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**ALL-INDIA
TRADE UNION CONGRESS**

Report . . .

**Twenty-Third Session
Bombay, 1949**



**R. L. TRUST BUILDING
55, GIRGAUM ROAD
BOMBAY 4**

**CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS ADOPTED BY
THE 23rd SESSION OF THE AITUC**

1. *Delete Clause 5 (a) (iv)* which reads as under:

“No Union should be affiliated to the AITUC which has not been in existence for at least one year.”

2. *Delete Clause 5 (b)* and substitute the following:

“The Working Committee of the AITUC shall have the authority of accepting or rejecting any application for affiliation from a Trade Union, provided, however, that in case of acceptance or rejection of any such application by the Working Committee, it will be open to the General Council or the General Body of the AITUC to confirm or set aside such a decision”.

3. *In Clause 7 (a)* for line 1 and 2 substitute the following:

“The annual contribution shall be paid by the 30th of June each year.”

4. *Clause 15:* Add clause 15 (c) as under:

“Emergency meeting of the Working Committee can be called by giving a notice of seven days”.

5. *Delete Clause 16 (a)* and substitute the following:

“One delegate for each Union having a membership of 200 or less and one additional delegate for every complete set of 200 members and a further delegate for the last fraction of 200, if the said last fraction consists of 100 or more members.

6. *In Clause 16 (e)* delete the words “for at least 12 months”.

7. *Delete Clause 25* and substitute the following:

“*Election of Delegates to International and other Conferences:* Delegates and advisers for the World Federation of Trade Unions and other international and national Conferences and meetings shall be ordinarily elected at meeting either of the General Council or of the Working Committee whichever is being in session. In case of emergency, a when either the General Council or the Working Committee

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

(Monthly Bulletin of the World Federation
of Trade Unions)

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SPECIAL FEATURES

News of International Workers' struggles
Information about working class conditions

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We miss in our midst today veteran trade union leaders like Com. D. B. Kulkarni and Com. R. D. Bharadwaj, who died as a result of atrocious conditions in Congress jails. We also miss in our midst many a working class and peasant leader like Com. Shripat Patil who died as martyrs while leading their class battles. We salute these great martyrs of our movement and vow that the working class will carry forward their heritage and lead the battle to the goal for which they so heroically laid down their lives.

Today along with these great leaders of the Indian trade union movement, we also do not find present many others who used to be present at all sessions of the Trade Union Congress. We regret to find that Com. N. M. Joshi, the ex-General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, left the organisation which he had helped to build, because the TUC was not agreeable to a particular viewpoint that he put forward. It is most unfortunate that Com. N. M. Joshi should have pursued a path which has helped none but the enemies of the TUC.

Among others who left the TUC in an attempt to disrupt it, we must mention the arch disruptor and agent of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, Hariharnath Shastri and his associates. Like a bourgeois fifth column, they attempted to sabotage every militant working class action from inside the TUC. Taking advantage of the urgent need of working class unity, they always tried to blackmail the TUC with the threat of disruption. In the end when they found that it was no more possible to sabotage the trade union movement from within, they split away from the TUC and appeared in their true colours as bourgeois agents. They started a bourgeois puppet organisation called the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

Afraid of the growing strength of the All-India Trade Union Congress, afraid of the strike struggles the unions affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress were leading, unable to disrupt the Trade Union Congress through its fifth column in the person of Hariharnath Shastri, Shibbanlal Saxena, Suresh Chandra Banerji and others, the Indian bourgeoisie headed by Sardar Patel, launched the Indian National Trade Union Congress openly to disrupt the unity of the Indian working class. The organisation is starting rival local organisations in every industry. It is actively assisted by the capitalists and their administrative officers. They thus hope to disrupt the unity of the working class and carry on open strike-breaking activity in the service of the bourgeoisie.

The Socialist Party leadership is another disruptive agency, which, together with the INTUC, is making despe-

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**REPORT OF THE WORK DONE BY
AITUC FROM
FEBRUARY 1947 TO MARCH 1949**

I have great pleasure in presenting the report of the work done by the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), the Provincial Trade Union Congress Committees and the affiliated trade unions representing eight lakh organised workers in India, for a period of two years, beginning from February 1947 when the last session of the Trade Union Congress was held at Calcutta.

On the occasion of this great session of the Trade Union Congress we miss the presence from the session of great leaders and builders of the Indian trade union movement. We miss in our midst great leaders of the Indian working class like Com. Dange, President of the All-India Trade Union Congress and the representative of the Indian working class on the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions; popular working class leaders like Com. Mirajkar and Com. Yusuf, Vice-Presidents of the All-India Trade Union Congress. We miss in our midst prominent members of the Working Committee of the TUC like Coms. B. T. Ranadive, R. K. Bhogle, S. G. Patkar, M. Kalyanasundaram, D. S. Vaidya, Jyoti Basu, G. D. Sane, Samuel Augustine, Shivbishal Singh, P. G. Savant, G. M. Khan, Mohamed Ismail, Yamin, Manek Gandhi, Ramani, J. B. Purshottam, Brahme, Vyas, Benjamin Chavan and many more. Almost all the office-bearers of the TUC, members of the Working Committee and the General Council, office-bearers of the various unions and the Provincial T. U. Congress Committees, are either in jail or have been forced underground. In the Congress prisons are languishing over 25,000 trade union and peasant leaders who have been detained there without trial by the Congress Fascist Government. These leaders were clapped behind bars or forced underground because they were leading workers' and peasants' struggles for a living wage and for democratic rights.

rate efforts to disrupt the unity of the working class organised in the AITUC. Unable to carry on their activities of sabotaging the struggles from inside the TUC, they split away, started the Hindustan Mazdur Sabha and rival local trade union organisations under the name of Mazdur Panchayats. Their role is open opposition to working class struggles. The climax was reached when this agency under the cloak of "Socialism" openly attempted to break working class strikes.

These Socialist leaders and their agents in the trade union movement shamelessly attempted open strike-breaking and even spied on the railway workers who had organised an all-India railway workers' strike on March 9 to win their minimum demands. Whatever their protestations, the Socialist leaders are carrying out the same policy as the INTUC. They do not attack the INTUC but instead concentrate their fire on the vanguard, that is, the working class organised in the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Yet another set of reformists led by Mrinal Kanti Bose recently split away from the TUC and has started yet another organisation under the name of United Trade Union Congress. Despite the burden of their song being working class unity, these reformists who have gone funky in the face of the heavy blows of repression and who are opposed to class struggle, are attempting to disrupt trade union unity, at a time when the bourgeoisie, caught in the grip of a deepening economic crisis, is mounting its vicious offensive against the working class.

The urgent need of the hour is a mighty united front of the Indian working class to resist and defeat the offensive of the capitalists. It is this unity which the AITUC is forging. Unity in the trade union movement is unity of action, unity for unhalting struggle against the capitalists, a struggle for the basic demands of the Indian working class, a struggle for living wage and democratic rights. Reformists of all shades are opposed to this unity because they are opposed to any class struggle against the capitalists. The Socialists, who talk of opposition to bourgeoisie only mean thereby a constitutional opposition which is nothing short of class collaboration. It is for these reasons that these reformists of different shades have left the TUC and are attempting to disrupt the TUC in the service of the Indian capitalists. Instead of fighting repression against the trade union movement, they are glad about it. Just when the AITUC and its affiliated unions are boldly resisting repression and leading the working class struggles, these reformists are helping the capitalists by attempting to disrupt working class unity and indulge in strike-breaking activities.

The international trade union movement is well-knit in the World Federation of Trade Unions comprising more than 70 million organised workers of all lands. Experienced and steeled in class battles against capitalism, we find the mighty working class movement of all lands arrayed against capitalism for a final battle, for a battle for peace, democracy and Socialism. At the helm of this mighty working class movement stands the gigantic might of the Soviet Union, the French and Italian Confederations of Labour, the mighty proletarian movement of China.

The session is meeting in the wake of great and valiant struggles of the Indian working class led by the unions all over India under the banner of the AITUC; the 114-day long struggle of the 38,000 Coimbatore textile workers, the two-month long strike of the textile workers of Nagpur, the struggle of the U.P. and Bihar teachers, the strike of dock workers, Post and Telegraph workers, workers of the Central PWD and the Ordnance depots, strikes of workers and employees in the government and municipal departments, struggles of clerks and employees in banks, business concerns and government offices, in short dogged struggles fought against severe odds all over India. Last but not the least, the session is being held after the suppression in blood and terror of the 9th March strike of eight-and-a-half lakh railway workers in defence of their living standards.

The session is meeting at a time when ruthless repression of every honest fighter is the order of the day, when about 25,000 trade union, kisan, student and women workers and organisers are locked up in the jails of "free" India, when an all-out and ferocious attack is launched by the combined strength of the capitalists and their henchman, the Nehru Government, against the working class, when employers are busy introducing schemes of rationalisation and increased work-load, rendering hundreds of thousands of workers jobless and throwing them mercilessly on the streets.

It is being held at a time when there has been a black-out of civil and political liberties and India has been turned into a veritable prison house. It is being held at a time when capitalists, their agents, the Socialists and the reformists, are busy sowing seeds of disruption in the working class and the toiling millions are heroically fighting back with revolutionary doggedness the combined offensive of the employers, their agents, the Nehru-Patel Government, the treacherous Socialist leaders and the reformists.

The session is being held when the Congress leaders manning the Government of India have broken all election pledges they gave to the people in 1946 and 1947, when nationalisation of the industries is to be put into cold storage

and when foreign capital is given all facilities to exploit the Indian people. It is being held at a time when the Government of India has agreed to tie India to the chariot wheel of imperialism by consenting to remain in the British empire, now called the Commonwealth.

The session will be a momentous one. It will be called upon to give a correct organisational and militant lead to the Indian working class so that it can not only successfully resist the capitalist-cum-Government offensive but march onwards for securing a living wage and social security for the workers and full civil and political liberties for the people with a view to establish in this country real independence, a people's democratic rule of workers, peasants and the oppressed middle class.

The session will have to consider these problems and trends and take such decisions as will enable the AITUC to lead the Indian working class ahead and march shoulder to shoulder with the world working class.

DEEPENING ECONOMIC CRISIS

The session is meeting at a period when the capitalist economic crisis has further deepened and the conditions of the workers in all industries have been further worsened. Cost of living and prices of all essential articles continue to rise rapidly, wages have either remained static or have even been directly attacked. Real wages are fast declining resulting in untold miseries and hardships.

During the two years under review, the cost of living index figures with pre-war base: 100, have risen to giddy heights, having long since exceeded the worst rise of war years.

In Bombay, the figure shot up from 245 (the average for 1946) to 271 in December 1947, and during 1948 it shot up by a further 39 points, reaching the record figure of 310 in December 1948.

In Ahmedabad, during this period, it rose from the 1946 average of 286 to 358 in December 1948, rising in 1948 alone by 68 points.

In Sholapur, the index figure rose from the 1946 average of 290 to 330 in January 1948, to 422 in December 1948. Thus in one year it rose by 92 points.

In Jalgaon it rose from the 1946 average of 326 to 392 in December 1947, to 433 in January 1948 and to 461 in December 1948. In 13 months, it rose by 69 points.

In Kanpur it rose at the end of 1948 to 508, i.e., 103 points higher in 12 months. The 1946 average was 328.

In Nagpur, it rose from the 1946 average of 285 to 389 in December 1948, rising by 42 points in the last 12 months. During the same period it rose in Jubbulpore from the 1946 average of 302 to 413 in December 1948, rising by 74 points in 1948.

In Madras, during this period, it rose from 239, the 1946 average, to 329 in December 1948. (*Indian Labour Gazette*, February 1949, page 601)

Such is the nature of the worsening conditions of life of the workers as a result of the rapidly deepening economic crisis. From the facts mentioned above, it will be seen that there is a rise of from nearly 50 to 103 points in the cost of living index figures in the short period of 12 months in the year 1948.

The monetary inflation, with whose aid the bourgeoisie seeks to hide the rapidly deepening crisis, has now brought the economic structure to the verge of collapse. Loss of wages and unemployment of thousands, have become the order of the day. In inflation the bourgeoisie has found the most callous and invisible weapon to fleece and rob the masses, inflict starvation on them, depreciate their labour, reduce their wages and hurl the burden of the crisis on their shoulders. The ever-increasing spiral of prices, with wages lagging behind, fleeces the worker of his labour and inflicts starvation wage on him, reducing his purchasing power all along the line. It is an open and shameless attempt to transfer the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the workers and impoverish them still further.

Throughout the last year there have been direct or indirect wage-cuts, as in the case of the central government employees like railway workers.

During the period under report real wages have declined considerably. From the figures and facts mentioned below, it will be seen how serious the situation is.

The *Eastern Economist*, a journal of the Indian capitalists, admits in its issue of December 31, 1948 as follows:

| Province | Year | Cost of index | Actual wage a worker is entitled to draw if the rise in the cost of living was compensated fully | Actual wage drawn per year | Decline in real wage drawn by a workers compared to 1939 wage |
|----------|------|---------------|--|----------------------------|---|
| Bengal | 1939 | 100 | 248.7 | 248.7 | — |
| | 1946 | 261 | 649.1 | 496.3 | 22% decline |
| | 1947 | 292 | 726.2 | 567.2 | 21.8 % „ |

(Note: General Index figure from Annual Number of *Eastern Economist*, December 31, 1948)

| Province | Year | Cost of index | Actual wage a worker is entitled to draw if the rise in the cost of living was compensated fully | Actual wage drawn per year | Decline in real wage drawn by a workers compared to 1939 wage |
|-----------------|------|---------------|--|----------------------------|---|
| Bombay | 1939 | 103 | 370.4 | 370.4 | — |
| | 1946 | 246 | 884.6 | 812.4 | 8.1 % decline |
| | 1947 | 265 | 952.9 | 977.9 | 2.6 % „ |
| Bihar | 1939 | 102 | 415.5 | 415.5 | — |
| | 1946 | 329 | 1245.0 | 544.0 | 57.0 % „ |
| | 1947 | 375 | 1527.5 | 819.8 | 39.7 % „ |
| United Province | 1939 | 105 | 235.8 | 235.8 | — |
| | 1946 | 328 | 736.5 | 593.6 | 19.4 % „ |
| | 1947 | 389 | 873.5 | 672.8 | 23.0 % „ |
| Madras | 1939 | 106 | 175.9 | 175.9 | — |
| | 1946 | 239 | 396.6 | 422.0 | 6.4 % rise |
| | 1947 | 277 | 459.6 | 560.0 | 21.8 % „ |

(Figures for Bombay, Bihar, United Provinces and Madras are taken from *Indian Labour Year Book*, 1946, pages 182-185. The Year Book gives cost of living index figures for six important towns in Bihar. From this the cost of living index figure for Bihar has been worked out.)

From the figures quoted above, it will be seen that the wages have been continually on the decline ever since 1939. This conclusion is further confirmed by the latest cost of living index figures published by the Government despite the fact that these are defective figures and show the rise in the cost of living far too inadequately compared with the reality.

The general average of wages and dearness allowance or the total earnings of workers in Bengal declined by 21.8 per cent. The real wage in Bombay showed an increase hardly of 2.6 over the 1939 wage figures. In Bihar even after the wage increase in 1946 the real wage showed a heavy drop of 39.7 per cent between 1939 and 1947. In the United Provinces, the real wage deteriorated by 23 per cent compared to the 1939 wage level.

Only in Madras Province does the wage level show some rise over that of 1939. But realising that the wage level in Madras in 1939 was extremely low, even after this little rise in 1947, the average wage level of a worker in Madras Province is one of the lowest.

The figures quoted above show that the rise in terms of money has not kept pace with the rise in the cost of living index number i.e., with prices. This is how the real wage has lagged far behind the 1939 wage level. Column above shows what a worker should draw if he is to be fully compensated for the rise in the cost of living and his wag

level of 1939 is to be maintained. This compared with the actual wage that he is drawing will show the real loss the worker has suffered.

While we have shown what the workers lost even in terms of their 1939 wage, we want to make it quite clear that the 1939 wage level was a starvation wage level and that even this wage has deteriorated. Then again the figures of wages for 1948-49 are still not available. But they will show only a further deterioration in real wages as there has not been any major revision of wage scales in any industry in 1948-49, while, as shown above prices have risen very steeply.

In analysing the movement of wages in the various industries, the Government of India in their *Labour Year Book* of 1946 published in 1948 (page 160) have made the following observation:

"Taking the whole period 1939-46, the average earnings of all the industries increased only by 115 per cent whereas the cost of living in different Provinces has increased from 150 to 250 per cent so that the wages have considerably lagged behind the prices."

Studying the position industrywise, we get the following picture:

JUTE

In 1939, the average wage per year in the jute industry was Rs. 230.8. It rose to Rs. 397.6 in 1947. This means a rise of 115.6 per cent over the 1939 figure. As against this, during 1939-46, according to government figures, the rise in the cost of living has in different Provinces been from 150 to 250 per cent. It is thus clear how the wage of three lakh workers in this monopoly industry as a whole has heavily deteriorated.

But the callousness of the Government in the matter of wage increase has been further noticed in its refusal to force the owners to grant a wage which they themselves consider equivalent to the minimum expenditure of a jute worker's family.

On August 15, 1947, the West Bengal Government referred the question of wages of jute workers to its Tribunal. The Tribunal gave its award one year after its appointment, i.e., on August 31, 1948. In its findings it stated as follows:

"The Tribunal has observed that the total cost of living under the present circumstances would work out at Rs. 71-3 as against the present total emolument of Rs. 46 per month

for the lowest paid manual worker. This will mean a heavy burden on the industry, especially when the industry will have to bear extra burden in the form of additional amenities. The Tribunal recommends an increase of about 50 per cent of the gap, i.e., Rs. 12-8 over the present Rs. 46."

Can there be any better example of the Government's callousness, of its and its Tribunal's anti-working-class and pro-capitalist attitude? It does not matter in the least to the Government if a worker and his family live or die; its only concern is to see that the capitalists continue to make their huge profits.

COTTON TEXTILES

In the cotton textile industry the workers' condition is advertised to be far better. Quite often these capitalists are heard shouting that their wage bills have gone up. This, however, is nothing but propaganda put out to screen their huge profits.

According to the Government of India's figures published in the *Indian Labour Gazette* (March 1949) the total average earnings of workers at different textile centres were as under:

In 1939, the total average annual earnings of an Indian textile worker were Rs. 320. In 1946, these rose to Rs. 721.8 or by 124.4 per cent. In 1947, they rose to Rs. 911.3 or by 184 per cent, as compared to the 1939 money wage. Considering the fact that the cost of living index number went up from 150 to 250 per cent between 1939-46, it can be seen how the real wage has fast deteriorated. In 1947, the general cost of living index as recorded by the *Eastern Economist* (December 31, 1948) stood at 292. This means that even though there was some monetary increase in the wage, the real wage was still far less than what it was in 1939.

To take specific cases, the total earnings of the textile workers in Bombay Province, for instance, rose from Rs. 370.4 in 1939 to Rs. 977.9 in 1947, i.e., a rise of 164 per cent as against a rise of 165 per cent in the cost of living in Bombay city during the same period. The cost of living in Ahmedabad during this period was 200 per cent; in the other textile centres of the Province, it was still higher.

In the United Provinces, the total earnings rose from Rs. 235.6 in 1939 to Rs. 672.8 in 1947, i.e., a rise of 185.6 per cent as against the rise of 278 per cent in the cost of living in Kanpur during the same period. This shows how heavily the real wage of textile workers in the United Provinces has deteriorated.

In Bihar, wages of textile workers rose from Rs. 415.5 in 1939 to Rs. 819.8 in 1947 or by 97.3 per cent. During the same period the rise in the cost of living for Bihar was—Patna 282 per cent, Jamshedpur 298 per cent—which again means a heavy drop in real wages.

In Bengal the rise in the total earnings between 1939-47 was 128.3 per cent as against the rise in the cost of living by 209 per cent. This also shows a heavy drop.

(Refer *Indian Labour Gazette*, March 1949)

Thus, even in the textile industry all over India there has been nothing but a heavy drop in the real wage of the workers while only at Bombay has it very nearly touched the 1939 wage level, which itself was no more than a starvation wage level.

In Madras Province, the total earnings of the textile workers show a rise of 218.5 per cent as against a rise in the cost of living between 1939-47 of 177 per cent. But the initial wage in 1939 in Madras Province was so low that even after this rise the average earnings of the textile workers in Madras are the lowest as compared to the total earnings of textile workers in other Provinces in 1947.

Thus, whether considered on countrywide basis or on the basis of Provinces, the real wage of the textile workers is below that of 1939, which means below the standard of even subsistence wage.

RAILWAYS

A systematic propaganda is carried on by the Government that the railway workers are better paid. But this is far from being true. Indeed the contrary is the reality.

It is interesting to see what the *Eastern Economist* says about railway workers' wages in its issue dated March 4, 1949. It says:

"The total number of railway employees, both permanent and temporary (excluding the staff employed on construction works) at the end of this year was 823,712 which compares to 771,993 at the end of previous year. The wage bill for Class I railways alone jumped from Rs. 52.02 crores to Rs. 63.36 crores, an increase of 11.34 crores. This was largely the result of the Central Pay Commission's recommendations and the amalgamation of sections of B.A. Railway with EIR and OTR."

This means that on March 31, 1948, the total average annual earnings of the railway workers according to these figures were Rs. 769.1. The total average annual earnings of a railway employee were Rs. 541 in 1939. Thus even

after the much-advertised scales of pay of the Central Pay Commission were brought into force, the rise in the total earnings of railwaymen, between 1939 to 1948, has been only 43.2 per cent.

Compare this with the average total earnings of Rs. 1041 in the textile industry, in Bombay, or Rs. 911.3 in all the Provinces, or Rs. 890.2 in the minerals and metals or Rs. 1,071.2 in the mints. These averages are themselves lower than even a subsistence wage but railwaymen are drawing even less than these and yet the Government does not hesitate to advertise that railwaymen are better paid.

The rate of dearness allowance that is paid to railwaymen has not been based on the rise in the cost of living nor is it on par with the dearness allowance paid in the textile and such other major industries, where also it should be noted, the dearness allowance does not correspond to the rise in the cost of living index. Over and above this, the Government of India has recently heavily cut down the dearness allowance that railwaymen used to get by drastically curtailing the grainshop facilities.

Further, the recent revision of wage scales for the running staff of the railway has resulted in an actual cut in the total emoluments of these workers. By withdrawing most of the allowances that they used to get in the past, by directly reducing their total mileage allowance, the total earnings of this section of railwaymen have been brought down.

The demand of railwaymen for the grant of a living wage of Rs. 80 has become very urgent and that is why they had prepared for an all-India railway workers' general strike on the March 9, which was, however, suppressed by the Government.

MINES

There were 3.2 lakh coal miners in British India in 1946. Of these 2.1 lakh miners are in Bihar, 0.8 lakh in Bengal, 0.2 lakh in C.P. and the rest in other parts of India. In the railway collieries, 83 per cent of the employees are recruited through middlemen. In Jharia and Ranigunj, the percentages were 35.8 and 45.5 respectively. Wages are generally paid through contractors and there is little direct supervision over payment. The unit of payment to miners and loaders is generally the tub in which the coal is loaded. The tub size varies from 20 to 42 cubic feet. Even the rate for a tub of standard size varies from mine to mine, according to the nature of the working places.

"As pointed out already there is no standardisation of basic wages and books are generally kept in a most haphazard manner and the workers have no means to check up the output.

"It will be seen from the above that the earnings are made up of a number of elements, wages, dearness allowance, attendance bonus, production bonus, etc. The wage census conducted by the Government of India covered about 84,000 workers. It was found that in Jharia the miners and loaders get on an average about a rupee a day in the case of 'Sarkari' labour and annas 14 in the case of contract labour. The trammers get about 14 annas a day. Among surface labour, wagon loaders get about 10 annas a day." (Labour Year Book, 1946, p. 164-65)

Following is the table that shows the average daily wage of the different categories of workers in the different coal mines in India.

| Category of workers | Year | AVERAGE DAILY WAGE | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------|--------------------|-------|----------|-------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|
| | | Jharia | | Ranigunj | | Girdih | | Panch Valley | |
| | | Rs. | a. p. | Rs. | a. p. | Rs. | a. p. | Rs. | a. p. |
| Miners (under-ground) | 1929 | 0 | 13 6 | 0 | 13 0 | 0 | 12 9 | 1 | 2 0 |
| | 1939 | 0 | 9 0 | 0 | 9 0 | 0 | 12 0 | 0 | 12 0 |
| | 1946 | 1 | 8 3 | 1 | 8 0 | 1 | 1 3 | 1 | 5 9 |
| Loaders (under-ground) | 1929 | 0 | 11 0 | 0 | 10 3 | 0 | 12 0 | 0 | 10 0 |
| | 1939 | 0 | 11 0 | 0 | 10 3 | 0 | 12 0 | 0 | 10 0 |
| | 1946 | 1 | 7 9 | 1 | 6 9 | 0 | 14 9 | 0 | 12 6 |
| Skilled (Surface) | 1929 | 0 | 13 3 | 0 | 11 6 | 0 | 14 0 | 0 | 10 6 |
| | 1939 | 0 | 10 3 | 0 | 9 6 | 0 | 14 0 | 0 | 9 3 |
| | 1946 | 1 | 10 0 | 1 | 9 6 | 1 | 6 3 | 0 | 12 3 |
| Unskilled (Surface) | 1929 | 0 | 8 9 | 0 | 8 6 | 0 | 8 0 | 0 | 10 6 |
| | 1939 | 0 | 5 0 | 0 | 6 3 | 0 | 8 0 | 0 | 6 9 |
| | 1946 | 1 | 2 0 | 1 | 1 9 | 1 | 0 3 | 0 | 9 5 |

This is what the Government of India says about these wages:

"It will be seen from the above that there was a general reduction in the daily earnings of miners from the year 1929 to 1936 when the earnings began to increase, although even in 1942 the wage level was below the 1929 level. The earnings have since considerably increased so that in 1946 the average daily earnings of underground miners were Rs. 1-8-3 in Jharia, Rs. 1-8-0 in Ranigunj, Rs. 1-1-3 in Giridh and Rs. 1-5-9 in C.P. It may be pointed out, however, that as compared to 1939 prices of essential foodstuffs have risen up by about 300 to 400 per cent so that real wages have not touched the 1939 level." (Indian Labour Year Book, 1946, p. 167)

Thus, the real value of Rs. 1-8-3, the daily wage of a Jharia, underground miner, which is the highest rate of wage in the entire coal-mining area is hardly *annas eight per day* even if we take the minimum rise of 300 per cent as quoted by the Government. The lowest wage of Rs. 0-9-3 in Pench Valley, in terms of 1939 cost of living, is thus only 3 annas per day.

Thus, it will be seen that the real wage of a miner has not touched even the wretched level of 1939 when the Indian miner was the lowest-paid miner in the world. Added to this, there is no check up on the accounts and workers have no means to examine as to whether the wage that is paid is according to the rates or whether they have been cheated by the employer.

MINERAL AND METAL INDUSTRY

This industrial group employed 125,000 workers in the year 1945. Among these, 73,000 are employed by the Tata Iron and Steel Co. at Jamshedpur. This company has brought into force a new wage structure (1947) according to which workers are paid the following wages:

Three grades of workers.

Skilled workmen:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|-----|---|---|---|
| 1 | 8 | 0 | -2- | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | 0 | 0 | -2- | 2 | 8 | 0 |
| 2 | 8 | 0 | -2- | 3 | 0 | 0 |

Unskilled labourers start on a basic wage of annas eight and sweepers on one of annas eleven to annas twelve.

Dearness allowance is granted on a graded scale. For those getting less than Rs. 100 per month, the D.A. is Rs. p.m. and for those getting between Rs. 100 and Rs. 200, the D.A. is Rs. 19-8-0.

The cost of living index at Jamshedpur was 332 in 1945 as compared to 105 in 1939, i.e., a rise of 216.1 per cent. The real value of the above-quoted wage rates can be corrected from this.

Thus, the real wages of this group of workers have lagged far behind and not even touched the 1939 wage level.

Even the most inadequate scale of Rs. 30- $\frac{1}{2}$ -35 is not applied to the unskilled workers in this industry.

TEA PLANTATIONS

There are 1,082,659 plantation workers on the various tea estates in India. These workers live in almost serf conditions. Their wages are miserably low and do not have even a semblance of a subsistence wage.

The monthly wage movements of the plantation workers as given by the Government of India in its *Labour Year Book* are as follows:

| Year Rs. | Assam Valley Tea Plantations Wage | | | Surma Valley Tea Plantations Wage | | |
|-------------|---|--------------|-----------------|---|--------------|-----------------|
| | men Rs. | women Rs. | children Rs. | men Rs. | women Rs. | children Rs. |
| 1929-30 | 10 2 5 | 8 5 2 | 5 10 5 | 10 11 0 | 8 6 1 | 5 6 2 |
| 1939-40 | 7 14 1 | 6 3 8 | 4 7 9 | 6 4 7 | 4 7 3 | 3 1 8 |
| 1945-46 | 9 13 1 | 7 15 1 | 6 6 1 | 8 15 0 | 6 3 1 | 4 3 4 |

"In January 1947 the Government of India called a tripartite conference at which they proposed that the wage rates should be so fixed that the average earnings of workers in the estates should be Rs. 1-4-0 a day for men and Re. 1 for women. The Indian Tea Association were not prepared to agree. It was, however, decided that they should grant one interim dearness allowance of annas two to all adult workers and anna one a day to children over and above the existing cash wages. This is being paid since February 1947."

Thus, what the Government recommended and the plantation owners accepted is no more than this paltry increase of as. 2 and anna 1 for men, women and children respectively as an interim allowance. This enhances the wages of workers only slightly. The average wage of Assam Valley and Surma Valley workers in these circumstances comes to less than Rs. 15 per month. Government's enquiry, concluded in February 1947, found this average to be as follows:

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|--------|
| Assam Valley Tea Plantation | Rs. 13 15 3 | 12 1 5 |
| Surma Valley | Rs. 12 6 3 | 8 12 3 |

(*Indian Labour Year Book*, pages 175 and 176)

The real value of this wage in terms of the present cost of living will hardly be Rs. 7.

Thus over ten lakh plantation workers are doomed to such scandalous conditions.

Then again different planters exploit the workers in all possible ways. In one plantation, plucking of tea leaves of a total weight of 16 lbs. is expected to fetch the workers his one day's full wages. In another plantation, one day's wages are paid for plucking leaves of a total weight of 24 lbs. In still another tea garden a worker has to pluck leaves upto the weight of 40 lbs. to secure one day's full wages.

While the tripartite conference increased the dearness allowance by two or three annas in some of the plantation gardens, it was calculated in such a manner that the workers did not get a rise of even one pie in their earnings. (Ref.

Ratanlal Brahman, MLA's book on conditions of workers of tea plantations).

MUNICIPAL SERVICES

Even after the various awards and decisions of the Government committees and commissions, the real wages of the municipal employees show rapid deterioration.

In Ahmedabad, the wage of a municipal employee is fixed at Rs. 30 plus Rs. 25 as D.A. i.e., a total of Rs. 55 per month. This in 1948. With the 1948 cost of living index in Ahmedabad at 333 (with 107 in 1939) the real value of Rs. 55 is only Rs. 17-10-0.

In Bombay, the wage is fixed at Rs. 72 per month including dearness allowance. The real wage in Bombay as per cost of living which was 310 in December 1948, works at Rs. 24 only and no more.

