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AITUC

GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

INFORMATION MATERIALS

NEW DELHI
November 11 to 13, 1982

OUTLINE OF GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

Aggressive Designs and Moves of US Imperialism:-

- = Reagan continues feverish arms drive in order to upset existing parity in nuclear weapons and to establish military superiority over Warsaw Pact
- = Danger of nuclear outbreak greater than ever before - consequences cannot be "limited", escalation is inevitable - this must be clearly understood and explained - 10th WFTU Congress gave topmost priority to struggle against new war danger.
- = USSR's repeated initiatives and proposals for limitation weapons and step-by-step disarmament - goes directly against imperialism's aggressive designs - but is mobilising peace-loving forces in all countries for mass actions - Especially, in Western Europe, disastrous implications of installing US missiles well understood - Biggest peace rally in New York itself.
- = US aggravates tension by trying to stop supply of equipment for Siberian gas pipeline - but this itself aggravates contradictions within the Western camp - ban on grain exports to USSR provokes opposition of American farmers.
- = US supported Mrs. Thatchers military expedition to Falkland Islands - but this has made all Latin Americans hostile to it.
- = US directly armed and instigated Israel's genocidal attack against PLO and Lebanon and refuses to condemn Israeli aggression - thereby it has nakedly exposed itself - USSR warned against landing of US troops on Lebanese soil

- = Israeli regimes' superior military power proved too much for PLO despite heroic battle of Beirut - but Israel now hated and reviled everywhere especially after massacre of civilians and refugees - myth of military "invincibility" destroyed - most important of all, anti-war upsurge of peace forces inside Israel itself, for first time.
- = Around India's borders and in Indian Ocean region, dangerous imperialist moves sought to be cloaked by Pakistan's new "peace and friendship" postures - Zia's visit to Delhi - should not lull our vigilance in view of his continuing stand on Kashmir, collusion with China in the Ladakh region, piling up of US weapons, suppression of all democratic rights at home, and continued undeclared war against Afghanistan.
- = Indian efforts to normalise relations with China - no progress on border dispute - Chinese authorities trying to weaken Indo-Soviet ties - 12th Congress of CPC shows no basic change in foreign policy, but some new gestures in favour of "normalisation" of State relations with USSR - situation to be watched carefully.
- = Arms build-up in Pakistan continues - so also, strengthening of US base on Diego Garcia and naval deployments in Indian Ocean - new progressive government in Mauritius demanding return of Diego Garcia to it - Seychelles and Maldives against providing military bases and firmly defending non-alignment - but Rightist regime in Sri Lanka trying to consolidate its power - and new Sino-US conspiracy against Kampuchea and Vietnam by knocking together new puppet coalition under Sihanouk and keeping it "recognised" by UN.

- = In this complex situation came September 1st Peace Day campaign at call of WFTU which was extensively observed by our TU's for first time - followed by historic October 4th Peace March in Delhi - workers' interest and consciousness aroused on mass scale - this has to be carried forward in planned manner.
- = Government of India taking more or less consistently anti-imperialist position - firm support to PLO against US - Israeli aggression - positive positions on Kampuchea, Afghanistan, and disarmament questions. This is to be welcomed, as well as greater Indo-Soviet cooperation.
- = 10th World T.U. Congress and especially Fidel Castro's speech, gives new dimension to struggle for Peace and against threat of nuclear war - Concrete linking up of anti-imperialist and anti-war struggle with workers' day to day struggle for a better life, against poverty, hunger, exploitation, unemployment - Without such linking up in developing countries and poor societies, peace movement will remain an abstract exercise confined to a small strata - to take it to the masses and to mobilise them actively, we must explain concretely how the T.U. struggle for economic uplift and people's struggle for Peace are integral parts of one and the same movement.
- = Non-aligned Summit of Heads of States to be held in New Delhi next March - this must be made target for next massive Peace mobilisation throughout the country - take programmes from now.

1) State of the Economy:-

- = Has to be viewed in context of:-
 - deepening crisis of world capitalist economy
 - diversion of astronomical sums by US and its allies for military spending and consequential cuts in social expenditure.
 - inflation leading to recession in domestic markets of US, EEC, etc. - together with intensified contradictions and competition within the capitalist world, including Japan-protectionist measures
 - growing domination of MNC's and role of international finance organisations, World Bank, IMF, etc.
 - growing disparity and contradictions between interests of developed capitalist countries and developing countries - North vs South conflict sharpening
 - unemployment reaching new levels in USA (10 million) and other Western Countries.

2) = In India, almost 3 years of Sixth 5 - Year Plan are over - Government claims average growth rate of 6% per annum (7.5% in 1980-81), sharp decline in rate of inflation, growth rate in 1982-83 expected to be 4.5%, number of persons below poverty line will decline from present 48% to 30% by end of Plan period - these are tall claims.

= Real value of Plan outlay, and hence fulfilment of physical targets, being eroded by heavy inflation

= Wholesale and retail prices moving steadily upwards - in period covered by 1981-1982 Economic Survey, CPI rose from 373 to 460.

= Cumulative Budgetary deficit for entire Plan period was fixed at Rs. 5000 crores - this has been exceeded by Rs. 40 crores in first three years alone!

= Shortfall in Plan resources - between Rs. 17 to 18,000 crores.

= Shortfall in foodgrains production, power generation, steel production, railway renewal programmes - wheat imports for second successive year.

- = Debt service obligations mounting while foreign exchange reserves and private remittances from abroad dwindling
 - = Appearance of " recessionary " symptoms in some sectors - how far due to liberalised import policy, credit restraints, shifts in patten of demand, dumping of foreign goods? - No general recession yet - capitalists' pressure for more concessions - but some older industries facing real crisis, e.g. jute, coir, cashew, textiles, etc.
 - = Government has radically amended its Industrial Policy Resolution with aim of boosting Big Business houses in name of " production " and " export " .
 - = Large houses allowed to expand outside Appendix I industries, and some industries totally exempted from provisions of MRTP.
 - = Definition of " dominance " now to be related to licensed capacity and not to current production - unlicensed capacities being regularised - production for exports excluded from licensed capacity - provision for " automatic " growth, etc.
 - = So-called " priority " industries to be allowed foreign equity holding up to 51% instead of 40% as hitherto.
 - = It means virtual end of MRTP and FERA - the two statutory provisions which were meant to control the monopoly houses
- 3)= IMF loan - its conditionalities are bearing evil fruit - pressure on India for export - oriented production and liberalisation of imports, will actually aggravate the already huge balance of trade deficit besides hitting several domestic industries-

- = In order to repay hard-currency loans, India compelled to step up export drive to Western countries - but their own crisis and recession makes them erect protectionist walls against our goods - in fact, value of Indian exports to OPEC, EEC, Japan, USA, Singapore, etc. is going down while imports from them are going up - Rupee devalued against Dollar by 15% since 1979.
- = Reverse process is there in Indo-Soviet trade - Indian exports going up, but Soviet side complains of inadequate imports by India - and this despite facility of Rupee trade.
- = IMF also insists on slashing down of subsidies - but, this year, because of drought and floods, higher food subsidies will be required if millions of starving people are to be saved through an extended public distribution system for the affected areas - will it be allowed?
- = Through MNC's and Indian monopoly houses, nearly 1800 foreign collaboration agreements concluded in 1977-81 with USA, UK, FRG, Japan, France, Italy, etc. - but foreign private collaboration growing in public sector also.
- = ~~As~~ against this, Indo-Soviet economic Cooperation also records a new high, with latest protocol signed during Indira's recent visit to USSR - Trade to increase by 1.5 to 2 times by 1986 - Massive Soviet aid in fields of key industries, science and high technology, including nuclear production and defence equipment - but for this, economic situation would be much worse.
- = However, Socialist aid by itself cannot overcome basic crisis and contradictions of Indian economy, wedded to the capitalist path of development

= Severe distortions in the economy inevitable due to the so-called "mixed economy", which is helping Indian monopoly capital to boost its profits, add crores to its assets, generate black money, extract for itself huge loans from the nationalised banks and financial institutions, and concentrate more wealth in its hands despite Article 39(C) of the Directive Principles, while rendering many units "sick" and imposing lock-outs and closures to extract more concessions from Government and to suppress workers' demands.

= The public sector, despite massive investment and Socialist aid, cannot discharge its true role as builder of self-reliance because of wrong economic policies, colossal losses, bureaucratism and corruption, reluctance to use indigenous technology, and failure to motivate the workers.

Labour Policy:-

= Against this background, the bourgeoisie in all capitalist countries, including India, wants to fight inflation (or, at least, keep it within bounds), not merely by fiscal measures, but by imposing restraint on wages, slowing down the rise in nominal wages, and passing the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the working people - This is typical bourgeois recipe recommended by their economic pundits and by the World Bank, IMF, etc. for all countries but "tailored to national circumstances".

= Government of India's labour policy to be understood in this context - The running thread for the last 7 or 8 years, including the period of Emergency, the Janata regime, and the second round of Indira Gandhi's

consistent, viz., to attack the workers' wage standards, both nominal and real, and in order to achieve this, to attack hard-won trade union rights.

=-Beginning from second half of 1980, intensification of this offensive is taking place:-

- * Enactment of NSA and its application to trade union leaders and workers

- * Enactment of ESMA - a fatal blow at very roots of collective bargaining

- * New labour bills - I.D. Act amendment, Payment of Wages amendment (already passed by Parliament), Trade Union Act amendment, Hospitals and other Institutions Bill - all designed to impose drastic restrictions on rights of strike and collective bargaining and muzzling free functioning of trade unions.

- * Refusal to implement Rath Committee's recommendations for rectification of 1960 series of CPI figures, thus ensuring in-built erosion of real wages

- * Bureau of Public Enterprises continues to "control" all public sector wage negotiations by imposing arbitrary restrictions which make mockery of collective bargaining - priority here, too, is on D.A. neutralisation limit (Rs 1.30 per point).

- * Attempts to make wage-rises conditional on productivity increases

- * Social security benefits being sought to be whittled down through review committees for P.F., E.S.I., etc. from which all T.U. representatives excluded except INTUC.

- * Refusal to convene regular session of ILC since 1972 - recent Sept. "tripartite" was an ad hoc one - no prior consultation on new Bills

* In 1981, Government's unilateral abrogation of collective agreements with LIC employees - Supreme Court has also recognised Government's right to unilaterally decide and impose wage and service conditions - extended to GIC employees also - Banks next on the agenda?

* Impounding of Central Government employees' D.A., H.A., CCA arrears.

* Crisis precipitated in Coal industry by Govt.'s arbitrary reconstitution of JBCCI under pressure of INTUC's "boycott", ignoring protests of other TU's - Country-wide strike of November 8th provoked by Government.

* Basically anti-working class attitude of Govt. glaringly exposed during historic 10-month's old general strike of Bombay textile workers - not only callousness towards their demands and sufferings, but over-riding determination to perpetuate undemocratic BIR Act and to salvage the discredited and isolated RMMS.

* In "Productivity Year", hundreds of concerns declared "sick", kept idle through lock-outs and closures - no action against defaulting employers (who have also swallowed nearly Rs. 45 crores of workers' P.F. money).

* All economic journals, research institutes, etc. of the bourgeoisie preaching that Indian workers have low productivity while enjoying "high wage island" benefits - Government echoes these arguments in drive for greater productivity, rationalisation, modernisation, higher work-loads, etc, and slowly increasing introduction of micro-technological processes (computers, etc.) to replace manual labour - But Government's own data proves that wages lagging behind productivity, and real wages steadily declining.

= In Minimum Wages sector, even latest revisions do not take daily rates of unskilled labour above Rs 7.50 to Rs 8/- - and even these not implemented in many industries, particularly in case of contract labour - scandal of Asiatic construction workers in Delhi exposed in recent Supreme Court judgment.

= Wage-freeze policy is essence of present labour policy - opposite of real National Wage Policy which should aim at progressive increase in real wages - at present, profits, dividends, prices, productivity all go up, while real wages go down or remain stagnant - basic cause of strikes and struggles.

= Bitter experience of last 2½ years - Government determined to go ahead with new labour bills and new policy measures without prior consultation with the TUs - also, wants free hand to make arbitrary allotment of representation to various T.U. centres - in this situation, Bhagwat Jha Azad summoned a "national labour conference", which was to prepare ground for next, full-fledged ILC. - INTUC given 4 delegates, BMS 2, all others 1 each.

= NCC discussed how to protest most effectively - 2 courses open - either boycott and dharna or attend and walk out - finally, first course adopted, though BMS was in favour of attending but was persuaded not to - all others felt attending would imply passive cooperation with Government's misdeeds - also we did not want to acquiesce in favour shown to INTUC and BMS - obviously to boost former and seduce the latter.

= Change of Labour Minister on eve of Conference came too late even for him to make any worth-while conciliatory gesture, such as agreeing to hold the remaining two Bills in abeyance pending discussions.

(Note:- the Bills have, however not been rushed through the recent Winter Session - this provides some breathing time for us).

= Tripartite Conference adopted " unanimous " recommendations with full approval of employers - most of them taken from 1969 NLC which was opposed by AITUC - e.g. Industrial Relations Commission as a super-body; present verification procedure to continue along with check-off-system; new code of conduct as precondition for recognition; compulsory strike ballot etc.

Communal and Divisive Forces:-

- = Mass discontent sought to be diverted by reactionary forces into regional, communal, casteist channels, leading to fratricidal clashes and over-all disruption of nation's unity and integrity.
- = Serious threat to working class unity - should be seen as calculated move against toiling people's urge for united struggles against unemployment, poverty, exploitation - foreign backing
- = Latest examples in Meerut, Baroda; handiwork of RSS ..
- = Akali agitation in Punjab has clear anti-Hindu edge
- = Assam deadlock continues - agitators now demanding wholesale eviction of nearly 10 lakhs of refugees from E.Pak.
- = Insurgents active in Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram
- = We should assess how far casteism and communalism are affecting workers' unity - TU's must heighten vigilance and active resistance to reactionary forces. Hold conventions for communal harmony in working class areas.

Movement's Advance:-

- = During past one year, main centralised direction was to fight reactionary labour policy on all-India plane and industry-wise, wherever possible.

- = For this, main instrument of united T.U. action has been the NCC with all its potentialities as well as limitations.
- = Highlights have been 1981 November 23rd Workers' March to Parliament and January 19th all-India strike - massive workers' participation - could have been far bigger with better and more serious preparation - nevertheless, significance of January 19 action should not be forgotten - first country-wide strike in face of severe repression, for demands not only of workers but of peasant, agricultural workers, and general masses (against price rise and for comprehensive public distribution system).
- = This was in keeping with call given by AITUC General Council in September last year, viz:

- (1) Determined struggle against narrow economism
- (2) Development of solidarity actions
- (3) Planned development of united actions and mass struggles.

