUC and a member of AITUC General Council.

S. KRISHNAMURTHY—A veteran TU leader and for long member of AITUC Working Committee, former Mayor of Madras.

DEWAN CHAMANLAL—General Secretary of the AITUC at its founding session in 1920.

PARIMAL GUPTA—Prominent leader of Railway trade union movement in West Bengal.

GULABRAO GUNACHARYA—An outstanding leader of textile workers of Bombay, coming from a working class family was himself a textile worker. He was president of the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Union.

SUHASINI JAMBHEKAR—Sister of Sarojini Naidu and has always been a friend of the working class.

USHATAI DANGE—Noted TU leader of Bombay Textile workers, organiser of textile workers' struggles in Bombay for over two decades.

Y. R. SATYANARAYANA—TU leader of Karnataka and vice-president, Bangalore district corporation & Local Bodies Employees' Union.

MOORA KONDIAH—President of Bangalore District Corporation Workers' Union.

IV

The 30th Session of AITUC mourns the death of the following due to police firing, mine disaster and killed by miscreants:

a) 2 workers of South Eastern Railway who were killed by police firing at Himgir on 26 February 1973.

b) 4 workers were killed on 2 March 1973 as a result of police firing at Kargali mine.

c) 48 workers were killed in Jitpur mine disaster.

d) 4 workers died on the spot as a result of police firing at Nellimarla jute mills in Andhra Pradesh.

e) *Surajnarain Singh*, an MLA of Bihar and well-known socialist leader, killed by miscreants at Ranchi.

f) *Susanta Chakravarty*, TU leader of Durgapur killed by miscreants.

• g) *Bhamaiya Kista and Goud*—Naxalite leaders who were sentenced to death and subsequently hanged.

h) About 400 workers killed in Chasnala Coal mine disaster.

i) 10 Coal miners drowned in Saunda colliery near Ranchi (Bihar).

j) 43 Coal miners killed in an underground explosion in Suddimih colliery of BCCL on 4 October 1976.

V

The 30th session of AITUC condoles the death of the following prominent public personalities of India during the last 3 years:

S. MOHAN KUMARAMANGALAM—Dynamic Union Minister for Steel and Mines who died in a plane crash at Palam on 31 May 1973. He addressed the 29th session of AITUC in Calcutta.

K. BALATHANDAYUTHAM—Member of Parliament and Member, National Council CPI who actively fought for the cause of the working class—died in the same plane crash on 31.5.1973.

V. K. KRISHNA MENON—One of the leaders of the World Peace Movement, an ardent anti-imperialist fighter, former Defence Minister.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN—Former President of the Indian Republic, a well-known philosopher, an eminent educationist and scholar.

D. P. DHAR—Indian Ambassador to USSR, one of the champions of Indo-Soviet Friendship and cooperation.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI—Former Governor General of India and a veteran of the Indian National Congress who later founded the Swatantra Party.

K. KAMARAJ—A veteran of the freedom movement and former President of the Indian National Congress.

BALRAJ SAHNI—A great artist, intellectual and writer.

TEJA SINGH 'SWATANTRA'—Veteran revolutionary and freedom fighter, member of Parliament, Member, National Council of CPI.

L. N. MISHRA—Union Minister for Railway killed in bomb blast at Samastipur.

SAJJAD ZAHEER—One of the founders of the Progressive Writers' movement in India.

MUZAFFAR AHMED—One of the pioneers of the Communist movement in India, a leader of the CPM.

AMO GHANI—MLA in West Bengal and a popular doctor of slum dwellers of Calcutta.

BARKATULLAH KHAN—A progressive nationalist leader and Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

NELLIE SENGUPTA—A former President of Indian National Congress who completely identified herself with the freedom movement with her illustrious husband, J. M. Sengupta.

KAZI NAZRUL ISLAM—Rebel poet of Bengal who inspired the freedom struggle by his poems.

SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSH—An old revolutionary and veteran freedom fighter.

TIKARAM SUKHAN—A veteran of freedom struggle in old undivided Punjab and Secretary, Haryana State Committee of CPI.

K. T. JACOB—Erstwhile Minister of Revenue, Kerala, leader of plantation workers and agricultural labour, communist leader.

PANDELAM MADHAVAN PILLAI—Renowned fighter for freedom from princely and feudal rule, Communist leader and leader of the agricultural labour in Travancore region of Kerala.

BENOY ROY—One of the builders of progressive cultural movement in India.

HARE KRISHNA KONAR—Prominent kisan and CPM leader, former Minister in UF Government in West Bengal.

T. NAGI REDDY—Naxalite leader of AP, former member of Parliament.

K. DAMODARAN—freedom fighter, marxist scholar, communist leader.

NELLIE SENGUPTA—A former President of Indian National Congress who completely identified herself with the freedom movement with her illustrious husband J. M. Sengupta.
 KANI KAZALI ISLAM—Kobal part of Bengal who inspired the freedom struggle by his poems.
 SUBENDRA MOHAN CHOSH—An old revolutionary and veteran freedom fighter.
 THE AMAL SARKAR—A veteran of freedom struggle in old undivided Punjab and Secretary, Haryana State Committee of CP.
 K. T. JACOB—Kerala—Minister of Revenue, Kerala, fighter of plantation workers and agricultural labour, communist leader.
 KANDUJI KISHORJI—PILANI—Famous fighter for freedom from poverty and feudal rule, Communist leader and leader of the agricultural labour in Tanjore region of Kerala.
 BENDU BOY—One of the builders of progressive cultural movement in India.
 HARE KRISHNA KONAR—Bismilal sign and CPI leader, former Minister in the Government of West Bengal.
 T. N. REDDY—Nellore leader of CP, former member of Parliament.
 K. DARGO BAZ—Freedom fighter, Marxist scholar, communist leader.

MESSAGES RECEIVED

MESSAGES RECEIVED FROM TRADE UNIONS
ABROAD

Confederation Generale Italiana del Labore (GGIL), ROME

MANY THANKS YOUR FRATERNAL INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE 30TH CONGRESS YOUR ORGANISATION UNFORTUNATELY SHORT NOTICE AND COMMITTING INTERNAL SITUATION FOR ITALIAN TRADE UNION AND WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT MAKE IMPOSSIBLE TRAVEL JAMSHEDPUR QUALIFIED REPRESENTATIVES CGIL HEARTFULLY WISHING EVERY SUCCESS ACTIVITY GLORIOUS AITUC AND DEVELOPMENT TRADE UNION ACTIVITY AND UNITY TO PROMOTE PROGRESS INDIAN WORKERS AND PEOPLES AS WELL AS THEIR ACTIVE AND PEACEFUL COOPERATION PEOPLES ASIA AND WHOLE WORLD.

CGIL SECRETARIAT

Message from Federation of Korean Trade Unions, Pyong Yang (Korea)

INFORM YOU OF IMPOSSIBILITY SENDING DELEGATION TO YOUR CONFERENCE FOR SOME CIRCUMSTANCES

CC GFTU KOREA

Message from Pancyprian Federation of Labour, Nicosia-Cyprus

We thank you very much for your letter of August 11, 1976 and for your invitation to attend the AITUC 30th Conference to be held in Jamshedpur (Bihar) from October 13 to 17, 1976. We regret to inform you that due to other urgent commitments our participation is rather impossible.

On this occasion our Executive would like, on behalf of the Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEC) and on behalf of the Cypriot working class to extend to you and the participants of the Conference fraternal and militant greetings.

PEO and the working class of Cyprus are well aware of your struggles for liberty and peace, for the furtherance of the interests of the Indian working class, for democratic changes and social progress.

PEO which, together with the whole people of Cyprus struggles against NATO conspiracy and turkish occupation, for the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty, and non-alignment of Cyprus and for the solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of UN resolution on Cyprus, expresses full and militant solidarity with AITUC and the Indian working class in the struggle for trade union unity, for new achievements in all spheres of your activities, trade union, economic, social and political.

We wish you, dear brothers every success to your Conference and to your future work.

Sd/- Andreas Ziartides
General Secretary, PEO

Message from General Federation of Jordan Trade Unions

Dear Comrades,

The General Secretariat of Jordan with its working class, present their best regards, wishing you and the Indian working class every success and progress.

Reference to your letter dated the 11th August 1976 including your invitation to attend the 30th Conference, which will be held 13-17 October 1976.

We thank you for your invitation to attend your great Conference. It was our intention to participate in your Conference for the solid relations which bound both organisations, but due to our financial circumstances, we could not purchase the travel ticket.

From here, in the name of the General Seretariat with its working class, which exposed to violence and intimidations on the hand of Jordanian regime, and in the name of unionist detainees in Jordon, we submit to you and the 30th Conference Members, and for the Indian working class our warmest greetings in this occosion, hoping to you Conference progress and success for the service of the Indian working class, and the world over.

Hoping from you to take within your recommendations and resolutions to consolidate the confirmation the Palestinian revolution, which is still struggling for returning the Palestinian people to their home land, and to set up their own democratic state and to self determination, that could live Arabs and Jews without distinction.

Finally, we thank you again for the invitation, hoping to your Conference success and progress. Please accept our sincere and comradely regards.

Sd/ Fath Naji Awad
General Secretary

*Message from PAMBANSANG KILUSAN NG PAGGAWA,
Philippines*

Pambansang Kilusan ng Paggawa (National Labour Movement) hereby extends with great pleasure its fraternal greetings to the All-India Trade Union Congress on the occasion of its 30th Conference, scheduled to be held from October 13 through October 17, 1976.

The holding of this conference completes another milestone in the long and heroic struggle of the working class of India,

under the leadership of AITUC, towards the attainment of proletarian goals.

Our organisation views the dedicated effort of AITUC with great admiration for such effort is worthy of emulation.

Indeed, your 30th Conference inspires us to renew our pledge for closer fraternal ties with your organisation. Towards this end, we venture to say that we can translate our mutual desires for effective solidarity into a real and lasting unity if we go into positive action through coordinated effort in areas of the labour movement where positive mutual assistance is not only possible but is, indeed, demanded by the imperatives of the proletarian struggle.

It is therefore our fervent wish that fraternal organisations all over the world exert greater effort towards a stronger and real solidarity, expressed in terms of positive action through mutual assistance in various areas of endeavour and predicated on a firm resolve to aid one another.

A real and lasting unity of workers all over the world will enable them to attain, within a relatively shorter span of time, the long-cherished horizon which guarantees freedom from exploitation, poverty, hunger and fear.

Workers of the world, UNITE !

Sd/- ALFONSO C. ATIENZA; President
RAMEL M. PARIS; President,
UIF-Kilusan
A. V. VALERIO; Secretary General
BONIFACIO R. VILLA FLOR;
First Secretary

Message from Federation of Free Workers, Manila (Philippines)

The Federation of Free Workers (FFW) extends its fraternal greetings to the AITUC on its 30th Conference.

This Conference will surely present another opportunity for the AITUC to reaffirm its tradition of militant trade unionism in defence of workers' freedom and towards the establishment

of a just and democratic society. Such re-dedication cannot be more opportune. In Asia, as well as all over the underdeveloped world, workers and people continue to find no relief in the dehumanising conditions under which they labour and live. The structures responsible for this unjust situation, in particular the multinational companies and the domestic structures that support them, seem to persist and grow even stronger.

The AITUC has no doubt applied itself fully to the struggle demanded by this situation. The FFW joins the AITUC members and officers in their efforts, especially in this Conference, to intensify that struggle for the Indian workers.

Sd/- JUAN C. TAN

Brother Paisal Thawatchainum, Chairman, Trade Unions Group of Thailand has also sent message for the success of the Congress.

Message from AUCCTU (USSR)

Delegates to and Participants in
the 30th Conference of the
All-India Trade Union Congress

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of Soviet factory and office workers the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions sends the delegates to and participants in the 30th Conference of the All-India Trade Union Congress warm fraternal greetings and wishes of success in the work of your representatives forum of Indian working people.

It is with profound satisfaction that we note the constant development and consolidation of fraternal relations between workers and trade unions of the USSR and India.

The conclusion of the Soviet-Indian Treaty on Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, the visit by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev to friendly India and the visit by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to the Soviet Union have been major contributions to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between our countries which is of great importance for peace and progress not only in Asia but also all over the world.

The Soviet working people are following with unabated attention the struggle of Indian workers for their vital interests and democratic rights and they wish them success in their noble aspirations.

We state our confidence that the relations of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the Soviet and Indian working people will continue to gain in strength and develop in future for the benefit of wage and salaried workers in the USSR and India, in the interests of the common struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

All-Union Central Council
of Trade Unions.

Copy of letter received from PALESTINE TRADE UNIONS FEDERATION Damascus P.O. Box 3348 dated Sept. 29, 1976 addressed to the All India Trade Union Congress.

Dear Comrades,

The General Secretariat of Palestine Trade Unions Federation extends its best regards and would like to let you know that we are in receipt of your letter dated August 11th, 76 including your kind invitation extended to our organisation to attend your 30th Congress.

It would have been of great pleasure for us to attend this Congress of your militant organisation; but the current circumstances facing the Palestinian Revolution won't make us able to fulfil our dear desire.

As we regret for this, we should like to convey to you as well as to your militant cadres the greetings of the Palestinian workers and their wish for your congress of every success for the interests of the Indian Working class and in support of the unity of international trade union movement's struggle.

Dear Comrades,

Your congress will, undoubtedly, consider, due to your militant proletarian position of solidarity, the ways of supporting the national liberation movements all over the world in addition to the struggle of international trade union movement against all forms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and exploitation.

We are quite sure that the plots our people and revolution are being exposed to in Lebanon with the aim of liquidating the Palestinian Revolution and even the physical liquidation of our people will meet condemnation and denunciation from your congress; and that the firm withstanding and struggle of our people and revolution against the imperialist-zionist reactionary alliance will meet your support and solidarity through your 30th Congress.

With our best wishes and fraternal greetings,

Long Live the Unity of Struggle of International Trade Union Movement.

Sd/- Fathi Ragheb

General Secretary

Messages from the following were also received wishing success of the 30th Session of the AITUC:

1. President of Indian Republic
2. Kamalapati Tripathi,
Minister for Railways,
Government of India.
3. Shankar Dayal Sharma,
Minister for Communication,
Government of India

4. K. Raghunatha Reddy,
Minister for Labour,
Government of India
5. Chandrajit Yadav,
Minister of Steel & Mines,
Government of India
6. A. P. Sharma,
Minister of State,
Ministry of Industry,
Government of India
7. Karan Singh,
Minister of Health and Family Planning,
Government of India
8. B. P. Maurya,
Minister of State,
Ministry of Industry & Civil Supplies,
Government of India
9. K. D. Malviya,
Minister for Petroleum,
Government of India
10. V. C. Shukla,
Minister of Information & Broadcasting
Government of India
11. D. P. Chattopadhyay,
Minister of Commerce,
Government of India
12. C. Rajeshwara Rao,
General Secretary,
Communist Party of India
13. Indradeep Sinha,
General Secretary,
All India Kisan Sabha
14. Dr. Jagannath Mishra,
Chief Minister, Bihar
15. J. Vengala Rao,
Chief Minister,
Andhra Pradesh

16. Sheikh Abdulla,
Chief Minister,
Jammu & Kashmir
17. Y. S. Parmar,
Chief Minister,
Himachal Pradesh
18. Harideo Joshi,
Chief Minister, Rajasthan
19. S. C. Shukla,
Chief Minister, M.P.
20. Ram Dulari Sinha,
Minister for Labour & Employment,
Tourism, Bihar
21. Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai,
Minister for Electricity, Labour
and Local Self-Government,
Uttar Pradesh
22. Mathura Prasad Dubey,
Minister for Labour,
Madhya Pradesh
23. Dr. Ram Raj Singh,
Minister for Education and Rural Development,
Bihar
24. Narsingh Beitha,
Minister for Archeology, Geology
Bihar
25. Ram Ratan Ram,
Minister for Prisons, Animal Husbandry
and Fishery, Bihar
26. Raj Bahadur,
Minister of Tourism
and Civil Aviation,
Government of India
27. Sib Saran Singh, Congress MLA (Bihar), Chairman,
Housing Board

AITUCONG
24 CANNING LANE NEW DELHI
INDIA

ICATU ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL MOHAMED
OMAR BASSAAD DEEPLY REGRETS INABILITY PARTI-
CIPATE YOUR FEDERATION 30TH CONFERENCE DUE
PREOCCUPATIONS PREPARING SOLIDARITY CON-
FERENCE PEOPLE WORKERS PALESTIN HELD DEMO-
CRATIC GERMANY (STOP) BEST WISHES HOPE SUC-
CESS YOUR CONFERENCE DEEP RELATIONS BET-
WEEN OUR ORGANISATIONS (STOP) FRATEERNALLY
OMMAREB

WQT LODI ROAD NEW DELHI
30TH CONFERENCE JAMSHEDPUR

ON BEHALF OF OUR GENERAL UNION OF PALESTI-
NIAN WORKERS AND PEOPLE WE EXTEND TO YOU
OUR WARMEST COMRADELY GREETINGS AND WISH
YOUR CONFERENCE ALL SUCCESS IN ITS PROCEED-
INGS AND DELIBERATIONS AS I WRITE THIS TO YOU
OUR PEOPLE AND THE LEBANESE PEOPLE ARE WAG-
ING A BATTLE AGAINST A BRUTAL ENEMY IN DE-
FENCE OF THEIR LIVES AND RIGHTS TODAY THE
UNITED STATES THROUGH ITS AGENTS IN OUR ARAB
LAND NAMELY THE SYRAIN REGIME OF HAFEZ AL
ASSAD THE ZIONISTS AND THE FASCIST FORCES IN
LEBANON ARE PUTTING ALL THEIR FORCES AND
MANPOWER AGAINST THE FLOWERING BUD OF
FREEDOM AND JUSTICE IN LEBANON TO CRUSH
LAST HOPE FOR THE ARAB MASSES OF PROGRESS
AND DEVELOPMENT AND AGAINST EXPLOITATION
AND OPPRESSION THIS AGGRESSION AGAINST THE
PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THE LIBERATION PROGRES-
SIVE FORCES WE BELIEVE IS JUST A BEGINNING OF

AN IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AN OFFENSIVE THAT SHOULD BE FOUGHT WITH A UNITED EFFORT BY ALL WORKING MASSES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WE ASK YOU TO CONDEMN THIS REACTIONARY INVASION AGAINST LEBANESE PROGRESSIVES DETERMINED TO CARRY ON THE FIGHT TILL VICTORY IS ACHIEVED FOR MASSES NO MATTER WHAT THE SACRIFICE MIGHT BE REVOLUTION TILL VICTORY—FAISAL AWEDHA P.L.O.



LIST OF FRATERNAL DELEGATIONS FROM ABROAD

1. *World Federation of Trade Unions, Prague (Czechoslovakia)*
 - i) Comrade ELEFThERIOS PHANTIS, Secretary
 - ii) " MAHENDRA SEN, Secretary
2. *All Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Moscow (USSR)*
 - i) Comrade ALEXEY VICTOROV, Secretary
 - ii) " K. TUZIKOV, Incharge, Asian Department
3. *Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions, Hanoi*
 - i) Comrade (Mrs) NGOTHI THUAN, Member Presidium
 - ii) " NGUYEN VAN TU, Dy. Head of International Department
 - iii) " HOANG KIM PHUONG, Interpreter
4. *Central Council of Cuban Trade Unions, Havana (Cuba)*
 - i) Comrade REBERTO DIAZ, Member National Committee
 - ii) " ROLANDO OLIVA, Member International Department
5. *Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT) Paris (France)*
 - i) Comrade HENRI KRASUCKI, Secretary
 - ii) " (Mrs) ANNEI ABRAMOVICZ Incharge International Deptt.

6. *Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (F.D.G.B.), Berlin (G.D.R.)*
 - i) Comrade (Mrs) MARGARETE MULLER,
Secretary & Member Presidium
 - ii) " HARMUT SIEGEMUND, Lecturer,
TU College of FDGB
 - iii) " MAX LAMPRECHT, Head of the Asian &
African Affairs
7. *Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions (URO) Prague (Czechoslovakia)*
 - i) Comrade (Mrs) DRAHOMIRA HANZALOVA, Secretary
 - ii) " Dr. J. LISBA, Dy. Head, International Deptt.
8. *Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, Sofia (Bulgaria)*
 - i) Comrade MARIAN STOIKOV, Secretary
 - ii) " LILIANA DJORCOYA, Interpreter
9. *Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions, Ulan Bator (Mongolia)*
 - i) Comrade FERENC PAVLOVSZKY, Vice-President
 - ii) " C. BOLD. Interpreter
10. *Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, Belgrade (Yugoslavia)*
 - i) Comrade BORIS PETKOVSKY, Secretary
 - ii) " FRANC BANKOS, Dy. Head International
11. *Central Council of the Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), Budapest (Hungary)*
 - i) Comrade FERENC PAVLOVSZKY, Vice-President
 - ii) " FRANC BANKOS, Dy. Head International Deptt.
 - iii) " MANDOR PAPP, Interpreter
12. *General Federation of Syrian Trade Unions, Damascus (Syria)*
 - i) Comrade ALI KASSADO, Member Executive Bureau
13. *General Federation of Iraqi Trade Unions, Baghdad (Iraq)*

- i) Comrade ABDUL ZABA ABRAHIM, President, Mushana City Trade Unions
- 14. *General Trade Union Federation of Romania, Bucharest (Romania)*
 - i) Comrade (Mrs) ILIE SILVIA, Member Executive Committee
 - ii) " IANC STEFAN, Interpreter
- 15. *Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions, Colombo (Sri Lanka)*
 - i) Comrade M. G. MENDIS, President
- 16. *Central Council of Polish Unions, Warsaw (Poland)*
 - i) Comrade W. SCHOLZ, Head of the International Deptt.
- 17. *International Labour Organisation, (Area Office) New Delhi*
 - i) Mr. BIMAL GHOSH, Regional Director

**SPEECHES OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM
ABROAD**

SPEECH BY AKIS FANTIS, WFTU SECRETARY
AT THE 30TH SESSION OF THE AITUC

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions I bring to you, the delegates gathered at the 30th Session of the AITUC the warmest and most fraternal greetings of the World Federation of Trade Unions and its 160 million affiliated workers from all over the world. Through you I would like to transmit to the millions of Indian workers the greetings of our Organisation and wish them great successes in their struggles for a better life, for a better future.

Dear comrades,

I would like to seize this opportunity and convey also the warmest and militant greetings of the WFTU to the working class of Jamshedpur, the city that hosts the present AITUC Session. It is an honourable task for me to be able to express the warmest feelings of solidarity of the WFTU with the workers of Jamshedpur. Because we in the WFTU know very well the glorious history and the long tradition of struggle of the workers of this city.

We know very well that it was 56 years ago, in 1920, that the workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Company went on their first strike. They faced bullets and untold repression. But the cause started by them was carried on by the Jamshedpur workers for decades. We know also very well about the history of workers struggles in the Tinsplate Company, the Indian Cable Company, the Indian Steel and Wire Products and many others. We do not forget these struggles in the same way as we do not forget the pioneers of the movement, the innumerable martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the sake of the workers.

We pay tribute to them. It was their efforts also which resulted in having today a powerful, active and influential All-India Trade Union Congress. This city is commonly known as the city of the Tatas. But I would think that it could be also well known as the city of the workers of the Tatas. Because its history is directly linked with the emergence, the development and the establishment of India's Trade Union movement. During this long history there have been moments of sadness and bitterness; moments of defeats and retreats; there have been martyrs and heroes. But not in vain. History marches always forward. And these almost 70 years of the long march forward have resulted in having today a massive well-organised, politically active and class-conscious working class, rightly proud of its contribution to the trade union and the progressive movement of this country.

But the history of the trade union movement in your country, the history of the AITUC has great moments and important contributions not only at the national level. Let us not forget the AITUC, and in particular comrade Dange, who actively participated at the 1945 world conference which in fact decided the foundation of the WFTU. And it is by no means accidental that Com. Dange is now a Vice-president of the WFTU. This is yet another reflection of the all-important role and contribution of the AITUC to our international class and mass-based trade union movement. This contribution is highly appreciated by the WFTU.

Dear Comrades,

The 30th Session of the AITUC takes place in a situation marked by the declaration in June 1975 of the emergency situation by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The WFTU saw this act as a political act directed against the plans of internal and external reactionary forces to climb to power. We saw in the declaration of emergency a consciously taken step aimed at destroying the plans of counter-revolutionary forces, at rebuffing their all-out offensive against the introduction of internal and external policies corresponding to the real needs of the people of India.

Therefore we supported the measures taken then by the Government of India and the 20-point programme introduced by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Since then we follow with great attention the development of events and the struggle waged by the progressive, patriotic forces in this country to consolidate their unity and, inspite of all shortcomings and eventual existence of negative factors—typical in such a complex and often contradictory situation—to raise the political consciousness of the masses and score further successes in the anti-imperialist and social struggles. We are sure that the deliberations and decisions of the present Session of the AITUC will make a signal contribution towards the strengthening the unity and struggle of the workers for successfully dealing with the problems posed for the benefit of all patriotic forces in this country.

Dear comrades,

The international trade union movement is facing to-day a number of serious challenges. The continuing crisis of the capitalist system creates tremendous problems for the workers. Unemployment has not merely become an important issue in the capitalist world; it has assumed the dimensions of an epidemic disease affecting from day to day greater and greater number—millions— of workers in many countries. The capitalist ruling classes are not able to offer any credible and lasting solution to the problem.

Inflation is also a constant negative phenomenon for the workers. It usually takes away any gain scored by the workers to their salaries. The policies of restraint and austerity trumpeted by the ruling circles in the developed capitalist world provided no solutions to the workers' problems. The monetary crisis of the capitalist world sparkles again and again.

The problems posed to the workers' freedoms and rights, their working and living conditions by the harmful activities of the transnational corporations are becoming more and more acute.

The group of questions related to the creation of a new world economic order are of vital importance to the workers and their trade union organisations which must have a say in the

formulation and implementation of policies aimed at the creation of this new order. The interests of the workers should be taken into account and be fully protected in this respect.

These few examples, dear comrades, of the severe problems put to the workers by the consequences of the continuing crisis of the capitalist system, the very real threats posed by the activities of the transnational corporations and the necessity for a new world economic order from the challenges to the international trade union movement.

Our movement could not but actively respond to these challenges.

To the global strategy of imperialism we must answer with an equally global strategy of the trade union movement.

To the universal challenge of the TNCs we must answer with universal all-out offensive.

To those who dream of suppressing and defeating the workers' fight for their social and economic demands we must answer with a great wall of solidarity.

Unity is our most effective weapon. We work for unity and cooperation between the various segments of the trade union movement both at national, regional and international level. We ceaselessly call on the other international trade union movements, the ICFTU and the WCL, for the establishment of an open dialogue, for rapprochement and coordination of action. This unitary policy of the WFTU has already given positive results. And although, now and then, it could be heard in certain trade union headquarters the ugly song of the "cold war" times—no cooperation with the WFTU, the TUIs and its affiliated centres—life is providing us with ample evidence to suggest that irreversible progress is being registered in unity of action, in furthering contacts and cooperation between us and others, between our member organisations and ICFTU or WCL affiliated unions, and this is true of India and other Asian countries, as well.

More and more workers and trade union centres are coming to understand today the simple truth that the enemy is common, that he is not "selective" in choosing its victims: They are the workers as such and their vital interests.

in December this year to further intensify the campaign of solidarity with the workers and people of Korea in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The Japan-US Security Treaty, the renewed activities under the ANZUS Pact, the building up of the nuclear base in Diego Garcia linked with NATO bases in South Africa, the arms build up in West Asia and other hostile acts against peace-loving states in the region—all these constitute grave threats to the independence and sovereignty of the nations and peoples of Asia.

In the Middle East, imperialism and zionism have created a hotbed of war. The WFTU always supported the just cause of the Palestinians and their sovereign rights in the territory. From some time now the cause of the Palestinian people is put under severe trial by the events in Lebanon. The WFTU calls for putting an end to the massacre of innocent people in this country. We expressed our full support and solidarity to the Lebanese progressive forces and the Palestinians fighting against international reaction, against a "holy alliance" of otherwise heterogeneous elements whose only common unifying object is the liquidation of the Palestinian national-liberation movement. It is regrettable that one of these elements has to be the Syrian Arab Republic whose armed intervention in Lebanon not only didn't facilitate the bringing about of a peaceful and just settlement of the problem, but on the contrary, dangerously aggravated the bloodshed. The WFTU is of the firm opinion that the immediate withdrawal of the Syrian armed forces from Lebanon would be the best possible service to the people of this country. We do hope that the convening at the end of this month in Karl-Marx-Stadt (GDR) of the second international trade union Conference in solidarity with the workers and people of Palestine will result among other things in a powerful pressure being brought to bear towards Syria.

Peace and security are also being under threat in other parts of the world. Democratic rights and freedoms are being trampled under foot in some countries. The WFTU manifests its strongest possible solidarity with the workers and peoples of Chile, fighting against the Pinochet junta, with the Cypriot people fighting for the implementation of the UN Resolutions

relating to the grave problems that they face as a result of the fascist coup d'état and the Turkish invasion in July 1974. We are in solidarity with and wholeheartedly support the struggles of the peoples of Africa, especially in Namibia and Zimbabwe. We render our solidarity to all workers and peoples in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting against the same enemy, the enemy, of mankind's progress, the imperialism.

Dear comrades,

In concluding our delegations address to you I would like to tell you that we are following with great interest the discussions and debates at your session. We are convinced that these will constitute a valuable contribution to the various activities of the WFTU especially as we are entering the period of active preparations for our next, 9th world trade union congress.

We do not have any doubts about the active contribution of AITUC to these preparations and the Congress itself. Your history and your glorious traditions make us sure of these.

The WFTU highly appreciates the active contribution made by the AITUC towards the development of regional united action of workers and trade unions in Asia. A striking example is the holding of Asian Regional Trade Unions seminars by the AITUC. The fraternal relations between WFTU affiliates and organisations not affiliated with us which has been developing in a positive manner in important countries in the region reflects the growing appreciation of the policy of unity pursued by the WFTU and its affiliated centres.

From this high rostrum, dear comrades, we would like to wish to you further successes in your work. We wish to assure you that you have our full solidarity with your struggles to score more successes in the field of socio-economic demands, in the struggle to defeat reaction.

—LONG LIVE THE AITUC!

—LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SOLIDARITY!

*SPEECH OF ALEXEY VICTOROV,
HEAD OF THE SOVIET TRADE UNION DELEGATION AT
THE 30TH CONFERENCE OF THE ALL-INDIA TRADE
UNION CONGRESS (AITUC).*

Esteemed Comrade Chairman,

Dear Comrades, Friends,

Permit me on behalf of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, on behalf of all Soviet working people to convey to you ardent fraternal greetings and to wish the 30th Conference of the All-India Trade Union Congress successes in its work.

Permit me also to convey heartfelt thanks to the AITUC for the kind invitation to an AUCCTU delegation to this conference which we regard as an expression of feelings of friendship for all working people of the Soviet Union, for all people of my country, and also to thank for the warm reception accorded my delegation.

The AUCCTU accepted this invitation with satisfaction and sincerely hopes that the arrival of a Soviet trade Union delegation to your country, its participation in the work of this representative forum of the Indian working class will facilitate a further development and strengthening of fraternal ties between the working people and trade unions of both countries.

It is with deep satisfaction that we note that firm friendly ties have been established between the working people of the Soviet Union and India. These ties have been strengthened throughout the years of India's existence as an independent state: In my country working people highly value the friendship with the great Indian people.

Expressing these sentiments of the Soviet people the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev said at the 25th Congress of the CPSU: "We attach special importance to friendship with that great country. In the past five years Soviet-Indian relations have risen to a new level. Our countries have concluded a treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation. And even this short period has clearly shown its

tremendous significance for our bilateral ties, and its role as a stabilising factor in South Asia and the continent as a whole.

"Close political and economic cooperation with the Republic of India is our constant policy".

The signing of the treaty, the visit to India by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L. I. Brezhnev in November 1973 and the recent visit to Moscow by the Prime-Minister of India Indira Gandhi-such are the major milestones on the road of the utmost consolidation of our friendly ties.

Dear Comrades,

Motivated by the feeling of proletarian internationalism Soviet Trade Unions strive in every way to expand and strengthen on a class basis their fraternal ties with working people in other countries, with all trade unions irrespective of their orientation and affiliation with international organisations.

The AUCCTU maintains ties with trade unions in 128 countries and is successfully developing contacts with trade unions in Asian countries as well. As to India, we have good relations with both the All-India Trade Union Congress and other trade union associations in the country.

We rejoice at this and will continue our efforts to ensure a further all-round development and strengthening of the ties of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the trade unions of the USSR and India.

Comrades,

Permit me to inform you briefly about the present activities of my country, its working people and their trade unions.

In recent years Soviet trade unions have vigorously helped the fulfilment of the assignments of the ninth five-year plan period. Their efforts and experience were directed at the development of production, at the fulfilment of the programme of social development and facilitated the planned increase of the wages and salaries of industrial and office workers, the solution of other questions concerning the raising of the material and cultural standard of the lives of working people.

The ninth five-year economic development plan of 1971-1975 was successfully fulfilled. That five-year period was unique as

regards absolute increment of industrial output, capital investments and state expenditures to improve the life of Soviet working people.

The successful fulfilment of the socio-political tasks of the ninth five-year plan period creates the necessary conditions for the solution of new, bigger tasks in accordance with the Party's long-term socio-economic policy.

Soviet trade unions are taking the most active part in the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, in the attainment of the grandiose targets of the tenth five-year plan, in the implementation of the programme of Social Development and raising the living standards of working people. They are doing ever more to improve the working and living conditions of Soviet people.

What is it planned to accomplish in the course of the tenth five-year-plan period?

In the course of the five years the average wages and salaries of industrial and office workers will increase by 16-18 per cent and reach at least 170 roubles a month in 1980. The incomes of collective farmers from the socialised economy will grow by 24-27 per cent. Payments and benefits to the population from the public consumption funds will increase during the five years by 28-30 per cent and reach at least 115 billion roubles in 1980. Real per capita incomes of the population are to go up by 20-22 per cent. Meantime prices are stable and their level will remain the same. Mass housing construction will be continued in the country during the new five-year-plan period and enough new housing will be built for more than 50 million people to improve their housing conditions.

I believe these figures are enough to draw the following conclusion: the supreme aim of the party's economic policy—to improve the people's welfare—remains invariable and will determine our development further.

The past months of the tenth five-year-plan period brought the first successes in the fulfilment of the social development programme that was proclaimed by the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

There has been a new increase in the average monthly wages and salaries of industrial and office workers that amount now

to 150 roubles. Considering the payments and benefits from the public consumption funds this sum should be increased to 203 roubles. Payments from the public consumption funds, that benefit every one of the 256 million Soviet citizens, amounted to 45 billion roubles during the first six months of this year. 575,000 modern flats were built, as well as new schools, children's institutions and other cultural and services establishments.

The volume of everyday services has grown, medical services have been improved as well as the organisation of the leisure of working people.

All this is directly felt by every family, by every Soviet person.

Soviet trade unions unite in their ranks more than 109 million people and play an important role in the country's life. They are one of the most representative organisations through which, in conditions of the developed socialist system, working people are drawn into the management of production, of all public and state affairs. Trade unions take a direct part in the entire work to raise the efficiency of production, to ensure a growth of labour productivity on the basis of scientific and technological progress. One of the main tasks of trade unions is to defend the lawful interests of working people. Trade unions effect control over the observance of labour legislation and settle labour disputes. It is only with their consent that an employee can be dismissed. Safety engineering and industrial sanitation norms and regulations are set with the compulsory participation of trade unions. Not a single industrial enterprise can be commissioned without their consent. They also have the right to suspend work in the event of violations of labour safety regulations.

Trade unions have the right to raise the question of dismissing or punishing industrial managers if they fail to fulfil obligations stemming from collective agreements, violate labour legislation or do not have the confidence of industrial and office workers.

In conditions of the developed socialist society Soviet trade unions exercise such functions of state bodies as the management of state social insurance, of sanatoria and resorts, tourism the development of physical education and sport etc.

In the USSR social insurance is financed entirely by the state and applies to all industrial and office workers without exception.

Industrial and office workers do not make any payments to the social insurance fund.

The social insurance fund finances the payment of pensions and allowances, the organisation of the treatment and rest of working people at sanatoria, overnight sanatoria and holiday homes, the organisation of the recreation of children at Young Pioneer camps.

Spending on these purposes exceeded 25 billion roubles in 1975.

In exercising their international functions Soviet trade unions are engaged in multifaceted international activities which they regard as one of the important forms of the direct participation of the country's working class and working people in the world workers and trade union movement, in strengthening and cohesion and practical co-operation of the working people of all countries in the struggle for peace and social progress.

My country has entered the new, tenth five-year-plan period in conditions of the relaxation of international tensions, resultant of the successful, consistent and dedicated implementation of the Peace Programme by the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

For a number of years already the main, dominant feature of the development of the international situation is comprised by the easing of tensions, by the assertion of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and by the development of mutually advantageous international cooperation.

This was vividly manifested by the European Conference on Security and Cooperation that put on record fundamental principles of relations between European states.

The positive changes now taking place in international life have influenced the Asian continent as well.

The liquidation of the war in Indo-China, the historic victory of the Vietnamese people, the victories of the patriots of Laos and Kampuchea scored with the international support of the working people of the whole world demonstrated the pressing

need of further strengthening international cooperation of working people with the trade unions of Asia and the whole world.

The problem of creating a system of collective security in Asia is of much importance for the peoples of this continent.

"We believe that the establishment of relations of peace, security and cooperation in Asia, a continent where more than a half of mankind lives, would be a step of world-historic importance towards ensuring peace and the security of peoples on the scale of our entire planet", said L. I. Brezhnev.

There is no doubt that the important results of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation can and should be used in the other continents as well, in particular in Asia.

The relaxation of international tension has struck deep roots. But its opponents have by no means laid down their arms. World imperialism tries to undermine trust in detente, in the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In the Middle East and in the South of Africa, in other parts of the globe imperialist reaction continues to interfere in the internal affairs of nations, is trying to procrastinate the solution of outstanding international problems.

All this shows that much effort will yet have to be made to assert lasting and inviolable peace, that this will require long and extensive struggle.

Soviet working people fully understand and approve of the constructive efforts undertaken by India to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace in the interests of a further normalisation of the situation in South Asia and establishing there of relations of genuine good neighbourhood and cooperation.

The international situation now demands the close cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces to repulse the intrigues by reactionary forces.

The strengthening of the cooperation and friendship between trade unions of all countries and continents, the development and consolidation of the fraternal solidarity of all men of labour play an important role in this. The working people and trade unions of the USSR will further tirelessly cement friendship and cooperation with the peoples and workers of all countries of the world, will facilitate the cohesion of the international work-

ers' and trade union movement in the struggle against imperialism, for the bright future for the whole of mankind.

Dear Comrades,

Permit me in conclusion to convey to you again the best wishes from Soviet working people. From the bottom of our hearts we wish the working people of India and their trade union organisations successes in the struggle for economic and social progress, for peace, friendship and cooperation of the peoples.

We express confidence that the relations of brotherly friendship and all round cooperation between Soviet and Indian trade unions will further strengthen and expand for the good of the working people of the USSR and India, in the interests of peace in Asia and the whole world.

Thank you.



ADDRESS OF
BIMAL GHOSH

*Director, ILO Office for Bhutan, India, Republic
of Maldives, Nepal & Sri Lanka*

In is indeed a great honour for me to represent the International Labour Office at this 30th Annual Conference of the All India Trade Union Congress and to bring to you and all the constituents of the AITUC the most cordial greetings of the ILO Director-General, Mr. Francis Blanchard, to which I wish to add my own.

As I stand before this vast gathering of representatives and leaders of workers drawn from all over the country, I cannot but recall the many things that stand in common between our two organisations. Both the organisations were born in tumultuous times: the AITUC in 1920, the year which marked a significant turning point in India's long struggle for independence; the ILO in 1919, when, following the ravages and devastation of the First World War, a new socio-economic system inspired by new thoughts and ideologies had begun taking shape. Both the organisations are committed to the same basic purpose: namely, the improvement of working and living conditions of the toiling masses throughout the world; both have been, in their own ways, waging war against want, misery and poverty. It is the unwavering pursuit of these basic objectives, more than anything else, that binds the two organisations so closely together.

Since 1920 India has turned many pages of its history. After a long and grim struggle India has attained her political independence; the Indian working class, or at least its organised sector, has secured a firm position for itself in the country's socio-economic system. Through successive Five Year Plans, and with full co-operation of the Indian working class, the country has made valiant efforts to speed up the national development pro-

cess and, indeed, remarkable gains have been made on several crucial fronts. But the economic freedom of the masses, an essential condition of political freedom and democracy, still largely remains an elusive goal. Unemployment and under-employment, in both urban areas and rural sectors are still running rampant, afflicting, according to one estimate, some 35 million men and women of the country, while nearly half the national population remains below the poverty line. The economic legacy of the colonial rule, an inequitable international economic order, including trade patterns, a deep-seated world economic crisis involving monetary instability, recession and galloping inflation, and a range of domestic policies favouring an elitist style of development—all these have no doubt contributed to the accentuation of India's economic and social problems.

The new Economic Programme announced last year by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, marks a new shift of emphasis in India's development process, with a major thrust on redistributive justice for the workers and the weaker sections of the community in general. The Programme thus envisions a deeper sense of commitment of the working class, a partnership with management, in production and a definite share in the toils as well as the fruits of economic growth for those weaker sections of the community who have hitherto remained marginal to the mainstream of development. It has thus opened up new opportunities and new vistas of action for all those committed to the ideals of equity and social justice. These developments, it seems to me, lend special significance to the Conference you are presently holding here.

The ILO, in its efforts to improve the conditions of the poor and the under-privileged, took a major step in organising the Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress which, by a fortunate coincidence, was held in Geneva in June this year.

The Conference noted with great concern that the past development strategies in most developing countries have failed to eradicate poverty and unemployment; that the rapid growth of gross national product has not reduced poverty and inequality in many countries nor has it provided sufficient employment; that the organised urban sector has grown out of proportion,

leaving a chronic lack of jobs in the rural areas; that it is necessary to replace the current international division of labour so that the share of the developing countries in international trade does not remain confined to exportation of raw materials or semi-processed products and the importation of capital-intensive industrial goods.

The World Employment Conference unanimously adopted a Declaration of Principles and a Programme of Action calling upon the governments of the developing countries to revamp their present policies so as to ensure for their growing populations enough food, jobs, housing, schools, drinking water, medical services, transport and other essentials. The Conference blueprint for action specified the necessary changes in the existing social structure, including an initial redistribution of assets, specially land, full national control of national resources in some cases and wealth taxation. The delegates assembled at the World Employment Conference did not lose sight of the fact that the problems of poverty and under-employment also have their international dimensions: international trade, transfer of capital and technical and migration of workers are all intertwined with mass poverty in the Third World countries. The Conference, therefore, called upon the international community, including in particular, the economically advanced countries, to fully subscribe to, and actively support a series of international measures which, inter-acting with domestic programmes and policies in developing countries, could ensure the fulfilment of basic needs and a minimum standard of living of the poorest groups of the world by the year 2000.

I am glad that many of these concerns found a significant echo in the Economic Declaration of the Non-Aligned Summit Conference recently held in Colombo. It is my ardent hope that countries, both rich and poor, will concert their efforts in the context of global inter-dependence, to face this overwhelming challenge of our times. As a progressive and organised social force, the workers of the world, who are directly involved in, and are affected by these problems, can play a very crucial and constructive role in achieving a world consensus which is so essential for the success of this new attack on want and poverty.

Another ILO initiative which is going to be of far-reaching

consequence to the workers everywhere is the launching of the international Programme for the Improvement of Working Conditions and Environment. Increasingly more workers in industrialised societies are less willing to believe that for the sake of efficiency and profit they must endanger their health or limit their job and life satisfaction. The reasons for this are not far to seek. As workers become better educated, they expect more from their daily toil. They seek more rewarding work, competent management, participation, advancement, friendly treatment and, above all, a feeling of achievement. In developing countries the problem is further aggravated by the fact that imported technology and forms of work organisation are often mechanically transplanted, with little attention being paid to the prevailing social and cultural values or the ecological environment.

An important aspect of the problem is that of combating new and traditional hazards threatening millions of people at work. Despite considerable efforts made to improve occupational safety and health, the situation in the world as a whole remains disturbing. The recent mining disasters in India are not an isolated event. It is estimated that in industry alone there are about 160,000 accidents a day and 100,000 people die each year from job injuries. The optimisation of social and technical resources at the undertaking level calls for not only the removal of such hazards to the life and limb of workers but also positive changes in technology and work organisation to make the tasks more meaningful and the jobs better suited to human personality. As against growing work alienation, the development of a deep commitment to work based on job satisfaction and meaningful participation in the work process can make a significant contribution to the promotion of social harmony and participative democracy.

It is against this background that the new Programme for the Improvement of Working Conditions and Environment is being launched by the ILO to:

- (i) promote regard for workers' life and health;
- (ii) promote provision for rest and leisure time and, above all,
- (iii) promote opportunities for the worker to develop his personal capacities to the fullest.

The ILO firmly believes—and I must emphasise this point—that the success of this Programme, as indeed of any programme concerned with workers' well-being or quality of working life, depends very largely on the full participation of workers and employers alike. Workers' participation schemes, to which I have referred just a little while ago, have very wide potentials in this connection. Indeed, if worker participation schemes are genuinely extended to cover not only economic but also socio-political and ethical objectives, and if a whole range of participatory arrangements are put into operation, each playing its role in a coherent manner, they could be an important instrument of social-economic transformation, strengthening the foundation of participative democracy.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a brief reference at this point to an important ILO activity which is also of special interest to the trade unions—namely workers' education.

Trade unions will, of course, continue to concern themselves with their traditional responsibilities as regards wages and other conditions of employment, welfare, health and safety and labour-management relations in general. However, at the same time they must be fully alive to their role and responsibility in laying a firm foundation for future social and economic progress, both nationally and internationally. To this end, and no less for the promotion and defence of the workers' traditional interest, workers' education constitutes a most valuable means of action.

The rapid, almost dramatic, advance of knowledge in nearly every field of human endeavour is continually widening the gap between the elite and the masses, invariably placing a serious handicap on the latter. Workers' education, defined in its widest sense, can help bridge this disquieting gap.

The ILO is, therefore, deeply involved in the promotion of workers' education in keeping with the changing role of trade unions in the society. But this is a field where the major responsibility rests with the trade unions: the ILO cannot and must not replace these trade union efforts; it can only reinforce and supplement them if called upon to do so.

Within the limits of its possibilities, the ILO stands ready to collaborate in evolving new approaches and actions or extending them in new ways and directions not only in the field of

workers' education but also in other vital social and economic areas such as vocational training, workers' participation and new forms of work organisation, industrial relations, development of appropriate technologies, population planning, wages and distribution of income and, above all, promotion of employment, especially in the vast, and often neglected, rural areas of India.

It is my privilege to assure you and the toiling masses of India—the factory workers, the miners, the sea-farers, the artisans and the multitudes of rural workers—that we in the ILO deeply share your concerns and your hopes in building a better world where work will be more human and the life for the workers more meaningful.

On behalf of the ILO, I wish you all success.



*Speech of ALI KASSADO, Member of the Executive
Bureau of General Federation of Trade Unions of
Syria, Damascus*

Dear Comrades,

Allow me to convey to your Conference regards of our Comrades in the Executive Bureau and the Labour Community in the Syrian Arab Republic.

We are looking forward to strengthen relations between our two organisations in different fields, and we consider our participation in your Conference a contribution in strengthening the struggle of progressive workers of the world against the common enemy which represents the imperialism, Zionism and reactionaries.

Our workers and Syrian people have great regards of your union and the workers of your country because they rendered great services in the people's struggle to recover our occupied territory.

Dear Comrades,

Pleasure allow me to convey the heartfelt congratulations of our peoples and the workers to you. I would like to explain to you the present events in the Arab region.

On the 6th of October 1973 the Arab Nation has entered in a noble battle for the recovery of its territory, the Syrian and the Egyptian armed forces have destroyed the Zionist fortifications on both the fronts, Golan and Sinai and eliminated the Zionist Supremacy. The Syrian forces continued their drive against the Zionists in Golan Heights and Mount Herman more than three months alone. By this the Arabs have achieved their first great victory against Zionism and imperialism and achieved a great step through the effective solidarity by using the oil weapon.

No doubt that the results of these victories have helped Palestinian struggle and the Arab problem has achieved the best support on both levels, official and from the peoples of the

world, and at the international gatherings, the Palestenian revolution has appeared on all international levels, in the U.N.O. and in its organisations as a National Liberation movement. Now this organisation has recognised it, before it was considered as a second problem in the form of international aid agency.

We say to you that all attempts are well planned to create the differences between the Syrian revolution and the Palestenian revolution and we are sure that these attempts will fail and we will remain one hand, we will struggle and sacrifice against the enemy to liberate the Palestine and the occupied territory and the Syrians will remain main source from which the Palestenian revolution will take the breath.

Brethern:

The imperialists have failed in their efforts to compel the Arab nations to surrender, for this reason they have planned the present Lebanese events to pave the way for continuation of Sinai agreement and have a cover over it.

The Palestenian brethren and their leaders know very well that we have rejected all offers for unconditional withdrawal from Golan and have connected it with the Palestenian revolution.

Brethren:

We could not understand what is happening in Lebanon is happening out of the framework of Arab-Zionist imperialist conflict, through the conspiracy of the imperialist powers which have succeeded in bringing conflict in the Arab world in a new style for several aims:

1. To avert the October victory and convert it in the Arab defeat.
2. To create differences in Arab solidarity.
3. To convert the Arab Zionist conflict in to Arab-Arab conflict.
4. To avert the National Liberation Movement and to weaken the confronting countries particularly Syria.
5. To avert the Palestenian resistance movement.
6. To execute the policy of step by step and concentration to compel the Arabs for separate agreements with the Zionist enemy.
7. To bring the Syrian and the Palestinians to the defeat then

the enemy will be able to impose the conditions on them because these parties are refusing the enemy. The imperialist powers prepared the way through two ways:

1. They are watching the Arab differences and using them for the benefit of American-Zionist policy.
2. To explode on several Arab fronts in a suitable time for the Zionist-imperialist targets.

The imperialist powers have chosen the Lebanese front, for their conspiracy that will have a cover over the Sinai agreement and for the continuation and to divert the attention of Arabs from the main danger.

This front has been selected for several reasons:

1. Existence of communal combination in Lebanon which will help in exploding the crisis.
2. Existence of local reactionary armed organisation on which they depend.
3. Zionist enemy is very close to the scene.
4. Existence of Palestenian revolution on the soil and its targets with the planned conspiracy.
5. To engage Syrian inside battle and weaken its potential.
6. To deprive them of (Secular Democratic Palestine State) and to make the partition of Lebanon.

The President Suleman Frangih has been selected on behalf of Arab countries in the meeting of UNO to stress the possibility in establishment of Secular Palestenian State.

The Zionist are refusing this. Soon the communal reactionary separatists have swallowed the taste of imperialist and the events developed very quickly in Lebanon.

Our population in Syria is 7 million only and its army is half million, double of France. For what we prepare this army and keep our people hungry because only for Palestine and to recover our territory.

The answer is the aggression on our people and on the dignity of our army and the sacrifice of our martyrs.

We say to you in the last that the person who is angry with us and let the person who agree with that the Syrian Arabs army is the Palestenian Peoples army and is the Liberation army.

In the end I would like to thank you for your invitation ex-

tended to us to attend this big Conference which has worked and at present working for the betterment of Indian working class. I wish you success in raising their living standard and bringing for them prosperity and progress.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR COMMUNITY AND SOLIDARITY !

LONG LIVE INDIAN WORKING CLASS !

ALWAYS SUCCESS WILL REMAIN WITH THEM!



Speech of MARIAN STOIKOV, Secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions

Honourable members of the Presidium,

Dear delegates and guests of the Congress,

It is a great pleasure and honour for me to convey to the delegates of the 30th Conference of the All India Trade Union Congress and through you to all other members of your trade union organisation and to all Indian labouring people, the warm fraternal greetings of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, of the workers and employees of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and their best wishes for a successful and beneficial work of your conference. I would like to express at the same time the gratitude of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions for being invited to take part in the 30th Conference of the All India Trade Union Congress, to acquaint ourselves with your beautiful country and the life of the Indian working class, to feel the warm hospitality of the peace-loving people of India. We accepted your invitation as a proof of the existing close relations between our two organisations, which both cherish the ideals of unity and international labour solidarity. The peoples of India and Bulgaria have long established friendly relations, the ties of cooperation between our two trade-union organisations and our working peoples are lasting and fraternal. The Bulgarian trade unions are well acquainted with the remarkable revolutionary traditions of AITUC, the heroism and self-denial of its struggle, which it leads from the very beginning against the oppressors and exploiters of the many millions of the Indian working class, in defence of the vital interests of the labourers, in favour of national independence and development of the public sector of the national economy, in support of the Indian government, against the attempts of the right-wing and reactionary forces, for the fulfilment of the 20-point Programme of Progressive Reforms in the country announced by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The AITUC is an active detachment of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We all highly value the contribution of the AITUC for the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the Asian and world trade union movement upon the principles of proletarian internationalism and international labour solidarity, its uncompromising struggle against the attempts of the leftist and right-wing elements to undermine and weaken this unity.