The Government's investigations showed that the expenditure of a municipal worker's family in Calcutta was Rs. 71-8-0 in 1946. Since then the prices have further and steeply risen. But the wage that was adopted for municipal employees in Calcutta in 1948 is Rs. 56-8-0, including dearness allowance.

In the Muzaffarpur Municipality in Bihar, total emoluments fixed for a municipal worker, inclusive of dearness allowance, are only Rs. 30 per month. The cost of living index figure for Muzaffarpur, as quoted by the Government, was 378 in 1947. From this the real value of these Rs. 30 can be worked out.

Wages of municipal workers at Nagpur and Jabulpore are fixed at Rs. 37-8-0 to Rs. 40-8-0, including dearness allowance when the cost of living at these places was at 386 and 405 respectively in October 1948. This will show how much their real wage has deteriorated.

The C.P. Government's family budget inquiry, completed at the end of 1945, showed Rs. 63-10-6 to be the minimum expenditure for a worker's family at Jabulpore. Since then the cost of living has shot up by over 100 points, while the maximum wage fixed is Rs. 40-8-0 per month.

In 43 municipalities in C.P. and Berar, the total emoluments of municipal workers are fixed at Rs. 24 to 25 inclusive of dearness allowance. The real value of this wage in terms of the present cost of living is less than Rs. 8 per month.

OTHER EMPLOYEES

From every other industry is reported the same tale namely, that real wages have deteriorated very sharply.

Among bank employees, Provincial and Central Government employees, teachers, dock workers, engineering workers, indeed among all sections of wage-earners, the same tale is repeated. The cost of living is continuously going up, while wages remain static and consequently there is a growing fall in the real wage. Extreme pauperisation of the masses is the reality of the workers' life.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

According to an estimate of the International Labour Office quoted by the Government of India *Labour Year Book*, 1946, there were seven crore agricultural labourers in India.

These crores of agricultural labourers, spread over all parts of India, are without any means of livelihood except labouring on the lands. They are divorced not only from lands but also from all means of production such as bullocks, ploughs, etc. Thus, they have to work for their livelihood only as employees of big landlords and capitalists.

Description of their conditions given by the Government of India in its *Labour Year Book*, 1946 is as under:

"Speaking generally, the total supply of agricultural labour in India comes from (i) families of landless rural labourers; (ii) families of part-time farmers; (iii) families of part-time artisans or village servants. The proportions in which the total supply is made up of one or the other category mentioned above varies widely from tract to tract."

"Serf labour also prevails in certain parts of the country. Serfdom mostly takes the form of debt bondage."

"Remuneration of agricultural workers is fixed in different ways, namely by allotting of land, giving grains and clothing, paying cash, giving boarding and lodging or lodging."

"According to the wage census enquiry of the Madras Government in 1946, the average rate for field labour (men) was Rs. 0-15-0 per diem. The highest cash rate per diem was Rs. 1-11-2 in Agency tracts and the lowest Rs. 0-11-6 in plains. Similarly, the highest cash rate per diem for women was Rs. 0-12-5 in hilly tracts and the lowest Rs. 0-6-6 in the Agency tracts...."

"In Bombay Presidency, cash wages are replacing wages in kind in recent years, excepting at the time of harvesting of grains. In 1943, normal daily rates of wages in Gujerat were only four annas to six annas for men and three annas to five annas for women per day. In the irrigation tracts and near towns like Surat, wages were a bit higher. For picking cotton, six annas to eight annas were paid and the quantity expected to be picked was a maund of kapas. Wages

But the AITUC is rightly proud of the successful battles it has waged against these forces of disruption and the Fascist Government repression. It is proud of having boldly, organised and led the struggles of the Indian working class against the capitalists and for living conditions. In these battles the disruptors of various shades have been unmasked as bourgeois fifth column in the trade union movement.

Today, more than ever before, the All-India Trade Union Congress has come out steeled in the struggle against the unprecedentedly Fascist repression of the Congress capitalist Government and has defeated the disruptive attempts of the INTUC, the Socialist leaders and leaders like Mrinal Kanti Bose and Suresh Banerji. Today the AITUC stands as the single fighting organisation of the Indian working class, that organises and leads its struggles in defence of its rights, against the growing offensive of the capitalists who are attempting to transfer the burden of the deepening economic crisis onto the shoulders of the workers. Despite repression and attempts at disruption, the AITUC stands forth as the representative organisation of the Indian working class.

The 23rd session of the All-India Trade Union Congress is being held at a very crucial and significant moment in the history of the Indian working class. It is being held after two years of trying period during which great events of national and international importance have taken place. To it will come delegates directly from the fighting lines bruised, battered and yet steeled in the determined and heroic strike struggles led by them in the last two years, against the offensive of the Indian capitalists and their Government.

Strike struggles fought by the workers during this period both inside our country and in the whole world are unparalleled in the history of the working class movement. The strikes in France, Italy and America were of unprecedented magnitude. The number of workers participating in these strikes was far bigger than at any time before. The militancy that was displayed by the workers in these strikes, the way in which the workers fought police attacks, the demonstration of international solidarity in these strikes, have inspired workers all over the world. French workers and Italian workers occupied factories and gave pitched battles to the police. The working class movement throughout the Asian countries in China, India, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Burma, Malaya—has grown immensely. In all these strike struggles everywhere, the reformist lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the Right-wing Social Democrats have been unmasked as traitors.

in kind in Ahmedabad district were five to six seers in bajri or jawar per day, while in Broach District normal daily wage was three seers of grain in the harvest season...."

"Government of U.P. conducted an inquiry into the rural wages in December 1944 and taking the different agricultural operations into account, the greatest concentration of frequency was seen to occur in the wage groups Rs. 0-7-9 and Rs. 0-5-7 both in cash and kind, cash wages inclining a little more towards the former and wages in kind towards the latter. In the eastern districts, wages as low as Rs. 0-1-6 to 0-2-0 were also prevalent, due to feudalistic features. The value of supplements in the different places usually amount to half an anna to one anna and six pies."

(India Labour Year Book, 1946, pp. 244-46)

This explains the plight of these 70 million agricultural labourers. They have to live under conditions of serfdom, their wages are as low as even Re. 0-1-6 a day; they have no means of livelihood except to work as hands of the landlords. Exetreme poverty, inhuman exploitation and horrible starvation conditions—this is their lot.

DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

While the basic wages of workers in various industries have been as low as explained above, the rate of dearness allowance paid to workers is much below the dearness allowance due to them. The total emoluments of workers shown above include dearness allowance. The rate of dearness allowance varies from industry to industry, from Province to Province and different rates prevail, in many cases, even in the same city or town or Province.

The dearness allowance fixed has no scientific basis. It is neither related to the cost of living index, nor has it been standardised. The only principle that seems to have been followed is how much rate of dearness allowance can be paid and how much can a capitalist save by paying less than what is due to a worker.

Bombay textile workers perhaps get the highest rate of dearness allowance. But even this rate of dearness allowance is lower than the actual rate they should have been paid. The present rate is calculated on the basis of 76.5 per cent of the rise in the cost of living calculated on the basis of average wage in the industry. According to this system, the rate of dearness allowance amounted to Rs. 36-10-0 in Bombay in 1946. Thus even on the basis of a minimum basic wage of Rs. 30, the rate of dearness allowance was only 120

per cent whereas the cost of living has risen by 139 per cent between 1939 and 1946. As we consider wages above the lowest, the percentage further declines. Thus the rate fixed for D.A. is much lower than the rise in the cost of living.

In Ahmedabad, workers were originally compensated to the extent of 99.66 per cent of the rise in prices. Since August 1945, this rate was reduced to the Bombay level of 76.5 per cent. Thus the rate of dearness allowance which was Rs. 65-11-7 was brought down to Rs. 48-10-0 in 1946.

In the Kolar Gold Fields, the workers are paid Rs. 8 as dearness allowance. (*Indian Labour Gazette*, October, 1948)

The rate of dearness allowance for jute workers in Calcutta and West Bengal Province was fixed at Rs. 32-8-0 in October 1948. The cost of living index figure for Calcutta was 292 in 1947, with 1939 as 100. If the rise in the cost of living was to be fully compensated, a worker in the jute mills of Calcutta was entitled to a dearness allowance of Rs. 57.6 even if it was to be granted on the basis of Rs. 30 as basic wage.

The Titagarh Paper Mills pay a dearness allowance of Rs. 25 which is hardly 83 per cent over Rs. 30 as basic wage, as against a rise of 192 per cent in the cost of living in Calcutta in 1947.

Same is the story of Kanpur where the cost of living index figure rose from 105 in 1939 to 389 in 1947 which means a rise of 270.4 per cent. The rate of dearness allowance prevalent in Kanpur is Re. 0-2-7 per point rise. This works at about Rs. 46. If full neutralisation of the cost of living were to be made and the value of even Rs. 30, the lowest wage, maintained, then a worker should have got at least Rs. 80 as dearness allowance. Instead he gets only Rs. 46.

In C.P. and Berar, the rate of dearness allowance varied from Rs. 11 to 17 for municipal employees in December 1948 when the cost of living index was 389 at Nagpur and 413 at Jabulpore.

The rates of dearness allowance for the Central Government employees as recommended by the Central Pay Commission have been advertised as standard rates. According to the latest revision, Rs. 35 have been fixed as dearness allowance for those who draw a wage of Rs. 50 and below and Rs. 45 for those who draw over Rs. 51 and upto Rs. 100.

Even if we calculate the percentage of this dearness allowance over the basic wage which is fixed at Rs. 30 as the lowest minimum, it works at 116.6 per cent. While the rate of Rs. 45 on a wage of Rs. 51 works at a 90 per cent rise. Compare this rise with the rise in the cost of living index which has risen all over India by anywhere between 200 and 400. Thus even the so-called standard rates of dear-

ness allowance do not restore by even 50 per cent the lost value of the lowest minimum wage of Rs. 30. Does anything need be said about their restoring the lost value of wages above the minimum?

Thus we will see that the rates of dearness allowance have nothing in common with the rise in the cost of living. The rates that prevail, apart from the fact that they do not compensate the rise in the cost of living even by 50 per cent, are actually below the so-called standard rates recommended by the Government's central pay commission itself. The rate it recommended was Rs. five per every 20-point rise in the cost of living. According to this rate the minimum rate of dearness allowance should have been between Rs. 50 to 100 flat rate, on the basis of the rise in the cost of living of 200 to 400 per cent between 1939 and 1948. The Government's Rau Committee had suggested a rise of Rs. 1-8 per five-point rise in the cost of living. According to this, workers should have been entitled to between Rs. 60 and Rs. 120 as dearness allowance.

Thus by any consideration, either on the basis of Government Commission's recommendations, or in accordance with the rise in the cost of living, the present rates of dearness allowance are far below the rates that should have been paid. The present rates do not compensate fully the rise in the cost of living even in respect of the lowest minimum wage of Rs. 30 to speak nothing about their compensating the rise in the cost for wages above the minimum.

Thus as a result of inadequate rates of dearness allowance the real wage of workers has declined heavily.

But the conditions of workers and common people have worsened far more. This can be seen from the movement of wholesale prices of cereals and other articles of food which absorb the major portion of workers' wages and allowances.

ALL INDIA INDEX NUMBER OF WHOLESALE PRICES

(Base: Year ended August 1939—100)

| Year | Cereals | Pulses | Other articles of food | All food articles | Textile products | General Index |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1947 average | (2) 312 | (3) 471 | (4) 232 | (5) 292 | (6) 314 | (7) 297 |
| 1947 Dec. | 329 | 583 | 266 | 321 | 321 | 314 |
| 1948 Jan. | 384 | 485 | 268 | 348 | 332 | 329 |
| 1948 Dec. | 490 | 455 | 264 | 398 | 412 | 384 |

(Indian Labour Gazette, February 1949)

From the above facts it will be seen that the main commodities which form nearly 75 per cent of a worker's family

budget, namely food, cereals, clothing and food articles, have sharply risen in prices.

Cereals and cloth show the highest rise. Cereals rose by 178 points in 12 months' time while cloth rose by 98 points. Thus in 1948 the rise in the wholesale prices of essential articles has become very steep.

This continuous pauperisation of the common mass of people has resulted in their daily living becoming ever more difficult. Between 1939-40 and 1947-48 the average consumption of food has declined from 388 lbs. to 357 lbs. per head. During the same period cloth consumption dropped from 16 yards in 1939-40 to 11 yards in 1947-48

Through inflated prices capitalists went on piling up profits while the masses suffered. The capacity of the masses to pay the high prices of the profit racketeers dwindled rapidly with the result that even food consumption per head went down, i.e., the masses actually starved.

CONCLUSION

We have seen above how real wages of workers have continually fallen. It has not only not touched the meagre wage level of 1939, but in most of the cases it has declined heavily even over that level. The salient features of the study of movement of wages and the rise in the cost of living between 1939-40 and 1947-48 are as follows:

1. The total emoluments of workers in all industries have risen by less than 160 per cent over the 1939 wage level, while the cost of living index figure has risen by 150 to 250 per cent, and the rise in wholesale prices of cereals and other food articles and cloth has been by 300 to 400 per cent. As such, real wages in every industry and the Government departments have declined to below even the meagre wage level of 1939.

The wage level of the miners numbering three lakhs, wages of over three lakh jute workers, of over a lakh of municipal workers are scandalously low and can be termed as a starving wage only.

The earnings of ten lakh tea plantation workers are still lower and these workers have to work under conditions of serfdom, under the inhuman system of exploitation devised by the plantation owners.

Seventy million agricultural labourers are working under the most wretched conditions, unprotected by any laws and always at the mercy of the employing landowners. Conditions of these crores of people are worse than those

of the workers in tea plantations. At places in some parts in Gujerat, they are paid as low as two annas a day.

2. Rate of dearness allowance granted to workers has no uniform basis. In no case has the dearness allowance paid been equal to the rise in the cost of living. Various rates of dearness allowance that are prevalent throughout India compensate less than 50 per cent the rise in the cost of living. In quite a number of cases, the rate of dearness allowance is hardly 25 per cent over the wage level of 1939. The Government scales of dearness allowance also are hardly equivalent to 50 per cent of the rise in the cost of living.

The innumerable rates of dearness allowance, varying rates obtaining in the same industry, as well as the same towns and Provinces, are based on no principle except that of denying the workers an adequate rate of dearness allowance and thus effecting an indirect but heavy cut in their wages.

3. The Government of India have further worsened the conditions of their eight-and-a-half lakh railway employees by effecting an additional cut in their total dearness allowance by drastically cutting down the grainshop concessions.

The total effect of all this is the continuous falling of the real wage of the workers in all industries, on tea plantations and of the agricultural labourers in the face of continuous and steep rise in the cost of living.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Along with this attack on the workers' total emoluments, by wage-cuts, by inflation, by raising the prices and looting the common people, the capitalists and their Congress Government are regularly throwing out of employment hundreds and thousands of workers. The figure of unemployment is mounting up to menacing proportions.

Employment of industrial workers had declined to 22.35 lakhs in 1947-48 from the wartime figure of 24.4 lakhs (in the Indian Union) which means a drop of more than two lakhs in three years. Factories run by the Government are among the worst hit. During this period ordnance factories threw out of employment 24,052, i.e., 24.2 per cent of the total number employed. HMI Dockyard registered a decline in employment of 3,599 or 29.5 per cent of the total employment. In most of the Provinces, the total number of employed is declining. (Ref. *Indian Labour Gazette*, February 1949)

But this does not give a correct idea of the extent to which workers and others are unemployed. Apart from workers in big factories, a large section of workers has been on streets without jobs, like demobbed military personnel, hundreds and thousands of workers from small industries thrown out of employment, bank clerks, teachers and handloom weavers and a large section of such other workers.

During the three years, i.e., from 1946 to 1948, the total number of workers who registered their names for employment with the Employment Exchange was as follows:

| | |
|------|-----------|
| 1947 | 5.7 lakhs |
| 1947 | 6.3 „ |
| 1948 | 8.71 „ |

Out of these 20 lakhs who registered their name for employment in three years, only 5.50 lakhs were given employment and over 15 lakhs are roaming about without jobs.

Besides, this is not the full figure, since there are thousands more who have not registered since registration of names with the Employment Exchange was not enabling workers to get employment.

Inspection of factories by the Government (as reported in the *Indian Labour Gazette*, February, 1949) has revealed the following:

In Assam, out of 759 factories registered, 24 were not working.

In Ajmer-Merwara, out of 42 factories registered only 33 were working.

In the United Provinces, out of 1,093 factories registered, 126 were not working.

In Bombay, out of 5,192 factories, 489 did not work. This means that in the two major and two minor Provinces alone, 648 factories did not work during 1947-48. The *Indian Labour Gazette* of February, 1949 where this report appears does not state why these factories did not work. But the fact remains that 648 factories not working means unemployment for thousands of employees.

The situation has very much deteriorated in 1948-49. Precise reports are still not available. But even the meagre Press reports reveal the following facts. Four mills in Ahmedabad have been closed down. More than 10,000 workers from Coimbatore textile mills have been thrown out of employment. Hundreds of railway workers are being daily thrown out of employment. The Railway Enquiry Committee of the Government has recommended that there are over 50,000 surplus railway workers in the various railway workshops and recommendations for their retrench-

ment are made. From banks, from commercial firms, from government departments, hundreds of workers are being daily thrown out of employment.

Nearly 15,000 workers from various jute mills have been turned out of jobs during 1948 and more are being forced to join their ranks every day. Add to this the fact that the Government has introduced a scheme by which nearly 12.5 per cent of the looms are sealed and closed for some period every month. This means thousands of workers without jobs for long periods every month.

Under the excuse of inadequate supply of electricity, 29 textile mills in Coimbatore have been closed for ten days. According to Press reports, in explaining the closure of the mills, the owners have sought a device of absorbing the ten days' leave of the Coimbatore workers for this closure. That is, the workers are deprived of their ten days' leave to meet the needs of the owners.

Decline in real wage and increasing unemployment are clear symptoms of the deepening economic crisis. The capitalists are insisting that wages should be pegged while prices should be allowed to rise, while at the same time the cost of production would be lessened by throwing out of employment more and more persons and increasing the work-load for the workers in employment.

The AITUC, therefore, is called upon to tackle this problem as the most urgent problem. Throughout the period under report, the AITUC unions have resolutely fought against the attempts of the managements of various industries and also the Central and Provincial Governments to throw out of work hundreds and thousands of their co-employees. This job will have to be pursued still more vigorously in the ensuing year.

INCREASED WORK-LOAD

Add to this the innumerable methods of increasing the work-load — yet another method of trying to solve the crisis at the expense of workers.

In the Bombay textile mills the number of looms per worker is being increased. In railways, it has been a persistent complaint of the railway managements that railway workers are not doing even half a day's work! The Railway Inquiry Committee has suggested that job analysis be made and workers be made to put in more work in the same number of hours. Rationalisation schemes are being introduced everywhere, attempts to extend the number of hours of daily work are being made, and more and more methods are being used to increase the work-load.

How the government tribunals are helping the capitalists in their attempts to increase the work-load and add to the ranks of the unemployed can be seen from some of the awards of the Industrial Tribunal like the one given in July 1948.

The term of reference, was regarding what was to be done in the case of the surplus workers. The award is as follows:

"Immediate discontinuance of recruitment of workers, including temporary and badlis. The policy of non-recruitment should continue and vacancies in normal turn-over should not be filled in until the number of workers on the mill musters goes down to the standard muster.

"Whenever a temporary vacancy arises on account of the casual absence of a worker on the muster, the neighbouring worker should mind the number of machines as stated in the schedule of normal work allocation and permanent allocation should follow when a permanent vacancy arises by reason of discharge, dismissal, retirement, death, resignation.

"Workers who refuse to accept normal allocation of work as in the schedule of normal work allocations in day-to-day working of the mills, without involving retrenchment or less employment to any other worker, should be discharged from service."

When the government tribunals are giving such awards as openly authorise the millowners to intensify the work-load and retrench workers, it is no surprise if the capitalists do it on their own when not specifically authorised.

The above is only one reference and this will be the case with most of the decisions of the tribunals.

Such are the ways and means by which increase in work-load is sought to be introduced.

CAPITALIST PROFITS

While the workers are facing literal starvation conditions and continued pauperisation of the masses is going on, capitalists are piling up huge profits through inflationary prices and through intense exploitation of the toiling masses.

From the Economic Advisor's figures quoted by the *Eastern Economist* (Annual Number, December 1948), the extent of their profits can be seen.

INDUSTRIAL PROFITS (Base: Year 1928—100)

| Year | All indus- tries | Jute | Cotton | Tea | Sugar | Iron & Steel | Coal |
|------|------------------------|------|--------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| 1939 | 72.4 | 13.6 | 154.5 | 96.2 | 179.4 | 289.3 | 139.1 |
| 1946 | 159.4 | 58.1 | 680.5 | 190.4 | 179.0 | 324.7 | 278.8 |

The above figures are given by the capitalists themselves and it need not be added that they are certainly not the true figures. Capitalists have made immensely more profits than what are stated here. But even if these figures are accepted, they show that huge profits have been made by starving the workers and robbing the people.

These profits have been increasing in the subsequent years. This can be seen from the study of profits made by the textile industry.

TEXTILE MAGNATES LOOT THE PEOPLE

The profits made by the textile mill magnates and even as announced by themselves, surpass all imagination. As announced by the Industrial Tribunal, during 1948 alone, the Bombay millowners' profits rose to over Rs. 20 crores. If we calculate these profits on the basis of the workers employed in Bombay mills (who number about 201 thousands as per Rege Committee's Report), we find that in one year alone, these millowners made a profit of Rs. 992 per worker employed by them.

And this was in 1948 when the cost of living index number rose in Bombay from 258 to 310 (by 52 points) and was the city's record rise so far.

The total capital invested in the Bombay cotton mills was Rs. 136,343,172 as quoted by the Government of India's Labour Investigation Committee in 1946 (page 4). Thus in one year alone, i.e., 1948-49, one-and-a-half times the amount invested by these owners have been recovered by way of gross profits.

Eastern Economist (April 29, 1949) quotes the gross profits figure of some leading textile mills in the country.

| (In Lakhs of Rupees) | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Mill | 1945 | 1946 | 1947 | 1948 | Total |
| Bombay Dyeing | 178.19 | 95.26 | 46.52 | 125.43 | 445.40 |
| Cambodia | 22.52 | 8.82 | 3.21 | 22.13 | 56.68 |
| Century | 96.95 | 78.55 | 50.19 | 105.54 | 331.23 |
| Gokak | 32.66 | 27.02 | 20.17 | 41.77 | 121.62 |
| Kohinoor | 107.50 | 74.32 | 30.28 | 131.49 | 343.59 |
| Swadeshi | 67.51 | 60.67 | 24.54 | 56.07 | 208.79 |
| (Bombay) | | | | | |
| Tata | 43.36 | 31.20 | 8.84 | 28.90 | 112.30 |
| Total | 548.69 | 375.84 | 183.75 | 511.33 | 1619.6 |

These were the recorded gross profits of just seven leading mills. And the capitalists are shamelessly boasting over these profits.

"In 1947", writes this journal, "despite the excesses of Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's taxation, the share of the State declined to the lowest in the last 4 years, the tax collector picking up about 13 annas for every rupee of the net profits for the mills. In 1948, despite easier taxation, the State has been able to raise its share to nearly a rupee for every rupee of net profits, because both production and profits were higher that year."

A shameless and arrogant boast that when the Government tries to tax our high profits, we shall make it lose. When it allows us to freely loot the common people, then we shall not mind a share of that loot being received by the Government also. This is what these enemies of the people say and act upon.

"Nineteen hundred and forty eight," continues this journal, "it would seem, was not only a busy year, but also a cheerful year for the mills. In five out of seven instances given above, gross profits figures (before providing the depreciation and taxation) were the highest since 1945.

"The implication seems to be that, in spite of the increase in raw material prices and wages, the textile industry has benefited from last year's high level of cloth and yarn prices to an extent greater than is generally assumed."

The capitalists today are clamouring that the wage bill has gone up and that the industry will have to face serious crisis. What they demand is that the wages be pegged, dearness allowance be cut, work-load be increased, rationalisation introduced, so that their profits could be further helped.

These capitalists shamelessly demand these steps despite their huge profits, because they are sure of the fact that the Nehru-Patel Government is no more than their managing agency, entrusted with the job of safeguarding their profits and ensuring their loot of the people. That is why despite these fabulous profits, the Nehru Government is pleased to allow them a further rise in prices of cloth by five per cent.

The capitalists now are making open demands that the workers can make no fundamental choice for better wages and security of job since the condition of the industry is deteriorating. They are openly demanding wage reduction

and mass unemployment so that they are able to continue making their huge profits.

WORKERS RETALIATE

Workers in all industries, most stoutly resisted the unending attacks on their standard of living. Despite the most unprecedented and growing repression and disruption, this wave is far from receding. It is showing signs of reaching ever higher peaks as in the case of the railway general strike exactly because the crisis is worsening and the bourgeoisie and its Government are making ever more desperate attempts to pass on its burden to the shoulders of the toiling people. No repression or disruption can efface this logic of life's reality.

All honour to the Indian working class, its central organisation, the AITUC, and the unions affiliated to it who are not only fighting back despite unprecedented terror, but are actually emerging stronger, steeled in the fire of grim class battles. The great struggles such as the four-month-old strike of Coimbatore's 40,000 workers, the two-month long battle of Nagpur's 30,000 textile workers, the four-month long strike of 1,200 Firestone workers in Bombay which is still continuing as this is being written, are symbolic of the deathless battles that the Indian working class is fighting and will continue to fight to hurl back the crisis offensive.

To quote a few facts. Between the last session and this, i.e., during 1947 and 1948, when repression has been at its worst, even according to the inadequate and understated data of the *Indian Labour Gazette*, no less than 3,445 strikes took place, involving 3,159,006 workers, while the man-days lost amounted to the colossal figure of 24,600,198. It should be remembered that the figures do not include loss due to political strikes or lock-outs. And yet these figures are only slightly less than the corresponding figures for the entire war period, with its 1942 thrown in between. It must not be here forgotten that such a comparison considerably understates the sweep of this gigantic post-war upsurge, since the figures for 16 months out of these 24 relate to a divided India, divided after the worst communal carnage which did give a temporary setback to the strike-wave.

CLASSIFICATION OF STRIKES

In 1946 there were 604 strikes in respect of wage disputes out of the total disputes of 1629 in that year.

These disputes are on the increase. Between June 1947 and December 1948, out of the total disputes numbering 75

wage disputes were 261. During the same period disputes over personnel arising as a result of retrenchment, etc., were 153 out of the total of 737.

Percentage of disputes over wages rose from 28 per cent in January 1948 to 43 per cent in July and to 48 per cent in November and 38 per cent in December.

It will thus be seen how the number of strikes on wage disputes and for security of jobs, etc., is increasing. More than 50 per cent of the strikes thus were on the issue of wages and against retrenchment, dismissals, etc.

This fighting solidarity of the toiling and oppressed people is finding expression in a colossal strike-wave and militant actions of the peasants, the middle-class employees, the students and middle-class housewives. Even as compared with 1947 (not to speak of the earlier period) the sweep of their strikes or militant action and demonstrations in 1948 has immensely widened. The Government of India, for obvious reasons does not dare to collect and publish the strike figures relating to the middle-class, the rural proletariat or the students. But the immensity of the actions of these allies of the working class can be gauged from a single instance that between July and December 1948 alone, no fewer than ten lakh students were on strike all over India. In other words, inspired by the gigantic working class actions against the effects of the crisis, the students had adopted the class weapon of the working class to fight against the black-out of civil liberties and a colonial system of education, which made education, like national wealth, the monopoly of the few.

It should be proudly noted that all these sections of our people, men and women from town and countryside, fought their battles like the working class did, in the face of untold Fascist repression—arrests, lathi-charges and firings,—which has refused to make any distinctions of age or sex in its unleashing of terror.

The experience of these two years has therefore unmistakably proved that notwithstanding the most unprecedented, ferocious and sustained repression and disruption sinking to the role of open informers, the Indian working class and its only fighting central organisation have emerged stronger, nationally and internationally. What is more important is that this growing strength of the working class is securing ever wider support in the common battles from its allies, like the rural proletariat, the middle-class employees in towns, the teachers, students, etc.

As has been proved above, if proof were at all needed, this persistence and growth of the strike-wave has been the direct result of the worsening crisis. This is the simple

reality, notwithstanding all the stupid and deceitful statements of a Provincial Premier like Mr. B. G. Kher of Bombay or of a Home Minister like Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri of U.P. that the worst in the crisis is already over and what is opening before us is an era of plenty. Such statements are true only insofar as plenty of profits of capitalists are concerned. In the case of working people there is only plenty of poverty under Congress Raj and nothing more.

This is also the reality behind the strikes notwithstanding all the base and crude slanders let loose *ad nauseum* by bourgeois leaders like Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, or their camp-followers like Jai Prakash Narain (not to mention the lesser luminaries of the Congress, the Socialist Party, the INTUC and their Press) that the AITUC and the Communists are playing a leading role in "engineering strikes and exploiting workers to suit their power politics."!

The AITUC disdains to answer this base slander for it knows that the vast millions are proud of its leadership of their struggles. If anyone has to prove its credentials before these millions it is the Congress capitalist Government which is adopting Fascist methods of deceit, repression and disruption to drown the people's struggles in blood.

How surely the crisis is driving the workers to take up the fight, braving the joint offensive of repression and disruption can be seen by having an interesting comparison. With the entire Congress leadership, Socialists included, urging for strikes and a vicious colonial repression inviting retaliation, 1942 saw the peak of strike struggle during the war (except in the man-days lost, where 1940 leads).

In 1948, despite the entire Congress leadership staking its prestige and employing the State resources, despite the INTUC and Socialist leadership shamelessly pledged to disrupt every major struggle, playing even the informer for it, despite an unprecedented reign of terror and arrests, the like of which even the Congress movement did not have to face in the worst days of imperialist terror, despite a barrage of slander and vilification, indeed despite the use of every conceivable weapon that a desperate bourgeoisie could lay its hands on, the sweep of the strike wave was incomparably greater than at any time during the war.

If we exclude 1940, when the first wave of strikes against the burden of the war crisis swept the country, then the strike statistics for 1948 can compare favourably with those of any two war years put together, either in regard to the number of strikes fought and the industries involved; the number of workers involved or the total number of man-days lost. Once again, it must not be forgotten that the figures for the post-'freedom' era relate only to a divid-

India, divided after the worst communal carnage which did mean a temporary disruption in and set-back to the working class struggles.

And it is pertinent to add that these figures do not include, even in matters of trade disputes, the figures of strikes among middle-class employees and of course, not of the agricultural labourers, which were beginning in this period, but which just did not exist in the war period.

That is the meaning of the workers' resistance to the crisis burden being shifted on to their shoulders. In judging this resistance, old standards just do not apply any more. India's working class, no more pulled back by any illusions of a secure life, is not afraid of the Government terror, not only of its over-flowing prisons, but of its countless firings. For life is fast teaching it that it will have to wage a bitter and grim class battle to win or even retain the smallest demand or right. For it retreat, therefore, is becoming more and more impossible. Its place is being taken, by an urge to march to bigger and grimmer class battles, confident in the new realisation of its real strength.