Through such a perspective, the AITUC and its affiliated unions, are expected to increase their mass activity and fighting image, and to overcome the weaknesses and gaps in our own independent mass base - of course, this will depend on how effectively and seriously the central programmes are implemented down below.

- = This year, July 8 was fairly extensively observed at NCC's call as a Day of Protest against the Black Labour Bills.
- = Biggest issue for solidarity was Bombay textile strike - response has been limited and scattered - in Maharashtra itself, TUJAC has done a good job despite Samant's unhelpful attitude - but at least our textile unions made better.

= Good representative and united Conventions held in Steel, BHEL, Coal by NCC affiliates, in preparation for new wage negotiations and struggle against BPE directives - process continuing at present Hyderabad Public Sector Convention, October 12 - 13, has called for observance of all-India " Anti-BPE " Day on November 8th, and also for expressing solidarity that day with the Coal miners' strike - the first detachment to go into action under the new programme.

= Unless Government changes its attitude and policy towards public sector industrial relations, and towards the on-going negotiations for new wage agreements, a One-Day Strike in Public Sector Undertakings is planned by the end of December 1982, exact date to be finalised by November end.

= NCC has also called for:

(1) Observance of an All-India Day on January 19, 1983 - the anniversary of last year's general strike - to reiterate the demands of the Bombay Convention of 4.6.81, and to mobilise afresh against the anti-labour policies; and

(2) A still bigger Convention of both public and private sector employees during the Budget session of Parliament, to chalk out the next phase of our all-India movement.

= So far, AITUC unions, with some exceptions, have played leading part in State Conventions, Workers' March to Parliament, January 19 Strike, etc. - but we are not yet showing enough initiative and enthusiasm to reap full benefits out of this joint movement, especially when resisting attacks on T.U. rights - Our attendance at Bombay Convention (June 1981) and Hyderabad Convention (October 1982), and at extended meetings

of NCC along with Industrial Federations, leaves much to be desired - generally, CITU and EMS more active in trying to steal the show.

- = Fighting mood and determination of workers are proved by countless individual struggles, big and small - they have also learnt the tactical lesson of forcing all or most of the unions to join hands and unitedly lead strikes, particularly prolonged ones - WFTU is teaching the same lesson in the face of capitalist crisis and offensive.
- = Rajasthan SEB workers, Bharat Refinery employees of Gujarat, Bihar University and College teachers, Kesoram Cotton Mill workers in Calcutta who converted a 7 - months lock-out into strike, Neyveli Lignite workers, are only some examples of dogged militancy whose record has been set by Bombay textile workers
- = We must take all this into account when preparing and planning the all-India movements.

Independent Tasks before AITUC:-

- = NCC was set up mainly to fight against price rise and anti-labour policies - It has come to stay - we should try to be more active in it.
- = But AITUC has to have its own independent programme of mass activity also - does not require explanation - but in these tasks also, we are lagging behind - then how will AITUC grow as major central T.U. organisation?
- = For example, last General Council took decision for 4 Zonal Conventions on Minimum Wages - first step to draw lakhs of workers of unorganised sector into the common struggle - many developments taking place (policy guidelines, fixation and revision of rates, etc.) - but why has only South Zone responded?

= Another decision we took last year was reorganisation and activation of Industrial Federations and their independent functioning as affiliates of respective TUI's - beginning has been made with Engineering Federation only - urgently necessary in case of Textiles and some others.

= Working Committee (May 1982) decided to revive idea of a Convention of Birla Concerns as concrete anti-monopoly struggle - elaborate circular sent out for collecting information - extremely poor response, only from Madhya Pradesh.

= Proposals for Tasks in 1983:-

(1) Programmes chalked out by NCC have to be seriously pursued and implemented by AITUC unions:

: One-day strike of public sector undertakings, mainly against BPE directives;
: Observance of January 19, 1983 by rallies, demonstrations, dharnas, etc. in each State Capital and industrial centre;

: Preparation for active participation in next all-India Convention, probably in March.

(2) Our independent campaigns (along with those who agree to join) on:

- a) : ~~Anti~~-war and anti-imperialist issues, centring around Delhi summit of Non-aligned Heads of States
- b) : Solidarity with PLO, Kampuchea, Vietnam, South African and Namibian people's liberation struggles
- c) : Against divisive and disruptive forces preaching communalism, casteism, regional chauvinism, secessionism - for communal harmony (conventions as in Ghaziabad on 10/11);
- d) : Solidarity with peasants and agricultural workers in their struggles - and with other sections, e.g. newspapermen against Bihar Press Bill, police constables agitating peacefully for legitimate demands, etc.

e): Nationalisation of:

- Sugar
 - Drugs
 - Textiles
 - Jute
- How to plan
and execute

f): Revive All-India Textile Workers' Federation and hold Conference - this is a top-priority task in present situation.

g): Regional (and, later all-India Conventions of Minimum Wages categories, and contractors' labour, with aim of unleashing mass actions- set up Organising Committee for this

h): Decide whether or not we plan Convention of unions in Birla Concerns, to expose and fight misdeeds, malpractices, and exploitation by biggest monopoly house - depends entirely on cooperation of unions concerned.

i): Solidarity with victims of repression, police terror, goonda violence, firings, etc. which are on the increase.

3) Verification of membership:- we have boycotted so far on principle - Government wants suggestion for alternative procedure, other than secret ballot - meanwhile, all-India figures for Central TU's and some major industries being collected through State T.U. Registrars on basis of Annual Returns submitted - results going against us - in future, we may be relegated to still lower position and get less representation, or even no representation (e.g. in Plantations) on tripartite committees - this should be seriously reviewed and appropriate steps taken.

4) T.U. Education - Every State should run its own schools for T.U. cadres, especially younger workers - AITUC Centre can organise regional schools and send cadres for training in schools of fraternal TU's abroad - maximum assistance should be sought from Workers' Education Scheme, ILO, etc.

5) Finance:-

- Separate report will be made re:
 - : Income and Expenditure position
 - : How far earlier decisions for clearing arrears of 1980 and 1981 affiliation fees implemented
 - : AITUC Special Fund Drive
 - : WFTU Stamps, sale and receipts.

PUBLIC SECTOR WAGE NEGOTIATIONS
RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT HYDERABAD CONVENTION

The All India Convention of Unions in Public Sector Undertakings held at Hyderabad on 12-13 October expresses its grave concern at growing attacks on the working class and the trade union movement all over the country. The workers right to organise and their freedom of association is systematically being curtailed by the Government of India through several legal enactments while a general policy of wagefreeze is being sought to be imposed on the working class. The workers right of collective bargaining and to strike has been undermined and they are being denied their legitimate right of recognition through a democratic process of secret ballot. The entire industrial relations have been put under strait-jacket when the standard of living of the working class is being eroded due to a policy of inflation and high prices..

The All India Convention against Anti-Labour Policies of the Govt. held in Bombay on 4th June 1981 pointed out the pro-monopoly, promultinational and pro-landlord policies of the Government which are hitting hard the working class and the poor people of the country and highlighted the need for a longdrawn struggle against these policies. The 23rd November, 1981 demonstration before Parliament and one day All India Strike on 19th January 1982 were determined attempts on the part of working class to express their opposition to the Governments policies. These actions have also championed the remunerative prices to the peasant and better wages for agricultural workers.

The National Campaign Committee had to boycott the National Tripartite Conference on 17-18 September in view of the refusal of the Government of India to have prior consultations with the Trade Unions regarding new labour legislations. Over and above this the conditionalities of the IMF loan are making the Governmnet more and more ferocious in suppressing the struggles of the workers. In many cases, the job-potential of Public Sector Undertakings is being threatened by introduction of labour-saving technological processes.

The workers and employees in the public sector who supported the concept of strengthening the Public Sector in the economy have been made a special target of attack. The bureaucratic handling of running the administration and wrong economic policies have resulted in colossal losses to these undertakings while corruption and bribery

with
 are playing havoc with their finances. As a result of imports of product and equipment which are already being produced in India, failure to utilise and further develop indigenous technology, over reliance on turn key projects with foreign collaboration have combined to cause a serious set back to the cherished objective of self reliance. The burden of all this bungling in official policies is being passed on the working class which is denied legitimate demands in these undertakings, on the fake plea that they are so-called high wage islands. The conditions of contract workers in Public Sector is shocking while their number is swelling day by day to suit the common interest of unscrupulous contractors and the corrupt officials, even the construction workers employed through contractors on the prestigious Asiad Projects in New Delhi are denied their minimum statutory wages and other benefits as expressed by the Supreme Court itself. A reign of terror has been let loose by the mafiagangs in coal mines with full connivance of the administration and police. The Convention notes the arbitrary restrictions imposed by the Government of India through Bureau of Public Enterprises during wage negotiations which are obstructing reasonable settlements in several public sector undertakings. Those directives provide for linking further rise in wage with additional increase in productivity, stipulate that there will be no retrospective effect given in any wage agreement meaning thereby that no arrear will be paid if the agreement. These directives further limit that the total cost of the agreement should not exceed 10 percent of the existing wage bills, and insists that DA formula of Rs. 1.30 per point of rise in consumer price index with 1960 as the base year should not be disturbed in any case. They also visualise that the agreement should be signed for a period of 4 years.

is not signed before the expiry of the earlier agree.

These directives actually amount to a gross interference in the wage negotiations in public sector undertakings and if implemented fully there will hardly be any scope for collective bargaining in these undertakings.

The wage negotiations in Steel, Indian Oil and BHEL are not making much headway because of these directives. In Bangalore and Hyderabad based industries such as IIT, HAL, BHEL, BEL, ECIL, Midhani, BDL as well as in Fertiliser Industry the previous agreements would be expiring on 31st December 1982 and wage negotiations are yet to commence in right earnest. In Hindustan Teleprinters Ltd., Central Electronics Ltd., Neyveli Lignite Corporation, MECON and other undertakings the agreements have got stuck up because of the refusal of the managements to give anything more than what is offered by the BPE. In Coal Industry, wage negotiations are held up because of the Government's arbitrary decision to reconstitute the Joint Bipartite Committee in favour of the INTUC (I) and non implementation of the last agreement. In both life and general insurance industry the employees' right to collective bargaining has been statutorily withdrawn by the Government of India withdrawing existing rights and disowning the signed agreements.

In the undertakings where the workers are already getting more than Rs. 1.30 per point, they are denied any wage rise unless they agree to accept Rs. 1.30 as the rate of D.A. In Delhi Transport Corporation through the Trade Unions and the Managements have finalised a pension scheme,

the BPE has not given its clearance despite lapse of several months. In HSCL the management arbitrarily suspended payment of additional DA after granting an interim relief and when the workers campaigned for rel ease of additional DA it was paid by stopping the payment of interim relief.

The directive to fix the Rs. 1.30 per point DA in the present context of wage fixation virtually amounts to a wage fixation virtually amounts to a wage erosion even after the agreements are signed by the unions. Unless their directive is withdrawn and full neutralisation is ensured there will be a built-in mechanism of wage erosion in all the forthcoming wage agreements.

Thus, back seat driving during the wage negotiations in Public Sector Undertakings by the BPE has immensely damaged bipartite forums that have been created in several of the undertakings and there is a serious danger that all these forums are likely to be scuttled.

Therefore, the Trade Unions have rightly demanded that the BPE should be scrapped and its arbitrary interference during wage negotiations should be stopped forthwith if the collective bargaining in Public Sector Undertakings is to survive.

The Convention notes with satisfaction that successful Conventions have been held in Coal, Steel and BHEL industries in which Joint Programmes of movements have been taken up.

As a result of the campaign made by the Central Trade Union organisations against the BPE, the leadership of the INTUC is also forced to come out against the guidelines of the BPE. However, it blatantly refuses to participate in any joint movement against these directives.

This Convention therefore, strongly condemns the wage policy of the Government of India and its arbitrary implementation / through the agency like the BPE. It called / all. upon the Trade Unions in Public Sector not to enter into any settlement which seek to impose any of the guidelines of the BPE including Rs. 1.30 per point of neutralisation. It calls upon the working class of the country to fight these directives tooth and nail during all wage negotiations and prepare for joint movement against these directives so that the Government of India can be forced to withdraw them. The experience of the All India Coal Workers indefinite strike in 1979 which forced the Government of India to give up the insistence on the BPE directives also pinpoints that if a similar movement is unitedly organised by the Public Sector employees it will be possible to defeat the machinations of the BPE and the Government.

The Convention congratulates 7 lakh coal mine workers for their decision to go on one day strike on 8th November 1982 and fully supports their demands.

The Convention therefore calls upon all Unions in Public Sector Undertakings to implement the following programme of action so that a powerful voice of the working class in Public Sector can be raised throughout the country.

1. To observe an All India Day on November 8th, 1982 protesting against BPE guidelines and demanding restoration of collective bargaining in Public Sector Undertakings by wearing badges, holding demonstrations and organisation of dharnas etc. demanding--

- i) All wage agreements should be given effect from the next day of expiry of the last agreement.
- ii) Remove ceiling of 10 per cent wage rise in the agreement and allow settlement through genuine collective bargaining.
- iii) Ensure full neutralisation in the rise in cost of living by scrapping the DA formula of Rs.1.30 per point in price index.
- iv) No productivity linkage in wage settlement.
- v) No provision for less wage for the new entrant.
- vi) Scrap the BPE.
- vii) Withdraw all anti-working class enactments and measures.

On this day the Unions will also express solidarity with the coal mine workers who would be observing one day strike all over the country on these and other demands. Resolutions passed in support of coal mine workers would be sent to Chairman, CIL and the Government.

2. Since the struggle is going to be extremely bitter the workers in all Public Sector undertakings should immediately commence preparation for an All India one day General Strike in all public sector units unitedly. The unity achieved at the all India level should be taken to lower levels to prepare for such an action which would pave the way for a sustained and longdrawn struggle for a change in the policy of the Government. The Convention authorises the National Campaign Committee to fix the date of the strike at the earliest.

This convention calls upon the Trade Unions and the working class in the Public Sector to rise as one man in order to resist and defeat the BPE guidelines and in particular, the attempt of the Government to impose Rs. 1.30 per point neutralisation, the attacks on working class rights and the attempts of the Government to weaken and sabotage the public sector by their wrong and reactionary policies in favour of the multinationals and monopolists. This convention further appeals to the working class and trade unions in the private sector also to lend their whole hearted support to the struggle of the public sector workers.