We are certain that your present Congress will outline new tasks and will take decisions which will open new outlooks and ways for the victories of today and tomorrow, on the path of unity of action of the trade-union detachments of your country.

Comrades,

Only 32 years after the victory of the socialist revolution, the People's Republic of Bulgaria achieved a decisive change in its social, economic and cultural development. The Bulgarian people, following the legacies of their great son Georgi Dimitrov, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party, with the unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union and the close co-operation of the other socialist countries, turned our homeland into a flourishing socialist state with a rapidly developing industry, a modern and highly-productive agriculture, and a growing international prestige. Let us only note that our whole industrial output of 1939 is being now turned out in 6 days. By fulfilling the targets of the current Seventh Five-Year Plan, by the end of 1980 our industrial output will increase by 55% in comparison to the 1975 level. During its 30 years of socialist development Bulgaria has never experienced inflation or unemployment, on the contrary, there is a shortage of labour.

The socio-economic policy of our Party and state has but one main aim: "All in the name and for the prosperity of man." A special programme for the promotion of living standards of the working people has been adopted; it has been furthermore widened and enriched with impressive tasks by our Party's 11th Congress, which took place this year.

The Bulgarian trade unions are in the front lines of the builders of the advanced socialist society in our country. As the most popular organisation of the Bulgarian working people, the Bulgarian trade unions have been endowed with considerable

powers. In all political, governmental, economic and social organs and management, one could find representatives of the working class and of the Bulgarian trade unions. As the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, comrade Todor Jivkov once said, "Without the powerful say of the trade unions, no problem connected with the conditions of labour or life of the workers and employees is ever being tackled. In this way the role of the working class is expanded".

Brought up in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and faithful to the legacy of Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian trade unions have many-sided international activities, and contribute for the rallying of the World trade union movement, in the name of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. The Bulgarian working people are solidly with all, fighting for freedom and against reaction, fascism and neocolonialism, peoples.

We follow with genuine sympathies the struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia against the imperialism, monopolies, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The historic victories of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia delight us. We welcome the unification of heroic Vietnam and the setting up of a united federation of the trade unions there. We wish the fraternal peoples of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia ever-greater success in their development on the path of socialism. We fully support the aspirations of the peoples of this region of the world for peace, security, national independence and cooperation, and are solidly with their demands for a withdrawal of the U.S. military forces and military bases, and the transformation of the region of the Indian Ocean into an area of peace.

By expressing our adamant solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Chilean people against the fascist military junta, we declare that there has never been and there will never be a fascist dictatorship which could overpower its own people. We are sure we will see again among us the faithful son of Chile Louis Corvalan, we believe in the triumph of liberty and democracy

not only in his distressed country, but also in Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala, Brazil, Indonesia and others.

By welcoming the achievements of the newly liberated peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and other countries of the World, we support their legitimate aspirations to free themselves from imperialist exploitation and to become masters of their national riches.

Comrades,

Your Congress is held at a time when the World moves toward the lessening of political tensions and the expansion of political, economic and cultural ties between states of different socio-economic backgrounds.

We could not imagine the success achieved in the strengthening of the cause of World peace and detente without the consistent foreign policy of the native land of Lenin.

The Conference on European Security and Cooperation, held last year in Helsinki on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries, represents a major victory for the forces of peace and progress, and the Final Act of the Conference serves the interests of the labourers and contributes for the further development of cooperation between the trade unions of different convictions.

The consolidation of peace and security and the lessening of international political tensions, create new possibilities for the strengthening of the working class struggles for better life, as well as creates a favourable climate of trust, friendship, mutual understanding and unity in the trade unions' movement.

The unity of cause and action of the different trade union detachments has become an urgent necessity. We need to achieve a strong unity without retreating from our class positions. This is a guarantee for new historic victories of the international workers and trade-union movement. This is why we strongly condemn all attempts of 'dissidence, anti-Soviet and anti-socialist outrages, which not only harm the unity of our actions, but in practice serve the interests of imperialism.

In conclusion, dear comrades, I would like once again to wish, on behalf of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and the workers of the land of the great internationalist Georgi Dimitrov, success to the AITUC and the working people of

India in the fulfilment of the complex and responsible tasks which your congress will outline. We express our belief that the decisions taken at the 30th Conference will contribute for the consolidation of the trade-union movement in India in the name of socio-economic progress of your ancient and at the same time young country.

LONG LIVE THE 30TH CONFERENCE OF A.I.T.U.C.!
LONG LIVE THE FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE WORKING PEOPLE AND TRADE UNIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA !
LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

Fellow delegates, allow me to give as a gift to your Congress the portrait of the eminent worker of the international workers' movement and the great son of the Bulgarian people—Georgi Dimitrov.



Speech of BORIS PETKOVSKY, Secretary, Confederation of Yugoslav Trade Unions

Dear Comrades,

It is a great honour to greet, on behalf of the working class and the four million members of Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, the 30th Conference of All India Trade Union Congress and to wish full success in its work. I would also wish to express my gratitude for the invitation to participate at this important gathering, which will enable us better to get acquainted with your activities and with the future efforts in enhancing the living and working conditions of the workers and of the friendly people of India.

Your Congress is held at the moment which is exceptionally important for the working class and the people of India, which asks for great efforts of the trade unions towards a union action for the protection of interests of the working people. Yugoslav trade unions and the working class follow the efforts made towards the transformation of the society and the all round progress of your great country. The success you have achieved so far makes us happy since, in a prosperous, stable, independent and non-aligned India, we see an important factor of peace, not only in the South Asian region but in the world as a whole.

When last year you had to face brutal subversive pressure and when the Indian trade unions rallied together with other progressive forces through resolute measures to eliminate them, the people of Yugoslavia and its working class supported you, convinced that you were taking important steps towards thwarting the intentions aimed at harming the progress and the independent policy.

Trade unions are not reconciled to the existing state of affairs in the world. Its changes primarily imply the transformation of the existing international economic relations system which should enable that inequality and exploitation be eliminated and

prevent that three quarters of the humanity, primarily developing countries, be pushed out of the political scene and be excluded from the decision making process.

The recent Non-aligned Conference in Colombo was another step towards the successful development of the Non-aligned Movement which is the realization of the visionary ideas of the leaders of our two countries; Prime Minister Nehru and President Tito in the strengthening of solidarity and mutual struggle of developing countries for more equitable international economic and political relations.

The struggle of peoples and countries for fuller economic and political independence and for independent and free development is gaining in importance in the international relations. The victory of the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Mozambique, Guinea Bissao and Angola has proved the invincibility of the peoples who are resolute in their struggle for freedom. The struggle of the working class and of the democratic and progressive national forces in Portugal and Spain have either destroyed or are now destroying the last bastions of reactionary military fascist dictatorship in Europe.

In spite of these victories of progressive forces, we are witnessing further action of hegemonist forces and exploitation which often resort to interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and to the use of force.

Examples of this are renewed concentration of military forces, building of naval bases, and demonstration of power, threatening the independence and security of the countries of South Pacific, Indian Ocean and the South of Africa.

This hinders the implementation of the documents of the Fifth Non-aligned Conference in Colombo and the transformation of the Indian Ocean into the zone of peace. The people and the working class of Yugoslavia resolutely support the initiative of India and of other countries of this region towards that end, as well as all other initiatives and actions aimed at strengthening peace, security and equitable co-operation among the countries of this region.

It is also our obligation even more resolutely to struggle

against the last remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid lingering in the South of Africa.

The Mid-Eastern crisis and the consequences of the Israeli policy of force constitute another front of the reactionary forces against peace and progress in the world. Condemning the Israeli policy of occupation and expansion, the CTUY supports all the forces which struggle for the devising of such final solutions of the Mid-Eastern crisis as would include the securing of legitimate national rights to the Palestinian people, including the right to their own state.

We strongly condemn the military fascist government of Chile and its leaders who resort to most atrocious terror and persecution. The military dictatorships in Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and Paraguay prove that imperialism is continuing its criminal policy stopping at nothing in its efforts to maintain domination.

It is, therefore necessary to, more than ever, strengthen international solidarity which is one of the forms of support to the heroic struggle of all nations to protect democratic liberties and trade union rights, to free political and trade unionist prisoners and to cease repression.

Dear Comrades,

The Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, along with other social forces of the country, is actively involved in the struggle for a complete liberation of human personality, for the principles of the direct control of the working class over the surplus labour and over the wealth it creates. The new Constitution, adopted two years ago, has effected important changes and instituted new forms of direct socialist democracy aimed at securing the decisive influence of the working class in the socio-economic and political life of our country, and furthered the system of workers management.

The struggle of the Indian workers for the strengthening of the economic and political independence of the country meets with full support of the working class and trade unions of Yugoslavia. We therefore, wish to further strengthen our cooperation with the All India Congress of Trade Unions, and with other trade union forces of your country, which will be a new contribution to the

co-operation of trade unions in the world and to a real international workers solidarity.,

Permit me, in conclusion, once more to wish full success of the Conference work and in the implementation of all aims of the working class of India.

LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP OF WORKERS AND PEOPLES OF INDIA AND YUGOSLAVIA: LONG LIVE THE CO-OPERATION AND SOLIDARITY OF TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD.

Comrade President,

Distinguished delegates & guests,

On the occasion of the 30th Congress of the All India Trade Union Congress taking place in Jamshedpur, the town of steel workers, I have the honourable task to convey to you, the delegates of the Indian working people, the cordial greetings of solidarity of more than 8 million working people organised in the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB). ★

Allow me please to thank you very much for your invitation to attend this important congress and for the cordial welcome.

We consider our participation to be an expression of long standing solid relations of friendship and of close co-operation between our two organisations in the interest of the working class of our two countries. Nearly 7 years have passed since the last congress in Calcutta and the today's meeting in Jamshedpur which represented years of the consolidation of ATTUC ranks of consistent struggle for the cause of the Indian working class.

It is with great attention and solidarity that the working people of the GDR have followed the struggle of the Indian working people and their Trade Unions for the interest of all Indian workers. According to the experience from our own history we know that in the struggle for democracy and social progress the working people and their trade unions will always succeed. It is our constant responsibility and the responsibility of united nations that we should stand with the ATTUC and all working people of the GDR will always side in solidarity with your struggle and we

*Speech of
MARGARETE MULLER, member of the Presidium and Sec-
retary of the FDGB National Executive, heading the FDGB
delegation*

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It is with great attention and solidarity that the working people of the GDR have followed the struggle of the Indian working people and their Trade Unions for the interest of all Indian workers. According to the experiences from our own history we know, that in the struggle for democracy and social progress the working people and their trade unions will always succeed, if they counter imperialism and the reactionaries by united actions.

Rest assured that the FDGB and all working people of the GDR will always side in solidarity with your struggle such as

the GDR workers—true to the principles of proletarian internationalism have supported and will always support those forces fighting for national political and economic independence, for democracy and social progress.

Our Trade Union Congress—FDGB—will hold its 9th Congress in May next year and strike a successful balance of its activities. Led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the GDR workers have built up a happy, socialist life, a life without capitalist and big landlords, a life, where workers in the factories and co-operative farmers in the fields have decided their own fate. In our socialist republic nothing happens without the decision and active involvement of the trade unions. That is the way how to implement our Constitution every day.

In those years of struggle and of the construction of socialism in the GDR we were in the position always to rely on the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union.

In May this year the 9th Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was held. Great tasks and high responsibilities concerning the further successful development in economic and social policy were assigned to the workers and trade unions.

Well aware of the fact that higher labour productivity and higher efficiency have an immediate influence in the improvement of the living and working conditions our working people have achieved outstanding performance in industry and agriculture.

While the capitalist world is shaken by deep crisis, where inflation, rocketing prices and mass-unemployment dangerously threaten the minimum of existence of the workers and their families, in the German Democratic Republic prices and rents are kept stable, and on the 1st of October wages for 10 lakhs of workers were increased.

This comprehensive social-political programme includes general improvements of living and working conditions of all the working people of the GDR.

This conclusion on the socio-political measures which has been adopted by the working class party, the government and the

trade unions, provides the improvement of pensions for the retired people, special care for mother and child as well as promotion for young couples and for families with many children.

Furthermore it includes the step-by-step introduction of the 40-hours week and the extension of the paid annual leave.

It is the first time in the German history that according to the housing programme of our last party congress the Socialist GDR made the real decision to supply all citizens with sufficient flats until 1990.

Besides that special attention is given to the further development and promotion of education, culture and sports.

The implementation of these objectives which are an integral part of socialism requires great efforts and efficiency of the working class and all the working people.

At the same time the GDR trade unions consider the performances to be a profoundly internationalist duty. By way of their work they want to contribute to further consolidate the community of socialist states and to strengthen their economic and political force.

Our trade unions are of the opinion that we can much better fulfil our internationalist duty of solidarity when creating still better material conditions for it by strengthening and consolidating socialism.

Therefore we think that each progress of socialism is a defeat to imperialism and useful for the peoples fighting for their national independence. Today everybody sees that socialism has an increasing influence on the world-wide development and that the international balance of forces has furthermore changed in favour of socialism and of the forces of progress and peace.

The consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries has brought about conditions in Europe leading to detente and normalization of intergovernmental relations.

The successful conclusion of the European Conference on Security and Co-operation in Helsinki which rendered more sure peace in Europe and implemented more and more Lenin's

principle of peaceful co-existence between countries of different social orders, is of particular importance.

On the other side the successful European Conference on Security has strengthened the efforts and conviction of many people in Asian countries that an agreement on complicated issues is possible in the interest of all sides concerned if appropriate efforts are being made. An "Asian Helsinki" is being discussed more frequently.

We support all strivings for guaranteeing security in Asia by joint efforts made by the countries in this region.

We fully support the demand to change the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. Together with all peace-loving people we raise our protest against all attempts of US imperialism to change the Indian Ocean into a militarized area and we demand the liquidation of the US military base Diego Garcia.

Dear comrades,

During our stay, in Delhi we have had the opportunity to attend the inauguration meeting of the month of INDO-GDR friendship which symbolises and reflects the strengthened friendship between our two countries and peoples.

The most convincing expression of this new stage of our friendly relations has been the visit of your Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, recently paid to GDR.

Extending our fraternal greetings to the 30th Congress we wish the AITUC further success on the road to trade union unity in action, in the unification of all working people and progressive and democratic forces of this country.

We wish you successful deliberations and guiding decisions to be adopted in the interest and for the benefit of the Indian working class and of the entire working people.

Long live the All India Trade Union Congress !

Long live the Indian working class and the unity in action of all progressive and democratic forces of India !

May friendship and co-operation between AITUC and FDGB and between GDR and India consolidate !

Long live proletarian internationalism !

Speech of
Ferenc Pavióvszky, Vice-President, Central Council of the
Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), Budapest (Hungary)

Dear Comrades,

First of all, allow me to forward the fraternal greetings of the Hungarian organized workers and the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions to the 30th Conference of the AITUC, the organisation of which is an outstanding event in the life of the international trade union movement as well as the history of Indian trade unions. Let me use this opportunity to thank you for the invitation to the conference.

We have brought with us the greetings of workers living in a country geographically located far away from here. The Hungarian nation, that has been liberated from the yoke of fascism 31 years ago, with the assistance of the Soviet Union has in a relatively short time healed the very serious wounds caused by the war, has eliminated the heritage of feudalism, has transformed the country democratically, has founded socialism and in the present period is constructing developed socialism. Our country, that has been one of the most backward states of Europe is today an averagely developed industrial country. 31 years ago one third of the population was suffering from full insecurity of existence, hopeless poverty. Illiteracy was widespread, epidemics were decimating the population. In the socialist Hungary the insecurity of existence has disappeared, work and an honest way of making a living are guaranteed to all, food and clothing is sufficient. Illiteracy has been eliminated, today a significant percentage of the workers has medium, or superior-level education. Public health has greatly improved. In less than 20 years we have fully electrified the country and today in the majority villages the water is running

from the tap. Medical attention is rendered free of charge to all citizens. Trade union members and their families get benefit of reduced-rate holiday making.

Trade Unions, looking back to a century-old tradition play an outstanding role in our society. They mobilize workers to construct developed socialist society, to increase the material bases of our country, they control adherence to law, protect the interests of workers' collectives and individuals. It is our endeavour, to make the workers participate through trade unions more fully in the direction of economy and society, in the decision of their own futures. To do so, trade unions dispose of the adequate lawful means. In this year we have started the implementation of the fifth five year plan in the elaboration of which trade unions have participated at every level. It is one of the main tasks of our trade unions to assist the implementation of this plan. Therefore our branch organizations and professional unions have prepared new collective agreements for the new five-year plan.

The living standard of the Hungarian workers is continuously rising according to the laws of socialism, in spite of the unfavourable foreign trade conditions experienced in the past years. Our trade unions are permanently on the watch to solve those contradictions that accompany development in time. One of our biggest problems is housing, that will basically be solved in the near future.

Our results may be attributed to the sacrificing creative work of the Hungarian workers, at same time, they are inseparable from mansided cooperation with the Soviet Union, the Socialist countries and their trade unions.

While constructing our country, we always keep in mind that we are part of the international trade union movement and it is our internationalist obligation to support our workers brothers struggling against imperialism, oppression and exploitation. In accord with our possibilities, we render support to the workers of Asia, Africa, Latin-America, to the movements fighting against fascism, racism, imperialism. Together with the progressive, peace-loving forces of the world we promote detente, peaceful co-existence, the establishment of fair economic relations; these

problems have just been discussed in Budapest, the capital of our country recently, at the Peace Conference for Development. The Hungarian trade unions have actively participated in the work of this conference.

Our workers are bound by fraternal solidarity to the workers of India, who have done a great deal for the eradication of a colonial past and construct a new India self-sacrificingly. We follow with sympathy and fraternal solidarity the many sided, persistent activity of the unions grouped in the framework of AITUC, for the independence of their country, the protection of peace in the region, the improvement of the living conditions of the workers in India, against fascism and reactionary forces.

We are glad to see the endeavours of the trade unions of India to achieve unity; the results attained in this field have a great importance also from the point of view of the international trade union movement. We wish that your conference be successful in the noble activity carried on in the interest of the workers of India.

LONG LIVE THE FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP OF THE HUNGARIAN AND INDIAN WORKERS!

LONG LIVE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!



Speech of
M. G. Mendis, M.P., President, Ceylon Federation of
Trade Unions, Sri Lanka

Dear Comrades and Friends,

I am indeed very glad to participate in the 30th Session of the All India Trade Union Congress. Allow me, on behalf of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions and the working class of Sri Lanka to extend fraternal greetings to your Session.

Your Sessions are held at Jamsnedpur—the Steel Nagar— at a significant time in the history of not only the people of India but also of the international progressive movement. In the world arena, the balance of forces has definitely shifted in favour of the progressive forces led by the Soviet Union. The U.S. imperialists suffered their biggest defeat in Vietnam; and the heroic people of Vietnam have not only liberated their country from imperialism but have successfully united the North and South Vietnam.

In Angola, the reactionary forces aided by imperialists and colonialists were defeated by the progressive liberation forces which were actively supported by Soviet Union and Cuba.

In the Middle East, the Palestinian Liberation Forces have won recognition by the U. N. O. and the struggle to liberate the Arab lands occupied by Israel continues.

Experience has shown that imperialism, after their defeat in South East Asia, has not abandoned their policy of undermining and weakening progressive governments in Asia and other regions. How the reactionary forces aided by the C. I. A. overthrew the elected government of Allende in Chile is too well known. In your own country, serious attempts were made by the reactionary forces aided by the C.I.A. to de-stabilise the government led by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The manouvres of the *reactionary forces*

were defeated as a result of the firm action taken by the Government of India supported by the Communist Party and the working class of India. We deeply appreciate the long-term Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation reached between India and U. S. S. R. in 1971. This agreement has become a beacon light and the correct path forwarded for all developing countries to strengthen their independence and achieve social progress and peace. It has also helped to strengthen mutual trust between the Socialist countries and the developing countries.

The 20 Point Programme, initiated by your Prime Minister, has generated great hopes for the common people of India. The recent Indore Conference on the 20 Point Programme and National Development convened by the All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation has hailed the successes achieved by the 20 Point Programme in the field of land re-distribution and redemption of debts.

We have continued to watch with interest the struggle of the working class of India led by the AITUC for the nationalisation of all multi-national corporations and monopolistic enterprises operating in India. Your struggle has already registered many victories not only against the reactionary forces but also in bettering the conditions of the working people of India.

Let me now come to recent developments in my country. As you would no doubt be aware that our struggle to nationalise the plantations and other multinational corporations, has scored considerable success. Nearly a million acres of tea, rubber and coconut estates owned by foreign and local companies have been nationalised. Some of the estates taken over since 1972 under the Land Reform Act are now being distributed to the peasantry. The larger and productive estates are brought under the *State Plantation Corporation*, while the other middle estates are being grouped as Cooperative farms. A number of foreign companies operating in Sri Lanka have also been taken over by the State. In our country too, the reactionaries have attempted to weaken the United Front and reverse the progressive developments. In 1975 the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Socialists) one of the constituent parties of the United Front, was removed from the United Front Government. This has led to the weakening of the trade union movement

and the progressive movement of the country. Today the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Communist Party of Sri Lanka are continuing the same radical policies of the United Front. At the same time the Communist Party of Sri Lanka is making every endeavour to bring back the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Socialists) into the United Front, or to achieve some measure of unity both in the political field as well as in the trade union movement.

One of the historic events that took place recently in our country was the 5th Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Nations. Heads of States of 86 countries attended this Conference. Our Prime Minister Mrs. Srimavo Bandaranaike's initiative to declare the Indian Ocean, a zone of peace was endorsed by the non-aligned nations. Our fight for the removal of U.S. military bases in Diego Garcia will continue till it is removed.

The Colombo Summit Conference of the non-aligned nations, in their struggle against Imperialism and neo-colonialism, for peace and a just social order has achieved further successes in reaching greater understanding between the non-aligned countries and the Socialist countries.

Colombo Summit has told clearly and precisely to the Imperialists and their agents that they can no longer dictate terms on any matter to the countries of the Third world.

The Colombo Summit has given a resounding rebuff to the Maoists and other disruptive forces who were attempting to split the non-aligned movement, change its course and create a rift between the non-aligned countries and the countries of the world Socialist System. This was seen from the extremely warm reception given by all the heads of non-aligned states to the message of greetings sent by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 5th Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Colombo.

I am glad to state that the problem of statelessness of the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka was amicably settled by agreements between the Prime Ministers of India and Sri Lanka. However, its implementation has brought certain difficulties to some repatriates to India. The Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions has been repeatedly urging the Government of Sri Lanka to ap-

proach this problem in a human way so as to minimise these difficulties. Today, there are no outstanding disputes or problems between India and Sri Lanka. This situation has further strengthened the fraternal and traditional friendship existing between our two countries *for centuries*.

Let me wish your Session all successes in its deliberations.

**LONG LIVE THE FRATERNAL TIES BETWEEN THE
AITUC AND THE C. F. T. U. !**

**LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN THE WORK-
ING PEOPLES OF INDIA AND SRI LANKA !**



Speech of
W. Scholz, Head of the International Department, Central
Council of Polish Trade Unions, Warsaw (Poland)

Dear Comrades and Friends,

On behalf of 12 millions of our Trade Union members and all working people in Poland, I express our warm greetings to your 30th Conference.

Thank you very much for invitation to your Conference. Our participation in your meeting is treated as further evidence of development of contacts and cooperation between our Trade Unions. At present situation this is of a great importance, since we are in a period of developing dialogue, unified actions in the worldwide Trade Union movement. In Europe these ideas have been demonstrated by many events. We are pleased that trends for unity in our movement are becoming more and more widespread all over the world.

Simultaneously, we find with a satisfaction that the World Federation of Trade Unions is gathering more and more power and that it consequently realises a programme agreed at the 8th World Congress of Trade Unions in Varna.

Comrades and Friends,

The Polish working class and the whole Polish nation observe with great interest the struggle of all progressive forces in your country and the struggle of AITUC among them, for political and social transformations in India. We have always been supporting your struggle for solving of all serious social problems for the benefit of the working people. We witness a constant increase of respect of your country, both in Asia and in the worldwide scale, the basis of which is your active struggle against imperialism and capitalism, for international cooperation

based on no-intervening in internal affairs of other countries, for a principle of mutual benefits.

These principles are a basis of a broad political and economical cooperation between Poland and India, cooperation being example of policy of mutual benefits.

Comrades and Friends,

Our country, the socialist Poland, is a country in which, due to taking power by the working class more than 30 years ago, principal changes in social and political structure have been done and good conditions have been created to liberate great creative energy of all working people.

During the past 30 years we developed the country from huge destruction caused by the World War 2 and the occupation by the Nazi Germany. We have transformed Poland into modern industrialised country. We have created firm basis for building a developed socialist community.

We are especially proud of the last 6 years period, during which a programme has been successfully realised of accelerated social and economical development of the Polish People's Republic.

In Autumn last year, during the 7th Congress of the Polish United Worker's party, a programme was accepted of further dynamic development. Our Trade Union movement was actively participating in preparing this programme and now all our energy is directed on its implementation. Naturally, we are facing definite difficulties, both objective and subjective, in the process. We solve them in accordance with socialist principles in our policy, after consulting the working people and having their welfare in mind first of all.

Comrades and Friends,

You discuss here, at your Conference, vital problems of responsibility and historical role of all progressive forces in your country in the development of your national revolution. You define the tasks in the field of social policy and in the field of improving the living and working conditions of all the working people. These problems are not easy. We are listening to your meeting with great interest, since your experiences both

in trade Union activities in your country and is building the unity of Trade Unions action in Asia contribute to a general experiences of the whole Trade Union movement in the world.

The Central Council of Polish Trade Unions wishes to develop links joining our organisations. We shall do our best to fasten our cooperation and to enrich it with new ideas. We would like to assure you that you can count on our solidarity and international assistance in your activities,

LONG LIVE AITUC!

LONG LIVE INDIAN WORKING CLASS!



SPEECH BY
BADMAARAG, HEAD OF THE MONGOLIAN TRADE
UNIONS DELEGATION AT THE XXX CONFERENCE OF
ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Esteemed delegates of the Conference,
Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions and the working people of the MPR we gladly convey warm fraternal greetings and the most heartfelt congratulations to you, the delegates of the XXX Conference of All India Trade Union Congress.

Our delegation is grateful to the All-India Trade Union Congress for the invitation which is giving us a wonderful opportunity to get acquainted in detail with the fruitful struggle of the All-India Trade Union Congress for the vital interests of its people, with the new successes resulted from the great efforts made by the working people of India.

Socialist Mongolia with a feeling of fraternal solidarity and attentively follows the struggle of the All-India Trade Union Congress and highly appreciates its tremendous role in the struggle for satisfying the urgent demands of the Indian workers, for consolidating the ranks of the international trade union and workers' movement, for developing the class solidarity with the trade unions of Asian countries in the interests of the working people of this vast continent. All, what we know today about the struggle of the All-India Trade Union Congress for the cause of the Indian people allow us to address the most kind words to the mass organisation from this lofty rostrum.

All-India Trade Union Congress, tested vanguard of the Indian working class gains more and more prestige in the Indian

and international Trade Union movement by its loyalty to the cause of the Indian working people and adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

We are sincerely glad that for the year elapsed the All-India Trade Union Congress has been organisationally strengthened and its ranks have increased.

With a feeling of joy we note that friendly relations of long standing exist between the Mongolian Trade Unions and the All-India Trade Union Congress. Once again we express our firm confidence that these relations will be strengthened and developed for the benefit of the Trade Unions and the working peoples of our two countries for the sake of enhancing peace and international cooperation in Asia and the world over.

Dear comrades, the MPR, having taken to the road of social progress and independence 55 years ago, confidently marches along the road of socialism.

Presentday socialist Mongolia is an agrarian-industrial country with social production developing dynamically in the interests of the working masses and material and cultural well-being of the working people raising steadily. It is proved by the following example.

In the past five years alone the volume of production of the aggregate social product increased by 55.4 per cent and the national income by 38 per cent. As a result of successful implementation of social policy of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the people's power for 1971-1975 the real income per capita increased by 17%. It should be noted that the growth of monetary income of the working people has been accompanied by preserving stable retail prices of consumer goods and by reducing prices of certain types of goods.

The 17th Congress of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party held in June this year put forward more grandiose tasks of further development of the national economy and raising the well-being of the Mongolian working people.

During the period of 1976-1980 the total volume of capital investment is to exceed the volume of the capital investment to the

national economy for all previous ten years. The average salary of workers and office workers during this period will be increased by 9 per cent, and payments and privileges to the population at the expense of the consumption fund will increase by 30 per cent.

With a feeling of gratification and pride we note the immense role which selfless international assistance of the fraternal socialist countries, first of all, the Great Soviet Union plays in the development of our country.

The Mongolian Trade Unions have played an enormous role in achieving these wonderful successes. Enjoying broad rights allowing them to actively participate in the life of the state the Mongolian Trade Unions in deeds make concrete steps to promote the successful development of the socialist economy and culture, and to raise the living standard of the working masses. Our trade unions working within the framework of socialist democracy attract on a wide scale the broad masses to managing production and the society. Being on guard of defending the lawful interests of the working peoples the Mongolian Trade Unions constantly work for bettering their labour and living conditions, take care of protection of health and organisation of rest of industrial and office workers and maintain control over the observation of labour laws and regulations and norms on labour protection.

The Mongolian Trade Unions being guided by the ideas of proletarian internationalism constantly promote friendship and cooperation with trade unions of socialist, capitalist and developing countries in the interests of toiling masses and strive to facilitate the development and strengthening peace and security among nations.

We greet and support the enormous efforts of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries as well as all progressive forces of the world aimed at promoting detente and strengthening peace all over the world. Our trade unions always sided and will continue to side with all just forces fighting for peace, national independence and social progress.

The Trade Unions and the working people of the socialist Mongolia unanimously support the foreign policy of the MPRP

directed at strengthening peace and security in Asia and implementation of principles of peaceful co-operation in relations among Asian states.

The Mongolian Trade Unions have been doing and will do their best to promote the noble cause of developing and strengthening Asian and World Trade Unions movement. As you are well aware of the fact that 1977 is the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which laid the beginning of revolutionary awakening of all exploited peoples of the world.

We shall celebrate this historical date under the motto of comprehensive development of our international friendship and solidarity with the progressive trade unions of all countries.

In 1977 the working class and toiling masses of people's Mongolia will celebrate the golden jubilee, the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Mongolian Trade Unions, which traversed glorious path of the struggle for non-capitalist and socialist development of the country.

Dear comrades, in conclusion once again I would like to convey to you, the delegates to the conference and to all working people of friendly India heartfelt wishes of successes for the benefit of their country and for the benefit of peace and progress all over the world.

Thank you.



SPEECH OF
NGOTHI THUAN, MEMBER PRESIDUM, VIETNAM
FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, HANOI.

Members of the Presidium,

Dear Friends,

We are very happy to attend the 30th Conference of the All-India Trade Union Congress. On behalf of the workers and trade unions of Vietnam, allow us to convey to the Conference and through its participants to the entire trade union members of AITUC, the strongest Trade Union organisation in India our greeting of solidarity and friendship.

Living on the same Asian continent and having had to lead a long and arduous struggle against colonialism and imperialism, the workers and people of Vietnam and India had been ceaselessly encouraged and stimulated each other in the movement for national and class liberation. The workers, the people of India and the All-India Trade Union Congress had warmly supported the past resistance war waged by the Vietnamese workers and people against the French colonialist and the US imperialists. For their part, our workers and people have always followed attentively and with deep concern the staunch and indomitable struggle of the Indian workers and people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for the consolidation of their national independence and the building of a prosperous country. We sincerely share the joy with the Indian workers and people at the achievements they have recorded in their actions to preserve their political and economic independence, to overcome the sequels left over by the former colonial regime and to build and develop their culture for the sake of democracy and social progress.

To that great victory of the nation, AITUC has contributed a worthy part.

On this occasion, we would like to wish the Indian workers and people, the trade unions, the democratic and progressive organisations in India further greater success in their glorious cause so as to bring their share together with other nations in Asia to the building of this continent into a peaceful independent democratic and prosperous region. We wish that AITUC will be further consolidated and developed with every passing day.

Dear Friends,

The great victory of the General Offensive and Uprisings in the Spring of 1976 has brought about a glorious end to the 30-year long struggle of the Vietnamese people against the French colonialists and US imperialists and for the preservation of national independence. Since then, our country has been rid of all aggressors. North and South are unified into a single stretch of land and the people live under the same roof. The splendid success of the general election on April 25, 1976, and of the first session of the common National Assembly for the whole country has led to the founding of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. With this historic event, the Vietnamese people have entered a new stage, the stage in which the country is advancing to socialism. In this new revolutionary stage the workers and people of Vietnam are enjoying many advantages and facing no less difficulties. We are determined to turn our revolutionary heroism in the past struggle into daily concrete deeds in labour and production so as to win more successes in socialist construction and overcome the difficulties encountered in our work. The Vietnamese workers and people firmly believe that, the working class and peoples of fraternal socialist countries, of the justice and peace loving countries, the Indian working class, trade union organisations and people included, will continue to give the Vietnamese people their precious support as they did in the past, so that the Vietnamese workers and people could successfully fulfil their historic mission entrusted to them by the present epoch. Availing ourselves of this opportunity we sincerely thank the Indian workers and people, the AITUC for their active support extended to our people in the past as well as at the present time. We would like also to express through the channel of the international delegates to this 30th Conference

of AITUC our deep gratitude to the WFTU, to the working class, people and trade union organisations of the socialist countries, and the peace and justice loving countries for the precious and warm support so far extended to the past struggle of our workers and people against the US imperialists for national salvation as well as to their present endeavour to heal-up the wounds of war and reconstruct their country.

Dear Friends,

Recently, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has declared its position to the countries in South-east Asia. This position is expressed under the four following principles :

(1) Respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

(2) Not to allow any foreign country to use one's territory as a base for direct or indirect aggression and interventions against the other country and other countries in the region.

(3) Establishment of friendly and good-neighbourly relations, economic co-operation and cultural exchanges on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Settlement of disputes among the countries in the region through negotiations in a spirit of equality, mutual understanding and respect.

(4) Development of cooperation among the countries in the region for the building of prosperity in keeping with each country's specific conditions and for the sake of independence, peace, and genuine neutrality in South-east Asia, thereby contributing to peace in the world.

The Vietnamese workers and people fully support this correct position. On the basis of this position, the Vietnamese workers and trade unions wish to build, consolidate and develop their relation with the workers and trade union organisations of the countries in Asia and particularly in South-east Asia and together with the latter contribute to building this region into a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and prosperous region.

We note with joy that the friendly relation between the workers and peoples of Vietnam and India has been consolidated and developed with every passing day. Since we are in Indian soil, in Calcutta and mainly in Bihar, here at Jamshedpur, where the flame of long traditional anti-imperialist struggle and heroic class struggle was unleashed as Comrade Chaturanan Mishra highlighted in his Welcome Speech, we the delegation from Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions feel very happy and inspired. The pictures of their struggle for peace, democracy, anti-imperialism and also for their rights and better living conditions is a matter of interest for all of us. The delegates of Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions are overwhelmed with the expression of the minds of the people and the hospitality and brotherhood of the comrades and friends here, which is felt that we are in our mother-land. With this feeling of joy, in mind and great pleasure, we wish the 30th Conference of AITUC best success.

May the friendship and militant solidarity between the working class and people of Vietnam and India be ever blossoming!



SPEECH OF
ILIE SILVIA, MEMBER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GENERAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION OF ROMANIA,
BUCHAREST (ROMANIA)

Dear friends,

We fulfil the pleasant mission to convey to you, delegates of the Conference of All-India Trade Union Congress, to the Indian working people, a warm greeting on behalf of the Central Council of the General Trade Unions Confederation of the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the Romanian working people.

We would also like to thank the leadership of the AITUC for the kind invitation to attend this significant event in the life of the Indian Trade Union movement, giving us the opportunity to get into contact with some aspects of the life and work of the Indian people, to see a little of the beauty of your country.

The presence of our delegation at this Conference reflects, once more, the good relations of friendship and cooperation established between the GTUCR and AITUC ever since the first years after the second world war. Since that time they are showing an ascending evolution which is mirrored by the mutual participation in the Congresses of our Centrals, by the visits of the AITUC delegations to Romania and of the GTUCR to India, by the participation of the AITUC delegates in the seminars the GTUCR had organised during the last years for the trade union officials of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We are glad to notice that although our two countries and peoples are on different continents and at long distances, their relations permanently developing both on bilateral level and of the collaboration in the international arena. The visits, the talks

which took place between the leaders of our States and governments have opened new prospects for the extension and the consolidation of our mutual links.

We in Romania follow with great interest and with sympathy the achievements your people have recorded during the last quarter of our century in his strive for the liquidation of the sequels of the long colonial domination, for the development of the decisive sectors of the national economy.

We know that the All-India Trade Union Congress, a trade union organisation with old tradition of struggle, enjoying the prestige within the international trade union movement, is bringing an important contribution to all this achievements.

We follow with real interest your Conference debating the very important tasks facing today in Indian Trade Unions for drawing the working people into the realization of the renewing changes taking place in your homeland. As friends who know what does it mean the struggle for the conquering of independence and forging of a new life, we whole-heartedly rejoice at this achievement and wish you ever new successes in carrying out your noble goals for the benefit of the Indian working class and the entire Indian people, for the economic and social prosperity of your homeland.

The Romanian people, who for many years fought against the foreign domination and oppression, for the national independence, and many difficulties to defeat; but he understood that if he wanted to be free he must build up a strong economy, to be united, to do all for becoming the master of his own destiny.

This year we celebrated 32 years since the Romanian people, the working class, under the leadership of the RCP have embarked upon the road of the construction of a new life. Although this is a relatively short historical period, during these years radical transformations in all fields of life took place. The material basis of the socialist system is developed and consolidated, the labour forces have known an impetuous upsurge. The industrial output was in 1975 over thirty times bigger as compared with the period before the second world war at an annual rate of development of 13 per cent; important successes have been ob-

ined by the socialist agriculture too. Great progress have been scored in the development of science, culture and education. The national income has increased ten times and on this basis, one could adopt steps for the general increase in the people's living standards. During these years, the real income per capita has risen five times. The housing construction both from the state funds and of the population have been further developed, as well as health protection; the social funds allotted to the children's allowances, for education, health, scholarships have increased fifty per cent.

Education has progressed concurrently with economic and social development of the country as a lawful necessity and having in mind the fact that 3 decades ago we had almost 4 million literates; today from a population of 21 million, about 4 million are studying in educational institutes of all degrees. At present, ten years free of charge education is generalised; secondary and higher education is further developing. The number of educational institutions endowed with apparatus and the necessary equipments have also increased as well as the number of students' hostels and anteens, more than 68 per cent of students are granted state scholarships.

The whole system of education is brought closer to research and production because the school is the main factor for the general and political education, for the formation of the cadres—experts and high skilled workers, for the increase in the conscience and cultural formation of the young generation of our country.

Within this context, we would like to emphasize that our country develops relations of cooperation with other countries in the field of education. Thousands of students and young people from the developing countries, India included, are studying in Romania.

The steadily improving of the people's living standards is and will be a main concern of our party and government, this representing the essence of the socialist society we are building now in Romania.

Animated by the achievements scored up to now, the Romanian people, the working people are totally engaged in the implementation of the ample programme drawn up by the XITH

Congress of the Romanian Communist Party ensuring the realization with success the work of construction of the socialist society multisided developed in our country raising Romania on new stages of civilization.

Within the context of permanent perfecting of the socialist democracy, the trade unions bring an important contribution to the entire work of building of socialism. They participate, with full rights, in the activity of the state bodies, in the collective management of the economic units and of the socio-cultural life, in the elaboration, perfecting and putting into operation of all steps aiming the permanent increasing in the working and living standards, the vocational training and the improvement of the professional training of the working people, their education in the spirit of the principles of socialist ethic and equity.

The trade unions have all the conditions as the general secretary of the R. C. P.—Nicolae Ceausescu recommended on the occasion of the GTUCR Congress which took place in April 1975—to fully use all the conditions provided by the socialist democracy system for the improvement of the organisational forms of active participation of the working people in the management of the enterprises, in governing the entire economic and social life.

On international field, the GTUCR fully support the policy of the party and of our country which firmly militates for the ever stronger affirmation in the world of peoples' will to live free, for their independent development and for the promotion of relations based on the observance of principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality in rights, non-interference in to internal affairs, non resort to force and threat by force, cooperation and mutual advantage. Romania, a socialist country and, at the same time, a developing one, is carrying on a steadfast policy for setting up of a new international economic and political order, for the abolition of the underdevelopment, for foundation of a better and juster world. A confirmation of this policy is the strong cooperation, mutually advantageous, with the developing countries, with non-aligned countries, with the states of the third world; at the same time Romania actively support the peoples still being under the colonialist domination struggling

for their national liberation, for the liquidation of the racial and apartheid policy

The admission of Romania in the "Group of the 77" and her invitation at the top level conference of non-aligned countries, opens new prospectives for the activity carried on by our country for deepening and consolidation the course of detente in the international life, for the disarmament and, first of all, for the nuclear disarmament, for dissolution of the opposed military blocs, of military bases from territories of other states, for setting up of zones of peace, free of nuclear arms, in Balkans, the Indian Ocean Area and in other parts of the world.

Within this spirit the working people, the trade unions of Romania are developing their relations with the trade unions of all countries and express their active internationalist solidarity with the trade unions and working people in the newly independent countries struggling for the defence of their national sovereignty, against the imperialist and neo-colonialist plots, for a self-reliant development, for democratic transformations and trade union rights.

Dear Comrades,

In conclusion, we would like to reaffirm from the rostrum of this important Conference, our feelings of sympathy and solidarity towards Indian working people, the GTUCR desire for the permanent development of the relations of friendship and cooperation with AITUC for the benefit of working people in our countries.

Once again, we wish you successes in the implementation of the decision of your Congress for the unity of the Indian trade union movement, for a better life, for prosperity, peace and social progress.

Long live the friendship between the working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of India:



**SPEECH OF
DRAMONIRA HANZALOVA, SECRETARY, CENTRAL
COUNCIL OF CZECHOSLOVAK TRADE UNIONS (URO),
PRAGUE, (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)**

Dear Comrade President,

Dear Comrade Secretary General,

Dear Comrades delegates and dear guests,

It is a great honour for us and, through our delegation for the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to take part at the 30th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the most progressive and the most consequential trade union organisation of the working people of India.

We deeply cherish the fact that a delegation of the Czechoslovak Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has been invited to visit your big and beautiful country and that we have the opportunity to meet the representatives of your brave working people ready to sacrifices. We are glad that here, in this convention hall, we can convey the warm fraternal greetings from the trade union organisation comprising six million of our working people, to the representatives of the Indian trade union movement.

•All the people of our country follow with great attention and big sympathy the struggle of the working people of India and their trade union organisation, the All-India Trade Union Congress, for the development of national economy, the improvement of their living and working conditions, and for the preservation of peace in the world. Though we live separated by a distance of several thousand miles we wish every success in your fight for the interests of the working class and other strata of the

working people, is our success as well. Similarly, every step forward in building up an all-round developed socialist society in our country constitutes also a contribution to the working people of India.

Both our fraternal organisations—the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of Czechoslovakia—as member organisation of the World Federation of Trade Unions have common aims. Above all of them is the successful defence of world peace for their creative work and the life of the people. Together with you we rejoice over the achievements reached by the working people of India thanks to the inexhaustible efforts of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Our working people, our trade unions also stood and stand at your side in the struggle for the realisation of the just demands and interests of your working class.

Comrades delegates, dear guests, allow us now a few words on the present tasks and the present position of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Thirty one years of building socialism have brought in an immense progress in national economy and in the living and cultural standards of our people. These are spheres of life, as for instance in mother and child care, the schooling and education system, the medical care, social security system and others, where we have advanced further than many highly industrialised capitalist countries. In long-term planning of development of our national economy we have set the target to achieve a still higher all-round upsurge in our socialist society.

The XVth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia April last, in its directives for the 6th five-year plan, has stipulated further development of an all-sided care for the citizen and strengthening of social facilities which are undisputable evidence of the advantages of socialist society. Real income of the population will grow. The covering of material and cultural needs will be accompanied by further improvement in life and work environment, further perfections in the social security system, in the child care, and in the development of services.

We are well aware that different conditions, tasks and prob-

lems concerning the activities of the trade unions exist in the class-divided world of today. In spite of all these differences the world progressive trade union movement constitutes an entity linked together by basic common interests, its historical role, and common aim to liberate themselves fighting against common enemy—imperialism.

That is why the trade union movement of our country, in its international activities, complies with the principles of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity. It is an indivisible part of the international progressive trade union movement. The basic pivot of its activities is close cooperation with trade unions of other socialist countries and with all progressive trade unions organisations in the whole world. It strives to form trade union unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, the monopolies and neo-colonialism, it strives to develop friendly relations and cooperation with all trade union organisations that are fighting for social progress, national and economic independence, peace, and the victory of socialism.

The foundation upon which rests all the achievements of our people and their trade unions is the firm and undestructible unity of the working people. Experience shows that this unity is the key to success in all trade union actions in every country, and that it is the foundation of their victory. Unity, friendship and class solidarity—that is the message that we, on behalf of the working people of our country, convey here to the 30th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Allow us still to wish you, on behalf of our working people, good luck in your dealings, many success in your fight for the interests of the working people of India.

We can assure you dear comrades, that the working people of our country will stand, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, all the time side by side with the trade unions and working people of India, and, together with the working class of all countries of the world fight for the unity, joyful and happy life, lasting peace, and social progress in the whole world.

**LONG LIVE THE 30TH SESSION OF THE ALL INDIA
TRADE UNION CONGRESS !**

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL UNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD !

LONG LIVE PEACE !

LONG LIVE THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASSES OF INDIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA!



The foundation upon which rest all the achievements of our people and their trade unions is the firm and unshakable unity of the working people. Experience shows that the unity is the key to success in all trade union actions in every country, and that it is the foundation of their victory. Unity, friendship and class solidarity—that is the message that we, on behalf of the working people of our country, convey here to the 30th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Allow us still to wish you, on behalf of our working people, good luck in your designs, many success in your fight for the interests of the working people of India.

We can assure you dear comrades that the working people of our country will stand in the spirit of proletarian internationalism all the time side by side with the trade unions and working people of India, and together with the working class of all countries of the world fight for the unity, joyful and happy life, peace and social progress in the whole world.

LONG LIVE THE 30TH SESSION OF THE ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS!

SPEECH OF HENRI KRASUCKI, SECRETARY OF THE
CONFEDERATION GENERALE DU TRAVAIL (CGT),
PARIS, FRANCE

Dear Comrades,

I greet you on behalf of the French workers and of their main trade Union Centre. I know that I address myself to a great people, to a working class who has illustrated itself through valiant struggles and in the battles for national liberation and independence.

I salute the millions of Indian workers who are fighting with firmness and dignity against the terrible misery inherited from colonialism and maintained by the capitalist exploitation.

I am happy to salute your Session, the session of a great Trade Union Organisation, one among the most important in Asia, as well as on international level.

Allow me comrades to express our fraternal greetings to Comrade Dange whom we know not only by the role he plays in your country but from so many years we have worked together in a fruitful way in the Executive bodies of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Dear Comrades,

We are following with the utmost interest your struggles, and we understand their importance. From our understanding, the situation in your country in which you have to work is very complex, where we find at the same time valuable achievements, some positive measures, but also serious reactionary measures, huge pressures from big monopolies and from the U.S. imperialism.

We understand the efforts you are undertaking to adapt yourselves to this situation, to take into account these realities and find out method fitting with every stage.

We would like to express our solidarity in your activity so important to ensure the victory of the forces of progress, democracy and independence, and in order to preserve the interests of the workers.

It is true, our conditions of struggle are different, but our aim is the same as yours and, in our respective experience, we have so many things in common!

You and us, we know that nothing can be done without the working class. No social progress, no national edification, no democratic advance, and moreover no step towards socialism can be made without the support of the working class, of its trade union organisations, of its class organisations, without looking for and deserving this support.

You and us, we do know, by our own experience, that no lasting, no consequent measure can be undertaken without concrete and drastic measures against monopoly capitalists and against the giant and spreading out multinational companies.

It is possible to eradicate misery and unemployment, it is possible to establish and preserve freedom, security and national development, it is possible to transform the society as a whole, but only if one is determined to fight against the domination of the economic and financial feudalities of the big monopoly capital.

You and us, we do know the price of national independence and from where come the dangers which threaten it.

For our part we are fighting in our country against the policy of alignment and submission to the American demands.

We know of what are able the American imperialists, their methods of "destabilisation" used in various countries, as specially in a country very near from here, Bangladesh. We are supporting your action and the stand taken by your country and your Government to refuse unacceptable pressures, economic and others, as well as the sound of boots from Diego Garcia.

The positive nature of the relationship between India and the Soviet Union, and the other socialist countries, the significant support they give to your country without any personal interest, constitute a major factor of peace and security.

We are struggling to compel the French Government to put an end to its activities on behalf of the coalition of imperialist forces in particular in the Indian Ocean where it occupies some strategic positions, and reverse its policy in an efficient contribution to the support of the independence of your great country, to help make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

For our part, dear comrades, our trade unions activities are taking place within conditions of a developed capitalist country of Western Europe, shaken by a deep crisis.

This crisis is not only an economic one. It is the crisis of the capitalist society, and affects the whole life of our people.

The inflation is permanent and rapidly increasing, this year its rate will be still around 13 to 15%, and we suffer from massive unemployment, striking particularly the youth.

Employers allied with the rightist government piled up, one after another, their austerity plans. They use all means in their power to put on the workers the cost of the crisis, by reducing the purchasing power of wages and salaries and in attacking social rights and trade union liberties.

Our main task consists in organising the determined resistance of the workers and the defence of their interests. And this is what is happening. In the present time, the main factor is not constituted by the employers and governmental repressive measures against the interests of the working class but moreover by a deep discontent which is transformed in powerful mass actions, now in full swing.

Last week we have had a national day of strikes and demonstrations, with millions of workers participating. This was one of the most powerful action-day that France had known of a long time. This day has heralded new continuous mass trade union actions with multiple forms.

Today the tendency towards unity is strengthening itself and leads to a bigger unity of action among the different trade union organisations. The C.G.T. has always had a policy of unity. It combats attitudes of class collaboration which are obstacles in the way of unity. It refuses the sectarian withdrawal. It works to enlarge unity of action to all trade union organisations from factories and right upto the national level, on clear and just bases.

Our activity on basic demands is part of a larger prospect. In the present conditions of our country, and taking into consideration the balance of power at the international level, in France it is possible to put an end to the capitalist monopoly domination. It is possible to achieve deep changes in the society, and then to start on the way to socialism. Possible does not mean easy, neither without acute and complex mass struggles. This will require particularly all the weight of the working class and the alliance of the social stratas of the society opposed to monopolies.

Consequently, we define, in the framework of our responsibilities as a trade union organisation, perspectives for democratic conquests as well as economic, political and social ones, and for socialism. These perspectives are corresponding to the realities prevailing in our country, to our time, to our specific conditions.

The C.G.T. supports the alliance of the parties of the Left, their Programme of Government. It does so in full independence, from its own programme and its class positions. Whatever difficulties we meet, the popular movement is growing and it is with lucidity, calm and dynamism that we are facing a struggle which could have extraordinary consequences.

Dear Comrades,

The relations of friendship of our two organisations have concrete manifestations. As internationalists we work in a good spirit within the WFTU and in the international trade union movement for the unity of all trade union forces of the world, irrespective of particular affiliations.

In a capitalist world shaken by the crisis, dominated by the huge multinational companies (which most of them are Americans, but also West German, Japanese, French, British), workers of all capitalist countries share overwhelming economic and social interests.

And it is for these interests, beyond ideological differences that unjty of artion must advance in every country and internationally.

Workers all over the world in whatever social and economic systems they live, have in common the struggle for social progress and for peace.

Together, and with our comrades from other capitalist countries, from socialist countries, and from countries of the so-called Third World, we are fighting for peaceful coexistence, vital to peoples and which does not mean social.

We are fighting against imperialist activities everywhere in the world and we give our full support to all peoples who are its victims.

We have welcomed the historical victories of our brothers of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia—and of Angola.

We support the struggle of the black people of South Africa and Rhodesia. We support our comrades of Latin America under fascist regimes built up by the C. I. A.

On your continent, in Middle East there is a persistent and serious situation of war and of injustice. Events of unacceptable nature are taking place there. In Lebanon, the Palestinians and progressive Liberation forces are the victims of an aggression and of an extermination plan.

The Lebanese' reactionary forces would not have done it without the support and the direct intervention of the armed forces of Syria. Only the imperialists and the reactionary leaders of Israel could enjoy this situation. We deplore it and we fight firmly for the withdrawal of the Syrian forces from Lebanon. The Palestinian people and the progressive Lebanese have a right to an effective solidarity from all anti-imperialist forces and Governments.

Dear Comrades,

We are living in an extraordinary era of transformation of the world. It is the time of the upsurge of the peoples against imperialism, for freedom.

It is the time of the upsurge of the working class as a dynamic force in the society.

The harmful imperialism remains dangerous but it is still possible to compel it to new retreats.

You are struggling in a big country which has today an important role in that struggle.

We wish you full success in this great task.