Notwithstanding all the ceaseless din of slander and vilification, the AITUC is rightly proud that it led these most glorious actions of the Indian working class. Let facts, even the understated facts of the *Indian Labour Gazette* speak for themselves:

STRIKES IN INDIA DURING WAR AND AFTER

| Year | No of strikes | No of workers involved | No. of man-days lost |
|------|---------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1940 | 322 | 452,539 | 7,577,281 |
| 1942 | 694 | 772,653 | 5,779,965 |
| 1945 | 820 | 747,530 | 4,054,499 |
| 1946 | 1629 | 1,961,948 | 12,717,762 |
| 1947 | 1811 | 1,840,784 | 16,562,666 |
| 1948 | 1634 | 1,318,222 | 8,037,532 |

(Figures from *Indian Labour Gazette*, March, 1949. Figures of 1949 are not available)

As pointed out earlier, the figures for the period commencing from September 1947 relate only to the Indian Union. Besides, it is just this period when not only the country's worst communal carnage began and temporarily fogged the issues. It was just this time, between September 1947 to date, that witnessed all the repressive legislation, mass arrests, virtual illegalisation of the unions affiliated to the AITUC, rule by Section 144, starting of rival and dis-

ruptive organisations like the INTUC, the Socialist Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, and last but not the least, the open and ever-growing use of lathi, tear-gas and now more and more so of bullets. This was repression the like of which India had not seen before. All honour to the Indian working class which fought in the face of the total offensive.

How far are the figures for 1948 reliable? Ever since the so-called Industrial Truce in December 1947, the entire government machinery has been switched on to 'minimise'—on paper—the strikes and causes for strikes in a remarkable manner. To say the least it is a crude hoax on the workers and the people. To quote one or two outstanding instances:

As part of this crude conspiracy, immediately after the 'Truce' was imposed, in January 1948, Kanpur workers saw a sudden and steep fall in the cost of living index number. The government department which collected these figures had shamelessly manufactured a 'fall' in prices when prices were actually rising up. It was also part of their dishonest game to 'prove' that controls were not necessary.

Unfortunately for them, the workers rightly refused to oblige them and struck. At least 35,000 textile workers were on strike for ten days, causing a loss of about three-and-a-half lakh man-days. But the *Indian Labour Gazette* just decided to black-out these strikes, though, unlike the political strikes they fell within the *Gazette's* category of 'industrial disputes.' (Against similar practices of the Bombay Government, viz. falsely reducing the cost of living index number, in March 1948, 32,000 Sholapur workers had struck.)

Another instance of this *Indian Labour Gazette's* black-out was in the case of the great Coimbatore strike. In January 1948, about 40,000 textile workers there began Indian workers' greatest post-war action against owners' rationalisation offensive which threatened to retrench one in every three workers. In January 1948 alone, about four lakh man-days were lost, but we find not even a mention of it in the *Labour Gazette*.

Or take the latest Nagpur textile general strike involving 30,000 workers. Once against the same shameful story of amazing understatements.

These have been some of the biggest instances. Such examples can be multiplied *ad infinitum*, particularly so in the major industries. It is pertinent to add here that this phenomenon on a mass scale started immediately after the signing of the 'Industrial Truce' in December 1947, between the Government, the owners and all the stooge or reformist trade union organisations. This is how is manipulated the steep fall in the 1948 figure for man-days lost.

Another point that needs to be noted here is the tremendous sweep of workers' strikes against repression. As repression mounted in intensity, workers bravely hit back. This has caused a colossal loss in man-days. But the *Labour Gazette* apparently feels within its rights not to mention these strikes, as if industrial production does not suffer through these.

To quote only some of the most outstanding of such one-day protest strikes:

| | | | Numbers Involved |
|------|-------|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1947 | June | Bombay (Railways) | 25,000 |
| 1947 | Dec. | Bombay Total Strike | 6,00,000 |
| 1948 | Jan. | Calcutta | 1,00,000 |
| 1948 | Jan. | Kanpur | 80,000 |
| 1948 | March | C.P. and Berar | 2,00,000 |
| 1948 | May | S.I. Railway (Madras) | 32,000 |
| 1948 | June | Indore | 15,000 |
| 1948 | Aug. | Bombay | 1,50,000 |

Apart from these, there have been literally countless spontaneous actions of the working class during this period whether for observance of Days like TUC Day on March 18, 1947, or on June 27, 1947 demanding continuation of railway grainshops, or on September 25, Anti-Repression Day, or January 1, 1949, Railway Workers' Protest Day, etc., or the innumerable strikes against arrests of trade union and Communist leaders, as in April 1948 all over the country or in June 1948 when 15,000 Indore textile workers struck and so on. Indeed these strikes have become a common phenomenon exactly because vicious repression has become—just a mere routine—with the Nehru Government or its provincial agents.

Such has been the persistence of the tremendous sweep of working class strikes. How far the *Indian Labour Gazette* has lied in collecting its strike data can be seen from just the instance of Coimbatore alone. Even if this one strike were to be faithfully recorded, it alone would account for about half the number of man-days shown as lost by the *Gazette* during the entire year. But that is not to be. Even the incomplete list of strikes during this period will give a glimpse of this gigantic sweep.

The AITUC is proud of the fact that by far the overwhelming majority of these strikes were fought and led by unions affiliated to the AITUC. Of course, the price they had to pay for this honour was exceptionally heavy, but they paid it. For, the cause of the working class is worth all that.

Immediately after the Congress Governments came into power, one of their first acts was to pass emergency legislation for wholesale repression and banning of strikes. If one were to try and record these legislations and the untold repression that followed them, it would require a special report devoted entirely to it. Here we can give some of the most significant of these.

The Bombay Ministry led the way both with repressive and anti-strike legislation. It started with the notorious Goonda Act, to be followed by the worse Public Safety Measures Act. Other Ministries followed this Fascist measure with such speed and thoroughness that the Central Provinces Ministry passed this black bill in just one sitting—so panicky were they at working class actions.

The pace in anti-strike legislation also was led by the Bombay Ministry with their replacing of the old Black Act of 1938—the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act—with the new Bombay Industrial Relations Act. Once again the other Ministries followed suit. The Central Government also swiftly woke up to its responsibilities. Apart from the Central list, Provinces were given the right to declare any industry a public utility concern, where strikes must not take place. Heavy and summary punishment was to be meted out to offenders. It was given to the U.P. Government to make the maximum use of this legislation.

The climax of this repressive legislation, born out of the failure of their policy of compulsory arbitration, was reached on the eve of the March 9 railway general strike when the Essential Services Act was sought to be introduced in the Indian Parliament.

It should be noted that apart from the countless repressive and anti-strike measures, there was the State of Emergency declaration of September 1948 on the plea of 'Police Action' against Hyderabad. And probably, it is still in force. And yet the new Bill was introduced. It put to shame in its sweeping terror against strikers or their remotest supporters, even the worst that American Fascists have yet evolved. Such was, however, the shame of it, that the Government hurriedly had to withdraw it, but not without an assurance to its capitalist masters that it would later produce a more diabolically conceived terror-weapon to smother strikes.

It is futile to try and record all the legion acts of repression against the working class that the Government has been guilty of. And this does not include the repression on non-worker citizens, like middle-class employees, students, peasants, men and women. Even a bare listing of these would

fill a volume. To restrict ourselves to the most characteristic events:

Throughout the year 1948, immediately after the Industrial Truce, the unions of the AITUC came under a virtual ban. The Madras Labour Union had earlier been formally declared an illegal organisation for leading a strike. But such was the wave of indignation against this avowedly Fascist repression, that the Government thought better and avoided formal illegalisation. Instead, it resorted simultaneously—this much more desperately in the South—to mass arrests, closing down of trade union offices as in Bengal and Madras Provinces, seizing records and even handing over union offices to owners' goondas or what amounted to the same, to local INTUC 'unions'. This was acting illegally even under the bourgeoisie's own laws. But in a class war everything is fair for the bourgeoisie!

It will be no exaggeration at all to say that today there is not a single important union of the AITUC which has not the majority of its office-bearers, either under arrest or being 'wanted' by the police. There is not a single strike led by a union of the AITUC, where arrests have not taken place, or lathi-charges, etc., not made. The most shocking example of this was seen in 1948 during the strike of municipal sweepers in Bijapur. Not only on the very first day every man, woman and even child was arrested, even pregnant women in their households were arrested and one of them gave birth to a baby inside the Congress Ministry's lock-up!

While it is certainly futile to expect to list every single act of repression, it is almost equally futile to expect to list up faithfully all the firings and the toll they have taken. The regime of terror and blood that began on August 27, 1946 with the Amalner firing, killing nine of the best sons of the Khandesh working class, which subsequently killed five heroes at Golden Rock, has continued unabated. It has claimed its latest victims in Calcutta where seven, including five women, died during the demonstration in support of the hunger-strike of the worker, kisan and Communist detenus. And the Bombay working class was called upon to offer on May 12 its martyr, Com. Bhiku Kuwekar after a similar demonstration on May 8, in Bombay.

How grim is this tale of blood can be seen from the following facts:

During the first eight months of the Congress Ministries, from April 1946 to December 1946, no less than 32 workers (including two women) were killed. About 400 were wounded.

The year 1947 began with the Kanpur firing on workers on January 6, which killed one woman and six men and

wounded seven women and over 50 men! On the eve of 'freedom' on June 27, two railway workers were killed.

The post-freedom era began with a similar massacre. In ten months, at least five were killed, including a child and at least 1,050 (one thousand and fifty) wounded in firings alone, not to mention those wounded in the literally countless lathi-charges.

These are only some stray figures, obviously far from complete. They do not include the murders committed by owners' goondas. They do not include all the firings on the working class, still less all the firings on all sections of the toiling people, students (as in Calcutta, Bombay, etc.) middle-class employees and last but certainly not the least, the fighting kisans, men and women, as in Kerala, UP and Bihar, Kakdwip (in W. Bengal) and Erangaon in Bombay Province.

Such has been the extent of this repression in terms of arrested and detained alone that the working class and its allies had to suffer a loss of about 25,000 of their leaders. These figures do not include those thousands against whom warrants are pending. And, of course, the working class had to bear the brunt of it.

The number of arrested and detained in the case of the call for March 9 railway general strike alone reached the figure of 3,000! That is a living comment on the Congress regime. It was this strike also which made the Government give the 35,000 miles of railway line the appearance of a battlefield, with its undeclared martial law and its order to shoot at sight and shoot to kill. Never was terror so great as during the March 9 strike days.

But terror alone could not crush the rising working class, no matter how vicious it was. Hence disruption was pressed into service as thoroughly as repression was. The history of these two years reveals the black records of all the agents of the bourgeoisie of all hues and shades, from the white and yellow to the pale or deep pink, from the INTUC, led by Hariharnath Shastri and Khandubhai Desai, to the Hind Mazdoor Sabha led by Jai Prakash, Ruikar and Co. and the United TUC sponsored by Mrinal Kanti Bose and others. Most of these, except a few of the INTUC, originally worked in unions affiliated to the AITUC. As the crisis offensive grew and the working class mounted its counter-offensive, afraid of leading the struggles and thus alienating or displeasing the bourgeoisie or its Government, afraid of the white terror of the bourgeois state, all those reformists openly turned disruptors, gave currency to the bankrupt and discredited lie about the AITUC being "dominated by Communists" and quit the fighting organisation. Their hopes

however, that this would isolate the AITUC have been smashed to pieces.

One need not go here into the respective claims of these disruptors regarding their working class following. Apart from the numerous exposures about the open Government and owners' support to the INTUC (and the corresponding withdrawal of recognition to the AITUC), the INTUC today has ceased to be a force in the working class movement, being forced to openly play the Government's agents and informers as on March 9.

Much of the vaunted leadership of the Socialists also has been forced to sink to the level of strike-breakers. All their open efforts at disruption, it will not be possible to enumerate. Suffice it to quote the most revolting:

Jai Prakash himself tried to break and disrupt the SIR engine-drivers' strike. Ashok Mehta in a servile letter to Sardar Patel boasted about his boys having broken the Bombay general strike of drawers-in. It was the Socialist organisers who stooped to play the informers during the strike of the Calcutta tramwaymen. It was Ruikar, the fellow-traveller of the Socialists, who did his worst to break the recent Nagpur textile general strike, but failed miserably.

But the collective efforts of all the disruptors were needed to temporarily beat back the railway strike on March 9. They expelled the best unions of the AIRF, but that could not stem the strike. And therefore, so low had they to stoop that they moved about in police jeeps, openly pointed out the militants of the AITUC unions to the police and had them arrested in thousands.

Such was the workers' determination that only the most vicious, combined and simultaneous offensive of repression and disruption could temporarily hold back the tide of railway workers. Neither of them, by itself, could have achieved the purpose.

The workers' strikes during these two years, these great preparatory actions, have to be viewed in this background. Only then can one see not only the gigantic sweep of these actions, but also realise the futility of the Government's terror or their agents' disruption. Only then can one realise that what has taken place so far is just the first skirmishes, so to say; that the working class steeled in these strikes, and steeled against terror and disruption, can and will, with the worsening crisis, mount its counter-offensive, far mightier than what has preceded, counting not only on its own strength but also on the sure support of its allies, the other sections of the toiling people.

The period that opens out is one of growing crisis, as has been shown above. The working class knows that it

will be called upon to fight for every demand, even the smallest one, bitterly and long, against the mounting offensive of capitalist reaction. That it realises this can be seen from the two recent battles, the two-month long battle in Nagpur of 30,000 workers, and the four-month long battle (which is still being fought as courageously as ever) of Bombay's 1,200 workers of Firestone Tyre and Rubber Co.

MIGHTY UNITY FOR IMMEDIATE STRUGGLE

From the account of these glorious battles we have seen how workers have resisted the capitalist onslaught with determination and courage, unprecedented in the history of the trade union movement in India. As the crisis deepens, workers' resistance is getting firmer and more confident. The twenty-third session of the AITUC is meeting on the eve of a great strike upsurge that will burst forth and sweep over the whole country.

The history of workers' struggles for the last two years shows that the capitalists have been defeated in their attempts to disrupt and suppress the trade union movement. But like a wounded beast, they are sure to attack with more and more ferocity. In their attempt to protect their profits at the expense of workers and common people, they are opening an all-round offensive against the workers. They have openly declared that whatever the further rise in the cost of living—which is the result of their own profiteering which reduces the purchasing power of common people—they are opposed to any wage increase or increase in dearness allowance. They are throwing out of employment hundreds and thousands of workers. And the Government machinery is entirely at their disposal to help them crush working class resistance.

The crisis is speedily deepening. During the ensuing year it will deepen far more.

The perspective that opens up as a result of the deepening crisis is one of rapid deterioration of wages, unemployment to thousands and lakhs, heavier repression, an intensified offensive of the capitalists against all sections of workers and working people.

It is against these worsening conditions that the AITUC is called upon to wage a fearless battle for basic demands. This is the urgent task that faces the AITUC in the ensuing period.

The urgent need of the hour, therefore, is to forge a mighty unity of workers in all industries under the banner of the AITUC, to organise countrywide struggles for the im-

mediate basic demands of the Indian working class. The most urgent demands which have become part of the consciousness of the workers of all industries, sections and sheds, are as follows:

- 1) Rs. 80 minimum wage for unskilled workers and Rs. 125 minimum wage for the skilled workers and clerical staff;
- 2) Full compensation by way of dearness allowance fully compensating the rise in the cost of living;
- 3) Seven-hour day and 40-hour week;
- 4) One month's privilege leave with full pay, 20 days' casual leave with pay for all and old age pension;
- 5) Security of service and right to work;
- 6) Rs. 80 as unemployment benefit to all unemployed;
- 7) Repeal of all anti-working class and anti-strike legislation and repeal of all public safety measures;
- 8) Full recognition of trade union and democratic rights;
- 9) Release of all working class, peasant and other political prisoners, unconditionally and forthwith.

Such are the minimum basic demands to realise which a real fighting unity under the banner of the AITUC has to be forged. Such a mighty united front of the working class will open the way to a better life not only for the working class, but for all the toiling people in this land of ours. This united front of all fighters can be built only on the basis of a forward programme of class struggle, a relentless battle against capitalism and its Government for the realisation of the basic demands of the Indian working class.

Today the AITUC alone has become the symbol of working class unity—unity for struggle. Both nationally and internationally the AITUC is recognised as the representative of the Indian working class. The AITUC invites all fighters of class war to rally under the banner of the AITUC. There are people who talk of unity with those who are opposed to the principles of class struggles. There can be unity only between fighters. It is this mighty unity that is being built under the AITUC.

The AITUC is open to all those who accept the democratic decisions taken by it; the AITUC welcomes all those who agree with its programme and policy and are ready to join in the struggle in defence of working class interests and against capitalism.

The urgent need of the hour is to forge such a mighty united front under the banner of the AITUC. The urgent

need for the hour is to unite all those who stand for a determined strike struggle for the realisation of the basic demands of workers in all industries.

To be able to ensure these minimum demands, industries will have to be nationalised, effective workers' control will have to be established, capitalist lust for profits and exploitation will have to be smashed. For this, a very determined struggle will have to be waged against capitalism.

FIGHT AGAINST REPRESSION

To be able to defeat the offensive of the capitalists, the working class has to wage a stern battle against the Fascist rule of repression that seeks to suppress the trade union movement.

Hundreds and thousands of trade union leaders belonging to the AITUC have been clapped in jails. All sorts of repressive measures are introduced to suppress trade union organisations and the right to strike. Public Security Measures are used to suppress all activities.

It is against these measures that the AITUC will have to wage a determined struggle in all industries and on a countrywide scale. The struggle for release of all working class, peasant and other comrades in jail is inseparable from the general struggle for demands. The AITUC invites all those who are prepared to participate in such struggles to join its ranks.

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIALISM

A struggle for peace will have to be fought against the Anglo-American war-mongers and their Indian satellites—the Nehru Government which is trying to transform India into an American war base against the liberation forces in South-East Asia, against the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union. Shoulder to shoulder with the world working class led by the WFTU, the AITUC will wage a relentless battle for peace. All those who stand for this programme are welcome in the AITUC.

FOR SOCIALISM, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC STATE

There cannot be any solution to the various problems under the rule of capitalists. Under their rule, the workers' living standard will be attacked more and more, wages cut

down, thousands thrown into jail and lakhs unemployed. The industrial sharks fleece the working class and common people. The Indian working class has to struggle to change this rule. The solution for all problems can be visualised by ending the rule of capitalists, and by establishment of a people's democratic State of workers, peasants and oppressed middle-class. The goal of the AITUC is the establishment of a Socialist State because under Socialism alone can the workers and the toiling common people expect to solve their basic problem. It is under Socialism alone that unemployment can be ended and all common people have real opportunities to develop and real happiness ensured. It is towards this immediate objective that the AITUC has to lead the Indian working class. This is what the AITUC is striving for, this is what it will struggle for in the ensuing period.

This is the way the AITUC can take the first step to end the rule of capitalism and then go forward to reach the goal of Socialism.

Such are some of the urgent problems that face our historic session.

PREPARATION FOR STRUGGLE

The Indian working class has to learn many a lesson from the several strikes that were fought during the last two years.

We have seen that in 1948 invariably every strike was attacked and sought to be suppressed. Thousands of strikers were put in jail, several were shot, meetings were banned, union offices sealed. It is under such repression that the working class has to organise its struggles. In the coming year capitalism, having become more desperate, will attack the working class and its organisations with still greater ferocity.

We have seen how the railway strike was suppressed by putting in jail 3,000 railwaymen. This is going to happen again and again. Unless the working class is able to reorganise itself in a manner as will enable it to combat repression, it will not be possible to defend its class organisations, to defend the struggles. Today thousands of militants are in jail. Their places must be occupied more speedily than they were left empty.

In this situation we must have an organisation built to suit the development of the common struggles which will have to be to defend workers' interests.

but in fact are working together with the INTUC in disrupting the trade union movement and breaking strikes. They also tried to convert the AITUC into an organisation that follows a policy of opposition to workers but they also were defeated in their attempts. Then they split away from the AITUC to start a rival organisation. Today they also do open strike-breaking activities.

They have acted as strike-breakers in many strikes. They treacherously stabbed in the back the March 9 strike of India's railwaymen. Opposition to workers' strike and actual strike-breaking — these have become their regular policy.

A third such disruptive force is led by Mrinal Kanti Bose and his associates. These people went out of the AITUC and are attempting to disrupt workers' unity.

But this disruption is not peculiar to India. It is only a part of the policy pursued by class-collaborators all over the capitalist world. In India it is these agencies who are acting as bourgeoisie's fifth column to disrupt workers' unity and break workers' strikes.

Despite the fact that these disruptors themselves left the AITUC because their policy of service to the bourgeoisie had no chance of success in the AITUC today they are saying that the AITUC has become an organisation under the domination of the Communist Party. Though this they seek to isolate the AITUC and create confusion in the minds of workers who are rallying under the flag of the AITUC. This is nothing but a screen used by these disruptors to hide their strike-breaking and anti-working-class activities. They broke away from the AITUC because their policy had no chance of success inside it. And now they are organising rival unions with the help of the bourgeoisie and its Government.

The AITUC has always fought for the defence of the workers' interests. It is this to which these disruptors are opposed. This is the reality. They left the AITUC because they were afraid of government repression. They are no better than deserters and opponents of class struggle.

The AITUC and its unions must fight these disruptors if a real fighting unity of the working class is to be evolved.

Today the AITUC declares to all that it is an organisation open to all fighters. Irrespective of the political views they hold, all those who are ready to actively participate in the struggle against the capitalist and their Government, for realising a minimum living wage and security of job to all workers, all those who are ready to fight the Fascist repression of the Government and the employers, are most welcome inside the AITUC. A fighting unity of workers

of all shades for the purpose of defeating the capitalist offensive is the urgent need of the hour. It is for this that we appeal to all to rally under the banner of the AITUC and prepare for a countrywide struggle for the realisation of the basic demands of the workers.

We call upon all the affiliated unions to forge a united front of the workers of all shades of political thought, to fight every attack on the standard of living of the workers. Building unity in struggles and preparing for a general struggle—that is the programme before the Indian working-class today.

A.I.T.U.C. AND W.F.T.U.

The AITUC has been an active member of the World Federation of Trade Unions ever since this great organisation of the world working class was formed. The World Federation of Trade Unions which has under its banner over 70 million organised workers of all lands is the biggest source of strength to the working class of all lands. At a time when the Congress capitalist Government has singled out the AITUC for attack and thousands of organisers of trade unions affiliated to the AITUC have been jailed, it is the WFTU that has taken up the cause of the Indian working class most energetically. Today it is this organisation that raises its powerful voice throughout the world against persecution of the trade union movement in various lands under capitalism.

The AITUC considers it its foremost task to rally the working class of this country behind the international working class movement, organised in the World Federation of Trade Unions. It is such an international unity of the working class of all lands that will, in the end, smash capitalism and establish Socialism in every country. The AITUC pledges its full support to and solidarity with the WFTU as its active and loyal member.

Despite the Congress Government's attempts to prevent the AITUC representatives from attending the WFTU meetings, the voice of the AITUC is being heard by the working class movement of all lands through this great international organisation of the world working class.

A.I.T.U.C. AND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

At the World Peace Congress held in Paris in April last the AITUC was represented by its representative Com. M. Jambhekar. And it is a matter of great honour to t

Indian working class that a representative of the AITUC was elected to the World Peace Council appointed by the Peace Congress. The AITUC will rally the Indian working class to fulfill its task of fighting for world peace and against the Anglo-American warmongers who are trying to unleash a third world war for Anglo-American domination of the world.

STRENGTHEN THE A.I.T.U.C. AND ITS UNIONS

Before I conclude, I make a fervent appeal to all the unions affiliated to the AITUC, as well as to those who have not yet affiliated, to strengthen and build their organisations into mass trade unions, not for the purpose of having parleys with the bourgeoisie but for fighting against the bourgeoisie. Despite repression and disruption, today the AITUC has tremendous prestige and strength as the only central fighting organisation of the Indian working class. Big struggles ahead can be successfully fought and capitalists defeated, only if we mobilise the entire mass of workers under the banner of the AITUC, inside the trade unions affiliated to the AITUC. Every trade union must make a bid for bringing inside that union the overwhelming majority of the workers in that trade or industry so that a successful battle for the minimum basic demands, like living wage, security of job, etc., could be won. All unions affiliated and not affiliated must realise that the strength of the AITUC is the strength of the Indian working class. The stronger the AITUC the easier it is for the working class to smash the offensive of the capitalists and win their demands.

Today the might of the working class is far greater than that of the capitalists. Capitalism is nearing its doom. In several countries, it is already overthrown. In several others it is on the way to its doom. It is at this time that the Indian working class must rise to a man to defeat capitalism and march forward towards their goal. A confident and determined attack on the capitalists will certainly end in workers' victory.

LONG LIVE THE A.I.T.U.C!
 VICTORY TO THE INDIAN WORKING CLASS!
 FORWARD TO STRUGGLES. CONFIDENT OF
 VICTORY!

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

WORKING COMMITTEE

During the period between the last session and this, the Working Committee met four times—in September 1947 at Bombay, in February 1948 at Calcutta, in October 1948 at Bombay and in February 1949 at Calcutta.

The first meeting considered the situation arising out of the creation of Pakistan and permitted the trade unions from that territory to secede from the AITUC and form their separate central organisation. The Working Committee hoped for joint consultations between the two central organisations and promised all assistance in the building up of the new central trade union organisation of Pakistan.

It was also decided to send a delegation to Pondicherry to study the conditions arising out of the repression there. In view of the fact that Hariharnath Shastri, once President of the UPPTUC, had deserted to the INTUC, the Working Committee decided to reorganise the UPPTUC.

The Calcutta meeting of the Working Committee disapproved of the resolution on the so-called "Industrial Truce" adopted by the Industries Conference. It also strongly disapproved of the proposed decontrol policy of the Government of India.

The third meeting at Bombay discussed the question of electing AITUC representative to the second session of the ILO Textile Committee. Forty-nine unions had shown their preference for Com. Manek Gandhi while only five voted for R. S. Ruiker. Com. N. M. Joshi, the then General Secretary, did not accept this democratic verdict and tendered his resignation which the Committee accepted. Com. Manek Gandhi was elected AITUC representative to the ILO's Textile Committee and also as Acting General Secretary in place of Com. N. M. Joshi.

The fourth meeting in February 1949 was held at a time when the General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, under the leadership of its President, Jai Prakash Narain, had defied the overwhelming, almost unanimous, ballot for strike of about three-and-a-half lakh organised railway workers and refused to serve the notice of

Such an organisation can be visualised by way of committees of bold fighting militants in every industry and factory. Such committees must organise and lead workers in every one of the factories. Such a fighting leadership in every mill and factory alone will guarantee the defence of workers' unity, against any disruption or suppression at the hands of the enemy. These committees will become the real organs of struggle against the capitalist offensive.

This is our immediate task. We invite all fighting militants in the factories to actively join this fighting unity of the working class. This is the way to evolve real rank and file leadership of the trade unions, a sure guarantee against repression and disruption.

FIGHT THE BOURGEOIS FIFTH COLUMN

Unable to check the growing strength of the Indian working class organised in the AITUC, the bourgeoisie headed by Sardar Patel launched a rival organisation to disrupt the AITUC. The experience of the last two years has shown that the INTUC is no more than an appendage of the State, a labour front in the service of the bourgeoisie. Its agents have worked as strike-breakers, as police informers. A lackey of the bourgeoisie like Hariharnath Shastri, who was thoroughly defeated inside the AITUC, openly joined the bourgeoisie and is today organising and conducting its strike-breaking activities.

They opposed the famous strike in Bombay on December 29, 1947; they opposed the strike of railwaymen on March 9; they started rival unions and attempted to disrupt the existing unions.

To be able to carry out the programme of successful struggle for the realisation of the minimum basic demands of workers, we will have to conduct a vigorous struggle against these traitors. Today the Government has recognised these strike-breakers as the representatives of the Indian trade union movement and have virtually withdrawn the recognition to the AITUC. With the open support of the Government and officials, they are doing strike-breaking activities everywhere. A vigorous fight against these and their complete defeat in the trade union movement become the important task of the AITUC and the unions affiliated to it.

SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERS

The Socialist Party leaders are another strike-breaking agency. They maintain a show of opposition to the INTUC

strike. The Working Committee exposed this Socialist betrayal and consistent with its fighting traditions and loyalty to the cause of the working class, adopted a resolution pledging whole-hearted support to the railway and postal employees in their all-India strike which was to begin on March 9.

The Working Committee also adopted a resolution condemning the action of certain members of the Working Committee and the General Council who had sunk to making false and malicious charges while submitting their resignations. (see Appendix 1)

GENERAL COUNCIL

Four meetings of the General Council were held during this period. The first was at Calcutta on February 19, 1947, immediately after the last session was over. Com. S. A. Dange presided. This meeting elected the new Working Committee and also the AITUC's delegation to the 30th session of the ILO.

The second meeting was held at Bombay on September 6, 1947 when the delegation to the Asian Regional Preparatory Conference of the ILO was elected.

The General Council granted affiliation to 19 unions with a membership of 6,528 and an increased membership of 38,718 to 22 unions.

Among the 19 resolutions adopted by the Council were resolutions on the economic crisis and on the formation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

The General Council condemned the formation of the INTUC as a deliberate attempt on the part of the vested interests to split and destroy the organised, militant trade union movement in the country at a time when "more than ever before, labour requires a common organisation in its day-to-day work so that it can improve its conditions."

The General Council denounced the wholesale repression inside the Indian States and by another resolution supported the railway workers' demands.

The third meeting of the General Council was held at Calcutta on February 25 and 26, 1948. It accepted the resignation of some members who had joined either the INTUC or the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and co-opted new members in their place.

The main resolution passed by this meeting was on the so-called "Industrial Truce" (see Appendix 2). The Council held that so long as the competitive system of private industry for profits remained, strikes could, to an extent, be

minimised only if firm and effective measures were taken to restrict profits and to reduce and regulate prices. But under the conditions obtaining in the country and the manner in which the Government pursued an anti-labour policy, shifting the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class, it was impossible to call for an industrial truce. It was always necessary for the working class to organise itself and conduct struggles to win their just demands.

Other resolutions included those on retrenchment, the WFTU and working class unity and on textile workers. The Council also elected the AITUC's delegation to the next conference of the ILO.

The fourth meeting was held in August 1948 at Bombay. Its main resolution was on repression. Ever since the Calcutta session of the AITUC, the working class movement had faced vicious repression resulting in the arrest and detention without trial of hundreds and thousands of trade union leaders all over the country, including the President of the AITUC, Com. S. A. Dange. Apart from these arrests, trade union offices had been attacked by the police, their records removed and offices sealed. In some cases these offices had been highhandedly handed over to the local branches of the INTUC.

The General Council decided on steps to combat this situation where functioning of a free trade union movement was made impossible.

Among other resolutions were those on the Government of India's industrial policy, the position of government employees, on the Coimbatore textile workers and repression in Indian States. In place of those arrested, new members were co-opted.

STANDING CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Despite such difficulties like heavy repression, indiscriminate arrests and removal of union records in many cases, the Standing Credentials Committee did a creditable job in examining applications for affiliation and increased membership.

Considerations of unnecessary hardship and expenditure led the General Council to replace its rule asking the smaller applicant unions to have their accounts audited by a Registered Accountant. These were now permitted to have their accounts audited by any qualified auditor who was ordinarily acceptable either to the Registrar of Trade Unions or any other government department. This was done on the recommendation of the Standing Credentials Committee.

Our aim should now be to activate the Provincial Credentials Committees or form new ones where repression has prevented their activities. The Provincial and District Credentials Committees should visit each affiliated union, examine its record and send their observations to the Provincial Committees. This will result in better checking and efficient maintenance of records.