This Convention is confident that the working class in India will rise to the occasion to defeat the nefarious anti-working class policies of the Government and to ensure need based wage and decent living conditions.

THE BPE GUIDELINES

The letter with enclosure prepared by the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE) as guidelines for wage negotiation and settlement in public sector undertakings is reproduced below:

S.M. Patnagar,
Advisor (Finance). D.O. No.
Government of India, Ministry of
Finance,
Bureau of Public Enterprises,
New Delhi,
12th. November, 1982.

Dear Sir,

During the course of discussions with the representatives of the managements of the public enterprises as also of the administrative ministries with regard to the finalisation of the terms of the long term settlement of wage structures, it has been observed that at times the Governments intention of permitting 10% hike in the wage structure has correctly been appreciated. We thought it might facilitate the Administrative Ministeries and the Managements if we spell out how we have been calculating the cost of the settlement.

1. Public Enterprises should take the average monthly wage of the six months period immediately preceding the settlement. The wage should include basic pay plus DA of all types in fixed, variable etc., plus CCA plus HRA plus all other allowances such like childrens education allowance, washing allowance, conveyance allowance, transport allowance, nightshift allowance, employer's share in the Provident Fund contributions plus apportionable provision for gratuity plus appropriate amount of Bonus at 8.33% plus LTC expenditure (Average based on the years experience).
2. All the increases in basic pay plus DA plus all consequential or conceded/proposed increases in all the allowances plus average monthly increases computed on the basis of full year's or full block period's expenditure on LTC, proportionate increase in employers Provident Fund and Gratuity Fund should be assessed.
3. The sum arrived at as per paragraph 2 should be expressed as percentage of the sum of total as in para 1 this may be construed as the percentage of increase in wage bill as a result of settlement.
4. Where traditionally the undertaking pays more than minimum bonus the fact may simply be mentioned separately.
6. If any superannuation scheme is in force in an enterprise, the same may be mentioned separately.
7. If any credits are included in the computation as in para 2 the same may be separately mentioned (eg., increased rent recoveries from allottees of company's accomodation consequent on upward revision of basic pay, saving in bonus, payment to employees who may cross the threshold limit on revision of pay for purpose of entitlement to bonus etc.

8. You may kindly bring the foregoing to the notice of the public enterprises under your administrative control, who come forward with the proposals for revision of wages and scales of pay and allowances of their workers/executives for their information and compliance.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(S.M. PATNAKAR)

Dt. 10.11.1981.

BPE GUIDELINES

Workers :

1. A four year agreement in full and final settlement of all demands of a monetary nature.
2. DA neutralisation at Rs.1.30 per point shift, revision on quarterly basis.
3. Fitment benefit on account of revision of scales of pay could be in the range of Rs.35 to 75.
4. Minimum Wage (pay plus DA) linked to AICPI to be around Rs.590 (derived on the basis of 100% neutralisation to the lowest paid workers).
5. Minimum wage (pay plus DA) for the unionised employees to be around Rs. 14-19 linked to AICPI 460.
6. Total benefits arising out of wage settlements should normally be around 10% except in cases where existing wage levels are lower than the prevailing wages.
7. No wage settlement should be permitted in the high wage PSE'S unless the settlements result in reduction of disparities.
8. The benefits on pay revision would also take into account the capacity to pay of the concerned enterprise. In cases where the enterprises have been making sizeable profits consistently slightly higher benefits over and above the 10% norm could be conceded. In enterprises incurring loss, the benefits conceded/could be of slightly lower order.
9. Those enterprises which have adopted the Central Government pattern of pay and dearness allowance, proposals to rationalise scales to be in conformity with the general public sector model could be examined on the merits of each case provided the public sector DA formula of Rs.1.30 per point shift is adopted as an essential prerequisite. The rationalisation in such cases should not be accompanied by upward revision of total emoluments as compared to what is prevailing in the generality of public sector.

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10. In a few companies where the wage level is lower than that applicable to Central Government employees, proposals to come up at least to the Central Government level of emoluments need not be objected to. However, if the gap between the current Government levels is very large, the gap may be covered in stages depending upon the circumstances of each case.

OFFICERS:

11. Enterprises which are on the Third Pay Commission DA formula would be permitted a pay revision only if the industrial DA formula is acceptable to them.

12. If the pay revision is acceptable, the entry point for fresh Graduate Engineers should not exceed Rs. 750 per month by way of basic pay and dearness allowance of approximately Rs. 478 relating to AICPI 460. In the DA amount slight flexibility may be permitted.

13. The cost of pay revision should not exceed 10%.

14. The posts which are in the scheduled scales of pay or equivalent thereof, should not be revised.

15. The date of revision shall be such that there should be a time gap of about six months between the pay revision of workers and the officers. The management should keep in view that the pay revision of officers shall hold good at least for a period of four years.

16. By way of caution, the management may emphasise that the pay revision of officers is not required to be formally negotiated or formally agreed upon in a written document. Consultations with the officers are however, both desirable and advisable.

17. The fitment benefits to the individuals in Basic pay and Dearness Allowance and consequential rise in HRA should be between Rs. 110/- and Rs. 150/- per month.

COMMON PARAMETERS

18. All wage settlements should provide a suitable linkage with productivity and profitability. In other words the managements of the public enterprises should extract a suitable commitment from the workers to increase productivity and profitability by a specified percentage during the period of subsistence of the settlement.

19. Broad parameters should be settled by the respective managements in consultation with the Govt. before negotiations in wage revision are undertaken by public sector enterprises as consultation at a later stage may give rise to embarrassments.

20. Since wage settlements/agreements are arrived at to ensure cordial industrial relations during the subsistence of the period of settlement/agreement, it is desirable that all settlements should be made effective from a prospective date. No settlements/agreements should be proposed to the Govt. for ex-post-facto approval.

21. BPE should coordinate and advise the ISE's and administrative ministries on wage settlement and approval of Ministers in the administrative ministries and in the Ministry of Finance should be taken before concluding wage agreements.

22. The cost of the settlement would be calculated by each individual enterprise as per the parameters indicated in the BPE's D.O. Letter dated the 12th November, 1981.

NCC AND NATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE: DOCUMENTS

The following telegram was received by the AITUC (and other central TUs) from the Ministry of Labour proposing the convening of the national labour conference.

STATE EXPRESS TELEGRAM

TO

- 1) ALL STATE GOVERNMENTS AND UNION TERRITORIES .
- 2) CENTRAL EMPLOYERS AND WORKERS ORGANISATIONS CONCERNED .

NO J.12013/2/82-LC: IT IS PROPOSED TO HOLD THE NATIONAL TRIPARTITE LABOUR CONFERENCE IN THE FIRST WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 1982 (.) KINDLY SEND YOUR SUGGESTIONS FOR THE AGENDA IN TRIPLICATE SO AS TO REACH THIS MINISTRY BY THE 7TH AUGUST 1982 (.) THE EXACT DATE OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE INTIMATED SHORTLY

LABOUR

NOT TO BE TELEGRAPHED :

Sd/-

(N.B. CHAWLA)

Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of India
Ministry of Labour: Shram Shakti Bhavan
New Delhi. Dated: 13th July, 1982.

The telegram is dated 13th July 1982 and the proposal was to hold the conference in the first week of September 1982. Despite the decision to hold the national labour conference in the first week of September 1982, the Government rushed through the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 1982 in the Parliament on August 9 without paying any heed to opposition plea that the Bill be kept abeyance till the national labour conference. Earlier, two other bills were also adopted by majority in the Parliament pertaining to amendments to the Payment of Wages Act and the Employment and standing Orders Act.

The relevant documents in connection with the decision of boycott taken by the National Campaign Committee are reproduced below:

Text of the letter dated September 8, 1982 from the NCC to the Union Labour Minister giving the reasons for the decision to boycott the labour conference:

"On behalf of the All India Trade Union Congress, Centre of Indian Trade Unions, Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, United Trade Union Congress (Lenin-Sarani) and Trade Union Co-ordination Centre, we would like to inform you that we have decided to boycott the National Tripartite Conference convened by you on the 17th and 18th September 1982 because of the following reasons:-

1. The Central Trade Unions have been consistently demanding convening of Indian Labour Conference to consider the issues facing the Working Class and the problems before the country. ~~A national level tripartite conference~~ ~~before the country.~~ A national level tripartite Conference was called in 1977 but further action to convene the Indian Labour Conference was not taken. In 1981, the then Minister of Labour consulted all the Trade Union Centres and fixed up dates for the Indian Labour Conference on two occasions. But they were cancelled without assigning any reason. All the Central Trade Unions other than INTUC, came together in a National Convention held on 4th June '81 at Bombay and demand/a dialogue on price rise and other matters of Labour policy. But the Govt, did not pay any heed to the same. Nor it has come forward to discuss those issues.

2. In the meanwhile the Govt. enacted ESMA, arming itself with powers to ban strike in all fields of economic activity in the teeth of opposition from all Trade Union Organisations and the parties in the opposition. The Govt. ignored the massive Workers March to Parliament on 23rd November 1981 and the One Day country-wide general strike on January 19, 1982 and went ahead with bringing in far reaching changes through 4 bills viz. Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, Payment of Wages (Amendment) Bill, Hospitals and other Institutions (Settlement of Disputes) Bill and Trade Union (Amendment) Bill, without any consultation with the labour. All these bills have taken away the right to strike and other fundamental rights of workers. The Government has also passed the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, which will further curtail the rights of workers.

Bills intend to take away the right to strike and collective bargaining which the working class had earned through years of struggle and trial. Most of the provision of these bills have been bodily lifted from the Industrial Relations Bills which were introduced in 1973 and were totally rejected by all including the INTUC. By these unilateral enactments and misuse of N.S.A. against trade union functionaries the Govt. has made a

(Contd.....next page)

against trade union functionaries the Govt. has made a mockery of the process of consultation with the labour and we demand repeal/withdrawal of such anti-working class Acts and bills.

3. The Govt. of India had been systematically by passing all Central Trade Unions and patronising INTUC. In some Committees set up during this period INTUC nominees were made Chairman of the Committees, while the Other Central Trade Unions were kept out. The Govt. have consulting INTUC alone or separately before hand, on many major problems.

4. By refusing to negotiate a settlement with the leaders of the trade unions who are leading the struggles of 2.5 lakh Bombay Textile Workers, the Government has shown favouritism to INTUC in a deliberate attempt to keep the hated and undemocratic B.I.R. Act alive. The Government has shown extreme unconcern to the longdrawn struggle of the Bombay Textile Workers which has surpassed all past records by making no efforts for its settlement. We demand immediate negotiated settlement of the strike.

5. The Government has already proved that the call for increased productivity has no substance, by allowing the closures and lock-outs remaining unsettled. These have become a menace affecting the lives of tens of thousands of workers, who are daily being thrown out to the streets jobless and facing starvation. We demand that effective steps be taken to solve this problem.

6. The question of interference in wage negotiations by the Bureau of Public Enterprises had been opposed by all Central Trade Unions even including the INTUC. The insistence on the wage increase being kept limited to 10 percent and pegging down of D.A. at Rs. 1.30p. per point on 1960 Price Index had been opposed and the workers of entire Public Sector Undertakings have registered their protest through a token strike on 14th September 1979. The Government have also refused to rectify the 1960 series of C.P.I. numbers in terms of Rath Committee Report. They have now gone further ahead and are now trying to impose that wages should be linked to productivity as far as the organised sector is concerned. Many wage negotiations have been stalled due to this unnecessary interference and the right to collective bargaining is thus being taken away.

7. The Government has also been interfering in the functioning of the Central Trade Union Organisations. The open patronage given to a break-away group of HMS and nominating its representatives at par with the HMS itself to the charge of applying double standards by not extending the same facility to the group led by Shri J.S. Dara.

tant- amounts to gross inter-ference. The Govt. has also exposed itself

8. The Govt. of India, while convening this Tripartite National Labour Conference has followed no norms. In 1977, the Conference held was on the basis of parity in which the INTUC had also participated. But now the representation has been fixed arbitrarily and without any norm or criteria.

It would be amply clear from what has been stated above that while the organised trade union movement has been trying ceaselessly to draw the attention of the

Government to some of the urgent problems and seek its solution, the Government, on the ~~xx~~ other hand have chosen the path of arbitrarily imposing certain decisions on the labour, while patronising INTUC and others who toe the line of the Government. This position, could not be accepted by our organisations and hence we have been forced to take the decision to boycott the Conference.

Thanking you"

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-
(Indrajit Gupta)
A. I. T. U. C.

Sd/-
(O.P. Aghi)
B.M.S.

Sd/-
(Brij Mohan Toofan)
H. M. S.

Sd/-
(D.D. Shastri)
TUCC

Sd/-
(Pritish Chandra)
U.T.U.C(L-S)

Sd/-
(Nrisingha Chakrabarty)
C.I. T.U.

Sd/-
(Sushil Bhattacharjee)
U.T.U.C.

NCC OPPOSES ANTI-LABOUR
RECOMMENDATIONS

The National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions in its meeting held on 21st September 1982 at New Delhi congratulated the trade unions all over the country for observing All India Protest Day on September 17 by holding rallies, dharnas and demonstrations against the anti labour policies of the Central Government. These protest actions have once again shown the growing condemnation of the Governments policies by the trade union movement in India.

Following boycott by majority of the central trade union organisations, the national labour conference can hardly be called a tripartite and a representative one, as has been admitted by all sections of the national press.

Most of the conclusions of the National Tripartite Conference have virtually been lifted from the anti-labor package of recommendations of the National Labour Commission of 1969 which have not been ratified to date at any tripartite forum. These recommendations were opposed by the working class of India even immediately after the Report was published and Government could not implement them so far. In the conference on 17th and 18th September the Government had tried to bring to the fore through the backdoor all the outdated and anti-labour proposals of the Commission which the employers and INTUC leadership have been pressing for long to put into effect.

The proposal to constitute the Industrial Relations Commission is aimed at imposing severe restrictions on the functioning of trade unions and their activities and will assume the role of a superbody regulating industrial relations with right to interfere into the internal affairs of trade unions.

When the Government, being the largest employer, has already evolved its wage policy and the guidelines without any consultation with trade unions, with a view to imposing wage restraint in public sector undertakings, all talk of evolving a so-called national wage policy would sound empty. It is significant that even the INTUC is opposed to interference by the Bureau of Public Enterprises in wage determination.

Despite lapse of a quarter century the need based minimum wages norm unanimously accepted by the 15th Indian Labour Conference has not been implemented to this day.