LONG LIVE THE INDIAN WORKING CLASS AND ITS GREAT TRADE UNION ORGANISATION AITUC!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS!



Dear Comrades,

We are living in an extraordinary era of transformation of the world. It is the time of the upsurge of the peoples against imperialism for freedom.

It is the time of the upsurge of the working class as a dynamic force in the society.

SPEECH OF ROBERTO DIAZ, MEMBER, NATIONAL
COMMITTEE, CENTRAL COUNCIL OF CUBAN TRADE
UNIONS, HAVANA (CUBA)

Comrades,

We are bearers of the warm greetings of the Central organisation of Cuban Trade Unions (CTC) and its National Unions, to the participants in the 30th Congress of the AITUC, and extend this greeting to all Indian workers.

At the same time, we wish to express our acknowledgement for the courtesies shown to our delegation and the fraternal reception that was given to us.

Our being able to participate in this important Conference of the AITUC is for us a reason of deep-felt joy. The AITUC enjoys broad international prestige and its active participation in the WFTU and other bodies of which it is part, makes it play a prominent role in the world labour movement.

Added to this is the arduous work carried out for decades in the constant struggle against the attacks and manouvers of capitalism and of national and foreign monopolies; for raising the living standards of Indian workers and for the recognition of their rights; for success in their present and future demands. Its support to and participation in the implementation of progressive measures in India, mainly since the Administration of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi commenced as leader of this millenary nation. India has established deep relations of cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and has proclaimed its solidarity with the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, developing a foreign policy in defence of peace against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism.

The position maintained by India within the non-aligned coun-

tries where it has been an outstanding member, has strengthened this important movement and has contributed towards the increasingly radical nature of its positions.

The imperialist actions carried out last year in complicity with internal reaction aiming at removing Prime Minister Indira Gandhi from office proved unsuccessful and the response of the progressive forces showed their support to the government and to the measures it was beginning to apply.

Comrades, delegates to the Congress,

We are aware of the relevant role the working class must play in your country, especially the AITUC; your struggle against exploitation and reaction and for achieving better living conditions for the workers and people, is a hard and difficult task, but we are certain you will be victorious. We are living in an era in which the successes obtained by the workers and the peoples are increasing day by day in the struggle against every form of aggression and exploitation, the highest expression of which is the struggle against imperialism.

Great victories have been won in the anti-imperialist struggle on the Asian continent, the most outstanding being these of the heroic peoples of Veitnam, Laos and Kampuchea who have dealt demolishing defeats to imperialism headed by the United States and its lackeys.

Added to this are the triumphs of the peoples of Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, St. Thomas and Mozambique. The victory of the Angolan people against the aggression of South Africa in complicity with imperialism and other reactionary forces are a stimulus to the struggle of black majorities in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The fraternal people of Angola are working for their country's reconstruction under the leadership of the MPLA, after having achieved their devastating victory over the reactionary and imperialist forces. In the Middle East not withstanding imperialist intrigues headed by the United States and other reactionary sectors, the progressive forces will obtain victory. We, Cuban workers, support the just struggle of the Arab peoples, demand the withdrawal of Zionist troops from occupied Arab territories and solidarise with the reestablishment of the legitimate rights

of the Palestinian people, advocating for the ceasing of the military conflict in Lebanon to put a stop to this lasting bloodshed of Arabs.

In Latin America, important struggles are actually being waged against imperialism and the lackey, oligarchic and reactionary regimes that serve the former's interests, and which in order to uphold their system of exploitation and oppression against the peoples, support the reactionary tyrannies that misgovern in Chile, Uruguay and other countries with all their might. We are certain that the peoples of Latin America will be victorious over the tough dictatorship they oppose, and that in countries such as Chile they will crush fascism.

The workers and people of Panama are seeking to exercise their legitimate right over the sovereignty of their Canal occupied by North Americans.

The English-speaking peoples of the Caribbean and others in Latin America are developing a policy for the defence of their sovereignty and their natural resources. The people of Puerto Rico are struggling to put an end to United States colonial domination.

Many and varied have been the defeats inflicted by the peoples on imperialism, in recent years, mainly because of the world correlation of forces that increasingly favour socialism and its natural allies, the national liberation movements and the international working class, forcing imperialism to accept specific agreements against their warmongering and exploiting positions, making it possible to continue on the road to detente and peaceful co-existence.

Nevertheless, in order to retain possession of the victories—obtained, and achieve greater ones, it becomes necessary to have the closest unity of all anti-imperialist forces struggling to better their people's living standards, for democracy, social progress and peace.

Comrades,

More than seventeen years have elapsed since the revolutionary process was initiated in the first Free Territory of America,

countless aggressions, intrigues and blockades have been carried out against our people by US imperialism to which we have responded victoriously and resolutely. It is our duty to point out that next to the determination of the Cuban people have always stood the support and solidarity of the peoples and progressive revolutionary governments, especially that offered now and in the past by the fraternal Soviet Union.

We have undoubtedly faced great difficulties; our workers, peasants and people in general have had to make enormous sacrifices to avoid being economically suffocated and be further more able to make progress that has led to extraordinary social achievements.

Today, we are in a position to announce that we are a country free from unemployment, racial discrimination, hunger, poverty, prostitutions, we have no bare-feet children that have no schools, the ill are not left to their lot any more. The successes achieved in education and public health constitute examples that are the admiration and have caused the recognition of specialised international institutions. Our production in recent years has practically doubled and in some branches the increase has actually been noteworthy.

Our people in Revolution, following countless sacrifices and concentrated efforts during the early years of subsistence, facing the criminal imperialist blockade, that has not ceased, is well on its way to a higher level of economic construction, but without abandoning a permanent task, the defence of the Revolution and the right it has conquered to rule our own destinations and the honour of being the First Socialist State of America.

Trade Unions, grouped around the Central Organisation of Cuban Trade Unions, with over two million workers, are carrying out a sustained effort in favour of an increase of production and work productivity, the fulfilment of the most important and decisive tasks for our development, incorporating all the workers to study centres in order to raise their level of knowledge permitting an efficient use of the resources that science and technology have made and will make available. We are working to guarantee our affiliates their right to security, health, culture, recreation and sports.

We march victoriously in the construction of socialism, our Revolution grows more solid daily, progress is made in the development of our economy, the success achieved in the social field stand out, our political state and mass organisations are strengthened and the tasks flowing from the First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and the 13th Congress of the CTC are being fulfilled.

We, Cuban workers, educated by our Party and its First Secretary, comrade Fidel Castro, in Proletarian Internationalism, wish to express our firm solidarity with the struggle waged by the working class of the world, the national liberation movements, revolutionary and progressive governments and peoples, and all those who in different ways give their support and struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism.

Comrade delegates: strong are the bonds of friendship and comradeship that unite the CTC and the AITUC increasingly tightened in our common struggle; we wish you the greatest success in the fulfilment of the agreements that flow from your Congress and state that besides you stand and will stand as firm allies the Cuban workers.

LONG LIVE THE 30TH CONGRESS OF THE A.I.T.U.C.!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS
IN THE WORLD!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

PATRIA O MUERTE!

VENCEREMOS!



RESOLUTIONS

ON COLOMBO NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT

The 30th session of the All India Trade Union Congress welcomes the declarations of the Colombo Non-Aligned Summit Conference, attended by 86 countries among whom were over 50 heads of states. The conference demonstrated the strength and growth of the non-aligned movement and represented a powerful force in defence of world peace, democracy and social progress.

The conference has called for the consolidation of the unity of the non-aligned movement on the basis of anti-imperialism and economic self-reliance. It has called for the elimination of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and foreign interference in other countries affairs. It declared its whole-hearted support to the national liberation struggles of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and the Palestinian people. It called for the relaxation of global tension and participation of all countries on an equal footing in a world disarmament conference.

The Colombo conference supported the decision of the non-aligned conference on news media held recently in New Delhi for setting up a news pool with the aim of safeguarding the non-aligned countries from the mischievous propaganda of the imperialist news agencies. A forthright call has been given for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and a decision taken for the convening of the littoral states for finding a solution on the basis of the UN resolution on this matter.

The Colombo conference has also demanded in no uncertain terms the implementation of the UN resolution on a new world economic order, to ensure justice to the developing countries and pointed out that the focal point of this international process is

the growth of social justice, eradication of poverty and unemployment.

From the rostrum of the conference forthright warnings against the machinations of imperialists to divide the non-aligned movement and prevent the industrial development, economic self-reliance and political consolidation of the newly independent countries were issued not only by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, but also the prime ministers of Sri Lanka, Vietnam, the deputy Prime Minister of Cuba and other heads of states. The Prime Minister of Vietnam and the Deputy Prime Minister of Cuba also made feeling and warm references to the help rendered by the socialist countries to the newly independent countries, helping them to consolidate their independence and build their shattered economies.

The 30th Session of the AITUC calls on the Indian Government to leave no stone unturned to implement the historic declarations of the Colombo conference and further build and extend the unity of the non-aligned nations to safeguard world peace, democracy and social progress. It calls upon the affiliated unions and all sections of the working class to conduct sustained campaigns in unity with all anti-imperialist and democratic forces throughout the country in support of all Government measures in this direction.

ON DIEGO GARCIA

The 30th session of the All India Trade Union Congress denounces the continued attempts of US imperialism to go ahead with the nuclear naval base scheme of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, defying the universal protest expressed by all the littoral state governments. It is ominous that operational activities have already started from the Diego Garcia base against the freedom of anti-imperialist African regimes.

Recent developments have made it quite clear that the US imperialists' plan to build up the Diego Garcia base in the Indian Ocean, is part of a coordinated global strategy, aimed against progressive anti-imperialist regimes of the Third World in Asia and Africa, utilising for this purpose a chain of bases in the Indian Ocean, in Australia, and in South Africa. It is part of the strategy of de-stabilisation.

The imperialists' attempt to justify the Diego Garcia policy by talking about the so-called "Soviet threat" in the Indian Ocean has been time and again exposed by statements of the Soviet Government. It is significant that the Minister for External Affairs, Shri Y. B. Chavan drew the attention of the United Nations General Assembly on October 4 to a recent statement of the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, stating that "the Soviet Union has no intention of building any military bases in the Indian Ocean area and that it is prepared, together with other powers, to seek ways of reducing, on a reciprocal basis, the military activities of non-coastal states in the zone of the Indian Ocean". Sri Chavan has welcomed Comrade Gromyko's statement.

In the light of all this it is quite clear that it is US Imperialism and its activities that constitute the main threat in the Indian Ocean and that their policy is in flagrant violation of the declaration of the UN General Assembly that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace.

This 30th session of the AITUC calls on the Government of India to take initiatives for further united action by all the littoral states of the Indian Ocean in keeping with the declaration of the non-aligned summit at Colombo to achieve the ending of all imperialist military bases in the Indian Ocean and turning the Ocean into a zone of peace. We further call on all trade unions and the working class to conduct sustained campaign together with all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the country for the achieving of this objective which can ensure the national sovereignty and independence of our country.

ON CHILE

This 30th session of the AITUC denounces the continuing fascist repression in Chile directed against all patriots.

During the three years that the Pinochet clique has been ruling the country, Chile has been turned into a vast concentration camp, where terror and lawlessness are the only "law" recognised by the military junta.

According to the data of the international commission of inquiry into the crimes committed by the Chilean junta, more than

2500 Chileans have vanished without any trace whatsoever after being arrested by agents of the National Intelligence Agency. Even the American press has come out with the figures that more than 90,000 arrests have been made in Chile, 95% of them being unlawful, even from the point of view of the so-called "laws" of the junta.

It is significant that the Pinochet junta is preventing in every way possible the arrival in Chile of the members of the special working group of the UN Human Rights Commission.

The policies of the Chilean junta have only brought hunger and starvation to the working people of Chile and rendered 700,000 people, nearly one-third of the country's able-bodied population, jobless. The level of inflation has beaten all world records. The entire Chilean economy has been sold to the US transnational corporations.

The isolation of the fascist authorities inside Chile is increasing every day and the unity and the tempo of the anti-fascist struggle is rising to new heights. The Chilean junta is now being supported and defended only by the US imperialists and by Maoist China.

The 30th session of the AITUC sends its warm fraternal greetings to Comrade Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile who celebrated his sixtieth birthday in the concentration camp last month. Luis Corvalan has become a symbol of all those who are persecuted by fascism and of all those who are conducting the most heroic struggle against the fascist oppressors.

This 30th session of the AITUC calls for the immediate stoppage of fascist repression in Chile and for the release of Comrade Luis Corvalan and all other political prisoners now held in the Chilean concentration camps. It calls upon all affiliated unions and the entire Indian working class to intensify and widen the campaign of solidarity with the heroic patriotic forces of Chile.

ON KOREA

The 30th session of the AITUC denounces the United States' continued occupation of South Korea and the reinforcement of

its aggressive armed forces as a grave provocative act blocking peace in Korea, obstructing Korea's peaceful reunification and menacing peace in Asia and the world.

The AITUC reiterates its demands for immediate dissolution of the so-called "UN Command" and the withdrawal of US aggressive troops from South Korea in accordance with the resolution adopted at the United Nations and acceptance of the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to replace the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement. The recent events at the demarcation zone at Panmunjan and the threatening mobilisation of the US naval and air forces in that region are pointer to the danger that the US occupation of South Korea poses.

The AITUC strongly denounces the brutal fascist repression of democratic and patriotic circles of South Korea by the Pak Jung Hi Puppet regime which has been propped up by the United States.

The 30th Session expresses its firm solidarity with the Korean people and workers in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

ON CYPRUS

Two years have passed since the events of July 1974—the fascist coup d'état and the Turkish invasion—which resulted in the tragedy of Cyprus. The northern part of the island representing 40 percent of the national territory is still under foreign occupation, one third of its population lives as refugees in their own homeland. In this way, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus are being flagrantly violated and conspiracy is going on to permanently divide the country which the imperialists always aimed at against the independent and non-aligned policy being pursued by the Government of Archbishop Makarios. The resolutions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council have been flouted by Turkey.

The 30th session of the AITUC expresses its wholehearted support for and solidarity with the Cypriot people—Greeks and Turks—who are victims of the same enemy, and demands immediate and full application of UN resolutions on Cyprus and

respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLES OF SOUTH AFRICA, ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA

The 30th session of the AITUC hails the new uprising of the people of South Africa against the hated apartheid regime. Together with the mass uprising in South Africa which has spread from Soweto to Cape Town and other areas in more militant forms, the armed struggles in Zimbabwe and Namibia have sharpened and reached new heights.

The collapse of Portuguese colonialism, the victory of the People's Republic of Angola aided by Cuba and other socialist countries over the imperialist—racist aggression, have vastly changed the balance of forces in Southern Africa and have given new strength and inspiration to the liberation movements in this region.

The imperialists and the racist regimes, faced with this vast upsurge of the liberation struggle backed by the entire progressive forces all over the world, the resorting to new manoeuvres and conspiracies in a desperate bid to impede and delay the victory of the patriotic forces.

This is precisely the objective of intensified activities of the US imperialists and Henry Kissinger's "Shuttle diplomacy" in that area. The main aim is to save the minority racist regime of Southern Rhodesia from a complete collapse and to instal, under the pretense of transferring power to an African majority, pro-western amenable Government in Zimbabwe. The Vorster regime in South Africa refuses to withdraw its illegal administration from Namibia and to allow free elections to be held there under UN supervision as demanded by the Security Council.

The AITUC is confident that all these divisive acts and conspiracies of the imperialist countries will be defeated by the united action of the resurgent African peoples who have total support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as

well as of all other anti-imperialist Governments, peace and progressive forces all over the world.

The Government and people of India have a long tradition of support and solidarity with the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, against imperialism, racism, and apartheid.

The 30th session of the AITUC calls upon the working class and the trade unions to redouble their support and solidarity actions with the struggles of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia for liberation from the racist regimes for peace, independence and social progress.

WEST ASIA AND LEBANON

The 30th session of the AITUC reiterates its full support for the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and zionism for vacation of Arab lands occupied by Israel and the struggle of the Palestinian Arabs, led by the PLO, for their national rights and the right to an independent national state.

The AITUC expresses its deep concern and anxiety at the recent developments in West Asia, particularly over the tragic events in Lebanon.

US imperialism, zionism and Arab reaction have imposed civil war on the Lebanese people entailing wanton massacres and destruction of property which is directed against the Palestinian Arabs and left forces of Lebanon, against the unity of the progressive forces of the Arab national liberation movement and finally to divide Lebanon. The intervention of the Syrian armed forces unfortunately instead of helping to solve the crisis, has resulted in the strengthening of the position of Phalangists and other reactionaries against the forces of PLO and other progressive forces. The Palestinian camps have been razed to the ground killing thousands of palestenians including women and children.

The 30th session of the AITUC expresses wholehearted support for and solidarity with the courageous struggle of the progressive and patriotic forces of Lebanon against foreign intervention and in defence of the independence and territorial integrity of their country. The AITUC also expresses complete

solidarity with the forces of Palestinian revolution led by the PLO. The session calls upon all trade unions and the working class of India to launch a campaign of solidarity with the progressive Lebanese forces, with the Palestinian Arabs led the PLO requesting withdrawal of the armed forces of the Syrian Arab Republic from Lebanon and for the guarantee of the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

IN SUPPORT OF NEW STOCKHOLM APPEAL

The 30th session of the AITUC calls upon all trade unions to wholeheartedly participate in the international campaign to stop the arms race through the collection of signatures to the new Stockholm Appeal of the World Peace Council. Already tens of millions of people from nearly a hundred countries of all continents have signed and endorsed the appeal. Stopping of arms race has become one of the most important issues for the entire future of mankind. The stopping of arms race is the key to make the process of detente irreversible.

Already the military budgets of the USA and several other NATO countries have been increased to all time high and increasing arms supply by US imperialism and other imperialist powers is being used to further the policy of destabilisation, threatening the national independence and sovereignty particularly of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In course of a reply in the Lok Sabha the Government of India consistent to its policy, has officially extended its support to the aims of the new Stockholm Appeal.

The 30th session calls upon trade unions to redouble their efforts for collecting signature on the Appeal from the mass of workers.

ON THE VICTORY IN VIETNAM

The 30th Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress hails the victory of the heroic people of Vietnam which ended the most brutal war of aggression launched by US imperialism in the entire post-war period.

The American imperialists for over two decades poured billions of dollars, tens of thousands of soldiers, all kinds of modern armaments, unleashed inhuman weapons of chemical warfare to destroy all human and plant lives, to subdue the people of Vietnam. With international solidarity and assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the international working class and all progressive forces throughout the world, the heroic people of Vietnam ultimately inflicted ignominious defeat on the US imperialists and their henchmen. The victory in Vietnam and the emergence of unified and socialist Vietnam, is an event of historic importance in the context of the worldwide struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and forces of reaction for national liberation, peace and social progress. The victory in Vietnam and also in Laos and Cambodia, have opened up new vistas of revolutionary advance for the peoples of South-East and South Asia.

The 30th Session of the AITUC sends warm revolutionary greetings to the people and working class of unified socialist Vietnam and assures them of our continued support and solidarity with them in the new phase of their struggle for post-war rehabilitation and socialist construction. The 30th Session of the AITUC condemns the U.S. imperialist Veto on the admission of Socialist Vietnam into the U.N. and other international forums and supports the demand of world public opinion for such immediate admission.

ON LIBERATION OF CAMBODIA AND LAOS

The 30th Session of the AITUC hails the victory of the national liberation forces of Cambodia and Laos who have been victims of aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism and suffered tremendous losses.

The victory in Cambodia and Laos struck another fatal blow to US imperialism and their conspiracies in South-East Asia.

The 30th Session of the AITUC assures the peoples of Kampuchea (Cambodia) and Laos of the continued support and solidarity of the Indian working class with their efforts for national reconstruction.

*AGAINST THE MILITARY COUP D' ETAT IN
THAILAND*

The 30th session of the AITUC expresses its strongest condemnation of the recent imperialist inspired military coup d'etat in Thailand reversing the successes achieved by the popular struggle three years ago in overthrowing the long years of autocratic military rule and establishing a democratically elected government. The struggle of the workers and people of Thailand had succeeded in winning a measure of democratic and trade union freedom and had forced the US Government to agree to the withdrawal of its military bases from Thailand in stages. The return of military dictatorship has resulted in the suppression of all democratic and trade union rights and is aimed at nullifying all the anti-imperialist democratic gains made by the people's struggle.

The 30th session of the AITUC expresses its full support to the cause of the Thai workers and people for the restoration of democratically elected government and for full democratic and trade union liberties.

*FOR RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL AND TRADE
UNION PRISONERS IN INDONESIA*

The 30th session of the AITUC strongly protests against the eleven year-long continued detention of thousands of political and trade union leaders and activists in camps and jails under most barbarous conditions and calls upon all workers and trade unions to campaign for their immediate release with full democratic and trade union rights.

AGAINST INDONESIAN ANNEXATION OF EAST TIMOR

The 30th session of the AITUC strongly condemns the aggression on East Timor and its eventual annexation by Indonesia in flagrant violation of the UN resolution.

It expresses its full solidarity with the struggle of the East Timorese patriotic forces led by the Fretilin for the vacation of the Indonesian occupation of their country and for the right to self determination of their people.

ON URUGUAY

The 30th session of the AITUC held in Jamshedpur on the 13-17 October 1976 having considered the situation in Uruguay

—vigorously condemns the fascist regime which for a score of years is repressing the workers and people of that country, their trade union and political organisations.

—Expresses its whole-hearted support to and solidarity with the Uruguayan workers and their trade unions centre, the CNT who are fighting under very difficult conditions of fascist terror, for the restoration of the democratic right and freedom against the military regime, backed by the US imperialists, for unity of the workers and people of Uruguay in the fight.



RESOLUTIONS (contd.)

FOR UNITED CAMPAIGN TO DEFEND WORKING CLASS INTERESTS

The 30th Session of the AITUC assembled at Chandra Shekhar Nagar, Jamshedpur, has received with serious concern reports from various States in the delegates' session as well as in the various commissions, regarding acute discontent spreading among the working class following increasingly intensified and concerted attacks on the basic democratic and trade union rights as well as economic rights and service conditions of the working people like Bonus, D.A., wages etc. won by them through years of long and bitter struggles and sacrifices.

The session is of the firm view that if this process is not immediately halted and reversed through united struggle of the working class, there is likelihood of the reactionary and disruptive forces utilizing the situation to serve their own anti-democratic and anti-national ends.

Taking note of the mood of the working people to fight back this offensive against their working and living conditions and against serious encroachments on their fundamental trade union and democratic rights, this session resolves:

1. To call upon the national leadership of the AITUC to take steps to approach the national leadership of INTUC, HMS, independent federations and other friendly organisations of working people with a view to apprise them fully of the serious situation that has already developed and is threatening to further develop, as a consequence of the concerted attack on the rights and privileges of the workers by the employers and the negative policies pursued by the Government in relation to the working class; and to evolve a common understanding and if possible, a

common or joint programme of minimum action for defence of working class interests and trade union rights.

2. Directs all affiliated unions to observe the Foundation Day of the AITUC on the 31st of October, 1976 on a big scale utilising the opportunity to propagate the glorious anti-imperialist and patriotic history and traditions of Indian working class under the banner of the AITUC, and the crucial role being played by it in the present situation in defending the unity and independence of the country against attacks from internal reaction actively abetted by imperialism.

3. Calls upon the affiliates of the AITUC to start immediate preparations to observe 15th to 22nd November 1976 as a 'WEEK OF WORKERS' FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS' and make every effort to ensure the broadest possible participation and mobilisation of the workers belonging to different trade unions functioning in each centre, locality or industry. The programme for the week should encompass all possible or varied forms of peaceful agitational activity ranging from holding of joint mass meetings, demonstrations, dharnas, display of badges, joint deputations or appeals to the governments at various levels, issuing of joint leaflets or posters, down to the holding of joint meetings of the members or leading bodies of the different trade unions—all aimed at securing the mobilisation of public opinion in favour of defence of basic rights and interests of the working people.

4. Calls upon the State Committees of the AITUC to carefully assess and unhesitatingly further, the possibilities of organising and launching protest actions, in different centres, branches, or units of industry or undertakings on the basis of the broadest possible unity of the workers belonging to different trade unions functioning therein, in each case strictly ensuring:

- (a) correctness of the slogans and demands involved in the protest actions (demands like bonus, D.A., wages, unfettered exercise of basic trade union and democratic rights including right of collective bargaining and against the distortions in the implementation of 20-point programme in connection with the workers participation in management, etc).

- (b) thorough preparations for organising solidarity of all sections of workers in the State or Centre to back the movements launched by the workers in any industry or unit, and ensure the success of these movements.

AMENDMENT OF AITUC CONSTITUTION ADOPTED
AT THE 30TH SESSION

- Clause 9 (a) (ii) —In place of Seven,
Nine Vice-Presidents
- Clause 31 —should be substituted by the
following:
*“Any addition or changes in
the Constitution shall be made
by the General Council by a
three-fourth majority in a
meeting attended by at least
sixty percent of the members
for which a specific item in
the agenda has been notified
in this behalf.”*
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ON 20-POINT PROGRAMME

This conference of the AITUC notes with satisfaction the great interest shown by the people in the 20-Point Programme and its implementation.

The Indore Convention of the AITUC had already pointed out that it was necessary to carry out urgent economic transformations to effectively attack the base of Right Reaction. The 20-point programme with its call of freeing bonded labour, Minimum wage and homestead land to agricultural workers, land ceiling and distribution of surplus land, debt relief, etc., seeks to attack feudalism and shylock moneylenders and is a welcome step of urgently needed relief to the most poor sections of our people and to rehabilitate our economy. It is for this reason that the democratic sections of our people and the working class has extended full support to the programme.

This Conference notes with satisfaction that despite some

anti-working class measures by the Government as on the Bonus issue, the working class has been leading in the campaign for the implementation of the programme, as can be clearly seen in the appreciably increased production in all important industries and the improved performance in the Railways. However the monopolies and the employers while paying lip service to the programme and using it to foist irksome conditions on the workers, have been openly sabotaging its implementation by slowing production, lay offs, retrenchment, creating scarcity of essential goods and unjustifiably raising prices. The Conference calls upon the Government to strongly put down this sabotage of the programme by the employers and the profiteers.

This Conference warmly greets the working class for actively participating in the work of implementation of the programme in the countryside. Their glorious participation in numerous padayatras together with other democratic organisations have helped in taking its message to the rural poor and rousing them for its implementation.

Experience has shown that bureaucracy cannot be relied upon in the implementation of the programme. Hands in glove with the landlords, (in most cases the officials themselves come from landlord families) a big section of them have sabotaged land ceiling laws. Distribution of land, allocation of house sites, relief from money lenders' debt, litigation and rehabilitation of bonded labour has been subverted in varying degrees at the hands of officials. Land ceiling laws are the worst affected.

It is therefore very necessary that representative popular Committees armed with statutory powers are set up to expedite proper implementation of the programme. The National Development Conference held recently at Indore has made such a demand. The AITUC fully supports it.

Only where the workers have taken a lead in the matter, and where the rural poor, the agricultural labourers and peasants have intervened in an organised manner, are the results encouraging.

This Conference calls upon the affiliated unions to conduct a sustained campaign for implementing the 20-point Programme and combat its sabotage.

FUNCTIONING OF APEX BODIES

The 30th Session of the AITUC considers the constitution of the National Apex Body, the State Apex Bodies and the National Industrial Committees as a step in the right direction helping the working class and the employers to sit together to tackle the various issues of common concern. Such a bipartite forum coming into being for the first time represents a higher level in the tackling of problems confronting the working class and employers, since agreed decisions are taken without Governmental interference and such decisions are sought to be implemented. The AITUC Conference welcomes the setting up of the NAB, SABs and the N.I.Cs.

However, the AITUC notes that despite advances made in the matter of guiding industrial relations there are several lacunae which have to be overcome. Firstly, the NAB has not been able to discuss major policy matters such as the issue of sick units and their being taken over, Production bonus, bottlenecks in production, the economic crisis, its impact on the working class and industry, non-utilisation of installed capacity, unilateral action of employers in increasing work load, changing service conditions etc. Secondly, in some cases where unanimous conclusions arrived at have not been implemented, nothing has been done for their implementation for the conclusions or decisions are not statutorily binding. Thirdly, the NAB as constituted is only for the Private sector and the large public sector undertakings, etc., which count a lot in the matter of guiding industrial relations are totally left out. Fourthly, bureaucratic machinations, obstacles and procedures at some levels and places come in the way of effective functioning of the NAB, SABs and N.I.C's. The 30th Session of the AITUC therefore urges upon the Government to see that these weaknesses and defects pointed out are overcome by taking suitable steps. In particular it urges upon the Government to constitute similar Apex Bodies governing the Public Sector and its employees also.

The 30th Session of the AITUC calls upon the working class to make use of the opportunities afforded by these bipartite forums to defend working class interests in this period although

the AITUC is aware of the limitations of such bipartite bodies in a situation when the trade union rights and freedom of action are under severe restrictions. Since the sinequa non for more effective functioning of these bipartite forums either at national, industrial or state levels, is the unity of the working class below, and in particular the coordinated efforts, united understanding and united actions between the AITUC and INTUC, this session of the AITUC calls upon the working class to endeavour its best to forge such united understanding and united actions at the bottom so that it could have its necessary impact at the top also. It appeals to the INTUC to cooperate with the AITUC in such united actions on common issues, and for arriving at common understanding at all levels so that the interests of the working class, industry and the nation could be served better. The AITUC while trying its utmost to forge united move with other central TUs, would continue to expose all the attempts of the employers to curtail production and indulge in other anti-labour activities.

ON GOVERNMENT'S SCHEME FOR WORKERS PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRY

The All India Trade Union Congress had been demanding for sometime the participation of workers in the management of Public Sector industries. This demand was reiterated at the Indore convention of the AITUC which was held in the very first three days of the National Emergency and gave a call to the working class to wage an integrated battle against right reaction and in defence of its just demands and rights.

The Scheme introduced by the Ministry of Labour of the Government of India for workers' participation in industry was considered by the General Council of the AITUC in its meeting held from 8th to 10th November 1975, and called for widening the scope of the scheme.

Some Public Sector units have taken the scheme seriously and have tried to implement it, but some others in the Public Sector, while paying lip service to the idea, have in practice sabotaged the scheme and even used it to further their anti-trade union and anti-worker policies.

In the private sector, by and large, the scheme has been taken up formally and exists mostly on paper.

According to official statistics, twenty five lakhs of workers have been involved in participation in management of industry. Nearly 1500 industrial units have been covered by the scheme. Of these nearly 500 are in the Central sphere and about 1,000 are in the State sphere.

Industries where the scheme has been initiated include steel, copper, aluminium, oil, fertilizers, mica mines, cement, paper, cotton textiles, sugar, leather, jute, glass and engineering. A number of electricity boards have also introduced the scheme. When this scheme was first introduced under the 20-point programme the Government confined its application to manufacturing units employing 500 or more workers. Subsequently, some State Governments introduced it even in smaller units. For instance, the Punjab Government applied it to enterprises employing 200 or more workers and the Karnataka Government brought under its coverage units employing 300 or more workers. The Government of Gujarat has made workers participation in management of textile industry a statutory obligation by passing necessary legislation for the election of Joint Management Council by secret ballot.

It has been recognised by the Government authorities as well as by management that wherever the scheme has been taken up seriously and implemented sincerely, it has yielded positive results. It has improved the climate of industrial relations, ensured stable industrial peace and resulted in increased production and productivity. The workers have taken a keen interest in the problems of their enterprise, given many constructive and useful suggestions and generally made a significant contribution to greater efficiency and productivity.

In certain public sector units, however, the scheme has failed to produce the desired result because the bureaucratic managements and their concerned officials lack faith in the concept of workers participation in management. They have treated the scheme with contempt and when forced to implement it, have distorted it in such a way as to rob it of its progressive content and discredited it among the workers. They have used

the scheme to attack the working conditions of the workers, impose excessive work load and in some cases even attack trade union rights of the workers. All this is being done in the name of increasing punctuality, efficiency, productivity, eliminating wasteful expenditure, etc. But while workers' interests are attacked, no attention is being paid to workers' genuine grievances and the unpunctuality and wastage indulged in by the managements' officers.

So far the Government's Scheme for workers participation in the management of industry has been restricted only to the plant level and the shop floor level. The scope of participation has also been confined to problems of production and productivity, safety and hygiene, labour welfare and such other matters. Thus the workers are excluded from having a voice in vital matters like planning, investment and pricing policies, recruitment, training and promotion of employees and many other important aspects of the industry.

In the light of the experience gained so far, the AITUC puts forward the following demands in connection with workers' participation scheme.

1. The question in all its aspects should be discussed in the National Apex Body and a comprehensive scheme should be prepared and given statutory status by suitable legislation.
2. Such a statutory scheme should provide for joint management councils from the shop floor level to the corporate level and workers' representatives to such joint councils be elected by secret ballot after every two years on the basis of proportional representation.
3. The powers of these joint councils should be increased to include in their scope all vital questions affecting the planning, production, pricing policies, distribution and marketing of the products, and all aspects of company finances, accounting and investment. These Councils should have a voice in recruitment, promotion and training of employees and other important aspects of the industry. Matters like wages, D.A., bonus, various allowances etc., however, should be left for decision by the unions through negotiations with management and should not

be raised in the joint committees. The AITUC unions should guard against the growth of class collaborationist tendencies under the cover of schemes for participation.

4. The agreed decisions of the joint management councils should be implemented by the management.

ON EQUAL REMUNERATION ACT

The 30th session of the AITUC expresses its appreciation of the enactment of the Equal Remuneration Act which was long overdue. However, the AITUC notes with deep concern that many distortions are taking place in the implementation of the Act.

In the tea plantations, for instance, in the name of implementation of the Act, the managements have been unilaterally depriving the women workers of their real wages or increasing the workload. Similar instances have been noted in the construction industry, where in some places the employers, particularly contractors, have even resorted to retrenchment of women workers to evade implementation of the Act. The employers have been interpreting the words "same work or work of a similar nature" in a grossly unfair manner affecting the wages of women workers adversely, and belying the spirit behind the enactment.

The Government has also not implemented the requirements of setting up the implementation machinery and advisory committees enjoined by the Act.

The 30th session of the AITUC therefore demands that:

1. All women workers in plantations, construction industry and all industries where women are employed, be paid wages equal to that of men from the date of enforcement of the Equal Remuneration Ordinance without any increase or change in the task or workload.

2. Women workers should not now be allotted new tasks which were not hitherto allotted to them.

3. Government take immediate steps to set up in all States implementation machinery for this important legislation.

DEMANDING RELEASE OF AITUC CADRES DETAINED UNDER MISA

The 30th Session of AITUC protests against arrests of cadres of AITUC and leaders of trade unions affiliated to it under MISA.

The arrested people had actively participated in countering and foiling the J.P.-led fascist movement and attempts of subversion all over the country. They had wholeheartedly welcomed the promulgation of the national emergency and the 20-point economic programme of the Prime Minister and there is no reason why they should be detained under MISA.

The 30th Session demands their immediate release.

AGAINST BAN ON MASS RALLY

The 30th Session of the AITUC records its protest on the attitude of the Government of not allowing the mass rally and public cultural programme which were scheduled to be held in Jamshedpur on the occasion of this Session. The AITUC has been in the forefront of struggles against the right reactionary and disruptive forces (backed by imperialism) in this country. Since a ban on its public functions only helps to feed the mischievous propaganda inside the country and abroad that now democracy does not exist in India, the AITUC regrets this action of the Government.

ON CLOSURES, RETRENCHMENT & LAY-OFFS

This 30th Session of the AITUC notes with great concern that in spite of the Governments' protestations the employers have been freely resorting during the Emergency to lay off, retrenchment and closures under the pretext of "recession" or accumulation of stocks.

The issue came up before the National Apex Body in its successive meetings. Under the united pressure of workers and the trade unions the Government brought an Ordinance to restrict the employers in declaring closures, retrenchment and lay offs, leaving out, however, lockouts. The Ordinance has since been incorporated in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

The AITUC welcomed the new measure although it kept out of its purview workers of smaller establishments. While the new law has placed certain restrictions on the employers the latter are resorting to more and more lockouts to circumvent the statutory restriction on closures.

In fact, according to official data, loss of mandays on account of lockouts has doubled during the first six months of this year compared to second half of 1975. For the employers lockouts have become handy weapon to browbeat the workers and for putting pressure on the Government to extract more concessions. The Government has failed to restrain the employers from disrupting production and harassing the workers.

The AITUC demands that the Government must adopt more stringent measures to put a stop to retrenchment and lay off. Timely action must also be taken to prevent closure of any industrial unit and all units that are lying closed should be re-started, if necessary by taking over their management.

The AITUC also demands that the scope of the present law on closure, retrenchment and lay off should be extended to cover lockouts and all industrial units irrespective of their size and should not be confined only to those employing 300 or more workers.

ON PORT & DOCK

The 30th session of the All India Trade Union Congress reiterates its demand for the abolition of the private stevedoring business in the Port and Dock industry and welcomes a system of integrated working of cargo handling under one single agency provided it is under the Port Trust.

Workers in the Port and Dock industry are now facing a crisis over a scheme of compulsory retirement of so-called surplus labour. At Calcutta, for instance, the Dock Labour Board has already initiated a scheme to do away with 3,500 workers of 50 years and above immediately under the compulsory retirement scheme. The AITUC deplores the statement of the Labour Minister of West Bengal approving of the scheme. This session of the AITUC expresses its total opposition to any scheme of

compulsory retirement in any of the Port Trusts or Dock Labour Board throughout the country.

The Conference deplores the recommendations of the Chatterjee Committee to shelve further registration of all the dock workers and also its advocacy of continuing the private stevedore system in one form or another and calls on Government to desist from implementing such recommendations.

This session of the AITUC deplores the decision of Government rejecting bipartite wage negotiations and notes the decision of the Port, Dock and Waterfront Workers' Federation of India to boycott the Government appointed officers' committee to go into the question of the wages of Port and Dock workers. The 30th session of the AITUC demands that Government should immediately take steps to conduct bipartite negotiations on wages.

The 30th session of the AITUC deplores the unilateral move by Government to review the existing piece rate schemes in all Port and Docks which has raised grave doubts in the minds of all Port and Dock workers. The AITUC demands that Government should desist from all such unilateral decisions affecting the living and working conditions of the workers in Ports and Docks.

The 30th session of the AITUC demands that Government should immediately pay all workers in Port and Docks bonus at 8.33 per cent which is their due and towards which the Dock Labour Boards have already realised a levy of 10% from the shippers.

In the period of emergency the workers of the Port and Docks have with discipline and devotion to their national task fulfilled their responsibilities towards carrying out the tasks enjoined upon them. However, the Government has shown scant regard for the interests of the workers. This session of the AITUC calls upon the Government to take immediate steps to set up a National Apex Body for the Port and Dock industry to ensure a forum to settle the issues of Port and Dock industry.

The 30th session of the AITUC calls upon all unions and workers in the Port and Dock industry to wage a consistent and

sustained struggle with unity and discipline to achieve their rightful demands.

ON WAGES

The 30th Session of the All India Trade Union Congress having taken note of the trends in the official circles on the question of evolving a "national" wage policy, likes to reiterate the position of the AITUC on the fundamental issues involved.

The AITUC rejects the poverty line concept of the minimum wage, the idea of a central wage commission or wage board for prescribing wage norms and rates for the whole country and the concept of linking wage rise with the rise in national income. The AITUC also rejects the concept of linking wages to production or productivity.

The AITUC notes with dismay the recent official tendency of doing away with collective bargaining in the matter of settlement of wages, D.A. and Bonus questions. This denial of the collective bargaining process has been particularly marked in the public sector undertakings in the recent period. Every agreement, even on minor issues has been made subject to final sanction of the Finance Ministry through the Bureau of Public Enterprise. The Bureau exercises a virtual veto power over all negotiations in the Public Sector. At times, they utterly fail to understand the problems and difficulties that workers and even management face in different industries. They sit tight over agreed proposals for months together and sometimes reject them without even giving rational grounds. The AITUC reiterates that wages must be negotiable and settled through the process of collective bargaining without going back to wage board or tribunal or arbitrary official decisions.

Experience of the last few years has shown that many wage agreements have been arrived at through bipartite collective bargaining in the Public Sector and also in the Private Sector. Some of these agreements have been reached at the national industrial level where the workers have been represented not only by the recognised unions and industrial federations but

also by the national trade union centres. Such are the wage agreements in steel, coal, oil, cement etc. This process needs to be further carried on in other industries for a proper standardisation and upward revision of wages.

The AITUC likes to state that the working class will reject any wage policy which seeks to scale down or freeze wages and DA levels in any sector in the name of so-called "high wage islands" and under cover of rationalisation of the wage structure.

The AITUC strongly deprecates the recent tendency to arbitrarily put a ceiling on increases of DA and to peg it down to a particular consumer price index number perhaps as a prelude to reverse the gain won by the working class of a sliding scale DA linked with the Consumer Price Index number. The AITUC also draws attention of the Government to the widespread discontent in respect of the faulty and manipulated consumer price index numbers compiled by the Simla Labour Bureau and demands their rectification to make them truly reflect the actual retail price movements of essential commodities. The AITUC firmly rejects the discredited wage-price spiral theory being a traditional bourgeois weapon to attack workers' wages. The AITUC demands scrapping of the C.D.S. and reimbursement of the wages and DA impounded so far and firmly rejects the so-called "workers sector".

While welcoming the recent improvement in the minimum wages in some of the states, the AITUC demands that the need-based minimum wage norms adopted by the tripartite Indian Labour Conference should be the guide line to determine the minimum wage level and it should be implemented all over the country in all industries covered by the Minimum Wages Act. For the unorganised sector, the minimum wage should be fixed at Rs. 300 per month.

The AITUC calls upon all state committees and affiliated unions to organise sustained movement for wage rise in all areas and industries with particular attention to the unorganised sectors whose workers are facing the worst exploitation.

ON THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The 30th Session of the AITUC welcomes the Government of India's "Statement of objects and reasons" for the Constitution (Forty-Fourth) Amendment Bill, 1976, which is going to be taken up for consideration in the forthcoming session of Parliament.

This statement of objects and reasons declares that the Bill is designed "to spell out expressly the high ideals of socialism, secularism and the integrity of the nation, to make the directive principles more comprehensive and give them precedence over those fundamental rights which have been allowed to be relied upon to frustrate socio-economic reforms for implementing the directive principles".

The working class, along with all sections of democratic public opinion in this country, has always advocated radical amendments in the existing constitution with a view to fulfilling precisely these same progressive objectives. The 30th Session of the AITUC, therefore, welcomes the proposed inclusion in the Preamble of the Constitution of the aim of establishing a Republic which should be "Socialist" and "Secular" in addition to being sovereign and democratic.

This explicit commitment to the high ideals of socialism is an admission of the great prestige and attractive power of the world socialist system, its growing popularity among the masses, and the corresponding bankruptcy and crisis of the capitalist path which adds daily to the misery and burdens of the common man, and is getting thoroughly discredited.

At the same time, the AITUC reminds all concerned that the mere declaration of socialism as an objective or ideal is by no means enough to change the existing class structure of state power and its bureaucratic executive organs which are meant to uphold the rule of capitalism and feudalism. The 30th session of the AITUC therefore, demands that, as a first step in the direction of actually realising socialism in practice, the constitution should include unambiguous definition of the economic aims and content of a socialist order of society, at least in the terms spelt out on more than one occasion by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself.

Further, having declared socialism as an ideal, it is, to say the

least, utterly contradictory to retain the right to property in the fundamental rights laid down in the constitution. It is precisely this "fundamental" right which provides the exploiting, propertied classes with a weapon to preserve their privileges and to obstruct and sabotage all measures aimed at bringing about progressive socio-economic reforms.

The 30th session of the AITUC, therefore, demands that the fundamental rights should exclude the right to property, or at least to that category of property which is exploitative in character, or ownership of which enables profits and wealth to be accumulated in the hands of a few. Without the removal of the right to property from the fundamental rights, it would become almost impossible to break up the power of the 75 monopoly houses and the feudal landlords and to expand the public sector rapidly.

The 30th session of the AITUC also welcomes the proposed incorporation in the Directive Principles of the provision for free legal aid to economically backward classes and for participation of workers in the management of industry, and demands that suitable legislations be enacted without delay for implementing these principles. The fundamental rights should also include the right of the workers to collective bargaining.

The AITUC further welcomes the proposed restrictions on the jurisdiction of High courts under Art. 226 which are meant to remove misuse of injunctions, stay-orders etc. by the richer sections and vested interests to block progressive legislations from taking effect especially in respect of socio-economic reforms. At the same time, it is vitally necessary to protect the genuine interests of all citizens against arbitrary and bureaucratic excesses and misuse of executive powers, and appropriate safeguards to this end must be incorporated in the amended Art. 226.

Certain negative features of the Constitution (Forty fourth) Amendment Bill are of particular and immediate relevance for the working class, and the AITUC views these with grave concern. These features consist of, *firstly*, the provision for making laws to prohibit "anti-national" activities which are to define as to include activity "which is intended, or which is part of a scheme which is intended, to create internal disturbance or the

disruption of public services". In the opinion of the 30th session of the AITUC, this is a most dangerous clause which could be utilised blatantly to ban and suppress all strikes of the working class and all strike preparations by the trade unions. The AITUC, therefore, demands that the relevant clause in the amending Bill must be withdrawn, so that the working class is not deprived of its legitimate strike weapon without which it would be a helpless victim of the employers' attacks on its living and working conditions.

Secondly, there is the provision for administrative tribunals for determining disputes relating to the recruitment and conditions of service of employees of the Government and the public sector. While the AITUC is not opposed to service tribunals as such, in so far as they could dispose of disputes much more quickly and objectively than the law court can do, this would depend above all on the composition, jurisdiction and powers of such tribunals. The AITUC demands that the composition of the proposed service tribunals be spelt out to consist of specific categories of persons who can command the employees' confidence, and that disputes relating to postings, transfers, promotions etc. and to proceedings under Art. 311(2) must be within the tribunals jurisdiction, with right of appeal to the Supreme Court.

The 30th Session of the AITUC while welcoming the progressive and democratic provisions of the proposed constitutional amendments, which should be enacted without delay, views with concern some other provisions whose effect would only be to arm the executive with more and more absolute powers and to intensify the danger of misuse of such powers and other bureaucratic excesses. Such negative provisions should not be enacted during the forthcoming session of Parliament but be kept pending for further consideration and for eliciting public opinion more widely.

ON RAILWAYS

The 30th session of the AITUC congratulates railway workers throughout the country for fulfilling the tasks enjoined on them after the proclamation of the emergency and for contributing in

large measures to the increased operational efficiency of the railways. Railway workers conscious of the strategic importance of the railways in national development and in serving the travelling public have spared no effort in discharging their responsibilities.

However, during this period the problems of the railway workers have met with scant regard on the part of Government and the railway administration. In May 1974, the historic all-India general strike took place. It resulted from the widespread dissatisfaction amongst the lakhs of employees which had been mounting over the years when their problems were not being solved. Some elements endeavoured to give a reactionary political direction to the strike, but did not succeed as workers of the AITUC and other democratic sections rejected their policy. Two and a half years have gone by since the strike but the problems remain. Even those limited demands conceded during the strike negotiations have not been implemented in full. The recommendations of the Miabhoy Tribunal are yet to be implemented in all spheres, the setting up of Fair Price Shops to supply railway workers with essential commodities, cadre revision, removal of anomalies in pay scales, etc are proceeding at snail's pace. Penal actions taken during the strike have not been rescinded in all cases and widespread discrimination has been shown. In spite of the repeated assurances of the Government, court orders and the recommendations of the Petitions Committee of Parliament 700 permanent and 3000 casual labour on the railways dismissed as a sequel to the strike remain out of employment. It is to be noted also that a large number of these workers belong to the unions affiliated to the AITUC. Penal transfers, break in service, stoppage of increments and all other penal orders in a large number of cases are yet to be rescinded.

After the declaration of the emergency, reactionary elements within the railway administration have made further concerted efforts to disrupt the unity of the railwaymen and interfere with trade union rights. Thousands of railwaymen have been compulsorily retired on the most flimsy grounds at the whims of the officials. The industrial relations policy of the railway administration not only continues unchanged, but an attempt to

disrupt union leadership not to their liking is also taking place. The railway administration has in a most dastardly manner tried to suppress one of the strongest of the recognised unions on the railways, the South Eastern Railwaymen's Union. They are trying by granting recognition to a disruptive caucus to eliminate the democratically and legally elected leadership which is not to their liking. The AITUC greets the thousands of members of the S. E. Railwaymen's Union who have stood by their leadership and rejected the leaders foisted illegally on them by the railway authorities.

Another example is that of the continuing refusal to implement the orders of the court and grant recognition to the North Eastern Railway Mazdoor Union with Sarjoo Pandey, M.P. as president,

Similarly, other unions which are not acceptable to the administration are being obstructed in collecting subscriptions and conducting their union activities. Workers have been transferred even for organising meetings in support of the emergency and the 20-point programme.

On the other hand, the Session notes that no steps have been taken to eliminate elements belonging to reactionary and communal organisations including the banned R.S.S., and such elements continue to be strongly entrenched at different levels within the railways. It is also to be noted that the railway administration has not taken steps to remove the privileges accruing to the private sector monopolists in the sphere of freight and other concessions. The private monopolists still continue to dominate the financial policy of the railway administration.

This single biggest public sector industry has been virtually excluded from the scheme of participation of labour in management, one of the important points embodied in the 20-point programme. Although the administration claims to have set up joint committees in the production units these are only on paper. Workers participation in all other spheres such as loco shed, wagon repair, etc., is totally non-existent.

The 30th session of the AITUC calls upon the Government to take the following measures immediately:

1. Reinstate all victimised workers and rescind all penal actions arising out of May 1974 strike as well as all workers victimised during the period of emergency.
2. Restore recognition to the legally elected leadership of South Eastern Railwaymen's Union.
3. Implement the demands conceded in May 1974.
4. Nationalise all light railways.
5. Take steps to implement the scheme for workers' participation in management on railways.
6. Set up a National Apex Body for the railways.

The AITUC calls on all affiliated unions in unity with all sections of railway workers to strive unitedly to achieve these demands which alone will ensure an improvement in the running of the railways in serving the requirements of national development.

ON RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BANGLADESH

The 30th Session of the AITUC voices its concern and protest at the continued imprisonment in Bangladesh of a large number of political leaders and workers, of patriotic and progressive parties like the Awami League, NAP and Communist Party, trade unions and other mass organisations and of many prominent intellectuals. The AITUC demands their immediate and unconditional release.

ON THE PUBLIC SECTOR

The 30th Session of the AITUC records with great satisfaction and pride the fact that the Public Sector in our country had made steady progress during the last two decades in which the working class under the leadership of the AITUC and its affiliated unions has made a notable contribution. The energetic and sustained efforts made by the AITUC to defend the Public Sector from all its enemies while simultaneously protecting and defending the interests of the workers are too well known to be

recounted here again. The practical tasks of the trade unions in defence of the Public Sector were once more clearly put forward in the resolution adopted at the Special Convention of the AITUC held at Indore in June, 1975. The AITUC and its unions have paid special attention to these tasks in the last fifteen months of the National Emergency which has contributed a lot to the all round successes achieved by this Sector during 1975-76.

The State Sector today has come to occupy a dominant and leading position in the Indian economy. We can now say that the centre of gravity of India's industrial development has shifted to the State Sector, despite the existence, growth and opposition of monopoly capital in Indian economy. The Public Sector has played its historic role in strengthening and consolidating our freedom and national independence. It has enabled us to resist the pressures of imperialism and neocolonialism and utilise our natural resources for the advancement of productive forces.

According to officially published figures, the total investment in 129 units of the Public Sector came to Rs. 7,261 crores at the end of financial year 1974-75. This figure is reported to have reached Rs. 8,000 crores at the end of 1975-76 and the number of units has increased to 160. These figures are exclusive of large investments made in that part of the Public Sector which is directly managed by the Central Government departmentally such as the Railways, communications, defence production factories etc. These figures also do not include the assets of the fourteen nationalised commercial Banks or the net work of public sector enterprises under the control of the various State Governments such as Road Transport, Electricity Boards, etc.

One of the most significant developments of the last few years is that most of the Public Sector enterprises and some departmentally run undertakings and establishments have generally improved their profitability by better utilisation of their capacities, by improving their productivity and efficiency. While industrial relations have improved in some sectors there is much that needs to be done. It is also to be noted that State sphere

public sector is also growing in recent days along with the Central sphere public sector.

The net profit after tax in 1974-75 were Rs. 150 crores and are reported to have reached Rs. 350 crores in the year 1975-76. There has also been an increasing contribution to the national exchequer. In the financial year 1974-75, it came to Rs. 1,130 crores. In the same year Rs. 580 crores were generated as internal resources.

The Public Sector has also helped in building up of a national cadre of modern engineers, technicians, managers and trained workmen. It has contributed to the building up of our own Research & Development centres in various scientific and industrial fields. All these contribute for increased self reliance and advance. However it is necessary that these personnel, from the level of the worker right up to the top most level, should be educated and trained in the philosophy of the Public Sector and its social commitments and in maintenance of proper industrial relations. This acquires added importance in the light of the proposed amendments to the Constitution. This also becomes important due to the fact that at present the top posts of many public sector enterprises consist of and are being filled up by many who are bureaucratic and not committed to the defence and development of this vital sector.