ORGANISATIONAL WORK AT THE HEAD OFFICE

Due to unprecedented repression, the full programme of tours could not be implemented. Following is a brief report of the tours undertaken by office-bearers during this period:

BIHAR: Com. Manek Gandhi toured Bihar, first in March 1947 and later in December 1947, visiting Jharia, Giridih, Bermo, Patna, Khelari, Katihar and Dhanbad.

BENGAL: Com. Manek Gandhi visited Calcutta twice, once in January 1948 and then in September 1948.

C.I. & RAJPUTANA: Com. Shanta Mukherjee visited Indore and Gwalior in January 1949.

C.P. & BERAR: Com. Manek Gandhi visited Jubbulpore in December 1947.

DELHI: During visits to Delhi for tripartite and other meetings, live contact was maintained with the local affiliated unions.

GUJERAT: Com. Manek Gandhi visited and addressed meetings at Ahmedabad, Nadiad, Baroda, Surat, Navsari and Billimora in April 1947, following repression on the textile general strike there. Com. N. M. Joshi addressed meetings at Ahmedabad in January 1948.

INDIAN STATES: Coms. N. M. Joshi and Manek Gandhi visited Baroda in November 1947. Later Com. K. N. Joglekar also visited the city in connection with the annual meeting of the GBS Railwaymen's Union.

During July-August 1948, Com. Manek Gandhi visited and addressed mass meetings at Trichur and Ernakulam (Cochin State) and Marikuppam (Kolar Gold Fields).

MADRAS: Com. Shanta Mukherjee in January 1948 and Com. N. M. Joshi in May 1948 visited Madras and addressed meetings of trade unionists. Com. Manek Gandhi toured Tamilnad and Malabar during July-August 1948 and visited most of the industrial centres in Tamilnad. Repression in Tamilnad had been at its worst and yet it held no terror for the workers who attended meetings for thousands whenever these were permitted. The Malabar tour was cut short due to the Government restraining him from addressing meetings.

MAHARASHTRA: Com. Shanta Mukherjee visited Jalgaon, Amalner, Dhulia and Sholapur in May 1948.

UNITED PROVINCES: Com. Shanta Mukherjee visited Lucknow, Allahabad and Kanpur in January 1948.

REPRESENTATIONS AND MEMORANDUMS TO GOVERNMENT

Several memoranda and representations were submitted by the Head Office to the Government of India, the Provincial Governments and the State Governments on the various bills and issues dealing with problems effecting the working class. Important amongst them were:

1. Factories Bill, 1948;
2. Workmen's State Insurance Bill;
3. Industrial Disputes Act (Rules);
4. Profit Sharing;
5. Fair Wages;
6. Tariff Board to enquire into the prices of mill made cloth and yarn;
7. Draft Convention regarding freedom of organisation;
8. ILO Draft Conventions on Employment Service Organisation and free charging agencies;
9. Constitution of Indian Industrial Committee and representation to the AITUC on them;
10. Dock De-casualisation;
11. Industrial Truce;
12. Protection of children and young workers—resolution passed by the ILO Conference in 1947.

Representations were made to the Government of India for the employment, and settlement of displaced workers in East Punjab, for granting permission to Com. S. A. Dang, President of the AITUC, to attend the WFTU Congress and on several other matters.

A representation was made to Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of the Indian Union, to intervene and save the lives of the Punnappa-Vayalar heroes who were sentenced to death for leading the heroic struggle of the people of Travancore against the autocracy of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

The AITUC approached the Prime Minister of the United Provinces for a grant of allowance to Com. S. Yusuf, Vice-President of the AITUC, who was interned in Sitapur despite his release ordered by the High Court.

Representations were made also to the Government

Bombay, Bihar and Madras, etc., to redress the grievances of the workers on various problems affecting them.

In most of these cases the authorities not only did not take steps to redress the grievances but even did not care to acknowledge the representations made. The representation made to Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of the Indian Union, also remains unacknowledged to this day. The AITUC resents this attitude on the part of the authorities and demands a radical change in it.

REPRESENTATIONS TO STATES GOVERNMENTS

The AITUC submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister of the Madhya Bharat Union protesting against and demanding the withdrawal of the ban on the Mazdur Sabhas of Indore and Ratlam, as it constituted a violation of the Freedom of Organisations Convention.

The AITUC demanded of the Prime Minister of Travancore the commutation of the death sentences passed on the Punnappa-Vayalar kisan heroes. Representations were also made to the Government of Baroda on the question of registration of trade unions, on the right of unions of government employees to join the AITUC as the central organisation of trade unions, on the grievances of railway workers in the State and on the demands of the trade union detenus for family allowance and open trial.

These representations were also treated in the manner stated above.

"TRADE UNION RECORD"

Despite repression and the consequent difficulties in obtaining full and up-to-date reports from the Provincial Trade Union Committees and affiliated unions in time, we have been able to improve the usefulness of the *TRADE UNION RECORD* and make it a better reflector of working class struggles and problems in India. Special attention was paid to keep the affiliated unions in touch with the work of the WFTU and the ever-growing importance of the WFTU as the spokesman of the world working class. Much, however, needs to be done to make the TU Record not only a mirror of Indian workers' struggles but also their bold organiser. To be able to do this the *TRADE UNION RECORD* should be brought out in Provincial languages, wherever possible.

Besides the *TRADE UNION RECORD*, the TUC published booklets on the Government's Five Year Labour Plan and on Fair Wages.

CIRCULARS

In all fifty circulars on various organisational problems were issued to the Provincial Committees and Regional Councils.

About 15 circulars were addressed to all affiliated unions on organisational and other problems facing the working class.

DAYS OBSERVED

In accordance with the decision of the Calcutta session, the affiliated unions observed March 18, 1947 as the *Basic Demands Day*. The mobilisation of the workers on that day, running into the figure of two million, was unprecedented. Their tempo was so high that at several places they went on spontaneous strikes to show their determination to fight for their demands. Never before did the workers observe a day with such enthusiasm as was witnessed on that day. A wave of panic seized the ruling class and the industrialists who, immediately after this started hatching plans to disrupt the AITUC, creating their stooge organisation, the INTUC, with the support of the Congress leaders and the Government.

Amongst the other important days celebrated by the AITUC were May Day, AITUC Foundation Day, WFTU Day, Anti-Repression Day, Railwaymen's Day, Anti-Decontrol Day and Indonesia Day. Special mention must be made of the WFTU Day as it was for the first time in their history that the Indian working class pledged its wholehearted support to the WFTU, as the only leader of the world working class. It was in the meetings held in the celebration of the day that workers in their hundreds of thousands decided to combat the danger of disruption facing the working class because of the attempts made by the Social Democratic leaders of Europe and America at the bidding of the American imperialists.

At the call of the AITUC, the affiliated unions held meetings in April, 1949, in support of the World Congress for Peace and condemning the Atlantic Pact as a pact of war.

IMPORTANT STATEMENTS

Among the statements issued by the Head Office, special mention should be made of the statements of the President and the General Secretary on the formation of the INTUC and the false charges made against the AITUC by it (see

Appendix 3). We also issued a statement giving proofs about the use of Government resources for the work of the INTUC.

The Head Office issued a statement on inflation suggesting concrete steps to combat it. A comprehensive statement was issued by the AITUC on the Peace Congress and the danger of anti-Soviet war as a result of the signing of the Atlantic Pact.

WORK ON OFFICIAL BODIES

I. *Eighth Indian Labour Conference:* The Eighth session of the Indian (Tripartite) Labour Conference was held at New Delhi on April 21 and 22, 1947. The AITUC representatives at this conference were led by its President, Com. S. A. Dange.

Our representatives sharply criticised the Government for not implementing many of the decisions of the previous conferences and the Standing Labour Committee meetings. Thus, workers in several places were refused adequate compensation for involuntary unemployment in spite of the decision arrived at in the earlier meetings. They criticised the Government for its failure to implement the resolution on housing for industrial workers passed some months before and condemned it for going back on its promise to grant financial assistance amounting to 12.5 per cent of the total cost of Housing Programme for Industrial workers.

Our representatives protested against the Five-Year labour plan instituted by the Government of India. They criticised the Government for its anti-labour Industrial Disputes Act passed by the Assembly, further restricting the workers' right to strike.

Our representatives sharply criticised the Government for its failure to take steps to implement the recommendations of the Labour Investigation Committee although the reports were signed more than a year ago. They pointed out that even where some of the recommendations could have been implemented by executive action this was not done, and demanded that a Committee be appointed immediately to go through each one of the reports and prepare practical schemes and measures of reform based on each item of this report.

Our representatives exposed the role of the Employment Exchanges as strike-breaking agencies where they had supplied labour to employers whose employees had gone on strike. They demanded complete neutrality by the Exchanges in all such cases. But on the plea that the Labour Minister was not present, our resolution was talked out.

2. *Ninth Labour Conference and Tenth Standing Labour Committee:* Both the Committee and the Conference were held from April 15 to 21, 1948. The most important subject discussed was the implementation of the Industrial Truce resolution.

The Industrial Truce Resolution was adopted at a conference called by the Government of India. The AITUC was not formally invited to send its representatives to this conference but three members connected with it were invited to participate in it in their personal capacity. The resolution called upon the employers and workers to observe a three-year truce and asked the Government to make provision for fair wages and decent housing for workers, fair profits to employers and speedy settlement of disputes.

The General Council passed a resolution holding that there could be no industrial truce so long as production was carried on for private profit.

In this background, our representatives made it clear that the AITUC had never accepted this resolution as in its considered opinion the economic crisis could not be solved unless production and distribution were planned in the interests of the people. They charged the Government for resorting to the reckless policy of decontrol on the one hand and giving up the policy of nationalisation of industry on the other, by guaranteeing ten years' charter of exploitation to the employers within a few months of the passing of the resolution on Industrial Truce asking workers not to go on strike.

It was pointed out that it was the Government's policy of decontrol resulting in steep increase in prices and the policy of mass arrest of trade union leaders which was responsible for the increasing discontent amongst the workers. Our representatives charged the Government with having become the watchdog of the capitalists and having failed to carry out even those obligations it had accepted in the industrial truce resolution.

The AITUC representatives demanded that the Government give up their decontrol policy, introduce planned production and distribution of goods; grant living wage and social security to the workers and rigorously control profits. Only if these steps were taken could the strikes to an extent be minimised.

The representatives of the INTUC and the Indian Federation of Labour toed the Government line and gave their wholehearted support to maintaining the industrial truce.

It was pointed out by our representatives that the Government was following an anti-working-class policy and that it was discriminating against the AITUC in favour of

the INTUC. Dealing with the New Factories Bill, they pointed out that the bill was not adequate to meet the situation. It left out many establishments from its scope and gave wide powers to Provincial Governments to exempt certain factories from its provisions in the name of emergency. They demanded that such an emergency should be declared by the Government only after it had secured labour's approval. They demanded that the minimum age for employment should be raised to 15 as against 13 provided in the bill and sharply criticised the Government for its failure to appoint an adequate number of inspectors under the Factories Act. The AITUC representatives demanded the immediate overhauling of the Indian Mines Act, reducing the hours of work in mines and application of the Payment of Wages Act to mica mines and transport workers. They criticised the slow speed with which the programme of building houses for coal miners was being implemented.

Our representatives criticised the Government and the employers for the formation of bogus works committees. They gave instances after instances of how elections to works committees were manipulated. The U.P. Government particularly came in for criticism for its decision permitting the INTUC unions alone to elect representatives on the works committees. Our representatives demanded that union representatives must be allowed to attend the meetings of works committees as observers with right to participate in the discussion, if not to vote.

Our representatives criticised the Government for its failure to implement the resolutions adopted by the Central Advisory Committee of the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment requesting the Government to start Employment Exchanges in each district and throwing them open to all employment-seekers. They criticised the strike-breaking activities adopted by the Employment Exchanges and demanded complete neutrality on their part during strikes and lock-outs and also that they do not make any distinction whatsoever between strikes which were so-called legal or illegal.

The replies of the Government of India to the ILO Questionnaire on freedom of association came in for sharp criticism from the AITUC. The Government replies did not accept the fundamental and unqualified right of the workers to organise themselves. It tried to qualify it by laying down several restrictions such as a proviso denying the right of organisation to policemen and the right of strike to government servants. The AITUC opposed all these restrictions and held that inasmuch as policemen and government servants were employees, they should have the unqualified

right to organise and also go on strike to win their demands.

The AITUC representatives, while pressing for the need for old-age pensions, demanded that the scheme for compulsory provision for industrial workers should be launched immediately. They moved a resolution recommending immediate starting of such schemes. Joint opposition from the employers and the Government, however, prevented any concrete decision.

Our representatives criticised the scheme for decasualisation of labour submitted by the Bombay Government. They pointed out that the scheme should be compulsory and not voluntary as suggested by the sponsors, and that provision be made to guarantee adequate waiting allowance to those workers who were registered under the scheme but could not get work for a sufficient number of days to enable them to make a decent living.

3. *11th Standing Labour Committee:* The 11th meeting of the Standing Labour Committee was held on January 19 and 20, 1949, at New Delhi.

The most important subject discussed at this Committee was the proposed amendments to the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926. These amendments were of a very far reaching character and sought to control the trade union movement by making it subservient to the Government and building it up on the pattern of the Nazi Labour Front. They sought to make the Registrar of Trade Unions the super-boss of the trade union movement, having statutory powers to close down unions, freeze their funds, and even enforce stringent and anti-working-class conditions on the unions if he so felt. Besides, the Government proposals sought to restrict the right of the workers to frame their own constitution and choose their own leaders. Our representative vigorously opposed all these amendments in toto.

The AITUC views on this subject have been printed in a supplement to the *TRADE UNION RECORD* for February 1949, under the caption "New Fetters on the Trade Union Movement."

Our representative criticising the inordinate delay in collecting statistics regarding employment and earnings demanded of the Government at least early action on their own proposals. He also demanded that steps be soon taken to collect statistics on indebtedness, sickness, unemployment, etc., which are very vital from the workers' point of view. He further demanded that the Government must see that the statistics collected are published without any delay and are easily made available to the public.

Our representative criticised the way in which the Gov-

ernment of India proposed to spend the amount accumulated under the War Injuries Compensation Insurance Scheme. He demanded right for trade unions to recommend names of trainees; equal amount as scholarship for all trainees; place for trade union representatives in the selection board; no binding for the trainees after completion of training to serve the old employers for one year at his old salary. Criticising the Government's proposal to distribute money for libraries, etc., to the recognised unions on the recommendations of the works committees, our representative demanded that all registered unions should be eligible for these grants. Works committees' recommendation should not be essential and the workers' representatives should be on the committee to disburse the funds.

Our representatives, while supporting the idea of starting such funds, demanded:

- (1) Funds for the scheme should be raised only from the employers. Workers should not be made to contribute anything to it;
- (2) A law should be passed making it obligatory on the employers to pay certain fixed amount for these funds;
- (3) Education and health being the responsibility of the Central, Provincial or State Governments, no money should be spent on these from these funds.

The scheme prepared by the Government for decasualisation in Bombay Docks came in for sharp criticism at the hands of our representative. He pointed out that the scheme as drafted was wholly in the interests of the employers. He demanded the following radical alterations so as to make the scheme even provisionally acceptable to the working class:

- (1) Uniform scheme for all dock workers all over India;
- (2) The dock labour Board should be the administrative authority;
- (3) All decisions of the Board to be by at least three-fourths majority if not by a majority of each group;
- (4) Waiting allowance to be paid to the workers must be fixed, to begin with, at half the basic wage plus full D.A.;
- (5) Complete and immediate abolition of contract labour;
- (6) The power of the administrative authority to be strictly limited; and
- (7) Guarantee against disciplinary action against workers in the reserve pool, for their failure to report during a strike.

4. Committees Under Industrial Truce Resolution:

(i) *Expert Committee on Profit-Sharing:* The Committee issued an elaborate questionnaire which was cir-

culated to all organisations including the AITUC, though the AITUC was not officially represented in any of the committees. In its reply the AITUC opposed the schemes of profit-sharing, first, because all such schemes were meant to sidetrack the workers' struggle for a living wage and were meant to weaken the trade union movement; secondly, because on principle, the AITUC was opposed to production for profit.

The scheme will apply in the beginning to six industries only, i.e., cotton textile, jute, steel, cement, manufacture of tyres and cigarettes and not to all industries. Capital for the purposes of remuneration will include paid up capital plus reserves. This capital is to be guaranteed a six per cent return from the net profit. Ten per cent of net profit can be taken for reserve fund. The workers will be entitled to 50 per cent of the profit from which ten per cent for reserves and six per cent for interest are deducted. If the individual workers' share exceeds 25 per cent of his basic wage, the cash payment will be limited to 25 per cent of the basic wage and the excess amount will be credited to his account either in his provident fund or otherwise. *No share in profits will be paid to workers who go on an illegal strike.*

Our representative gave oral evidence before the Committee on behalf of the AITUC. He opposed the Government's move to link up sharing of profits with production and demanded immediate granting of a living wage to the workers and nationalisation of basic industries without compensation.

The AITUC expressed its total opposition to this report. The Government has so far not taken any action on the recommendations of the Committee.

(ii) *Committee on Fair Wages*: The Committee issued a very comprehensive questionnaire dealing with the principles of wage fixing, wage differentials, wage adjustment and machinery for fixing and regulating fair wages. The AITUC sent its replies to this questionnaire. (See supplement to *TRADE UNION RECORD*, February 1949.) No witnesses were examined by the Committee. The Committee was to report within a month. More than four months have passed since it was appointed but its report is yet to be published.

The AITUC reiterated that any talk about a fair wage must be in relation to the amount necessary for a worker, his wife and children and dependents, to enable them to lead a decent living as human beings in a civilized society. The quantum of fair wage should be determined on the basis of certain indispensable minimum requirements with regard to housing, cloth, food and other items.

A fair wage standard should be determined on the basis of a family of five persons or roughly four consumption units.

Expenditure on food should be calculated on the basis of the minimum requirement of 3,000 calories per day per consumption unit. On the basis of the prices prevailing in 1939, a fair wage standard must necessarily make an allowance for an expenditure of Rs. 33 per month on food for an Indian working class family.

Regarding housing a minimum floor space of 100 square feet per worker should be made available to the worker if he is to live in a decent way. Basing its estimate on the rent which the worker had to pay in Bombay in 1939, the AITUC claimed that a fair wage must enable a worker to pay Rs. 16 per month as rent on the 1939 basis.

On clothing, it urged that a fair wage standard should aim immediately at a clothing quota of 15 to 20 yards per year per person. While for fuel and lighting it should allow a working class family to spend Rs. 5 on the 1939 prices.

Finally, the fair norm should permit a working class family to spend Rs. 16 per month on items such as conveyance, medicine, education and casual expenditure on festivals, marriages, etc.

In short, the AITUC demanded that fair wage, ranging from Rs. 56 for smaller towns to Rs. 80 for cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, Delhi, Madras, etc., should be granted to the workers, if the prices of 1939 are taken as the base of calculation!

The AITUC was of the opinion that collective bargaining should be the principal and decisive method by which all wage disputes should be settled. It was firmly opposed to compulsory arbitration and adjudication. As regards capacity of the industry to pay, if the industry could not grant a fair wage as demanded by the AITUC, it should be immediately nationalised. No industry had a right to exist if it did not give such a fair wage to the worker.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL TRIPARTITE COMMITTEES

Following the ILO practice, the Government of India has constituted tripartite industrial committees for several industries. So far these committees have been formed for cotton textiles, jute textiles, coal mines, cement, plantations and leather and tannery industries.

By giving overwhelming representation on these to their puppet, the INTUC, the Government is attempting to utilise

these committees to sidetrack the workers' pressing demands for wage increase, adequate dearness allowance and improvement in the condition of work. Thus, though the committees are specifically expected to study the working conditions in each industry and suggest improvement, so far no such attempt has been made. Instead, on several occasions, attempts were made to utilise these committees to increase the work-load. They however could not succeed due to the firm opposition put up by the AITUC representatives.

(1) *On cotton textiles*: At the first meeting of this committee held in January 1948, the AITUC was able to secure seven out of the 13 seats meant for the workers. Under the pretext of increasing production, the Government suggested measures to introduce three shifts working in textile mills or increasing the hours of work from eight to nine. This was very strongly opposed by the AITUC representatives. The other items on the agenda were standardisation of wages and rationalisation of the dearness allowance structure, training of workers with a view to increasing their efficiency and provision for instituting old age and Provident Fund insurance schemes. The meeting lasted for two days but no decision could be taken on any issue, thanks to the owner-Government conspiracy.

In the last sixteen months, the Government have not called the second session of this committee.

(2) *On jute textiles*: A committee on jute textiles was constituted some time at the end of 1948. The AITUC protested to the Government against the preponderant representation given to the INTUC on this committee. No meeting of the Committee has been held till now.

(3) *On coal mines*: So far two meetings have been held. In the second meeting, the AITUC demanded the right to replace its earlier nominee on the Committee, Mr. P. C. Bose as he had deserted the AITUC. The Government, however, invited Mr. Bose. Its game became clear when the meeting decided upon retrenchment of coal workers.

(4) *On cement*: The first meeting of this Committee was held at Ranchi in September 1948. Despite the AITUC's larger membership, it was given only one seat while the INTUC was given three. The AITUC's protests in this connection was not paid heed to.

The meeting discussed vital questions like standardisation of wages, conditions of work, promotion of better industrial relations and methods to increase production. Our representative demanded immediate granting of a minimum wage of Rs. 35 for all unskilled workers and fully adequate dearness allowance. The owners opposed this although their pro-

fit index had risen from 100 in 1939 to about 550 in 1948. No decision on any of the items was taken.

(5) *On plantations*: Labour representatives to the first meeting of this committee were chosen by the Government without consulting the AITUC. When the AITUC protested against this, the Government allowed the AITUC to nominate its three representatives. But when these names were sent they gave the AITUC only one seat and gave five seats to the INTUC. The AITUC vehemently protested against this proving how the plantation unions of the INTUC were creatures of the owners. The Government later decided to appoint a Standing Committee on Plantations. Its meeting has not yet been held. The AITUC has one seat on this Committee out of the four reserved for workers.

(6) *On leather and tanneries*: The first meeting of this committee was held at Lucknow in December 1948. Com. S. Krishna Swami represented the AITUC. Here also the Government tried to enforce the *status quo* by refusing to grant the demands of workers in smaller factories on the ground that the employers were not in a position to pay them higher wages or improve their conditions of work. Once again, despite its larger membership, the AITUC was given only one seat while the INTUC secured two.

OTHER COMMITTEES APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In other committees appointed by the Government of India like the Employees' State Insurance Corporation, Medical Benefit Council, Employment Service Organisation, All-India Board of Technical Education, Coal Mines Labour Advisory Committee, All-India Board of Engineering Studies, All-India Board of Technical Studies in Textile Technology, All-India Board of Technical Studies in Architecture and Regional Planning, Engineering Division Council of Indian Standards Institution, Textile Division Council of Indian Standards Institution, the AITUC has nominated its representatives.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

THIRTIETH SESSION OF THE ILO:

The 30th Session of the ILO was held in Geneva in June-July 1947. The Indian workers' delegation was represented by the AITUC consisting of Comrades N. M. Joshi (delegate) and Manek Gandhi, Adam Adil, B. G. Meshram and Shanta Mukherji (Advisers).

The agenda for the Conference included amongst others the following items:

(1) Minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories; (2) Organisation of Labour Inspection in Industrial and Commercial undertakings; (3) Employment Services Organisation and (4) Freedom of Association.

DIRECTOR GENERAL'S REPORT:

Speaking on the report of the Director-General, Comrade Joshi showed how real wages in India, which had gone down during the war, reducing the already low standard of life of the workers, did not show any improvement over the pre-war level of real wages. He referred to the acute shortage of food supplies and rapid deterioration of the housing conditions of working class in India and said that in India "unemployment to a serious extent is facing those workers who were employed in war work and are now thrown on the streets. There is hardly any attempt to transform production for war into production for peace."

Finally, he said: "Although the ILO had passed conventions and recommendations providing for social security, in India we have as yet had to make a beginning in that respect. Our Government has not even thought of a plan for unemployment relief or old-age pensions. We have not even made progress in a small matter like raising the minimum age of employment of children during the last twenty-five years."

"I would like to say that at present there is great unrest amongst the workers, especially in my part of the world, on account of post-war difficulties." He demanded "a bolder and more vigorous policy for removing the causes of the unrest, and give to the workers what is due to them."

The question of Freedom of Association was referred to the ILO at the request of the UNO Economic Council, which was approached by the WFTU to guarantee unfettered trade union rights. Despite the efforts of the workers' delegates, the Committee's resolution on Freedom of Association (later adopted by the Conference) was not satisfactory.

The draft Convention prepared by the ILO was very vague. It left it to the Governments of the Member States to determine the scope of Labour Inspection. Our amendment demanded that the scope of the inspection services should be defined and definitely laid down in the Convention and that the Convention should apply to all establishments employing five or more persons. This was rejected by the Committee.

At the plenary Conference, the Government of India was sharply attacked by Com. Manek Gandhi for the inadequacy of inspectors, for permitting children under 12 years of age to work in the factories and for the numerous evasions of law which have been criticised by the Government's own committees. He also criticised it for absence of uniformity in the various Provinces about the grant of exemptions in the rules made under the Act.

In the plenary session of the Conference, Com. Meshram moved a very important amendment to the proposed Convention, laying down the guiding principles which the Employment Service Organisation should follow in its referential policy. The amendment demanded that the Employment Exchanges shall (a) observe strict neutrality in the case of a strike or lock-out; (b) not refer workers to employment where wages or conditions of work are below established standards, and (c) avoid any discrimination among workers, not based exclusively on their vocational or physical qualifications. Though the entire Workers' Group supported it, it was lost as the entire employers' group and a majority of the Governments, including the Government of India, joined hands in opposing it.

Com. Shanta Mukherji's two amendments, one against discrimination in case of women workers and the other for equal wages for equal work, were accepted.

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION OF THE ILO:

The 31st session of the ILO was held at San Francisco in June-July 1948. The Government of India after a sham enquiry, recognised the INTUC as the most representative organisation of Indian workers for the purpose of this Conference. The AITUC had demanded that the enquiry should be an independent judicial person since one by government officials would be unfair to the AITUC as responsible Ministers were working for the INTUC. This demand was turned down.

As Com. N. M. Joshi, then General Secretary of the AITUC, said in his statement, the inquiry was first, "not impartial and, therefore, the AITUC cannot accept the decision of the Government of India giving to the INTUC the most representative character. Secondly, the real membership of the INTUC is much smaller than that of the AITUC. Thirdly, the INTUC is not a free trade union organisation, being dependent on Government and employers for support and help, having little or no support among the workers of the country."

He further pointed out that "at a time when the enquiry was proceeding i.e., in the last week of March, office-bearers and organisers of a very large number of affiliated unions ~

the AITUC were arrested and detained without trial and warrants were issued against many others. Along with this, offices of some of the Provincial Committees of the AITUC and many of its unions were sealed and registers and papers confiscated, so that it was impossible for the unions to participate properly in the enquiry and to provide material asked for by the government investigators."

Challenging the high figure of membership claimed by the INTUC, he said that these "figures are questionable in their validity as the INTUC collects membership subscriptions in the presence of the agents of employers; a good part of its membership is brought in by pressure." He cited instances where workers, if they could not be persuaded by temptations or gratifications to join the INTUC, were threatened and victimised and even repression was let loose against them.

Our protest to the ILO challenging the credentials of the INTUC was supported by the WFTU and Com. Vittorio, President of Italian TUC. Dominated as the ILO is by reactionary labour leaders and overweighted as it is by government and employer members, justice to our cause was not expected from it. Even so, the ILO was forced to admit that "it was not entirely satisfied with the explanations supplied by the Indian Government delegate. But it was unable to reach a final conclusion regarding the intervention of certain members of this Government in the Indian trade union movement; since it had not received sufficient information on the subject."

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION OF THE ILO:

The session is to be held at Geneva from June 8, 1949. The Government of India has appointed the entire Indian workers' delegation from the INTUC, their puppet organisation.

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES OF THE ILO

1. *INLAND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE*: The second session of this Committee was held at Geneva in May 1947. The AITUC was represented on this Committee by Comrades B. K. Mukherjee and Faiz Ahmed. The Committee discussed the following items: Employment in Inland Transport, Industrial Relations in Inland Transport and Inland Transport Statistics.

2. *METAL TRADES COMMITTEE*: The second session of this Committee was held at Stockholm in September 1947. The AITUC was represented by Comrades Ranen Sen and K. N. Joglekar. The Committee discussed the following items: Regularisation of production and employment at a high level,

minimum income security (annual and other wage systems) designed to secure assured earnings and labour-management cooperation.

3. **COAL MINES COMMITTEE:** The second session of this Committee was held at Geneva in April 1947. The AITUC was represented by Comrades P. C. Bose and Chapal Bhattacharya. The Committee discussed the following items: 1) Recruitment and related problems; 2) Apprenticeship and vocational training.

4. **TEXTILE COMMITTEE:** The second session of the Textile Committee was held at Geneva in October-November 1948. The AITUC was represented on that Committee by Com. Manek Gandhi, the other seat being given to the INTUC. The Committee discussed industrial relations and employment problems with special reference to recruitment and training.

Since November 1948, three more Committees have met, those on building, civil engineering and public works (2nd session), inland transport (3rd session) and coal mines (3rd session). Disregarding the claims of the AITUC, the Government of India appointed INTUC representatives on all these Committees, though the latter does not have, even according to Government's statistics, substantial membership in these industries.

ASIAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ILO

A Preparatory Asian Regional Conference of the ILO, the first of its kind, was held in New Delhi from October 27 to November 8, 1948. The AITUC was represented at this Conference by one delegate and 13 advisers.

The Conference adopted several resolutions important among which were on employment service recruitment and vocational training, wage work and labour welfare, protection of children and young workers, employment of women and maternity and programme of action, rural problems, plantation labour and housing.

During the course of the Conference the AITUC representatives emphasised the need for having a tripartite organisation for the Provinces also. They said that these organisations should take immediate action rather than be mere forum for discussion. It was pointed out by our representatives that rapid action should be taken to introduce schemes of social security as envisaged in the resolution which was adopted.

Informal consultative meetings were held at New Delhi to discuss the outline report prepared by the ILO for the

three subjects to be discussed at the Asian Regional Conference to be held in 1950. Com. K. N. Joglekar and Com. Manek Gandhi attended on behalf of the AITUC. The three reports dealt with: 1) Sanitary and Medical facilities for workers; 2) Cooperative activities, and 3), Wage regulation in agriculture and measures to enhance the earnings of primary producers.

It was pointed out by our representatives that the vast majority of workers who were covered by the Factory Act in India did not have any sanitary and medical facilities worth the name. There was no statutory regulation binding the employers to maintain dispensaries. Though first aid service was compulsory it was very often found that the first aid boxes were empty. In several factories conditions were so bad that workers had no facilities for drinking water, nor adequate number of latrines or rest shelters.

Hundreds and thousands of workers were not covered by the Factory Act. Their conditions were much worse. They demanded that suitable standard be laid down for the staff, equipment and buildings for cretches and nurses. Dealing with the problem of housing they said that the housing conditions for industrial workers were abominable. Hundreds of thousands of workers had to sleep on pavements and even the vast majority of those who were able to get houses, had to stay in rooms which were not only dark and dingy but also overcrowded. They demanded that housing should be accepted as a social responsibility and that the Government should take immediate measures to prepare and implement plans for housing all over India.

Our representatives emphasised the obstacles put by the Government in the way of trade unions taking up cooperative work. The antagonistic attitude of the employers and the Government made it very difficult for trade unions to take up and develop cooperative activities which they thought were essential.