Without even considering secret ballot for the purpose of recognition of trade unions the employers and INTUC leaders have recommended that the Government should go ahead with the verification procedure along with the check-off system. It is well known that our principled objection to the existing verification procedure has always been based on the partisanship of the official machinery entrusted to carry out verification. In the case of check-off, there are no reliable safeguards against manipulations and exercise of pressures by the employers in their own interest.

action with the proviso that strike.

While the Government is opposing secret ballot for the purpose of recognition it is now being suggested that strike ballot should be a precondition for any strike can only take place if 60 % workers support the strike decision. This only shows the double standard proposed to be adopted by the Government in the matter of industrial relations.

Another atrocious decision has been taken and that too at the instance of the official INTUC that a trade union will not be eligible even to claim recognition if it does not abide by so-called code of conduct which will be drawn up by the Industrial Relations Commission. The question of verification or check-off will come only if the union qualified under the code.

No trade union, worth its name, we are sure will agree to be bound down to such code of conduct. Incidentally, how would the content of such a "code" differ from the already legislated chapter on "Unfair Labour Practices" recently inserted in the I.D. Act?

Thus the deliberations of the National Tripartite Conference have only proved our charge that the Government has reduced tripartite consultation to a mockery as was found in rushing through several antilabour Bills in Parliament besides the enactment of NSA & ESMA. The National Campaign Committee resolutely opposes the decisions of the Conference and calls upon the working class and the trade unions to carry forward their struggle against the anti-labour policies of the Government with more determination.

It calls upon the unions in public sector undertakings to make the All India Convention of Public Sector Unions to be held at Hyderabad on 12-13 October 1982 a grand success, so that a powerful movement is unleashed in the country to defeat the anti-labour policies of the Government.

To intensify and strengthen the countrywide protest movement the National Campaign Committee decided to organise a meeting of the Campaign Committee along with Industrywide federations in New Delhi on 2nd November 1982 to adopt further course of action.

NATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE
(New Delhi, 17-18 September, 1982)

CONCLUSIONS

Item 1: Industrial Relations Situation

The Industrial Relations situation in the country was reviewed generally.

Item 2: Composition of the Indian Labour Conference

It was felt that those Central Trade Union Organisations should be given representation at the Indian Labour Conference which accept and agree to abide by the recommendations of the tripartite conference.

2. The following recommendations were made in this regard:

i) There was unanimity that a status-quo as decided by the Indian Labour Conference in 1959 should continue in the matter of allocation of seats among the eligible Central Trade Union Organisations for representation at the Indian Labour Conference.

ii) There was consensus that for the purpose of representation at the Indian Labour Conference an organisation would be deemed to be a Central Organisation if it had a verified membership of at least five lakhs spread over four States and four industries. It was also suggested that this should be progressively enhanced by reviewing it at every session of the Conference. The representatives of the NLO and NFI TU were, however, of the view that the membership be limited to three lakhs spread over to four States and four industries, being enhanced by one lakh as and when verification is conducted.

iii) Organisations which are not affiliated to any Central Trade Union Organisation need not be given separate representation.

iv) In the matter of representation of the Central Employers' Organisations at the Conference and the allocation of seats among the Council of Indian Employers; (EFI, AICE and SCOPE and AIMO), status quo should be maintained for the present. The workers' representatives, however, ↓
down a proper criterion for the allocation of seats among the Central Employers' Organisations including the public sector.

felt that the time had come to lay



- v) Status-quo be maintained regarding the size of the delegation representing Government and the Ministry of Labour may distribute seats against the various agencies of Government as at present.

Item 3: Verification of membership of Central Trade Union Organisations

It was agreed that verification procedure, as at present, should continue but with the modification that Trade Union Organisations which do not submit their membership claims should be excluded from the purview of the verification process. Wherever check-off data was available it should be taken into account for the purpose of verification. It was also agreed that verification should be conducted at an interval of three years by an independent body like the Industrial Relations Commission recommended by the National Commissions on Labour. Until the Industrial Relations Commissions were set up, the existing procedure, with the modification suggested above, should continue. The representative of NFITU, however, suggested that the verification should be conducted every two years and that the unions which claimed no membership in any unit should have no right to raise objections in respect of claims of unions of that unit.

Item 4: Amendments to the Industrial Disputes Act and the Trade Unions Act.

The present Industrial Disputes Act seeks to provide machinery for settlement of disputes - a sort of conflict management arrangement. The Act should have instead a positive object. It should promote harmonious industrial relations. This would involve basic changes in the Act. The following recommendations were, therefore made in this regard:-

Collective Bargaining Agent

- i) It was unanimously agreed that there should be a collective bargaining agent at the unit/industry level.
- ii) Collective bargaining agent in unit/industry will be decided by the check-off system.
- iii) Each employee will be free to indicate to the management the union of which he is a member and authorise the management in writing to recover from his wages the union subscription and remit it to the union.
- iv) Only such trade union organisations should be eligible for recognition as collective bar-

gaining agent, who qualify according to a fresh code of conduct to be laid down.

- v) In the initial stage all qualified registered trade unions will be allowed the facility of check-off system. Recognition through verification of the membership of the qualified unions as indicated by the results of the check-off system will be done by the IRC and those unions which are certified either as sole bargaining agent or as members of the composite bargaining council will alone thereafter be entitled for the check-off facility. Check-off authorisation once made to such recognised unions will be valid for a period of three year.
- vi) Collective bargaining agent once recognised shall remain for a period of 3 years and continue to be recognised until it is successfully challenged.
- vii) The Industrial Relations Commission should lay down the percentages of membership, which would entitle a trade union to be considered as a sole collective bargaining agent. This would be done by the Commission keeping in view the conditions of the industry, the area of operation including the extent of unionisation in that undertaking/industry.
- viii) Where the IRC is satisfied that a sole collective bargaining agent is not feasible, it can decide on a composite bargaining council comprising of unions above a specified percentage of membership.
- ix) Craft/category-wise union shall not be eligible to seek recognition as a collective bargaining agent.
- x) In case a trade union organisation violates the code of conduct, it will be visited with appropriate punishment/sanction as decided by the IRC.
- xi) A separate Code of Conduct for employers will also be evolved and the violation of the Code by any employer will be visited with appropriate punishment/sanction as decided by the IRC.

II- Individual Disputes

All individual disputes would be settled by a simple grievance redressal procedure with built-in grievance arbitration.

III- Industrial Relations Commission

Industrial Relations Commission, both at the Centre and the State levels, shall be set up in the same manner and with the same functions as recommended by the National Commission on Labour.

IV- Arbitration

Voluntary arbitration shall be the normal means of settling disputes wherever collective bargaining has not succeeded. Every award of the Arbitrator shall be final and binding on all parties and shall not be called in question in any court except on grounds of perversity. Every award of the arbitration shall be a speaking award.

V- Strike

Every strike whether in an industry classified as essential or not shall be preceded by a strike ballot in which all the workers in the establishment are allowed to participate and resort to strike may be made only if the results of the ballot show that not less than 60% of the workmen support the strike.

VI- Industrial Relations Machinery

The Conference unanimously agreed with regard to the manner the machinery is to be geared to a positive approach to industrial relations including the setting up of Industrial Relations Commissions. It was, however, felt that the 15-man committee which made recommendations on Item 4 should meet again and consider other issues raised under this item of the Agenda.

VII- Other Observations

The Conference also agreed that the following may also form part of the Conclusions of the Conference.

A. The representative of the H.M.S. (Kulkarni) made certain additional observations. These are:

- i) that the provisions in the Industrial Disputes Act relating to prior permission for lay-off, closure and retrenchment should be made applicable to all industrial establishments without any limit on employment of persons;

ii) the provisions relating to sovereign functions of the Government as given in Section 2 of the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act 1982 should be deleted; and

iii) the employees of hospitals and other institutions, who are now proposed to be covered by a separate law, should be continued to be treated as workmen in an industry as per the decision of the Supreme Court.

B. The representative of the E.F.I. observed that in defence ^{re} to the decisions of the Madras High Court and Supreme Court, the provisions in the I.D. Act, 1947 regarding prior permission for lay-off, retrenchment and closure should be deleted.

Item 5: Labour's role in increased production and Productivity, including Workers Participation

This item was not discussed.

Item 6: National Wage Policy

The Conference considered in detail the importance of formulating a national wage policy and keeping in view the importance of the subject and its complicated nature resolved to request the Chairman to set up a tripartite Committee with experts on it to go into this complex issue and give its recommendations early.

(The conclusions as drawn up by the Ministry of Labour and sent to all central trade union organisations are reproduced above)

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SOME AITUC LETTERS

(Below is reproduced the full text of the letter of AITUC General Secretary, Indrajit Gupta, M.P. to CITU President, B.T. Ranadive on the question of "Confederation" of central trade unions which was again voiced recently by CITU leaders.

A reply received from the CITU states to say that the CITU secretariat will concretise the issues and inform. No further intimation has however been received).

Comrade B.T. Ranadive,
President,
Centre of Indian Trade Unions,
New Delhi.

Dated 4.8.1982.

Dar Comrade Ranadive,

It is reported in the Press that at the recently concluded meeting of the CITU General Council held at Bangalore, you have reiterated your proposal for a "Confederation" of central trade unions in India. Such a proposal has been voiced on one or two earlier occasions also by CITU leaders.

Since your proposal is, I suppose, aimed at creating some sort of a permanent body of trade union centres to facilitate joint consultations and decisions on a continuing basis, we of the AITUC are naturally interested to know exactly what you have in mind, as anything which would really strengthen the unity and united action of the working class would be welcomed by all genuine trade unionists.

Unfortunately as far as we are able to understand, only an abstract slogan of "Confederation" has been mooted by the CITU, without spelling out its implications or defining its structural contours, without doing which it is not possible to understand the feasibility of your proposal. I am, therefore, writing to you to seek some clarifications which would help us to assess CITU's slogan of "Confederation".

Firstly, a Confederation, as distinct from a joint platform like the National Campaign Committee must imply an organisational structure with several federating units consisting of office-bearers, executive committee, etc. If that is so, do you propose that the existing constituents of the NCC should dissolve the latter and agree to merge in a single confederal body with its own constitution, and an elected or nominated leadership? If so, do you think this possible at the present level of development of the T. U. movement?

Secondly, would the proposed Confederation confine its deliberations, decisions and action programmes to day-to-day economic demands and issues on which there is hardly likely to be any controversy? Would it not also concern itself with questions like nationalisation of key industries and of the wholesale trade in foodgrains,

struggle against penetration of the MNC's, anti-imperialism, world peace, defence of the socialist community, international solidarity of the working class, etc?

A Confederation bereft of any positive class ideology and limited only to the struggle for day to day demands, would hardly mean any qualitative advance from the NCC level, we feel. On the other hand, if we aim at a Confederation with a higher level of class and political consciousness which is certainly desirable would it not lead to self-exclusion of some central organisations?

Thirdly, can trade union unity in action be reinforced simply by establishing a top-level Confederal body, while leaving untouched and unsolved the burning reality of intense inter-Union rivalries at plant and local level?

Would it not be better to initiate mutual consultations and fraternal discussions on practical ways and means to do away with or, at least, to reduce the multiplicity of rival unions of different affiliations which is the tragic features of practically every factory and industry in this country? We think that at least among like-minded unions, it is perfectly feasible to work out an agreed formula leading to merger of different unions on a principled basis.

"Unity" at the top and bitter rivalries and hostilities at the base-this seems like putting the cart before the horse, which would prove infructuous, we fear.

In case the Confederation you have in mind is only another name for the National Campaign Committee, why not pool our efforts to strengthen and streamline the latter to make its functioning more regular, effective and democratic?

If, however, you are visualising a qualitatively different sort of united organisation, we would like the points mentioned in this letter to be clarified through elaboration of the implications thereof. We are always ready for a fraternal exchange of ideas on the subject.

With fraternal greetings,

Sd/-
(INDRAJIT GUPTA)
General Secretary.

Letter to Labour Minister regarding Industrial Committee on Plantation:

"We learn from news items appearing in several dailies that the Government has constituted an Industrial Committee on Plantation.

But surprisingly we find that almost all central trade union organisations including one spliaway group

MAIN FEATURES OF THE AMENDMENT BILLS.

(Three of the Bills viz., (a) The Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 1982, (b) The Payment of Wages (Amendment) Bill, 1982 and (c) The Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Amendment Bill, 1982 have already been passed by Parliament and awaiting assent by the President.

Some official amendments to the Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill brought after its introduction are of very minor nature. The amendments notified by opposition could not be formally moved and recorded because of walkout in Lok Sabha.

The amendment Bill, The Trade Unions (Amendment) Bill, 1982 and the Hospitals and other Institutions (Settlement of Disputes) Bill, 1982 which were introduced at the fag end of the last budget session of Parliament, are still pending.)

4. THE INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1982.

Clause in the Principal Act.	Amendment Proposed.	Remarks, if any.
1. Section 2: (Definitions)	After Clause (c), the following clause shall be inserted, namely:- '(cc) "closure" means the permanent closing down of a place of employment or part thereof;"	In the principal Act there was no mention of "closure". Section 25-0 of the principal Act in respect of procedure for closing down an undertaking has to some extent been streamlined. But temporary closures in the shape of pickouts pickouts which are some times deliberately prolonged have not been covered by this clause.
2. Section 2, Clause (i): "Industry" means any business, trade, undertaking, manufacture or calling xx of employers and includes any calling, service, employment, handicraft or industrial occupation of workmen";	For clause (j), the following clause shall be substituted, namely:- '(j) "industry" means any systematic activity carried on by co-operation between an employer and his workmen (whether such workmen are employed by such employer directly or by or through any agency, including a Contractor) for the production, supply or distribution of goods or services with a view to satisfy human wants or wishes (not being wants or wishes which are merely spiritual or religious in nature), whether or not, (i) any capital has been invested for the purpose of carrying on such activity; or (ii) such activity is carried on with a motive to make any gain or profit, and includes- (a) any activity of the Dock Labour Board established under section 5 A of the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948; (b) any activity, being a profession practised by any individual or body of individuals; (c) any activity relating to the promotion of sales or business or both carried on by an establishment, but does not include - (1) any agricultural operation except where such agricultural operation is carried on in an integrated manner with any other	

contd.....

Clause in the
Principal Act.