In the development of the Public Sector in India, a major role has been played by economic assistance from the socialist countries and particularly from the USSR. A number of giant public sector plants in several heavy and basic industries including oil extraction and refining in various parts of the country stand as shining monuments of the growing Indo-Soviet friendship and economic cooperation. Such aid has also played a major role in reducing India's dependence on the imperialist countries. It further testifies to the growth of anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly character of this Sector.

It has also to be noted that the Public Sector in our country has been discharging one of its socio-economic tasks by increasing the employment potential, in a much faster and better manner than the Private Sector. But for the State Sector the problem

of unemployment would have been much more acute than at present.

During the National Emergency, the performance of the Public Sector has improved tremendously. In the first 12 months of the emergency production increased by 34 per cent in the four integrated steel plants in the Public Sector and by about 32 per cent in the Heavy Engineering group. During the same period coal production increased by 13 per cent and fertilisers by 29 per cent. There is hardly a public sector unit which has not shown good improvement in production during the first year of emergency.

In bringing about all this the trade unions have played a decisive role and they have motivated the workers in a big way in boosting up production and productivity in the various Public Sector Units.

In some Public Sector undertakings the managements have responded positively to the initiative of the trade unions and have taken steps to introduce their own schemes of workers participation in management in their units. But unfortunately there are still a large number of both Public Sector enterprises as well as departmentally run undertakings and Boards such as Defence, Railways, Electricity etc. where the managements are not interested in the workers being involved in participation. Besides, there have been noticeable negative trends in industrial relations in many Public Sector units as well as Departmentally run undertakings where some bureaucratic managements have victimised workers for general trade union activity, and used the emergency to attack their trade union rights and curtail even some of the economic benefits of the workers. By continuing the contract and casual labour system thousands of workers are being exploited ruthlessly without proper wages, permanency of service, etc. It is extremely regrettable that despite enormous increase in production in most Public Sector units for which the workers have contributed in a large measure they are denied Bonus that is rightfully due to them. The approach of the managements and Government are thoroughly disappointing and has led to frustration among the workers. Unless Bonus is given on some basis

it would be increasingly difficult to motivate the workers. Such discontent is helping the reactionaries to take the worker on wrong lines. These negative trends have to be exposed and defeated in the interest of the Public Sector and its workers.

In spite of the great strides made by the Public Sector the danger to this sector is not completely eliminated. The Multinationals as well as monopolies of our country which are entrenched in vital sectors of our economy are making use of and exploiting the Public Sector in many ways. Hence it becomes incumbent, in the interests of the economy, for the Public Sector to play a proper role in curbing the monopolies and multinationals rather than encouraging them. In this task the trade unions have to play a vital role with a correct understanding.

The 30th Session of the AITUC notes that the Private Sector has failed to supply essential commodities of life and consumer goods at prices within the reach of the common man. Hence time has come for demanding that the Private Sector should no longer be in control of industries dealing with essential commodities such as textiles, sugar, drugs, edible oils and jute. The working class cannot wait for these establishments or industries to become sick before they are taken over. Hence the AITUC demands that the Public Sector must also be extended to those industries which produce vital consumer goods, and which are at present the exclusive preserve of monopolies and multinationals which are making huge profits at the expense of the people.

The 30th Session of the AITUC notes that new perspectives and possibilities of unity of trade unions in the Public Sector have opened up in this period. On many vital issues both the AITUC and INTUC have taken agreed and common positions in several bipartite and tripartite committees. Besides the political developments during the last few years have helped both the AITUC and INTUC workers to come together. There have been several instances of joint action on common issues.

While taking note of the possibility and necessity of united action on common issues, the 30th Session of the AITUC warns the trade unions and the working class against being complacent regarding the machinations of monopolists, bureaucrats, and re-

actionaries who have been adoptnig several forms to sabotage the development of this sector. It in particular calls upon them to realise the historical role which they have to play and see that following tasks are implemented:

1. Defend and develop the Public sector.
2. Defend the interests of the working class in this sector in respect of trade union rights, service conditions, etc.
3. Democratisise the Public Sector by introduction and effective functioning of a scheme for workers participation in management. Such a scheme should be able to consider all aspects of the Public Sector including finance, costing, pricing, purchase, sales, target of production, etc. and their recommendations should be implemented. The scheme should be on the basis of representation to workers elected from the shop floor level to the highest level.
4. See that pressure is generated so that the Public Sector is immediately extended to both production and distribution of consumer goods so that the needs of the people are met and speculation in consumer goods put an end to.
5. Unite all sections of workers along with the democratic masses to fight such buearucratic and corrupt officials who come in the way of development of the Public Sector.

ON WORKERS' SECTOR

This 30th session of the AITUC notes with concern the continued declarations of various spokesmen of the Government to set up a so-called workers' sector in industry. It was during his reply to the debate in Parliament on the budget this year that Finance Minister Subramaniam first announced that Government was contemplating the freezing of the repayments due on the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and investing the amounts accruing to the workers of Rs. 1000 crores in what he termed the fourth sector in industry, the "workers' sector". The AITUC came out with a forthright opposition to the reactionary proposition and the opposition of all sections of the working class and employees throughout the country had ensured the repayment of the first instalment. However, four further instalments are

yet due and the talk is continuing on setting up the workers' sector.

The idea of the workers' sector is borrowed directly from the most reactionary sections of US monopoly capital. As US economist Louis Kalso has stated, the workers' sector is intended so that "employees who become stockholders are gradually moved into the position where their capital ownership conflicts with their wage demands, in such circumstances, the wage demands may be expected to flatten out". Finance Minister Subramaniam has gone one step further and has talked of setting up the workers' sector despite resistance from the workers, and vowed to fight "labour-lordism" as he claims to have fought land-lordism.

It is quite clear that the idea of the workers' sector is nothing short of a freeze on workers' wages. It is no more than a plan to delude the workers to accept a cut in real wages in a situation when prices are again rising after an initial fall and when concessions after concessions are being given to monopolists in the name of stimulating industrial production. The so-called workers' sector will in no time be devoured by the private sector in the country. This will be only one more method of exploiting the workers and deprive them of their hard earned money by creating illusions and falsification of the very concept of socialism.

The 30th session of the AITUC warns the workers to be vigilant against the move to freeze their wages in the name of setting up a workers' sector and calls on all sections of the working class to unitedly oppose and resist any attempt to make inroads into their earnings and any arbitrary appropriation of their monies in this manner. Only a sustained and intensive united campaign can prevent this fresh and insidious attack on the earnings of the working class throughout the country.

ON TRADE UNION RIGHTS

In June 1975 when the national emergency was promulgated, the working class throughout the country came forward to support it in no uncertain terms. The workers realised that this was a step required to check the attacks of the counter-revo-

lutionary and communal forces, both national and international, to subvert the national economy and threaten our very independence. In factories and fields, workers toiled with a new spirit of enthusiasm to increase production and contribute towards building a self-reliant economy.

The AITUC, which was holding a special convention at Indore at the time supported the imposition of the emergency and also declared in no uncertain terms that "the emergency powers must not be used to suppress or curb trade union rights of the working class, including the democratic rights of the working people in fields, factories or offices". Further the Indore Convention rightly emphasised that right reaction cannot be defeated by means of emergency powers unless they are speedily used by the government to attack and curb the vested interests, who form the base of right reaction, the monopolists, landlords, profiteers, hoarders and blackmarketeers and to introduce radical economic measures to bring relief to the working masses". Hence, the convention called upon the entire working class to "wage an integrated battle against right reaction and in defence of its just demands and rights".

During the past fifteen months, the working class has not been found wanting in fulfilling its responsibilities. An official review has itself pointed out that "the workers have displayed considerable restraint and shown a qualitative and quantitative improvement in their performance in the country" as shown by the marked decline in the figures of man-days lost due to strike. The workers have come forward particularly in the public sector undertakings for ready cooperation with management in ensuring maximum utilisation of the installed capacity. Hence a strikingly impressive performance by the public sector undertakings has been seen during these 15 months.

However, the AITUC session views with concern that during this year while the record of workers' participation in national economic tasks has been commendable, the employers and hardened section of the bureaucrats have been freely allowed to misuse the emergency to attack working class and trade union rights. Work loads have been unilaterally increased and victimisation of trade union activists has become rife. Agreements

have been openly violated and the industrial relations machinery has been ineffectual. The increase in workload is forced upon the workers through refusal of jobs, prolonged lockouts and even through Government recommendations embodying the employers' proposals.

In the name of emergency severe restrictions have been imposed on normal T.U. activities. Gate meetings and mass rallies have been disallowed. Peaceful agitation to give voice to the genuine grievances of workers are sought to be suppressed through the use of DIR and MISA. In this respect it is also to be noted that AITUC activists are the first victims. Issuing of leaflets, even on such issues as support to the 20-point programme, holding of meetings in support of the programme have been disallowed in numerous instances throughout the country.

We have also noted the misuse of the provision for compulsory retirement, and large scale dismissal of medical staff because the target for vasectomy was not fulfilled.

On the other hand, the monopolists, transnational companies and reactionary sections of the bureaucracy are moving in a calculated and concerted manner to disrupt working class and trade union unity, even going to the extent of setting up stooge unions as rivals to AITUC unions, and getting recognition for them in the most anti-democratic manner. The crassest example of this is the manner in which the railway administration have accorded recognition to a stooge caucus in the South Eastern Railway, denying recognition to the legally and democratically elected leadership of a hitherto recognised union. These elements are also moving to disrupt the growing unity of the working masses, and particularly between the AITUC and INTUC sections.

This attack on trade union rights and the conspiracy to disrupt the working class movement have to be resisted and fought back. The 30th session of the AITUC calls upon all sections of the working class to wage a concerted and sustained fight against all attacks on democratic and trade union rights and to defeat the conspiracies to disrupt the unity of the working class movement. The defence of the democratic rights of the working class are an integral and inseparable part of the democratic

rights of the people as a whole, an integral part of the fight for the defence of our independence and for our national economic advance.

The 30th Session of the AITUC is confident that the workers of all sections throughout the country will act with the widest unity and in a disciplined manner in defence of their hard won rights.

ON INTERIM RELIEF TO WORKING JOURNALISTS AND NON-JOURNALIST WORKERS

The 30th session of the AITUC welcomes the recommendations of the Wage Board for Working Journalists and Non-Journalists on the question of interim relief. However, there are already indications that big newspaper owners are already trying to build up pressure to scuttle or water down these recommendations. The AITUC therefore urges the Government of India to frustrate these moves and accept these recommendations immediately and in toto. The government must also ensure that these recommendations are expeditiously implemented.

ON BONUS

The 30th Session of the AITUC reiterates its firm opposition to the retrograde amendments made in the Payment of Bonus Act nullifying the right to a guaranteed minimum bonus achieved in course of decades of struggles. This deliberate attack on the workers' bonus was launched at a time when the working class extended full support to the national emergency and cooperated in stepping up industrial production.

By promulgating such an ordinance the Government not only violated its own pledges to the working class, but also threw to the winds the recommendations of the Bonus Commission which the Government and Parliament had accepted in 1965, and were the basis of the Payment of Bonus Act, 1965.

The latest amendment of the Bonus laws has wiped away the very concept of a guaranteed minimum bonus. Along with it the right to collective bargaining in terms of Section 34(3) has been done away with. It has thus deprived the working class

of crores of rupees every year. And among the biggest beneficiaries of the latest Bonus Law are all the Indian monopoly houses and a large number of foreign multinational corporations operating in India. For many of these private sector companies, the new bonus law has come as a great boon and has been used by them to launch further attacks against their workers. Further, it has enabled them to retain large sums of expendable cash resources at their disposal, thereby increasing the inflationary threat.

It is deplorable that in attacking the workers' bonus, the Government has even nullified many existing long term settlements regarding Bonus as well as customary bonus wherein it was a part of service conditions. It has gone to the extent of passing a special Act of Parliament to repudiate the LIC bonus settlement.

Section 31A of the new Bonus Act claims to protect those settlements where Bonus is based on production or productivity in lieu of bonus based on profits. It also seeks to confer a right to the workers to arrive at fresh settlements on bonus based on production or productivity. But experience has shown that this section has still remained illusive as the employers, both in the Public sector and Private sector, generally refuse to negotiate or settle bonus under this section.

Even the Bureau of Public Enterprises which functions under the Ministry of Finance and strictly controls the public sector units in their negotiations with the unions is reported to have advised public sector enterprises not to have any bonus settlement under Section 31A. In fact many of the existing settlements which clearly fall under Section 31A have been arbitrarily declared null and void by the Bureau and the management concerned have been prohibited from implementing them.

While introducing such drastic changes in the Bonus law and practice, the Government has not even cared to consult the Central Trade Unions in this matter.

While the right to minimum bonus has been taken away, the bonus calculation formula has been left untouched, which is wholly weighted in favour of employers.

The present profit bonus formula is loaded with such exorbi-

tant "prior charges" that it is impossible to get any bonus under it even in an industry or concern earning reasonable profits.

The AITUC demands withdrawal of the retrograde amendments to the present bonus law and changes in the formula for arriving at the allocable surplus.

Pending such a review and overhaul of the present bonus law, the AITUC demands:

(i) Payment of a Festival allowance equal to one month's total wages on the occasion of their respective festivals to all sections of the workers, wherever there is no bonus payable under the present formula. In industries or units where the bonus paid is less than one month's total wage, the balance amount should be paid as festival allowance.

(ii) In all industries and units where production or turnover has increased compared to the year 1973, employers should be compelled to reach bonus settlement on the basis of increased production performance or turn over.

(iii) All settlements on bonus including long term settlements where bonus was or is not based on profits should be protected and implemented under Section 31A of the Bonus Act.

(iv) The concept of keeping non-competitive public sector enterprises out of the normal bonus entitlement should be discarded. It is preposterous to cut down workers' bonus after an industry is nationalised by calling it non-competitive as has been done in the case of Banking, Insurance, Coal, etc. and arbitrarily to impose a ceiling of 10%.

(v) In order to enable detection of fraudulent balance sheets & other financial malpractices, there should be early nationalisation of audit & workers representatives on joint management councils at the plant level should have the right to inspect and check company account books & other relevant records.

The AITUC calls upon all State Committees and affiliated unions to mobilise the working class for sustained and united struggle with appropriate forms for the realisation of the above demands. It appeals to all trade union organisations & workers in the country to join hands for a concerted and united mobilisation which alone can guarantee successful defence of the workers' common interests in respect of Bonus.

ON ACCIDENTS IN MINES

This 30th Session of the AITUC views with concern the lack of safety in the mines in India. The figures of accidents both fatal and serious injury which were already one of the highest in the world have assumed alarming proportion during the last two years.

It is seen that the new draft of the Mines Act which has been kept ready since half a decade has still to see the light of the day and the Parliamentary Committee that finalised the said Act is itself unaware of the fate of the said draft Act. The most staggering aspect is the non-implementation of the unanimous recommendations of the last three Safety Conferences organised by the Ministry of Labour, Government of India as also the Courts of Enquiry that enquired into the causes of some of the biggest mines disasters in India.

The recent trend of the Government of India to appoint Courts of Enquiry presided over by some retired administrative personnel who have neither the knowledge of mining nor law nor conversant with judicial practices and exclusion of workers' representatives particularly those of the AITUC, can evoke little response or confidence of the large sections of mining workers and those who have been championing the causes of safety with positive constructive suggestions and steps in the matter both in the Court and outside.

This conference also notes with dissatisfaction the shelving of the statutory Advisory bodies like the Mines Standing Safety Advisory Committees consisting of the Director General of Mines Safety, and representatives of the Central Trade Union organisations and managements of both coal and non-coal mines. It is not only the inadequate and non-serious attitude to the problems of safety that is responsible for the disasterous accidents that are taking toll of more than 19 workers per month since the beginning of this year but also the loose and worth enquiring functioning of the department of the DGMS, where officer after officer are leaving their posts, today leaving about 17 vacancies, that have to be looked into. This results in lack of effective inspection.

This Conference, therefore, calls upon the Government of India not just to have another Safety Conference, which is a routine affair after some major accidents but set itself seriously to the study and evolving of methods of strengthening the safety measures in mines.

It demands not only opening of Rescue stations, to improve and strengthening of inspectorate but also punishing guilty officers and engineers in an exemplary manner and for this suitable arrangements for setting up the system of workers Inspectorate in all the mines, already agreed upon, should be made immediately. This conference calls upon the undertaking of work of scientific mapping of the mines and finding of proper barriers as far as possible the completed ones immediately. It demands the ensuring of supply of Safety materials like self-rescuer and the like.

The work of mines Standing Safety Committee be resumed with full powers and facilities for undertaking inspection and supervision of any mine in the country and implement the decisions of Enquiry Commissions and Safety Conferences.

This conference calls upon all its constituents to evolve ways and means to build broad based forums to secure implementation of these demands by observing days and organising seminars and campaigns in this direction.

ON USE AND MISUSE OF EMERGENCY

The working class wholeheartedly supported the declaration of Emergency as a necessary and timely measure to foil the conspiracy of the counter-revolutionary forces in their bid for power. The working class welcomed the actions taken against the reactionary elements, against smugglers and economic offenders, for de- hoarding of black money etc. It greeted the 20-point economic programme as a welcome programme to strengthen the economic and social position of the rural poor. It is admitted on all hands and publicly stated by the Prime Minister on several occasions that the working class has extended wholehearted cooperation in boosting up production and maintaining industrial peace. But the employers in the private sector soon after the emergency was declared launched a concerted offensive in the

shape of massive lay-offs, retrenchments and closures in the name of recession. The amendments in the Industrial Disputes Act which had to be adopted in the face of mounting offensive of the employers, have caused slowing down to some extent the pace of lay offs, retrenchments and closures. But the offensive is continuing by resort to lockouts in certain industries and states, by means of imposing harsher working conditions in the name of discipline and efficiency. In fact, according to official report, mandays loss due to lockouts has more than doubled during January-June 1976 compared to that during July to December 1975.

The AITUC notes that while the big business is being given host of concessions to boost up their profits, the hard won gains of the workers have been attacked, severe restrictions have been imposed on normal trade union activities. Peaceful agitations to give vent to genuine grievances of workers are sought to be suppressed by use of DIR and MISA, and in this the AITUC union activists have been singled out. Holding of meetings and issuing of leaflets, even in support of Emergency and 20-point programme are often disallowed. While the restrictions on dividend payment have been withdrawn, issue of bonus shares has been liberalised, the amended Bonus Act seeks to take away the right to bonus of workers and the Compulsory Deposit in respect of DA continues.

The AITUC is concerned because such measures and misuse of Emergency powers hitting at the workers and trade unions help only the right reactionary elements and disrupters in spreading demoralisation and generating discontent amongst the working class. The AITUC calls upon the Government to withdraw the CDS and the amended Bonus Act to guarantee the workers TU rights, to desist from the use of MISA, DIR and other oppressive measures against legitimate and peaceful TU actions and to firmly put down the employers' move to sabotage production by lock outs or under any name.

The AITUC notes that despite very difficult circumstances the working class and the trade unions have been trying to perform the twin task of making positive contribution to the national economy and defending the rights and interests of workers. The

AITUC Session calls upon all trade unions to build up broad support of democratic elements, and unity with INTUC unions wherever possible against the misuse of emergency and for the defence of workers' rights and interests.

ON SOCIAL SECURITY

The 30th Session of the AITUC takes note of the defects and inadequacies of the various schemes of Social Security that exist. Even these existing schemes cover only certain sections of the working class and meet only some limited requirements of social security.

The AITUC reiterates its longstanding demand for a comprehensive system of social security to cover every section of the wage earners.

The Employees' Provident Fund Act provides for retirement benefits to those workers who are covered by the Factories and Shops and Establishments Acts employing 20 or more workers with contribution from workers and employers. But despite some recent changes in the punishment clauses, the employers have been able to embezzle as much as Rs. 20 crores which include both employers' share as well as money deducted from workers' wages. Similar situation prevails in the E.S.I. too. The problem of misappropriation of P.F. dues both in exempted and unexempted establishments has become acute more particularly in respect of closed or so-called sick units and industries. In this regard the Session demands of the Government that resort to courts by defaulting employers be barred. The session demands that PF arrears in respect of sick textile mills taken over by the Government be treated as the first charge before paying any compensation to these employers.

Though the administration of the scheme is supposed to be tripartite weightage of government officials is still predominant in the boards. Even after more than two decades of the implementation of the Employees' State Insurance Scheme which provides for statutory contribution of workers from their wages, and of employers, not all workers' families are yet covered for the purpose of hospitalisation. The number of hospital beds is

still short even in terms of the low yardstick fixed by E.S.I. authorities.

Though the Scheme is one of health insurance in which workers are the sole beneficiaries, the Corporation is run like any other Government Department with undue prerogative powers of the Central Government. The administration is defective, corruption and nepotism rampant, gross neglect widely prevalent, and the workers are in many places getting more and more disgusted with it.

The AITUC has been demanding that the E.P.F. and E.S.I. Corporation should be run democratically and weightage of workers' representatives should be increased with corresponding reduction of unduly heavy weightage of Government representatives. In respect of the E.S.I. the AITUC has been further demanding that the Central Government must undertake some financial commitments of contribution towards the fund of E.S.I. along with enhanced contribution by the State Governments so that the scale of benefits which are still meagre, can be enhanced.

The AITUC reiterates its demands that the rate of gratuity should be raised to one month and that there should be no ceiling and that the clause regarding forfeiture should be removed.

This session of the AITUC demands that workers of all those sectors which are not yet covered under the existing schemes in respect of Workmen's Compensation Act, Maternity Benefit Act, etc. are covered and that the schemes are further improved.

The AITUC notes that none of the existing schemes of social security provides for any form of unemployment benefit.

This session welcomes the introduction of the Deposit linked Insurance scheme.

The AITUC session reiterates the longstanding demand of the working class for a comprehensive and integrated scheme of social security. Various committees set up by the Government had emphasized the urgency of drawing up such an integrated scheme, but nothing has so far materialised. Such a scheme, the AITUC likes to emphasise, should be based on contributions by the Government and employers only, and a democratic structure, composition and functioning with full participation of

workers at all levels of its implementation and majority representation of workers in all policy-making bodies.

IN SUPPORT OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

This Conference of the AITUC greets the resurgence in the Agricultural workers for a decent life as is witnessed in innumerable marches and demonstrations recently.

The Conference strongly supports their demand for a decent minimum wage and working and living condition of decent human dignity. This Conference pledges the fullfledged support of the organised working class to the agricultural workers in their struggle against feudal oppression and for their just demands.

This Conference sends its warm fraternal greetings to the forthcoming conference of the B.K.M.U. and hopes that it will further strengthen their movement.

ON WITHDRAWAL OF DA OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The 30th Session of the AITUC strongly protests against the decision of the Government of India to withdraw one instalment of dearness allowance of Central Government employees with effect from 1st July 1976 on the ground of fall in the Consumer price index. This withdrawal is totally unjustified in view of the continuous rise in prices during the last nine months and also because these employees are never paid increased D.A. automatically along with rise in the consumer price index.

This Session demands of the Government to reconsider the decision and reverse the same.

EXPRESS TELEGRAM

Dt: 16.10.76.

1. MRS. INDIRA GANDHI
PRIME MINISTER
NEW DELHI.
2. MR. C. SUBRAMANIAM
FINANCE MINISTER
NEW DELHI.

AITUC SESSION AT JAMSHEDPUR EXPRESS ITS SERIOUS CONCERN OVER GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO WITHDRAW AN INSTALMENT OF DEARNESS ALLOWANCE AT A TIME WHEN PRICES OF ALL ESSENTIAL COMMODITIES ARE GOING UP. APPEALS TO YOU TO DEFER IMPLEMENTATION OF THESE ORDERS TILL THE MATTER IS PROPERLY DISCUSSED IN JOINT CONSULTATIVE MACHINERY.

S. A. DANGE
GENERAL SECRETARY
AITUC.

ON 1958 STRIKE IN TISCO

The 1958 strike of TISCO workers brought a change and revision in the wage map of Industrial workers of India.

The heroic workers faced bullets and all types of oppression but the Tatas eventually had to concede all the genuine demands.

This conference remembers the martyrs and those victimised for the cause of the great working class of not only Jamshedpur alone but of India as a whole.

This 30th session of AITUC calls upon the working class to carry forward the cause for which the martyrs have laid down their lives and demand that TISCO be nationalised so that the entire Steel industry is brought in the Public Sector.

ON NATIONALISATION OF NON-COAL MINERALS INDUSTRY IN INDIA

This 30th Session of AITUC notes with alarm the reckless, un-planned and capricious mining of minerals in India by the Private sector which controls the bulk of non-coal mining industry, violating all norms of scientific mining, safety rules, industrial relations and conservation of minerals.

With a working population of about 400,000 having contributed about Rs. 24,850 millions in the 4th Plan period, the non-coal mining industry has noticed a steady fall in production, of more than 450,000 tonnes in Manganese ore, 500,000 tonnes

in Bauxite, 200,000 tonnes in Dolomite, 11000 tonnes in Kaynite, 200,000 tonnes in Mica, 50 per cent of which is controlled and owned by the private sector.

No attempt has been made to conserve the mineral deposits particularly high grade iron ore, Manganese and other valuable minerals.

The bulk of minerals like iron ore, manganese are being exploited to earn foreign exchange and the Government of India is contemplating to continue it for a few centuries by expanding export sector, as recently done with regard to Kudermukh Project with Iran. Such schemes drain out the entire rich and rare mineral reserves of our country.

The conditions in the spheres of wages, welfare, primarily housing and medicine, and safety are more conspicuous by their absence, and inadequacy.

In the sphere of industrial relations extreme anarchy and semi-medieval conditions of contractual labour system prevail.

The 30th session of the AITUC therefore demands that the entire non-coal mining sector in India be nationalised.

If further demands a stop to the breaking up of corporations like NDMC, M.O.I.D. N.C.L. and the like as the nuclei for the ultimate nationalisation of these minerals.

ON ELECTRICITY INDUSTRY

The 30th Conference of the AITUC welcomes the importance of development of Power Industry stressed in the 20-point programme announced by the Prime Minister for the growth of national economy and its self-reliance. This conference further welcomes the statement of the Prime Minister in the recently held National Development Council meeting for improving the functioning of the State Electricity Boards and their finances.

This conference urges on the Government of India to suitably amend the Ordinance of Electricity Undertakings issued on 12th October so as to constitute the corporations for generation and high tension transmission of Electricity under the Central Electricity Authority instead of by the State Governments.

This Conference expresses concern at the continued deadlock on the question of wage revision, etc. and urges on the Government of India and the NAB to constitute National Bipartite Body for Electricity Industry (1) to effectively implement the policy of participation of labour in management (2) to evolve guidelines for national level of wages for the industry and for Performance Bonus (3) to evolve guidelines for better performance of the electricity system to reduce wastage, transmission losses, etc. and to improve finances of the electricity undertakings.

The AITUC supports the all India campaign of the electricity workers, for achieving these aims.

[Note: Certain other resolutions were also adopted viz., on Bidi Workers, hamals of FCI and Warehousing Corporations, construction workers, nationalisation of Sugar Industry, on Leather Industry etc.—Ed.]



COMMISSION REPORTS

BRIEF REPORT ON DISCUSSION IN THE COMMISSION ON TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND TRADE UNITY.

The commission on Trade union Rights and Trade union unity was attended by 381 delegates and as many as 36 delegates participated in the discussion.

A presidium consisting of Coms. T. M. Aboo, J. Satyanarayan, and Manna conducted the deliberations.

A Drafting Committee consisting of Com. Bhawani Roy Chowdhury, Vithal Choudhury, K. L. Mahendra, Parvathi Krishnan and Raj Bahadur Gour was elected.

Com. Gour initiated the discussions by explaining the salient points of the T.U. Rights and T.U. Unity chapter of the General Secretary's Report.

During the discussions comrades narrated their experiences in the field of trade union Rights and T.U. Unity, suggested concrete amendments to the Draft resolution, and made valuable recommendations.

Instances were given of compulsory retirement of a number of Govt. Employees under colourable exercise of power, wholesale dismissal of medical employees for non-fulfilment of Family Planning operations quota, use of MISA and DIR to suppress genuine Trade Union agitation, withdrawal of rights of the functionaries of recognised Trade Unions even when they formed part of industrial agreements and so on.

Delegates spoke of the sections of bureaucracy, and sections of INTUC trying in a planned manner to disrupt the AITUC and other united unions and attempting to drive a wedge in particular between AITUC and INTUC to prevent united T. U. Action in defence of the working class and for country's progress, in order to only help the forces of reaction.

On the basis of the discussions the commission makes the following recommendations:

(1) T.U. Rights Week must be observed to focuss the issue and mobilise working class and democratic opinion in defence of these rights.

(2) Every union must immediately inform the STUC and the AITUC when the rights are infringed upon, so that suitable steps are taken to protect these rights. The unions must make the list of victimised workers available to the STUC and the AITUC centres.

(3) AITUC must campaign for one union in one industry from a perspective and rally working class opinion in its favour.

(4) The delegates emphasised on the need of democratic functioning of unions which was the only way to strengthen them and make them effective bargaining agents.

The commission firmly approves the Trade Union unity and T.U. rights section of the Report and decided to place the above recommendations before the plenary session for approval.

The commission recommends that the resolution on Trade Union Rights as amended by it be adopted by the plenary session.

RAJ BAHADUR GOUR

PARVATHI KRISHNAN



T. N. SIDDHANTA

INDRANIL GUPTA

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON WAGES AND BONUS

The Commission met on 15th and 16th October to consider two resolutions—one on BONUS and another on Wages, D.A. and C.D.S. About 500 delegates participated in this Commission on each day. The Commission meeting was presided over on both these days by Com. Indrajit Gupta. Com. T. N. Siddhanta was present on behalf of the Steering Committee.

The Commission considered the resolution on Bonus on the 15th and in the discussion 26 delegates covering almost all states participated. The trend of speeches of the participants reflected the angry mood of the workers on the question of Bonus and their restiveness. On the basis of suggestions and amendments put forward in course of the discussion and those accepted by the Commission have been incorporated in the Draft Resolution and the finalised version of the resolution as unanimously accepted by the Commission is placed before the delegates' session.

The Commission once again met on the 16th to consider the resolution on wages. In the discussion that took place 31 delegates participated. The participants while agreeing with the resolution and its contents, put forward various problems particularly with regard to implementation of minimum wages in terms of the Minimum Wages Act, the problem of differentials, standardisation of Wages etc. Two main amendments were suggested, viz., that rejection of the concept of "Workers' Sector" should find a place in the resolution and the minimum wage should be quantified as had been done at the 29th Session in Calcutta. The suggestions in respect of the quantum varied between Rs. 300 per month to Rs. 350 with the majority in favour of the latter. The resolution as amended and adopted unanimously by the Commission is placed before the Delegates' Session.

INDRAJIT GUPTA

T. N. SIDDHANTA

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON PUBLIC SECTOR

The commission on Public Sector met on 15th and 16th October 1976. About 500 delegates drawn from various public sector undertakings of the Central and State sphere, Railways, Electricity, Defence etc., were present. Com. Nihar Mukherjee presided over the deliberations on both the days.

At the outset Com. M. S. Krishnan explained the salient points of the draft resolution on the Public Sector. In the discussions 27 comrades participated. None opposed the resolution. The following points were made during the discussions by way of addition or strengthening the resolution :

1. The political aspect of the Public Sector, its anti-imperialist, anti-neo-colonialist aspects have to be brought out. In particular mention has to be made about how the public sector has grown resisting the pressures of imperialism or multinationals.
2. The monopolies and multinationals have attempted and are attempting to sabotage the Public Sector. It must be the perspective that the public sector must fight these monopolies and multinationals. The Trade Unions have to play their role.
3. It is noted in the Public Sector, whether departmentally run undertakings or otherwise, the top and managerial posts are filled up by ex-ICS men, ex-Army men or politically influential persons. Quite a number of them are not committed to the Public Sector and are supporters of the Private Sector. It is necessary to have trained personnel right from the workers level to the topmost level, trained in the philosophy of the Public Sector. This is more than ever necessary in view of the proposed amendments to the constitution.
4. Workers participation in management assumed extreme importance in the present context in the Public Sector. However very few have implemented it. The scheme has to be such as would enable the workers representatives to discuss about

finance, costing, pricing, purchasing, sales, target of production etc. The recommendations made should be implemented. Representatives of workers should be elected from shop floor level to highest level.

5. Industrial relations are not happy in the Public Sector. There have been attacks on T. U. Rights, victimisation etc. The issue of Bonus in the Public Sector was also raised. The negative trends were pointed out and several instances in Railways, Defence etc were cited. It was stressed that Public Sector managements must act as model employers.

6. The contract system, casual workers system etc. persist in the Public Sector affecting the security of service of workers. This position should change and these workers must be given protection.

7. It was stated that apart from central sphere, the state sphere public sector undertakings have also been developing fast. The conditions of work and service of workers in these state sphere undertakings differ widely. This has to be noted.

8. It is necessary to see that not only industries manufacturing consumer goods such as textiles, sugar, edible oils, in the private sector are taken over by the Government but the distribution of such goods should also come under the purview of the Public Sector.

9. Several instances were pointed out, where the public sector is actually helping the private sector to fatten itself at the expense of the people. This is particularly so in the Railways. Electricity Boards and in some defence industries.

10. It is necessary to fight corruption in the Public Sector. The fight against such officers who are corrupt or bureaucratic has to be carried on by the trade unions uniting themselves with the other democratic masses.

11. The instances of united actions or understanding on common issues in the Public Sector between the AITUC and INTUC throws up increased possibilities of furthering such united actions. With this understanding the INTUC has to be approached and their workers brought for united actions.

12. It was suggested that a convention or conference of Trade Unions in the Public Sector be held at the earliest to discuss all matters in depth and in greater detail. The AITUC General Council to take note of this and decide on appropriate action.

Several comrades gave written amendments, Com. N. K. Krishnan, spoke on each of the amendments. After acceptance of several amendments the resolution was finalised. The finalised resolution is before the plenary session for acceptance.

The commission work concluded with vote of thanks to the President.

M. S. KRISHNAN



K. G. SRIVASTAVA HOMI DAI Y. D. SHARMA

12. It was suggested that a convention or conference of Trade Unions in the Public Sector be held at the earliest to discuss all matters in depth and in greater detail. The AITUC General Council to take note of this and decide on appropriate amendments. After acceptance of each of the amendments.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON APEX BODIES AND WORKERS PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

The commission held two sittings one on the 15th afternoon and another on the morning of 16th October. Nearly 300 delegates attended the meetings and Com. Y. D. Sharma, presided over both the sittings.

Com. K. G. Srivastava initiated the discussion on the resolution on Apex Bodies and Com. Homi Daji explained the resolution on workers' participation in management of industry.

The first day's meeting was devoted to general discussion in which about 25 delegates took part. The speakers reported on the functioning of Apex bodies in different states as well as on the problems posed by workers' participation in the Management. There was also some criticism of the decisions or recommendations made by the National Apex Body regarding some disputes on closures and retrenchment etc. referred to it. While the delegates expressed general agreement with the drafts presented to the commission, a few amendments were moved to the draft resolutions by some delegates. The amendments demanded formation of Apex Bodies in other states as well for Public Sector industries. All the amendments were accepted by Coms. Homi Daji and Y. D. Sharma on behalf of the Resolutions Committee except one moved by Com. Arun Sen relating to the functioning of AITUC representatives on the National Apex Body. This amendment was pressed by the mover, but was lost by a big majority when put to vote.

Thereafter the two resolutions as amended were put to vote and were adopted without any opposition.

K. G. SRIVASTAVA HOMI DAJI Y. D. SHARMA

NEW OFFICE-BEARERS OF AITUC

- President** —S. A. Dange
- Vice-Presidents**
- N. K. Krishnan
 - Indrajit Gupta
 - J. Chitharanjan
 - Homi Daji
 - B. D. Joshi
 - Mohd. Elias
 - V. Subbiah
 - M. S. Krishnan
 - Chaturan Mishra
- General Secretary** —K. G. Sriwastava
- Secretaries**
- Parvathi Krishnan
 - T. N. Siddhanta
 - Raj Bahadur Gour
 - Y. D. Sharma
 - N. C. Dutta
- Treasurer** —Roza Deshpande

WORKING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

- (In addition to office bearers)
1. Ranen Sen
 2. M. V. Bhadram
 3. M. V. N. Kaparde
 4. K. A. Rajan
 5. Kallat Krishnan
 6. Barin Chowdhury
 7. K. Vishwanathan
 8. Ramesh Rattan
 9. Baba Kartar Singh
 10. Raghubir Singh
 11. Bhalchandra Trivedi
 12. A. M. Govindarajan (Gopu)
 13. K. T. K. Tangamani
 14. K. L. Mahendra
 15. A. B. Bardhan
 16. G. V. Chitnis
 17. B. S. Dhume
 18. S. K. Sanyal

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 19. Ratan Roy | 27. S. S. Yusuf |
| 20. Kedar Das | 28. Bhowani Roychowdhury |
| 21. K. C. Chowdhury | 29. Nihar Mukherji |
| 22. M. C. Narasimhan | 30. Arun Sen |
| 23. K. N. Shamasundar | 31. Kalyan Roy |
| 24. Prakash Roy | 32. D. K. Panda |
| 25. P. K. Thakur | 33. N. N. Manna |
| 26. Harish Tiwari | 34. N. C. Roychowdhury |

GENERAL COUNCIL MEMBERS ELECTED AT
JAMSHEDPUR

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Raj Bahadur Gour | 28. G. Venkata Reddy |
| 2. J. Satyanarayana | 29. K. A. Rajan |
| 3. M. V. Bhadram | 30. P. Bhaskaran |
| 4. K. Nagajiah | 31. C. A. Kurian |
| 5. M. V. N. Kaparde | 32. R. Ravindran |
| 6. K. L. Mahendra | 33. Kallat Krishnan |
| 7. K. Srinivasa Rao | 34. K. C. Mathew |
| 8. M. Komaraiah | 35. K. P. Prabhakaran |
| 9. M. Narasimha Rao | 36. T. A. Joseph |
| 10. K. Gurusurthi | 37. V. L. Thomas |
| 11. G. V. Krishna Rao | 38. K. C. Mohnan |
| 12. A. Ramulu | 39. T. M. Abboo |
| 13. R. P. Ranga Rao | 40. M. K. Kunju Raman |
| 14. B. Ganga Ram | 41. G. Gopinath Pillai |
| 15. P. K. Kumaran | 42. K. V. Kocheriah |
| 16. C. Prabhakar Chowdhury | 43. V. Ravindran |
| 17. G. Ramchandra | 44. A. N. Yoosuf |
| 18. M. Krishnamurthy | 45. P. P. Mukundan |
| 19. R. L. Narasimha Rao | 46. K. C. Prabhakaran |
| 20. B. Laxmayya | 47. M. K. Sukumaran |
| 21. G. Ramunaidu | 48. T. N. Prabhakaran |
| 22. P. Nageshwar Rao | 49. Barin Chowdhury |
| 23. M. Udaya Bhaskar Rao | 50. Promode Gogoi |
| 24. A. Laxmi Reddy | 51. Suren Bhatta |
| 25. V. Koteswar Rao | 52. J. M. Biswas (Assam) |
| 26. K. Subbanna | 53. H. N. Wanchoo |
| 27. Mohd. Yunus | 54. Bashir Ahmed Wani |

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| 55. Kesarimal | 94. R. Ponnusamy |
| 56. Resham Lal | 95. P. T. Narayanan |
| 57. K. Vishwanathan | 96. S. Karuppasamy |
| 58. Sri Krishna | 97. Silam Pal |
| 59. M. L. Yadav | 98. K. A. Venugopal |
| 60. George Vaz | 99. S. A. Dange |
| 61. Ramesh Rattan | 100. A. B. Bardhan |
| 62. Ramlal Sharma | 101. G. V. Chitnis |
| 63. Baba Kartar Singh | 102. B. S. Dhume |
| 64. Madanlal Didi | 103. Roza Deshpande |
| 65. Piara Singh Deosi | 104. S. K. Sanyal |
| 66. Parduman Singh | 105. S. N. Bhalerao |
| 67. Jaswant Singh Sarma | 106. V. D. Deshpande |
| 68. Sita Ram | 107. Vasant Tulpule |
| 69. Master Om Prakash | 108. Govind Pansare |
| 70. Kewal Singh | 109. Madhav Mokashi |
| 71. Ram Sahaj | 110. Chintamani Indapuri |
| 72. Badri Nath (NRWU) | 111. Rama Rao |
| 73. Raghubir Singh | 112. Vithal Chaudhari |
| 74. Darshan Singh | 113. Jayant Gadkari |
| 75. Nazar Mohd. | 114. V. B. Tamhane |
| 76. Abhai Singh | 115. P. V. Upadhayaya |
| 77. R. K. Sahanal Singh | 116. R. L. Reddi (Rly) |
| 78. A. Babudhon Singh | 117. Manohar Deshkar |
| 79. N. K. Krishnan | 118. Mohan Sharma |
| 80. Parvathi Krishnan | 119. Bhoj Raj Ramteke |
| 81. V. Subbiah | 120. Ram Ratnakar |
| 82. K. M. Sundaram | 121. Bhagawan Thorat |
| 83. K. T. K. Tangamani | 122. Sitaram R. Jagtap |
| 84. A. M. Gopu | 123. G. D. Yadav |
| 85. P. K. Ramaswamy | 124. T. S. Jagtap |
| 86. A. S. K. | 125. L. Y. Shinde |
| 87. Dr. G. Kannabiran | 126. Chaturanan Mishra |
| 88. S. C. Krishnan | 127. Kedar Das |
| 89. A. Govindaswamy | 128. K. C. Chowdhury |
| 90. R. K. Dakshinamurthy | 129. Ratan Roy |
| 91. R. Karuppiyah | 130. Ramavatar Singh |
| 92. V. Meenakshinathan | 131. Ram Avtar Shastri |
| 93. M. Ambikapathy | 132. Shafique Khan |

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| 133. Lakhan Lal | 172. S. Sharma |
| 134. Lalit Burman | 173. S. K. Rehman |
| 135. K. K. Sinha | 174. Shivananda Kamath |
| 136. Ram Pravesh Ram | 175. Pampapathi |
| 137. Deokinandan Singh | 176. Anandathiratha V. R. |
| 138. Gaya Singh | 177. K. P. Mense |
| 139. S. K. Roy | 178. K. B. Sharanappa |
| 140. Ramendra Kumar | 179. A. J. Mudhol |
| 141. Omilal Azad | 180. H. N. Narendra Prasad |
| 142. Chandrashekhar Jha | 181. Homi F. Daji |
| 143. N. C. Ojha | 182. Prakash Roy |
| 144. Mohd. Salim | 183. P. K. Thakur |
| 145. Ram Balak Singh | 184. Diwakar |
| 146. Umakant Jha | 185. C. R. Bakshi |
| 147. Sitaram Mishra | 186. R. C. Jain |
| 148. T. N. Jha | 187. Sambal Chakraborty |
| 149. A. K. Ahmed | 188. Nutaneshwar |
| 150. Aniruddha Singh | 189. Mushtaque Hossain |
| 151. Mohd. Yusuf | 190. Satish Govila |
| 152. B. N. Thakur | 191. K. Swami |
| 153. Satyanarain Mishra | 192. F. A. D'Souza |
| 154. Tikaram Manjhi | 193. R. K. Kapoor |
| 155. Shivanandan Jha | 194. Nita Murthy |
| 156. Raj Kishore Singh | 195. R. S. Tiwary |
| 157. Krishna Mohan Prasad | 196. S. Rajoo |
| 158. N. M. Prasad | 197. R. S. Tripathi |
| 159. N. C. Dutta | 198. K. G. Sriwastava |
| 160. P. Bhalchandra Trivedi | 199. S. S. Yusuf |
| 161. P. D. Gandhi | 200. Basudeo Pandey |
| 162. B. D. Desai | 201. D. K. Yadav |
| 163. Durlabhji Chowhan | 202. Bishu Mukherjee |
| 164. Vacant | 203. Jamil Khan |
| 165. Prafulla Misra | 204. R. K. Garg |
| 166. M. S. Krishnan | 205. R. K. Vohra |
| 167. M. C. Narasimhan | 206. S. C. Dutta |
| 168. C. Munirathnam | 207. Jagat Prakash |
| 169. D. S. Sri Ramulu | 208. R. N. Upadhayaya |
| 170. K. N. Soma Sundara | 209. Girish Chandra Bharati |
| 171. M. S. Mani | 210. Jai Narain Singh |

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| 211. N. K. Tomar (N. Rly) | 248. Tarun Moitra |
| 212. Yashpal Gupta | 249. Jadugopal Sen |
| 213. Dwarika Singh | 250. S. P. Ghoshal |
| 214. Abdul Hafiz | 251. Tahir Hussain |
| 215. Janardhan Pande | 252. Chinmoy Ghosh |
| 216. Harish Tiwari | 253. Gobin Karar |
| 217. B. Bhattacharji
(Construction) | 254. Kuber Singh |
| 218. Rama Kant Bajpai | 255. Prasanta Dutta |
| 219. Y. D. Sharma | 256. Nemai Roy |
| 220. B. D. Joshi | 257. Sushil Chakraborty |
| 221. N. N. Manna | 258. N. C. Roy Chaudhury |
| 222. Janardhan Sharma | 259. Narayan Choubey |
| 223. Ramsurat Chaubey | 260. Ram Sen |
| 224. Munshi Narain Prasad | 261. Kalyan Roy |
| 225. Shakil Ahmed | 262. B. N. Tiwary |
| 226. Ishar Singh | 263. Santosh Ghosh |
| 227. M. M. Gope | 264. Golam Mohiuddin |
| 228. Surinder Bali | 265. Sunil Sen |
| 229. S. N. Sharma | 266. Haridas Chakraborty |
| 230. C. L. Nadha | 267. Nitis Sett |
| 231. J. P. Khare | 268. Dhiren Mujumdar |
| 232. Haribandhu Belhera | 269. Kamal Ganguly |
| 233. D. K. Panda | 270. Romesh Dass |
| 234. Ram Chandra Ram | 271. Girja Mukherjee |
| 235. D. C. Mohanty | 272. Shankarsan Roy
Choudhury |
| 236. Prabir Palit | 273. Prabhat Kar |
| 237. Dusasan Jena | 274. O. P. Gupta |
| 238. Sadanand Mohanty | 275. S. M. Banerjee |
| 239. Indrajit Gupta | 276. P. P. Patil |
| 240. T. N. Siddhanta | 277. Mahendra Sen |
| 241. Mohmad Elias | 278. M. Atchuthan |
| 242. Bhowani Roy
Chowdhury | 279. Deb Kumar Ganguly |
| 243. Arun Sen | 280. S. S. Mirajkar |
| 244. Nihar Mukherjee | 281. Dr. Ranen Sen |
| 245. Gour Goswami | 282. R. S. Dhillon |
| 246. Kamlapati Roy | 283. Umalal Sinha |
| 247. Nanda Dulal Srimani | 284. J. Chitharanjan |
| | 285. S. Madhusudhan |

**REPORT OF THE CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE SET UP
BY THE 30TH CONGRESS OF AITUC**

30th Congress of AITUC set up the following persons to constitute the CREDENTIAL COMMITTEE.

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|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Com. N. C. Dutta | 2. Com. Gour Goswami |
| 3. " Diwakar | 4. " J. Satyanarayana |
| 5. " J. Chithranjan | 6. " K. C. Choudhury |

The Credential Committee met on 16th October 1976 at AITUC Office, Chandrasekhar Nagar, Jamshedpur and after going through all relevant papers submits the following report for information and adoption by the plenary session.

Before we submit the details, we considered it essential to mention the fact that there were uncertainty about holding the 30th Congress at Jamshedpur till 1st October 1976, due to restriction imposed on the Session, which were finally withdrawn by the Govt. of Bihar, after a strong protest by AITUC. This has caused serious inconvenience to the Unions in sending their delegates. In spite of this 3,585 delegates attended the conference. At the request of the Reception Committee observers were not allowed to attend this Session.

We are hereby submitting the report regarding the number of Affiliated Unions, their membership, number of delegates, who attended and the Statewise and Industrywise break-up of unions and membership.

Fraternal delegates from 17 countries/organisations have graced this conference. Representatives of fraternal organisations like H.M.S., AIBEA and others attended as fraternal delegates. INTUC had sent a message of greetings to the conference.

MEMBERSHIP AS ON 31 DECEMBER, 1975—STATEWISE

S. N.	Name of State	No. of Unions	No. of Delegates Attended	Total Membership
1.	ANDHRA PRADESH	298	282	2,06,241
2.	ASSAM	32	50	15,235
3.	BIHAR	292	877	2,78,707
4.	GUJARAT	44	21	10,663
5.	HARYANA	41	39	20,350
6.	HIMACHAL PRADESH	17	17	9,937
7.	JAMMU & KASHMIR	14	6	5,975
8.	KERALA	357	125	2,46,306
9.	KARNATAKA	99	104	98,034
10.	MAHARASHTRA	245	145	2,72,015
11.	MADHYA PRADESH	112	242	1,44,522
12.	ORISSA	35	108	86,873
13.	PUNJAB	30	103	84,733
14.	RAJASTHAN	60	27	35,062
15.	TAMILNADU	231	251	2,76,103
16.	UTTAR PRADESH	167	174	1,99,920
17.	WEST BENGAL	596	861	4,73,166
18.	CHANDIGARH	7	7	4,127
19.	DELHI	85	117	95,422
20.	GOA	15	8	12,280
21.	MANIPUR	9	13	5,570
22.	MEGHALAYA	8	2	440
23.	PONDICHERRY	7	6	8,110
TOTAL :		2805	3585	25,89,791

S. N.	Name of Industry	No. of Unions	No. of Delegates Attended	Membership
1.	TEXTILE	430	351	1,95,011
2.	IRON & STEEL	7	386	1,35,378
3.	ENGINEERING	694	662	3,21,280
4.	METAL TRADE	14	16	25,425
5.	TRANSPORT	425	423	2,73,308
6.	ELECTRICITY	40	116	1,58,163
7.	MINING	78	490	2,85,342
8.	PLANTATION	35	49	1,78,445
9.	CHEMICAL	85	132	78,278
10.	SUGAR	30	22	12,825
11.	CEMENT	48	40	38,450
12.	BUILDING & CONSTRUCTION	72	69	55,169
13.	CONSTRUCTION	31	16	68,282
14.	PAPER	25	36	52,784
15.	PRINTING & PRESS	22	24	27,088
16.	FOOD & DRINKS	132	89	76,679
17.	FERMENTATION	37	9	11,980
18.	TOBACCO	222	226	1,24,710
19.	GLASS & POTTERIES	12	16	13,552
20.	LEATHER & TANNERY	45	50	74,383
21.	MUNICIPAL	62	41	78,297
22.	PORT & DOCK	21	117	81,772
23.	COIR	14	4	7,220
24.	AGRICULTURE	25	6	28,837
25.	SALARIED EMPLOYEES	4	5	7,540
26.	PERSONAL SERVICE	185	190	89,593
TOTAL :		2,805	3,585	25,89,791

**30TH SESSION
ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS**

General Report

Part I

**Jamshedpur
13-17, October 1976**

BACKGROUND OF 25TH JUNE AND ONWARDS

This is the thirtieth Session of the AITUC. The last one was held in January 1973. But we had called a Convention of the AITUC on 26th June 1975 in Indore, as at that time we thought that a full session could not be put on the agenda, but a review of the situation and consultation with representative delegates, though coming not with their full members according to the constitution, was necessary. As a matter of coincidence it happened that on the very day of our meeting, the Government of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi proclaimed a State of National Emergency, and put under arrest the prominent leaders of the right reactionary parties and their organisers as well as some of their allies inside the ruling party.

The AITUC Convention did, however, meet and adopted resolutions supporting the imposition of the Emergency and the action taken by the Government. It did this because we were convinced that the reactionary forces had prepared and were poised for a coup d'etat, a reactionary take over of power and reversing the policies that India was following in the international and national arena, particularly since the political crisis of 1969-71, reflected in the split in the Indian National Congress, the battle over the election of President Giri, and the new line of economic policies heralded by the nationalisation of the big banking monopolies in the country.

Since that time, the battle between the forces of progress and democracy on the one hand and forces of right reaction and left adventurism on the other has been going on continuously in every sphere of our national life.

But this battle was not a reflection only of our own internal developments. It was influenced, incited and aid-

ed by the crisis in the world system of State-monopoly capitalism of the imperialist countries, led by the USA, who wanted to destabilise and draw such a big country as India into their neocolonial orbit. But as against this, our battle for progress and democratic development and preservation of our independence was fully understood and supported by the vast masses though to many the developments were rather sudden and abrupt. The imperialists also, who had found their plans foiled could not intervene in their usual way as they know that the might of the world system of socialism led by the Soviet Union as also the forces in the newly liberated countries who had taken the path of independent development, non-alignment, peace, democracy and social progress were with us.

It is not necessary to review the events of this whole period as we have partly done that task in the Calcutta Session in 1973 and at Indore in June 1975. The point that has to be emphasised is that Indian developments, including this period of the Emergency are *part of a whole world process and not just local events* or the whims and temporary interests of a person or set of individuals. Our working-class, even on the limited trade union platform has to keep this in view, so as to be better able to defend both its political and economic interests in the various sectors of life and living.