It was pointed out by our representatives that the low yield in agriculture was mainly due to the feudal relations which existed in land. They, therefore, demanded:

(1) Abolition of landlordism, jagirdari and absentee proprietorship on land without compensation and distribution of this land among tenants, share-croppers and agricultural workers.

(2) Guarantee living wage to the agricultural worker. The wage to be fixed on a Provincial basis and not on a district or village basis;

- (3) Prohibit all sub-division and fragmentation of land by making suitable changes in the law of inheritance, if necessary;
- (4) Cancel all debts of agricultural workers and tenants;
- (5) Abolition of all forced labour, such as Hali system in Surat District;
- (6) Provide regulated credit to the agriculturists;
- (7) Equal wages for men and women for the same job; and
- (8) Exemption of all economic holdings from rent or tax.

APPENDIX 1

RESOLUTION ON DESERTIONS

"This meeting of the Working Committee of the AITUC while accepting the resignation of the following persons from the General Council of the AITUC strongly repudiates the baseless charges made by them against it.

"It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that at a time when the most savage repression has been launched by the Government against the working class movement in general and the AITUC in particular, when there is maximum need for unity among the ranks of labour, these people have decided to desert the AITUC because they are opposed to its fighting policy and programme.

"To cover up their lack of courage to face repression and their cowardice they have raised the false bogey of 'one party' domination.

"The real object behind their move has been more sharply revealed by their recent attempts to ally themselves with the Socialists in the Hind Mazdoor Sabha whom even they condemned in the very recent past as disruptors of working class unity. Some of them having failed to seal any bargain with the Hind Mazdoor Sabha have subsequently declared their intention of starting yet another separate so-called 'central' organisation, thus creating further division among the ranks of labour and have exposed themselves completely as being thorough opportunists.

"This meeting therefore condemns these persons unequivocally as enemies of the working class and calls upon the workers to guard themselves against such disruptors and opportunists and, upholding the tradition of the AITUC, forge and consolidate the fighting class unity of the working class.

"(1) Binoy Sircar, (2) Biswanath Dubey, (3) Sudhin Pramanik, (4) Nepal Bhattacharya, (5) Amal Ghatak, (6) R. S. Ruiker, (7) Shibbanlal Saxena, (8) P. Narasimham, (9) Sisir Roy, (10) Mrinal Kanti Bose, (11) Jatin Chakravarty, (12) Kamalaksha Guha, (13) Saumyendranath Tagore, (14) Ajit Das Gupta, (15) B. Ganapathi Rao, and (16) Sita Seth.

APPENDIX 2

AITUC General Council (February 25-26, 1948)

Resolution on 'Industrial Truce'

Having given serious and careful consideration to the resolution on what is generally known as "Industrial Truce" adopted at the Industries Conference in December last, the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, at its meeting held at Calcutta on the 25th and 26th February 1948, offers its considered comments on the subject matter of the Industrial Truce resolution as contained in the following statement:

The General Council realises the fact that if the vast millions of our countrymen are to be fed, housed and clothed, industry and agriculture have to be built on a big scale and production and distribution planned and organised to satisfy the needs of the people.

But it has to be remembered that most of the industries, banks, insurance companies and other occupations are at present owned and controlled by a small class of persons who conduct them in order to make profits and not primarily with the object of supplying the needs of the community. Factories are shut down or opened and large number of workers are hired or thrown into unemployment to suit the profit motive of the employers, without regard to the interests of the community. The consideration of supplying the needs of the community with goods does not primarily govern the system of production today.

Under such conditions it would be unjust to hold the workers responsible for production and its ups and downs.

The General Council desires to point out that the anxiety to eliminate strikes altogether and to ensure complete industrial peace in a competitive society can only remain a pious wish. So long as the competitive system of private industry for profits remains, one can endeavour only to minimise strikes, and this can be achieved to some extent only if firm and effective measures are taken to restrict profits, dividends and rents, to reduce, regulate and stabilise prices and to organise suitable distribution by rationing essential commodities. The present policy of the Government, which is against control as such, is detrimental to industrial peace. In fact the Government have laid themselves open to the charge of not being serious in their professions in as much as their present decontrol policy is inconsistent with the maintenance of industrial peace. When the Government

expect labour not to resort to strikes on the ground that the present time should be treated as that of national emergency, they conveniently forget that they themselves treat the present time as normal by removing control even on food and cloth. In effect, the present policy of the Government appears to be to control only one commodity, namely human labour and decontrol everything else. Let it be stated unambiguously that industrial peace cannot be achieved by such a policy.

It is unfair and misleading that labour organisations and labour leaders should be criticised by Government and employers for the alleged breach of the terms contained in the Industrial Truce resolution. The resolution clearly imposes certain conditions to be fulfilled before labour is expected to give effect to the operative part of the resolution.

In the absence of the fulfilment of these conditions, it is highly improper to put one-sided blame on labour. Moreover, the resolution imposes serious responsibilities on all the three parties concerned, namely, Central and Provincial Governments and employers' and workers' organisations. As long as Government do not discharge their share of the responsibility and do not also compel employers to do so, it is most improper to criticise labour, in season and out of season, for alleged breach of the terms of the resolution which can come into operation when the necessary conditions are fulfilled.

One of the necessary conditions to be fulfilled is the speedy nationalisation of basic industries, banks, etc., which would give a feeling to the workers that production is for public good and not primarily for private profits.

Not only are the vast resources of production and wealth allowed to be used for the profit of the few and not for social use, but the working class, on whose labour depends production itself, is even denied its minimum living wage, social security and human right to decent existence. While profits have been rising and prices soaring up, the workers' low pre-war wages, which further sank during the war, have been hardly made up today, in spite of the dearness allowances and small increases which they had to fight for. The working class on whom mainly falls the responsibility to feed, house and clothe society itself, is almost denied security of life, decent housing or clothing. Proposals for a general all-round increase to secure living wage are generally not carried out; hundreds of thousands of workers are retrenched and thrown into unemployment and the very existence of millions of producers is made insecure. It is unfair under such conditions to charge the working class with breaches of industrial truce.

Knowing full well the hardships of workers, which give rise to stoppage of work, the Government, with the intention to provide machinery for the settlement of disputes, instituted legislation which in effect amounted to practical banning of the right of strike and imposing compulsory and dilatory process of conciliation and arbitration. When the workers, even under such conditions, win awards in their favour, the employers refuse to abide by them and the Government, in some cases, have not taken any action against the employers, while an award in favour of employers recommending rationalisation and resulting in wage-cuts and unemployment has been enforced in the Madras Province. Moreover, under Public Security Acts the Government have taken powers to prevent workers in essential industries from seeking better employment of their choice without the permission of the Commissioner of Police. Such measures are calculated to lead to discontent. In our considered opinion, the proper method of settlement of trade disputes is voluntary collective bargaining and recognition of trade unions.

The General Council hopes that serious consideration will be given by the Government to the views expressed in this statement. The Council would like to emphasise that industrial peace and increased national production can be achieved only as a result of enlightened and progressive labour and social policy as indicated in this statement. In the absence of such a policy it would not be proper to put one-sided blame for industrial unrest on labour.

APPENDIX 3

N. M. Joshi's Statement

At a Conference of Congressmen convened by the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh, at New Delhi on 3rd May, a decision has been taken to start a new central organisation of labour. This Conference was presided over by the Home Member of the Government of India and was attended by the Labour Member of the Government of India along with some Provincial Premiers and Labour Ministers.

Certain misleading statements were made at this conference regarding the nature and functioning of the All-India Trade Union Congress and these were given as reasons for starting the new organisation. It is, therefore, necessary to state the correct position and facts regarding the AITUC.

The All-India Trade Union Congress, which was founded in 1920, has a total membership of nearly eight lakhs with 601 unions affiliated to it. The AITUC has always been a

free and democratic trade union organisation without being officially connected with any political party. In fact, it is an organisation comprising within its fold various groups of trade union workers belonging to different political parties in their individual capacity. There are also some who do not belong to any political party.

A charge has been made that the AITUC is at present dominated by the Communists. It is true that the Communists have today a majority in the AITUC. But all the decisions taken by the AITUC are the decisions of the AITUC as a whole and not those of the Communist party. In fact all decisions and resolutions of the AITUC have been unanimous since 1938, when the AITUC was organised by the adoption of its present constitution. Thus all sections in the AITUC including Congressmen and Socialists, were actually responsible for all the decisions. Again, the election of office-bearers has always been unanimous. Such unanimity clearly indicates spirit of accommodation on the part of all the sections, and shows that the Communists have not used their majority. The majority parties in the AITUC, whether they were Congressmen or Communists, have learnt by experience to treat the minority parties with consideration and to act in a real democratic spirit of compromise and mutual adjustment. I am not sure whether the isolationists of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh possess that wisdom.

Moreover, it is extremely difficult for a political party to dominate the AITUC in political matters although they may have a simple majority. The constitution contains a provision to the effect that "questions of a political nature and those relating to strikes to be declared by the AITUC and the affiliation of the AITUC to any foreign organisation shall be decided by a three-fourths majority." Thus for any political party to capture the AITUC for political or party purposes requires a three-fourth majority which even the Communists have not got at present. As a matter of fact, Communist members of both the General Council and the Working Committee of the AITUC constitute 55 per cent of the total. Amongst the twelve office-bearers of the AITUC, only five are Communists.

It may be noted that the Communists have been in a majority only since 1943. Before this, Congressmen generally were in a majority. The constitution and the working of the AITUC being perfectly democratic, there is nothing to prevent a minority group from becoming a majority. There is not even a single instance of a union seeking affiliation being denied admission to the AITUC just because it was under the influence of a minority group.

Another allegation made against the AITUC is that

admits 'paper' unions. This allegation is without foundation. The AITUC admits only those unions which can claim a genuine membership on the basis of the statement of accounts which is required to be audited by a registered accountant. In determining the membership, only the average paying membership is granted and not the nominal membership on the register of a union. This method of calculating the membership is more stringent than that adopted even by Government under the Trade Unions Act. The membership of a union is determined by a Standing Credentials Committee consisting of members belonging to all the groups including Congressmen. All decisions of the Credentials Committee also have, up to now, been unanimous and no group has ever used its majority either for granting or refusing admission. The AITUC would welcome an independent and impartial enquiry into the genuineness of its membership by an international labour organisation such as the World Federation of Trade Unions.

One more reason for starting the new organisation is that the AITUC was opposed to arbitration. This is a wrong statement. The AITUC was never opposed and even to-day is not opposed to arbitration in industrial disputes provided such arbitration is voluntary as in Great Britain. What the AITUC is opposed to is the imposition of compulsory arbitration, compulsory enforcement of awards and declaring strikes illegal for long and, sometimes, indefinite period of time. However, the AITUC realises that strike should be treated only as the last weapon. It is for this purpose that the AITUC constitution requires a three-fourths majority for the declaration of a strike by the AITUC.

Compulsory arbitration rendering strikes illegal is not accepted as a satisfactory method of settling disputes by the trade union movements of democratic and progressive countries including Great Britain and the U.S.A. As a recent publication issued by the British Ministry of Labour and National Service points out, "The right to strike is bound up with the conception of employment as a civil contract between equals. Workers seek to maintain this principle and regard the strike as the expression of their individual and collective rights in industry. For this reason, compulsory arbitration and the prohibitions of strikes are unlikely to be successfully established as a permanent feature of industrial relations."

Again, as Sydney Webb has pointed out, compulsory arbitration amounts to a complete denial of collective bargaining. Where there cannot be collective bargaining, there is no need for workmen to have any trade unions. Thus, compulsory arbitration strikes at the very root of a genuine

trade union movement. It is for this reason alone and not out of any political motives, as alleged, that the AITUC is opposed to compulsory arbitration.

The AITUC repudiates the charge that its policy is to hamper production. The AITUC is not responsible for the strikes which sometimes take place in India as in the U.S.A., U.K., and everywhere else, as spontaneous protests against the unsatisfactory post-war conditions. The remedy for the present difficulty lies in sympathetic understanding and prompt redressal of grievances. Unfortunately, the bewildered Congress Ministries think that the easy way to get out of the difficulty lies in dividing the ranks of labour. They will live and learn but, in the meantime, the mischief has been done.

It is claimed that the newly formed organisation is a non-party and a non-political body. But the very resolution adopted by the Central Board of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh proposing the formation of the new labour organisation clearly states that this new organisation will conduct the labour movement "in accordance with the principles set out in the statement of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, dated August 13, 1946." This alone makes it clear that only those who owe allegiance to the Congress Working Committee can have a place in the new organisation and that the organisation is really an adjunct of the Indian National Congress and is in no sense a non-party non-political labour organisation as the AITUC is.

Again, it is important to note that the new organisation was brought into being at a conference presided over by the Home Member of the Government of India and attended by the Labour Member as well as by some Provincial Premiers and Labour Ministers. The active association of these Ministers in the formation of the new organisation shows that the organisation may not be free from government influence and thus may not be able to represent a free and democratic labour movement. The tendency to form such organisations may ultimately lead to the dangerous situation which obtains to-day in China, where the labour movement which is recognised by the Government has practically become a department of the Government.

We hope that affiliated unions will not allow themselves to be disaffiliated from the AITUC, although the leaders of some unions might have decided to do so without consulting the members. The AITUC calls upon the working class general and the affiliated unions in particular not to be misled by this new move which is detrimental to the vital interests of the working class as it will weaken their solidarit

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

Statement of accounts showing receipts and expenditure
from 1st January 1948 to 31st December 1948

| RECEIPTS | PAYMENTS |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Opening balance (cash) .. 208 6 9 | Adjusting .. 810 5 3 |
| Affiliation fees .. 7,184 13 0 | WFTU affiliation fees .. 3,055 10 0 |
| Affiliation fees (advance) .. 251 7 3 | Salary .. 4,934 10 0 |
| Advance from non-affiliated Unions .. 674 10 0 | General Council .. 1,037 9 0 |
| WFTU levy .. 2,393 10 0 | Post & Telegrams .. 1,200 3 9 |
| Donations .. 191 0 0 | Rent .. 925 8 0 |
| Interest .. 93 1 0 | Travelling expenses .. 465 10 6 |
| Miscellaneous .. 177 5 0 | Miscellaneous .. 228 6 6 |
| T.U.R. sales .. 129 12 0 | Furniture .. 70 2 0 |
| T.U.R. subscription .. 919 0 0 | Conveyance .. 102 3 6 |
| 12,223 1 0 | Library .. 120 7 6 |
| Opening Balance (Bank) | Printing charges .. 523 6 0 |
| B.P.C. Bank (Fixed Deposit) .. 4,050 0 0 | Stationery .. 495 4 3 |
| B.P.C. Bank (Saving) .. 2,347 5 1 | Audit fees .. 50 0 0 |
| B.P.C. Bank (Current) .. 433 12 3 | Advance .. 25 4 0 |
| C.B.I. (Saving) .. 4,682 5 3 | Suspense .. 113 8 0 |
| 23,736 7 7 | T.U.R. Printig .. 1,737 9 3 |
| 23,736 7 7 | T.U.R. Postage .. 231 7 9 |
| | 16,127 5 3 |
| | Cash in bank (B.P.C.B.) .. 7,346 0 1 |
| | Cash in hand .. 263 2 3 |
| | 23,736 7 7 |
| | 23,736 7 7 |

Examined and found correct, separate report sent

KHARE & CO.

Registered Accountants and
Auditors

Bombay 27-1-1949.

SD. MANEK GANDHI

Ag. General Secretary

Report: Copy of the report from Khare & Co., Regd. Auditors addressed to the President of the AITUC dated 27-1-1949.

"All the vouchers and papers are not signed by the treasurer, so please get the sanction of the General Body for all the payments made during the year".

Sd. Khare & Co.

Regd. A/cs and Auditors.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE 23rd SESSION OF THE AITUC

ON BASIC DEMANDS

THE economic crisis which has overtaken the capitalist world is daily deepening. The national bourgeoisie are trying hard in every possible way to shift the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working class so as to safeguard their profits which are threatened by the crisis. They are assailing the already miserably low standard of life of the workers in every industry by enforcing direct and indirect wage-cuts, reduction in dearness allowance and enforced idleness. In short they are engaged in nefarious attempts to make the burden of life unbearable for the working class.

By printing paper currency notes, the national bourgeoisie increased its circulation and depreciated the value of the medium of exchange. They used inflation for screening the ugly face of the economic crisis from people's view. They utilised it for fleecing the people and for piling up fabulous profits. The inherent consequences of inflation were, on the one hand, a steep rise in the prices of all commodities and on the other hand, a sharp fall in the real value of wages.

The cost of living of the working class has increased due to the rise in prices of the essential necessities of life, which have been continuously soaring higher. But the rise in their earnings has not compensated the rise in the cost of living. While piling up fabulous profits, the bourgeoisie have reduced the wages of the workers.

Now that the economic crisis has set in, the bourgeoisie have been devising additional ways and means of safeguarding their profits. In the name of fighting inflation they are attacking the standard of living of the working class. It is a period when the bourgeoisie will ferociously and persistently attack the earnings of the workers and increase unemployment by retrenching the workers and adopting rationalisation. This is what they have been hatching and the working class has to fight ruthlessly to foil this game shifting the burden of the economic crisis on to their shoulders.

The indications of what awaits the working class in the immediate future are already there. The level of earnings of several lakhs of workers employed in textile mills, railways, mines, plantations, engineering workshops, etc., has started falling. In 1939, the average annual earnings of the workers were Rs. 287. In 1947-48, they had fallen to Rs. 249. This means that there has been a reduction of 13 per cent in the annual average wage of the working class in India.

The average earnings of more than three lakhs of miners in the country are, as miserably low as Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per month.

The average monthly earning of over ten lakh plantation workers was Rs. 14 in 1930-31. In 1945-46, it was only Rs. 9 and As. 13.

The daily wage of seven crores of agricultural labourers in India varies from between As. 2 to As. 15.

According to official figures, between 1939 and 1946, the average earnings of workers engaged in all industries increased by 115 per cent, while the rise in cost of living varied from between 150 to 250 per cent.

The average earnings of the textile workers in Bombay during the same period increased by 119 per cent while their cost of living increased by more than 250 per cent.

These few illustrations are conclusive proof of the fact that there has been a substantial reduction in the earnings of workers since 1939. This is the reality. But despite it the capitalists and their Congress Government are pursuing their plans to hatch a nefarious conspiracy to condemn the workers to still lower depths of wretchedness, privations and misery by attacking the inadequate and meagre scales of dearness allowance.

To achieve this object they have resorted to a cheap, deceitful device. They have started declaring that the general level of prices has started falling. These declarations are false. They are made in order to justify a further cut in the existing inadequate dearness allowance.

The Congress capitalist Government of the national bourgeoisie have led the onslaught. They have reduced the dearness allowance of the railway workers by Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 by depriving them of the concession of cheap grainshops. This lead of the National Government is an inspiration and encouragement to the national bourgeoisie to take courage in worsening the conditions of the working class. It is an evil harbinger of the things to come.

Reduction in dearness allowance is but one aspect of the onslaught. Its other equally devastating aspect is rationalisation. In the textile mills, the employers are compelling

workers to mind more looms and sides. In the city of Bombay, the workers of Apollo, Manchester, Suparibag and Jam Mills, have been compelled to work on six looms and four sides. The mill owners in Nagpur, Coimbatore, Kanpur, have started attacking the working class in a similar fashion. In justification of this attack, the object of which is to safeguard their profits from the effects of the crisis, the employers all over the country are falsely accusing the workers of decreasing production through their inefficiency. Under the excuse of increasing their efficiency they are increasing their workload. The Railway Enquiry Committee has shamelessly declared that the railway worker idles away half his working day. The railway administration is therefore planning to increase the workload of the railway workers through its drive for rationalisation. This drive will deprive thousands of workers of their employment and throw them on the streets to starve. It will intensify the exploitation of the employed.

The following few illustrations will suffice to indicate on what a gigantic scale the bourgeoisie and their Government are planning the offensive against the working class.

—The owners of the textile industry have thrown and are throwing on the streets thousands of workers under various excuses like shortage of supply of cotton, shortage of electric current, etc. In Ahmedabad, three mills have been closed down and thousands rendered unemployed.

—In Coimbatore, 10,000 workers have been retrenched.

—In the jute mills of Calcutta 15,000 workers have been deprived of their jobs.

—In several places, night shifts have been stopped and thousands of workers and their families have been deprived of their means of livelihood.

—Thousands of workers employed in the Post and Telegraph departments, in the Docks, Central and Provincial P.W.D. departments, have been retrenched.

—The Railway Enquiry Committee has announced its finding that the number of surplus workers in railway workshops and loco sheds is 50,000. The National Government are completing their plans for retrenching these surplus workers along with thousands of temporary workers.

During the last three years, the total number of workers employed in mills and factories in the Indian Union has fallen by over two lakhs. Unemployment in the country is increasing by leaps and bounds. During the last three years 20 lakhs of workers registered their names for employment with the Employment Exchanges, set up by the Government. But only five lakhs out of them could get employment. Th

woeful story that 15 lakh of workers could get no employment in the country is revealed by the official figures.

All these measures constitute but one aspect of the offensive of the bourgeoisie and their National Government against the working class in the country. Its counterpart consists of various ruthless measures for suppressing the rising discontent among the working class and their resistance to this offensive. Compulsory arbitration, conciliation, industrial and Labour Courts—these have been some of the weapons of the Congress Government for suppressing the struggles of the working class against wage-cuts, retrenchment and rationalisation. The repressive legislation for declaring strikes illegal is freely used.

Recognition of those unions which remain faithful to the working class and lead their struggles is withdrawn by the employers. They further try to disrupt the solidarity of the working class with the help of such unions as betray the working class and their struggles and prove traitors to their cause.

But since these measures proved totally ineffective in suppressing the rising discontent of the working class and their struggles, the Congress Governments have unleashed the most ruthless and Fascist repression to achieve their objective. Leaders of the working-class movement, thousands of working class fighters, have been detained without trial. Firing on workers has become a common occurrence in the struggles of the working class.

This in brief is the full-scale and all-sided offensive of the national bourgeoisie and their Government against the working class.

While resorting to wage-cuts and retrenchment the owners, at the same time, are reaping huge profits. The Bombay textile mill owners reaped a profit of over Rs. 20 crores during the last year by looting the workers and the common people. The textile owners alone have earned huge profits to the extent of 440 per cent in 1948-49 over the figures of 1939.

Thus, the foreign and Indian capitalists with the open support of the bourgeois Government have amassed huge profits at the cost of the toiling millions.

WORKERS RESIST

But the working class throughout the country has resisted the offensive of the employers by strike struggles. There is hardly a factory or a workshop in the country where the workers have not launched a struggle against this owners' offensive.

The most important feature of these strike struggles has been that they were waged for the common basic demands of the entire working class i.e., for a living wage, increase in dearness allowance, security of service, unconditional and immediate release of leaders. Be it a strike of the textile or engineering workers, in railways or other factories, of bank clerks, or primary or secondary school teachers, the demands raised in all these struggles were identical. This fact proves that the nature of the attack of the Government and the employers throughout India was the same and that the workers' struggle at different centres was taking the form of a general strike of the working class against the capitalists, for the improvement of their living conditions and for winning trade union and democratic rights.

In all these strike struggles the workers exhibited unexampled courage and sacrifice. The four month long strike of 40,000 Coimbatore workers, the prolonged strikes of Bihar coal miners, the two-month long strike of 30,000 Nagpur textile workers, the railway workers' strikes in loco sheds and workshops during the last year, the great general strike of the S.I.R. workers, the strike struggles of dock workers, bank employees, tramway workers, bus services, the various strike struggles in the textile mills in Bombay, the four-month old strike of the Bombay Firestone Rubber workers—all these strike struggles testify to the unparalleled heroism of the workers. Not only that the workers are heroically conducting these strikes, they are also developing new methods of struggles. Thus the workers of Firozabad occupied the factories in order to forestall the owners' game of locking them out. This is quite a new and a very important development in the strike struggles.

For these very demands the railway workers had decided to go on strike on March 9. Though the railway workers' strike has been temporarily suppressed due to Fascist repression, yet the basic demands of the workers such as living wage, increased dearness allowance, security of service, etc., are still the most pressing demands of the workers in all industries. To prepare for a nationwide struggle for these demands is therefore the most urgent task before us today.

The twenty-third session of the AITUC solemnly declares that though the Government with the help of the owners and the Socialist and INTUC disruptors has temporarily succeeded in suppressing the struggles of workers in different industries for these basic demands, yet the workers should immediately prepare for a nationwide struggle to win these demands.

The AITUC at its twenty-third session demands that in order to remove the threat of unemployment hanging over

the heads of lakhs of workers, in order to secure for the worker and his wife and children a decent life, the owners must be forced to concede the following minimum demands of the workers:

1. Minimum wage of Rs. 80 for unskilled workers and Rs. 125 for clerks and skilled workers;
2. Full dearness allowance neutralising the cost of living index;
3. Security of service and right to work;
4. 7 hours day and 40 hour week;
5. One months' privilege leave with full pay, 20 days' casual leave with pay and old-age pension;
6. All temporary and *badli* workers should be made permanent;
7. Guarantee against unemployment;
8. Four-and-a-half months wages with dearness allowance as bonus for 1948-49 for workers in every industry;
9. Right of trade union work in the factories;
10. Immediate and unconditional release of all the leaders of workers, peasants, students and women's organisations and of the Communist Party, Forward Bloc, Bahujan Samajwadi Party, and all political prisoners, who have been arrested for participation in democratic struggles;
11. Repeal of all repressive legislation banning strikes and attacking Trade Union rights.

Such are the minimum basic demands of the working class for the improvement of their living conditions and for their trade union and democratic rights for which their general struggle will be fought.

In order to defeat the offensive of the capitalists and secure these demands it is the urgent task of the workers in all industries to forge a broad united working class front of struggle against the capitalists and their Congress Government. The AITUC, uniting under its fighting banner workers of all industries, will take the initiative to forge such a united front, bringing together workers of all political affiliations by this countrywide common struggle for basic demands. This is the only guarantee of success. This session of the AITUC therefore appeals to workers in all industries all over the country to rally behind the AITUC and behind its call for united struggle.

In order to win these demands, the workers must build strong and fighting organisations, unite all the workers in

these unions, form strike and struggle committees of the most militant workers in every factory and workshop, organise conferences in different industries and rally them for a fight for these demands.

ON UNEMPLOYMENT

THE AITUC expresses its strong indignation at the shameless methods employed by the capitalists and their Congress Government at the Centre and in the Provinces in throwing out of employment thousands and lakhs of workers and thus causing misery and starvation to these workers and their families.

During the three years between 1945 and end of 1947 more than two lakh industrial workers have been turned out of jobs from different factories in the country.

Several hundred factories throughout India did not work. For instance, in Bombay and the United Provinces 615 out of a total number of 6,285 factories did not work in the year 1947-48, thus causing unemployment to thousands of workers.

The Central Government, under the leadership of Nehru-Patel, have thrown out of work 25,000 workers from ordnance factories, over 3,000 HMI Dock workers, over 5,000 Engineering and 3,000 clothing factory workers, during these three years. Hundreds and thousands of clerks and other employees from various Central and Provincial Departments of the Government have been turned out of jobs.

The railway transport, run by the Central Government, has already discharged from service hundreds and thousands of employees and has now planned to throw out of employment 50,000 workers from the railway workshops.

The Central Government has made no efforts to place in jobs lakhs of demobilised personnel from the military, and these lakhs of people are wandering in search of jobs.

Following in the footsteps of the Central Government, all the Provincial Governments are daily throwing out of employment hundreds and thousands of their employees.

Textile mill owners are closing down mills under the excuse that supply of quality cotton is not available or that stocks of cloth bales have been accumulated. Four textile mills in Ahmedabad have already closed down. Night shifts in Bombay textile mills are being closed. Over 10,000 workers from the textile mills of Coimbatore, over 15,000 workers from the jute mills in West Bengal have been thrown out of jobs.

Thousands of jute looms are sealed, workers are sent on compulsory leave of absence, 29 textile mills in Coimbatore

are being closed down for ten days on the plea that enough supply of electricity is not available.

Reports that the capitalists are daily turning out of jobs hundreds of employees are being received from every factory.

From every department of the Central and Provincial Governments, from railways, Post and Telegraph, from Government Docks, from coal mines, from banks and commercial firms, from municipalities, reports are daily pouring in that workers are being turned out of jobs.

Reports are received, that for want of adequate supply of electric power, thousands of workers in the tea plantations in the South will be thrown out of employment.

The number of unemployed who registered their names for employment rose to the phenomenal figure of 19.81 lakhs from 1946-48, out of whom the Employment Exchanges could place in employment only about 5.50 lakhs thus leaving 14.31 lakhs to wander in search of jobs.

Thousands and lakhs of refugee employees are without jobs and living in miserable conditions.

At the most conservative estimate the number of unemployed stands at over 20 lakhs, from factories and government departments, from banks, commercial firms and various other business concerns. This figure has risen by leaps and bounds during 1948-49 and it is still rising.

Thus in a country which is kept industrially backward and which is administered under a colonial economic system, thanks to the Congress capitalist Government which has sold the country to Anglo-American capital, nearly a crore of working people, comprising of workers and their families, are without jobs and on the verge of literal starvation. Security of job has disappeared altogether. Every employee, whether in a factory or mill, in a bank or government office, in school or college, in tea gardens, in railway or engineering workshops, is threatened with loss of job.

Capitalists and their Government shamelessly try to transfer the burden of the deepening economic crisis by throwing out of employment hundreds and thousands of workers, and thus save their profits by reducing the wage bill. Having turned out of jobs these workers, the capitalists try to use the unemployed, who are in a helpless condition, as a pressure on those in employment, to further reduce their wages and worsen their conditions of service. Further, they attempt to use the unemployed as a reserve to break the strikes and thus try to emasculate the class struggle of its strength.

The organisation of unemployed and the struggle for their demands is thus directly linked up with the organisation of the workers in employment. Organisations of employed and the unemployed are the two inseparable parts of the same class struggle. The unions of the unemployed, organised under the banner of the AITUC and acting in co-operation with trade unions of employed workers, will immensely strengthen the trade union movement and weaken the capitalists.

The AITUC therefore resolves to organise in every Province and district, organisations of unemployed workers, and to conduct a vigorous campaign and organise their struggle for securing the following demands:

- Every unemployed must be given a job according to his capacity in artisanship;
- Till such a time as the unemployed is given a job he be paid unemployment allowance equivalent to Rs. 80 as minimum wage per month and dearness allowance at a rate that will fully compensate the rise in the cost of living;
- Provision of cheap grainshops for the unemployed, where essential articles of livelihood be sold at 50 per cent their market prices;
- Free school and college education to the children of the unemployed and free boarding and lodging arrangement for them at the expense of the Government and the employers;
- Provision of houses for the unemployed to live in;
- Proper arrangement throughout the country for registration of all unemployed.

The AITUC calls upon all Provincial Trade Union Committees and trade unions in all the industries to organise the unemployed workers as directed above, and organise and lead their struggles for the demands as stated above.

The AITUC appeals to the unemployed workers that the solution of their problem can be found by organising themselves in mass unions of unemployed working people under the banner of the AITUC, and boldly waging struggles for their just demands. The AITUC therefore appeals to all the unemployed to join these mass unions without delay.

The AITUC wishes at the same time to warn the unemployed against falling victims to the sinister machinations of the capitalists who throw them out of employment and who will now try to use them as strike-breakers to break the employed workers' struggle. The session wants all

unemployed to realise that the solution of their problem lies only in active cooperation between them and the employed workers.