Amendment proposed.

activity (being any activity as is referred to in the foregoing provisions of this clause) and such other activity is the predominant one; or

(2) hospitals or dispensaries; or

(3) educational, scientific, research or training institutions; or

(4) institutions owned or managed by organisations wholly or substantially engaged in any charitable, social or philanthropic service; or

(5) Khadi or village industries; or

(6) any activity of the Government relating to the sovereign functioning of the Government including all the activities carried on by the departments of the Central Government dealing with defence research, atomic energy and space;

(7) any activity which is carried on by a cooperative society, in which not less than ten persons are employes;"

Remarks: The Supreme Court by its judgement of February 1978 amplified the definition of "industry" so as to include all those institutions which are now being excluded, for the purposes of the Industrial Disputes Act. The Supreme Court verdict has thus been circumvented and according to the Statement of Objects and Reasons, "it is proposed to have a separate law" for settlement of disputes in these institutions like the Bill introduced by the Janta Government banning strike, providing for compulsory arbitration, prohibiting formation of trade unions etc., in these institutions like hospital, educational institutions, etc. Such a Bill has already been introduced in the Rajya Sabha.

3. Section 2,
Clause (s):
definition of
"workman"

Wages ceiling for these employed in supervisory capacity has been raised from Rs.500 per month to Rs.1600 per month to be treated as "workman".

4. New Chapter
added after
Section 9 B of
the principal
Act.

Chapter II B has been inserted to provide for settlement of industrial disputes connected with an individual workman through a Grievance Settlement Authority.

According to the provision, direct reference to Labour Court has been barred without previously referring to the Grievance Settlement Authority.

Remarks: Rules and procedures have not been clarified, and whether trade unions will be consulted in formulating these rules and procedures.

contd.....

Clause in the
Principal Act.

Amendment proposed.

5. Section 25K(1): ~~§~~ Provision of lay off benefit was applicable to establishments in which not less than 300 workmen were employed.

Application of this Section has been extended to establishments in which not less than one hundred workmen are employed instead of "three hundred workmen" in the Principal Act.

Remarks: There is no reason of not extending the provision to all establishments irrespective of number of workmen.

6. Section 25M (1) : Notice for lay-off.

Alongwith "shortage of power or to natural calamity", the following has been added:

"and in the case of mine, such lay-off is due also to fire, flood, excess of inflammable gas or explosion".

Remarks: The factors cited in respect of mines are not always beyond the control of management, but may be due to continued negligence in observing mines safety measures.

7. New Chapter after Chapter V B has been added along with new schedule, the Fifth Schedule.

Chapter V C entitled "Unfair Labour Practices"
Section 25 U (new Section) provides for imprisonment and/or fine for committing unfair labour practice.

Remarks: This chapter along with the Fifth Schedule has almost entirely been lifted from the IR Bill of 1978.

8. New Section added after Section 36 A of the principal Act.

Section 36 B delegates power to the appropriate Government to exempt any industrial establishment or undertaking under the control of the concerned government from all or any of the provisions of this Act.

Remarks: There is no safeguard against misuse or malafide use of this section to the detriment of the interests of workers.

B. THE TRADE UNIONS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1982.

Clause in the
Principal Act.

Amendment proposed.

1. Section 2: Definitions. A new clause has been added after clause (h): (i) "Trade Union dispute".

Remarks: This clause alongwith the other amendments have been lifted from the IR Bill of 1978 of the ~~IR~~ Janata Government.

contd.....

Clause in the Principal Act.

Amendment proposed.

2. Section 4:
New subsection (IA) added. Mode of Registration of union.

(a) In subsection (1) of Section 4 "Any seven or more members of a Trade Union" is substituted by "Any number of members of a Trade Union, being not less than the minimum number as determined in accordance with the provisions of subsection (IA) may"

(b) New subsection (IA) says: "The minimum number of members of a Trade Union who may apply under subsection (1) shall be -

(a) Where such Trade Union is a ~~Trade~~ Trade Union of Workmen which is not a federation of Trade Unions, -

(i) if the aggregate of the number of workmen who are members of such Trade Union and the number of workmen eligible to be members of such Trade Union is one hundred or less, ten;

(ii) if such aggregate is more than hundred, such number as is equal to ten per cent of such workmen, or one hundred, whichever is less;

(b) in any other case, seven.

Remarks:

The same restriction sought to be introduced on the formation of Trade Unions in the IR Bill, has been proposed in the amendment. Minimum number of members eligible to apply for registration has been raised from 7 to 10.

3. Section 10:
Cancellation of registration.

In Section 10 after clause (b), a new clause, clause (c) has been added which says "if the Registrar is satisfied that the Trade Union has called for, or participated in, any illegal strike" and "illegal strike" has the meaning assigned to it in section 24 of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

Remarks:

The amendment gives wider powers to the Registrar for cancellation of registration of trade unions.

4. Section 21 A:
addition of a new clause and subsection.

In subsection (1), after clause (i) a new clause has been added:

"(iii) he has been convicted of any offence under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947". After subsection (3), the following subsection has been added: "

contd.....

into charges of misconduct against him at the following rates:

- (a) For the first ninety days of Suspension - at the rate of fifty per cent of the wages;
- (b) Seventyfive percent of the wages for the period exceeding 90 days.

Remarks: Although most of the State Acts/ Rules on this issue have since been amended so as to provide for subsistence allowance in varying rates, this is the first time the Central Act is being amended. But those categories of workers who are not covered by the definition of "workman" under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, will be denied this benefit.

D. THE HOSPITAL AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS (SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES) BILL, 1982.

Clauses .	Provision .
1. Clause 1 (4) and Clause 2 (b), (e) and (m).	<p>It covers hospitals including nursing homes, dispensaries etc., educational institutions including University, College, School, scientific institution, institutions for research, training.</p> <p>Provides for <u>Remarks:</u> Almost copied from the Bill sponsored by the Janata Govt. in 1978 along with the IR Bill.</p>
2. Clause 3.	<p>Provides for setting up of Grievance Settlement Committee which will consist of representatives of management and workmen and the latter to be nominated by the recognised Trade Union.</p>
3. Clause 8 and 9: (Recognition of Trade Unions of Workmen)	<p>One of the Conditions laid down for a trade union to become eligible for recognition is: - " it has as its members not less than thirty percent of the workmen employed in such establishment....."</p> <p>Clause 9 says that, "The employer in relation to an establishment shall _____" ".....recognise the Trade Union which represents the largest number of workmen in such establishment....."</p>

Remarks: (a) But the Bill does not clarify as to the method of verifying membership of trade unions eligible and claiming for recognition.

(b) No "outsider" will be allowed and one of the conditions for recognition as laid down in clause 8(2) (d) says: "each of its office bearers is a workman in such establishment or in any other establishment to which this Act applies".

Clause in the
Principal Act.

Amendment proposed.

"(4) Any member of the executive or other office-bearer of a registered Trade Union who, before the commencement of the Trade Unions (Amendment) Act, 1982, has been convicted by any offence under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, shall, on the date of such commencement, cease to be such member or office-bearer".

Remarks: An additional disqualification of office-bearers.

Retrospective enforcement of the above provision.

5. Section 22:
Proportion of
"outsiders".

In the opening paragraph "Not less than one-half of the total number of office-bearers" is substituted by "Not less than three-fourths of the total number of office-bearers."

Remarks: Number of "outsiders" has been further restricted.

6. Chapter III:
New addition.

After Section 28, three new Sections 28A, 28B and 28C have been added. 28A deals with verification of membership; 28B deals with Trade Union dispute and voluntary reference of dispute to Arbitration; 28C deals with reference of "Trade Union dispute" by the appropriate Government to the Registrar for adjudication.

Remarks: (a) Registrar given power to verify membership of registered Trade Unions in a manner prescribed by the State Government. The method of verification of membership is thus sought to be enforced statutorily by means of this amendment.

(b) On the ground of so-called trade union dispute the Government will have power to interfere into the internal affairs of trade unions and through this process can immobilise a trade union and obstruct its functioning.

C. THE INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT (STANDING ORDERS)
AMENDMENT BILL, 1982 (AS PASSED BY THE RAJYA SABHA AND
ALSO PASSED IN LOK SABHA ON APRIL 30, 1982).

Reference to the
Principal Act.

Amendment proposed.

After Section 10 a new
Section 10A added.

The new Section 10A provides for payment of Subsistence Allowance during the period a workman is under suspension pending enquiry

Clauses	Provision
4. Clause 12: (Settlement of Individual Disputes)	Proviso of sub clause (4) of clause 12 says: "Provided that where the parties to such dispute fail to agree on the arbitrator, such dispute shall be referred to a Board of Arbitrators constituted by the appropriate Government on an application made to it in that behalf by one of the parties to such dispute."

Remarks: The Bill thus provides for compulsory arbitration. Almost the same procedure has been laid down in respect of settlement of industrial disputes.

5. Clause 19 (1): (Prohibition of Strike)	"No workman employed in any establishment shall go on strike or indulge in any other form of cessation or retardation of work in such establishment such as work to rule, go slow, gherao or the like in breach of contract".
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Remarks: (a) Thus a blanket ban on strike and all kinds of agitation which cause "retardation of work" is imposed in all the establishments covered by this Bill.

(b) Clause 20 (2) provides for punishment by way of imprisonment which may extend up to six months or with fine which may extend to five thousand rupees, or with both, for breach of this provision.

6. Clause 28(1)	"Nothing in this Act shall apply to any hospital or educational institution owned or managed a) by Government; or b) by any organisation wholly or mainly engaged in any charitable, social or philanthropic service."
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Remarks: Under cover of this provision of automatic exemption, a large number of hospitals and educational institutions would be excluded from being covered by this Bill or by the I.D. Act.

E. THE PAYMENT OF WAGES (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1982

Clauses in the Principal Act.	Amendment proposed.
1. Section 1, Subsection (6): "Nothing in this Act shall apply to wages payable in respect of a wage-period which, over such wage-period, average one thousand rupees a month or xxxxxx more."	The ceiling is raised from "one th thousand rupees "one thousand six hundred rupees". <u>Remarks:</u> This is in line with similar amendments in other Acts.
2. Section 2 Clause (ii) Definition.	The existing definition of "industrial establishment" is being converted as a definition of "industrial or other establishment". <u>Remarks:</u> Definition has been widened to cover other establishments.

Clause in the
Principal Act.

Amendment proposed.

3. Section 7 (2);
Deductions from
wages.

After clause (k), the following clauses
have been added:

"(kk) deductions made, with the written
authorisation of the employed person,
for the payment of his contribution to
any fund constituted by the employer for
the welfare of the employed persons or
the members of their families, or both,
and approved by the State Government or
any officer specified by it in this
behalf, during the continuance of such
approval;

(kkk) deductions made, with the written
authorisation of the employed person,
for payment of the fees payable by him
for the membership of any trade union
registered under the Trade Unions Act,
1926;"

Remarks: (a) The first amendment is liable to be
misused by the employers where the
workers are not well organised and
so-called written authorisation may be
obtained by coercion.

(b) The Second amendment is perhaps to
clear the way for introduction of the
so-called checkoff system for the purpose
of recognition of trade unions which is
opposed by most of the central trade
union organisations.

4. Section 25 A;
A new section
added.

This new insertion is with regard to
payment of undisbursed wages in case of
death of employed person.

Remarks: This provision prescribes for payment
of due wages only "to the person
nominated by him", but where no such
nomination has been made, the section
does not mention about payment to his
legal heirs.

from a central trade union, have been given representation in the said Committee Except, the AITUC. We do not know the reason for specifically excluding the AITUC from the industrial committee.

We would, however, record our strong protest against the exclusion of AITUC and the gross discrimination thus meted out against it in this regard".

Letter protesting on representation in national labour conference:

August 27, 1982.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad,
Minister of Labour,
Govt. Of India,
Shram Shakti Bhavan,
Rafi Marg,
NEW DELHI.

Dear Shri Azad,

I have to convey to you the AITUC's strong protest against the arbitrary way in which delegates have been allotted to the various workers' organisations invited to attend the Tripartite National Labour Conference on Sept. 17, and 18, 1982.

What is the basis of allotment?. It does not even conform to the figures compiled and announced by Government in respect of the Central Trade Union Organisations as on 31.12.1978 (the last available).

Neither have you followed the formula which was suggested specifically for I.L.C. representation purposes, by your predecessor Shri N.D. Tiwari at a meeting called by him on 12.10.81.

Then, what other basis have you followed in the present case? It appears to be quite unprincipled and arbitrary, and AITUC wishes to record its strongest protest against Government's decision.

Yours faithfully,

Sd/-

(INDRAJIT GUPTA)
General Secretary.

4

Letter on Textile Tripartite Committee :

August 27, 1982.

Shri V.K. Shunglu,
Joint Secretary,
Ministry of Commerce,
(Deptt. of Textiles),
Govt. of India,
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 12 (48)82-CSM dated 21st August, 1982, inviting us to nominate a representative to serve on the proposed Tripartite Committee on Textile Industry's problems.

Government's proposal/decision cannot be considered in isolation from the current Bombay textile strike which is more than 7 months' old. We fail to understand how the strike and the proposed Committee can co-exist, since the demands of the striking workers have yet to be settled with their representatives. Participation in the work of the Committee, while the strike is still in progress, would amount to bypassing the workers' demands and short-circuiting the normal process of bipartite negotiations and collective agreement.

We, therefore, feel that no useful purpose will be served by such a Committee so long as the strike is not withdrawn on the basis of a settlement of the workers' demands.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/-
(INDRAJIT GUPTA)
General Secretary.

c.c. G.V. Chitnis, Bombay.

On representation on Industrial Committee on Jute

21.9. 1982

To
Shri N.B. Chawla,
Deputy Secretary,
Government of India,
Ministry of Labour,
Shram Shakti Bhavan,
Rafi Marg,
New Delhi 110 001.

Sir,

Kindly refer to your letter No. U/14012/2/81 -LC, regarding reconstitution of the Industrial Committee on Jute.

Our comments on the Ministry's proposals are as under :

(1) Pending availability of membership figures as on 31.12.80, the workers' representation on the Industrial Committee should be on the basis of parity :

(2) In any case, the INTUC does not deserve to have more representatives than other organisations. Its affiliated union in the Jute industry, viz: National Union of Jute Workers, has split into two or more rival factions which are functioning independently of each other. This is common knowledge.