And what does a view of the world process show us? It shows that the world is changing before our very eyes and *as a whole changing for the better*. Some sixty years ago, imperialists, capitalists and landlords, their states, Governments, and millionaire exploiters had the whole world, its economy and wealth, all the results of man's labour and intellect, at their disposal for their pleasure and for waging wars of plunder, enslavement, robbery and rape.

In contrast to that world, since the Great October Socialist Revolution a new world process began. Now you find a world socialist system building a new society without exploitation and ruled by the working-class, a society without periodical crisis, without unemployment and homelessness, a system that wants peace, freedom and happiness for

every man and woman. Along with it has also arisen a new world of newly liberated states, which have freed themselves from imperialist slavery, as we in India, and China did at the end of the Second World War. The peoples sacrificed their lives by millions to attain freedom and some are still fighting. The imperialist efforts to re-shackle them are being beaten back, whose shining examples are spread throughout all the continents. The epoch making example of that heroism is the Vietnam which will remain of immortal memory in mankind's history.

The victory of Vietnam and its unification as a socialist republic helped the peoples of Laos and Cambodia to successfully complete their struggle for complete freedom from US imperialist bases and influences. With these victories the balance of forces in South-East Asia underwent a vast change and would have gathered greater speed and fullness in the whole of South-East Asia but for the Maoist defection.

The next most striking and historical event was the fall of the oldest imperialism in the world that of *Portugal*. That revolution was most important not only from the point of European politics of the imperialist block of the major EEC powers. It was of great importance for the liberation movement in *Africa*. That vast continent, a grazing ground for centuries for all imperialisms, racists and fascists has undergone a vast change and is now seeing the concluding phase of the colonial system there. The heroic struggle of the people of *Angola*, in whose fight against the invasion of the racists of South Africa, after *Angola* became free from the Portuguese domination, is well-remembered as being of recent date. The Angolan struggle had two remarkable features. The help rendered by the volunteer-soldiers coming from Socialist Cuba was a splendid illustration of proletarian internationalism, while the "help" rendered by the Maoist Groups who were based on next door the borders of hostile *Zaire*, fought the real Angolan Liberation forces led by the MPLA. That also encouraged the racists from South Africa to invade *Angola*. But the invasion failed. The liberation of *Angola*, has gal-

vanised the popular forces of Black Africa into renewed revolutionary anti-racist uprisings even in the fascist-ruled South Africa where thousands of students and workers are going into action. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique and the establishment of progressive democratic and socialist oriented regimes there, including that of Somalia is fast changing the balance of forces in that continent of centuries of inhuman oppression and slavery.

Another event worth noting and illustrative of the processes of the crumbling of the old world order in Africa is the fall of the *Ethiopian Monarchy*. This was the oldest surviving monarchy of the world. With an unbroken succession of two thousand and five hundred years, that is a dynasty that came to the throne nearly three hundred years before Emperor Ashok in India, but never lost its succession. We in India also cannot forget this monarchy of Abyssinia (called Aabsan in Maharashtra) because it built some Aabshi monarchies or feudal seats of power in the mediaeval days in India also. We are sure, the people of India will soon see a fully liberated Africa going on the road of anti-imperialism, democracy and social progress in its own way.

The processes of *Latin American* revolution have their own pattern. The offensive which US imperialism took after the successful Cuban revolution against the revolutionary movements in Latin America with the help of the reactionary forces there arrested the Cuban type process, gathering momentum for a short time. But the successes of the socialist, democratic and anti-US forces in Chile which raised President Allende to power alarmed the multinationals, whose biggest assets, the copper mines were nationalised by the new President. The counter-revolutionary coup financed by the CIA and organised by the reactionary pro-American military generals succeeded in overthrowing the Chilean revolutionary democratic regime. They killed President Allende, and hundreds of communists and socialist leaders and workers. The counter-revolution succeeded in capturing Louis Corvalan, one of the greatest leaders of the Chilean revolution. The progressive forces all over

the world including ours are demanding the release of comrade Louis Corvalan, whose life is in danger in the concentration camp of the fascist regime in Chile.

It would be worth noting here that the US monopolies were specially angered by the fact that Chile had become a host to the convening of "The World Assembly for United Action Against Multinationals", which met in Santiago the capital and was inaugurated by President Allende on 10th April 1973. The representatives of the WFTU, the ICFTU, the WCL as also representatives of almost all national centres in the world attended. The Copper interests of the USA and the multinational ITT (which has telecommunication agreements with India also) whose secret conspiracies against the nationalisation proposals and whose attempts to prevent Allende from coming to power were fully exposed with documentary proofs by President Allende, whose election these multinationals wanted to prevent. The US multinationals with the help of the reactionary military junta organised the coup on 11 September 1973 and killed president Allende, who died fighting with gun in hand.

We had to mention this in detail because in India too we are confronted with these very multinationals and their partners in the world of Indian monopoly capital. They tried their hand first in a Parliamentary way in the 1969-71 crisis but were defeated. Next they took to the non-Parliamentary and terrorist methods to culminate in a coup in June 1975. But the preemptive action of Mrs Indira Gandhi on June 25 led to a fiasco of the plans of the imperialists, the multinationals and the monopoly houses tied up with them. June 75 became in a limited sense, a Chile in reverse, beginning with the election of President Giri and nationalisation of banks and all that followed. However, such comparisons cannot go far because India is not Chile and the history of its people, its economy, its leadership, its army and its bourgeoisie is no comparison to anybody else's. But a reference to lessons of other countries are a help to shape our thinking on history and our future.

All this panorama of revolutions, liberation movements and democratic victories took place in conditions of peaceful coexistence between the two great powers, namely the imperialist system of the USA and its NATO block and the socialist system of the USSR and its socialist partners in the powerful COMECON system. In the period of peaceful co-existence of the two different systems, the liberation movements gathered strength and attained independence. This was, as we all know, disliked by the imperialists, whose economies, though more powerful and developed than those of the socialist world and the newly liberated countries suffered from periodical crisis which are inherent in the system of capitalism, whether it be highly developed or underdeveloped. And as time passed and state monopoly capitalism assumed the form of the vast multinational corporations on the basis of the new scientific and technological revolution (STR) the crisis repetitions of monopoly capital became more frequent, that is whereas before the Second World War or even before that they appeared at ten or seven year cycles, now they began to recur at intervals of two, three or four years. The giant corporations of the multinationals spread over the whole non-socialist world in search of cheap raw materials, cheap labour and super profits. Whereas in the old phases of imperialism, the monopolies spread out and captured countries for markets and raw materials. Now they sent their machines and experts to the ports and fringes of the new developing countries to manufacture even sophisticated goods, including electronics and export them to the markets of the advanced countries. And the new national bourgeoisie of the newly liberated countries thought these new arrivals of multinationals a great gift to enrich themselves. They even wanted to change their own independent growth and political freedoms to suit these new multinationals and their imperialist masters in the name of establishing so-called advanced technology in backward areas. This line of neo-colonialist development was resented by the masses as well as the national bourgeois and petty bourgeois circles, who saw no opening to their

own independent growth even within the frame work of capitalist development which demanded the growth of their own productive forces on their own soil, with their independent ownership and growth.

In contrast to this, the socialist countries and particularly the Soviet Union with its vast wealth and its principles of brotherhood and friendship with the down-trodden and newly independent countries offered help to build basic heavy industries in the newly independent developing countries with their own personnel, their own intelligentsia trained in socialist countries in skills of a higher technique. This "peaceful competition" between the two systems, the one of imperialist robbery and the other of fraternal cooperation and democratic freedoms enabled those countries, who chose the road to friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to gain strength, develop their own productive forces, their own capital and intelligentsia and preserve their independence. Even the Arabs who had so long been robbed of their oil wealth at cheap rates by the US, British, French, Dutch corporations formed their Arab Cartel (OPEC) and raised the prices of their oil sold to the big industrialised countries (October 1973). This irritated and angered the imperialists. But the days of the old gun-boat diplomacy were gone with the birth of the mighty socialist block. The imperialists submitted, though here also they played the trick of keeping the increased dollar wealth of the oil-rich amirs in their own banks to be once again used as capital for their own imperialist ends. But on the whole in this new period the newly-liberated countries strengthened their independence and laid the foundations of their own development. Thus in this period of peaceful coexistence of different social systems that our country took great strides in its independent development.

The prime condition for this was that world peace was preserved, foreign imperialist interventions were rebuffed, aids and subsidies were given without political strings, interference in the internal affairs was prevented, democratic and peaceful conditions for internal growth were

assured. The economic development was planned so as to lead to unification of the country's economy. Its progressive growth was mainly laid on the basis of essential and heavy industries as to enable it to overcome its feudal remnants and technological backwardness so that its cultural values took a new democratic road of development, without imperialist, monopolists and parasitic adherences.

All this could only be done in conditions of world peace as well as prevention of tensions or regional conflicts.

The might of the Socialist camp, the initiatives shown by the Soviet Union, its far-sighted diplomacy coupled with growing strength of its socialist economy as well as military preparedness, its complete immunity from the devastations caused periodically by the economic crisis in the capitalist countries despite their economic strength and technological growth, its generous-hearted aid to the newly liberated countries, its defence of those who were still fighting for their freedom, its growing influence among all the working masses of the whole world and united wellknit leadership, inspired by the lofty principles and philosophy of Leninism, enabled it to take the wonderful initiative to propose concrete measures to prevent a nuclear world war, which would do nothing less than destroy the whole human race and establish, if not complete disarmament and total peace, at least to open the way to it. That was the mighty and most important task done at the Helsinki (August 1975) Conference and its Final Act. The lingering boundary problems of World War II in Europe were resolved. And Europe which was the powder keg of two world wars was enabled to think of the possibility of peace following this phase of Detente, assuring peaceful development in every country.

Of course imperialism and monopoly capitalists who thrive on war profits would not easily give in. The Arab world is locked in combat with Zionist imperialism. The Greek military regime collapsed, but the Turks invaded Cyprus on 20th July 1974 and split it in two. Imperialist agents set the Lebanese muslims and Christian groups at

each others throats. The progressive regime in Bangladesh was overthrown and the flower of its political intelligentsia shot down by fascist gangs in August 1975. Egypt was unhinged from its independent anti-imperialist path and drawn into the claws of US imperialist diplomacy. President Sadat of Egypt forgot all his debts to the Soviet Union and the socialist camp which had saved Egypt so far from the Angla-French invasions and US conspiracies and Israeli attacks. In fact, the example of Sadat ought to teach the Indian people, how progressive looking bourgeois leaders can easily become their opposites, unless the democratic masses are strong and vigilant.

We have recounted these events in order to show that the attempts to topple the Indira Gandhi's Government by a planned coup d'etat of June 1975 was to make India give up her road of independent development, her friendship with the Soviet Union and her policy of non-alignment, her rebuff to imperialist advances and the announcement of their bases in the Indian Ocean to threaten the Afro-Asian and Arab independence (February 1974), were not an isolated event. It was an integral part of the total world process, in which the forces of peace, democracy and social progress are gaining successes in their struggle against neo-colonialism and in which a sub-continent like India is making great strides in reconstructing her life and living according to its own genius and in company with the democratic forces of the whole world and especially the forces of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp.

And it is to avert the great catastrophe of falling into the clutches of imperialism, of neo-colonialism, of giving up the gains of the economic development, the gains of the last nearly thirty years of independence that the Emergency of 1975 June had to be proclaimed. The Emergency we are living under could have been avoided, if the strongholds of monopoly houses and feudal landlord reaction had been mercilessly rooted out in the crisis of 1969-71 or the economic sabotage of 1973-74. But unfortunately the working class and the democratic forces were not strong enough to shape the democratic advance that far.

One does not deny the many inconveniences that have been unnecessarily imposed on the working class and the genuinely toiling masses, despite the good wishes of the 20-point programme by the misuse of the draconian powers given to the bureaucracy and the police. They are the inevitable features of a State system where monopoly capital and landlordism, howsoever denounced or partially restricted by new state laws still control the key levers of the economy, control the factories, fields, trade and finance, only leaving lot of ideological gas in the ministerial cylinders to cook fine wishes, promises and messages, which basically do not touch the power of big capital and landlord dominance in the villages and their high caste dictats.

But this should not lead one to denounce the historical necessity of proclaiming the Emergency followed by the positive proposals of the 20-point programme and new proposals of amending the constitution in a direction which will open the way to socialist orientation, if state system is suitably reconstituted and the labouring masses are given administrative power by direct election. This will have to be achieved by processes of democratic struggle and not by coups and assassinations.

Some of the negative aspects of the Emergency, particularly in relation to the working class, in some fields, must not dehinge us from appreciating and aiding the fulfilment of its historical role in stemming counter-revolution, giving a fillip to new openings in our struggle against imperialism, struggle for new economic changes and social progress. Hence, we did what we did in the Indore Convention, where too, we called for a defence of workers' and people's interests against bureaucratic or monopoly and landlord distortions of essential state measures to protect the country from fascism and imperialism.

More or less guessing what was in store for the country, what with the moves of the imperialists from outside and the reactionaries from within and not forgetting the events of 1960-61, 1965, 1969 and so on, Indira Gandhi was wise and foreseeing enough to conclude with the Soviet Union, the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation in June

1971. This was followed by the visit of Comrade Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU to India in November 1973 and Indira Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union in June 1976. This year India celebrated the fifth Anniversary of the Soviet-Indian Treaty.

Speaking in the Kremlin Banquet on 8th June 1976 Com. Brezhnev said:—

"The Soviet Indian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has withstood the test of strength and effectiveness. It expresses well the cardinal interests of our people and facilitates the strengthening of peace and stability in Asia and not only in Asia" . . .

"The principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are being increasingly adopted in international relations. A number of agreements exerting a restraining influence on the arms race have been concluded. The last colonial empire has collapsed. (Reference to the revolution in Portugal in April 1974). The friendship and cooperation of socialist states with independent freedom-loving countries of the Third World have been strengthened and further developed.

"All this was achieved through tremendous efforts, through stubborn and tireless struggle by the planet's peace-loving forces. The Republic of India has made a worthy contribution to the achievement of these results. By its policy directed towards defence of peace and peaceful existence, against imperialism and reaction, against colonialism and racism, your country has won high international prestige."

Replying to the toast, and addressing Com. Brezhnev, and President Podgarny and Chairman Kosygin and others, Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi referred to the fact that "Lenin's first decree after the October Revolution was to seek peace with all nations" and further added, "the Soviet Union has unfailingly extended principled support to the national struggle of Asian, African and Latin American peoples and has upheld the right of nations to follow their own policies".

And one cannot fail to notice the concluding statements that the Prime Minister made. She said:—

“Our friendship has stood the test of time. The Indian people value the comprehension you have shown in our most difficult moments. The clear declaration of his Excellency General Secretary Brezhnev at the 25th Party Congress that “political and economic cooperation with India is the Soviet Union’s constant policy”, has drawn warm response from the Indian people. The foundations on which the edifice of Indo-Soviet cooperation is built remain solid and stable. We shall continue to strengthen it.”

II

This report has dealt with the question of Indo-Soviet friendship and the treaties, India has entered into with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, because those treaties, talks and meetings are absolutely essential for strengthening our country’s freedom, developing its economic strength, rebuffing the aggressive moves of Imperialism, preserving peace and helping people’s prosperity based on socialism and democracy.

The AITUC wishes to tell the working class of India that these aims and policies were put before the Indian working class and the Indian people since its very foundation in the year 1920. It is also very necessary to remember that the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 was hailed by the Indian National leadership as a friend and ally of the Indian freedom movement. On the tenth anniversary of that revolution, at the Madras Session of the Congress in 1927, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called a Republican congress and proclaimed the perspectives of a *Socialist Republic* for the Indian people. Though this line angered Mahatma Gandhi for some time, the Indian freedom movement stuck to that road. When Hitler Fascism attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, the National Congress wished victory to the Soviet Union and defeat to fascism, while pursuing its own anti-imperialist struggle for freedom. At the first international gathering of the United Nations, it

was the Soviet Union who openly expressed the desire to see India as an independent country, taking its due place in world affairs.

It was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's political insight that made him initiate and proclaim the concept of non-alignment in 1946. And he concretised it and gave it practical anti-imperialist shape at the conference of the Asian Nations, which he invited in Delhi and took it further at the Bandung Conference.

Non-alignment as a term sounds negative in form. But that negation in historical developments assumes a positive revolutionary value. Non-alignment can only begin with the positive assertion and attainment of independent statehood. You have first to disconnect yourself from imperialism, with which you are not only aligned but of which you are a slave. After asserting and attaining independence, you must cease to be connected with the policies of your former master and refuse to admit a new alignment with him—which means not being member of any military blocks of your former masters or with any other imperialist bloc as such. This is the anti-imperialist liberating aspect of non-alignment. This anti-imperialist aspect irritated the imperialists so much that John Foster Dulles called it "short-sighted and immoral". According to him it was short-sighted because the non-aligned states could be starved of economic assistance by the rich imperialist monopolies in their future growth and immoral because it repudiated the classical right of the slave-owners to receive gratitude and service from their former subjects, after their liberation.

But the most important pre-requisite of the very birth, development and fulfilment of this new concept in international relationship between states was the birth, existence and strength of a socialist system of states, powerful enough to help freedom-loving states to "disalign" themselves from their former masters and remain non-aligned and build any democratic system of their own choice. This was the decisive factor in giving birth and political and economic

content to the concept of non-alignment. This decisive factor was the birth and development of the world socialist system. Only when the world socialist system, led by the Soviet Union and inspired by the ideals of proletarian internationalism became politically, militarily and economically powerful enough to help the newly free countries to fight the encroachments of the imperialists on their freedom and growth and when further the newly free countries, who took the road of non-alignment and positive friendship with the world socialist system, found themselves protected from the onslaughts of the crisis of the world-capitalist system, by the non-profit seeking disinterested aid from the socialist countries, non-alignment ceased to be a mere concept on trial and became a real movement, one may say, almost a third world system, in which states with varying stages of growth and patterns of economy began to find mutual protection and road to independent development and progress. India has played a great role in this development, which further led to India's strong friendship and alliance with the socialist world.

It may be useful here to give a list of these conferences, to study and understand this phenomenon.

The first conference of 1947 held in India, on the eve of independence was called the *Asian Relations Conference* and Nehru described it as "a wide-spread urge and awareness that the time had come for us, peoples of Asia, to meet together, to hold together and to advance together".

It would not be out of place to mention here one historical fact. In the issue of the weekly "*Socialist*" dated 7th October 1922 edited by S. A. Dange, there is an editorial article headed the "*Asiatic International*". At that time the idea of forming an "Asiatic International" arose because of the immigration laws passed by the governments of Africa, Australia, New Zealand and USA putting disabilities in respect of the entry of "Asiatics" in their countries. At that time India was in the throes of the great Swaraj movement. So a slogan to form an "Asiatic International" came before the people and it was endorsed by C. R. Das.

During the course of a long article in the "*Socialist*", Dange wrote:

"Thus attacks from without have helped to consolidate the peoples of Asia, as "Asiatics", without prejudice to their separate religions and national existence. India cannot afford to sit silent without joining in this automatic, implicit and non-paper combination of the peoples. If an Asiatic International was founded to bring about organised action and exchange of thought, the peace of the world would be secured, because such Asiatic International combination, closing all doors to economic and hence to military competition of White Capital for "interests" in Asia would do away with a great and substantial reason for wars and massacres.

"It would be a glorious thing for India to take the initiative and summon the first session of the Asiatic International even at the Gaya Congress. Angora, Persia, Afghanistan, Asiatic Russia, the Far Eastern Republic of Chita, China and Japan would accept the proposal, we think, and send fraternal delegates to the International". (*Selected Writings*, Page 177)

Despite C. R. Das's desire, the Gaya Congress which was held in December 1922, did not take up the subject, because C. Rajagopalachari thrust aside the President, C. R. Das, and took hold of the congress in his own way to adopt "No Changers" Programme, which later proved a total failure.

Hence Nehru's summoning of the Asian Relations Conference in 1947, in Delhi, and the way he put it, was, in fact a fulfilment of a historical demand.

At the Asian Relations Conference Nehru offered a specially warm welcome to the representatives of the Soviet Central Asian Republics, which, he said, have advanced so rapidly, in our generation and have so many lessons to teach us.

The Asian Relations Conference of 1947, in Delhi, was followed by the *Bandung* Conference in 1955. The Con-

ference contained representatives from Africa also and became an Afro-Asian Conference.

The Bandung Conference had met just when Vietnam had defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. At the same time the US imperialists had begun their cold war tactics with the initiation of Baghdad Pact, the US-Pakistan military alliance and the SEATO and so on.

The next conference was held in Belgrade in 1961 with 25 participating states. The second non-aligned met in Cairo in 1964 with 47 States. The third met in Lusaka in 1970 with 54 States. The fourth met in Algiers in 1973 with 85 States. And the latest fifth one met in Shri Lanka with 85 States.

This tabulation will show that non-alignment and the conferences of non-aligned states have gathered a content of great historical significance, a solidarity of a new kind with positive economic and political meaning and they are becoming quite a new force in the deliberations of the UNO where the US imperialists and their allies are finding themselves more and more isolated.

It is not possible in the short space available in this report to reproduce some of the most important speeches and declarations of the latest Colombo Conference led by the Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Hence we would close this brief chapter with one or two statements of importance.

One of the most important decisions adopted by the Colombo Conference of 85 nations was the Economic Declaration. The assertion of independence, anti-imperialism and non-alignment is most vitally concerned with the question of the development of the economy of the newly-independent and non-aligned countries. Generally most of the non-aligned countries have had no industrial development of an advanced type and have been suppliers of raw materials and agricultural products to the industrially developed capitalist countries at prices dictated by them. Even where there was any accumulation of profits from the exports, they were appropriated by the monopolists of the imperialist countries, or got them invested in their own

metropolitan banks or were appropriated by the parasitic classes of the under-developed countries for personal consumption or some development of consumer goods factories, like textiles etc. A country which possessed strategic raw materials like copper, tin, cobalt, zinc, aluminium, gold and oil was never allowed to develop any thing but these export goods. Where some engineering and transport was required it was to serve the ends of the economic and military requirements of the oppressor countries. We need not go deeper into this as the phenomenon of the old period or of the new period is well-known.

Since the Second World War and the emergence of the world socialist system, the under-developed and newly free countries, not only got a new and better buyer of their goods in the socialist market, but a new system of international relationship in which the Socialist countries became a sure and stable market for the raw materials and even manufactures of the vast world of the under-developed economies. In return, the socialist market was prepared to give on long term credits machinery to establish basic and heavy industries, thus enabling these newly free and non-aligned countries to industrialise their economy, get free from the economic clutches of imperialism and develop an advanced society of their own. This jump from imperialist dependence and feudal backwardness became possible only with the birth and the growing strength of the world socialist system, its concern for the advance of the newly free developing countries.

Despite the birth and growth of the world socialist system, the developed economies and their accumulated reserves of the lot of several decades of the colonial economies, their own working-class and advanced technology gave them strong positions in matters of credit finance and supplies of machinery, technicians and know-how. In this the USA since the Second World War held dominant position and next to them came the European capitalist blocs with various combinations such as the Efta countries, the EEC and so on. The Second World War had impoverished the developed capitalist economies of Europe, which led

to the fall of the British pound as the decisive measuring currency of the world and London as the centre of the world capitalist money market. The USA which thrived on the war and suffered no damage became the dominant source of world capital supplies and the dollar became the ruling world currency. Only the socialist world remained beyond its clutches. In fact, when the capitalist world system got into crisis it affected the USA and the dollar also.

The dollar was valued beyond its real value and thereby it made extra profits from the vicissitudes of not only the capitalist production system but also from the fictitious exchange rates and gold values imposed by the U.S. imperialists and its instrument the International Monetary Fund, where the majority vote on all credits, loans and currency values was held by the USA and its dollar.

But the mightiest capitalist system and its aggressions, its nuclear blackmail and its armaments met its defeat in the war against Vietnam. That war put in U.S. Budgetary system into such a complete crisis and the ambitious imperialist blackmail with which the US imperialists tried to threaten the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries with huge armament expenditure that ultimately, the US budgetary and monetary system came to the verge of bankruptcy. The European bloc of capitalist economies also slowly began to assert the proper valuation of their own currencies. But the deficits in the American budgetary and monetary system caused by the billions of paper dollars with which the US imperialists flooded the world capitalist market drove the US monopolies to delink the dollar from gold and they declined to accept their own gold value of the dollar if the capitalist world made their legitimate demand on the dollar against its officially fixed fictitious values which had turned into nothing but money and exchange gangsterism of a capitalist world bully. The Viet Nam war deficits broke the dollar and Viet Nam heroism, assisted fully by the world socialist system finished the dollar based values of exchange, the arrogance of the IMF and the US capacity to purchase or over awe the loyalty or

even unwilling consent not only of the developed capitalist world but even of the newly-liberated countries.

With the growing strength of the socialist world, the countries which wanted to be really free from the dictates of the US imperialists, despite their own internal economic systems being on the capitalist road, began to turn towards the Socialist world system not only for markets but also for capital goods for their own industrialisation, which the US imperialists or their partners would not like to do. Their policies and that of their World Bank and the IMF is to force the countries, who demand credit to limit themselves to agriculture and other raw material and infra-structural production such as canals, bridges, water works, etc. But they would not give loans for heavy engineering goods, which would lead to industrialisation and big social transformation in the newly liberated countries.

Fortunately, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who led the Government of India for many years did not accept this line. And when the highly developed countries refused to give aid for building strategic industries in India, he resolutely turned to the Soviet Union. And the Soviet Union responded to India's demand to help her build an independent economy.

Projects of Soviet cooperation account for 80 per cent of India's output of metallurgical equipment, 60 per cent of crude oil, 30 per cent of oil products, 30 per cent of steel and about 20 per cent of power and 15 per cent of iron ore as in 1975.

In return for this the Soviet Union and other countries, who have also helped, in building oil refineries and electrical, and other complexes in India like Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, the GDR, have never raised the question as to what *social system* India's leadership is building—socialist, capitalist, monopoly-capitalist or socialist-oriented or whether it is taking help from the imperialist-capitalist block of the USA, the EEC etc. That they say is the internal affair of the country concerned, which takes their help. But surely one thing is clear, the help becomes meaningless or has to cease or is rejected, if

the given country turns towards fascism or joins the camp of the US imperialists, as Sadat's Egypt has done, after receiving Soviet help to build the Aswan Dam which the USA first promised to build and then cheated Egypt or as they tried to do with India by refusing to build Bokaro, despite one of India's ministers having agreed to devalue the rupee and did it to please the IMF and the USA for getting credits.

All this phenomenon, which has been well-seen by the non-aligned countries, has made them feel that if now the dollar has been humbled and all the capitalist currencies are in doldrums, and the US dominated Bretton Woods monetary system has broken down worsening further their own raw material values (which the oil producing countries have now tried to recover, but with a surplus or surfeit of dollars with which they do not know what to do) then it is time they should evolve a monetary system of the non-aligned countries of their own. The Colombo Conference has taken that decision.

As a result of the new cohesion they have formed, the new strength they have gathered and the successes that the liberation movements are achieving, in which even the worst African Racism is crumbling, the Colombo Conference adopted an Economic Declaration, in which the most important item is the decision to create a new *universal monetary system*.

This measure has never been proposed at a summit meeting before, and it has aroused the interest of experts because of the impact which it will have on international economic relations.

The document approved by the Colombo Conference says that the lack of a fair international monetary system has made the economic problems of developing nations more acute, and efforts to institute reform with the present framework have failed.

The experts say this statement means that the non-aligned countries of which most oil producing nations form a part—have decided to turn their backs on the International Monetary Fund.

During the economic commission's debates on this subject, participants insisted that the new universal monetary system must be based on two main principles: equity and universality.

According to the document, equity means the establishment of capital that would be automatically linked to the needs of financing development programmes of the developing nations; these nations would have a real and fair part in the decision-making process on monetary matters.

When the political commission considered the proposal, it insisted on calling it a universal monetary system, which it is taken to mean that the institution to be set up by the non-aligned countries would be open to all those who want to participate in it.

These two principles are in sharp contrast to the structure and functioning of the International Monetary Fund, in which only a limited number of countries participate and decision making is in direct proportion to economic power.

All those gathered in Colombo felt that this economic declaration is an improvement over the one adopted at the 1973 Conference in Algiers.

In addition to the proposed universal monetary system, experts are also interested in the new concept of economic cooperation contained in the final declaration of the Colombo Summit Conference.

"Economic independence implies firm determination by the developing countries to protect their true economic rights in international transactions by the use of their collective bargaining power", the declaration states.

Thus, for the first time in their discussions on cooperation, the non-aligned countries are not limiting it to the traditional idea of mutual support in the financial, industrial, technical, commercial and scientific fields.

The nations of the third world are now thinking in terms of new and dynamic development of their economic, political and cultural relations and in formulating this in the demands they address to the exploiting developed world.

This is also the first time that widespread disappointment has been expressed at an international conference of this sort over the resistance of some developed countries to implement the new international economic order called for by the movement.

The economic declaration states, "The lack of political will of the majority of the developed nations and the continued economic crisis, which seriously affects the developing countries because they are more vulnerable to outside economic pressure have produced some very discouraging results."

How far this much difficult job will go is now a matter for study, because much depends on the oil-producing countries, who hold the largest dollar capital fund in their hands. The second very decisive factor will be—what will the developing countries, whose total foreign debt by the middle of 1970s, had reached, according to some sources, 1,20,000 million dollars and in a number of instances the instalments towards repayment of old loans began to exceed the volume of new credits. What will the new universal monetary system projected by the non-aligned Conference do in this respect?

Third decisive factor will be the speed with which the continent of Africa becomes totally free not only from the racists but also from other reactionary influences. The fourth very important factor will be whether China will build a new socialist order which will not prop up reactionary forces elsewhere as it tried to do in Chile and Angola. The fifth factor will be what road of development India, with its present powerful capitalist economy will take in its *internal* growth? The sixth factor will be what way will some of the elements that come into the non-aligned movement take. Mr. K. P. S. Menon, the well-known President of the ISCUS writing on this subject, says: "Recently, however, certain attempts have been made to dilute the membership and to admit states which profess to be independent but belong to one military alliance or another. This, as Mr. Chavan, the Indian Minister for Foreign Affairs said, at the recent meeting of the Foreign

Ministers of non-aligned states at Algiers, will reduce non-alignment to a "shapeless concept". (*Article in Soviet Review*—August 5, 1976) And the Seventh factor directly affecting the world monetary system will be to what extent the Helsinki Final Act will be implemented by the imperialist bloc in reducing their armaments expenditure, which in 1975 for the NATO bloc reached 1,49,000 million dollars in 1975.

In concluding this subject it would be proper to quote the para in relation to non-alignment in the Joint Declaration signed by Com. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in Moscow on 11th June 1976: "The Soviet Union and India fully agree to their appraisal of the positive contribution made by the non-alignment movement to the common struggle for peace and security of nations, against the policy of aggression and interference of imperialism, for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid, in defence of independence and freedom of all peoples and for the establishment of international economic norms of inter-state relations on the basis of respect for national sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. The Soviet Union and India reaffirm their support to all governments and peoples fighting against the forces of reaction and imperialism".

Even though the dollar had been dethroned from the position of the "supreme sucker" of the economies of other developed and particularly under-developed countries and had to be delinked from gold as a result of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the effects of the Vietnam war, the IMF and the World Bank, the famous or infamous money-lenders and money-managers of the U.S. imperialists found a way out to mislead the developing countries by the seemingly liberal and exchange credit mechanism of the SDRs (Special Drawing Rights), wherein, it looked as if you could get any currency credit and settlement of any country without going through the compulsory dollar door. But this manoeuvre too is now exposed as a new

mask for the domination of the same dollar imperialism, though for some time the developing countries were jubilant at this so-called loosening of the dollar grip.

The IMF and the World Bank are now even agreeing to sell gold as reserve to back the developing countries' credit and currency system and allow larger SDR quotas. They are using this manoeuvre, because of the trade and industrial relations of the developing countries with the Socialist countries growing on a big scale on the basis of mutual commodity exchange and agreed normal value content of the commodities concerned. This trade requires no reserve currencies or the constant intervention of the World Bank, the IMF and such other imperialist tools of dominating world trade. Even the most generous-looking march of the U.S. multinationals to establish manufacturing units in the ex-colonial centres has not been able to cheat the developing countries except a few habitual gullibles.

Hence the IMF and the World Bank is forced to call a meeting to evolve a seemingly liberal policy for world credit to developing countries who have gathered more cohesion and strength from their Colombo non-aligned summit and their growing industrial and trading strength due to the might of the socialist economies, which do not suffer from periodical economic crisis, which the capitalist economies suffer from.

India is sending its representatives to this world gathering of imperialist creditors and money-lenders meeting in Manila. The Finance Minister Mr. Subramaniam will represent India, but he is a person with too much faith in his own cleverness and the strength and generosity of the US-led capitalist world. But we will wait for the results. The only fear is that the World Bank and the IMF will demand of India and other developing countries to impose more drastic restrictions in the Indian wages and income structure to get it entitled to more IMF credits and a longer respite for repayments. And Mr. Subramaniam is just the right kind of "economist" to agree to such proposals, and also behind the curtain discussions as to whether India will agree to "restrain" its trade with the socialist countries

especially in the matter of building heavy industries and restrict its own development to agriculture, raw materials and flood control and family control.

The Indian working-class has to be on the alert so also our national leadership about these new manoeuvres of the imperialists, who want to save their growing bankruptcy at our expense and our growing industrial economy and our working people.

OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE WORKING CLASS

If we put the question as to what have been the main trends of change in many of the liberated countries in recent years and generally in the period when most of the imperialist schemes of colonisation and neo-colonialism have been defeated in one country after another in all the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, we can see *mainly four* very important features in their socio-economic and political developments.

The *first* trend is the shifting of the gravity in industrial development to the State sector. The *Second* is the abolition of feudal land ownership. The *third* is the nationalisation of foreign enterprises to assure the young states of effective sovereignty over their natural resources. The *fourth* is the formation of their own personnel.

This fine and succinct summing up of the developments in these countries, which includes India also was made by Com. Brezhnev in his report to the 25th Congress of the CPSU.

Continuing the same subject the report says "a complicated process of class differentiation is under way in many liberated countries, with the class-struggle gaining in intensity. It is taking different forms. New progressive changes have occurred in the economy and political life of the socialist-oriented Arab, African and Asian countries. But there are also countries, where development follows the capitalist way.

"Some regimes and political organisations that have proclaimed socialist aims and are carrying out progressive changes have come under strong pressure from home and foreign reaction" and here the Report cites the examples of India and Egypt and the successes of the Angolan liberation.

"The Soviet Union's attitude to the complicated process taking place within the developing countries is clear and definite. The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. It is an immutable principle of our Leninist foreign policy to respect the sacred right of every people, every country to choose its own way of development. But we do not conceal our views. In the developing countries as everywhere else we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, and regard them as friends and comrades in struggle.

"Our Party supports and will continue to support peoples fighting for their freedom. In so doing, the Soviet Union does not look for advantages, does not hunt for concessions, does not seek political domination, and is not after military bases. We act as we are bid by our revolutionary conscience, our communist convictions."

We have quoted this long passage because as already seen in the previous chapters, our policies of economic development, foreign relations, our positions in the non-aligned camp and the pronouncements made by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in relation to India's Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union, in relation to the path of our economic development and non-alignment place before our working-class, both in its political and trade union tasks as to who are our real friends and allies and what direction our economic and political developments inside are taking place, even in our internal growth and the "complicated processes of class-differentiation", which are of prime importance even in our day to day struggles. We will cite some examples of this later on. First we will deal with the "four main trends of change" in our country, referred to above.

STATE SECTOR IN INDIA

It is clear now that the centre of gravity in our industrial development has shifted to the State Sector from every point of view. In order to strengthen the independence of a country which has liberated itself from imperialism, it must build first its own *heavy industry* like iron and steel, heavy engineering, machine tools, oil, coal, chemicals, etc. etc. And secondly, this new industrialisation and its basic structure must be based on the *State Sector*. The third requirement was that this development would require quite an amount of Planning and investment of capital. And it may be recorded here that all these three objectives were formulated under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and assisted by the forces of the working-class and progressive sections of the national bourgeoisie. The monopoly sectors, which had already been born in Indian economy and the imperialist aid-givers of the IMF and the World Bank refused to lend their support and aid for this line.

After over 20 years of development since 1955, we can now say that the centre of gravity of India's industrial development has shifted to the State sector, despite the existence, growth and opposition of monopoly capital in Indian economy. But the danger to the State sector is not completely eliminated. While the Government built the State sector, it also allowed the growth of private monopoly capital in the vital sectors of Banking capital, and essential consumer goods. In fact, in the early years of planning, the growth of the private sector with State assistance was taking place at a faster rate than that of the State sector. But in recent years this process has been halted, despite the Industry and Finance Ministry circles being very much amenable to encourage the build up of the private capitalist structure and admitting it to part ownership of the most profitable areas of the State Sector.

Even in our trade union movement, the left-sectarians were opposed to the State sector and denounced it as State-monopoly or State capitalism which should be treated as being as much inimical to the working-class and the inde-

pendent development of the country as private capitalism. But the AITUC rejected this view.

This subject of State Sector has been dealt with in the Asian Seminar which was held in Nagpur on 23-26 September 1975 and which was inaugurated by Shri Raghunath Reddy, the Labour Minister of the Government of India and addressed by Shri Ganesh, Minister for Chemicals. The Seminar was guided by the General Secretary of the WFTU Com. P. Gensous.

The volume published by the AITUC on this Seminar containing the papers and speeches delivered by delegates from various countries discuss the subject in all its aspects.

In the treatment of the State Sector there, we divided it in two parts, contrary to the practice in economic literature. One part of the State Sector was classified as that one, whose capital did not assume the corporate form of holdings and which was managed directly by the department of the State under the relevant Ministry and was subject to direct criticism and some amount of control by the Parliamentary Committees. This kind of State sector embraced the huge railway system, the defence factories, the Post & Telephone services and industries and many others. There is also a State Sector owned by the State Governments. The capital at large in this sector appears in the annual Budgets and is presented to Parliament in the form of profit and loss account also. But somehow this huge state sector of economy has been ignored in dealing with this subject. It formed the subject matter of our paper read by Com. Dange before the Asian Seminar.

The Second category of State sector, whose capital is made up into shares, subscribed by the State almost hundred per cent and are held in the name of the President and whose management is not classified as Government service as in the usually understood State sector and is dealt with as such in this brief space. But the TU tasks apply commonly to both, though the manner of settling disputes and the form of TU organisations differ in the two

forms. But all of them together must be considered as working-class, though with different service conditions and rights and forms of organisation, as say between the Railway or P & T TU organisation and those of the Steel plants, etc. Moreover a large part of this State sector can be said to fall in Department II and as such of slightly lesser strategic importance, though it is doubtful if Railways would admit of that qualification.

In evaluating the place of the State sector in Indian economy and formulating the tasks of our trade union movement with respect to the State Sector at the present stage the following specific features must be kept in mind:

- 1) The State sector in India has made steady development since 1956, barring the slack period during 1967-69 when there was a virtual plan holiday. The share of the State sector in India's *reproducible tangible wealth* which was only 15 per cent in 1950-51 increased to 25.6 per cent and 35 per cent at the end of the Second and Third Five-Year Plans respectively. In 1970-71, it was estimated at 43 per cent. In 1972, 282 State sector companies accounted for 48 per cent of the paid up capital of all companies in India.

According to an estimate made by Dr. Raj K. Nigam, editor of the official *Lok Udyog* (published in the press in September 1976), the total investment in the state sector at the end of 1975-76 would be of the order of Rs. 8,000 crores in over 160 enterprises and this is expected to cross the Rs. 9,000 crores level by the end of the current year. Dr. Nigam forecasts that the investment would rise by 8 to 10 times of the present level by the turn of the present century.

This would mean an investment of the order of Rs. 80,000 crores. The turn-over of goods and services with improved efficiency from the above investment would be around Rs. 160,000 crores to Rs. 200,000 crores, he points out.

All this is sufficient indication of the importance of the State sector in India's economy.

2) In the development of the State sector enterprises in India, a major role has been played by economic assistance from the socialist world in general and the Soviet Union in particular.

The fact that the development of the State sector in India has markedly come in the basic and heavy industries, including oil extraction and refining, with the decisive aid coming from the socialist countries and that this has played a major role in reducing India's dependence on the imperialist countries, testifies to the growth of anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly character of this sector.

The State sector in India has also strengthened the defence of the country by increasing industrial production in general and the production of defence equipments like electronic equipment, aircraft, etc.

The State sector has considerably strengthened building up of a national cadre of modern managers, engineers and technicians and contributed to building up of our own research, modern technological and technical know-how potential.

3) The history of the State sector units entered a new phase for the first time when the net profits turned into a positive figure of Rs. 19 crores in 1972-73. From this year, there was no looking back on the overall profitability of these enterprises.

The old-time criticism against the State sector that it is a continuous drain on the exchequer is now totally invalid. After one year of the Emergency, facts, conclusively demonstrate that the development of the state sector in India has indeed reached a significant turning point as far as its importance for Indian economy is concerned.

It is worth emphasizing here that the improved performance of the State sector has been generally without an upward revision of the prices of their products. The better results are due to the better maintenance of plants and equipment, proper materials management and above all, better labour-management relations and outstanding positive cooperation of the working-class in increasing produc-

tion and productivity. It must however, be noted here that the old time policy of running these enterprises on the harmful slogan of 'no profit—no loss' basis, which has only benefitted the private sector and put the State sector into losses has now been modified to some extent.

Latest figures published by the Bureau of Public Enterprises are extremely revealing.

The net profits after tax in 1974-75 registered a high-watermark of Rs. 150 crores. The collective net profits of the State sector in 1975-76 have been tentatively placed around Rs. 300-350 crores.

This breakthrough has made possible the generation of internal resources for further growth of the State sector in a firm and dependable manner. The total gross internal resources generated by the State sector enterprises upto 1973-74 were Rs. 1,269 crores.

As against this, the figure of gross internal resources generated by the State Sector enterprises during the single year 1974-75 amounted to Rs. 580 crores and in 1975-76 to Rs. 773 crores.

The contribution of the central state sector enterprises to the exchequer during the Fourth Plan period was of the order of Rs. 3,120 crores. But during the year 1974-75 alone, the contribution was Rs. 1,130 crores.

This figure has again gone up by 25 per cent in 1975-76.

During the one year of Emergency alone, there has been a dramatic increase in the capacity utilisation of the public sector units. More than 80 running enterprises were now utilising 75 per cent or more of their capacities. One should ask why this miraculous change, unless the pre-Emergency phase was sapped by sabotage at higher levels.

The capacity utilisation of the State sector units has shown impressive increase even when compared to the performance in 1974-75. Practically all the State sector undertakings have registered an increase ranging from 7 per cent to 188 per cent compared to previous year's capacity utilisation.

As compared to these improvements, the number of units where capacity utilisation was higher than 75 per

cent was only 41 in 1972-73, which went up to 48 in 1973-74 and 54 during the year 1974-75.

Even the chronically sick child in the Heavy Engineering Corporation (HEC) has broken even in 1975-76 when it earned a marginal profit. The Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation, which had been asked to be closed down by a Parliamentary Committee has now become viable and profitable unit, for the simple reason that the now nationalised mining industry does not send its orders for machinery to the British Companies abroad, whose blood brothers owned the mines here.

Based on this position and performance attained by the State Sector, Dr. Raj Nigam envisages three distinct directions in which the State sector production units could be consolidating their national stature.

Steel and minerals, the energy sector and chemicals would form the basic structure for economic and other technological advances in other production groups.

New and presently esoteric sources of energy would be tapped to provide cheap, plentiful and reliable power for industry and communications. Chemicals for agriculture and industry would be deprived from coal and petroleum.

Dr. Nigam also thinks that a large, diversified and growing public sector in the field of *consumer goods* is a distinct possibility. But surely not by inheriting the bankrupt units of private industry as happened in Textiles. As a concomitant of this development the State sector will also accept the responsibility of the national distribution system for the basic needs of the nation.

Large strides would have to be taken in providing the people with prepared foods, clothing and garments, medical care and drugs. The basic need of shelter will be increasingly met through investment in public housing colonies.

With vast amounts invested in growth-oriented self-generating areas, the state sector would be investing in research and development. This would be in the range of 5 per cent to 10 per cent of gross income.

The realisation of these perspectives for the State sector in India, however, urgently calls for firm and consistent anti-monopoly policy measures from the Government as well as a reinvigoration of planning policy. The trade union movement will have to struggle persistently for such policy changes. Defence of the State sector is inseparable from struggle for a national-democratic economic policy which ultimately must lead to socialist-orientation and finally socialism.

ABOLITION OF FEUDAL LAND-OWNERSHIP

The second most important question raised in the re-organisation of the newly-free countries is the question of *feudal land-ownership*. As it looks from Indian experience, it is easier to shift industry to the State sector than abolish feudal land-ownership from its very roots. And in India feudal landownership is completely linked with the institution of castes, which has become a part of the Hindu religious organisation and deeply entrenched ideology. Formally, large feudal estates were abolished with heavy compensation running into thousands of millions of rupees. These were supposed to have been replaced by a system of cultivating tenants. Ceiling laws on the holdings of these tenants, so as to prevent them from cornering land and depriving the small or medium and rich peasant from becoming a real cultivator have proved ineffective as official reports acknowledge. The new "tenant" cultivators have produced capitalist farmers on quite a sizeable scale. But taking compulsory feudal labour from the lower caste-members prevails on a large scale. Hence, the 20 point programme in which Indira Gandhi put the liberation of bonded labour, who were bound down to compulsory service with the landlord, tenant cultivator or money-lender, from their old debt slavery evoked great response in the country side. That clause was a real whiff of the anti-feudal democratic revolution. But the State system which was to enforce this being in the hands of the landowners and bond-

holders, the implementation of this liberating programme became a subject of furious class-struggle in which the bureaucratic and police forces as they usually belong to the upper castes sided with the oppressors and exploiters of bonded labour and where some bonded labourers did show the courage to assert their freedom, they were brought to their heels by being refused any more employment by their former masters. The Kilwelmoni incident in which agricultural labourers defied their master's command and hence were killed by being burnt down inside their village huts is wellknown throughout the country and particularly for the fact that the accused landlords and bullies who were brought before the courts were all acquitted. This was before the Emergency. But the following news which has been published by the news-agency "Samachar" on August 10th, 1976 from Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh shows where we still stand in regard to liberation of bonded labourers in agricultural areas.

"Two skeletons dug up from house of village tyrant"

"Kurnool—Two skeletons were dug up from the house of one Challa Chinnapa Reddy, an alleged tyrant of Uppalapadu village in Banganapalli police station limits. Mr. S. Krishna Kumar, superintendent of police, said here yesterday.

Mr. Krishna Kumar said that Chinnappa Reddy, who was absconding along with his son, Ramakrishna Reddy, was wanted in eight cases of bonded labour, one of murder and 19 of extortion and cheating.

The police dug up the main room of the house on a complaint that bodies of some of the victims were buried there and found the skeletons within one metre below the flooring, Mr. Krishna Kumar said.

Complaints that the father and the son dismembered those who refused to submit to their authority, were also received, he said.

The police were now on a vigorous drive to rescue bonded labour and other oppressed people from the clutches of the local tyrants", Mr. Krishna Kumar said.

Nobody of course defends the system. But the State machinery being in the hands of the members of the exploiting-classes, even a democratic reform has yet to be fought for.

The trade unions can play a big role in this. *Every Factory which stands surrounded by rural areas can send class-conscious and politicalised workers and officers to these areas to see that this programme of democratic reforms and anti-feudal liberation is fulfilled.* But even in such areas unless the State forces support the factory and the workers, the bond-holders and landlords who carry and use arms and armed gangsters will not submit. The Emergency does not touch them.

The *fourth* feature that is nationalisation of foreign enterprises to rescue the countries natural resources to its own ownership and sovereignty has been pursued vigorously since 1971 as in the matter of coal-mines, copper, and other sources of mineral wealth, including the most important one—that is oil.

FORMATION OF OUR OWN PERSONNEL

The question of the formation of our own personnel in India has taken some rapid strides as compared to some countries of the African or Latin American Continents. This subject of formation of personnel is very important and fascinating and raises many questions of theory and history which we cannot discuss here.

Historically every formation of society beginning with the primitive commune to modern capitalism and socialism have to have its own personnel suitable to its own productive forces and production relations. The primitive commune with its low productive forces and absence of any notable division of labour had no room for the formation of "personnel". But when productive forces grew, the division of labour between manual labour and intellectual labour had to be introduced and that began what one may call the first *primitive formation of personnel*.

As the productive forces and production relations underwent rapid changes, as classes and class-divisions, private

property and the state arose, the formation of personnel took rapid strides. In India particularly they produced the special caste-form of personnel to manage the state and social apparatus and assigned them permanent hereditary functions of war and defence, revenue and jurisprudence, supervision over production and distribution and the division of trades, professions and skills required for this, including management of money where required as in town areas. This special personnel developed the necessary sciences and systems of thought, philosophy, mathematics, physics, medicine, instruments and processes of production, the art of warfare and suppression of class or caste revolts using both the physical and ideological weapons such as literature and so on. In the Hindu or Ancient Indian Social system, the caste of Brahmins and Kshatriyas as also some sections of the Vaishyas were set aside as permanent and hereditary "personnel" for discharging social, economic, ideological and repressive functions of the given stage of socio-political and technical evolution. The production of values and the appropriation of the surplus, the development of tools and craft necessary for this purpose was the function of the relevant personnel.

For example, the invention of the zero and the decimal system, the study of the physics of the gravitational system to distribute water, some of which still survive and work today, in towns, forts, canals and villages required the development of some scientific theory and some tools and intellectual personnel for which the labouring producing castes provided the man-power. And during the process these castes even evolved their intellectual cadres and personnel, which, however, found it difficult to enter the recognised higher echelons of the ruling class and its intelligentsia. The entry to the educational and training institutions called Ashrams or Vidyapeethas or Gurukuls, etc. was extremely rigid and caste-based and sub-caste based, which also signified the division of classes and class-struggle. Thus the formation of its own personnel is necessary for every society and every national state, when such national states appear on the scene of history.

The conquest of India by the British broke up the old system and also the old personnel, which in many branches was inessential or harmful to its imperialist rule. But India was such a big country, its intellectual personnel was of such a high order that the conquerors, though they had superior weapons and some superior sciences, specially in the field of the productive forces of the factory and machine systems, had to institute a system to create an Indian personnel to serve their system of production and the running of their state machine. And inevitably, it had to have their bourgeois ideology.

Thus India gave birth to a new intelligentsia a new personnel to manage the affairs of the imperialists' political-economic system as well as the *new technology* (engineers, scientists, etc.)

But their development was held in check and was dwarfed and distorted in order to protect the imperialist system from being destroyed by this new personnel, many sections of which had developed, as was inevitable nationalism, patriotism and revolutionary perspectives. Many of them beat the conquerors in their home country and their schools and universities, their sciences and technique. To take only a few names—The engineer Sir Vishveshwar-ayya, the physicist Sir Jagdish Chandra Bose, the first inventor of the wireless system which was facilely stolen and named as the Marconi system, the mathematician wrangler Paranjape and Dr. C. V. Raman, the archaeologist Rakhaldas Banerji who really discovered Mohenjo-Daro, and whose fame was later stolen by Marshall and so on and on. The hundreds of engineers, designers, builders of mills, factories, the Howrah canti-lever Bridge and the tunnels of the railways, the brilliant bourgeois economists and managers of finance like C. D. Deshmukh, etc. are the representatives of that personnel which wanted to build a free India. Along with them also grew the village-fitter, the new machine operators, engineers and so on, who had skill and the intellect, the will and labour power to build a new India, but who were suppressed, until the anti-imperialist revolution and India became independent, and

began the task of building its new independent economy, its big factories and its *new personnel*.

We deliberately omit to mention the great poets and writers like Rabindra Nath Tagore and Sarat Chandra, whose birth centenary we are now celebrating, or the famous Prem Chand and Vallathol and so on, from every language in India. Though they are sometimes described as "engineers of the soul", we will not classify them as the new "Personnel".

And of course behind all this new birth of a nation and new classes stand the revolutionary leaders of the freedom struggle who "engineered" the country to freedom, of whom three or four names should be taken—that is—Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Netaji Subhash Bose. But they also cannot be put in the category, which we are discussing—that is the "formation of our own personnel" that is the builders and executives of our new productive forces.

If we review the period of nearly now thirty years of independence, where do we stand with regard to *this highly important question of building Indian personnel*? Who has played what role in this highly important field? What role has the bourgeois leadership of private capital played in this? What role has the Governmental system done in this matter? What have the political parties and the intelligentsia and the working class to say about this? What is our balance sheet on this vital question today? What has the rule of Emergency, which takes so much delight in its "achievements" done on this vital question?

The leadership of the bourgeoisie, meaning thereby the big monopoly houses with their vast wealth, profits and resources, with thousands of intellectuals and millions of workers in their employment have done nothing in this matter, except with one or two exceptions. Most of them have been only anxious to import new technology, some by-products of the scientific and technological revolution in the advanced countries and new foreign agents of know-how, to earn commissions and earn super-profits, reduce the employment of workers by in-

roducing the new machines of the STR, made in the capitalist countries. The miserable capitalist order that they have built with all its parasitic super-structure rarely spend much on their own Research and Development (R&D). Except for the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research which even put the late Dr. Kosambi in its team, few even think of entering the field of R&D or the theoretical development of the sciences. They want that to be done by the State and institutions financed by it, for which the only help they will render is to advice the finance and commerce Ministries how to get loan from the IMF and how to cut wages and bonuses. That is the only R&D that they know.