ON TRADE UNION RIGHTS

THE AITUC vehemently condemns the most ferocious attack on the Indian trade union movement launched by the Congress capitalist Government.

By applying Section 144 of the Cr. P.C., it has banned mass meetings and demonstrations throughout the country.

By introducing anti-working-class legislations like the Industrial Disputes Act, the BIR Act and various other Acts, it has imposed all kinds of restrictions on the workers' right to strike.

By declaring a number of services as essential and banning spontaneous strikes against attacks of the capitalists, by introducing compulsory arbitration and putting such other obstacles it has practically illegalised every strike.

By introducing such Fascist type of legislations as the Public Security Measures Acts, the Government has given unlimited powers to the police to arrest and imprison workers and peasants' leaders and detain them without trial. It has thus sought to paralyse the whole trade union movement of workers, peasants and of middle-class employees.

The Government has banned workers' and peasants' journals, has put in jail all available worker and peasant leaders, has arrested and imprisoned thousands of peasant and worker militants in an attempt to cripple their movement.

Even those strikes which were organised after fulfilling all the requirements of the present repressive laws have been ruthlessly suppressed. For instance, the all-India railway general strike which was organised after giving due notice to the Government and meeting all provisions of the law, was suppressed by arresting 3,000 railwaymen and their leaders and by virtual declaration of Martial Law by handing over the railways to the police and the military.

Hundreds of workers and peasants have been fired upon during strikes and a reign of terror let loose against them.

Having failed to check the growing strength of the AITUC and the working class movement through all these measures, the Congress Government has banned even the open session of the AITUC seeking to throttle the militant trade union movement in India.

The AITUC characterises as Fascist these measures which deprive the Indian working class of even the elementary rights of trade union organisation and of strike. The

Indian bourgeoisie, unable to stop the mighty upsurge of the Indian working class against the capitalist offensive and against their tottering rule, is viciously trying to suppress the Indian trade union movement. This ruthless attack on the elementary trade union rights is a part of the plan of the Indian bourgeoisie to suppress all democratic and progressive movements and to create conditions to transform India into a military base of the Anglo-American warmongers for waging war against the liberation movement in the Asiatic countries and for a war against the Soviet Union.

The AITUC demands that this rule of repression be ended forthwith. It further demands that:

1. All arrested trade union and peasant leaders be released forthwith and unconditionally.
2. All bans against meetings and demonstrations be immediately withdrawn;
3. Trade union and other working class journals be allowed to be published;
4. Recognition of the unrestricted right to organise unions and to strike and withdrawal of all legislation illegalising or restricting the right to strike;
5. Legislation for compulsory arbitration be withdrawn.

The AITUC calls upon the workers to rally ever more firmly round the fighting banner of their respective unions and of the AITUC and thus forge the unity of the working class to intensify the struggle for the defence of their trade union and democratic rights. In this struggle, the Indian working class draws inspiration, strength and powerful fraternal support and assistance (which has been received) from the great centre of the world trade union movement, the WFTU, and its national sections.

ON RAILWAYS

THIS session of the AITUC greets the railwaymen of India for the momentous decision they had taken to go on a general strike on March 9, for living wage and security of service, for adequate dearness allowance and continuation of cheap grain concessions, against retrenchment and for trade union rights. The session congratulates the brave railwaymen, gangmen, porters, firemen, drivers, guards, workshop employees, clerks and others who in the face of unprecedented repression worked for organising the strike.

The session condemns the brutal Fascist terror let loose by the Government to suppress the strike despite the fact that it was a legal strike, declared after 350 thousand orga-

nised railwaymen had voted in favour of it. The Congress Government arrested over 3,000 railwaymen and other trade unionists, called out the military, police and Home Guards, and gave orders to shoot at strikers. The Government also mobilised all traitors and disruptors against the strike. The Socialist leaders acted as strike-breakers and despicable agents of the police.

The methods employed by the Government show not its strength but its weakness and its isolation from the people. It cannot rule except by resorting to naked Fascist repression. The events of March 9 have clearly exposed and unmasked the Socialist leaders and other treacherous leaders of the AIRF who refused to call for a strike by carrying out the mandate of the 350 thousand railwaymen, but who instead acted as active strike-breakers and police informers. They appeared in their real role as agents of the Government and the capitalists.

The events of March 9 have further cleared away any illusions that might have been lurking in the minds of some sections of the workers that the demands of any sections of the workers can be won from the Congress Government by any means other than strike action. It is now clear that in future, in order to win their demands, the workers will have to organise better and build up greater unity so that they may fight the heaviest repression and combat disruption on the part of the INTUC, the Socialists and other strike-breaking agencies.

The session realises that despite the temporary suppression of the strike, no problem has been solved and not a single demand of the workers met. On the other hand, the Government has opened a further offensive against the railwaymen. The Railway Enquiry Committee report shows 50,000 staff in the workshops as surplus and recommends intensification of labour, enforcement of stricter discipline, victimisation of genuine trade union members, closure of grainshops, etc. Thus, the situation which led to the decision of March 9 has further deteriorated. The only way, therefore, to beat back this offensive and ensure the winning of the minimum demands is once again to follow the path of June 27 (1946) and March 9.

The session, therefore, accords its fullest support to the demands of the railwaymen which are the following:

1. Basic wage of Rs. 80 for unskilled workers;
2. Continuation of cheap grainshop concessions as before;
3. Dearness allowance to fully compensate the rise in the cost of living;

4. Confirmation of all temporary and casual labour, numbering over two lakhs;
5. Forty-hour week and maximum seven-hour day;
6. One month's privilege leave with full pay and 20 days' casual leave with full pay for all. All distinctions between ministerial and other staff in the matter of leave to be abolished;
7. Full facilities to organise trade unions and their recognition;
8. Immediate and unconditional release of the arrested railwaymen and their reinstatement;
9. No retrenchment;
10. Withdrawal of the Railway Enquiry Committee report.

These demands of the railwaymen must be granted if they and their families are to be saved from sure starvation. Railway workers must realise that after March 9 the only way to win these demands is through a determined strike struggle. The AITUC, therefore, urges upon railway workers, irrespective of their political views, to build up a mighty united front in shops, sheds, yards and other places of work, against the Railway Board and the Congress capitalist Government. Fight and struggle against the worsening conditions must begin immediately.

No longer can railwaymen depend on the Socialist leaders and the AIRF to lead their battle. The AIRF has been turned by the Socialist leaders into an instrument of betrayal and surrender to the Congress Government. It has become a strike-breaking agency manned by traitors and disruptors.

In view of the serious situation created by the Government's offensive, the AITUC resolves to call a special conference of railway unions affiliated to the AITUC to meet by the middle of July, 1949, to form a central fighting organisation of Indian railwaymen to meet the offensive of the Government and to organise the railway workers' struggle to win their above mentioned demands.

The AITUC directs the Working Committee to select a suitable time and place for convening this conference by the middle of July.

ON THE RAILWAY ENQUIRY REPORT

■ HIS session of the AITUC strongly denounces the findings of the Railway Enquiry Committee published in March 1949. The Enquiry Committee has stated, among other things, that there are over 50,000 surplus staff in the railway workshops; that the efficiency of the workers has

declined by 30 to 40 per cent and that supervision is slack; that the workers do not put in more than 50 per cent work; that there is deterioration in discipline; that there is corruption and the grainshops be closed. The Committee has further suggested the introduction of a special examination to qualify workers to cross the efficiency bars. It recommends the empowering of ordinary supervisors with the authority to inflict punishment for minor offences and drastic action against trade unionists who do not meekly submit to the authorities. In the sphere of finances, the Committee recommends the increase of contribution to the depreciation fund from Rs. 11 crores to Rs. 22 crores.

The AITUC considers that every one of these recommendations is a direct attack on the railwaymen and will lead to retrenchment of 50,000 workers, workload and intensification of labour on the plea of inefficiency, slackness and job analysis. It will lead to victimisation and harrassment of workers and union members; it will lead to stoppage of promotions for thousands of workers and promotion and supercession through bribery; it will mean throwing the workers on to the blackmarket and further deterioration in the conditions of the already starving workers by the closure of the grainshops and the appropriation of more money to the depreciation fund.

The AITUC therefore calls upon the railwaymen to raise their voice of protest against this report and resist any attempt by the Government to implement any single item of its recommendations.

The AITUC further condemns Mr. S. Guruswami, the General Secretary of the AIRF for shamelessly signing the report. The AITUC demands from the Congress Government orders for the immediate withdrawal of this report.

ON INTUC

THE AITUC is of the firm opinion that the capitalist Congress Government, unable to crush the sweeping strike struggles of the post-war years through repression and terror, created the INTUC to disrupt the working class from within and confuse the mind of the middle class and prevent strikes. Since its very birth, the INTUC has played the fifth column of the capitalists and the Congress Government when it attempted to break up strikes and disarm the working class who were fighting for better means of livelihood. It has acted as an agency through which strike-breakers and gangsters are recruited to terrorise the workers. It is financed by the Government and the owners and functions in co-operation with the police and bosses whose spy it plays. In

innumerable instances, Provincial Governments and the police have attacked unions belonging to the AITUC, arrested their leaders, carried away their records and simultaneously proclaimed the birth of INTUC through the help of bosses and officials. It has systematically fought against strikes and manoeuvred for acceptance by workers of wage cuts, retrenchment, intensification of labour, increase of work-load, etc.

Despite all the lying propaganda and all attempts of the Congress Government, the working class generally saw through the INTUC and it did not make much headway. The figures of membership claimed by it are entirely false and are made only with a view to secure representation at international conferences and mislead public opinion abroad at the dictates of the Government.

The splitters of the WFTU, the American and British reactionary trade union leaders, the agents of the predatory ruling classes are cooperating with the INTUC to organise the Asian Federation of Labour in which will be included all the agents of the capitalists in the South-East Asian countries, who are attempting to drown in blood the liberation movements of their own peoples.

The AITUC calls upon the workers in India to systematically and thoroughly unmask the role of the INTUC and their allies here and abroad and actively fight to destroy it completely. The AITUC further calls upon that section of the workers who may have been temporarily misled by the INTUC to recall the despicable role it has played and unite with fellow workers who are struggling for a better life against the savage repression of the Congress Government.

ON COM. GANAPATHY

THIS session of the AITUC strongly condemns the execution of Com. Ganapathy, President of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, by British imperialist murderers, who are waging a war to crush the struggle for liberation of the Malayan people. The Congress Government hypocritically professes to protest against the execution but it has shamelessly allied itself through the Commonwealth Pact with the same imperialists who murdered Ganapathy and who are daily murdering Malayan men, women and children in order to drown in blood their struggle for freedom.

Com. Ganapathy died for a cause which the toiling people of India hold sacred, the cause of liberation.

The Indian workers and toiling people will never forgive Com. Ganapathy's executioners.

The AITUC pledges to avenge his death by waging the fight of the toiling millions here in India against the capitalist Government which is subservient to the British imperialists and which helps it in its predatory rule.

The AITUC expresses its solidarity with the workers and toiling people of Malaya, fighting so heroically for freedom and democracy against British colonial rule.

ON TELANGANA STRUGGLE

THIS session of the AITUC greets the heroic fighters of Telangana, who fought so gloriously against the Nizam's armed forces and the Razakar hordes, established the rule of the toilers in about 2,000 villages of Telangana, by driving out the landlords and deshmukhs and distributed land to the tillers. They have demonstrated on the Indian soil the way forward to a people's rule.

This session denounces the Congress capitalist Government which has entered into a compromise with the Nizam and has let loose Fascist terror against the Telangana peasants in order to return the land to the landlords and establish the domination of the capitalists against the revolutionary people. It is as a result of this alliance of the capitalists with the feudal exploiters that thousands of Telangana fighters have been flung into concentration camps, scores have been shot dead by troops of the India Government, villages have been raided and women dishonoured. It is this policy which has led to heavy punishment of hundreds and death sentence by a military tribunal against eight brave sons of Telangana.

The AITUC watches with pride the continued death-defying fight of the toiling Telangana people to preserve and extend their gains against the rule of the Congress Military Government. Their fight is a source of inspiration and confidence to the working masses in their struggle against the rule of the exploiting classes of society.

Whilst expressing its solidarity with the Telangana people in their epic struggle for land, democracy and freedom, the session strongly condemns the unparalleled atrocities committed by the Indian Government and demands an end to its barbaric measures. The AITUC calls upon the working class of India to raise their powerful voice of protest and stand by the Telangana people. The working class must never allow the sons of the Telangana people to be executed by the Congress Government.

ON DETENUS' DEMANDS

THIS session of the AITUC vigorously condemns the callous attitude shown by the various Provincial Governments to the hunger-strikes that were recently going on in the various jails in their Provinces. The Governments had already shown their class rôle as agents of the bourgeoisie when they arrested and detained without trial thousands of leaders of the people. Today they have shown their class vindictiveness in the callousness they show towards the lives of these leaders among whom are such eminent leaders as Comrades S. A. Dange, President of the AITUC and member of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions, S. S. Yusuf and S. S. Mirajkar, Vice-Presidents of the AITUC, P. G. Savant, Acting President of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, as also Datta Deshmukh, M.L.A. who were forced to go on hunger strike in defence of their rights as leaders of the working people.

The most important among the demands for which thousands of these detenus staked their precious lives were abolition of the hated classification system and equal and better treatment for all detenus, family allowance and right to be treated as political prisoners,

The AITUC firmly holds that it was a crime against the people to have thus arrested their leaders. But it was a greater crime to have treated them as criminals or worse than that, making hateful distinctions among them, on the lines invented by British imperialists in their traditional policy of divide and rule. What the imperialists applied, and not without some success, against their political opponents, the Congress capitalist Governments hope to apply against the leaders of the working class and the other toiling people.

Not having been able to break the fighting unity of the working class through its repression, it tries to introduce arbitrary distinctions based on so-called social status in its jail treatment of the detenus, treating the workers and peasants in every way worse than the way it treats the criminals, with uneatable food, greater restrictions and denial of even such facilities as it cares to allow to the better class detenus, in matters like food, interviews, letters, permission to supplement food at their own cost, facilities for reading, etc.

True to its class instinct and afraid of its class enemy, the bourgeois Government seeks its vendetta against the workers and peasants, by singling out their best sons for particularly rotten treatment. It thus fondly hopes to break the fighting morale of these detenus and also create a division among them and the higher class prisoners. The

Common hunger-strikes against these distinctions all over the country have smashed all these hopes to pieces.

The demand for family allowance, when the detenus have mostly been the only bread-winners of their families, was sought to be denied under the arrogant plea that the detenus were engaged in subversive and anti-social activities. The AITUC rejects as the height of effrontery this crude slander in the mouth of an open agency of the bourgeoisie like the Congress Governments. It treats it as an insult to the best fighters of our people's struggles and challenges the Government to produce them in a court of law. The Government dares not do this, for it knows that despite its laws, the verdict will be overwhelmingly against it.

The detenus who so bravely led the people's battles when they were free have continued those glorious traditions inside the jails. The great support that the people outside gave to their demands and struggles, only further exposed the Government's false pretension and crude slanders.

The AITUC warns the Government against any attempts at belittling these demands or postpone meeting them. It assures the detenus that their fight is an integral part of the common peoples' fight for democracy and better life. As such it pledges its wholehearted support to them and assures them that the organised working class will rally in ever-growing strength and take every step that is needed to see that their demands are fully met.

The AITUC reiterates the fundamental demand of the detenus that they be released unconditionally or be openly tried in a court of law. In the meantime, it demands that

- (1) All distinctions between detenus as class I and II be forthwith abolished and all detenus be placed in class I.
- (2) The detenus be given adequate family allowance and other allowances for food and necessaries of life.
- (3) The detenus be treated as political prisoners.
- (4) The detenus be allowed all legal books and literature and given all amenities of life befitting the dignity of life of a citizen.

The session greets the brave people who rallied against the Government for the fighters inside jails in spite of lathis and bullets. The session salutes the martyrs, the men and women, who were shot down by the Congress police for daring to lead processions in support of the hunger-striking detenus.

This session calls upon the working class, the toiling peasants and other democratic people to build up a powerful

united movement in support of these demands and compel the Government in every Province to meet the demands in full.

ON REPRESSION AND RELEASE OF TRADE UNION LEADERS

THIS session of the AITUC vigorously condemns the unprecedented Fascist repression let loose all over the country by the Congress capitalist Government. While all throughout its three years' regime the Government of the bourgeoisie has never once deviated from its path of repression in subservience to the vested interests, the last year has witnessed its most barbaric onslaught against every section of the toiling people, against men and women, whenever they have dared to resist the capitalists and landlords' game to pass the burden of the crisis on to their shoulders.

With the worsening of the crisis, the Government of the capitalists has viciously intensified its terror trying to force the workers and the toiling people to ungrudgingly accept its entire burden. Such has been its ferocity that, as never before, not even in the worst days of imperialist terror, it has thrown behind prison bars, no fewer than 25,000 of the best sons and daughters of our people for their daring to lead the battles of the toiling people against worsening conditions of life.

Worse than during the war emergency, the country today is governed by the almost permanent application of Section 144 for the toiling people. Firing on workers and common people, including women, has become a common occurrence. The working class Press has been systematically gagged. The unions affiliated to the AITUC have been virtually declared illegal organisations in the Provinces, with most of their office-bearers arrested or driven underground. In a Province like Madras, the records of AITUC unions have been seized and in many cases their offices sealed or handed over to branches of the stooge INTUC. Elementary trade union liberties have become a thing of the past.

The Government have become so emboldened and shameless in their deprivations against the AITUC unions that the culmination of this policy is being witnessed in their banning the open session of the AITUC and arresting towards the same end, its present office-bearers like Com. Manek Gandhi and issuing warrants against others.

Whatever slanders the Government of the bourgeoisie may spread, the AITUC and the millions of working people whom it represents, are firmly convinced that not only these fighters have done no crime against the people; but at a time when the Congress leaders in their servitude to the

vested interests are basely trampling underfoot all their earlier promises, it has been these brave sons of our people alone who fearlessly stood by the people to lead and guide them to victory. The AITUC and our people are proud of their record, and their services which are in the best traditions of our great people.

It is because the Congress Government is afraid of this verdict that it resorts to crude slander and dares not bring them to court where its own laws are administered. The continued incarceration of these leaders thus reveals not the strength but the weakness and bankruptcy of the Government, its isolation from the people. It has thus stood completely exposed as the unashamed servitor of the bourgeoisie, which can rule the people only by trying to crush them. It is this role that is leading it to devise ever new methods of repression, methods which bear comparison only with those in Nazi Germany at its worst.

This session of the AITUC warns the Government against this futile, bankrupt and historically discredited policy of total repression. It demands that the Government immediately and unconditionally release all these leaders, withdraw all warrants pending against others, repeal all repressive legislation and allow full democratic liberties to the people. It solemnly warns the Government against its attempts to change the course of history.

The AITUC is supremely confident that the workers and toiling people of India will beat back this repression of the ever-narrowing ruling minority, just as people elsewhere have done. For, it realises that it is not just a scattered action of a few thousand individuals but one that is fast developing into the movement of the millions, that enables the workers and other toiling people to hold out for their rights for months, stand up to hateful laws, face jail and tortures, and even defy death in the undying faith that the future belongs to them.

The session warns the workers that with the worsening of the world crisis, every battle of theirs to win or retain even the smallest demand, will have to be fought in the teeth of growing Fascist repression. At such a time the greatest weapon in the hands of its class enemy will be not his own weakening strength, but the division and disunity in the ranks of the working class.

The session, therefore, fervently appeals to all sections of workers regardless of their political affiliations to rally round the banner of the AITUC as the only guarantee to beat back repression, win their tried and trusted leaders back among them and march forward under their leadership to a better life.

ON COMMONWEALTH PACT

THIS session of the AITUC denounces the Commonwealth Pact to which the Congress Government is a signatory. It signifies that India has joined the alliance of imperialist warmongers and enslavers of the liberation movements of the peoples of Burma, Malaya, Viet Nam and Indonesia. The subservient capitalist Governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon have been drawn into a political and military alliance which is the real meaning of the talk of "defence" of South-East Asia against the "menace of Communism."

Despite all the hypocritical assurances in Parliament about India's sovereignty and neutrality being maintained, in actual fact the country has been sold to Anglo-American imperialists. Premier Nehru has carried out this sordid deal at the dictates of the Indian capitalists who are trembling with fear at the victorious march of the Chinese Liberation Army and the armed struggles of the people of Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Viet Nam against the colonial oppressors and the treacherous capitalist rulers.

It is in keeping with this cowardly subservience to the Anglo-American masters that the Congress Government has unleashed brutal terror against the workers' and peasants' movement in India. Now that Chiang-Kai-shek has proved a fiasco, Nehru has been made the spokesman and figure-head of the new imperialist bloc in Asia to stem the tide of the freedom movement of the people of South-East Asia.

By remaining in the Commonwealth and accepting the King who is the symbol of the domination of the British capitalist class, India has also been tied to the chariot-wheel of the dollar kings of America who together with their British counterparts are organising war against the Soviet Union and the peoples of the world.

The Tatas, Birlas, the landlords and other exploiters of the Indian people no doubt rejoice at this shameful betrayal of India's interests. But the working class and toiling masses of India will never accept this foul treachery to the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the Indian people. The AITUC is confident that the Indian people will repudiate Premier Nehru's signature on this pact, drenched in the blood of Indian, Malayan, Burmese and numerous other subjugated peoples.

The AITUC calls upon the Indian working class to actively fight against this pact so that the freedom of the Indian people may be ensured and the battle of liberation in South-East Asia may never be crushed and war may never be unleashed.

ON ATLANTIC PACT

THIS session of the AITUC denounces the Atlantic pact as a war pact for the domination of the world by the Anglo-American imperialists. It is a pact for the crushing of working class movements in all countries and the advancing colonial liberation struggles and for unleashing a war against the Soviet Union, the land of peace and Socialism. The capitalist Governments of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, etc., have linked themselves up with this war pact through the Commonwealth Pact headed by British imperialism. The overwhelming majority of the Indian people, the workers, peasants and oppressed middle class demand peace, freedom and Socialism and look upon the Soviet Union as a fortress for peace and Socialism and a bulwark against war and capitalism.

The AITUC calls upon the workers and all exploited people to actively struggle against the Atlantic, Commonwealth and other war combinations so that the forces of peace and freedom are victorious and the criminal plans of the warmongers defeated.

ON PEASANTS' STRUGGLE AGAINST PROCUREMENT PLAN

HUNDREDS of heroic fighters from among the toiling peasants in the various Provinces have fallen victims to brutal and wanton firings resorted to by Congress Governments for ruthlessly suppressing the growing discontent and struggles of the rural poor against their anti-social procurement plans. The latest instance of cold-blooded and calculated murder occurred at Erangaon in Nagar district where eight toiling peasants including four women were killed by firing.

This session of the All-India Trade Union Congress condemns these firings on the toiling peasantry and pays its respectful homage to hundreds of heroic toiling peasants who have given their lives for the cause of the people. It congratulates the rural poor on their stubborn resistance to the anti-social plans of procurement of the Congress Governments and pledges the support of the working class to their just demands and struggles.

The bourgeoisie, its government and the servile Press try to drive a wedge between the common ties and interests which bind together the working class and the poor middle class in the urban areas, and the agricultural labourers, poor peasants and middle peasants in the rural areas, in their common struggle by slandering the just struggles of the toiling peasantry. They make the slanderous accusations that

their struggle against the anti-social procurement scheme, their battle against starvation, causes the starvation of the poor middle class and the working class in the urban areas. This is perversion of reality.

The procurement plans of the Congress Governments in all the Provinces are basically anti-social. These plans have several aspects every one of which is anti-people. The essence of all these plans is to enrich the rich peasants, landlords, blackmarketeers and merchants and to starve the agricultural labourers and poor peasants in the rural areas and the poor middle class and the working class in the cities.

One of the main features of these plans is that it does not attempt to procure all the surplus stocks of foodgrains from the rich peasants and landlords. What it claims to procure from them compulsorily, constitutes only a negligible fraction of their total surplus stocks. It leaves with them huge stocks of foodgrains for reaping fabulous profits in the blackmarket. The inherent consequence of this essential ingredient of the plan is that the agricultural labourers, the rural artisans, the poor peasants and a section of the middle peasants who together constitute 85 per cent of the rural population, as also the working class and the poor middle class in the cities, starve. The plan leaves the food of the vast mass of population in the country in the hands of rural and urban hoarders and blackmarketeers. These huge stocks of food are available for consumption to the people only at blackmarket prices which are obviously beyond the means of the common mass of people.

The procurement plans leave only three alternatives open to people. Either be content with the red jowar and macca supplied in the cheap grainshops in the rural areas and ration shops in the cities and then suffer in silence from diseases of malnutrition, or purchase their food in the blackmarket or choose to starve and die. Thus one of the basic causes of the starvation of the vast mass of population in the country is the anti-social plans of procurement of the Congress Government.

The second anti-social feature of these plans of procurement is that they try to shift the burden of the deepening economic crisis on to the shoulders of the poor and middle peasants in the rural areas by fixing the prices of foodgrain which are procured, at a lower level than what is justified by the rise in their cost of living. While they do not grudge to pay fantastic prices to the foreign capitalists for foodgrains purchased from them, they shamelessly refuse the demand of the poor and middle peasants for a fair price for their foodgrains. Since the prices of the essential necessities of life and agricultural needs have soared high, th

require more cash, for purchasing these, which they can have only by selling what they produce to the Government which is the monopoly purchaser.

The gap between the rise of prices of their articles of consumption and the rise of price of what they produce and sell has widened because of the fact that while the prices of their products are controlled, the prices of what they consume are either not controlled or not effectively controlled. The plans of procurement which deny a fair price for the foodgrains which are procured from the poor and middle peasants compel these sections of the peasantry to live on inferior quality of foodgrains such as jowar and macca and to deny themselves the meagre necessities of life which they could afford to have before the war.

The third obnoxious feature of these plans is that it tries to procure foodgrains from the poor peasants whose stocks are inadequate to meet their annual needs. The plan provides on paper for exemption from the compulsory scheme of procurement of those peasants whose stocks do not exceed $27\frac{1}{2}$ maunds. But in actual practice they are not exempted. The major part of foodgrains which are procured under the plans is at the expense of poor and middle peasants, thus condemning them to a state of starvation.

The cheap grainshops which Government claims to open for supplying the needs of the rural poor are a great deception and a wicked mockery of their needs. For what are supplied in the cheap grainshops are not the foodgrains which the rural poor consume but their substitutes, namely red jowar and macca. The quality of these substitutes is so bad that they are unfit for human consumption. Their consumption for the last few years has increased the rate of infant mortality, death rate and disease among the rural poor.

The struggles of the agricultural labourers, poor peasants and a section of the middle peasants in many parts of the country against the anti-social plans of procurement of Congress Government are indicative that they have suffered long in silence but are no longer prepared to submit to suffering in silence. They are not opposed to a plan which would procure people's food for the people. They are opposed to a plan which starves them and other poor sections of the population in the cities. In fighting against the anti-social plans of procurement of the Congress Governments, they are fighting for all those who suffer as a result of these plans, the poor middle class and the working class in the cities and the rural poor in the villages.

This session expresses the solidarity of the working class with the toiling peasantry in their struggle against

their common enemy, the vested interests, and pledges its support to their just demands and struggles against the anti-social procurement plans of Congress Governments. The session further demands that:

- (a) All the surplus stocks of foodgrains of the rich peasants and landlords and the stocks of the hoarders and merchants must be confiscated for making them available to the people and saving them from utter starvation;
- (b) The poor and middle peasants must get a fair price for the foodgrains which they have to sell to the Government who are the monopoly purchasers;
- (c) All compulsion in practice on the poor peasants to part with their stocks of foodgrains must stop; and
- (d) Cheap grainshops must be opened in the rural areas where those foodgrains which constitute the normal food of the people in the area are made available to the rural poor.

ON POST AND TELEGRAPH EMPLOYEES

THE AITUC expresses strong indignation against the methods of shameless deceit and terror employed by the bourgeois Congress Government to suppress the just struggle of the one-and-a-half lakh Post and Telegraph employees for living wage, full dearness allowance, security of service and other demands. The AITUC condemns the reactionary reformist leaders of P & T workers' unions like Jai Prakash Narain, Dalvi and others who conspired with the Congress Government to sabotage and disrupt the struggle of P & T employees.

The overwhelming majority of the Post and Telegraph workers had expressed in clear terms their determination to launch a struggle for their demands through the strike ballot held in January 1949. But despite this democratic verdict of the mass of employees, the reactionary reformist leaders of P & T unions reverted this decision by top manoeuvres and withdrew the strike notice. The Congress Government helped this treachery by arresting all militant leaders of P & T workers, such as Om Prakash Gupta, General Secretary of the UPTW, B. N. Ghosh, V. S. Menon, B. M. Dalvi Dhume and a number of others.

Even though the struggle of the P & T employees has been temporarily suppressed by the Congress Government and the reformist leaders through terror and treachery, the P & T employees continue to suffer hardships and starvation on account of inadequate wages, meagre dearness allowance

long hours of work, etc. This growing discontent is again expressing itself in spontaneous actions and demonstrations of workers in a number of places.

The AITUC calls upon the P & T workers to learn from this bitter experience and reorganise their ranks for a grim struggle against starvation and unemployment and for a decent living wage, security of service, trade union rights and other demands. The P & T employees have seen that the present capitalist Government of Congress leaders will not grant a single demand of theirs unless they force it to do so by mobilising the entire strength of one-and-a-half lakh P & T employees for a determined struggle. They have also seen that unless the present reactionary reformist leaders of the P & T unions are thrown out from these organisations, a mighty unity of all P & T employees cannot be built up and a struggle cannot be launched.

The AITUC, therefore, calls upon the P & T employees to remove the treacherous reformist leaders from their organisations and take the leadership of their unions in their own hands. It also calls upon them to build up a strong united front of all sections of P & T employees such as clerks, postmen, telegraphists, RMS workers, telephone workers, etc., and prepare for a determined struggle for their basic and immediate demands such as living wage, 100 per cent D.A., eight-hour work, good conduct pay and other demands. The AITUC also urges upon all P & T employees to launch upon an immediate campaign for the release of all their arrested leaders.

The AITUC assures the P & T employees that it will give them every possible support and help in their struggle for better living conditions against the bourgeois Congress Government.

ON BOMBAY MUNICIPAL WORKERS' STRIKE

THE AITUC warmly greets the 15,000 municipal workers of Bombay who have been conducting a heroic struggle since May 13 for a minimum wage of Rs. 45, Rs. 50 D.A., free housing, six-hour work per day and other demands.

These workers have been subjected to the most brutal Fascist repression by the bourgeois Congress Government; nearly 300 workers have been arrested and sentenced for going on strike for their just demands. Armed police and plain clothesmen have surrounded the chawls of workers and workers are being forced to go to work by open threat of arrests, etc. The Congress Government and the municipal authorities are shamelessly using every means in their power to crush the strike by sheer terror and brutal force.

The AITUC strongly condemns this fascist repression against the municipal workers and calls upon all its affiliated unions and other working class and democratic organisations of Bombay to raise their voice of protest against the same.

The AITUC wholeheartedly supports the demands of the municipal workers and calls upon the Congress Government and municipal authorities to grant the same without any further delay. It also demands the immediate and unconditional release of all the arrested workers and their leaders.