(3) Different factions of the INTUC (Kali Mukherjee-Subrata Mukherjee group, Sisir Ganguly group) should not be given separate representation in one and the same industry. In view of the Labour Ministry's recent attitude towards two rival groups in the HMS, we suspect that under "No.9" of the proposed workers' representatives, an attempt may be made to smuggle in one of the INTUC splinter groups. We are strongly opposed to any such move.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/-
(INDRAJIT GUPTA)

20 BIG HOUSES' PAID-UP CAPITAL AND PROFIT BEFORE TAX

The Minister of state for finance Mr. S.B.P. Pattabhi Rama Rao made in the Lok Sabha during the question time, on October 22, 1982 in reply to Mr. Amar Roypradhan, the following statement showing the paid-up capital and profit before tax of 20 big industrial houses of the country during the last five years:

Name of Industrial house	1978		1979		1980	
	paid-up capital	Profit before tax	Paid-up capital	profit before tax	Paid-up capital	profit before tax
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tata	165.26	51.24	182.42	91.63	188.55	110.03
Birla	151.56	98.81	156.19	121.02	167.11	121.15
Mafatlal	57.09	39.07	61.99	39.86	72.00	31.93
J & K Singhania	45.71	13.50	49.87	13.12	46.61	18.21
Thapar	38.33	20.24	44.30	24.41	52.48	28.40
I.C.I.	57.36	26.38	57.36	29.82	64.13	10.74
Sarabhai	14.08	5.18	20.10	17.53	20.29	17.70
A.C.C.	38.43	15.63	38.43	14.72	44.17	8.05
Bangur	35.40	13.27	35.47	14.71	35.17	21.01
Shriram	28.61	8.35	28.60	16.16	28.03	9.24
Kirloskar	28.60	9.11	29.44	12.35	29.41	24.29
Hindustan Lever	24.76	28.32	33.52	32.75	33.52	31.37
Larsen & Toubro	23.85	19.52	26.31	22.47	28.41	24.63
Scindia	19.27 (-)	7.77	19.27 (-)	9.85	19.27	5.37
Oil India	33.93	15.67	33.93	13.96	33.93	10.12
Modi	18.89	13.05	21.88	14.66	21.88	10.66
T.V.S.						
Iyengar						

The following statement shows the 31.3.82 in respect of arrears of Income-tax dues on 20 big industrial houses:

Name of the Industrial house	No of concerns*	(Amounts in lakhs of Rs)	
		Tax in arrears	Demands not enforceable
1	2	3	4
Tata	4	4.58	98.48
Birla	14	207.19	760.17
Mafatlal	-	-	-
J & K Singhania	4	275.67	282.31
Thapar	1	-	16.37
I. C. I.	2	-	770.28
Sarabhai	2	1.09	27.28
A.C.C.	-	-	-
Bangur	1	24.51	-
Shriram	2	27.30	147.48
Kirloskar	-	-	-
Hindustan Lever	-	-	47.05
Larsen & Toubro	-	-	-
Scindia	-	-	-
Oil India	2	281.06	80.11
Modi	1	-	99.73
T.V.S. Iyengar	3	-	61.35
Mahindra & Mahindra	1	30.74	13.74
Chowgule	1	4.73	37.83
Bajaj	-	-	-

*NOTE: The information relates only to the concerns in each group against which aggregate Income-tax demands of Rs. 10 lakh or more was outstanding on 31.3.1982.

MANDAYS LOSSES DUE TO STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Mandays lost due to strikes ('000)</u>	<u>Mandays lost due to lockouts ('000)</u>	<u>Total Mandays lost ('000)</u>
1970 -	14749 (72)	- 5814 (23)	- 20563
1971 -	11803 (71)	- 4743 (29)	- 16546
1972 -	13748 (67)	- 6796 (33)	- 20544
1973 -	13862 (67)	- 6764 (33)	- 20626
1974 -	33643 (84)	- 6619 (16)	- 40262
1975 -	16706 (79)	- 5195 (21)	- 21091
1976 -	2799 (22)	- 9947 (78)	- 12746
1977 -	13410 (53)	- 11910 (47)	- 25320
1978 -	15423 (54)	- 12917 (46)	- 28340
1979 -	35118 (80)	- 8748 (20)	- 43866
1980 -	12018 (55)	- 9,907 (45)	- 21925
1981 -	15653 (59)	- 10,806 (41)	- 26464
1982 -	---	- --	- --

In 1982 up to September 48.67 million mandays have been lost due to the textile strike alone.

ALL-INDIA AVERAGE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX
NUMBERS FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

(Base: 1960 = 100)

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
January -	371	411	459
February -	369	418	458
March -	373	420	457
April -	375	427	459
May -	382	433	462
June -	386	439	470
July -	394	447	478
August -	397	454	488
September -	402	456	N A
October -	406	460	N A
November -	411	462	N A
December -	408	460	N A

Annual Average -	390	441	466
			(January-August)

28th SESSION OF THE WFTU BUREAU
(Prague, 29-30 September 1982)
Coordination of Activity by Inter-
national Trade Union Movement
Text of the Communique

The 28th session of the WFTU Bureau was held in Prague on 29 and 30 September 1982. The session reviewed the developments since the 10th World Trade Union Congress (Havana, February 1982) and laid down concrete guidelines for the development of the WFTU's work in the light of the decisions of the 10th Congress, taking into account the seriousness of the present-day international situation.

A concrete and positive exchange of views enabled a number of measures and initiatives to be defined and a plan of work to be drawn up, which aimed to put into practice the guidelines given by the 10th Congress.

The report and speeches at the Bureau strongly condemned, in particular, the aggression and genocide by the ruling circles in Israel on the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. It was pointed out that the US Administration which has an alliance of strategic co-operation with the Israeli ruling circles and which arms and equips the Israeli military machine bears a heavy responsibility for the recent ghastly events, the massacres, the genocide and the gross violations of international law. The Bureau stated that the problems in the Middle East will never be resolved until the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are restored, including their right to their homeland and to establish their independent state. The Bureau adopted a special resolution on solidarity with the workers and people of Lebanon and Palestine.

1st Reviewing the world economic situation, the Bureau noted that the impact of the recession and crisis is getting worse as seen in the record high unemployment, inflation, the increasing number of bankruptcies in major industrial sectors in the developed capital countries the decline in international trade, the steep fall in the prices of export commodities of developing countries and the big increase in their foreign debt and debt service burdens which further worsen their balance of payments difficulties and the further accentuation of the capitalist world's monetary crisis. The pressure of transnational banking institutions seeking to dictate economic policy to sovereign countries and, especially, to impose anti-labour and anti-social measures, is increasing. The precarious economic situation and the need to safeguard national economic interests have put on the agenda the need to pursue more vigorously the struggle for economic independence and to strive towards the implementation of a New International Economic Order. The nationalisation of private banks by the Mexican Government which faced an unprecedented economic situation demonstrates the necessity to fight against the transnational finance capital and currency speculators. A policy of high interest rates which enrich the transnational banks and financial institutions based in the USA and hurt all others is a policy the Reagan Administration pursues to impose the hegemony of Wall Street. Coupled with this is the US Administration's economic war against the socialist countries and the sanctions which it wants to impose for its ban on trade between West European ~~XXXX~~ countries and the Soviet Union, especially over the gas pipeline contract. Justifiably there has been strong protest by the trade unions and other democratic forces

in West Europe against these policies of the US Administration. East-West trade in Europe alone maintains over two million jobs in the countries of West Europe and the further development of this trade, without any discrimination and on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, could create a substantial number of jobs and higher living standards for all. The WFTU Bureau emphasised in this regard the development of united actions by trade unions in all countries, in favour of regional and international actions on the urgent problems of global economic relations as well as a follow up to the International Trade Union Conference on Development held in Belgrade two years ago.

The WFTU Bureau hailed the united actions of workers in fighting against the consequences of the capitalist crisis and underlined the growing unity in these struggles in the various countries. The Bureau congratulated the British workers on their magnificent nationwide solidarity action on 22 September, at the call of the British TUC, in support of the demand of the health workers for higher wages and better working conditions. The Bureau greeted the mass struggles of the Bolivian workers organised in the COB for democratic changes and for social and economic demands. The Bureau expressed its support for the demands of the 225,000 textile workers of Bombay, India, who have been on strike for more than eight months. The Bureau reiterated the continued solidarity of the WFTU in support of the workers' struggles and its active support for the further development of unity and united action in these struggles.

and dis-
armament.
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ggle for

These struggles for social and economic demands are closely linked with the actions of the trade union movement for the peace to which the 10th World Trade Union Congress gave impetus have been massive in the recent period - and especially at the time of the UN General Assembly's Special Session on Disarmament in June-July this year. The Bureau thanked the workers and trade unions for the worldwide observance of 1 September 1982 as an International Day of Trade Union Action for Peace, in which broad sections of the trade union movement, irrespective of affiliation, had participated. The Bureau held a Special Session on Peace and Disarmament at which further steps to develop the international campaign for peace and disarmament were decided upon. The Special Session adopted an Appeal to the ICFTU, WCL and regional organisations. The observance of the UN Disarmament Week beginning 24 October this year has special importance for the effective follow-up actions after SSD-II, the Bureau stated, and appealed to trade unions in all countries to observe the week as a period of intensive actions for peace taking into consideration the intention of the US Administration and NATO to deploy cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe.

The WFTU Bureau noted with regret that even after six years and 17 sessions of its Working Group, the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations (UNCTC) has been unable to produce an agreed Code of Conduct for Transnational Corporations (TNCs). Another session of the Working Group is projected for January next year. The TNC representatives in the Commission and the OECD Governments have so far obstructed the adoption of a Code as envisioned in the Programmed of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) adopted by the UN General Assembly. The WFTU declares

that any dilution of the programme for a NIEO in the Code for TNCs is a step backward and any attempt to do so would be to undermine the mandate of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and General Assembly resolutions. The WFTU denounces the attempt of the TNCs to turn the Code into a Charter legalising their actions and calls upon workers and trade unions and member Governments of the United Nations to oppose any further delay in adopting the Code of Conduct and to ensure that the provisions of the Code as agreed to by the large majority, including the trade union representatives, are voted upon by the UN bodies concerned for their final adoption.

The WFTU Bureau session reiterated its support for the struggle of the workers and people of southern Africa against the apartheid regime. The WFTU called for an immediate end to the apartheid regime's armed attacks and acts of intervention against the frontline states, particularly Angola, and demanded the unconditional withdrawal of the racist regime's invading troops from the People's Republic of Angola. All efforts must be made to further intensify international solidarity actions, in particular the strict implementation of UN sanctions, against the apartheid regime. The WFTU expressed its full support for the convening of an International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid in Geneva on 10 and 11 June next year under the auspices of the United Nations.

The WFTU Bureau reiterated its greetings to and militant solidarity with all the trade unionists in different countries with fascist and racist regimes who are suffering reprisals for their exemplary and firm attitude in defence of the class interests of the workers.

The Bureau expressed its deep concern at the intensification of threats by the US Administration against Cuba and condemned the US preparations for military intervention in Central America - as is evident particularly from the "Symms Amendments" approved by the US Congress authorising the Reagan Administration to undertake "any measure" including military action against the Republic of Cuba. This action represents a serious danger to peace and security in the region. The WFTU Bureau called upon the entire trade union movement to mobilise active solidarity with the Cuban workers and people as well as to defend the achievements of the Nicaraguan revolution, to rebuff the imperialist plans against Grenada and to support the liberation struggle of the Salvadorean people and the struggle of the Argentinian people for the restoration of their sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

The Bureau also expressed concern for the fact that for over eight years the northern part of Cyprus is still occupied by Turkish military forces and all UN resolutions on Cyprus remain ignored and unimplemented by the Government of Turkey.

The Bureau reaffirmed the support of the WFTU for the struggle of the Kampuchean people for the rebirth of their nation and the defence of their independence.

bureau

The WFTU stated that these are moments when the international trade union organisations should be able to come closer to each other and coordinate their actions at least on issues on which they have similar or identical stands. Issues such as that of peace and disarmament, the consequences of the capitalist crisis on the world economy as a whole and on workers, especially as far as employment is concerned, the establishment of a New International Economic Order and the social and economic development of developing countries, the activities of transnational companies....all these and other issues can be dealt with in an effective manner only if our actions are coordinated.

While there are encouraging signs of an increasing desire and willingness for cooperation and coordination among trade unions of different affiliations, this desire and willingness have not yet reached the top leadership of all the international trade union organisations. The Bureau called on the International Confederation of Free Unions (ICFTU) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) to accept the offer of the World Federation of Trade Unions to join hands in an attempt to take more effective actions by the international trade union movement.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MAJOR STRIKE
STRUGGLES AND MOVEMENTS IN 1982

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The most outstanding working class action since the beginning of this year is the all-India General Strike of 19th January. The strike which was unprecedented in its sweep and coverage was the culmination of a phase of struggle initiated by the Bombay Convention of June 4, 1981. This is perhaps for the first time that the Indian working class and a majority of them went on an all-India General Strike on the basis of specific economic and other demands and to protest against attacks on trade union and democratic rights. The demands also embraced those of the agricultural workers, peasant producers and the working people at large.

The strike on the one hand attracted virulent opposition of the Government and its media, and vested interests, threats and intimidations and on the other evoked wide support from all sections of the working people and mass organisations. The strike assumed in places the dimension of a 'bandh' and even spread to rural areas amongst agricultural workers wherever they are organised.

As sequel to participation in the strike victimisation was resorted to many places, both in the public and private sectors. /in

ANTI VICTIMISATION DAY was observed all over the country on 23 February 1982 at the call of National Campaign Committee.

Another outstanding working class action this year is the Bombay Textile Strike of 2½ lakh workers which commenced on January 18 and still continuing in its tenth month. The strike is a historic one in terms of its duration and the unity and determination displayed by the workers defying all sufferings.

The 23-day old strike of more than three lakh State Government Employees of Rajasthan was called off following an agreement. One of the terms of the settlement was the impounding of Rs. 24.50 crore and depositing the amount towards five instalments of LA to PF accounts.

About 6 lakh employees of UP State Government went on indefinite strike on March 22. Following severe repression, arrests, suspensions etc. the strike was suspended on April 6.

At the call of the Joint Action Committee of Trade Unions, Maharashtra Bandh was observed on April 19 in support of the striking cotton textile workers of Bombay. The NCC also called for observance of Solidarity Day on April 28 in support of the Bombay textile strike.

On a 13-point charter of demands and to express solidarity with the striking Bombay textile workers, textile workers of Delhi went on a day's united strike on April 21.

The United strike of Rajasthan electricity workers numbering about 60,000 which began on May 19 displayed the militant and determined mood of the working class.

Following introduction in Parliament of the anti-labour amendment Bills, the NCC called for Anti-Labour Black Bills Day on July 8, the opening day of Parliament for the monsoon session. On that day in Delhi, a massive protest demonstration was held in front of the Parliament House.