And the Governmental leadership, harassed by the imperialists, the home-grown monopolies and reactionaries, had no time nor any system to look into the question of building our own personnel, except to build an expert Bureau to suggest the way of getting IMF loans, imposing taxes and wage-cuts for repaying them, catching a few tax evaders and smugglers and driving out honest scientists and research workers harassed by idiotic service rules, lack of proper instrumentation and so on. The CSIR once took a census of its scientific equipment and instruments and found the best ones missing. The Governmental top bureaucrats secure in their permanent posts had no time to look at the difficulties that the poor scientists and technicians suffered and some of them committed suicide, or left the country, like Mr. Khurana, Naralihar and others. And the Governmental leadership only moaned over the "Brain Drain", of Brains trained at our national costs. Five Star Hotels are built for Hashish Tourism, the Hippis and foreign Margis to "teach India", as to what is Hare-Krishna cult or how to produce ashes and watches from the air. But real science to lighten human misery gets no quarter.

Despite all this, science, research and technique and their inventors, as well as the necessary personnel to build our own industry and agriculture, our own research institutes and factories *have grown and are growing.*

Witness for example, the accomplishments of Dr. Bhabha or Dr. Sethna of the Atomic Commission and the builders of the Aryabhata. We have also our skilled and heroic armed forces. *They are growing better and faster in the Public Sector* and are working on real industrialisation of India, which alone will help to overcome our poverty and backwardness or the inhuman caste-system and the exploitation by monopoly capital and demoniac executioners of defenceless bonded labourers.

If we look into the stock of scientific and technical personnel of various degree holders as a whole including science, engineering and medicine, we find the *growth* of this personnel as follows (number in lacs) in the period 1950 to 1975:

Year	No. in lacs
1950	1.24
1960	3.41
1970	9.16
1975	12.54

The sectors in which *Engineering Personnel* is employed and their distribution between Public Sector and Private Sector is seen in the following table in some selected industries, at the end of 1975 in percentages.

	Public Sector	Private Sector
Food Products	2.42	4.33
Textiles	1.37	17.09
Jute, Paper, Leather, • Rubber, Plastics	1.05	5.27
Petrol & Coal	3.90	2.53
Chemical	14.44	16.03
Non metallic mineral products	3.26	5.69
Electronics	5.69	2.96
Machinery	24.87	18.57
Basic Metals & alloys	30.25	12.66
Transport Equipment	7.17	5.48
Other Mfg. industries	5.58	9.39

This table shows that distribution of a very large part of our engineering and technical personnel is still subject to the rule of private capital in many strategic industries, whose supplies and price-fluctuations hit the common man for the profits of the big monopolies, such as in food products, textiles, jute and leather, chemicals and many other manufacturing industries. Due to the limitations of capitalist system, much of this personnel remains underpaid or unemployed.

Our people are now aware of the fact that the consumer industries, where the people of India are most exploited by high prices, short supplies and bad quality are in the clutches of private monopoly capital and the owners in these very industries are the biggest anti-social force in declaring closures, lock outs and other attacks on the workers and people. Hence the best formations of our scientific, engineering and managerial personnel though growing in such numbers and quality are being exploited not for social growth and national benefit but for personal capitalist profit. The sacrifices that our country is making, since independence, to build our own personnel have certainly yielded results but the gains from it are appropriated by an exploiting class for its selfish gains.

Hence, in such a situation what is the task of the TU movement and what should be the attitude of the workers to this class of intelligentsia?

No doubt many of this personnel holding supervisory or key executive positions have to exact work and fulfil the norms of production, whether in the State sector or private. As such they appear in the role of direct and immediate "slave-drivers", of labour, demanding efficiency, speed, obedience, etc.

Under the habits of private capitalist culture from which they pass on to the State-capitalist structure, they evoke the dislike or opposition or even hatred of the workers depending, many a time also on the character of the person concerned. At present there is no remedy to this in the private capitalist sector, except collective resist-

ance and collective argument with the personnel concerned, majority of whom are capable of change.

In the *Public Sector* which has over 50,000 managers with good intellectual and technical equipment and which is of more strategic and of better socio-political value in the independent, national and anti-imperialist growth, the trade unions have to evolve patient dialogue with the personnel and management and work out effective implementation of the slogan of workers' participation in management. The re-education of our own national personnel into giving up the ideology and attitudes of the exploiting bourgeoisie and in the present crucial period of national and democratic growth which is proclaiming of aims of socialism, a *better relationship between the workers and the new personnel of our growing national economy* has to be brought about. The AITUC trade union schools, its trade union committees at the workshop level have to undertake this task in which ideological education based on scientific class-outlook will pay a positive role.

This, in short, is the position where our working-class and our national development stands on the four major planks of anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive transformations, which all newly-liberated and developing countries have to and are following.

We will now turn to the serious situation in which our country, its economy and politics and particularly its working-people and the working peasantry were thrown by the "complicated process of class-differentiation" and the consequent intensity of the class-struggle and the Rule of the Emergency came up on the scene.

THE ECONOMY, THE WORKER AND THE EMPLOYERS

It needs no clarification to say that the Indian economy is run on the capitalist path and hence is subject to all the evils of capitalism that it imposes on the workers and the working-masses from the peasantry and the middle-class and all the vicissitudes that the capitalist crisis generate for the country as a whole.

The zigzags of economic and political crisis have been intertwining together in a very dangerous way since the crisis of 1969-71, when the monopolists and landlords came into the open and tried to shift the ruling Congress Party to the Right. But they failed and the Congress Party shifted into the line of some progressive measures to curb the extreme manifestations of the growing monopoly capitalist circles inside the country and their allies from outside. As the Prime Minister and her supporters in the ruling Congress section began to amend the constitution and take other economic measures, the monopolists created economic bottlenecks and on the slightest pretext provoked the workers into strike-struggles, in order to find an alibi for the monopolist sabotage of production and supplies. It is needless to go into any detailed discussion of this question, as we have dealt with it in the AITUC meetings before, when and where they wanted deliberately and planfully cut down production and cut the wages in some lines and even gave bonuses despite losses or increased production in some lines. Their planned sabotage of essential consumer goods, their attack on the public sector with the aid of their allies in the bureaucracy is now well known. And when Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam started taking firm administrative steps to reorganise and recast the managerial structure of the Public Sector, they hated him for it. As everybody knows the bust up of the Supreme Court Judges some of whom were bent upon the propping up the monopolies against Government's progressive measures showed to the people, how the class-war and the inner class-contradictions in the bourgeoisie were taking complicated turns in our economy, politics, jurisprudence, the parties of the exploiting classes as also some parties of the sectarian left.

Recently, the whole of our working-class including the middle-class employees were shaken and agitated by the action of the Government and particularly, the monopoly-oriented Finance Ministry, when it impounded a part of the workers wages and dearness allowance and cut down the annual bonus payments. The Ministry put

forward the argument that increasing scale of wages and bonuses were putting too much money in the hands of the workers and thus causing inflation, rise in prices and affecting production of essential consumer goods and growth of capital investments. The Ministry and its bourgeois theoreticians who are supposed to know the intricacies of capitalist finance attributed the price rise to rising wages, dearness allowance and bonus, while the working-class leadership everywhere, even in capitalist countries attribute the rise in prices to the activities of monopoly finance, their control of the market, their policies to cut down production in quantity and real value but inflate it in prices and money value, with the aid of the banks and whole bourgeois monetary system. The world capitalist system, now frequently in the throes of frequent crisis can guard its super-profits only this way. And where the workers try to replace it by a democratic and socialist-oriented system they bring about political coup de etat and destabilisation, to open the road to the rule of Right Reaction or fascism.

But while doing all this, many a time, the class-divisions and the conflict of a sectoral interests in the ranks of the bourgeoisie itself or its service intelligentsia fail to agree with the total Right Reactionary section in all its manoeuvres and unwittingly expose them.

We have mentioned this because after the freezing of additional wages and D.A. and reducing the bonus quantum the Finance leadership and even the Prime Minister were proudly announcing to the non-working-class world that India had succeeded in curbing inflation by reducing the workers incomes accompanied by a very strict surveillance over the manufacturers, traders, smugglers, income tax evaders and such other sections in the economy. We should have been too glad, if the philosophers of the ethics of the capitalist system and the economic experts had proved us and the workers wrong and the Government and their bourgeois admirers right. But, unfortunately for the Governmental leadership and for the peo-

ple, things have not gone the way they thought they would go, if the wages and incomes of the toiling masses were cut.

First we would like to quote here how even the spokesmen of capitalist finance and its theoreticians are unable to explain some of the mysteries of the actions of that class.

We have given here, in the statistical part of this report, table extracted from the survey of 1650 companies in the private corporate sector made by the Reserve Bank Bulletin of September 1975. It is a table which is very valuable to understand the mechanics of the economic activities of capitalism in relation to production, the value added by labour and how much share the workers get out of the surplus created by their activity in the form of wages, salaries and bonus. If we look at the share of the workers in the form of wages, D.A. and Bonus in the value added by their labour, the share of salaries, wages and bonus in value added (%) at the time of the first Plan (1952) stood at 63.6. In 1970-71 it came down to 38.0 per cent. Then it went up to 59.3 per cent in 1971-72. And again came down to 38.1 per cent in 1972-73 and 38.2 per cent in 1973-74. So the workers share in the wealth created by them has been going down. The sudden spurt to 59.3 per cent in 1971-72, the political crisis year was not due to any big increase in wages or D.A. It was due to the manipulation by the big capitalists acting in collusion with the landlords and big traders to raise the prices and value of raw materials consumed. This value is suddenly shown to have risen from Rs. 4361.60 crores in 1970-71 to 5920.91 crores. And then it fell to 5280.67 crores in 1972-73 and again rose to Rs. 5820.55 crores in 1973-74. But for the manipulated rise in prices of raw materials, the workers share in value added remained more or less the same. And in spite of this share of the workers not showing any rise but rather a fall, the workers were blamed for the rise in prices and crisis of production. And when their real wages began to suffer due to the rise in prices, they had to go into action to protect the falling real value of their earnings.

Thus having provoked the workers to take to strikes and bundhs, the monopolists blamed the fall in production to the strikes and bundhs, which actually they and the bureaucracy wanted to use for their reactionary aims to overthrow the new political line and regime of Mrs. Indira Gandhi which actually was taking to some progressive changes to arrest the growth of monopoly property and to overcome the feudal landlords' refusal to carry out land-reforms. The bureaucracy even provoked the railway workers to go on strike by refusing their modest demands. It is their reactionary bosses who inflamed the strike and then suppressed. It was later found that some at least of the strike leaders, not belonging to AITUC had in mind the sabotage of the big public sector plants to help a base for reactionary take over of power.

Instead of looking at the phenomenon of strike actions in this way, the ruling leadership blamed the unrest and the contemplated coup on the workers demands for pay rise and bonus and the rise in prices on the pay and D.A. At the same time they failed to notice the rise in productivity of workers. They only noted the fall in the total national product which had come to almost zero growth.

They did not seek the remedy to the situation in taking over the big monopoly-houses, who controlled all key levers of consumer goods, like textiles, sugar, oil, etc. They yielded the highest rates of profit to the monopoly houses both in home sales, in exports, in raw materials (viz cotton, jute, oil seeds, tea, etc.) and that enabled the monopoly houses to blame the bad state of the economy on two factors—*one*, the workers wages, D.A. and Bonus and *two*, the huge capital investments on the heavy industry in the public sector. These big sharks of capitalism easily manoeuvred the Government into courting the displeasures of the working class.

The bureaucracy and the "expert leadership" of finance and other sectors, having fulfilled their anti-working-class role in the name of saving production, found itself face to face with the challenge of Right Reaction, organised for the 25th June show and its next stage the take over of

power. But that manoeuvre failed due to the pre-emptive action taken by the Prime Minister, though she had been dead set against the workers' demands and their action to defend their interests. The Emergency totally paralysed the workers' actions and encouraged the monopolists to take their next tactical manoeuvre to achieve the same aim, in which they had failed politically by 25th June Emergency action. They demanded concessions and credits. They demanded that the take overs of closed units be stopped or be done with full compensation and financial support to the remaining sectors. The bourgeoisie demanded a price not to join hands with the anti-Indira conspiracy and even her new schemes of constitutional changes, if they were paid their price. The market would come to normal production, the Government would take over the so-called bankrupt house. It could even carry out income tax raids, the concealed wealth of 1500 crores would be surrendered provided enough room was given to the monopoly high finance to make super-profits.

The conspiracy failed politically but it succeeded in its financial and industrial aims, to get unlimited credits, a high profit rate, and a severe curb on the workers. And in return would the inflation and price rise be held in check? No—it would not. The Prime Minister in her interview to the press had to admit that the price-rise and inflation is round the corner again! Where has it come from when wages and DA are frozen, when the Government treasury impounded 1000 crores of workers earnings, when black marketeers and hoarders have been warned and some also put in jails?

We from the restrum request the Prime Minister to look around how her own finance and commerce ministries are conceding the unending parasitic, monopoly—breeding demands of the big capitalist class, who still are the all powerful class, making and unmaking the political and economic imbalances in the Indian socio-economic set up.

Let us as a sample put down some remarks of the big bourgeois leadership on the situation in politics and economy.

In politics they are all opposed to the constitutional changes proposed by the Government. But they all want the Government to fulfil their demands. They would then increase production (already being done in many sectors as a proof of their good will and also the guilty hurry to show that they were not part of the Reactionary Conspiracy of take over), they have already raised the rate of production and exports (of course at the expense of the State) and would beat all records to prove their loyalties and capacities. With flaring headlines the *Times of India* reported on September 13th 1976, that "industrial growth in the first quarter of the current financial year has been as high 16.1 per cent, easily the highest rate achieved in the history of independent India. Previously it has never been possible to exceed 11 per cent growth in one quarter".

The report makes the following comments on the future prospects:

"The index of industrial production at 132.4 in June last was higher by almost 19 per cent than in June 1975. Coming on top of the 15 per cent growth registered in April and May, this has strengthened the buoyant trend in production."

"It is worth recalling that production was also very good in the January-March quarter at 10.2 per cent which at the time was the second highest growth rate ever registered in one quarter. This has now been completely eclipsed by the April-June performance.

"Last year, two contrary trends were discernible on the industrial scene. The core sector did very well with substantial increase in the production of power, coal, steel, fertilisers, and non-ferrous metals; but the consumer goods and construction sector presented a sad picture of falling demand and production. This was why the private sector wailed incessantly about a recession even though industrial growth as a whole improved thanks to the sterling performance of the core sector." (It should be noted that the core sector is actually the Public Sector, which the bourgeois reporter does not wish to high light.)

"This year consumer goods and construction sector have revived with a vengeance, while the core sector has continued to do very well. Textiles, which account for 23 per cent of the weightage in the production index, achieved a big jump of around 13 per cent in the April-June quarter. "There has also been considerable improvement in the output of plastics, radios, cigarettes, baby food, man-made fibres, bicycles, cars, TV sets and a wide range of other consumer goods. Steel and power output have improved by a record margin of over 20 per cent and aluminium, fertilisers, copper, zinc, lead, heavy engineering and heavy electricals have registered impressive gains. Bombay High has done its bit in increasing the output of crude.

"The only core sector industry in some trouble is coal, where production curbs have become necessary in view of large unlifted stocks.

"It is most unlikely that the growth rate of 16 per cent can be maintained for the rest of the financial year. The fact is that production was very depressed and actually fell in April-June 1975, and it is only in comparison with this very low base that such a high growth rate has been achieved. In the subsequent quarters of 1975-76 production picked up smartly, and compared to these higher bases it will be very difficult to maintain a 16 per cent improvement. However,, there should be no difficulty in hitting the annual target of 10 per cent."

In the above commentary, the remark that "production was very depressed and actually fell in April-June 1975 really reveal the complicity of monopoly circles in the conspiracy of the attempted June 1975 take over. It failed and the monopolists to cover up their tracks fell in line and resumed the growth of production. They made the profits but we workers got frozen in our incomes.

The Reserve Bank report has something more to add of significance. While noting the upsurge its report "has suggested establishment of a system to detect signs of emergence of imbalances of supply and demand in isolated pockets, sectors and commodities, and ensuring effective management for correcting such imbalances without delay."

It stresses that administrative skills and capability for the purpose of maintaining adequate stocks of sensitive commodities and eliminating imperfections in the distribution mechanism should be developed further.

And in faithfulness to its class-nature it warns against the effects of payment of the impounded money of the workers. But it certainly wants the bourgeois demands to be satisfied, with the usual empty talk of "monetary and fiscal discipline" etc.

In the meanwhile, due to the pressure of the workers and all democratic opinion, all those factories including 103 textile mills which had declared bankruptcy and closed were taken over and nationalised. Even compensation of some 40 crores was paid to the mill owners, who had put the mills in bankruptcy but themselves had only grown richer. And now Government proposes to give the mills to the owners of solvent and profit-making mills "to nurse these sick units back to health." *Which means it will help the big profit-making monopolies to hide their super-profit in the so called "nursing" of these sick units.* There lies the cleverness of the bourgeois state and its "mixed economy", which soon expects to adopt the socialist ideal!

The monopoly circles as well as other bourgeois sections are extremely happy with the Government's fiscal policies which curbs the workers and allows them to be suppressed. At the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce in New Delhi on 20th July, 1976 the President of the FICCI made some very "modest demands" on Government.

"In the near future exports would have to be supported through measures like duty drawbacks, supply of inputs at international prices, export credit at concessional interest, import replenishment and cash assistance".

Given all this what would these "captains of industry" do? Pocket the profits and assistance and send the units to bankruptcy and closures and again ask for takeover and compensation!

And the wonderful thing is that the Commerce Minister

immediately announced that "cash assistance for export promotion will now be available for a period of three years."

And those workers who produce these goods still have the threat of their frozen wages and DA remaining not fully repaid. Why this differential approach on the part of an impartial democratic Government?

When generously giving the subsidy did our friend, the Commerec Minister look into the fact that the financial journals report that this year we have had the largest foreign exchange reserves? One of the major factors which has imparted strength to our foreign reserves is the surge of export earnings. "During 1975-76 our exports reached a peak of Rs. 3943 crores, representing an increase of 18.4 per cent over the previous year's level". If one analyses the real meaning of the demands of the big bourgeoisie of the FICCI, it only asks for being fattened at the expense of the country, its people and specially its working-class.

There is some poignant humour in the positions taken by the big bourgeoisie and its supporters.

On the one side, we workers were told to shun the evil name of bonus and put restraint on our D.A. while on the other the limitations on dividend payments has been lifted. And the jubilant gentlemen started distributing "bonus shares" to their shareholders, which in actual fact means to themselves. The speculative stock-exchanges are booming and prices of sugar, cotton, cloth, edible oils have begun to soar.

Mr. G. D. Birla, one of the veteran builders of monopoly capital said in Bangalore, where the stock exchange gave a reception in his honour on 5th September 1976.

"After the Emergency, there was industrial peace and the gheraos and morchas which we dreaded in Calcutta have disappeared. Inflation had been checked and the foreign exchange position was good. The Government had taken keen interest in promoting investment and production and had done many things to improve the climate".

No doubt, we all like that our—only prayer is that we

also should be allowed to breathe in a better climate and not the one with pollution with which we are supplied by Birlaji's factories as for example it happened in Goa or is happening in Bombay and elsewhere and the "exchange" in our pockets should also be allowed to improve along with the slums, in which the gangsters and landlords harass us. His final advice was "India was not a country but a world by itself. India had resources, skilled man-power, a vast home market and the people were very intelligent". So, what should these intelligent people do? "The people should work hard and improve production" (*Hindustan Times*, 6.9.76) For whose benefit?

Hence, we said above that when the conspiracy of the Right Reaction and monopoly-landlord classes had failed by the two pronged attack of destabilising the economy through provocative attacks on the workers by lock outs, closures, high prices and fomented strikes and the attack of 25th June 1975, the big bourgeoisie changed its line. They diverted the attack on their chosen circles by allowing the smugglers, hoarders and openly fraudulent speculators to be arrested and detained. They disowned any idea of removing Prime Minister Indira Gandhi from power and immediately proceeded to demand "cash subsidies" and more concessions to multiply their millions at the cost of the working-class and the poor peasantry.

But the Prime Minister does not seem to be so gullible as these gentlemen believe. In her latest speech at Trivandrum on 13th September 1976 she said: "*we have subdued inflation, but it was still round the corner waiting to come back.*" But who is now the culprit to bring it back?

Our answer is that the culprit is the same old one—the monopoly—landlord classes, who still hold the economy in their power.

Hence their greatest operating field that is their ownership of the consumer goods producing industry and their still surviving control over the banking system and the bureaucracy has to be taken out of their hands and put in the public sector. Unless this is done, there will be no stability to the Indian economy, despite all the arrests of

smugglers and the freezing of workers incomes or the clearing of the slums, which renders the workers shelterless and the urban landowners rich. We hope the Prime Minister, who is the decisive force in present day developments in India will give a sympathetic ear to our plea.

When a clean sweep of the big monopoly houses will be made by further nationalisation measures, when the feudal lords on land will have been deprived of their exploiting power and their equipment of committing violence, when the working-class, the poor peasantry and the intelligentsia will be brought into full control of the socio-economic system, then alone the new democratic and socialist-orientations and aims declared in the constitutional amendments will bear fruit for the benefit of the people. It is with this expectation that the AITUC supported the Emergency and its progressive content of the 20-point programme. We did it with the full realisation that when the exploiting-classes and their allies in the bureaucracy will try to use its negative features to the detriment of the working masses and their democratic actions, those, who showed the foresight to act so positively and properly in the June 75 events, will also act again to negate the negative features, which are likely to erode the gains made and give room for Right Reaction to raise its head again under the cover of defending the people against the new autocracy. Hence we support every measure that is progressive and democratic in the implementation of the 20-point programme. But we also defend our established and hard earned gains and resist encroachments on them by whomsoever made, in a peaceful way on the basis of our platform and ideology and in unity with all progressive forces in the T. U. movement.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

It is a welcome event that the piecemeal but progressive amendments that began to be made in the Constitution of the country when certain anti-monopoly and anti-landlord acts and actions of the Government began to be overruled by judicial pronouncements are now being given a thorough overhaul.

The necessity to do so was seen long ago, in fact since the very day the Constitution came in force, when the Acts calling for abolition of the Zamindari system were passed but were ruled out in terms of the Constitution itself.

From its very inception, the Constitution was a compromise in the struggle between the property rights of the exploiting classes and the right of the exploited classes to abolish those rights and establish a new social order and a state with a new democratic and progressive class content.

The exploiting classes always succeeded in protecting their class-interests or preventing their complete erosion by resorting to the judgements of the judiciary, which generally went in favour of the interests of the propertied classes and justified and legalised on the basis of the Constitution.

The amendments proposed to be adopted by the Parliament have been before the people and have been discussed by all the political parties and other bodies. As a result a comprehensive amending bill is going to be put before the Parliament.

We do not wish to go into any detailed discussion of the amendments as such in this report, though it would have been better if all trade unions and factory committees had brought the question before the working people for education and discussion.

The most important change is the introduction of the aim to build a *socialist* order of society. This is a very welcome change though the structure of State power, even after the amendments are made is not cast into a mould that can enable the exploited working masses to realise socialism.

Apart from the structure, in which even in the new form, the bureaucracy remains the main executive organ and the execution of laws is not done through the day to day participation of the elected representatives of the working masses at the lowest levels, the amendments in their present form do not define the aims or content of a socialist order of society.

In fact that idea of outlining the features of a really democratic society where the exploiting classes, especially the monopolists do not dominate the economy was given some vague shape and expression in the Directive Principles. Even then, the content of socialist order remained undefined. And there are enough forces who are quite willing to reconcile socialism with the rule of capitalism.

This is the reason why many people object to removing the right to Property from fundamental rights. But some democratic people even justify the provision in the name of protecting small peasant property.

The present process of amending constitution is really an expression of the growing class-struggle in our country, where feudalism and monopoly capital both combine to dominate the country and the working masses. Hence it would be good to define the content of the word 'socialist'.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was confronted with this problem, when he wanted to introduce socialism in the ideals and ideology of the Congress Party even before independence.

Pt. Nehru in one of his letters to Indira Gandhi writes that "Socialism, I have told you, is of many kinds. There is general agreement, however, that it aims at the control by the state of the means of production—that is, land, mines and factories and the like—and the means of distribution, like railways, etc., and also banks and similar institutions. The idea is that individuals should not be allowed to exploit any of these methods or institutions, or the labour of others, to their own personal advantage.

"Today most of these are privately owned and exploited, with the result that some people prosper and grow rich, while society as a whole suffers greatly and the masses remain poor. Also a great deal of the energy of even the owners and controllers of these means of production goes at present in fighting each other in cut-throat competition. If instead of this private war there was a sensible arranging of production and a well-thought-out distribution, waste and useless competition would be avoided, and the present great inequalities in wealth between different classes and peoples would disappear. Therefore produc-

tion and distribution and other important activities should be largely socialised or controlled by the state—that is, by the people as a whole. That is the basic idea of socialism.”

In his 1936 presidential address at the Lucknow session of the Congress Nehru declared: “I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world’s problems and of India’s problems lies in socialism, and when I use the word I do so not in a *vague humanitarian* way but in the scientific, economic sense. Socialism is, however, something more than an economic doctrine; it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me.

“I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian states system. That means *the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense*, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of cooperative service. It means ultimately a change in our instincts and habits and desires. In short, it means a new civilisation, radically different from the present capitalist order.”

These definitions should be quite acceptable.

All amendments therefore, should be so made as to bring about this kind of socialist society. How to recast the Constitution as to become an instrument of realising that aim should be the real problem before the Parliament.

As regards right to property, even if it is kept in the fundamental rights, it should be defined. In this some articles in the Soviet Constitution (given in Appendix) which is the fundamental law of that society, can be studied.

The fundamental Duties of citizens are very vague on certain points and can open the road to autocracy and authoritarianism of the bureaucratic type.

We do not propose to go into any more details here.

APPENDIX

Article 6: State property, that is property belonging to the whole people, shall comprise the land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, the factories, mills, mines, railways, water and air transport, the banks, means of communication, large state-run agricultural enterprises (state farms, machine-and-tractor stations, etc.), municipal institutions and the bulk of urban housing.

Article 7: The common, socialist property of the collective farms and co-operative organisations shall comprise the communal enterprises of collective farms and co-operative organisations with their livestock and implements, the output of the collective farms and cooperative organisations, as well as their communal buildings.

In addition to its basic income from communal farming, every collective-farm household shall have a small plot of land attached to the house for its own use and, as its personal property, a subsidiary husbandry—a house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements—in conformity with the rules of the agricultural artel.

Article 8: The land occupied by collective farms shall be allocated to them for their free use for an unlimited time, that is, forever.

Article 9: In addition to the socialist economic system, which is the predominant economic form in the USSR, the law shall permit small private undertakings of individual peasants and handicraftsmen, based on their own labour and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

Article 10: The law shall protect the right of citizens to have personal property in the form of earned income and savings, a house and a house-and-garden plot, articles of household and personal use and convenience, and also the right of citizens to inherit personal property.

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30TH SESSION ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

ON WAGE D. A. AND BONUS

During the earlier period of emergency, large section of the working class gained in terms of real wages. This was mainly due to the following factors:-

1. Fall in prices.
2. Upward revision of statutory minimum wages (including wages of agricultural workers) and a number of wage revision agreements on a national or local level.

The Indian Congress and AIITUC had largely underlined the growth of the economy as a result of unprecedented rise in the prices of all essential commodities. At times non-availability of essential commodities in many industrial centres leading to black marketing and profiteering were rampant.

Measures taken under the emergency and in pursuance of the 20-point Economic Programme against the economic offenders helped to bring down the prices.

The Consumer Price Index which stood at 322 in June 1976 dropped to 282 in March 1976. There are complaints of manipulation in compiling the Consumer Price Index. There has also been an increase in prices of some essential commodities like edible oils and sugar in recent weeks. In fact the Consumer Price Index figure has again risen to 307 by July 1976. But notwithstanding these negative features, the situation of prices and availability of commodities has been much better during the emergency than prior to it.

This is the first positive feature of the post-emergency period. The second feature has been upward

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1. Fall in prices.
2. Upward revision of statutory minimum wages (including wages of agricultural workers) and a number of wage revision agreements on a national or local level.

The Indore Convention of AITUC had sharply underlined the growing deterioration in the living standard of the workers as a result of unprecedented rise in the prices of all essential commodities and the growing scarcity and at times non-availability of these commodities in many industrial centres. Hoarding, black-marketing and profiteering were rampant.

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The Consumer Price Index which stood at 328 in June 1976 dropped to 286 in March 1976. There are complaints of manipulation in compiling the Consumer Price Index. There has also been an increase in prices of some essential commodities like edible oils and sugar in recent weeks. In fact the Consumer Price Index figure has again risen to 297 by July 1976. But notwithstanding these negative features, the situation of prices and availability of commodities has been much better during the emergency than prior to it.

This is the first positive feature of the post-emergency period. The second positive feature has been upward re-

vision of wages and particularly of the workers covered by the Minimum Wages Act.

In most of the States, there has been an improvement in statutory minimum wages ranging from 10% to 30%.

The wages of agricultural workers have also been revised upward and in some States the agricultural workers have been brought under the minimum Wages Act for the first time. The Equal Remuneration Act came into force in October 1975. But the employers particularly of plantations have imposed increased workload on women workers as a condition of equal remuneration.

While the fall in prices has benefited all sections of workers, the revision of minimum wages has largely benefited the unorganised sections.

In those organised sections where the wages also include a scheme of Dearness Allowance linked with the Consumer Price Indices, the gains in real wages have been partly neutralised by a fall in the DA., & impounding 50 % of all DA increases under CDS.

The fall in the D.A. has been substantial in Industries like Cotton Textile Jute, Cement, Chemical, Steel, Oil, Bank, Insurance, Engineering etc.

During the emergency, the bargaining power of the Trade Unions has generally declined. In the private Sector, the employers are taking full advantage of the emergency and are not prepared to improve wages through collective bargaining. Even in the case of multinational companies where a practice of periodical wage revisions after every three years or so prevailed, the employers are adopting a very stiff attitude. They are either refusing to negotiate any fresh wage agreement or adopt deliberate delaying tactics or offer small concessions and put forward counter demands on the unions. These counter demands include increase in work load, cut in holiday and leave benefits and increase in working hours. A pet demand of the employers, these days, is to demand a ceiling on Dearness Allowance. This is the result of the Supreme Court judgement

in the case of Killick Nixon Ltd., where the court has justified the imposition of a ceiling on D.A.

In the Public Sector also, the bureaucratic managements in many units are taking advantage of the emergency situation to increase the work-load of the workers, to withdraw or restrict certain benefits like construction allowance, medical aid, overtimes etc. In several Public Sector units, negotiations are prolonged for months and months in the name of awaiting instructions from the Bureau of Public Enterprise.

However, inspite of serious limitations on the bargaining power of the Trade Unions, there have been signed several good settlements on wages, D.A. and fringe benefits in Steel, Coal and Oil in the Public Sector.

The agreements have been reached through the united and joint efforts of the AITUC, INTUC and HMS and their affiliated unions represented in the negotiating bodies.

In some other Public Sector Industries (for example Fertiliser Corporation of India) negotiations for wages have been dragging on for almost a year and there is no settlement in sight yet.

During the emergency, there have been a few settlements in the multinational Private Sector, e.g. ICI Group of Companies, Avery India Ltd., Hindustan Brown Boveri Ltd., and some others. But the benefits given by these settlements have been generally lower than what these companies gave in earlier settlements.

In the Banking Industry, old bipartite settlement is over, but there is no early prospect of a new one. The same is the situation in Jute, Engineering, Ports and Docks, etc.

The extension of the CDS regarding D. A. for another year has also caused resentment among the workers. The delay in the payment of the instalment of impounded wages and talk of a "Workers Sector" is causing further alarm about the fate of their earnings impounded under the CDS.

It is, however, on the question of Bonus that the work-

ers have been hit hardest and the strongest resentment has been aroused against the Government's policy. In fact in many cases, the gains of the workers through price stabilisation have been entirely eroded through a drastic cut in Bonus in addition to the cut in D.A., as a result of lower index figures. So, in order to arrive at a correct assessment of gains and losses of the workers, the result of the new Bonus Law must also be examined in detail.

BONUS :

The new Bonus Law has completely changed the concept of Bonus as decided by the Bonus Commission and later on incorporated in the Bonus Act.

The new Law takes away the workers' right to a guaranteed minimum Bonus of even 4%. Even this is now subject to the existence of an allocable surplus and not profits only.

Section 34(3) of the old Bonus Act which allowed some collective bargaining on Bonus has been replaced. There is no scope left for any bargaining on the Bonus issue now.

The entire talk of linking Bonus to production or productivity has proved to be a hoax, as neither the Public nor the Private Sectors are willing to do this.

In fact, in both the Public and Private Sectors, there has been a lot of improvement in production as well as productivity, but in most cases bonus has been reduced. Such is the case in such important units of the Public Sector as Hindustan Machine Tools, Fertiliser Corporation of India, Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd. and several others.

The new Bonus Law has also nullified many existing agreements in which Bonus was not linked to profits and was based on performance, production or productivity.

The case of L.I.C. Bonus agreement is well known because a special Act had to be passed to make that agreement invalid. But there are many other agreements on Bonus in other Corporations, both Public Sector and Private Sector which are not being implemented, such for

example, in the case of Bharat Refineries, Shipping Corporation, HMT, Caltex, Hindustan Petroleum etc. In Bharat Refineries, there is an agreement for 10% Bonus but no Bonus at all is being paid, not even 4%. So in the very first year of nationalisation, workers in Bharat Refineries (Marketing) are suffering a total loss of Bonus.

In Fertiliser Corporation the workers have given a much higher productivity but bonus has come down from 20% to 4%.

In H.M.T. Pinjore, both production and profits have more than doubled but Bonus has fallen from 20% to 4%.

There have been no doubt a few cases where 20% Bonus has been paid. In the Public Sector, for example, the Indian Oil Corporation, the Indo-Burma Petroleum Co., the State Trading Corporation have done so. In the Private Sector a few multinational companies like Indian-Oxygen, I.C.I I.E.L, ACCI, Brooke Bonds, Siemens, Goodyear, Dunlop etc., have paid 20% Bonus, but this in some cases is the result of past accumulated set-on.

The vast majority of the workers both in the organised and unorganised sectors have either completely lost Bonus or are being paid at a much reduced rate.

The loss of Bonus in most cases has been higher than any gains enjoyed by the workers as a result of either fall in prices or increases in their Basic wages.

The net result for the vast majority of workers is a decline in their purchasing power and a consequent fall in their standard of living. This overall decline in the earnings of the workers is leading to wide-spread discontent. This discontent is being utilised by the reactionary forces to undermine the workers' faith in the emergency and the 20-point Programme.

Further discontent is caused by the harassment which the workers face during the emergency on several other counts. The workers get further frustrated when he finds that he cannot even agitate peacefully to ventilate his grievances and defend his rights. He is sullen and angry and looks to the Trade Unions to find a solution to his problems.

The workers are today asking many questions in trade union meetings. They have supported the emergency and the 20-Point Programme. They have shown general improvement in Production and Productivity, they are working harder and even taking increased load, but why is their Bonus attacked? Why are their Trade Union rights curtailed? Why are his wages impounded? Why are his fringe benefits curtailed? Why is the fall in index much more than the fall in prices? Such are the questions that we face in the trade unions today.

N.A.B. is the name of that Bi-partite Committee at the national level where representatives of workers and employers sit together to discuss all the problems of industrial production and development. The idea for forming such a body was mooted in a meeting of TU representatives with AITUC delegation in a meeting of TU representatives with the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi on 24 July 1976, immediately after national Emergency was declared in the country. It was agreed by all TU representatives present and on instructions from the Prime Minister, the Labour Minister Shri K. V. Raghunath Reddy had consultations with employers' organisations and further consultations with TU organisations to give it an organisational shape. The first meeting of NAB with private sector employers and workers representatives (from INTUC, AITUC and HMT) was held on 29.7.76 in Delhi.

The meeting defined the tasks as follows:
"It was generally agreed that this body will discuss and give guidelines on all issues affecting production capacity and production in different industries and plants, and out bottlenecks and suggest changes wherever necessary in layout and plans including question of policy and of pricing and supplies. Workers' issues will also be included in this." (Proceedings of the meeting).

So it is a Bi-partite forum of employers and workers representatives at national level to discuss all issues of production (including workers' issues). We never had such a forum in India and definitely it represents a higher level than the tripartite Indian Labour Conference.

NATIONAL APEX BODIES, ITS FUNCTIONING & ASSESSMENT/TASKS

National Apex Body (NAB)

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Background

In India generally the industrial relations begin with the formation of trade unions, which have to be registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act XVI of 1926. The States come in the picture and with various, laws, rules and practices, this registration of trade unions is not an easy task though the degree of difficulties encountered varies from state to state.

There is no law for compulsory recognition of trade unions. Code of Discipline is on voluntary basis and in Maharashtra, Gujarat and M. P. the law provides some guidelines in this respect. These have not worked satisfactorily.

For all major issues of collective bargaining, the procedure was through the Governmental agency. For fixation of Minimum wages and hours of work Government was to decide. Later this job was taken up by labour Courts, Commissions, Tribunals. ILC and its industrial committees discussed workers' issues and sometimes agreements were also arrived at. Tripartite Wage Boards followed in 1957.

Collective bargaining on workers issues at local plant or industrial level has been going on in this country depending upon the strength of unions. The first major industry-wise collective agreement in the service sector was that of Banking with AIBEA. Steel industry has first collective agreement with all the unions and national centres and public & private sector employers participating in it in the year 1969. Thereafter there were more such agreements in cement, sugar, coal, NMDC, HMT, HAL etc. in subsequent years.

ILC had a limited agenda fixed by the Government and its decisions were binding on none. Usually Labour and the employers took up their extreme positions and left it to the Government to bring compromise formulae or leave the issue unresolved. This form had lost its utility and was not functioning for the last 4-5 years, though tripartite meet-

ings for specific purpose were being called from time to time by the Labour Department.

The argument about multiplicity of TUs, an excuse with the employers and the Government to deny collective bargaining, had been blown up with the agreements in many industries between 1969 and 1975. One of the reasons of declaring national emergency was the sad state of affairs of the national economy. Production had gone down, inflation was galloping. Public sector was in pretty bad shape. Scarcity of essential articles was a common phenomenon.

Besides taking steps against smugglers, hoarders, speculator and devising proper distribution system with fixed prices, to achieve success in this battle production has to be raised and full capacity utilisation ensured. Both public and private sectors were to be geared up. Industrial relations were to be levelled up.

For fulfilling these tasks, first of all the unity of working class was necessary. At least those organisations which supported the national emergency had to come together to fulfill these tasks. AITUC and INTUC had fully supported the national Emergency from the very beginning. HMS had reservations—one section supporting it and the other opposing it.

It was necessary that AITUC, INTUC and that section of HMS come together and have a forum to discuss not only industrial relations but all the issues with the Employers at first at national level and then at State, industry and local levels. Since the crisis was deeper in private sector and they were dealing with items required for consumption of common people, it was thought that they should be dealt with first. The structure of public sector was different, some were even departmentally run, still others run by State Governments. As such NAB with Public sector will have to take different form. Our concept was that the workers section of NAB will meet different industries in public sector along with their Ministries separately as in the case of nationalised Textile mills or Banks.

The structure of NAB is that it consists of five representatives of AITUC and INTUC each and one of HMS (though usually two are present) representing workers and Four representatives of Employers Federation of India and All-India Organisation of Employers each, three of All-India Manufacturers Organisation and one of Small Scale Employers.

From among the Central Trade Organisations only those centres have been included in NAB which have supported the promulgation of national emergency and Prime Minister's 20-Point Programme. This was evidently to ensure fulfilment of the programme. Minister of Labour, his Deputy and officials of his Ministry are present in large number as observers. The Chairman of the meeting is alternately from workers' and employers' groups and by rotation each organisation presides. Labour Minister has presided over the first meeting and also the one held on 6th January 1976, (on the joint request of Employers' & Workers Group) which was addressed by the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi.

The secretarial assistance is being provided by the Labour Ministry. It has deputed one of the officials to carry out the duty on a whole-time basis. The expenses of the meeting and travelling expenses of the workers' representatives are borne by the Labour Ministry.

The agenda is fixed by the NAB itself and no subject is barred from the discussion. The conclusions are recorded on the spot by the Chairman of the meeting.

The Labour Minister takes an active interest in the proceedings—often giving information and his opinion on the issue being discussed. The Labour Minister is also the forum which NAB keeps Government informed of its decisions and opinion, and a chance to keep contact with State Govts.

NAB decided that in the states on the same lines and basis, State Apex Bodies should be set up. This has been a hard struggle. It was not possible for the NAB to take up and dispose of all the issues in the country by itself. Moreover,

in the present stage, cooperation of State Governments on the same lines as in the centre is necessary for the success of the scheme. Moreover, it was envisaged that NAB which will be mostly laying down policies and guidelines should be assisted by State Level Apex Bodies, National/State Level Industries Apex Bodies and By-partite Committees at local plant and industry level. When letters from the Minister of Labour did not succeed, a special meeting of NAB was convened on 6.1.76 with all State Labour Ministers present to discuss this issue. Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi addressed this session. Even now there are some states which have not yet formed State Apex Bodies. But majority of the States have done so.

National Industrial Apex Bodies have been formed in Engineering, Jute, Paper, Textiles, Cement, Chemical, and Plantations in private sector. It has been agreed to set up NAB in construction, sugar, and automobile industries.

In the public sector, for NAC (Textiles) and Banking Industry, the National Industrial Apex Bodies are functioning.

In steel and coal, Bi-partite Committees have been functioning earlier which were formed for wage negotiations and these are now dealing with production issues also. No representatives of the Labour Ministry participate in these Committees, as in other National Industrial Apex Bodies.

The Labour Minister convened a meeting of the representatives of Electricity Unions and Public and Private sector employers in the industry on 14.8.75. No other meeting was called thereafter. It was attended by Union Minister of Energy.

National Industrial Apex Bodies follow the same procedure as NAB in its functioning.

In some of the States, however, a different pattern is being followed, according to their situation. Usually, the Labour Ministers preside over State Apex Body meetings.

As regards plant-level co-ordination Committee, it was agreed with INTUC leadership that the workers will be represented on the following basis :

Recognised union—1

AITUC, INTUC and HMS one each provided they have a union in the concerned plant/industry.

This was not implemented and several months later on INTUC added the proviso that unions belonging to AITUC, INTUC and HMS to be represented on this local coordination committee should have a minimum percentage of membership, which will be verified through check off system. This formula of representation was devised earlier so as not to go into the controversy of who has larger or smaller membership. There have been difference of opinion on this issue between the INTUC and AITUC, who have supported the verification of membership and secret ballot respectively for determining majority following of union in a local plant/industry. For the immediate tasks before the nation and working class in India, reviving this controversy will not serve any purpose. United functioning will become difficult. Unfortunately INTUC now insists on determining through checkoff system membership of a union to be represented on the local coordination committee. Besides being opposed to the checkoff system in principle, we consider this will unnecessarily divert the attention of the workers from the main task and may in some cases help strengthen the sense of rivalry and conflict.

FUNCTIONING

NAB has provided a bilateral forum to discuss issues of industry and industrial relations at the national level—of course in the presence of Government representatives. Efforts are made to find solutions though in every case it is not possible as in certain cases the policies of the Government as a whole and not only of the Labour Ministry are involved. Presence of concerned Ministers in such a discussion has proved useful though it has not been possible on most of the occasions to have them in NAB and its NIAB meetings.

The setting up of the NAB, its composition and tasks as reported earlier, were agreed to unanimously.

There have been, and still are, differences on its utility. Some feel that unless the decisions of the NAB have some sort of legal binding, nothing useful can be achieved.

Agreed decisions were arrived at regarding the most burning issues of lay off, retrenchment of workers and closures of factories at its second meeting on 13.8.75. In the subsequent meetings also this issue was raised particularly by the workers' representatives complaining that employers are not abiding by the decisions taken earlier. Employers generally put the responsibility on the alleged recessionary trends in certain branches of industry and blamed Government's fiscal policies. This issue was referred to even by the Prime Minister in her address to the NAB on 6.1.76. Workers' group demanded that government should bring in an ordinance on this issue on the basis of the decision of NAB. Government ultimately, brought an ordinance in January 1976 on this issue but restricted its coverage to the factories employing 300 or more workers. In certain State Apex Bodies it has been agreed that in practice these provisions will also apply to factories employing less than 300 workers.

Early decision by Government on bonus was demanded unanimously by the NAB at its meeting on 18.9.75 but when Government issued an ordinance without consulting NAB, in the next meeting on 18.10.75 the workers' group expressed their disappointment while the employers approved of it.

On absenteeism, workers' participation in management, 7 days working (with reservation of AITUC), agreed conclusions were arrived at. The NAB also settled the issue of M/s Warner Hindustan Ltd. Hyderabad referred to it by the Andhra State Government. It set up a Compact Committee to discuss reopening of 15 mills and factories in 4 states which were either already closed or were threatened with closure. The Committee submitted unanimous report, which was in part approved by the NAB.

The main complaint of the workers' group has been that neither the State Government nor the employers fully implemented these decisions.

The other complaint has been particularly in the States that the committees have not met regularly.

The employers took a negative attitude when they did not even agree to have a unanimous decision in the NAB regarding evolving suitable scheme of production bonus at the unit level. The net result is that production bonus is being denied in many units even though production had gone up.

On similar lines in the NIAB's and State Apex Bodies also there had been agreements as well as disagreement on various issues.

As compared to Indian Labour Conference and its Industrial Committees which were functioning in this country for the last 30 years, where also it was said that they were merely talking shops, this forum of NAB has opportunity that it can agree on common issues without interference from the Third Party i.e. Government. It is upto the workers' and employers' representatives to take full advantage of it.

During this period of one year workers have been mostly engaged in discussion of issues of lay off, retrenchment and closure which affected full utilisation of production capacity. Other issues of policy have not yet been taken up. Let us hope that the major issues of production policy will also be discussed in this forum.

The whole scheme has no legal force yet. In a way it is better, otherwise, there will be possibility of its being captured by bureaucracy and red tape. But unanimous decisions of NAB and SAB should be given due weight by the Central and State Government and if necessary, made legally binding, in the larger interest of production and harmonious industrial relations.

For the success of bilateral negotiations, besides discussions and negotiations in the Committees, there should be support from the base below. This is totally absent now partly because of present political situation and also because the structure is not yet complete upto plant level.

One of the major set-backs to this scheme has been the attitude of the Government. It has not consulted this body

even on major issues of industrial relations which it has decided during this period viz. bonus, CDS, social security measures, scheme of workers' participation in industry etc.

While the interest the Prime Minister has taken in it at the beginning and then again participating in its meeting on 6th January 1976, has made others feel its importance, the absence of other concerned Ministers particularly Finance, Industry in its deliberations has made its job difficult. Certain sections in Government circles do not favour it for various reasons.

Besides, certain State Governments are still refusing to set up State Apex Bodies, and most of the Public Sector concerns and departmental undertakings have preferred to keep their old mechanism intact. For them bi-partism is reduced to calling meetings at their sweet will or giving interviews as and when they please. NAB has not been able to go beyond NTC and Banking industry to any other public sector or departmental undertakings.

Employers consider national emergency and the response of the workers for a greater production as a boon to take unilateral advantage of. Absence of largescale agitation in the past one year has made their attitude more adamant. With this outlook, fruitful discussions cannot emerge.

After initial enthusiasm in some States the meetings have become irregular.

For the success of bipartism it is necessary that the workers' group should be united. In the beginning there were regular consultations between the workers organisations i.e. AITUC, INTUC and HMS and united stand was taken. They agreed to have parity between AITUC and INTUC at NAB and State Apex Bodies. In NIAB they agreed to have representations in consultation with each other—not necessarily based on parity. At plant level a formula was devised. Subsequently, it is seen that the attitude of INTUC has changed. Even small issues of difference remain unsettled and are persisted in. Not only consultations have become formal; some of the bipartite forums have been used to demand recognition of INTUC trade unions (e.g. in banks) and whenever beneficial to

them, sought to be turned into collective bargaining and industrial relations agencies. Let us hope this is a passing phase. A divided working class will not succeed in any forum, bipartite or tripartite.

CONCLUSION/ASSESSMENT

1. The basis of the scheme is the unity of AITUC and INTUC at national and other levels. HMS was drawn in later on. This unity of working class forces supporting national emergency and 20-Point Programme has to be saved from cracks and further cemented. Unity of the working class is the basis for any successful bipartite scheme.

2. The structure has not yet been fully implemented in all States, not all NIABs have been set up and at plant level only recognised unions are talking to the management. It will take time to complete the structure. That should be done and the resistance from some of the States over-come.

3. Public sector units and departmental undertakings should be drawn into it and the attitude of the employing Ministries changed.

4. Discussions at the NAB and NIAB should not only be regarding some issues of industrial relations but also on industry, production bottlenecks, priorities and economies.

5. Certain sections of the bureaucracy which have hold over industrial relations are bound to react adversely. Bipartism still requires their presence. While utilising it we have to beware of their machination.

6. More regular meetings, discussions with proper preparations and an effort to arrive at settlements will improve functioning.

7. The Government should consult NAB and SAB on all important issues of industrial relations and legislations.

8. Working class will have to make serious efforts to make bipartism a success. Reverting to tripartism or full dependence on the state machinery—the only alternative—will only be a set back.

APPENDIX A

At the 9th meeting of the National Apex Body held on the 24th July, 1976, it was directed that a Report of the activities of the State Apex Bodies should be placed before the next meeting of the National Apex Body to be held on the 25th September, 1976. While the State Governments have been addressed in the matter, separately in connection with the proposal for bringing out a brochure on the National Apex Body information had been collected from the State Governments on the functioning of the State Apex Bodies and the important decisions taken therein.

2. State Apex Bodies have been formed in the following 16 States/Union Territories and the number of meetings held by such bodies is indicated against each—

1. State/Union Territory	No. of meetings held
1. Andhra Pradesh	2 (upto 29th April, 1976)
2. Assam	2 (upto August 28, 76)
3. Bihar	7 (upto July 6, 1976)
4. Haryana	NA
5. Himachal Pradesh	NA
6. Karnataka	1 (upto 9-1-76)
7. Kerala	5 (upto 31-8-76)
8. Maharashtra	11
9. Punjab	2 (upto 26-2-76)
10. Rajasthan	NA
11. Tamilnadu	2 (23-3-76 and 29-7-76)
12. Tripura	2
13. Uttar Pradesh	NA
14. West Bengal	3
15. Andaman & Nicobar Islands	NA
16. Pondicherry	NA

3. The State/Union territories of Jammu & Kashmir, Sikkim, Nagaland, Mizoram, Lakshadweep & Goa, Daman and Diu and Chandigarh do not feel the necessity of constituting such bodies. The State of Meghalaya has constituted a Labour Advisory Board which will function as State Apex Body.

4. The State/Union territories of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Arunachal Pradesh, Delhi, Manipur, Dadra and Nagar Haveli have yet to constitute the Apex Bodies.

In the tenth meeting of NAB held on 25-9-76 it was agreed that in the forthcoming meeting of State Labour Ministers to be held in the month of October 1976 Union Labour Minister will make one more effort to persuade the defaulting States to set up State Apex Body.



TRADE UNION RIGHTS AND TRADE UNION UNITY

It is the working class and the trade union movement that is most vitally interested in social progress, economic development and advance to socialism in this vast and ancient land of ours. And that is the reason why it stood up firmly against the 'Total (Counter) Revolution' movement of Right Reaction.

This is the reason also why the working class rallied in support of the Prime Minister when the promulgation of National Emergency was made to curb the forces of right reaction that were spreading anarchy in our country in league with the Imperialists aiming at destabilisation leading to the clamping of a despotic rule of status quo that would serve as a pliant tool in the hands of the neo-colonialists.

Indore Convention of the AITUC had declared in unmis-taken terms that "...the Emergency Powers must not be used to suppress or curb trade union rights of the working class, including the democratic rights of the working people in fields, factories, or offices".

Indore Convention of the AITUC had rightly point out that ... "Right Reaction cannot be defeated by means of Emergency Powers unless they are speedily used by the Government to attack and curb the vested interests who form the base of Right reaction, the monopolists, landlords, profiteers; hoarders and blackmarketeers and to introduce radical economic measures to bring relief to the working masses".

The Indore Convention advanced a comprehensive programme for this purpose which comprised of:

1. Opposition to US imperialism and domestic right reaction;
2. Effective steps to bring down prices, setting up of a proper public distribution system;
3. Defence, development and democratisation of public sector;

4. Opposition to closures, lay-offs and retrenchment, defence of TU rights;
5. Immediate implementation of land ceiling laws and protection to Harijans and agricultural labourers;
6. Take-over and nationalisation of Sugar, cotton textiles, foreign oil companies and foreign drug firms;
7. Take over of wholesale trade in food grains;
8. Repeal of Compulsory Deposit Scheme in respect of increased wage, D.A. and bonus; and
9. Drastic punishment of smugglers, hoarders, black-marketeers, tax evaders, etc.