FOR WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

THE Session of the All India Trade Union Congress fully approves and endorses the initiative taken by the Working Committee in affiliating the AITUC to the World Congress for Peace and in sending a message and a delegate to the same. The Paris Session of the World Peace Congress representing as it did 600 million peoples from 72 countries was a powerful rebuff to the evil machinations of the American and British imperialists who are making a desperate effort to unleash a third world war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. It showed once again that the working people and the toiling masses of the world do not want war and are determined to unite all forces on the widest possible scale to defeat the plotters of a new war and that these forces are far more powerful than the forces of imperialism and world reaction.

The Session recognises that the danger of a new world war threatens the people of all countries. Terrified by the consolidation and growth of the forces of Socialism and Democracy throughout the world, and by the irresistible advance of the people's liberation movement in the countries of South-East Asia and by the irrevocable victory of the people's liberation forces in China, the American and British imperialists have gone over to open and shameless preparations for an aggressive war. The brandishing of the diabolical weapon of aggression, the atom bomb, the creation of the North Atlantic bloc of war aimed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, the conversion of Western Germany and Japan into arsenals of aggression, open and shameless aid given by them to the reactionary and Fascist forces in Greece, Spain, China and other countries of South East Asia—these are the direct proofs which show how far the Anglo-American imperialists have gone in their preparation for an aggressive war against the peoples of the world.

The aim of these war-mongers is to serve and reconsolidate the system of imperialism and colonial enslavement of the peoples of Asia and Africa which is tottering to its doom under the blows of the rising forces of people's liberation, democracy and Socialism. Their machinations must be defeated if peace is to be maintained in the world on the basis of the independence of the peoples and their international cooperation.

This session of the AITUC fully supports the clarion call given by the World Peace Congress that the defence of peace is the task of all peoples and its call to unite all forces against the evil designs of the imperialist war-mongers.

The Session recognises that it is the duty and responsibility of the AITUC as the premier organisation of the working class of India to take the initiative to unite on the broadest possible plane all the forces in the country which stand for the defence of peace and against the intrigues of the Anglo-American imperialists and their reactionary allies in India who are trying to drag our country into a war plot against the peoples of South-East Asia and China and to make it a base of war of aggression against the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy.

The Session recognises the urgent necessity of taking immediate initiative to rally the forces of the people against the war machinations of the Indian bourgeoisie and the Nehru-Patel Government which are being revealed in their naked form by their joining the Commonwealth and by their joining together with the Anglo-American imperialists in the efforts to crush the people's liberation movements in Burma and Malaya.

The Session therefore directs the Working Committee to get into touch with all the progressive and democratic organisations of the toiling people in India, with the organisations of peasants, students, women, and intellectuals and with other bodies, in order to convene an all-India conference for peace at a suitable place to rally and demonstrate the opposition of the working class and democratic forces in India to the evil designs of the imperialist war-mongers and their Indian allies and to demonstrate their solidarity with the international working class and the democratic forces of the world standing for peace, democracy and Socialism.

ON JUTE WORKERS

(The following resolution could not be referred to the Resolution Committee because of lack of time. Since however, the resolution is very important, the text is being given below.)

THE AITUC vehemently protests against the all-out attack by the jute mill employers on the living standards of the 3 lakh jute mill workers of West Bengal. Under the false plea of scarcity of raw jute the British and Indian magnates in this monopoly industry, who are out to preserve in tact their unconscionable profiteering, have begun to seal up looms on a mass scale, retrench workers, close down night shifts and impose forcible stoppages of work which cause severe cuts in the workers' already meagre earnings.

The real reason for this savage attack, which has already thrown out of employment over 15,000 workers and imposed an indirect cut of 12½ per cent in the monthly earnings of all workers, is the owners' desperate attempt to pass the burdens of the mounting crisis on to the shoulders of the starving workers. The jute market has been adversely affected by the growing depression in the USA and other capitalist countries; the present high prices of jute goods are in the danger of falling while unsold stocks are accumulating in the mill godowns. In order to avert the impending catastrophe and to keep up their profits at any cost, the jute bosses have selected the workers as their target for mass retrenchment, rationalisation, imposition of heavier workload, planned stoppages and lock-outs, sealing of looms and wage cuts.

What this means for the jute worker can be understood from the fact that his basic minimum wage, as awarded last year by the Congress Government's Tribunal for the Jute Textile Industry, is only Rs. 26 per month with D.A. at Rs. 32-8, a fixed total of Rs. 68-8, at a time when the working class cost of living has risen by at least 300 per cent over the pre-war level. In other words, the jute worker is condemned to live in horrible conditions of privation and suffering, and is victim to all the worst effects of undernourishment, malnutrition and over-work. Over and above this, his housing conditions are scandalous.

The workers have no security of service and their so-called "service records" are freely tampered with by the managements, to all of which the Government authorities turn a blind eye.

The AITUC greets the thousands of jute workers in different mills who have conducted heroic and militant strug

gles during the past 1½ years against this terrible exploitation and against the employers' new offensive. They have faced undaunted the full brunt of the Congress Government's repression launched at the service of the jute magnates, and have braved lathi charges and police firings, and arrests and victimisation of scores of militant workers.

The AITUC urges upon the jute workers to realise that without a united and strong organisation, and the fiercest uncompromising struggle against the employers and Government and the INTUC and Socialist *dalal* leaders, they can neither check the growing capitalist offensive against their standards and jobs, nor win their major demands and put an end to their long sufferings.

The AITUC, therefore, urges upon the jute workers to close up their ranks, forge their invincible solidarity, and carry on a militant struggle for the realisation of the following demands:

- 1) Rs. 80 as minimum basic wage, 100 per cent compensation in D.A. with a minimum of Rs. 50, and Rs. 20 as house allowance;
- 2) No retrenchment, no intensification;
- 3) Unsealing of all the sealed looms and reinstatement of the retrenched workers;
- 4) Security of service;
- 5) Full compensation for all periods of involuntary unemployment, stoppages and lock-outs; and
- 6) Nationalisation of the jute mills without compensation.

ON COMRADE KALI BANNERJI'S ARREST

THIS session of the AITUC most vehemently condemns the arrest of Com. Kali Bannerji, a delegate from Bengal while he was on his way to attend the session and the lathi-charge made later. In the opinion of the AITUC this is nothing but provocation on the part of the police. The session also condemns the searches and temporary arrests of nine delegates on their arrival at Bombay to attend the session.

The session demands that the arrested delegate be forthwith released.

ON FIRINGS IN CALCUTTA

THIS session of the AITUC strongly condemns the firing that the Congress Government of West Bengal resorted to on April 27, 1949, on the demonstration of women which the Mahila Atma Raksha Samity brought out in support of the hunger-strike of the political prisoners of West Bengal.

While the police resorted to firing directly on the women, organised goonda gangs which are being reared up in the name of "Congress Seva Dal" attacked the demonstration with bombs, soda-water bottles etc. In all the police killed 5 women and 3 men in cold blood. The entire population of Calcutta, indignant against the brutal, cold-blooded murder, is demanding the resignation of B. C. Roy's ministry.

Similar attacks were made by the police in January last on the student demonstration held in support of the cause of the refugees and to demand the withdrawal of Section 144 and restoration of civil liberties. The non-violent Congress Government enacted a blood-bath on the streets of Calcutta, called in the military, paraded their tanks on the streets and created a reign of terror. For three continuous days the people of Calcutta, from the factories as also the schools and colleges, fought with utmost tenacity. And at last the Government was forced to climb down and withdraw section 144. More than eleven lives were lost in that glorious battle.

The Session salutes the great martyrs of Calcutta who included our sisters and vows to struggle against and put an end to this rule of repression instituted by the Congress capitalist Government. This Session calls upon the working class throughout India to condemn this brutal murder of the sons and daughters of the people who led the battle against the autocratic rule and for democratic rights.

This session demands the immediate resignation of the West Bengal Ministry which is responsible for the brutal firing and killing of several men and women in the streets of Calcutta in January and April.

ON TEXTILE WORKERS' CONFERENCE

THIS Session of the AITUC greets the textile workers of India who have waged numerous strike battles to resist retrenchment and imposition of increased work-load, to protest against the mass arrests and dismissals of workers' leaders in mills, to secure adequate bonus and dearness allowance.

The AITUC sends its warm greetings to the heroic workers of Coimbatore and Nagpur who fought great battle lasting for four months and two months respectively and thus marched in the forefront of India's textile workers; sends greetings to the workers of Kanpur, Khandesh, Shapur, of centres in West Bengal and of Rajnandgaon, Ellicpore and other textile centres in C.P. & Berar also, all whom have fought grim strike struggles.

The Session records its indignant protest and condemnation against the bourgeois Governments of the Congress

crushed these strikes of the textile workers by unleashing savage repression and terror. Hundreds of textile workers were arrested at Coimbatore and Nagpur, in order to crush their strikes. To prevent the Bombay workers from going into action against the Bombay Public Security Measures Act and the functioning of the Government machinery of conciliation, hundreds of workers were arrested. The AITUC notes with admiration that undaunted by this repression, workers fought their battles setting inspiring examples of courage, tenacity and heroism.

These battles of the textile workers have exposed the INTUC as an open and shameless agency of employers and their Congress Governments, for disruption and strike breaking, as an arm of the police pushed into the labour movement. In all these battles, the Socialist leaders have played an equally dishonourable part by trying to sow disruption in the ranks of the strikers and shamelessly stooping to act as strike-breakers. The textile workers' strikes have helped to unmask the real meaning of the democratic socialism by which the Socialist leaders swear.

The AITUC notes with pride that its unions have boldly led these strikes, in spite of the fact that they were made targets of repression, and their leaders and organisers were arrested en masse by fascist Governments of the Congress.

The AITUC notes that the mill-owners have planned ferocious attacks against the textile workers. In pursuance of their policy to transfer the entire burden of the ever-deepening economic crisis, which threatens soon to burst in the classical form of world depression, the mill-owners are out to retrench lakhs of workers, increase the workload, and use the army of the unemployed to force those under employment to accept wage-cuts and withdrawal of rights like those of paid holidays, eight hours day etc. Already under those false and deceitful plea of shortage of cotton, breakdown of electric supply, etc. mills are kept closed and workers deprived of their wages by subjecting them to compulsory leave and *pali* system. The AITUC condemns these attacks by mill-owners on the textile workers and records its indignant protest against the fact that the Congress Governments accept these pleas of the mill-owners and help them to rob the workers of their full-time jobs and wages, imposing on them hunger and starvation.

The AITUC calls on the textile workers and other exploited sections of the people to take grim note of the fact that stocks of cloth are piling up in the godowns of the mill-owners. Thanks to the policy of the Congress Government which, in defiance of the loud protests of the people, gave free rein to the capitalists and other vested interests to

enrich themselves at the expense of the working class and other common people and enabled the textile owners to mint hundreds of crores as black market and open market profits, the people of our country have become growingly pauperised. This led to the home market shrinking at terrific speed and cloth stocks piling up in alarming proportions. Even the outlet for their stocks into the Asian and African countries, where the exports from Britain and Japan had been reduced to the minimum because of the war needs of these countries, is being sealed.

The approaching slump threatens to aggravate the problem of unsold stocks of cloth manifold.

The AITUC sounds a note of solemn warning against the approaching danger and declares that the catastrophe can be averted only by measures that will increase the purchasing capacity of the working class and other common people of our country, measures that will take the textile industry out of the orbit of profit-making. The AITUC therefore urges most emphatically the enforcement of the following measures to avert the catastrophe:

1. Nationalisation of the textile industry without any compensation whatsoever to the mill-owners;
2. Living wage and security of service to the textile workers;
3. Workers' democratic control over the industry; and
4. Forty hour week and seven hour day.

The AITUC calls upon the textile workers to forge steel unity in their ranks, build a fighting organisation in every textile centre and prepare for united and concerted action for realising the above demands.

The AITUC calls upon the textile workers to place in the forefront of their struggle the above demands while offering heroic resistance to the attacks by the mill-owners in the form of retrenchment, increased work-load and wage cuts.

The strikes of the last two years have demonstrated very sharply the need for the textile workers to build such a militant organisation as will successfully fight the unprecedented repression and terror, resorted to by the fascist Congress Governments. The AITUC, therefore, calls upon the textile workers to forge such a fighting organisation.

The AITUC is of the opinion that the policy of the mill owners is to attack the workers of different textile mill piece-meal and to crush their battles in isolation from other: This policy of the mill-owners must be defeated by the textile workers all over the country by coming together and hammering out a common programme of action and reali:

it by simultaneous and concerted struggle at all the textile centres in the country.

To this end, this session of the AITUC directs all its affiliated unions of textile workers and the Textile Workers' Federation to hold an all-India Textile Workers' Conference in the month of October and forge the plan of action.

The AITUC calls upon the textile workers all over the country to smash the attempts at disruption made by the INTUC and the Socialist leadership of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, hound out from their midst these agents of the capitalists and their Congress Governments. The AITUC calls upon all textile workers to forge solid unity under the flag of the AITUC and the Unions affiliated to it.

This session of the AITUC feels confident that the textile workers will carry forward the glorious record of the battles of the last two years and smash the offensive of the textile bosses to impose mass unemployment, increased work-load and wage-cuts, subjecting them to ruin and starvation, and realise the programme for nationalisation of the industry, living wage and security of service.

ON MARTYRS

THE AITUC, on the occasion of its 23rd Annual session, salutes the great martyrs of the working class movement like D. B. Kulkarni, R. D. Bhardwaj, Malik Saheb, Shripat Patil, Kuppuswamy, Moyarath Shankaran, Bhiku Kuwekar and hundreds of other martyrs, known and unknown, who have laid down their lives while leading their class battles.

The AITUC pledges to carry forward the heritage of these great martyrs and calls upon the common people of India and especially the working class of India to uncompromisingly wage a determined struggle for the complete emancipation of the oppressed people all over the world—the cause for the achievement of which they laid down their lives.

ON DEATH SENTENCES ON HYDERABAD PEASANT LEADERS

THE AITUC records its deep sense of indignation at the death sentence imposed by the Special Tribunal in Hyderabad on Murhari Rao, Irawathi Ramreddi, Kalluri Tirupathi, Gosi Lingaya, Pantagi Lingaya, Panugoti Elma Krishnaya, Kankaya and Pandu Reddi Narayan, eight brave sons of Telangana accused of offences against the oppressors—Nizam and his gang. They are all below thirty and in their prime of youth, Irawathi Ramreddi who has been accused of murdering a Razakar goonda of the Nizam being only 16.

The AITUC protests against these death sentences and demands of the Government of India to direct the military Governor to commute the death sentences and release forthwith these fighters for freedom of Telangana.

The AITUC appeals to the workers and the people of India to raise their voice of protest and organise public opinion in such a manner that the governments of India and Hyderabad may be compelled to commute the death sentences and *discharge* and release the prisoners immediately.

ON DETENUS' AID RELIEF

AS a result of arrests and imprisonment of hundreds and thousands of Trade Union and Peasant leaders, their families are facing literal starvation. Along with these, hundreds and thousands of active Trade Union worker militants have been turned out of their jobs on account of their Trade Union activities. The capitalists and their Government are trying to suppress the TU movement and Peasant movement by these methods.

The AITUC is of the opinion that it is the paramount duty of all Trade Unions and Peasant organisations, and the workers, peasants and common toilers and the friends and sympathisers of the Trade Union and Peasant movements to support the families of these fighters of the workers' and peasants' movements.

The AITUC therefore resolves to start "*Detenus' Aid Relief Fund*" to support the families of the fighters of the Trade Union and Peasant movement who are languishing in jails or are undergoing hardships as a result of victimisation for Trade Union activities.

The AITUC appeals to workers, peasants, the common oppressed people, the friends and supporters of the Trade Union and Peasant movements to contribute liberally to this fund and thus help to protect the families of the fighters of the movement of the toiling masses.

The AITUC appeals to the international trade union movement and the World Federation of Trade Unions to contribute to this fund in every way possible.

The AITUC directs the working committee to draw up a proper constitution of the "*Detenu's Aid Relief Fund*" and authorises the Working Committee to adopt it in consultation with the Provincial Trade Union committees. In the meantime, the Session directs the Working Committee to print receipt-books and issue handbills and start collection of fund.

ON CALCUTTA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CORPORATION

THIS 23rd session of the AITUC strongly condemns the various attempts of the Congress Government to crush the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation Mazdoor Union. The bosses tried to create disruption among the workers by helping to form an INTUC union there which is sponsored by the Congress Government.

The General Secretary of the Union was arrested and released afterwards but an order has been served on him to leave the district. The Assistant Secretary of the Union is still behind the bars.

This session of AITUC congratulates the workers of Calcutta Electric Supply Mazdoor Union who, defeating all repression and disruption, are fighting bravely and heroically.

ON THE MILITANT MOVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

THE deepening economic crisis and the spiral of inflation have completely upset the living standards of lakhs of exploited and oppressed lower middle-class employees—Bank, Insurance, Mercantile and Government employees, teachers, nurses, etc. The so-called freedom, instead of ameliorating their miserable conditions of the British regime, has intensified their exploitation and oppression. While on the one hand, the abnormally high prices in comparison with their meagre limited income have dragged them from poverty to the starvation level, on the other hand, the employers have thrown the entire burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the workers and the lower middle class employees through inflation and rationalisation which means for the employees a real wage-cut and mass retrenchment. It has now become absolutely clear to them that the so-called national government has bound our national economy to the chariot-wheel of the imperialist war-mongers thus causing all the schemes of industrialisation and reconstruction to be shelved for ever.

Oppressed by the terrible economic crisis and faced with the grim realities of unemployment and starvation, the exploited lower middle class employees organised themselves in Unions and fought desperately side by side with the working class for living wage, security of service, TU rights, in order to better their living standard and to free themselves from untold exploitation and empty promises. The disillusioned middle class inspired by militant working class movement has taken the path of the strike struggle. The struggle of the 8,000 non-gazetted government employees of Madras,

the 7 days' strike of the 15,000 Central Government employees of Calcutta, the one day general strike of the Bank employees of Calcutta, the militant movement of the West Bengal Government employees, the struggles of the Government employees of Indore and Hyderabad, the strike-struggle of the teachers of U.P., Bengal, and Bombay mark a new phase in the movement of the middle class employees.

Like the working class, the fighting middle class are also facing ruthless repression and disruption by the enemies of the trade union movement. Trade Union rights are being denied and Union workers retrenched, dismissed, and victimised under the Industrial Disputes Act, and the Public Safety Act. Side by side, reformist INTUC and Hind Mazdoor Sabha and reformist leaders like Mrinal Kanti Bose are disrupting the unity of the fighting middle class. Helped by Government officers and the capitalist employers, stooge organisations are being set up to disrupt their unity.

In Bengal under the repression of fascist Congress Government the Government employees' organisations have been virtually put under ban, Union workers dismissed and detained under the Security Act. The Government of West Bengal allowed private employers, namely the Llyods Bank authorities, a foreign bank to draw up legal proceedings against Union leaders for leading a strike under the Industrial Disputes Act.

In spite of ruthless repression and disruption the middle class people are marching forward side by side with the working class for the realisation of their basic demands and are lining up with the militant working class under the banner of the AITUC, These demands are:

- 1) Minimum pay of Rs. 80 for peons, bearers, durwans, etc. and Rs. 125 for clerks; D.A. of Rs. 65 on the existing price level;
- 2) Full compensation for increase in price level etc.;
- 3) Security of service against replacement;
- 4) Confirmation of temporary employees;
- 5) Trade Union Rights;
- 6) Right to strike.

This session of the AITUC greets the growing upsurge among the middle class and while assuring all support to their struggles, decides to take the initiative to organise and guide the middle class and calls upon different sections of the middle class to rally under the banner of the AITUC which has always led the working class to militant struggle

ON CALCUTTA TRAM WORKERS

This session greets the Calcutta Tramway workers for the brilliant and exemplary fights they put up four times during the year 1948 against the offensive of the British Company, helped by the Congress reactionary Government. The Tramway workers in Bengal have remained in the forefront of all political class battles and have earned the glory of being the militant vanguard of the class. In the midst of all fascist terror let loose by the Congress Capitalist Government in response to the demand of the capitalists both foreign and indigenious, the valiant Tramway workers marched forward defiantly and struck for more wage and other basic demands and against retrenchment. In all the strikes the INTUC and Socialist Party leaders came out in open support of the employers and acted as strike-breakers and police agents. Their temporary set-backs have revealed to the workers that they suffered due to this disruption. They have today shed all illusions that any demand can be achieved by any other means except strike struggles. The workers of all industries have benefitted themselves from this rich experience and hence Tramway workers stood before the working class of West Bengal as the most militant, uncompromising and determined leader infusing courage and determination in other sections of the workers.

This session strongly condemns the actions of Congress Government of West Bengal for its order permitting the British bosses of the Tramway Company to increase tramway fares in 1st class. It is an order designed only to swell the profits of the bosses on the one hand and on the other to attack the workers and the people at large. By this increase of fares the Tramway Company will earn an additional profit of Rs. 55 lakhs. But where the workers' demands are concerned the Government refuses any increase. Thus the Congress Government has succeeded in exposing its real character to the people and the workers.

This session records its full support to the Tramway workers' demands for the fulfilment of which they voted for strike, demands like:

1. Rs. 80 as minimum basic wage for an unskilled worker and Rs. 115 as minimum for a clerk;
2. Rs. 50 as D.A.;
3. Rs. 15 as house allowance, etc.

These demands must be realised if the workers with their families are to be saved from starvation. The AITUC

firmly holds that the only way to secure these demands is through determined strike struggle. All workers must realise this and must build up a mighty united front in all departments, depots and offices against the employers and their Government.

ON MUNICIPAL WORKERS OF WEST BENGAL

This session of the AITUC notes with grave concern the condition of the Municipal workers of West Bengal. Among these the Calcutta Corporation workers constitute the largest portion being about twenty five thousand including the clerks and other sections of the employees. Amongst the workers employed in various industries and concerns, the municipal workers are paid the lowest. "Benign" Congress Government has given an award through its tribunal granting Rs. 25 as basic wage and Rs. 25 as D.A. and has at the same time withdrawn cheap grain shop concession from workers drawing a wage of Rs. 35 and above. The condition of the other municipal workers is much worse. They were denied even that starvation level wage which was recommended by so many enquiry committees during the pre-war years. The abnormal rise in cost of living during and after the war was not compensated and thus the real wages of these workers have been further reduced. It was against these conditions that between 1924 and 1948 the Calcutta Corporation workers had to strike at least 12 times, sometimes even twice a year. The same is the story with the other municipal workers whose conditions are far worse.

This session congratulates the Calcutta Corporation pumping station workers on their heroic fight against withdrawal of grain-shop concession in October last. The struggle though short-lived and temporarily defeated, has proved the determination of the working class to resist any attack which employers resort to with the help of the government. This session condemns the West Bengal Congress Government for the barbarous atrocities it perpetrated upon these workers to suppress their struggle for better living conditions. Out of 400 strikers, the Government arrested more than 50 workers under the Security Act. The session greets these valiant fighters who have been subjected to so much hardship.

This session condemns the Government of West Bengal for declaring all pumping stations and other Centres a "Protected Places" and posting armed pickets over these. This is designed to deprive the workers of elementary right of Trade Union work in places of employment.

This session records its fullest support to the demands of the Municipal workers, which are as follows:

1. Rs. 55 as minimum basic wage;
2. Rs. 50 D.A., Rs. 20 as house allowance;
3. Withdrawal of all externment orders or such other orders;
4. One and a half month's leave with pay;
5. All gazetted holidays and benefit of Sundays and holiday or double wages;
6. Release of all arrested strikers and their reinstatement;
7. Full and unrestricted Trade Union rights.

The AITUC firmly holds that the only way to realise the demands is a determined strike struggle. All the workers must realise that to get the demands realised and their families saved a united and determined struggle must be waged and that a mighty united front must be built up against the offensive of the employers and the Government.

STRIKE DIARY

(We are printing below industrywise, a list of the major strikes fought during the years 1947 and 1948 and the first three months of 1949.

This is not planned to be a full list. Conditions of total repression on strikes and Press blackout, as also the systematic and wholesale gagging of working-class Press, closing down of unions and mass arrests of union and strike leaders, etc. have made compilation of full data regarding all the strikes virtually an impossible task. As such, only major strikes are recorded in this list.

Nor has it been possible, for the same reasons, to secure full details of even these major strikes recorded here: viz. the number of days each strike was fought, the ever-growing police repression in each strike without exception, how workers fought back, etc. Under India's conditions this task is almost impossible of achievement for an organisation like the AITUC, whose unions in practice are virtually declared illegal organisations.

We have therefore to restrict ourselves to whatever bare information is available. But even these bare facts, about only the major strikes in the major industries, serve a purpose. For they not only give an idea of the immensity of the strike wave during 1947 and 1948. They also give the lie to the official strike statistics, the veracity of whose figures has already been exposed in the General Secretary's Report.)

1947

TEXTILES

Jan.: 15,000 workers strike in Kanpur demanding continuous service leave. On Jan. 6 police fire on workers, killing 5, including 2 women; 28 were injured including 7 women (5,000 stormy procession; police lathi-charge and shoot). On January 10, protesting against police firing, 3 lakh citizens on strike; complete hartal was observed.

- Jan. 12:* Police fired on workers in Madura killing one; 15 wounded. The clash took place as the authorities refused to hand over the dead body of a worker who died while working.
- Feb. 11:* 40,000 Coimbatore textile workers went on strike, demanding 6 months' wages as bonus; lock-out declared; police and military help asked for.
- March 10:* 27,000 Bombay workers went on spontaneous strike protesting against cut in wages, retrenchment and introduction of rationalisation; also demanding speed in adjudication.
- 5,000 workers of Jagbari Cotton and Jute Mills, Nepal, on strike demanding 35 per cent wage increase, proper housing conditions, medical facilities, etc.
- March 11:* 14,000 workers of Buckingham & Carnatic Mills of Madras struck; demands: 6 months bonus, increased D.A. etc. Strike declared illegal. General strike of all workers in Madras on the 31st. On April 8 workers were lathi-charged and tear-gassed; April 22 lathi-charge on workers. On 1st of June clash with police.
- April 17:* 25,000 Ahmedabad workers struck, protesting against the decision of exchanging workers of day and night shift in turn.
- April 18:* 22,000 textile workers of Nagpur and 5,000 of Badnera, Ellichpur etc. strike; part of a general strike.
- April 21:* 20,000 workers of Sasson, Sri Ram, Srinivas and Phoenix, Mills in Bombay struck demanding 10 days leave with pay.
- May 20:* 3,000 workers of Ambernath Woollen Factory (near Bombay) staged a stay-in-strike demanding minimum wage, more D.A. housing facilities etc.
- May 31:* 3,500 workers of Calicut textile mill strike for bonus and other demands.
- June 23:* 4,000 workers of Empress Mill, Nagpur, on lightning strike, demanding reinstatement of 43 workers.
- July 14:* 5,500 workers of Century Mill, Parel, Bombay go on lightning strike as a protest against the arrest of their co-workers under the Public Safety Measures Act.
- July 15:* 5,000 workers of BNC Mills, Rajnandgaon (C.P.) observed one-day strike protesting against management's refusal to concede their demands.
- Aug. 4:* 3,000 workers of Shapurji Brocha Mills, Bombay went on strike as a sequel to their receiving less wage in June.
- Aug. 7:* 3,500 workers of Raymond Woollen Mills, Thane, Bombay led a "morcha" to the collector's office. From July 29 workers went on strike — clash with the police.

- Aug. 21:* 1,000 workers of Ayodhya Cotton Mill pur, Delhi, struck demanding Independence and increased D.A.
- Aug. 27:* 1,900 workers of Bombay Ruby Mill protesting against the arrest of four workers with the assault on a mill official (the threatened to discharge 300 workers).
- Sept. 7:* 3,500 workers of India Woollen Mill, Bombay went on strike demanding Rs. 3 wage etc.
- Sept. 16:* 4,000 workers of Shrinivas Mill, Bo on strike as a sequel to the refusal of the mand for more wages.
- Sept. 16:* 3,500 workers of the Jubilee Mills, Bo protesting against the suspension of two workers.
- Sept. 18:* 3,000 workers of Kakomi Cotton Mi went on lightening strike protesting against dismissal of a worker.
- Sept. 23:* 3,500 workers of the Textile Mills, Bo as a protest against the Award of Standard mittee. Later 150,000 workers went on a strike. Military posted all over the city.
- Oct. 27:* 5,000 workers of Ranjnandgaon (C work protesting against the dismissal of a u
- Nov. 20:* Workers of New Victoria Mills, Kan strike protesting against the management's lice called in.
- Dec. 9:* Workers of Birla Mills, Delhi, struck against the police-firing on Birla Mill wor previous day. Demonstration by the work one killed.

JUTE

- Jan. 23:* 4,000 workers of the Jute Mill in 24 Parganas, W. Bengal, struck protesting misation of some of their co-workers w led a strike: 16,000 workers of three ot also struck.
- Aug. 8:* 2,500 workers of Katihar Jute Mill ched before the Provincial Secretariat Government Award to be honoured by 9,000 workers undertook a fast later.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

- Jan. 1:* 1,400 Firestone workers, Bombay rious demands. Police called. Worker:

on 3rd. Demonstration before the Secretariat on the 6th. Lathi-charge on 8th. On 15th workers clash with police. Firing—10 injured.

Feb. 27: 2,000 workers of the Tata Locomotive and Engineering Company, Jamshedpur, struck for a day in protest against the management's refusal to concede their demands.

March 26: Workers of the Jhansi Electric Workshop went on strike protesting against dismissal of Union leader.

June 2: 2,000 workers of the Tata Engineering and Locomotive Company staged a stay-in-strike. Demands: better pay, housing privileges regarding leaves etc.

ORDNANCE FACTORIES

March 16: 800 workers of Military Engineering Service (MES) Pulgaon, (C.P.) struck to secure various demands including the reinstatement of 12 dismissed workers.

April 14: Government Ordnance Factory workers numbering several lakhs went on general strike demanding better wages, increased D.A. and no retrenchment.

April 15: 14,000 workers of the Central Ordnance Depot of Cheoki (UP) who struck on the 14th April protesting against Government's retrenchment policy gave ultimatum to accept their demands by April 30th, failing which all the 14,000 would go on hunger-strike.

June 2: 3,000 M.E.S. workers from all over Jhansi division went on one day strike protesting against retrenchment.

MINES

Jan. 16: 2,000 workers of Talcher Coalfields, Orissa, strike demanding increased D.A., cheap ration and no victimisation. All demands accepted.

Jan. 31: 4,000 coal miners of Bhowra Colliery (Bihar) struck demanding Union recognition, supply of fuel ration and cloth coupons, wage increase, 3 month wage as bonus, etc.

Feb. 3: 10,000 workers of Kustore Collieries, Jharia, struck demanding wage increment, bonus, recognition of the Union.

May 3: 5,000 workers in the collieries of the East Indian Coal Company on strike for 24 days. On and from 1st Day the Company's Power Plant workers also joined strike.

June 12: 10,000 workers of Hazaribag Collieries on strike demanding higher wages, better amenities.

- June 12:* Five persons killed and 23 seriously injured when police fired upon the workers of Muruli colliery, Bihar, who were on strike. Picket lines were tear-gassed and lathi-charged.
- June 21:* 40,000 workers of Bokaro Jhariadi collieries near Dhanbad went on strike between 18 and 21 in protest against the withdrawal of concessions.
- June 30:* 50,000 workers of Hazaribag mica mines went on strike demanding bonus, as recommended by the Board.
- July 24:* 12 workers were killed by police firing on 100 workers in Dhanbad coal-mining area who had struck work. A policeman was also killed.
- July 25:* 12,000 workers of Loyabad, Muruli collieries went on strike in protest against the Government's plan to break the workers' pickets through their paid agents who formed pickets.
- Aug. 23:* 20,000 mine workers of C.P. on strike in protest against the implementation of three months' lock-out between the workers and the management.