The anniversary of the Bombay Convention held on June 4, 1981 was observed all over the country on June 4th this year as Campaign Day.

In support of the Bombay textile strike, the textile workers of Maharashtra observed Solidarity strike on July 8. Perhaps the longest strike of teachers was the one that took place in Bihar of the College and University teachers during April-June which was called off after 90 days.

On July 20, the Central Government employees observed All-India Protest Day and a daylong Dharna was staged in Delhi.

Jute workers of West Bengal observed a united strike on August 10 against lockouts, suspension of production and anti-labour practices of the mill owners. At the call of WFTU 10th Congress and the AITUC, 1st of September was widely observed all over the country as a Day of Peace and Disarmament.

On September 3, newspapermen went on a day's strike against the Bihar Press Bill.

The Civic employees of Bombay went on a 72-hour strike on September 21, which extended to six days.

There was massive participation of AITUC unions and workers in the Delhi Peace March of October 4 and peace marches, meetings and demonstrations held in all parts of the country.

The strike of 17,000 workers of Neyveli Lignite Corporation in Tamil Nadu on the question of bonus was called off after nine days on November 4.

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B.
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**AITUC
GENERAL COUNCIL
MEETING**

INFORMATION MATERIALS

NEW DELHI
September 23-25, 1981

C O N T E N T S

1. Outline of Report on Main Developments -
- Indrajit Gupta, General Secretary
2. Resolution Adopted at the Bombay Convention held
on June 4, 1981.
3. Communique issued by the National Campaign Committee
on July 24, 1981 and on September 9, 1981.
4. a) The Wages Question - Some Aspects
b) Minimum Wages Front : Growing Actions of Trade Unions.
- Raj Bahadur Gour.
5. Note on Industrial Relations
6. Brief Account of Strike Struggles since November
1980.
7. Strikes and Lockouts: Man Days losses during the
last Decade
8. a) Text of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance
banning strikes.
b) Modifications in the Bill
c) Provisions with regard to lock-outs and lay-off.
9. Note on Social Security
10. AITUC Memorandum to the ESIS Review Committee
11. WFTU Appeal to workers in connection with the Tenth
World TU Congress
12. The Price Indices.

FOR GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

23-25 SEPTEMBER 1981

OUTLINE OF REPORT ON MAIN DEVELOPMENTS

INDRAJIT GUPTA

GENERAL SECRETARY

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International :

- = AITUC Working Committee meeting last April had warned of new Reagan administration's all-out offensive against peace and detente, intensification of cold war and arms race, fresh interventions against national liberation movements and progressive non-aligned countries, and anti-Soviet global axis.
- = This trend dangerously aggravated during last 4-5 months.
- = US imperialism forges new ties with China, including supply of arms - "identity of objectives" proclaimed - new provocations against Kampuchea, Vietnam, Laos.
- = Militarisation of Japan stepped up - Sabotage of Indian Ocean Conference.
- = In Middle East, renewed use of Israeli regime to fan flame of war - bombing of Iraqi nuclear reactor.
- = Desperate efforts to crush PLO, partition Lebanon, threaten Syria
- = Deliberate provocation by US 6th Fleet against Libya - shooting down of Libyan planes.
- = Rapid Deployment Force being further reinforced in Persian Gulf area
- = More blatant support to S.African racist regime as "strategically" of US - Offensive against SWAPO forces in Namibia - undeclared invasion of Angola.
- = Open US declaration of arming Salvador regime - conspiracies against Cuba and Nicaragua.
- = Decision to stockpile neutron bombs - campaign of "terror" weapons against peace forces - combined with stationing medium - range missiles in NATO countries of West Europe.
- = Incitement of anti-Socialist forces in Poland.

= Threat to India greatly increased by massive US arming of Zia regime in Pakistan, including supply of ultra-sophisticated F-16 deep-penetration bombers plus 3-billion dollars' worth of other arms-false boga, of Soviet "threat" through Afghanistan.

= Chinese diplomacy aimed at blunting Indian vigilance and weakening our ties with USSR -- No common ground emerged during Huang Hua's visit - powerful pro-US lobbies working for "normalisation".

= Ominous developments in Bangladesh - liberation fighters being plan fully liquidated from army and administration - collaborators and pro-Pakistan elements getting upper hand - big confrontation developing with democratic and opposition forces.

= Sri Lanka reactionary government - suppresses strikes brutally - flirts with US imperialism to give it's Indian Ocean navy bases for "rest and recreation" - provokes anti-Tamil riots.

= However, US war policy in collusion with Beijing, meeting with massive protest and resistance all over the world - mighty mobilisation of anti-imperialist and peace forces growing.

= Big demonstrations in W.Europe and USA against threat of nuclear war and against the Neutron Bomb.

= Wide support for USSR's repeated peace proposals - concrete Soviet initiatives for disarmament talks a major, positive factor against warmongers - Supreme Soviet's appeal.

= Historic victory of Left in France - US could not prevent entry of Communists into French Government - US blackmail policy defeated.

= Arab regimes refused to fall into anti-Soviet trap - Israel the main enemy for them.

= Similarly, many African States and OAU refused to line up with US, recognising S.Africa as main enemy, and not the USSR.

= Ottawa Conference of 7 Western countries refused to cut off trade relations with socialist countries.

= Domestic crisis in USA deepening - formerly, armament manufacture meant less unemployment, but now it means acute inflation, more taxes on citizens, drastic cuts in education, health, housing, etc.

= Government of India's foreign policy generally progressive and positive for peace and against imperialist threats and conspiracies, and for further developing ties of friendship and all-round, cooperation with USSR and other socialist countries.

= But, many vacillations still/persist-persistent talk of "Super-Power rivalry" - reactionary US imperialist global policy not seen in context of national security - China policy still confused.

= Heavy economic and financial dependence on West - unprecedented loan request from IMF (Rs.4,000 crores) with strings attached - Rs.800 crores from Western commercial banks - more concessions to multi-nationals in India - all this increases danger of vacillations in foreign policy and blunting of anti-imperialist edge.

= Rightist, anti-Soviet lobby also very active.

= At such a time, Indira Gandhi split the ISCUS & AIPSO by forming parallel bodies - what was purpose?

= Trade unions must seriously take up anti-imperialist, peace campaign against war danger and threat to our own country - expose warmongers and their agents - Intensify independent campaign from T.U. platform as well as in cooperation with ISCUS & AIPSO - Unite with all patriotic forces against common danger.

* * * * *

National :

= In spite of some increase in production, crisis of capitalist path continues unabated

= Characterised by :-

- Uncontrolled inflation and galloping price rise
- Mounting budgetary deficit and balance of payments deficit
- Steady erosion in real earnings and incomes of working people
- Growing unemployment
- Monopoly houses amassing more wealth and assets
- Despite greater availability of supplies (wheat, sugar), prices go up due to free-trade policies and failure of procurement.

= Governments' "package" plan

- Prices of petroleum products, cement, urea jacked up - sd also issue prices, rates and fares
- Import of wheat, sugar, edible oils, etc., at heavy foreign exchange cost.
- Import of agricultural products like cotton, copra, coconut oil

cocoa, rubber at cost of peasant masses .

- Impounding of D.A. proposed
- Record loan of Rs. 5,000 crores from IMF
- E S M O
- Growing use of NSA against movements .

= Corruption rampant - Antulay case - even Bombay TU's held morcha against it.

= Police running riot against weaker sections of people.

= Masses getting more and more restive and want to fight for their demands and rights - militant mood and fighting temper.

= After Bangalore public sector strike, LIC strike, and Jamshedpur contractor's workers' struggle, many big and small working class actions taking place - Minimum wage categories, strikes - Jute general strike (one-day) in W. Bengal - Baroda bandh, etc., Kisan rally of 26th March, 143 days' strike of NPCC workers'.

= All-India Joint Convention of Trade Unions, Bombay, June 4th - a new landmark of countrywide mass resistance to policy of high prices and attacks on T.U rights.

= State-wide Conventions held almost everywhere - big success - State Bandhs in Kerala and W-Bengal.

= United mass demonstrations against ESMO on August 17th.

= Moving towards massive Workers' March to Parliament, and Bharat Bandh - this General Council has to play key role.

* * * * *

Communal and Divisive Forces :-

= Serious threat to unity of democratic movement and national integration

= Mass discontent being used to fan fratricidal clashes and tensions:

= R S S - led massacre in Bihar Sharif

= Stabbings in Hyderabad

= Separatist slogan of "Khalistan" in Punjab

= Hindu-Sikh clashes over ban on smoking.

= Conversions of Harijans to Islam

= Assam imbroglio continues

= Insurgencies in N.Eastern region

= Anti-Harijan riots in Gujarat

= Trade unions and working class must heighten their vigilance and resistance against these reactionary forces.

= Assess how casteism is affecting workers' unity.

= Trends in Labour Policy:-

= Wage freeze and suppression of militant trade unionism is counter-part of policy of new concessions, reliefs and incentives to private monopolists and black-money operators - AITUC had been warning for long time of inevitable attack on living standards and T.U rights.

= Bourgeois offensive will intensify under pressure of World Bank, IMF, multinationals and monopolies.

= Situation calls for:-

1. Determined struggle against narrow-economism
2. Development of solidarity actions
3. Planned development of united action and mass struggles.

= Inadequate understanding of depths of bourgeois political and economic crisis, and low level of class solidarity, are limiting workers' fighting capacity despite growing militancy and doggedness in struggles.

= Serious gaps in our own organisation and weakness of AITUC's independent mass base.

= Taking advantage of divisions in TU movement, forthcoming amendments to I.D Act likely to incorporate in new form, anti-labour and anti-strike provisions of Janata Government's I.R.Bill.

= Various devices to freeze/restrict wages and cut down social security benefits - fate of Rath Committee - new Index of cost of living being prepared with 1980 as base year - DA. neutralisation rate already frozen at Rs.1.30 per point (Palekar award modified) - Bonus to be linked with productivity - even P.F threatened by Ramanujam Committee's pro-employer recommendations.

= On top of all this, lock-outs, lay-offs, and closures in private sector running rampant - number of "sick" units increasing, with

Rs.2,000 crores of public funds locked up in them.

= AITUC attitude to public sector - does it need to be revised?
2-pillar policy . still basically stands - It is, not a socialist sector but a State capitalist sector, with anti-imperialist potential and for self-reliance - but is it playing that role vis-a-vis monopoly sector? Still controlled by bureaucratic (and often corrupt) managements, anti-labour attitude, poor performance - public sympathy in danger of being eroded - anti-public sector lobby more active and vocal - hence, role of TU's should be more informed and positive to enable effective, concrete intervention.

= But all attacks on public sector workers must be unhesitatingly resisted .

= Many private sector industries also in "crisis" - non-coal mines, jute, cashew, coir, textiles, etc.-TU's working there must combine struggle for worker's demands with concrete slogans for saving the industry and its employment capacity.

Tasks :-

1. = Programme chalked out by National Campaign Committee should be seriously pursued and implemented by all AITUC units .

= November 3rd - All-India Day of Joint Demonstrations

= November 23rd - March to Parliament

= Create conditions for successful Bharat Bandh in face of ESMO.

= A difficult job, calling for extensive propoganda and agitation and mass mobilisation on widest possible base.

= Along with organised sector, a major task to draw in millions of workers of unorganised sector .

= Popularise not only the defence of trade union rights (collective bargaining, freedom of association, right to strike), but also basic slogans against price-rise, compel the Government to take all steps necessary for a country-wide, comprehensive, public distribution system to supply essential commodities to the people at controlled prices .

= Difficulties in the path of united TU action:-

- Role of INTUC

- Role of CITU

- Weakness of AITUC's own base
- Failure of W.Bengal & Kerala Governments to set new models in field of labour legislation and industrial relations.

2. = State Conventions have been generally successful - they should be followed up by District/regional conventions - maximum number of workers should be covered - Emergence of TUJAC in Maharashtra very important.

3. = Earlier decision for 4 Zonal conventions on Minimum Wages - to be followed by united mass actions - so far, only South Zone has held very successful Convention - other Zones should be activated - many developments taking place on this front (fixation and revision of minimum wages, policy guidelines, etc).

4. = 61st Anniversary of AITUC on October 31st, 1981
= should be observed by holding mass rallies at all centres around 3 key slogans :-

1. Unite against US-Chinese war planes and rearming of Pakistan.
2. Unite to break the power of the monopolies and the multi-nationals!
3. Unite with the peasants and agricultural workers in solidarity actions!

5. = Strengthen independent mass base and organisation of AITUC unions - this is a basic task for us - and very favourable opportunity is there now to branch out to new areas and sectors - enrol membership systematically with proper records - step up TU schooling.

6. = Functioning of Industrial Federations led by us - calls for serious review and reorganisation - some federations very active, self-sufficient, and functioning independently - what about others which are mainly on paper and dependent on AITUC Centre?

= Our work in T.U.I's needs improvement.