In this context the AITUC welcomed the 20-point programme of the Prime Minister in so far as it attacked feudal reaction, afforded much needed relief to the most down trodden specially in the country side and in a way helped the growth of the country's economy. The AITUC was conscious of the limitations of this programme. It had no anti-monopoly and anti-multinational edge. It adhered to the capitalist path of development that was in serious crisis.

Nevertheless, firm growth orientation and increasing unity in action of the working class and the left and democratic forces could open up possibilities of overcoming the limitations of the Twenty-point programme and entering on the path supported by our Indore platform.

Our Indore Convention called upon the entire working class "to wage an integrated battle against Right reaction and in defence of its just demands and rights". It made a serious appeal "to the INTUC, HMS and to all other central TU organisations and independent Federations to come together urgently for the purpose of joint campaign and joint action to save our country from the conspiracy of Right reaction and open the way for united working class advance towards radical socio-economic progress".

A careful review of the developments since our Indore Convention will show that the working class did secure certain gains in certain sectors, such as an upward revision of the wages of agricultural workers in all states. Minimum wages have also been revised in a number of scheduled employments.

United stand by AITUC, INTUC and the HMS has yielded the amendment to ID Act with regard to retrenchment and lay off and closures.

But the negative features in the field of industrial relations are very serious too.

First and foremost shot at causing erosion of the earned rights of the workers was the Bonus Ordinance. This piece of law, at one stroke takes away the workers' rights earned in the course of decades of struggle.

Customary Bonus irrespective of profit or loss was an earned right even before the Bonus Law was enacted.

Bonus law gave 4% minimum bonus irrespective of profit or loss which quantum was later raised to 8% per cent—a month's wages. Bonus law permitted collective bargaining for a better share of bonus than provided under the law.

So Bonus was both a deferred wage and a bargainable item. The Ordinance knocks out both these earned rights. Even minimum bonus is linked to profits and available surplus. And collective bargaining is ruled out.

Bonus is linked to Balance Sheet and subjected to ugly capitalist manoeuvrings of accounts.

The amended Bonus law provides for Bonus linked to production. This again is very often illusory. Production under the capitalist system depends on profitability and can be brought down to maintain profits.

The Government has taken the unusual step of moving Parliament to alter the agreement with regard to 15% Bonus in the LIC that was signed under the I. D. Act with the approval of the Finance Ministry. They have unilaterally changed the Provident funds deductions in General Insurance from 8% of total emoluments—pay, personal pay and D.A. to 10% of only pay and personal pay. This goes in favour of officers whose pay is higher than D.A. and is to the disadvantage of the ordinary employees in whose case the D. A. quantum is very high.

Compulsory Deposit of additional D. A. has been extended by another year while the restrictions on disbursement of dividends and issue of Bonus shares have been removed.

Sri C. Subramaniam is clinging to his idea of freezing the impounded pay and D. A. and investing it in the so-called

workers' sector. He has gone on record that he will do it inspite of workers' resistance. He would fight "Labour Lordism" as he fought landlordism.

Such is his challenging tone. The attack on TU rights and gains is very serious.

The employers as a class have been taking full advantage of the emergency restrictions to mount their attack on workers. Workload is increased. Harassment of union activists has become menacing. Grievances are not attended to. Industrial Relations Machinery has become ineffective.

This is leading to frustration among the vast organised workers who have been the main urban support to the Prime Minister in her resistance to imperialist black mail and the intrigues of right reaction.

Attacks on the working class rights and erosion of the gains secured after decades of struggle will certainly be taken advantage of by the forces of the right that are regrouping themselves to strike back and also by the ultra left.

Heavy concessions have been given to monopolies both national and multinational. Their profits are rising. The prices that initially fell, have again started rising after the new budgets concessions to the capitalists.

Herein therefore is the basis and the need for united action of the trade union movement, in the main the AITUC, the INTUC, the HMS and independent Federations. Action that would defend the gains of the movement and action that would halt the concessions to monopolies and open the way for social progress. Working class cannot remain oblivious to the activities of domestic reaction and foreign imperialists. Shri B. C. Bhagwati, President of the INTUC had declared in his broadcast after the promulgation of emergency that "we hope and trust that steps will be taken by her (P.M.) not only to preserve and strengthen the political democracy of the people, and safeguard the rights under the constitution, but will also make democracy meaningful for the toiling masses by taking radical economic measures in the interests of the have nots, by removing basic causes, economic and social malaadjustment and disparity and to ensure gainful employment for all.

"In so far as the working class is concerned, what they seek

without delay is the establishment of a firm and equitable public distribution system of essential commodities, expeditious implementation of land ceiling laws, fixation of fair wages to industrial and agricultural workers, scrapping the CDS imposed on workers, employees and other professional people, employment guarantee scheme and respect for the rights of the toiling people and the trade union movement for securing their whole-hearted cooperation."

Surely the INTUC WILL bear out that Shri Bhagavati's hopes have not been met. The policy is moving in a reverse gear in so far as the "respect" for the trade union movement is concerned.

The question of AITUC-INTUC-HMS united action on this score is therefore an urgent question.

AITUC and INTUC and HMS were certainly getting closer on many major issues of industrial relations and trade union movement. The apex body had developed a utility dimension as distinct from the earlier tripartite meets purely due to AITUC, INTUC-HMS get together. The struggle against closures is a case in point.

But a disturbing trend is discernible in the recent period in the INTUC. Sections in the ruling circles and the monopolies and the multinationals undoubtedly are taking to a calculated course of driving a wedge between INTUC and AITUC.

Forces of right reaction have adopted a dual policy of a get-together outside the congress combined with a trooping into the Congress with a view to divide the democratic forces on the basis of anti communism. Those who were enthusiastically supporting the J. P. movement have been accepted into the INTUC. The aim is to wean it away from the AITUC and prevent joint action. The developments in the Banking industry, in the post and telegraph employees trade union, and in the Railways, the SER in particular, are indications of this disastrous trend.

And yet, down below, the workers are feeling the pinch and are expressing the need for united action. The recent campaign of Conventions conducted by the AITUC indicated this urge among the rank and file union activists.

United action has to remain our watch word and a slogan of persistent and patient activity among the masses. United action has to be not piece meal but on an integrated platform of opposition to imperialism and right reaction, defence of independence and development of economy, against the profiteering by monopolies, national and international, for nationalisation of essential consumer industries, for an effective public distribution system and for defence of TU rights and gains.

AITUC unions will approach the unions of INTUC and HMS on this basis. We will adopt all flexible forms of consultation and cooperation ranging from simple more or less periodical meetings, seminars and conventions to setting up of joint bodies for united action.

T. U. action is part of democratic action of the left and democratic forces. It is not a confrontation with the Government as the Parties of right reaction and the ultra-left would like it to be.

TU rights can be defended and promoted only as part of the democratic rights of the people exercised for democratic advance.

The AITUC unions will also have to give greater emphasis than that given so far to the question of union organisation. The union must function democratically. Old pattern of active leaders and passive masses would do immense damage. We have to learn and master new forms of agitation and propaganda in conditions of emergency. We have to scrupulously promote the unity of various healthy forces of the working class within our unions. Drawing together of activists of various political persuasions and of politically-unattached sections within our unions will increase the bargaining capacity of the unions and enhance their image and effectiveness.



BRIEF ACCOUNT OF STRIKES AND OTHER STRUGGLES

The period prior to the declaration of Emergency and after the Calcutta session of the AITUC in 1973, is marked by a series of long-drawn strikes particularly in the textile industries, both cotton and jute, in Bombay, Calcutta and Tamilnadu. AITUC-INTUC united strikes also took place in jute and coal mines. The loco running staff strikes in August and December 1973, tea garden workers strike in West Bengal, strike of Bata workers, Delhi Textile strike, Tamilnadu sugar workers longdrawn strike, strike at Dalmianagar (Bihar) are some of the notable strike actions in 1973-1974 period. Notable is also the all-India united strike of port & dock workers for 4 days in January 1975 leading to settlement on interim relief. Besides, in several States statewide bandhs were observed. The years 1973-74 experienced galloping inflation, artificial scarcity of commodities and skybound prices which largely conditioned the mood of the workers and people at large for resistance struggle. While the annual average consumer price index number (with base: 1960=100) stood at 202 in 1972, it rose to 236 in 1973, steeply climbed up to 304 in 1974 and the upward thrust continued till June 1975 after which index level gradually moved downwards. The July 1976 index which stood at 297 is still higher than that of 1973 annual average.

The high watermark of the strike struggle in the pre-emergency period was the 20-day old railway strike in May 1974. Although the railway workers heroically fought for winning their legitimate economic demands, certain reactionary and disruptive forces tried to use the strike to serve their own political interests. The strike was a massive one and met the full-blast of the state repressive machinery let loose to break the strike. The Central trade unions gave a call for all-India indus-

trial strike in support of the railway workers on 15 May. Nonetheless, the railway strike could not end with success. Thousands were victimised and still, a few hundreds are out of job. Special targets of victimisation had been the members and leaders of the AITUC unions. The AITUC Secretariat along with some MPs organised a daylong dharna before the Parliament on 20 November 1974 to highlight the issue of victimisation of railway workers and to demand their reinstatement. The jute and cotton textile strikes and the railway strike account for the bulk of the steeply increased mandays loss in 1974. In July 1974 came the attack on the working class, on their wages and DA in the shape of the compulsory deposit scheme on the plea of fighting inflation and price rise. There was countrywide agitation against this freeze, although temporary, on the increased wages and DA. But no major mass action took place except in some places.

The proclamation of Emergency in June 1975 created a completely new situation. The AITUC supported the Emergency as a necessary and timely measure to defeat the counter-revolutionary bid for power by the pro-imperialist forces. The Indore special Convention resolution adopted on the morrow of the declaration of Emergency called upon the trade unions to exercise vigilance and defeat any attempt to disorganise and sabotage production and the national economy. But as time went on the employers began to take full advantage of the new situation. While they launched a concerted offensive in the name of "recession" and resorted to massive lay-offs, retrenchments and closures, adverse working conditions were sought to be imposed on the workers, the emergency imposed severe restrictions on normal trade union activities and traditional forms of agitation, even holding of meetings and demonstrations. Even leaflets cannot be freely issued. The retrograde amendments to the Bonus Act while depriving workers of their right to bonus and thus giving corresponding financial relief to employers, further emboldened the employers. Attacks of the employers are not something new, the working class is used to them and can resist these attacks. But what is new in the present situation is the virtual blocking of normal channels to give vent to their grievances and feelings

and to resist the high handedness of the employers. But the situation is not obviously uniform in all parts of the country; restrictions and their degree vary from state to state. Both the employers and overzealous bureaucrats are trying to take advantage of the emergency situation to brow-beat the workers and impose adverse working conditions in the name of discipline and efficiency, thereby antagonising the working class and adding grist to the mill of reactionary and sectarian elements.

Despite restrictions, trade unions particularly of the AITUC in different states have availed of whatever scope and possibilities exist to mobilise the workers to defend their rights and benefits.

The AITUC called for a one-day dharna against the Bonus ordinance on 6 January 1976 and the response was magnificent. More than a lakh of workers participated in the dharna all over the country and about 20,000 were arrested on that occasion. Wherever possible, mass rallies and demonstrations also took place.

In January 1976 about 1000 workers were arrested under DIR from a coal mine in Western coalfields in Madhya Pradesh for protesting against unilateral change of shift by the management. Even after release on bail, several of them are still held under MISA. MISA and DIR have been handy to the managements and bureaucrats to terrorise and subdue the workers. About 5000 workers of Bermo colliery in Bihar who were retrenched got back their jobs after mass dharna.

In several States, conventions, sometimes with other unions including INTUC have been held for implementation of 20-point programme and for defence of workers' interests. Traditional May Day rallies were held this year also in all States, but in a much restricted manner. In Southeastern railway despite the Railway ministry's unabashed conspiracy in collusion with some disgruntled elements to disrupt the AITUC union, mass of the railwaymen in all centres on the railway has made known their loyalty and confidence on the union by mass meetings and demonstrations. For implementation of Government notified minimum wages, for repayment of impounded wages and DA, workers have held demonstrations and waited

on mass deputations even at the risk of vindictive actions. In jute mills in West Bengal both AITUC and INTUC unions organised mass deputations to the managements in April this year against imposition of harsher working conditions. Press workers and manganese mines workers of Orissa went on a day's mass leave for implementation of minimum wages fixed by the Government. The Bata workers of Calcutta were on strike for 39 days in February-March this year on bonus demand. In other Bata factories also strike for shorter periods took place. The National Tobacco Workers also of Calcutta, were on strike for five months from October 1975 to March 1976 to resist retrenchment. Besides sporadic strikes, organised strike actions have also taken place in the post emergency period although no fuller reports of all these strike struggles reach the AITUC centre. In a written statement in Lok Sabha on 26 August, 1976 the Deputy Labour Minister gave State-wise and Industrywise details of strikes that took place during one year of emergency comprising second half of 1975 and first half of 1976. According to the Statement, during that period, as many as 1,008 strikes took place involving 450,152 workers and loss of 3,168,891 mandays, the largest number of strikes having taken place in Maharashtra followed by Tamilnadu and West Bengal. Bulk of the strikes—as many as 486—have taken place in Manufacturing industries followed by mining and quarrying. The chart containing statewise particulars is given on next page.

In the countrywide campaign and padayatra for implementation of 20-point programme, one notable feature is the participation of industrial workers and trade unions. In some States the State committees took initiative in sending workers jathas to rural areas in support of the agricultural workers in their struggle for wages and for their housesites. Individual unions also on their own organised this campaign in villages in the vicinity of the factories and mines. Padayatras in urban and industrial areas also were organised as in Punjab and Bombay city.

In the development conferences that took place at State and other levels all over the country trade unions, particularly of

NO. OF STRIKES, WORKERS INVOLVED AND MANDAYS LOST DURING JULY, 1975 TO JUNE, 1976 (P)
BY STATES

State/Union Territory	January to June, 1976 (P)			July to December, 1975 (P)		
	No. of Strikes	No. of Workers Involved	No. of Man- days Lost	No. of Strikes	No. of Workers Involved	No. of Man- days Lost
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Andhra Pradesh	23	8,265	49,732	4	6,057	19,280
Assam	1	318	318	3	3,977	3,917
Bihar	50	10,314	30,970	47	7,518	30,226
Gujarat	32	4,814	25,829	35	3,617	25,756
Haryana	6	794	5,163	2	1,533	23,966
Karnataka	7	4,543	28,335	11	4,735	28,629
Kerala	25	6,883	52,319	14	1,614	19,591
Madhya Pradesh	23	5,298	6,349	22	4,140	8,575
Maharashtra	187	32,793	252,097	139	19,995	62,404
Orissa	4	1,064	4,999	5	415	453
Punjab	4	611	5,893	10	381	5,518
Rajasthan	9	2,556	25,490	8	1,566	11,091
Tamilnadu	120	127,120	695,067	70	43,628	430,819
Uttar Pradesh	37	18,617	93,107	40	12,126	48,688
West Bengal	76	56,947	373,099	59	32,037	721,846
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	222	222	—	—	—
Chandigarh	—	—	—	1	21	43
Delhi	11	423	3,978	7	4,321	17,536
Goa, Daman & Diu	3	1,363	27,309	2	266	184
Pondicherry	6	17,837	21,885	4	1,423	8,208
TOTAL:	625	300,782	1,702,161	483	149,370	1,466,730

(Statement in Lok Sabha on 26 August 1976)

(P) = Provisional

the AITUC participated in a big way. Many unions took initiative in organising local development conferences.

The working class of India has been in the forefront of the struggle against reactionary and sectarian forces and everybody in the government including the Prime Minister is all praise for the working class for their cooperation in boosting up production and maintaining industrial peace. But the working class has suffered most in the period of emergency due to the policy and measures of the government curtailing the rights and benefits of the workers and rampage of the employers particularly the monopolies to make the best use of the situation for their monopoly profits. The mood of the workers has thus becomes our and positive discontent is growing amongst the working class.

LAYOFFS, RETRENCHMENT, CLOSURES

In the name of recession and in order to blackmail the Govt. and workers, the employers within six months of the Emergency from July to December, 1975, laid-off half a million workers. The employers' Federation further threatened that "lay-offs will not only be inevitable, but may perhaps be on the increase", if their demands are not met by the Government. According to a statement in *Lok-Sabha* on 12 August, between December 1975 and May 1976 there had been lockouts in 119 establishments affecting 75,317 workers, 335 closures involving 57,684 workers and retrenchments affecting 8,806 persons.

The employers flouted even the guidelines adopted by the National Apex Body to which they were a party. In fact, the mounting wave of lay-offs and closures came up for discussion in successive meetings of the NAB. The AITUC demanded an ordinance to ban layoffs, closures, lockouts. Ultimately, the Government had to issue an Ordinance amending the Industrial Disputes Act (since put in the statute book) restricting the employers to some extent from declaring layoffs, retrenchments and closures excluding, however, lockouts which the employers are free to declare. The pace at which the employers had been resorting to lay-offs and closures has of course slowed down to some extent as a result of the statutory restrictions. Even then the offensive has continued with a view to putting pressure on the government to extract more and more concessions. The worst affected state in this respect is West Bengal particularly the Jute industry workers. The Jute employers are freely using lockout as a weapon despite thunder of the Union Labour Minister against taking recourse to lockouts, to force on the workers with the help of the obliging government harsher working conditions, cutting down earnings, increasing workloads etc. Thousands have already been retrenched. The Jute employers

freely violate even unanimous decisions of the Jute Apex meetings. But the Government seems to be so taken in by the cry of "crisis", that it condones many misdeeds of the employers. In Hindustan Motors of the Birlas, about 9,000 workers have been retrenched, and the remaining workers are being laid-off by rotation. Of the half-a-million workers laid off in the first six months of Emergency, West Bengal accounted for about one-half.

It is officially admitted that whatever mandays were lost in the period of Emergency and production disrupted, these are mostly due to the action of the employers. The Union Labour Minister stated in *Rajya Sabha* on 21 May 1976, that "more mandays were lost not because of the workers' action but because of the action of the management". But we have not heard of any employer being prosecuted under DIR or held under MISA. These penal measures are kept reserved for the workers who are being arrested under slightest pretext or on false pretext under DIR or MISA in some states.



ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS

Since the last session in Calcutta the total membership of the AITUC has grown by more than a lakh. While some unions have gone defunct due to various reasons including closures, some have been lost to others, while many new unions also have been added to our list of affiliated unions. Our membership, as is well known is almost exclusively confined to industrial workers of private sector and public sector undertakings. Unions and federations of middle class employees are not generally affiliated to the AITUC, despite influence that the AITUC might have on many of them, unlike INTUC. Some unions of some of the important public sector undertakings have not got themselves affiliated with the AITUC. The most well organised union of the Railway workers, the South-eastern Railwaymen's Union having wide mass base, received a serious set back due to machinations of the Railway Ministry in collusion with some disruptive elements. It seems to be the calculated policy of the Government to disrupt our unions, particularly in Governmental sector by underhand means.

Since the Calcutta Congress, some new industrial federations have been formed and attempts have been made to revive some others which were dormant.

Sugar and plantation workers' All India Federations have been formed. After some early attempts which did not materialise, the All-India Textile Workers' Conference took place in November 1975 in Bombay and All-India Federation of Textile workers has been set up. In March 1974 before the Railway strike the AITUC launched the Indian Railway Workers Federation excluding, however, the Southern Eastern Railwaymen's Union which is a recognised union, and remained affiliated with the recognised All-India Railwaymen Federation. Federations of Steel Workers' Unions and Unions in the BHEL plants were formed in this period. Conference of the All-India Leather Workers Federation, All-India Road Transport Workers' Federa-

tion, Indian Mine Workers' Federation and that of the All-India Federation of Electricity Employees with which are affiliated both AIUC and independent unions and of the National Federation of Metal & Engineering Workers of India took place during the year 1975-76.

During this period and also in the post-emergency period in almost all states regional and state conventions were held, in some places jointly with INTUC on various issues like bonus, implementation of 20-Point Programme and National Development, and Defence of Workers' interests. In terms of the decision of the General Council, the AITUC held a special All-India Convention on the scale of a mini-congress at Indore in June 1975 to discuss urgent issues before the working class movement like wages, bonus and D.A., defence of public sector, etc.; but due to proclamation of emergency one day before the convention was to start, its work and entire attention had to be concentrated on the new situation arising out of emergency and the task of the trade unions.

During the last two years many of the state TUCs held their conferences. During 1975, State conferences were held in Assam, Tamil Nadu, Orissa and Bihar. This year alone 6 States have so far held their conferences—Maharashtra, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Kerala.

Since the last congress, the AITUC hosted two Asian Trade Union Seminars—one in 1973 in Delhi and the other at Nagpur in September 1975. An Asian Seminar of Women Textile Workers was also held under the auspices of the AITUC in Bombay in November 1975. At Nagpur in September, the AITUC in collaboration with ILO held a Trade Union Seminar on the question of population and family planning. Five meetings were held of the General Council elected at the Calcutta session—four of which took place during 1973, 1974 and 1975 and one after the declaration of Emergency. Besides, two exclusive meetings of the Working Committee took place during this period the last one having held in April this year.

To take stock of the organisational position of the unions, the Indore convention issued an elaborate questionnaire to unions and state TUCs. But the STATE TUCs and the unions hardly paid any attention to it, may be due to the new situation

that emerged following the declaration of emergency. Nonetheless, the State TUCs and Unions can ill-afford to neglect the task of strengthening their own organisations, extending their mass-base and organising active union functioning, and not to depend solely on spontaneity which is still the predominant feature. Despite multiplicity of unions in industries and units, a large number of workers is not yet unionised.

The Indore special convention in a resolution on organisation set forth certain urgent organisational tasks one of which was the filling up of the questionnaire referred to above. The other important tasks laid down therein are: holding of state conferences which have not been held in the last two years; ensuring democratic and regular functioning of the executive and working of the union; conscious steps to be taken to fill the gap between the influence and membership of unions; to take initiative in organising the unorganised sections of the working class in securing wage revisions; to come forward in support of and solidarity with agricultural workers for land and wages; to organise short term education programme; to pay particular attention to the problems of young workers and women workers.

30th SESSION

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

INFORMATION DOCUMENTS

JAMSHEDPUR
13-17 October 1976

30th SESSION

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

INFORMATION DOCUMENTS

Printed by T. N. Siddhanta on behalf of AITUC at the New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-55 and published from 24, Canning Lane, New Delhi-1.

MONOPOLIES CONTINUE TO FATTEN

The Tata Group, having 20 undertakings, leads the list of 30 large industrial houses with value of assets in 1973 totalling Rs. 608.66 crores. It is closely followed by Birlas.

The following is the list of 30 industrial Houses showing the number of undertakings and assets :

Name of Group	No. of Undertakings	Value of Assets (Rs. Crores)		
		1971	1972	1973
Tata	20	535.86	579.87	608.66
Birla	48	487.11	548.96	601.76
Mafatlal	14	166.87	185.41	224.39
I.C.I.	7	136.94	135.21	145.68
Thapar	26	120.47	126.71	139.51
ACC	4	129.16	134.37	139.27
Oil India	7	84.08	117.35	134.20
Scindia	4	87.39	107.26	133.93
J. K. Singhania	25	107.16	118.88	131.78
Sarabhai	18	95.90	120.25	129.57
Shri Ram	4	110.68	109.31	115.27
Walchand	14	94.81	93.69	100.25
Kirloskar	13	73.57	77.01	83.45
Indian Aluminium	1	64.04	80.96	83.34
Bangur	25	75.65	77.62	81.19
India Tobacco	4	74.74	74.75	81.01
Larsen & Toubro	7	57.08	66.38	79.54
Kasturbhai Lalbhai	12	64.79	70.53	76.94
Binny	15	67.16	69.20	71.54
Kamani	15	44.06	55.99	64.90
Hindustan Lever	1	45.55	63.46	64.10
Mahindra & Mahindra	10	47.64	56.59	62.22
Modi	9	49.23	57.46	62.13
Khatau (Bombay)	27	49.47	53.95	57.12
Bhiwandiwalla	2	35.15	44.35	56.43
TVS	15	48.84	50.32	55.28
Dunlop	2	43.79	41.56	54.47
Bajaj	16	43.80	42.11	54.06
Naidu G. V.	12	38.43	47.01	52.45
Brooke Bond..	9	44.08	47.24	48.92

(Reply in Lok Sabha, 19 April 1975)

SOARING PRIVATE CORPORATE PROFITS

Reserve Bank Survey of 1650 Cos. for 1973-74

While the private corporate sector is crying of crisis of depression, recession and what not and demanding more and more concessions on various counts, the growth rate in pre-tax profits increased by 25.2 per cent in 1973-74, against 6.8 per cent in 1972-73.

Despite a relatively larger growth rate in tax provision (25.4 per cent against 8.9 per cent in 1972-73), the profits-after Tax recorded a steep rise of 25.0 per cent, against 5.1 per cent in 1972-73. The Corporate sector has taken full advantage of inflation and while the growth rate of net sales has slowed down, the profits have surged forward.

The following table compares the working results of the 1,650 companies for the year 1973-74 with those of the previous year.

	<i>Rs. Crores</i>	
	1972-73	1973-74
Value of Production	8,703	9,665
Sales	8,714	9,473
Total Income	8,889	9,871
Total expenditure (excluding interest payment)	8,062	8,880
Gross profits	827	991
Less Interest	272	286
Operating profits	555	705
Profits before tax	583	730
Tax Provision	270	338
Profits after tax	313	392
Dividends	166	152
Profits retained	147	240
<i>Profitability Ratios</i>		
Gross profits as percentage of sales	9.5	10.5
Gross profits as percentage of net worth	10.3	11.3

Rates of growth per annum

	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
Value of production	11.7	9.0	11.0
Gross Profits	8.4	5.4	19.9
Operating Profits	4.9	5.3	27.0
Profits before tax	5.6	6.8	25.2
Profits after tax	(—) 0.2	5.1	25.0

What about Remuneration to employees?

While the gross profits have gone up in 1973-74 by 20 per cent and net profits by 25 per cent, remuneration to employees (which include salary, wages and bonus, provident fund and welfare expenses) increased by 10.6 per cent in 1971-72, 13.4 per cent in 1972-73 and 13.5 per cent in 1973-74.

In terms of the value of production, the share of remuneration to employees increased marginally from 15.4 per cent in 1972-73 to 15.8 per cent in 1973-74 while the manufacturing expenses declined from 62.4 per cent in 1972-73 to 61.9 per cent in 1973-74.

Share of bigger sharks

Of the 1,650 selected companies, those with a paid up capital of Rs. 1 crore and above were 369. These 369 companies accounted for 22.3 per cent of the total number of companies, 74.8 per cent of the total paid-up capital, 70.2 per cent of the total net assets, 65.3 per cent of the total value of production, 65.6 per cent of sales, 74.0 per cent of operating profits, 73.3 per cent of pretax profits and 69.8 per cent of retained profits of all companies studied.

(From the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, September 1975)

1650 COMPANIES IN PRIVATE CORPORATE SECTOR

*Expenditure Components as Percentage of Value of Production

Industry group	Number of companies	Manufacturing expenses*				Remuneration to employees†			
		1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Tea plantations	123	51.5	51.3	50.7	49.4	24.2	25.3	26.7	26.9
2. Coffee plantations	15	21.2	21.3	24.2	20.1	38.4	35.1	41.8	36.7
3. Rubber plantations	18	18.7	18.5	17.3	18.3	46.7	44.5	50.0	48.6
4. Edible vegetable and hydrogenated oils	14	92.0	91.9	91.0	88.6	2.3	2.6	2.7	2.7
5. Sugar	70	76.8	70.6	65.7	76.1	9.4	10.1	9.9	8.7
6. Tobacco	6	68.4	70.3	71.2	70.2	11.7	10.8	11.1	11.6
7. Cotton textiles	271	65.8	69.5	63.8	59.2	21.0	19.5	20.5	21.0
8. Jute textiles	44	63.8	60.6	61.1	61.4	22.9	22.4	25.4	28.1
9. Silk & rayon textiles	18	57.3	58.1	57.8	55.4	13.4	14.4	14.9	15.1
10. Woollen textiles	10	61.3	62.1	62.9	66.9	17.5	15.8	15.7	14.5
11. Breweries & distilleries	8	44.0	46.4	49.4	50.1	11.5	10.5	9.5	9.8
12. Iron & Steel	2	36.2	38.2	41.4	39.3	24.5	24.7	26.4	26.0
13. Aluminium	4	52.2	53.9	54.3	56.7	10.2	10.9	11.4	13.2

14. Other non-ferrous metals (basic)	8	73.5	67.8	67.4	69.6	10.5	13.7	12.1	13.0
15. Engineering	408	63.7	63.5	63.2	62.9	15.0	14.8	15.3	15.6
(i) Transport equipment	48	67.0	66.4	65.1	65.4	14.9	14.8	15.4	15.7
(of which motor vehicles)	(34)	(67.3)	(66.7)	(65.3)	(65.5)	(14.5)	(14.3)	(15.0)	(15.2)
(ii) Electrical machinery, apparatus appliances, etc.	107	63.8	62.4	62.7	62.7	14.5	14.1	14.9	15.2
(iii) Machinery (other than transport and electrical)	133	61.2	61.4	60.0	60.2	17.2	17.3	17.5	17.2
(iv) Foundries and engineering workshops	47	61.3	64.7	67.0	64.0	11.6	11.6	11.8	13.3
(v) Ferrous/non-ferrous metal products	73	63.2	64.0	64.5	63.6	14.7	14.1	14.7	15.1
16. Chemicals	176	56.4	55.6	55.4	56.0	10.8	11.0	11.2	11.8
(i) Basic industrial chemicals	82	51.4	50.5	50.7	52.1	8.9	9.3	9.7	10.3
(ii) Medicines and pharmaceutical preparations	46	47.6	47.5	47.9	49.1	17.0	16.8	16.7	17.1
(iii) Other chemical products	48	71.2	70.1	69.6	68.8	9.3	9.1	9.1	9.9

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
17. Matches		2	43.0	52.1	57.7	60.9	24.8	21.3	19.1	24.4
18. Mineral Oils		5	34.0	42.2	53.9	46.3	9.1	9.8	12.3	11.3
19. Cement		18	56.7	57.0	59.0	62.2	11.8	11.8	12.7	14.0
20. Rubber & rubber products		17	67.5	67.8	67.5	67.6	12.7	12.7	13.7	14.0
21. Paper and paper products		37	51.1	51.8	52.3	52.3	14.7	14.4	15.8	15.5
22. Glass and glassware		12	47.1	47.4	48.7	46.8	18.1	18.1	17.8	18.9
23. Printing and publishing	∞	22	42.4	43.7	41.0	42.8	26.0	25.2	25.4	25.1
24. Electricity generation & supply		23	58.8	58.7	61.8	66.0	8.3	8.2	8.1	7.4
25. Trading		86	85.1	85.3	85.0	85.2	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.6
26. Shipping		16	42.7	43.4	39.7	37.2	12.0	12.9	13.8	12.7
27. TOTAL (including others)		1650	63.0	63.5	62.4	61.9	15.0	14.8	15.4	15.8

* Comprise (a) raw materials, components, etc. consumed, (b) stores and spares consumed, (c) power and fuel and (d) other manufacturing expenses.

† Comprise (a) salaries, wages and bonus, (b) provident fund and (c) welfare expenses.

(Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, September 1975)

FINANCES OF 1,001 SELECTED MEDIUM AND LARGE PRIVATE LIMITED COMPANIES

Reserve Bank Study

(Rs. crores)

	1972-73	1973-74	% Increase
Value of production	1565	1841	17.7
Sales	1566	1800	15.0
Gross profits	104	132	27.0
Operating profits	63	86	36.9
Profits before tax	64	91	41.9
Profits after tax	25	41	63.9

Of the total expenditure, *manufacturing expenses* (comprising raw materials, components, etc. stores and spares and power and fuel consumed and other manufacturing expenses) accounted for 76 per cent, while *remuneration to employees* (comprising salaries, wages and bonus, provident fund and welfare expenses) accounted for 10.8 per cent.

SHARE OF WORKERS IN VALUE ADDED

(Rs. crores)

	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
Value of production	1335.91	1455.84	1564.89	1841.87
Total remuneration to workers (salaries, wages and bonus, P.F. and employees' welfare)	132.79	146.96	164.47	189.05
Value Added by Manufacture	355.62	402.35	454.97	515.36
% Share of Remuneration in value Added	37.34	36.52	36.14	36.68

(Computed from *Reserve Bank Bulletin*, December 1975)

MORE BANK CREDIT, MORE PROFIT FOR BIGBUSINESS —LESS FOR WORKERS

The Reserve Bank Study (*RBI Bulletin*, January 1976) of the growth and working of the company sector for 1973-74 and 1974-75 is based on the annual accounts closed during April 1974 to March 1975 of 375 non-Government and non-financial selected large public limited companies, each with a paid-up capital of Rs. 1 crore or above. All these companies, with the exception of one company, were included in the Study of 1650 medium and large public limited companies for the year 1973-74.

Below are given some indicators relating to the growth of production, profits, bank borrowings and expenditure of these companies :

	1973-74	1974-75
	(Rate of growth— % increase per annum)	
1. Bank borrowings	8.0	26.0
2. Sales (net of rebates and discounts and excise duty and cess)	7.8	27.4
3. Total Income	9.3	30.3
4. Value of Production	9.4	30.3
5. Gross Profits	16.0	40.1
6. Operating Profits	20.8	41.8
7. Profits before Tax	18.2	44.2
8. Profits after tax	14.6	44.5
9. Gross Profits as percentage of sales	11.7	12.9
10. Profits after tax as percentage of net worth	11.4	14.3
11. External sources of funds as percentage of total sources of funds	43.8	49.1
12. Increase in Bank borrowings as percentage of external sources of funds	19.4	36.2
13. Rise in total expenditure	8.7	28.8

14. Percentage share of—

(a) manufacturing expenses in the value of Production	60.5	61.6
(b) Share of "Remuneration to employees" in value of Production	15.0	14.2

During the current slack season (upto 28 May 1976) bank credit to the commercial sector expanded substantially by Rs. 159 crore as against Rs. 92 crore in the corresponding period of last year.

The captains of industry meeting the Finance Minister in Bangalore lately have demanded further relaxation of credit, bringing down the interest rates and increase in profitability on top of all the concessions showered on them so far.

INCREASING PROFITS

Small Companies too not lagging behind

The financial performance of 750 selected small sized (each having a paid up capital below Rs. 5 lakhs) non-government, non-financial public limited companies has been reviewed in the *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin* of April, 1976.

The following are growth and operating results for 1972-73 and 1973-74:-

	Rate of growth % increase per annum	
1. Value of Production	9.0	
2. Gross Profits	15.4	
3. Operating Profits	27.8	
4. Profits before tax	30.0	
5. Profits after tax	228.3	

	1972-73	1973-74
6. Manufacturing Expenses as percentage of value of production	71.1	70.8
7. Remuneration to Employees as percentage of value of production	14.5	14.4

In both the years, dividends paid out are more than the net profits. On the other hand, according to the review, "the Companies relied heavily on external sources for financing assets formation in 1973-74. Out of the total funds amounting to Rs. 1151 lakhs, external sources contributed as much as Rs. 906 lakhs (78.7 percent)."

Out of 750 Companies, 436 companies were profit making companies in 1973-74. The value of production and sales of these companies formed about 75 per cent of the corresponding totals for all the 750 companies in 1973-74.

THE TOP 101 INDUSTRIAL GIANTS : PERFORMANCE IN 1974-75

The top 101 industrial giants recorded improved performance in all respects, according to the study of the *Economic Times Research Bureau* (April 12, 1976). The dominant position of the public sector undertaking also remained unchanged.

In the list of 101 industrial giants, the 40 public sector undertakings account for as much as 66.6 per cent of the total assets. The largest private sector company—the TISCO ranked 9th in the overall rating in 1974-75, with Hindustan Steel topping the list.

Monopoly Groups

The 10 Companies identifiable with *Tata Group* accounted for 16.0 per cent of total assets and 18.1 per cent of sales. Similarly, 11 companies identifiable with the *Birla Group* had 12.0 percent of assets and 11.0 percent of sales.

Foreign controlled companies numbering 19, had 18.5 per cent of assets and 25.8 percent of sales. The other large business

houses among the 101 large private sector corporations are Mafatlal, ACC, ICI and Modis.

By virtue of increasing assets, nine new companies are included in the list of 101 giants. These are Caltex Oil, Chowgule Steamship, Seven Seas Transport, Shaw Wallace, Macneil and Magor; Ratnakar Shipping; Golden Tobacco, Madras Rubber and Titaghur Paper.

Multinationals

There are 19 companies with substantial foreign share holding in the list of 101 large private sector corporations. Major units among these are Indian Aluminium, Hindustan Lever, Dunlop India, Motor Industries, Philips India, Union Carbide, GKW; Caltex Oil, Brooke Bond, Ashok Leyland, Siemens, Bata India and Glaxo Laboratories.

Sales Turnover

	1973-74	1974-75	% Increase
The 101 top private sector giants (Rs. crore)	3,831.4	4,937.9	28.9

The sales of Tata Steel, TELCO, Gwalior Rayon, Delhi Cloth, India Tobacco, Hindustan Lever, Dunlop India, Voltas and Brooke Bond exceeded Rs. 100 crore in 1974-75.

Significant rise in sales was recorded in respect of the following Companies during 1974-75:

<i>Company</i>	<i>% Increase</i>
Zuari Agro Chemicals	348.7
Chowgule Steamship	302.5
Madras Aluminium	219.6
Seven Seas Transport	204.1
Caltex Oil Refining	135.9
Great Eastern Shipping	103.3
Straw Products	92.1
South India Viscose	86.2

Gujarat State Fertilizer	84.1
Baroda Rayon	82.5
Indian Explosives	81.2

Profits and Profitability

The total gross profits of the 101 top giants in the private corporate sector amounted to Rs. 615.2 crores in 1974-75 recording a rise of 43.7 per cent.

	1973-74	1974-75	% Increase
Pre-tax Profits (Rs. crore)	322.6	466.2	44.5
Net Profits (Rs. crore)	176.0	248.8	41.4
Ratio of gross profit to Capital employed (%)	10.9	13.0	
Ratio of Gross Profits to Sales (%)	11.4	12.7	

According to the *Economic Times*, "the profit and profitability performance of the top private sector giants had a record performance during 1974-75".

<i>The Top Profit Earners</i>	<i>Gross Profits (Rs. crores)</i>
Tata Steel	34.3
Gwalior Rayon	25.2
Century Spg.	24.2
Gujarat State Fertilizer	18.4
TELCO	16.1
Great Eastern Shipping	15.3

CREDIT SQUEEZE ?

Extracts of the address of the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, K. R. Puri at Madras on 30 March 1976, the full text of which has been published in the *Reserve Bank Bulletin*, March 1976:

"One of the most noteworthy changes has been in the decline of the proportion of credit extended to medium and large manufacturing industries from the level prevailing prior to the nationalisation of major banks. This share has come down from 55.7 percent in March 1968 to as low as 45 percent in December 1974 which is broadly true even now. I must add that this decline is in percentage terms and not in absolute terms. If one looks at absolute numbers, one finds that the manufacturing industry has acquired an additional credit of as much as Rs. 2,690 Crores between March 1968 and December 1974; the total outstanding at the end of December 1974 was over Rs. 4,700 crores. This represented an increase of 135 per cent but, during the same period, the index number of industrial output increased by only 25 percent. *This is worth emphasising, because the notion that large and medium industries are starved of credit on account of credit restraints and flow of credit to certain designated 'priority' sectors is not borne out by facts. In fact, the studies have shown that the bank credit appropriated by large and medium scale industries has been somewhat disproportionate to their output increase during the last five to six years.*"

(emphasis added)

VALUE ADDED AND WORKERS' SHARE

It is argued in some quarters particularly in justification of bonus cut, that workers are getting too much and taking away more than their due. The following data worked out of the figures published in the Reserve Bank of India Study of finances of the private corporate sector indicate the share workers got out of the surplus produced by them and that appropriated by

the private sector. According to the National Commission on Labour, the percentage share of wages, salaries—and benefits to the Value added at the time of the First Plan (1952) stood at 63.6 which in 1973-74 has come down to 43.6 per cent. In 1964, the share was 55.3 per cent.

There is no doubt that workers are getting more in terms of wages, DA etc., but are also getting lesser and lesser in proportion to the surplus produced by them.

	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
Total Value of Production (Rs. crores)	7149.60	7986.37	8703.47	9664.86
Raw materials, components, Power and Fuel (Rs. crores)	4361.60	5920.91*	5280.67	5820.55
Depreciation provided for (Rs. crores)	290.81	304.51	329.72	348.74
Value Added by Manufacture (Rs. crores)	2497.19	1760.95	3093.08	3495.57
Remuneration to employees,— Salaries, wages, bonus, PF and welfare expenses (Rs. crore)	1070.32	1183.89	1342.12	1523.42
Share of Remuneration in Value Added (%)	42.8	67.2	43.4	43.6
Share of salaries, wages and bonus in Value Added (%)	38.0	59.3	38.1	38.2

* There has been no satisfactory reason of the value of these items going up so steeply, both from the point of view of the total value of production as well as the then price levels of these items.—Ed.

(Compiled from the Reserve Bank Survey of 1650 companies in private corporate sector—*Reserve Bank Bulletin*, September, 1975)

DIVIDENDS

SMART UPSWING IN PAYMENTS

By "The Economic Times" Research Bureau (2 September 1976)

Private corporate dividend declarations during 1975-76 showed that 54 per cent of companies increased their rate of dividend during 1975-76 and another 25 per cent maintained the previous year's level of dividend. In other words, nearly 80 per cent of the private sector corporate units did not feel the necessity of reducing the dividend during 1975-76.

An analysis of 393 dividend announcements made for the year 1975-76 revealed that 211 raised the rate of dividend, 98 maintained, 33 skipped and 43 reduced the dividend. There were eight companies which had not paid any dividend during 1974-75 but entered the dividend list in 1975-76.

There was also a marked increase in the number of companies declaring a higher rate of dividend during 1975-76. As against 35 companies which declared more than 12.5 per cent equity dividend in 1974-75, there were 136 companies in 1975-76. Reflecting the increase in companies paying larger rate of dividend, there was a decline in the corporate units paying less than 12.5 per cent dividend. Nearly 305 companies out of 393 had paid dividends ranging between 5 to 10 per cent and 10.1 per cent to 12.5 per cent in 1974-75 as against only 209 companies in 1975-76. Not all the companies had pushed up rate of dividend in 1975-76, for companies passing over dividend in 1975-76 were as many as 32 against only 8 in 1974-75.

In other words in some industries such as cotton textiles equity dividends had to be skipped, while in other industries such as chemicals and engineering the rate of dividend could be raised in view of better financial performance.

With more than 50 per cent of companies either raising the dividend or maintaining it at the previous year's level, engineering, dyes, chemicals; fertilisers; and plantations came out with slightly better performance as compared with other industries.

Of the 57 dividend announcements relating to engineering industry, 36 had reported higher rates of equity dividends while 12 maintained the previous year's level. In the case of dyes

and fertilisers 28 out of 45 reported higher rate of equity dividend while 10 maintained the previous level. More or less similar trend was noticed in the case of plantation companies also. In terms of companies skipping dividend in 1975-76, cotton textiles ranked first with 15 units. However, this industry had 31 units paying a larger rate of dividend or maintaining the dividend at the previous year's level.

Five companies declared dividend above 30 per cent in

Table 1: Pattern of Dividend Declaration of 393 Companies During 1975-1976

Industry	Dividend Reduced	Dividend Skipped	Dividend maintained	Dividend raised	Dividend paid for the latest year but skipped in previous year	Total
1. Cotton Textiles	15	8	16	15	—	54
2. Jute Textiles	1	—	1	2	—	4
3. Other textiles	2	—	1	5	—	8
4. Engineering	4	4	12	36	1	57
5. Steel & Alloys	—	2	5	6	1	14
6. Dyes, Chemicals & Fertilizers	4	3	10	28	—	45
7. Paper & Hardboard	3	—	4	7	—	14
8. Sugar & Breweries	3	8	2	5	1	19
9. Cable & Elec. Goods	2	—	3	9	—	14
10. Automobile	—	—	4	—	—	4
11. Rubber Goods	—	1	2	2	1	6
12. Plantations	2	2	13	28	—	45
13. Shipping	—	1	5	—	—	6
14. Food Products	1	2	1	1	—	5
15. Electricity Generation & Supply	—	—	—	11	—	11
16. Cement	—	—	—	4	3	7
17. Others	6	2	19	52	1	80
Total	43	33	98	211	8	393

1975-76 while in 1974-75 only two companies went in for dividend declaration of more than 30 per cent.

Dyes, chemicals and fertilisers had paid the highest equity dividend amounting to Rs. 2,125 lakhs in 1975-76 as against Rs. 1,708 lakhs in 1974-75 with equity capital of Rs. 14,294 lakhs followed by others at Rs. 2,297 lakhs on an equity capital of Rs. 18,218 lakhs, engineering Rs. 1,299 lakhs with equity capital of Rs. 10,385 lakhs, cotton textiles Rs 1,062 lakhs on an equity capital of Rs. 7,244 lakhs, steel and alloys Rs. 1,005 lakhs on an equity capital of Rs. 8,113 lakhs and shipping Rs. 878 lakhs on an equity capital of Rs. 3,031 lakhs.

The total dividend paid by these 393 companies during 1975-76 amounted to Rs. 123.90 crores against Rs. 93.27 crores in the previous year.

Table II: Industrywise Pattern of Dividend Payments

S. No.:	INDUSTRY	No. of companies	Gross Dividends (Rs. Lakhs)		Equity capital
			1974-75	1975-76	(Rs. Lakhs)
1.	Cotton Textiles	54	1018.6	1062.2	7243.6
2.	Jute Textiles	4	77.3	85.6	633.6
3.	Other Textiles	8	305.1	344.5	2396.7
4.	Engineering	57	1107.1	1298.8	10385.4
5.	Steel & Alloys	14	629.4	1005.2	8113.0
6.	Dyes, Chemicals & Fertilisers	45	1708.4	2124.8	14294.1
7.	Paper & Hardboard	14	495.5	601.1	4535.3
8.	Sugar & Breweries	19	255.7	169.6	2533.8
9.	Cable & Elec. Goods	14	274.7	633.9	4115.6
10.	Automobile	4	226.9	272.5	1969.7
11.	Rubber Goods	6	348.1	319.9	2086.7
12.	Plantations	45	119.6	156.5	1235.9
13.	Shippings	6	444.8	877.8	3031.8
14.	Food Products	5	306.2	181.4	1980.8
15.	Electricity Generation & Supply	11	153.5	357.7	2898.7
16.	Cement	7	82.1	601.5	4159.4
17.	Others	80	1773.8	2296.5	18217.6
TOTAL		393	9326.8	12,389.5	89,831.3

RISING TIDE OF BONUS SHARES

After the liberalisation of the issue of bonus shares, there has been a veritable spate in the issue of bonus shares by scores of companies

According to the *Economic Times* (1 August 1976) "Bonus shares during 1976 are expected to cross the Rs. 120 crore mark, an unprecedentedly high water mark in the annals of the corporate sector". Bonus shares issued in 1975 amounted to only Rs. 47 crore against Rs. 63 crore in 1974.

Mukund Iron made the largest bonus share issue of Rs. 4.03 crore. Among others were Larsen Toubro—Rs. 3.73 crore; Ashok Leyland—Rs. 1.5 crore, Kirloskar Bros.—Rs. 1.4 crore, Colourchem.—Rs. 1.65 crore; Kirloskar Cummins Rs. 2.10 crores; Dharamsi Morarji Chemical Co.—Rs. 2.04 crore; Cibatul Ltd.—Rs. 1 crore.

RISE IN PRODUCTION AND PRODUCTIVITY

There has been an increase of 14.6 per cent in the turnover of the public sector undertakings in the country in the one year following the promulgation of emergency in the country.

According to latest official figures available, the total turnover of the public sector undertaking in the period of July 1975-June 1976 was to the level of Rs 12,200 crore as against Rs 10,687 crore recorded in the previous year. Similarly, the value of total production in the same period was to the tune of Rs. 7750 crore as against Rs 6520 crore in the period July 1974-June 1975 thus registering an increase of 18.9 per cent.

There has also been a substantial increase in the capacity utilisation of public sector undertakings—the improvement being significant in the case of steel, coal, copper, lead, oil, drugs and pharmaceuticals, fertilisers, machine tools, heavy electricals and photo films. The break-up of production figures till June 1976 is not available but the 1975-76 figures indicate that the production of aluminium rose by 47.7 per cent in that period

and the vanaspati production registered an increase of 38.2 per cent.

Similarly the increase in percentage in 1975-76 of production of coal, fertilisers and steel was 12.1, 29.6 and 17.9 respectively.

According to "a quick official review of the economic situation in the country", rate of increase in industrial production has more than doubled in 1975-76 compared to that in 1974-75.

The rate of growth of industrial production since January 1976 has been more than 10.3 per cent. According to T. A. Pai, Minister for Industries, the growth rate of 10.3 per cent during January to March was the highest in any quarter in the last ten years except in January-March 1972.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Industrial production during the first four months of 1976 registered a rise of 11.5 percent over the corresponding period of last year. Commercial banks and financial institutions have decided to institute a monitoring system to enable them to detect in time 'warning signals' about the impending sickness of industrial units assisted by them and take necessary action.

(Rajya Sabha, 19 August 1976)

FOREIGN COMPANIES IN INDIA Reserve Bank Study for 1972-73

The study covers 197 branches of foreign companies which accounted for about 90 per cent of the book value of total assets held in India by all branches of foreign companies operating in India at the end of March 1973. The 537 foreign controlled rupee companies accounted for more than 90 per cent of the total paid-up capital of all the foreign controlled rupee companies at the end of March 1973. In the case of branch-

es of foreign companies, tea plantation, trading and manufacturing group accounted for about 34 per cent, 32 per cent and 21 per cent respectively of the total assets held in India, while country-wise, UK and USA constituted about 73 per cent and 19 per cent of the total assets of the selected companies.

In the case of foreign controlled rupee companies, U. K. constituted about 47 per cent of the selected companies by number and accounted for about 58 per cent of the total paid up capital of the companies. The corresponding percentages of USA are 20 per cent and 18 per cent respectively.

Wages costs

The wage bill (comprising salaries, wages and bonus, provident fund and employees' welfare expenses) of 197 Branches of foreign companies constituted around 10 per cent of the total expenditure. While that for 537 foreign controlled rupee companies stood at 15 per cent of the total expenditure.

Rise of Profits of branches of US Companies

For all the 197 branches of foreign companies, *Gross profits* as percentage of *sales* declined from 5.5 in 1971-72 to 5.3 in 1972-73, while *gross profits* as per cent of *total capital employed* improved from 11.0 per cent in 1971-72 to 11.3 per cent in 1972-73. But *gross profits* as percentage of *sales for USA companies* increased from 8.4 to 9.4 and *gross profits as percentage of total capital employed* rose from 21.7 in 1971-72 to 31.4 in 1972-73.

Value of Production (Rs. crores)

	1971-72	1972-73
.197 Branches of Foreign Cos.	991	1036
• 537 Foreign controlled rupee companies	2609	2838
. Total	3600	3874

Profits of foreign controlled rupee companies

The gross profits as percentage of sales declined from 13.4 in 1971-72 to 12.9 in 1972-73 while the gross profits as percentage of total capital employed stood at 14.7 per cent in both the years.

Distribution of 537 foreign controlled rupee companies:

Country of controlling interest	Subsidiaries of foreign companies		Others		Total
	wholly owned	others	foreign	equity	
			holding 40% & 25% to above 40%	holding 25% to 40%	
1. U.K.	32	76	96	49	253
2. U.S.A.	13	17	59	17	106
3. West Germany	—	7	29	15	51
4. Switzerland	1	11	13	4	29
5. Other countries	5	14	60	19	98
Total:	51	125	257	104	537

Of the 537 foreign controlled rupee companies, 457 companies earned profits before providing for taxation in 1972-73. The pre-tax profits of the companies amounted to Rs. 292 crores in 1971-72 and Rs. 306 crores in 1972-73.

Profitability of Foreign Cos. compared to Indian Cos.

	Gross profits as % of sales*		Gross profits as % total capital employed	
	1971-72	1972-73	1971-72	1972-73
1. 197 Branches of foreign Cos.	5.4	5.3	11.0	11.3
2. 537 Foreign controlled rupee Cos.	13.4	12.9	14.7	14.7
3. 2275 Indian controlled public & Private Ltd. Cos.	8.1	7.7	8.8	8.8
4. 1650 Public Ltd. Cos. of which: a) 300 Foreign controlled Re. Cos. b) 1350 Indian controlled rupee companies	9.9 13.4 8.6	9.4 12.6 8.2	10.3 14.6 8.7	10.2 14.4 8.7
5. 1001 Pvt. Ltd. Cos. of which: a) 76 Foreign controlled rupee Cos. b) 925 Indian controlled rupee companies	6.6 10.4 5.9	6.6 11.1 5.8	10.0 14.2 9.1	10.1 14.6 9.1

* Sales net of rebate and discount and excise duty and cess.