RAILWAYS ✓

- Feb. 27:* 14,000 workers of Jamalpore Railway (Bihar) on a four hour strike from 7 to 11 in protest against delay in publication of the report of the Commission, victimisation and irregularities.
- March 2:* 1,000 railway workers at Rewari went on strike in protest against bad quality and irregular supply of ration. There were no rations.
- March 12:* 5,000 workers of the E.I. Rly. carriage Shop, Lucknow go on stay-in-strike in protest against management of railway grain shop and irregular supply of food grains.
- April 21:* 5,200 workers of G.B.S. Railway, Roda, went on strike demanding reinstatement of dismissed workers.
- June 5:* 7,000 workers of G.I.P. Workshop, Kanpur, on lightening strike on June 5. 500 workers on strike demanding shift hours to be fixed like those in the textile mills.
- June 27:* 25,000 workers of G.I.P. and B.R. carriage shop at Parel, Matunga, Mahalaxmi (Bombay) staged lightening strike in protest against Commission Recommendations. Police fired, injuring dozens of others.

employees from the Loco, Carriage, and sanitation department at Bina Junction on a 12 hour strike against further reduction of wheat rations.

and hunger-strike of 4,000 Dohad Loco purers (BB&CI). Clerical staff went on strike.

railway workers of GIP railway workshop struck as their demands were not met.

Half of eight-and-a-half lakh railwaymen told the Government that they would take a India Railway Strike if their Union demands for higher scales of wages, continuation of cheap fares were not conceded. The Government was asked to concede some of the demands.

Workers of M.S.&M. Rly. Loco Shed at Bitraguda staged stay-in-strike demanding reinclusion of dismissed workers.

SHIPPING & PORT TRUST WORKERS

Calcutta Dock Labourers struck demanding wage recognition of their Union.

Dock labourers of stevedoring companies joined. Demanded monthly salaries instead of daily wages, security of service, Provident Fund, and leave facilities.

Employees of Calcutta Port Trust struck to demand revision of terms arrived at. Other demands included increased wages, bonus payment, stoppage of present revision of leave and pension rules.

Members of the National Union of P.T. Employees went on strike (February 21—Arrests were made)

On February 7, 3,500 workers of Railway and Inland Waterways joined the strike.

Cochin Harbour and Port workers went on strike in protest against the arrest of their union leaders.

Workers of Scindia Navigation Co. struck to demand revision of present scales and grades, full compensation for accidents and injuries, and to stop insults and abuse of workers.

Bombay HMI Dock workers struck, demanding cancellation of retrenchment of 1,000 workers, implementation of Pay Commission's Recommendations for retrenched workers. Retrenchment grants of one month's pay for every year of service.

- July 21:* 7,000 workers staged stay-in-strike against the Government in giving interim relief of Rs. 50 sanctioned by the Government.
- July 23:* Members of Dock conservancy staff go on strike. On 29th July, 150 RIN drivers struck in sympathy. Authorities declare a lock-out.
- Aug. 23:* 10,000 workers in Calcutta Port Commission office struck against insult to liftman by a Police Officer. Apology from the Officer. Resumed work.
- Aug. 30:* Employees of Kanpur waterworks (settled) staged a sit-down strike against the Vice-President of Kanpur Waterworks Union. Demonstration—strike declared illegal.
- Nov. 15:* 6,000 shore labourers and 500 stevedores struck work. Demands—19 in number—abolition of 'toli' system.
- Nov. 15:* 500 employees of Cross King Ltd. went on strike demanding re-instatement of dismissed workers. On Nov. 8 Lockout declared. On Dec. 5 Police teargassed the picketers.

BUS AND TRAM LABOUR

- Jan. 21:* 8,000 workers of Calcutta Tramways went on strike after a strike ballot. Demands—wage of Rs. 40 for unskilled labour, 12 months' wages as bonus.
- Jan. 26:* 30,000 workers of Bengal working industries went on strike against police action on Ganesh Nam Day.
- March 23:* 8,000 BEST workers (2nd time) went on strike. Demands 50 per cent increase in wages, 50 per cent share of goodwill to be received when taken over by Bombay Corporation.
- July 24:* Rickshaw workers of Patna went on strike against Police-zoolum. 2,000 united demands: Erection of rickshaw stands, provision of cloth, tube and tyres for rickshaw owners.
- Oct. 18:* 678 motor-transport workers of the Department of W. Bengal Government went on strike. Strike declared illegal. Demand was to be met by October in advance. Police was used against the workers and arrested the Police and five others.
- Nov. 6:* In the month of November 1946, 500 conductors of Madras City Motor Buses went on strike against the dismissal of conductors.

In Bihar also motor drivers went on strike when their Union's President was arrested. Police was called and arrests made. The strike spread to other services, paralysing the entire motor transport including bus services. Several other strikes by bus and Motor transport labour took place in the cities of Patna, Nagpur, Lucknow, etc. involving a large number of workers.

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES

- Jan.*: In Mandla (CP) Secretary of Sweepers' Union arrested. Sweepers went on protest strike; some were dismissed.
- Municipal sweepers of Etawah (UP) struck work for the second time in 3 months as the Board refused to carry out the Government's order granting basic pay of Rs. 25. 18 arrests by January 14.
- Jan. 15:* Municipal Employees of Akola observed complete hartal for one day for the publicity of their demands—Sweepers of the whole town went on a 4 days strike.
- Jan. 20:* 400 men employed in Parks and gardens by the Municipality of Bombay struck demanding higher pay for the muqadams; housing allowance for all employees and supply of footweares and uniforms. Authorities sought police protection.
- Jan. 24:* 400 scavengers of Bhatpana (Bengal) strike, demanding holidays with pay. 100 Municipal employees struck for increase in wages. Demands met.
- Jan. 27:* Clerical staff of the Bombay Municipality numbering 1,500 staged a token strike against the Corporation's failure to concede the demands put by Subordinate Staff Union. Demonstration.
- Feb. 1:* Sweepers and scavengers in Ahmednagar struck work demanding increased pay and D.A.
- Feb. 2:* 600 sweepers and scavengers went on strike in Hugli following refusal of Municipal Board to meet their demands.
- Feb. 2:* 1,000 stall holders of Crawford Market on strike on question of Stallage charges. All markets except fish and mutton were closed.
- Feb. 5:* Tricumgarh sweepers go on strike.
- Feb. 8:* More than 700 sweepers struck work in Bareilly, demanding wage increase, grant of Provident Fund 15 days time for reporting birth and deaths, arrangement of light and water in their colonies, one month' leave, representation in arbitration Committee, or

- month's leave, representation in arbitration Committee, one month's leave with full pay. Arrests made. Demonstration by the families—blackflag demonstration.
- Feb. 14: In Sargodha sweepers went on strike. Demands: grant of facilities in accordance with assurance from Punjab Government and increased wages.
- Feb. 15: Raipur Municipality workers demand immediate payment of bonus. Five arrested.
- March 14: Over 1,000 sweepers of Jubbulpore on strike. Arrests were made and 191 were convicted and awarded 6 months' R.I.
Hapur & Nagpur sweepers as well as sweepers and Mehtars in Dinajpur observed strike demanding increase in pay and D.A. allowance etc.
- March 6: Strike of 250 sweepers and bhangis of Bijapur for increased pay by Rs. 5 per month with retrospective effect from January 47. Service permanency.
- March 11: Sweepers of Phulgaon and 450 members of clerical and lower grade staff of Surat Borough Municipality, Fire Brigade and Water Works strike. Demands: Release of leaders, recognition of Staff Union and Bonus on Bombay Government's scale.
Harda (CP) sweepers strike for payment of 3 days' wage of last strike period in January.
- March 15: General Strike of 350 sweepers of Amraoti (CP). Sweepers of Burhanpur and Raipur went on complete strike. In Raipur arrests were made and Section 144 imposed.
- March 22: General strike by 100 employees of Octroi Department, Rawalpindi Municipal Committee.
- April 9-20: Brindaban Municipal scavengers and Sangrur (Punjab) Municipal Committee Staff went on complete strike for their demands.
- April 28: Calcutta Corporation Employees, Herring Food-stuffs, Burni Ghats, hospitals, ambulance and water works went on strike for adequate protection and facilities in work.
- May 5: Strike of 2,000 employees of Allahabad Municipality. Employees of Water Works went on a 24-hours sympathetic strike. Work resumed on these terms—no victimisation, payment for strike period and release of arrested workers.
- June 8: Thana Borough Municipality workers and staff strike demanding bonus and revision of the grades of salaries.
- June 12: 1,800 Banares Municipal Scavengers on lightening strike. 25 arrests—8 sentenced to 2 months' imprisonment.

- June 30:* Sweepers of Saharanpur went on strike for their demands.
- July 23:* Sweepers in Bombay Municipal markets and slaughter-houses went on strike against transfer of a mukadam and for bonus in connection with Independence Day.
- November 10:* Complete strike of Almora scavengers.

1948

TEXTILES

- Jan. 6:* 80,000 Kanpur workers' strike in observance of 'Martyrs' Day' — strike called by Socialists & Communists. S. S. Yusuf arrested.
- Jan. 20:* Kanpur Workers' strike against drop in earnings in wages caused by 32 points drop in cost of living Index Number.
- Jan. 21:* 6,000 Kanpur workers strike against retrenchment and for 7 hour day.
- Jan. 21:* 38,000 Coimbatore workers strike against rationalisation.
- Feb. 6:* 10,000 Sholapur workers on sit-down strike against cut in D.A., delay in bonus, etc. Next day 30,000 join in sympathy.
- March 5:* 32,000 Sholapur workers strike against cut in D.A. Strike declared illegal.
- March 19:* 20,000 workers strike in Bombay against withholding of bonus for 1947.
- April 25:* 15,000 Telugu workers on one day protest strike against repression in Telangana.
- 45,000 Madras workers protest against retrenchment of Coimbatore textile workers.
- Ujjain: 5,000 workers strike against arrest of Union leaders.
- C.P.: 7,000 workers of Rajnandgaon struck on and from April 18 against victimisation. On April 24, police opened fire killing two.
- Bihar: 12,000 workers from mills in Dalmianagar struck on May 19 demanding four months' pay as bonus.
- Indore: 15,000 workers strike on June 14 against repression.
- July 8:* 20,000 workers on a day's protest strike.
- July 13:* 6,000 workers from 40 silk mills in Bombay struck for increased wages, bonus & D.A.

6,000 textile workers of Nagpur struck against award of Industrial Award, despite Government's warning that it would be treated as breach of Industrial Peace and severely punished.

Strike in defiance of Nagpur Textile Union continues with 9,000 men.

1: One-and-a-half lakh textile workers of Bombay strike against Industrial Court Award and Public Safety Act.

2: A Bombay Press Note records that 7 lakh man-days were lost at six prominent textile centres in the province as a result of strikes in one month.

6: 10,000 Jari workers of Surat strike for bonus, increased wages & 8 hour day.

JUTE

1: 15,000 jute workers locked out.

1: 13,000 jute workers strike for payment of wages for holiday period.

15: 20,000 jute sorters' strike called off on June 15 with assurance for wage increase.

3: 500 jute workers attacked mill hospital because doctor did not attend to a worker's wife who later died.

6: Jute workers attack a European supervisor for hitting at a worker. Lock-out declared.

9: 3,000 workers strike demanding increased wages.

Workers staged demonstration demanding full payment for the previous day's sit-down strike. Police tear-gas and fire injuring many. Workers set fire to two sheds.

MINES

10: 2,500 miners of three Bermo collieries called off strike after 29 days. Demands—more D.A., no retrenchment.

3: 20,000 workers of Tata's collieries on strike against retrenchment. Strike for 31 days. Called off on 18th Feb. after substantial victory.

8: 5,000 miners of Kandri & Mandar mines on one-day strike for higher wages.

3: 1,500 miners and cement workers of Bihar strike against arrest of leaders.

5: 27,000 workers of Kolar Gold Fields struck against arrest of 12 leaders.

1: 1,000 Mica miners at Gudur struck against arrest of leaders.

- April 7:* 8,000 Giridih miners strike against arrest of leaders.
- April 8:* 15,000 miners at K.G.F. successfully struck for a change in working hours.
- June 7:* 30,000 workers of 40 mines strike, demanding implementation of Conciliation Board's award, basic wage, etc.
- June 12:* 10,000 workers of 16 Jharia Collieries strike, demanding implementation of Conciliation Board's award, wages for strike period and protesting against the Public Safety Act.
- June 28:* 6,000 workers of KGF struck against arrest of Communist President.
- Nov. 5:* 10,000 workers of Nundidoorg and Oorgam Gold-mining companies struck against delay in the implementation of Industrial Tribunal's award.
- Dec. 1:* 9,000 colliery workers of Kothagudiam (Hyderabad) struck demanding bonus.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

- Jan. 21:* 1,200 workers including supervisors, clerks and drivers of Firestone Rubber Co., Bombay struck against victimisation and harassment.
- Feb. 24:* Workers of Kirlosker Engineering Works on strike. Military stationed. Demands: interim payment of increased salaries, etc. Strike declared illegal.
- April 21:* 1,500 workers of the Metal Box Co. Ltd., Bombay, locked out for alleged riot by workers following breakdown of negotiations regarding D.A. and bonus.
- July 26:* 1,000 workers of Acme Mfg. Co. on strike.
- Oct. 4:* Workers of Central India Electric Supply Co. on strike from September 26 against refusal to increase D.A. etc. 70 workers detained.
- Oct. 9:* Workers of Bilaspur Power House call off their 8 day old strike successfully when all arrested leaders were released, demands for wage and D.A. increases etc. granted.
- Dec. 21:* Over 5,000 workers of Japla Cement Factory and other oil mills in Patna on one day strike.

ORDNANCE FACTORIES

- April 29:* 5,000 workers of Sewri Ordnance Depot struck demanding increased wage and D.A.
- June 13:* 500 employees of Garrison Engineer's Office a Lucknow strike protesting against retrenchment and transfer of MES Workers' Union Secretary.

- July 2:* Workers of Ordnance factory at South Calcutta held up clerks and refused to disperse demanding arrears of pay. Police teargas. A police officer wounded in a workers' attack.
- July 19:* Employees of Calcutta Ordnance Depot go on 2 hour sit-down strike protesting against retrenchment.
- Sept. 14:* 400 employees of Khamaria (Jubbulpore) Central Ordnance Depot go on one-hour protest strike against deduction in wages. Demands won.

RAILWAYS

- Jan. 6:* Lalguda workshop workers (Hyderabad) stage sit-down strike in protest against new pay-scales.
- March 2:* Dohad—3,500 workshop workers strike for 5 days against scaling down of pay.
- March 17:* 9,000 men of Loco, Carriage & Wagon workshop struck against Pay Commission Award & closing down of cheap grain shops.
- April 3:* 1,000 Loco-shed workers strike against arrest of Union secretary.
- May 3:* 9,000 Temporary employees of G.I.P. Engineering Department at Byculla (Bombay) struck for 21 days to demand equal pay with permanent employees.
- May 5:* 3,000 workers of M.S.M. workshop at Hubli struck for better grain.
- May 10:* One Day General strike on S.I.R. in sympathy with running staff whose strike began on May 1.
- June 3:* 5,000 men of Parel workshop at Bombay struck against management's refusal to hear demands.
- July 13:* B.N.R.'s Khargpur staff struck against delay in implementing Pay Commission recommendations.
- July 25:* Serious hold-up of all passenger and goods trains due to strike of Loco fitters at Moghulserai against non-supply of wheat and other food grains.
- Aug. 6:* Over 3,10,000 man-days were lost in Railway workshops due to strikes in 1st half of 1948 — Government Note.
- Sept. 1:* 5,000 Parel (Bombay) workshop workers on strike in sympathy with 200 apprentices who struck against withdrawal of allowances.
- Oct. 4:* 1,000 Gangmen (BBCI) struck for increase in wages, D.A. and house rent.
- Oct. 21:* 2,000 workers of Martin Light Railway on a four-hour strike to draw public attention to their grievances.
- Nov. 11:* 6,000 workers of O.T. workshop struck.

BUS AND TRAM LABOUR

- Jan. 6:* 1,200 BEST Scheduled Staff (Bombay) struck protesting against dismissal of General Secretary, G. L. Patil.
- Jan. 7:* 1,000 workers engaged in passenger and goods transport service in Belgaum District on strike.
- Jan. 27:* Police teargas and lathi-charge striking transport workers of Southern Roadways, Madras. Workers pelted stones, six policemen wounded. Petrol pump set on fire. Road barriers thrown up by strikers with cement benches, cinema posters, etc.
- March 9:* All workers of Government Transport Service struck against police harassment of workers on duty.
- March 27:* Calcutta tramwaymen struck on March 27-28 in protest against illegalisation of the Communist Party.
- June 21:* 1,200 workers of Nonatala workshop struck. The strike spread, involving 2,000 workers. Strike against victimisation.
- June 28:* Entire transport staff of SIBT Co. struck protesting against failure to implement award.
- Dec. 15:* Calcutta tramwaymen on token strike at the call of the Union and Panchayat against the Industrial Tribunal's award.
- Dec. 20:* Calcutta tramwaymen strike against dismissal of 9 workers for leading the token strike. Bombs thrown at trams.

DOCK & PORT TRUST WORKERS

- Jan. 3:* 8,000 workers of the Engineering Dept. of Bombay Port Trust on strike from Dec. 21. Troops drafted to guard five-and-a-half mile long pipe line and unload ships. Demands: Holidays with pay and leave concessions, allowances, etc. Government withdrew grain concessions to strikers, Gandhiji asks for withdrawal. Ashok Mehta asks Sardar Patel to intervene. Kamgar Maidan meeting on Jan. 20. Worker fired at. GKU's suggestion for General Strike rejected by Socialist leaders. Strike called off on February 6.
- April 13:* 4,500 workers of Mazagaon docks struck against the arrest of the Union President, K. T. Sule.
- July 12:* About 2,000 Calcutta Port Commissioner's employees strike against introduction of new rates of pay.
- Aug. 2:* 18 workers of Calcutta Port wounded in police-firing. Earlier a police party was attacked, wounding 4 officers and men.

- Aug. 11:* Police officer shot at and killed by workers.
- Aug. 29:* 1,000 Bombay dock workers under various contractors strike demanding higher wage rates and higher overtime wages.
- Sept. 11:* Tuticorin boatmen strike, their women and children march in procession defying prohibitory order. Police teargas — 39 arrested.
- Oct. 12:* 20,000 Port Trust and Stevedore workers on strike, paralysing entire dock area. Strike declared illegal, leaders arrested.
- Nov. 10:* 6,000 HMI Dockyard workers in Bombay on lightning strike demanding wages for days they were compelled to remain idle due to cyclone.

MUNICIPAL WORKERS

- March:* Numerous sweepers' strikes took place in Madras Province, e.g., 300 of Pallavaram Corporation, 256 of Tanjore, 300 of Kumbakonam, 700 of Coimbatore, went on strike.
- March 22:* 200 workers struck for promised bonus and reinstatement of victimised workers. Almost all workers, including 90 women, 25 boys and 26 babies jailed. Strike called off on April 25.
- April 12:* 3,000 Municipal scavengers of Madras struck work demanding increased wages, D.A. and better service conditions. Strike called off after one month. 100 workers not taken back.
- July 1:* 9,000 sweepers of Bombay and suburbs strike demanding increased D.A. and better housing. Police fire on the first day, killing an old woman of 70 and wounding two kids and a boy. Strike called off on assurance of a speedy settlement.
- May 25:* Menial staff of Hindu 'Varsity (Benares) struck; on 36th day, all strikers were dismissed and ordered to vacate premises.
- July 28:* 5,000 scavengers struck in South Calcutta against assault on one of them. Corporation offered protection while on duty.
- Oct. 18:* 2,000 Agra Municipal scavengers strike.
- Dec. 8:* 1,500 Sholapur Municipal workers strike, demanding house rent, leave facilities and end to fines.

BIDI, CIGAR & HOTEL ETC. WORKERS

- March 5:* 5,000 workers of Anglo-American Tobacco Factory at Monghyr struck, protesting against wage deduction.

- April 15:* 700 workers of rubber factory at Jogeshwari strike for 10 days against victimisation of 35 women workers, increase in wages, non-victimisation of union leaders, etc. Demands won.
- April 17:* 5,000 bidi workers of Chirala (Andhra) strike against arrest of leaders.
- April 28:* 1,500 tannery workers struck against retrenchment and demanding interim relief.
- April 31:* 1,700 workers of a cigarette factory at Agarpara struck against retrenchment.
- May 3:* 30,000 bidi workers strike in protest against low wages. Demonstrated before secretariat. (Bombay)
- May 21:* Gorakhpur workers strike, defy Section 144; when police arrested 8 leaders, workers surrounded the van; more police were rushed and 98 workers were arrested.
- May 26:* 500 workers of Vijay Printing Works, Kurla, Bombay struck for 3 months' bonus.
- June 2:* Employees of Bombay Gas Co. strike.
- June 3:* 500 women bidi workers demonstrated in front of the Secretariat.
- June 4:* 5,000 bidi workers strike against re-arrest of released Communist detenus.
- June 12:* 500 employees of Gaffison Engineer's office struck for a day against retrenchment and transfer of union leaders.
- June 25:* Hotel workers of Delhi on one day token strike demanding minimum wage of Rs. 65.
- July 5:* 750 workers of 5 cinema studios in Madras struck demanding increased D.A.
- Aug. 2:* Employees of A. B. Patrika (Calcutta) struck protesting against dismissal of 11 employees. Three strike leaders arrested under Public Safety Measures Act.
- Aug. 23:* 500 workers of P. Orr & Co. Madras strike for increased D.A.
- Oct. 18:* 1,200 employees of the Royal Western India Turf Club strike demanding increased D.A., House Rent, etc.
- Nov. 6:* After 36 days of strike 600 press workers of Bandra successfully call of strike.
- Nov. 12:* 615 workers of George & Co. and Addison & Co. on stay-in strike demanding 3 months' wage as bonus, etc. 54 workers arrested.
- Nov. 15:* About 343 Ayas, ward boys, etc. of N. Wadia Maternity Hospital Tata Memorial and other hospitals in Bombay strike demanding wages, D.A., etc. on par with those in municipal hospitals.

Nearly 400 Patwaris in Ludhiana strike for better grades and pensionable posts.

Dec. 5: 6,000 workers in Dalmianagar (Bihar) protesting against Govt. recognition to INTUC union and demanding bonus and increased wages.

MISCELLANEOUS

Jan. 3: 3,000 workers of Ravalgaon Sugar Factory strike demanding recognition to Union, bonus proportionate to profit, etc.

Jan. 16: 1,200 workers of Doab Sugar Mills (UP) strike for 3 days. Won reinstatement of dismissed workers, full pay for strike period, etc.

During January a number of workers from UP sugar mills struck; government promised to announce their decision shortly.

Jan. 22: 3,000 Butchers of Delhi on strike against new bye-laws of Municipality; strike on even after a month.

Jan. 26: Barang Glass Works, Cuttack, strike enters 3rd month. 61 arrested; section 144 proclaimed.

Jan. 27: Over 1,000 workers of Standard Clay & Tile Works and Calicut Tile Works strike for wage & D.A. increase.

Jan. 29: 500 workers of Crompton Parkinson (Bombay) after 51 days of strike go to Red Flag Union.

Feb. 3: 45 days old strike of 1,000 Firestone Workers settled.

Feb. 7: 400 Canal Patwaris of Western Jamuna Canal on a sit-down and hunger strike for increase in salary, living allowance, pension, etc. Present work 18 hours a day. Have to cover 20-25 miles a day on foot.

Feb. 25: 331 Revenue Patwaris in Jullunder Dist. on strike on decision of Revenue Patwaris Union. 200 Patwaris strike in Ludhiana.

Feb. 26: 1,000 workers of Asbestos Cement Co. (Mulund) Bombay strike demanding reinstatement of five workers, higher wages and D.A. — Sec. 144 in district.

March 3: 1,300 Match Factory workers in Assam on strike following failure of negotiations. Demands: higher wages and other facilities.

March 5: 50,000 Sugar Mill workers from 35 mills strike.

March 7: Over 1,000 Halwais on strike demanding increase in sugar ration.

March 18: On basic Demands Day, hand-cartmen workers in Govt. Press & Mint, P.W.D. Workshops and others strike. Demands: living wage, social security, right to work, no retrenchment.

- March 20:* About 650 workers and staff on Nanal's Works strike for certain allowances and facilities.
- March 31:* 1,000 Workers of restaurants in Fort, Bombay strike following arrest of 2 waiters.
- April 4:* 7,600 Workers and clerical staff of Bata Shoe Factory on strike at Batanagar. Demands: reinstatement of dismissed workers, 25 per cent increase in salary with a fixed minimum, etc.
- April 20:* 1,000 Workers of Cigarette factory in Calcutta, strike against dismissal of union bearers — called off next day on assurance.
- April 29:* 1,500 Glass workers in Allahabad strike.
- May 1:* 2,000 workers of Metal Box Co. strike demanding bonus, wage increase, recognition of Union.
- May 1:* Workers of Commonwealth Trust Factory in Cannanore strike for 3 months bonus, higher basic wage and D.A. Reports available upto 27 days of strike.
- May 5:* 3,000 workers of East Asiatic Oil Co. strike against retrenchment of 250 workers.
- May 16:* 5,500 workers in Jute, Textile & Hosiery mills etc. strike. Arrested leaders on hunger strike against maltreatment.
- May 23:* 69 days old strike of two paper mills in Calcutta involving 8,000 workers. Tribunal accepted.
- May 25:* Strike of WIMCO workers in Bareilly — called off on June 14. Terms: Reinstatement of 5 discharged workers — other demands referred to arbitration.
- May 27:* 1,000 workers of Calcutta Match Co. (Katihar) strike—called off after 24 days after settlement of demands reg: increased wages, D.A., bonus, leave, etc.
- June 2:* Lockout by Tata Engineering & Locomotive Co. Jamshedpur.
- June 3:* 400 employees of Central PWD on one day strike against policy of Department of sudden transfers and recommendations of Pay Commission.
- July 3:* 5,000 workers of Tobacco factory at Chirala (Andhra) resumed work on 11th, after agreement on some demands like transfer of some officers, reinstatement of discharged workers; wages for strike period to be settled later.
- July 13:* 100 days old strike of Bata Shoe workers ended. Terms: union recognised, dismissed workers re-instated with better payment, bonus and dearness allowance increased also basic weekly wage, better rules regarding leave, etc.

- July 28:* 10,000 tea garden labourers in Assam strike demanding withdrawal of externment order on President and Secretary of the Union.
- Aug. 9:* 10,000 Surat Jari workers on strike demanding restoration of wage-cuts. Called off on September 1 after settlement.
- Sept. 8:* 10,000 workers strike on the call of Mazdur Sangh of Rohtas.
- Oct. 3:* WIMCO declares lock-out after offering work to 450 out of 2,000 workers on the payroll. All refused, settlement next day.
- Oct. 13:* 2,000 Shellac workers of Gundia (C.P.) strike demanding dismissal and punishment of owner's agent and immediate reinstatement of all dismissed workers.
- Oct. 18:* 600 daily-rated employees of the Mysore Paper Mills on a stay-in-strike against non-payment of wage increases to some.
- Nov. 1:* 500 employees of a shipping firm in Calcutta strike demanding reinstatement of dismissed workers. Lock-out declared from 8th to 30th.
- Nov. 23:* 3,000 Hyderabad workers of Madura strike demanding 4 months' wages as bonus, increased allowance security of service. Called off on 28th on Government intervention.
- Nov. 25:* 1,000 workers from five Trichur Factories locked out. Bosses refuse implementation of adjudication award.
- Nov. 30:* Strike of workers of Parry & Co., Ranipet against retrenchment. Called off after 75 days action; no victimisation.

1949

TEXTILES

- Jan. 31:* 10,000 Hyderabad Textile workers strike against offer for Conciliation Board. Strike declared illegal.

RAILWAYS

- Jan.:* Railway workers of Podanur, Coimbatore Gold Rock Workshop on strike against grainshop policy.
- Jan. 11:* Dibrugarh workers and running staff on a down strike against closure of grain shops.
- Jan. 26:* 4,500 workshop workers of Nizam State Railway on strike in protest against dismissal, and for reinstatement of a worker. 4,000 Bus workers also join strike.

MINES

- Jan. 7:* 4,000 under-ground workers of Mysore mines struck work.
- Feb. 5:* 5,000 Mysore Gold-mine workers on strike.
- Feb. 7:* 21,000 KGF miners strike. Sweepers and students come out on sympathetic strike—students defying ban.

OTHER INDUSTRIES

- Jan. 26:* 2,000 workers of Cawnpore Electric Supply Administration on stay-in strike demanding equal D.A. with textile workers.
- Feb. 1:* 3,000 workers of Jamshedpur struck work.
- Feb. 17:* 400 workers of Baroda Power House and Electric Sub-stations strike.
- Feb. 16:* 2,500 workers of Alwaye Fertilisers, Travancore, struck against victimisation.
- 1,200 Firestone workers of Bombay struck demanding 3 months' pay as bonus. Strike continues.

BUS AND TRAM LABOUR

- Jan. 24:* Madras bus workers strike against arrest of 3 union leaders. 108 drivers and conductors arrested. Strike declared illegal.
- Jan. 25:* Drivers and conductors of Hyderabad Road Transport Dept. strike in sympathy with sweepers.
- 4,000 Hyderabad bus workers strike in sympathy with railway workers.

MUNICIPAL WORKERS

- Jan. 22:* 2,000 Hyderabad sweepers struck work demanding increase in wages; clashed with police following demonstration by 1,000.

DOCK & PORT TRUST WORKERS

- March:* Bombay dock workers' demonstrate for release of leaders and against withdrawal of grain concessions.

BIDI, CIGAR & HOTEL ETC. WORKERS

- Jan. 19:* Over 8,000 hotel and restaurant workers in North Bombay struck work against Govt.'s delay in referring their dispute to adjudication.
- March 17:* Over 500 discharged workers of Military Engineering Service staged demonstration demanding reinstatement and marched in a procession.

cannot be convened, decisions may be taken by circular to the members of the Working Committee.

"Ordinarily, each affiliated Union shall have the right to nominate candidates for election of the delegation; all nominations must reach the General Secretary within a fortnight from the date of the circulation of the notice."

8. *Clause 27*: Delete the words "shall" and substitute in its place "may".

9. *Clause 28: "Emergency Decision*: On all occasions of emergency decisions may be taken by the General Secretary in a meeting of the members of the Working Committee available at the headquarters. Other Working Committee members shall be posted with information of all such decisions taken by the General Secretary."

10. *Clause 29: "Disciplinary Action*: The General Council may take disciplinary action against any office-bearer or a member of the General Council who acts in a way harmful to the interests of the AITUC."

11. *"Filling Up Vacancies*: In case of a vacancy or vacancies from amongst the members of the Working Committee or in case of a vacancy of any of the office-bearers other than that of the President or the General Secretary, the Working Committee may fill up the vacancies by electing new members or office-bearers as the case may be subject to the approval of the next meeting of the General Council. In case of vacancy in the post of the President or that of the General Secretary due to death or resignation, the General Council is authorised to fill up the vacancy and in case of vacancy due to detention, the General Council is empowered to elect persons to act in their place. The General Council may also fill up any vacancy in any Trade Group from amongst the members of that particular Trade Group."