(Reserve Bank Bulletin, July 1975)

OUTSTANDING LONG-TERM FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN CORPORATE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES

Country	Investments Rs. crores	
	March '64	March '72
Canada	9.4	28.1
France	20.5	49.5
W. Germany	23.9	135.1
Italy	11.4	84.1
Japan	30.1	54.7
Switzerland	18.7	49.7
Sweden	8.0	20.0
U.K.	508.4	632.3
USA	166.0	485.9
International Institutions	72.4	89.9
Other countries	25.2	121.1
Total	894.0	1750.4

NATURE OF INVESTMENTS

	As at the end of March 1964	As at the end of March 1972 (Rs. crores)
A) Direct Investment Capital	565.5	814.9
a) Branches of Foreign Cos.	259.7	231.0
b) Foreign controlled Rupee Companies		
—Subsidiaries	239.9	408.6
—Others	65.9	175.5
B) Other Capital	328.5	935.5
a) Equity	53.0	97.3
b) Creditor Capital (*)	275.5	838.2
Grand Total	894.0	1750.4

(*) Creditor Capital represents foreign participation in the preference shares and debentures of all companies, including Foreign controlled Rupee companies, and foreign loans, including suppliers' credits for imports.

By Industry (Rs. Crores)

	March 1964	March 1972
Plantations	109.0	125.9
Mining	13.7	15.6
Petroleum	167.4	178.7
Manufacturing	436.4	997.4
Services	167.5	432.8
Total	894.0	1750.4

Profits (Rs. Crores):

Year	Foreign controlled Rupee Cos allocable to country of control	Branches of foreign Cos. in India
1964-65	40.6	13.8
1965-66	39.9	10.7
1966-67	38.7	5.2
1967-68	44.0	13.9
1968-69	42.9	6.1
1969-70	61.4	10.0
1970-71	65.5	14.9
1971-72	70.2	18.4
Grand Total:	403.2	93.0
	Rs. 496.2 crores.	

"Total direct investment income, i.e. profits earned by branches of foreign companies and profits of the FCRCs attributable to foreign investment, increased from Rs. 207 crores during 1964-1968 to Rs. 289 crores during 1968-1972. The share of FCRCs in the total direct investment income remained around 80 per cent during both the periods."

Flow of Longterm of Foreign Investment

Countrywise total flow of foreign investment for the period 1964-65 to 1971-72 is given below:

(In crores of Rs.)

Country	Gross Inflow	Net Inflow
France	76.6	19.2
West Germany	136.1	78.7
Japan	77.4	(—) 0.2
U.K.	218.7	99.2
U.S.A.	466.4	257.1
Total (Including Others)	1342.2	629.0

During the period 1968-69 to 1971-72, the outflow has been consistently more than the net inflow of foreign investment.

(Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, July 1975).

MULTINATIONALS IN INDIA

No less than 740 multinational companies are operating in India either as Indian subsidiaries of foreign companies or as branches of foreign multinationals, according to a recent survey. As many as 538 multinationals are operating in India as branches of their principals, while the rest are operating through majority participation in Indian companies.

Among the Indian companies with foreign majority participation, the largest number is from the U.K., followed by the USA. The UK has 140 companies in India as subsidiaries of various companies incorporated in the United Kingdom. The USA has majority participation in as many as 28 companies. Most of the American multinationals in India are operating as their own branches and, therefore, are wholly owned and controlled by the United States.

Besides the huge investment made in companies operating as their own branches, all the multinational companies together have invested Rs. 186.78 crores as their share in the Indian subsidiaries. The UK has invested Rs. 119.96 crores as their share in Indian Companies operating as subsidiaries of multinationals incorporated there. As many as 56 of these are fully owned by the UK. The US has invested Rs. 23.49 crores as shares in Indian Companies. The American trend is towards operating companies as branches of their own multinationals rather than investing in Indian Companies. The US has 11 companies with full shares from American multinationals that operate as Indian subsidiaries.

West Germany has invested Rs. 456.72 lakhs as capital share in Indian companies. No company operating as the Indian subsidiary of a West German multinational is wholly owned by West Germany. A multinational from Canada has invested Rs. 1172.47 lakhs in one of the Indian companies. Nine Swedish multinationals have invested in Indian companies. The total share in the capital is Rs. 663.12 lakhs and the number of companies with 100 per cent share from Sweden is only two.

The total investment by multinationals from Switzerland in India is Rs. 794.95 lakhs. The number of companies functioning as subsidiaries of Swiss multinationals is eleven. One company with 100 per cent share is operating from Switzerland.

DRUG MULTINATIONALS

The Economic Times of 12 December 1975 has reported that a research study prepared on behalf of the UNCTAD Secretariat has concluded that through excessive prices, production of unnecessary drugs and control of technology, multinational drug companies have dominated the drug market in third world countries without catering to the peoples' needs.

The study cited the case of India where no more than 116 drugs out of the 15,000 now sold in India are necessary to meet the country's basic pharmaceutical needs.

US INVESTMENTS IN INDIA DRAW HIGHEST PROFIT RATE

Recently a delegation of the Indo-American Chamber of Commerce visited the United States to beg for American capital investment in India.

The joint leader of the delegation "told his American counterparts that factors like long-term political and economic considerations, rate of return on investments, India's record in allowing repatriation of profits and dividends, would show that foreign investment in India constituted an 'excellent' proposition.

"The rate of return on US investments in manufacturing industries in India had increased from 7.5 per cent in 1967 to 15.8 per cent in 1972. This was higher than the corresponding rates for Canada, Europe, Latin America, the Philippines; Australia and New Zealand."

(from *the Economic Times* of 11 December 1975)

THE FACE OF MONOPOLIES

In written replies in the *Rajya Sabha* on 20 January 1976 the Union Minister for Revenue and Banking gave some particulars of three business houses and others, their concealment of income and wealth, and also extensive manipulations.

In the period from October to December 1975 the Income-Tax Department conducted searches in respect of three large industrial houses. The Houses were (1) The Shapoorji Pallanji Group, (2) the Modi Group and (3) the Jaipuria Group. The total number of firms, companies, industrials and close associates whose premises were searched were 67.

Following are the details of seizures:

SHAPOORJI PALLANJI GROUP: Cash Rs. 4,85,888; jewellery valued at Rs. 26,07,669; primary gold; five gold biscuits; 67 coins and 15 guineas.

THE MODI GROUP: Cash, Rs. 3,94,062 and jewellery valued at Rs. 5,81,413.

THE JAIPURIA GROUP: Cash, Rs. 8,51,663; foreign currency in US dollars; jewellery valued at Rs. 14,02,830; primary gold 35,400 grams and silver articles valued at Rs. 33,000.

The search parties had also sealed several bank lockers and safes as well as cash and jewellery found at other places. The details of these are:

THE MODI GROUP: Cash, Rs. 46,500; jewellery Rs. 12,41,485 and silver articles worth Rs. 1,91,000.

THE JAIPURIA GROUP: Jewellery Rs. 12,71,465 and silver articles Rs. 1,80,747.

Seized account books and other documents were under detailed scrutiny.

In another written reply, the Minister said that investigations by a special cell into the cases of tax evasion by large industrial groups had resulted inter alia, in the "detection of manipulations of the value of quotations of the shares of closely-held investment companies in the various stock exchanges for several years". Such under-valuation of shares, which was very substantial, was under probe.

Investigation in respect of several large industrial companies had brought to surface diverse tax avoidance/evasion techniques resorted to by them. This had resulted in substantial additions to the incomes disclosed by these companies. In one case, the company has now agreed to an addition of about Rs. 65 lakhs. In another case, concealed income represented by undisclosed purchase price of shares, dividend income and fictitious hundi loans has been admitted resulting in substantial gain to revenue.

Data gathered in respect of several industrial companies revealed shortfalls in recorded production, disproportionate increase in manufacturing expenditure, payment of selling commission without evidence of services rendered and claim for deduction of capital expenditure as revenue expenditure.

Discrepancies in the figures of purchases debited, sales credited, commission and salary paid also came to notice as a result

of cross verification of such items with the records of connected parties. Considerable data had been collected to invoke relevant provisions of levy of capital gains and gift tax where shares had been transferred without adequate consideration at rigged values.

In the case of a few companies, investigations had revealed that taxes deducted at source from salary, dividend and interest were not credited to the Government account and the lapses continued for nearly a decade. For such wilful defaults the department had launched over 400 prosecutions against important directors, principal officers and the defaulting companies before the chief metropolitan magistrates of Calcutta and Bombay.

The number of proceedings re-opened regarding income-tax was 83, in regard to sur-tax 11 cases and wealth tax 241 cases.

Last year also on 4 March in reply to a question in the *Rajya Sabha*, similar details were furnished in respect of Bajoria, Jallan and Birla Groups. Hundreds of prosecutions were filed, according to the reply, in various courts for violation of almost every kind of laws relating to company finances. But still the monopoly Groups continue to grow, their assets and profits pile up with attendant consequences.

407 CASES FILED AGAINST BAJORIA FIRMS

A total of 407 prosecutions have been filed against the Bajoria-Jalan group involving three companies and 10 directors or principal officers. The Chief Metropolitan Magistrate of Calcutta had stayed the proceedings in 371 prosecutions on the basis of writ petitions filed by the companies challenging that the directors of the company were not principal officers.

90 writ petitions had been filed in cases relating to the Birla group. The special cell was investigating into the Shriyans Prasad Jain group known as Sahu group. The investigations are in progress.

(*Rajya Sabha* 13 May 1975)

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN 1973

1. West Bengal accounted for the highest time loss of 5.88 million mandays or 28.5 per cent of the total time loss during the year 1973 followed by Maharashtra (3.62 million), Bihar (2.33 million), Tamilnadu (2.27 million), Kerala (1.89 million) and Uttar Pradesh (1.08 million). These six States together accounted for 72.6 per cent of the total number of disputes, 80.5 per cent of the total number of workers involved and 82.8 per cent of the total time loss. Compared to 1972 the time-loss in 1973 appreciated in as many as 15 States.

2. Out of 3,370 work-stoppages reported during 1973, lock-outs were declared at some stage or the other in 412 (12.2 per cent) cases involving 187 thousand workers and resulting in a time-loss of 6.76 million mandays which accounted for 32.8 per cent of the total time-loss during the year, 1973. *It means that one-third of the mandays loss was due to lock-outs.* In West Bengal, having the highest number of lock-outs, about 49 per cent of total mandays loss was due to lock-outs.

The average time-loss per lock-out was 16,418 mandays as against 4,686 mandays per strike.

3. During 1973, 78 major disputes were responsible for 45.5 per cent of the total time-loss during the year.

4. In 1973 among the disputes classified by causes, the disputes due to 'Wages and Allowances' and 'Bonus' together accounted for 44.4 per cent of the total disputes, 47.7 per cent, each of the total number of workers involved and of the total time-loss.

5. During 1973 as many as 49.8 per cent of the terminated disputes of which requisite information was available, lasted only upto 5 days, 7.9 per cent of the disputes prolonged for more than 20 days and upto 30 days and 16.7 per cent of the disputes continued for more than 30 days.

(Compiled from *Indian Labour Journal*, December, 1974)

STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS IN 1973

State/Union Territory	*LOCKOUTS			STRIKES			TOTAL STRIKES & LOCKOUTS		
	No.	No. of Workers Involved	No. of Mandays Lost	No.	No. of Workers Involved	No. of Mandays Lost	No.	No. of Workers Involved	No. of Mandays Lost
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Andhra Pradesh	13	2,768	20,224	147	54,254	209,671	160	57,022	229,895
Assam	2	1,795	56,064	14	6,939	15,952	16	8,734	72,016
Bihar	31	14,844	737,178	324	359,722	2,594,537	355	374,566	2,331,715
Gujarat	11	2,782	48,728	159	69,754	371,917	170	72,536	420,645
Haryana	2	1,660	19,990	45	13,797	186,219	47	15,457	206,209
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—	8	3,267	57,151	8	3,267	57,151
Jammu & Kashmir	—	—	—	6	1,113	41,747	6	1,113	41,747
Karnataka	16	10,928	205,111	92	40,759	296,201	108	51,687	501,312
Kerala	21	7,135	438,577	225	153,578	1,455,314	246	160,713	1,893,891
Madhya Pradesh	2	1,707	86,199	142	149,323	248,744	144	151,030	334,943

Maharashtra	55	40,284	998,067	778	486,690	2,618,834	833	526,974	3,616,901
Manipur	—	—	—	1	701	4,907	1	701	4,907
Orissa	3	4,084	38,918	37	20,152	58,143	40	24,236	97,060
Punjab	7	568	15,445	48	7,902	68,163	55	8,470	83,608
Rajasthan	4	578	50,250	45	28,114	376,690	49	28,692	426,940
Tamilnadu	56	20,797	680,914	290	134,531	1,589,190	346	155,328	2,270,104
Tripura	2	38	1,106	—	—	—	2	38	1,606
Uttar Pradesh	18	4,505	116,963	231	94,550	962,517	249	99,055	1,079,480
West Bengal	156	58,659	2,879,366	261	674,315	3,005,317	417	732,974	5,884,683
Chandigarh	3	121	3,498	5	871	21,425	8	992	24,923
Delhi	7	13,801	358,061	53	36,195	582,910	60	49,996	940,971
Goa, Daman & Diu	3	342	8,884	36	17,970	86,235	39	18,312	95,119
Pondicherry	—	—	—	6	1,746	8,464	6	1,746	8,464
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	—	—	—	5	1,963	1,963	5	1,963	1,963
TOTAL	412	187,396	6,764,042	2,958	2,358,206	13,862,216	3,370	2,545,602	20,626,258

WORK STOPPAGES IN INDIA DURING 1974

State	STRIKES			LOCKOUTS			TOTAL		
	No.	No. of Workers involved	No. of Mandays lost	No.	No. of workers involved	No. of Mandays lost	No. of work Stoppages	No. of workers involved	No. of Mandays lost
Andhra Pradesh	117	122,963	422,582	9	8,468	223,651	126	131,431	646,233
Assam	7	90,312	1,714,266	—	—	—	7	90,312	1,714,266
Bihar	243	350,309	1,459,126	35	16,856	722,213	278	367,165	2,181,339
Gujarat	143	51,499	895,178	8	1,922	48,613	151	53,421	943,791
Haryana	30	9,440	162,246	3	1,596	55,426	33	11,036	217,672
Himachal Pradesh	3	186	1,706	—	—	—	3	186	1,706
J & K	5	436	2,789	—	—	—	5	436	2,789
Karnataka	58	48,878	173,001	14	9,126	249,940	72	58,004	422,941
Kerala	220	260,498	3,513,554	17	3,540	132,978	237	264,038	3,646,532
Madhya Pradesh	126	105,505	429,068	—	—	—	126	105,505	429,068
Maha-rashtra	673	529,665	9,427,853	59	23,653	1,059,770	732	553,318	10,487,623
Manipur	3	613	3,849	1	71	781	4	684	4,630

Orissa	58	30,099	248,118	1	236	7,080	59	30,335	255,198
Punjab	22	3,900	49,409	4	590	7,580	26	4,490	56,989
Rajasthan	45	34,826	722,758	4	97	694	49	34,923	723,452
Tamilnadu	271	245,950	2,500,195	61	17,493	685,948	332	263,443	3,186,142
Tripura	5	364	11,641	—	—	—	5	364	11,641
Uttar Pradesh	192	148,430	1,326,087	19	4,575	180,738	211	153,005	1,506,825
West Bengal	205	618,694	10,021,642	182	45,959	3,104,562	387	664,653	12,126,204
Andaman & Nicobar Island	11	5,035	14,108	—	—	—	11	5,035	14,108
Chandigarh	4	813	2,016	—	58	190	4	871	2,206
Delhi	33	15,492	195,286	4	9,951	122,900	37	25,443	318,186
Goa, Daman, Diu	24	6,708	23,612	7	594	15,829	31	7,302	39,441
Pondicherry	12	29,223	323,435	—	—	—	12	29,223	323,435
Total	2,510	2,709,838	33,643,524	428	144,785	6,618,893	2,938	2,854,623	40,262,417

LOSS OF MANDAYS IN 1975

The total mandays lost due to strikes and lockouts in 1975 was 21.56 million as against 40.26 million in the previous year. West Bengal tops the list with over 13 million mandays lost due to strikes and lockouts.

In the organised industries, the total mandays lost (provisional) came down to above five million during the first six months of 1976 as against 15 million in the corresponding period of 1975.

(Lok Sabha, 19 August 1976)

LOCKOUTS

The Labour Minister had cautioned State Governments to guard against industrial units resorting to lockouts in the name of closures.

Between December 1975 and May 1976 there had been lockouts in 119 establishments affecting 75,317 workers, 335 closures involving 57,684 workers and retrenchments affecting 8,806 persons.

(Lok Sabha, 12 August 1976)

HALF A MILLION WORKERS LAID OFF AFTER EMERGENCY

In a written statement in *Rajya Sabha* on 19 March 1976, Union Labour Minister gave the following details of lay-offs in different states since the Emergency was proclaimed.

Area	Number of workers laid-off	Period
1. Maharashtra	41,521	July 1975 to December 1975
2. West Bengal	2,21,209	- do -
3. Uttar Pradesh	19,895	26th June 1975 to December 1975
4. Kerala	6,803	July 1975 to October 1975
5. Gujarat	8,199	July 1975 to December 1975
6. Punjab	2,813	For the year 1975
7. Rajasthan	4,527	- do -
8. Madhya Pradesh	45,948	July 1975 to November 1975
9. Bihar	1,452	July 1975 to December 1975
10. Himachal Pradesh	89	June 1975 to December 1975
11. Tripura	23	December, 1975
12. Orissa	35	July 1975 to December 1975
13. Karnataka	6,386	26th June 1975 to December 1975
14. Delhi	1,275	For the year 1975
15. Pondicherry	7,482	- do -
16. Central Sphere	1,11,670	July 1975 to December 1975

In respect of lay-off, 3182 establishments were involved.

Cases of retrenchment of 13,754 workers in 448 establishments and closures involving 76 establishments and 9921 workers occurred during the same period. The lock-outs in the six months of emergency involved 63 establishments and 45,462 workers.

Note: 1. There were no lay-offs in Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur and Lakshadweep during the period July 1975 to December 1975.

2. Similar information in respect of other States and Union Territories is not available.

TABLE A: INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Year	Number of disputes	Number of workers involved (lakhs)	Number of mandays lost (lakhs)	No of mandays lost per dispute
1966	2556	14.10	138.46	5417
1967	2815	14.90	171.48	6092
1968	2776	16.69	172.44	6212
1969	2627	18.27	190.48	7251
1970	2889	19.28	205.63	7118
1971	2752	16.15	165.46	6012
1972	3243	17.37	205.44	6335
1973	3370	25.46	206.26	6121
1974	2938	28.55	402.62	13704
1975	1843	11.08	215.64	11700
Provisional				

TABLE B: INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES BY CAUSES

Item	1961		1974		1974		1975	
	No.	% to total						
1. Wages and allowances	399	29.4	1122	33.3	1033	35.2	553	30.0
2. Bonus	91	6.7	340	10.1	178	6.0	140	7.6
3. Personnel	361	26.5	613	18.2	549	18.7	381	20.6
4. Retrenchment	24	1.8	189	5.6	208	7.0	147	8.0
5. Leave and hours of work	39	2.9	50	1.5	46	1.6	38	2.1
6. Indiscipline and violence	—	—	187	5.5	178	6.1	171	9.3
7. Others	400	29.5	795	23.6	671	22.8	360	19.5
8. Not known	43	3.2	74	2.2	75	2.6	53	2.9
TOTAL	1357	100.0	3370	100.0	2938	100.0	1843	100.0

(Economic Times, 27 September 1976)

**NO. OF STRIKES, WORKERS INVOLVED AND MANDAYS LOST DURING JULY, 1975 TO JUNE, 1976 (P)
BY STATES**

State/Union Territory	January to June, 1976 (P)			July to December, 1975 (P)		
	No. of Strikes	No. of Workers Involved	No. of Man- days Lost	No. of Strikes	No. of Workers Involved	No. of Man- days Lost
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Andhra Pradesh	23	8,265	49,732	4	6,057	19,280
Assam	1	318	318	3	3,977	3,917
Bihar	50	10,314	30,970	47	7,518	30,226
Gujarat	32	4,814	25,829	35	3,617	25,756
Haryana	6	794	5,163	2	1,533	23,966
Karnataka	7	4,543	28,335	11	4,735	28,629
Kerala	25	6,883	52,319	14	1,614	19,591
Madhya Pradesh	23	5,298	6,349	22	4,140	8,575
Maharashtra	187	32,793	252,097	139	19,995	62,404
Orissa	4	1,064	4,999	5	415	453
Punjab	4	611	5,893	10	381	5,518
Rajasthan	9	2,556	25,490	8	1,566	11,091
Tamilnadu	120	127,120	695,067	70	43,628	430,819
Uttar Pradesh	37	18,617	93,107	40	12,126	48,688
West Bengal	76	56,947	373,099	59	32,037	721,846
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	222	222	—	—	—
Chandigarh	—	—	—	1	21	43
Delhi	11	423	3,978	7	4,321	17,536
Goa, Daman & Diu	3	1,363	27,309	2	266	184
Pondicherry	6	17,837	21,885	4	1,423	8,208
TOTAL:	625	300,782	1,702,161	483	149,370	1,466,730

(Statement in Lok Sabha on 26 August 1976)

(P) = Provisional

EMPLOYMENT GROWTH IN THE ORGANISED SECTOR, 1961-1973 —Reserve Bank Study

Employment in the organised sector during 1961-1973 increased by 67 lakhs from 121 lakhs in 1961 to 188 lakhs in 1973. The organised sector includes all establishments in the public sector and non-agricultural establishments employing 10 or more workers in the private sector.

The major proportion of persons employed in the organised sector was absorbed by the public sector. This proportion increased from 54 per cent in 1961 to 63 per cent in 1973. Actual employment in the public sector increased from 70.50 lakhs in 1961 to 118.81 lakhs in 1973 compared to 50.40 lakhs and 69.40 lakhs respectively in the private sector.

Industrywise Growth of employment

Trade and Commerce during 1961-73 recorded the highest growth rate followed by electricity, gas, water, etc. as the following table will show:

	<i>Proportion of total as at the end of March</i>	
	1961	1973
1. Plantation and Forestry	7.0	6.0
2. Mining and Quarrying	5.6	3.6
3. Manufacturing	28.0	27.0
4. Construction	7.0	6.3
5. Electricity, Gas, Water, etc.	2.2	2.9
6. Trade and Commerce	2.1	3.8
7. Transport & Communication	15.1	12.6
8. Services	33.0	37.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Between 1961 and 1973, total employment in the manufacturing industry increased by 17 lakhs whereas in the services sector the increase was of the order of 31.2 lakhs representing nearly a half of the total rise in employment in the organised sector.

Manufacturing industry: Private sector still dominates

The following table will indicate industrywise growth of employment between 1961 and 1973 in the public and private sectors:

	<i>No. of persons employed in the public sector as at the end of March (in lakhs)</i>		<i>No. of persons employed in the private sector as at the end of March (in lakhs)</i>	
	1961	1973	1961	1973
1. Plantation & Forestry	1.80	3.03	6.70	8.10
2. Mining & Quarrying	1.29	3.60	5.50	3.20
3. Manufacturing	3.69	9.64	30.20	41.20
4. Construction	6.03	10.13	2.40	1.80
5. Electricity, Gas, Water Supply, etc.	2.24	4.94	0.40	0.50
6. Trade & Commerce	0.94	4.14	1.60	3.10
7. Transport & Communication	17.24	22.98	0.80	0.80
8. Services	37.27	60.36	2.80	10.90

Branchwise Employment in Public Sector

<i>Branch</i>	<i>Employment as at the end of March (in lakhs)</i>	
	1961	1973
Central Government	20.90	29.12
State Governments	30.14	45.74
Quasi-Government	7.73	24.94
Local Bodies	11.73	19.01

Quasi Government branch includes public undertakings, nationalised banks and coal mines.

State Government accounted for 38.5 per cent of the total employment in public sector followed by Central Government employment of 24.5 per cent at the end of March 1973.

Statewise growth in Employment

Between March 1961 and September 1973 Karnataka recorded the highest rate of growth (6.2 per cent) per annum followed by Kerala (6.0 per cent), Punjab including Haryana (5.5 per cent) and Maharashtra (4.9 per cent).

At the end of September 1973, 5 States (Maharashtra, West Bengal, U.P., Tamilnadu and Bihar) out of 17 States together accounted for 54 per cent of the total employment in the organised Sector. Between March 1961 and September 1973, employment declined in private sector in Assam, Bihar, M.P. and Orissa.

During the same period employment in Public Sector increased in all the States.

Employment of Women

Of the total number of 188.63 lakh persons employed at the end of September 1973, women accounted for 21.13 lakhs or 11.2 per cent of the total. The private sector employed 10.72 lakhs and the public sector 10.41 lakhs.

At the end of September 1973, Maharashtra was leading in terms of number of women employed followed by Kerala, Tamilnadu and Assam.

In terms of **share of women** in total employment in the organised sector in each state, Kerala accounted for the highest share (33.1 per cent) followed by Assam (31.2 per cent), and distant third is Tamilnadu (15.1 per cent).

(Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, February 1975)

Statewise employment in the organised sector

States	1961		Total	September 1973		Total	Public Sector as proportion to total	
	Public	Private		Public	Private			
1. Andhra Pradesh	5.2	1.9	7.1	8.0	2.5	10.5	73.2	76.2
2. Assam	1.7	5.7	7.4	2.6	5.0	7.6	23.0	34.2
3. Bihar	5.6	4.9	10.5	10.6	3.1	13.7	53.3	77.4
4. Gujarat	3.6	3.6	7.2	5.8	4.8	10.6	50.0	54.7
5. Haryana, Punjab	3.4	1.0	4.4	5.7	2.6	8.3	77.3	68.7
6. Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—	2.1	0.1	2.2	—	95.5
7. Kerala	2.0	1.9	3.9	3.6	4.2	7.8	51.3	46.2
8. Madhya Pradesh	5.2	2.7	7.9	9.1	1.9	11.0	65.8	82.7
9. Maharashtra	8.8	6.9	15.7	15.9	11.9	27.8	56.1	57.2
10. Karnataka	3.5	0.9	4.4	6.1	2.9	9.0	79.5	67.8
11. Orissa	2.1	1.3	3.4	3.3	0.8	4.1	61.8	80.5
12. Rajasthan	3.4	0.9	4.3	5.2	1.2	6.4	79.1	81.3
13. Tamilnadu	6.1	4.1	10.2	9.7	6.5	16.2	59.8	60.0
14. Uttar Pradesh	9.6	3.5	13.1	14.9	5.0	19.9	73.3	74.9
15. West Bengal	6.9	10.1	17.0	12.8	11.4	24.2	40.6	52.9

EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

Information regarding the employment provided by private and public sector units during the last three years given below, relates to the number of employees in the 'organised sector' of the economy i.e. all public sector establishments and non-agricultural establishments in the private sector employing ten or more workers :-

Employment in the 'Organised Sector'—1972-74
Number of employees (in lakhs)

<i>Year ending March of</i>	<i>Private Sector</i>	<i>Public Sector</i>
1972	113.1 (+4.5)	67.7 (+0.1)
1973	119.8 (+5.9)	68.5 (+1.1)
1974 (P)	124.9 (+4.3)	67.7 (-1.1)

Note:— i) The figures in brackets are percentage variations over the previous year. Percentages worked out on the basis of absolute figures.

ii) P—Provisional (Rajya Sabha, 7 March 1975)

SELECTED ECONOMIC INDICATORS

	<i>Unit/Base year</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Latest year</i>	<i>Year ago</i>	<i>Percentage change</i>
1. ET Wholesale Commodity Index	1969:70 = 100	1975-76	164.0	181.4	(—)9.6
2. ET Retail Price Index (for greater Bombay)	1969-70 =100	"	180.7	175.9	2.7
3. Working class consumer Price Index	1960=100	"	313	317	(—)1.3
4. Index of Industrial Production	1970=100	1975	118.8	114.3	3.9
5. <i>Production of selected industries</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Latest year</i>	<i>year ago</i>	<i>% change over year ago</i>
(i) Sugar	'000 tonnes	1975-76	4350	4790	(—) 9.2
(ii) Vanaspati	"	1975	453	354	28.0
(iii) Tea	"	"	487	490	(—) 0.6
(iv) Textile Yarn	"	"	991	1007	(—) 1.6
(v) Cement	Lakh tonnes	"	162	143	13.3
(vi) Coal	"	1975-76	998	884	12.9

(Continued)

(vii) Cloth million meters	1974	8280	7776	6.5
(viii) Steel lakh tonnes	1975	147	125	17.6
(ix) Aluminium '000 tonnes	1975	167	129	29.8
(x) Manmade fibres "	1974	135	124	8.9
(xi) Jute Mfrs "	1975	1020	947	7.7
(xii) Paper & Paper products "	"	815	827	(—) 1.5
(xiii) Electricity generated Mn. Kwh	"	70,190	66,680	5.3

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		1975-76	Year ago	% change
6. Money supply with the public	Rs. crores	12669	11557	9.6
7. Net Bank credit to Govt. Sector	"	10051	9501	5.8
8. Net Bank Credit to commercial sector	"	13412	11252	19.2
9. Employment Exchange	January 1976	Year ago		% change
(i) Applications on live register	No. lakhs	94	85	10.6
(ii) Placement	'000 Nos.	38	33	15.2

(Economic Times, 19 August 1976)

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES IN INDIA (New Series)

Base: 1961-62 = 100

<i>Year/Month</i>	<i>Cereals</i>	<i>Pulses</i>	<i>Food Articles</i>	<i>Industrial raw materials</i>	<i>Manufactures</i>	<i>General Index all Commodities</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1972	220.7	315.2	230.6	192.1	174.3	200.7
1973	257.2	387.4	278.9	276.6	194.1	239.3
1974	354.6	493.5	351.8	331.6	247.4	304.6
1975	366.5	453.7	360.8	281.9	253.2	309.1
1975—						
April	377.2	457.9	361.1	286.6	252.2	309.2
May	380.7	459.3	371.2	286.7	251.9	313.2
June	382.7	452.9	370.1	282.9	251.5	312.3
July	376.7	428.3	361.1	273.5	252.1	309.2
August	370.9	433.2	364.6	281.0	252.2	311.2
September	360.9	442.5	363.0	268.5	253.0	309.5
October	341.5	435.0	362.0	263.4	253.2	308.3
November	323.3	432.7	349.1	260.2	253.0	303.2
December	306.5	411.8	328.4	255.6	253.4	294.4
1976—						
January	302.6	408.4	318.1	256.1	253.2	290.0
February	297.2	386.4	315.4	248.8	253.5	288.3
March	287.5	356.2	304.9	240.0	253.7	282.9
April	290.8	336.5	314.2	254.1	255.0	288.6

ALL-INDIA AVERAGE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX NUMBERS FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

(BASE: 1949=100 & 1960=100)

Base Period Year	Base: 1949=100 General Index	Base: 1960=100 General Index
1972	245	202
1973	287	236
1974	369	304
1975—		
January	396	326
February	395	325
March	390	321
April	393	323
May	397	327
June	399	328
July	394	324
August	390	321
September	388	319
October	384	316
November	383	315
December	372	306
1976—		
January	362	298
February	352	290
March	348	286
April	351	289
May	352	290
June	354	291
July	361	297

INDEX NUMBERS OF WAGE RATES—1969-1975

Between the period 1969-75, the General Index covering all the 12 industries increased by 113.17 per cent. In so far as individual industries are concerned, the highest percentage (146.5) was in the Manufacture of Electrical Machinery and Appliances followed by Jute Textiles (143.0), Cement (127.7), Smelting and Refining of Metal (119.0), Railway workshop (115.4) and Soap factories (101.0).

In the remaining four industries, namely: Match Factories, Hydrogenated Oil, Paper and Paper Products and Cotton Textiles, the percentage rise was between 74.8 and 96.2.

The series depict the trend of average (per worker) money earning of employees in manufacturing industries. They cover workers earning less than Rs. 400 p.m. Wages include "all remuneration (whether by way of salary, allowances or otherwise) expressed in terms of money or capable of being so expressed".

INDEX NUMBERS OF WAGE RATES 1969-1975
(As in January) (Base: 1963-65=100)

Sl. No.	Industry/Stratum	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	GENERAL INDEX	150.3	162.6	174.8	183.9	202.7	251.8	320.4
I	Cotton Textiles	145.8	155.0	164.2	174.1	178.7	229.1	286.0
	(i) Ahmedabad	142.4	139.2	150.5	157.4	169.0	213.9	277.8
	(ii) Bangalore	129.4	130.1	150.8	161.2	185.3	225.4	275.2
	(iii) Bombay and its suburbs	150.1	157.5	166.9	175.6	184.1	222.8	263.0

(iv) Coimbatore	140.3	150.8	163.1	176.5	196.2	236.9	328.3
(v) Howrah & Calcutta	162.4	176.7	177.9	190.8	214.3	282.0	369.1
(vi) Indore	143.4	146.4	158.8	168.8	190.6	259.2	329.4
(vii) Kanpur	134.5	147.8	155.4	169.3	193.9	247.3	334.0
(viii) Nagpur	140.4	154.6	166.6	170.5	178.8	239.2	306.0
(ix) Residual	146.4	165.0	170.7	187.8	197.6	258.3	287.5
<hr/>							
1. Cement	160.7	164.7	174.1	179.2	200.7	294.0	365.9
2. Cigarette Factories	170.7	174.7	176.9	196.7	249.9	288.9	368.7
3. Hydrogenated oil	136.5	152.2	166.5	183.8	187.5	229.9	265.0
4. Jute Textiles	156.4	194.7	196.9	206.6	264.2	295.4	380.0
(i) West Bengal	155.6	198.7	201.2	211.2	271.6	295.2	380.9
(ii) Residual	167.9	175.3	181.4	189.7	263.9	307.6	379.2
5. Manufacture of Electrical machinery & Appliances	144.4	148.5	173.1	191.0	216.9	285.8	356.0
6. Match Factories	148.3	150.6	160.2	167.9	194.7	204.2	259.2
7. Paper & Paper Products	163.4	186.8	201.2	203.6	220.1	270.6	319.2
8. Railway Workshops	149.0	153.5	166.1	166.9	177.8	244.4	321.0
9. Smelting & Refining of Metals (including Mfr of Iron & Stl.)	163.9	165.1	223.4	231.5	243.7	288.9	359.8
10. Soap Factories	159.5	173.0	179.4	186.2	221.4	258.6	320.6
11. Sugar	159.1	171.9	183.0	191.2	208.4	248.0	246.6
(i) Bihar	163.5	181.3	194.2	207.4	216.9	268.9	384.7
(ii) U.P.	161.5	176.5	182.3	191.2	208.6	251.0	330.1
(iii) Residual	152.5	154.1	169.3	176.8	190.8	219.6	302.4

Source: *Indian Labour Journal*, August 1976.

INDEX NUMBER OF MONEY/REAL EARNINGS OF EMPLOYEES IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES AND MINES 1962-72

(Base 1961=100)

Year	All-India Consumer Price Index No. (Base shifted to 1961=100)		Index Nos of Money earnings		Index Number of Real Earnings	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1962		103	106	104	103	101
1963		106	109	111	103	105
1964		121	114	112	94	93
1965		132	128	127	97	96
1966		146	139	138	95	95
1967		166	151	179	91	108
1968		171	160	189	94	111
1969		169	170	202	101	120
1970		178	180	207	101	116
1971		183	185	214	101	117
1972		194	199	230	103	119

(Indian Labour Statistics 1975)

CONCLUSIONS OF THE SEMINAR ON POPULATION QUESTION

(Nagpur, 27-28 September 1975)

[The seminar was held by AITUC in collaboration with ILO. The conclusions adopted at the seminar constitute the policy of AITUC on this question—Ed.]

1. The World Population Conference held in Bucharest in 1974 under the auspices of the United Nations underlined the fact that to solve the problems facing the people of less developed countries with higher population growth socio-economic changes are the foremost necessity. The Conference rejected the ideological position of Malthusianism that large population and relatively high rate of population growth are responsible for poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment. On the contrary, the demographic history of different countries has shown that material and cultural upliftment of the people has a lasting impact on the growth of population and on the size of family.

2. The Government of India also is a party to the decision of the Bucharest Conference. Even then, the propagaunda slant of Governmental agencies and media on neo-Malthusian line on the question of population and family planning still persists.

3. Side by side, there is a strong current of obscurantist propaganda against family planning on the basis of age-old ideas of a society when productive forces were backward and massive manpower was the biggest element in socio-economic progress. But this fact is not valid in today's conditions of technological and socio-economic advance. Now to perpetuate the old ideology is to perpetuate the degradation of women and confining their status to bearing and rearing of children and of other household chores. These elements are outspoken opponents of family planning programme.

4. The AITUC and its unions will have to continue the ideological campaign both against Malthusianism and against obscurantism on the question of population. To this question is also related the question of the status of women in family and society. Family Planning helps to some extent to raise women's status in family and society.

5. Health and well being of mother and children, and release of women from being tied down solely to household work are also very crucial objectives that will have to be borne in mind while participating in family planning programme.

6. The Bucharest conference has also made it clear that size of family is the exclusive choice of husband and wife and there should be no compulsion or coercion by outside elements in exercising this prerogative.

The AITUC is opposed to any form of coercion or compulsion which may take the form of curtailment of existing rights and benefits, refusal to pay maternity and other benefits or inducements in different forms.

7. The AITUC does not consider the question of family planning so applicable to industrial workers in isolation, but treats it as inseparable part of a programme of economic, social and cultural upliftment of the workers by means of better wages, housing, improvement in health and sanitation; educational and recreational facilities, social security benefits, etc.

While creating motivation in favour of planned family, the AITUC will at the same time launch campaign towards social and cultural upliftment of workers, as a distinct obligation besides its general tasks.

8. Family planning programme are at present administered by Governmental agencies and as a department of the Government. The AITUC unions while agreeing with the concept of family planning will not limit its work only to the plans made by Governmental agencies. The trade unions will have to function independently for creating necessary motivation and against malpractices, coercive tactics of implementation agencies and officials, for improvement of medical and clinical arrangements, and will try to change the content of propaganda carried through different media.

9. The trade unions can take up this work only as a part of their main tasks of defending the interests of workers in relation to the employers and raising their cultural and social milieu.

THE 20-POINT PROGRAMME

The economic programme announced by the Prime Minister on 1 July 1975 contained the following 20 points:

- (1) Continuance of steps to bring down prices of essential commodities. Streamlined production, procurement and distribution of essential commodities. Strict economy in government expenditure.
- (2) Implementation of agricultural land ceilings and speedier distribution of surplus land and compilation of land records.
- (3) Stepping up of provision of house sites for landless and weaker sections.
- (4) Bonded labour, wherever it exists, will be declared illegal.
- (5) Plan for liquidation of rural indebtedness. Legislation for moratorium on recovery of debt from landless labourers, small farmers and artisans.
- (6) Review of laws on minimum agricultural wages.
- (7) Five million more hectares to be brought under irrigation. National programme for use of ground water.
- (8) An accelerated power programme. Super thermal stations under Central control.
- (9) New development plan for handloom sector.
- (10) Improvement in quality and supply of people's cloth.
- (11) Socialisation of urban and urbanisable land. Ceiling on ownership and possession of vacant land and on plinth area of new dwelling units.
- (12) Special squads for valuation of property and prevention of tax evasion. Summary trials and deterrent punishment of economic offenders.
- (13) Special legislation for confiscation of smugglers' properties.
- (14) Liberalisation of investment procedures. Action against misuse of import licences.
- (15) New schemes for workers' association in industry.
- (16) National permit scheme for road transport.
- (17) Income Tax relief to middle class—exemption limit placed at Rs. 8,000.
- (18) Essential commodities at controlled prices to students in hostels.

- (19) Books and stationery at controlled prices.
 (20) New apprenticeship scheme to enlarge employment and training, especially of weaker sections.

PARLIAMENT REPLIES

Remittance by Foreign Companies

India Tobacco, with Rs. 227.34 lakhs heads the list of 20 foreign companies which have remitted the highest amount in 1972-73 under various heads such as dividend, technical know-how, royalties and head office expenses.

The second place has gone to Union Carbide with its remittances totalling Rs 153.03 lakhs, followed by Indian Explosives Ltd. Rs. 148.4 lakhs and Hindustan Lever Rs 145.67 lakhs.

The remittances of the other companies were:

	<i>Rs lakhs</i>
ESSCO Standard	112.5
Burmah Shell Refineries Ltd.	107.78
GEC	93.1
Guest Keen Williams Ltd.	86.51
Fire Stone Tyre & Rubber Co.	75.91
Brooke Bond	74.65
Pfizer	69.04
Caltex Oil Refining Ltd.	66.99
Indian Aluminium	59.27
Colgate Palmolive	57.37
Glaxo Laboratories	57.02
J & P Coates	52.22
Dunlop	49.11
Ashok Leyland	48.61
Lucas TVS Ltd.	42.73
Motor Industries	39.98

Hindalco (Lok Sabha, 6 December 1975)

The inspection of account books of Hindustan Aluminium Corporation had brought to light certain transactions which prima facie suggested that the affairs of the company were not being managed in accordance with sound business principles and prudent commercial practices.

(Rajya Sabha, 18 November 1975)

US tops the list of Foreign Equity participation

The countries which had been given foreign equity participation in 1974 were US (Rs. 193.57 lakhs), France (Rs. 138.71 lakhs), Switzerland (Rs. 72.50 lakhs), FRG (Rs. 59.80 lakhs) and Japan (Rs. 46.57 lakhs).

72 of these units were for electrical equipment, 69 for industrial machinery, 41 for Chemicals and 34 for transportation.

(*Rajya Sabha*, 20 March 1975)

Foreign Companies

Indian Oxygen, a foreign majority company, has remitted Rs. 43.42 lakhs in 1974 on account of dividend and interest. Its remittances in the previous year were of Rs. 35.25 lakhs.

Eleven companies with more than 40 per cent foreign equity participation were engaged in the manufacture of cosmetics and toileteries. Their total ex-factory value of production in 1973 was about Rs. 21.1 crores. Foreign exchange outgo from these companies on account of dividends, royalties and similar payments in that year amounted to Rs. 3.47 crores.

(*Lok Sabha*, 19 March 1975)

Industrial Licences

A total of **1,099 industrial licences** were issued during 1974.

(*Lok Sabha*, 19 March 1975)

Bank Credit to 75 Larger Industrial Houses

The share of 75 larger industrial houses in the aggregate credit of the 14 nationalised banks amounting to 19 per cent at the end of 1971, 18.2 per cent by the end of December 1972 and to 15.2 per cent by the end of December 1973. In the case of the State Bank of India this proportion had declined from 21.78 per cent at the end of December 1971 to 18.75 per cent at the end of December 1973.

(*Lok Sabha*, 21 March 1975)

'National Sector'

The concept of "National Sector" has come to stay in the country and, if the experiment now being made in connection with Scooters India succeeded, it might be extended to other sectors of public industry. Public equity participation in the company would be underwritten through nationalised financial institutions and adequate care would be taken against "undesirable elements" concerning the shares. With an equity participation of about 57 per cent, the Government would control the affairs of the company, while public participation of the rest of the shares would create a new trend in participation.

(*Rajya Sabha*, 20 March 1975)

Missing May & Baker Files

The Government has ordered a CBI probe into the mystery of missing May and Baker files.

The Company had submitted a proposal in 1964 for conversion of the Company into an Indian one, associating Indian capital to the extent of 10 per cent. The proposal was considered by the Foreign Agreements Committee in 1965. It recommended that foreign equity in the proposed company be brought down to 60 per cent in two stages, distribution of products should be by the proposed company and repatriation of capital should as far as practicable be avoided.

However, the files relating to the association of Indian Capital could not be traced despite all efforts.

It also appeared that the decision of the Foreign Agreements Committee had not been communicated to the party.

(*Rajya Sabha*, 28 April 1975)

US Firms' Profits

Profits before tax of 48 branches of American Companies in India during the three years from 1971-72 was Rs. 43.47 crores as on March 31, 1974.

There were 88 branches of American companies operating in India on that day. The total investment of the 48 branches of

American Companies in India as reflected by the value of assets in 1973-74 amounted to Rs. 325.24 crores. Four branches of American banks had a total asset of Rs. 269.60 crores during the year.

(*Rajya Sabha*, 19 January 1976)

Top 100 Firms made Rs. 435 crores Profit

The top 100 private companies in the country had earned profits totalling Rs. 434.96 crores during 1973-74. The topmost profit earners before tax, was Oil India followed by Tata Iron and Steel Company Ltd., Century Spinning and Manufacturing Co. Ltd., Gwalior Rayon Silk Manufacturing (Wvg) Co. Ltd., Union Carbide India, ITC Ltd., Guest Keen Williams; Ltd., Philips India Ltd., Tata Engineering and Locomotive Co. Ltd. and Hindustan Lever Ltd., were the other profit earners among the top 10 private sector undertakings.

(*Rajya Sabha* Statement, 12 January 1976)

(While Oil India is joint Sector Company, five are multi-nationals, two each of Birlas and Tatas—Ed.).

Foreign Tie-ups

The Government has approved 271 proposals for foreign collaboration during the year 1975. Of these, 40 involved foreign capital participation to the extent of Rs. 3.2 crores. The remaining proposals involved only technical collaboration.

The foreign collaborations were from the US, UK, West Germany, Japan, Canada, France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Australia; Sweden, Luxemburg, Finland, Hongkong, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Romania, East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Bermuda.

(*Rajya Sabha*, 15 January 1976)

Multinationals

The industry minister T. A. Pai assured the house that the government would take appropriate action against the foreign

multinationals if any of them was found indulging in anti-Indian activities. The government had not come across any such act here. But it was "definitely" aware of the adverse effects of the multinationals' operations in other countries.

Multinationals operating in the country had to get permission from the Reserve Bank of India under section 29 (2) (A) and (C) of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1973 for Indian equity participation.

The Reserve Bank had issued a letter of intent to the Cadbury Fry (India) Private Ltd. for granting permission under this section of the Act subject, inter alia to the condition that the non-resident interest in the equity capital of the company shall be reduced to a level not exceeding 40% within two years from the date of receipt of permission.

The Reserve Bank had not yet issued any order under the Act in respect of Colgate Palmolive India Pvt. Ltd., The Coca Cola Corporation and Cheseborough Ponds.

(Rajya Sabha, 8 January 1976)

Steel Production

The total production of 4.9 million tonnes of saleable steel from the five integrated steel plants in 1974-75 was an all-time record. The overall capacity utilisation at 72.8 per cent was also the highest.

(Lok Sabha, 8 January 1976)

Shipping

Indian shipping had attained a capacity to carry 23% of the country's overseas trade. The operational tonnage in December last was 42.74 lakhs grt. Further 12.73 lakh grt was under construction for delivery before March 1979.

(Rajya Sabha, 9 January 1976)

Foreign Drug Firms

The takeover of foreign drugs companies as recommended by the Hathi Committee would require an investment of Rs. 140 crores.

"As it is not an easy matter", the Government was taking steps to reduce the equity holdings of these foreign companies.

At the same time, nationalisation of the foreign drug companies was also being examined by the Government.

(Lok Sabha, 6 January 1976)

Tyre Firms' Profits

The four multinational tyre companies operating in India have remitted abroad Rs. 305 lakh as technical knowhow fee and Rs. 48.90 lakh as royalty from 1968-69 to 1971-72.

The companies are Messrs. Ceat Tyres of India Ltd., Dunlop India Ltd., Firestone Tyre and Rubber Co. of India Pvt. Ltd. and Good Year India Ltd.

(Lok Sabha, 24 March 1976)

IBM reguges to Dilute Equity

The International Business Machines (IBM) has informed the Government that it would be unable to dilute the foreign equity in their Indian Company to 40 per cent as suggested by the Government of India.

The Company, however, offered to submit a revised programme of work in accordance with the Government's decision on the re-structuring of the Company's activities in India.

The reason given by the IBM was that outside the United States the company conducts its business only through branches or wholly-owned subsidiaries.

(Lok Sabha, 31 March 1976)

Drug? or Food?

The Ministry of chemicals and fertilizers has been asked to enquire into alleged violations of IDR Act and Drug Price Control Order by the firm of Pfizers in regard to manufacture of "protinex". "Protinex" was a patented name for protein hydrolysate, which had been licensed as a drug item under IDR Act. In 1971, the company applied to the drug control administration to get it registered as a food item as it was not sure of the therapeutic value of this product. In February 1976, however, the firm again applied for and was given re-registration by the drug control administration for the manufacture

of "protinex" as a drug item. The firm had also produced the item in excess of the licensed capacity.

(Lok Sabha, 12 May 1976)

Unemployment

There are 95,35,200 persons on the live register of employment exchanges at the end of May 1976, the highest number being in West Bengal with 17,05,700. Since the proclamation of emergency till May this year 4,24,400 of them were placed in employment. Next to West Bengal, Bihar had the highest number of job seekers with 9,56,200; U.P. 8,97,000; Maharashtra 8,02,300, Tamilnadu 7,63,000, Kerala 7,17,000; Andhra Pradesh 6,07,400 and M. P. 5,29,900.

There were 17,316 engineering graduates and post graduates registered as job-seekers at the end of last year.

61% of graduates who responded to a survey conducted in 1973 reported themselves to be employed, 32 per cent unemployed and the rest were pursuing further studies or were not looking for work. The survey, which covered those who obtained degree in 1968 found that the bulk of employed graduates was engaged in educational services (51%) and in the public administrative services (18%).

(Rajya Sabha, 20 August 1976)

More Units to be delicensed

The Government wanted to delicense some more industries, "provided entrepreneurs do not have recourse to public financial institutions.

"We want to see that in all industries where local raw material is available, people should have the freedom to start industries by mobilising their resources."

The Government announced its decision in October 1975, to grant total exemption from industrial licensing in respect of 21 selected industries subject to certain conditions, such as the item being not reserved for exclusive development in the small sector, the industrial undertaking not falling within the purview of either MRTP Act or FERA and the industrial un-

dertaking not requiring imported capital goods or raw materials or foreign collaboration.

(Rajya Sabha, 26 August 1976)

Duty-free Imports

The Government has permitted duty-free imports of 91 items of raw materials and components which include 44 chemical items.

(Rajya Sabha, 31 August 1976)

Raid on Bajaj Group

Over Rs. 58.69 lakh in cash, jewellery and other assets were seized recently during raids by the income-tax authorities from the premises of persons and organisations of the Bajaj Group of industries. The seized materials are under scrutiny.

(Rajya Sabha, 10 August 1976)

Income-Tax Arrears

The gross and net arrears of income-tax including corporation tax amounted to Rs. 993.80 crore and Rs. 603.08 crore respectively as on March 31, 1976.

(Rajya Sabha, 10 August 1976)

Tax dues from Ex-Rulers

A sum of Rs 290.12 lakh was due as income-tax from ex-rulers of erstwhile princely states as on 30 June this year.

(Rajya Sabha, 31 August 1976)

PF Arrears

The amount of provident fund dues in arrears due from un-exempted establishments has come down from Rs. 20.33 crore as on December 31, 1975 to Rs. 19.22 crore as on June 30, 1976.

(Lok Sabha, 20 August 1976)

P. F. Arrears in Mica

Eight mica traders were in arrears totalling Rs. 17 lakh as on October 31, 1975 as they had not deposited their provident fund dues with the authorities.

(Lok Sabha, 15 January 1976)

GROWTH OF PUBLIC SECTOR

	Total Investment (Rs. crores)	Number of Enterprises
At the commencement of the First Five Year Plan	29	5
At the commencement of Second Five Year Plan	81	21
At the commencement of the Third Five Year Plan	953	48
At the end of the Third Five Year Plan (31.3.66)	24,15	74
As at 31.3.67	28,41	77
As at 31.3.68	33,33	83
As at the commencement of Fourth Five Year Plan (31.3.69)	39,02	85
As at 31.3.70	43,01	91
As at 31.3.71	46,82	97
As at 31.3.72	50,52	1,01
As at 31.3.73	55,71	1,13
As at 31.3.74	62,37	1,22
As at 31.3.75	72,61	1,29

EMPLOYMENT IN DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF PUBLIC & PRIVATE SECTORS

(000's)

Year	Public Sector					Private Sector	Grand Total (Public & Private)
	Central Govt.	State Govt.	Quasi Govt.	Local Bodies	Total		
31.3.1962	2,186	3,087	879	1,265	7,417	5,160	12,577
1963	2,329	3,198	995	1,421	7,953	5,452	13,405
1964	2,434	3,433	1,097	1,490	8,454	5,592	14,046
1965	2,658	3,585	1,206	1,598	8,957	6,043	15,333
1966	2,636	3,723	1,318	1,701	9,378	6,813	16,191
1967	2,688	3,767	1,402	1,777	9,634	6,684	16,318
1968	2,715	3,803	1,484	1,800	9,802	6,525	16,327
1969	2,713	3,901	1,665	1,825	10,095	6,604	16,699
1970	2,725	3,997	1,794	1,858	10,374	6,696	17,070
1971	2,771	4,152	1,292	1,878	10,731	6,761	17,492
1972	2,841	4,282	2,171	1,914	11,209	6,769	17,978
1973+	2,918	4,579	2,578	1,900	11,975	6,849	18,824
1974+	2,942	4,686	2,929	1,930	12,487	6,774	19,261

Note: Figures in respect of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu are included from March, 1970 onwards.

+ Includes Jammu & Kashmir.

Source: Annual Report, Bureau of Public Enterprises, 1974-75, Vol. I.