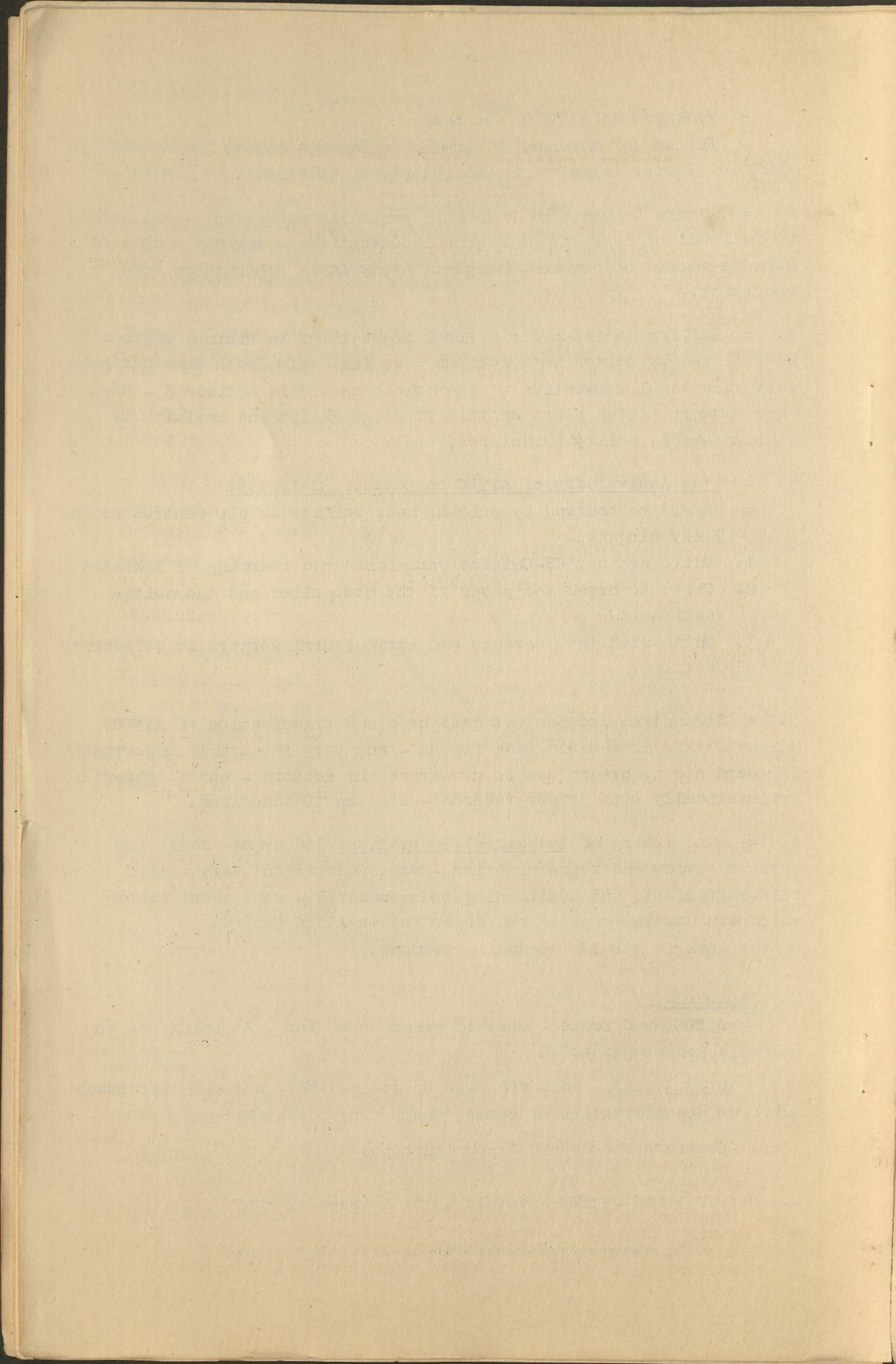
7. Finance:-

= AITUC Fund Drive - what is position so far - 25 lakhs was to be collected by 31-10-81.

= WFTU Stamps - sale campaign up to 31-1-82 - not only for funds but also popularisation of coming Tenth Congress at Havana.

= Centre's income and expenditure position

8. = Our stand re: ILO - should it be revised or not?



RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE BOMBAY CONVENTION

HELD ON JUNE 4, 1981.

1. This National Convention of Central Trade Unions and Industrial Federations, is meeting at a time when the working class throughout the country is facing allround attacks on its wages and other emoluments, and on the trade union and democratic rights secured through decades of bitter struggles and heroic sacrifices.
2. The entire working people are groaning under the ever-mounting weight of rising prices and ever increasing unemployment.
3. The Government led by Smt. Indira Gandhi has miserably failed to hold the price line despite all the tall promises made by her during the 1980 Lok Sabha elections. The wholesale price index has shown a rise of nearly 17 percent between March 1980 and March 1981, and the same trend still continues and even more so in the case of retail prices. The daily necessities of life like sugar, pulses, edible oils, cereals, cloth, kerosene, domestic coal, soap etc. are going beyond the reach of the common man.
4. Galloping prices are further aggravated by the Government's own policies of putting more and more burdens on the working people while appeasing the monied and propertied classes.
5. The biggest component of the Government's indirect taxes is the excise duties on essential commodities. Deficit financing is mounting from year to year. Government controlled prices of articles like coal, steel, petrol, railway fares and postal charges are periodically raised in the name of getting resources. Industrialists, speculators and smugglers are allowed to amass huge amounts of black money which are utilised to manipulate the market through hoarding and profiteering. The latest concession to these anti-social forces is the scheme of Bearer Bonds.
6. Instead of taking steps to reduce economic disparities by attacking the profits and privileges of the monopolists and other exploiting strata, the Government is deliberately permitting still further concentration of economic power to take place.
7. In sharp contrast to this the Government is aggressively advocating a "rationalisation" of the wage structure, meaning thereby a reduction of higher wages to a lower standard. While there is no action taken to raise the miserably low wages prevalent in many sectors, particularly in the agricultural and "Minimum Wage" categories, the worker in organised industry is being threatened that unless he accepts increased work-load he should not claim higher wages. And in the name of controlling "inflation", the workers' emoluments like D.A. and bonus are sought to be scaled down or frozen.
8. The Bureau of Public Enterprises under the Ministry of Finance has issued directive to the Public Sector managements virtually imposing a wage freeze on the workers. Naturally, the private sector employers are not lagging behind. They are being assisted by the fraudulent cost of living index figures compiled by the Government itself in open defiance of the Rath Committee's recommendations. Every rise in prices is thereby leading to further erosion in the worker's real wages.

9. The condition of contractors' and migrant labour, of working women and child labour beggars description.
10. The struggles of peasants for remunerative prices and of agricultural workers for higher wages are sought to be ruthlessly suppressed.
11. Faced with the rapidly spreading discontent of the toiling people and the rising tide of their resistance, the Government and employers have launched desperate attacks on the trade union rights and struggles.
12. The National Security Act is being shamelessly utilised against trade unionists and striking workers, despite all assurances to the contrary. In State after State ruled by the Congress(I); new laws are being enacted seeking to prohibit strikes and declare them as 'illegal'. Summary dismissals, charge-sheets, suspensions, transfers, compulsory retirements and even extirpations of trade union activists have become the order of the day.
13. Hundreds are arrested and implicated in concocted criminal cases. Hired goondas of the employers have been physically assaulting, injuring and even killing trade union workers and even raping women-folk of striking workers, to all of which the police turns a blind eye.
14. Firing and lathi-charges are daily occurrences, from which even Government employees and public sector workers have not been spared.
15. Events prove unmistakably that the Government had decided to throw to the winds the sanctity of agreements and collective bargaining, and to impose on the employees whatever wages and conditions it arbitrarily decides. Such is the lesson of the LIC and GIC and of the prolonged struggle of the workers of the Bangalore-based public sector industries in the course of which the Government sought to defy even the Supreme Court's directives and did not hesitate to impose a lock-out in 4 public sector units in order to crush the workers' rights.
16. The question of recognition of trade unions is purposefully kept pending by the Government although all trade union other than the officially patronised INTUC of Congress(I) have demanded that it should be determined by the democratic process of secret ballot of the workers.
17. Basic ILO conventions like "Freedom of Association" and "Right of Collective Bargaining" and others are not yet ratified.
18. The Supreme Court's decision on widening the definition of "industry" to include Educational and Hospital employees is not yet implemented. On the contrary, attempts are being made to further restrict the rights of University and College teachers.
19. The Government's labour relations policy is heavily loaded in favour of Congress-I led unions, even where these are patently not representative of the majority of workers. Official consultation with other trade unions is fast becoming nothing but a "window-dressing", as seen, for example, in the case of selection of workers' delegates to the ILO.

20. This Convention further expresses its grave concern at the attempts being made by the reactionary vested interests to divide the workers on the basis of caste, religion, language, regionalism etc. and to instigate fratricidal strife in the ranks of the working class, so that its unity is disrupted and weakened and its attention is diverted into wrong channels. It is, therefore, imperative that the trade unions should sharpen their vigilance and activity, and fight consciously for defending and strengthening the unity of the working class without which the Trade Union movement cannot survive.
21. This Convention warmly greets the lakhs of workers and employees, in public and private sectors alike, who have conducted heroic struggles during the past year to protect their working and living conditions and to safeguard their trade union and democratic rights.
22. Experience shows that isolated struggles of different sections of workers are frequently suppressed by the collusion of the Government, employers and state machinery. It is, therefore, of paramount importance that the working class prepares itself for a countrywide united movement against the price rise and to reverse the Government's anti-labour policies. The concerted might of the organised working class must seriously take up the challenge posed by the Government's attempts to wipe out all past gains of the labour movement.
23. This convention calls upon the entire working class of India to rally together in the fight against the price rise and press for the following demands:
 - (1) Sale of all essential commodities such as food grains, edible oil, cloth, sugar etc. at subsidised prices through a network of shops in public distribution system under the control and supervision of popular committees by ensuring adequate and uninterrupted supply of these commodities.
 - (2) Remunerative price to the peasants and higher wage to agriculture workers.
 - (3) Stringent measures against black-marketeers, hoarders, smugglers, speculators and officials protecting them. In this anti-price rise movement, the trade unions should enlist the active support and cooperation of other sections of the consumers and toilers.
24. This Convention further calls upon the working class to unite for the following economic demands and for trade union rights:
 - (1) Need-based minimum wages on the basis of norms laid down by the 15th Indian Labour Conference;
 - (2) Full neutralisation of the rise in cost of living. Removal of ceiling of Rs. 1.30 per point rise in price index (1960 base) arbitrarily fixed by the BPE;
 - (3) Amendment of the Payment of Bonus Act providing bonus for all workers without ceiling and preconditions;
 - (4) Enactment of legislation for agricultural workers' wages and job security;
 - (5) Ban on retrenchment and closures; introduction of unemployment allowance to the unemployed;

- (6) Withdrawal of all victimisation measures against workers and TU activists;
 - (7) Rectification of fraudulent cost of living indices;
 - (8) Recognition of TUs through secret ballot;
 - (9) Full guarantee of collective bargaining and TU rights without any discrimination.
 - (10) Repeal of National Security Act and other repressive measures.
25. The Convention therefore calls for holding similar state-wise and regionwise conventions all over the country in the next 3 months so that the main issues focussed in this Convention are popularised among all sections of the working class. For this purpose similar statewide campaign committees should be set up.
26. This Convention, taking into account the need for a prolonged and sustained movement with an ever-widening mass base, resolves that the statewide conventions should be held with the clear perspective of further follow-up actions which would include:
- 1) Observance of an all India Protest and Demands Day;
 - 2) A massive Workers' March to parliament; and
 - 3) A country-wide, one-day token strike in all sectors of industry.
27. The Convention authorises the National Campaign Committee to fix suitable dates and time schedules for the above, and other necessary programmes so as to ensure the most effective mobilisation of the working class and other toiling sections.
28. The combined might of the united working class and the toiling masses in the country side will be such a formidable force that it can bring about a change in the anti-working class, anti-people, pro-monopoly, pro-multinational policies of the Government.
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P R E S S C O M M U N I Q U E

ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

NEW DELHI
24th JULY 1981.

The National Campaign Committee consisting of representatives of the 8 Central Trade Union Organisations which had convened the joint trade union convention at Bombay on June 4th last against price-rise and anti-labour policies of the Government, held its meeting in Delhi today. Shri Ram Naresh Singh, General Secretary of BMS was in the chair.

The committee noted that preparations for state-level conventions are going ahead satisfactorily, the dates for such conventions have already been fixed up in a number of States and it is expected that conventions will be completed in all States by the middle of September, with the whole-hearted cooperation of the state units of the 8 Central Trade Union Organisations along with the 40 or more industrial & trade federations whose parent bodies participated in the Bombay Convention.

The Committee has today decided that an "ALL INDIA DAY" for highlighting the Workers' demands and for protesting against the continuing violations of trade union rights will be observed on November 3rd, 1981 by holding massive united demonstrations in all State Capitals as well as industrial centres.

This will be followed up in the third week of November by a mammoth "Workers' March to Parliament" to serve notice on the Central Government to retract from its anti-labour and anti-people policies or to face the united struggle of the working class in the form of an all India one day general strike whose exact date will be decided and announced later.

The committee noted with grave concern that during the 7 weeks which have elapsed since the Bombay Convention, a number of serious developments have further corroborated the urgent need for a mighty, united and countrywide mobilisation of the working class.

These include the Government's shameless jacking up of

prices of oil, petroleum products, cement, etc. thereby stoking further the fires of inflation; the reported decision to make arbitration compulsory by law in order to ban all strikes and to exclude so-called "losing" concerns from liability to pay the minimum statutory bonus; with-holding of 2 instalments of due D.A from the Central Government employees; the brutal murder of TU leader Jayprakash at Modinagar; the detention of Dr. Samant in Bombay under the N.S.A and banning of a workers' rally; and many other instances.

The Committee has also decided to make a joint representation to the ILO asking for it to institute an inquiry into the trade unions' complaints of gross violations of the rights of freedom of association and collective bargaining.

The Committee appeals to all trade unions, including those who were unable for any reason to participate in the Bombay Convention, to participate at all levels in order to ensure a mighty mobilisation of the working class for the success of the programme decided on.

SD/-
Indrajit Gupta
AITUC

SD/-
Ram Naresh Singh
B M S

SD/-
P. Rama Murthy
C I T U

SD/-
D.D. Vasisht
H M S

SD/-
J.S. Dara
I N T U C

SD/-
Amar Chakravarthi
T U C C

SD/-
Sushil Bhattacharya
U T U C

SD/-
Pratish Chandra
U T U C (L/S)

* * * * *

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF TUS
TO INTENSIFY CAMPAIGN AGAINST ESMO

The National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions in its meeting held in New Delhi on 8 September decided to intensify the struggle in support of the demand for scrapping of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, which is soon to become an Act in the current session of Parliament. Shri J.S. Dara President INTUC presided over the meeting.

The meeting noted that successful State level conventions have been held in Maharashtra, Kerala, West Bengal, Assam, Tamilnadu, Tripura, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka and conventions in other states have been planned during the rest of September and early October. It welcomed the spectacular response given by the working class to the call of united struggle against price rise and anti-working class policies of the Government.

The meeting congratulated the working class of Kerala for successful State Bandh on 3 September last and supported the decision of the trade unions in West Bengal to organise state Bandh on 11 September on the same issues. The Committee expressed satisfaction that the Campaign unleashed by the Bombay Convention in June last is gaining momentum all over the country.

The Committee reiterated its call to the working Class of India to hold demonstrations on 3 November and observe All India Demands and Protest Day throughout the country to popularise the demands raised by the Bombay Convention such as reduction in prices of essential commodities, higher prices for peasants and wages for agricultural workers, action against black marketeers, need based minimum wage, full neutralisation in rise in cost of living, ban on retrenchment and victimisation, higher bonus, correction of Index, recognition of TUS through secret ballot, unhindered right of collective bargaining and withdrawal of NSA, and other repressive laws. On that day, demonstrations will be organised in front of Raj Bhawans and before District Headquarters and other offices of Government to voice the protest of the working class against rising prices and draconian laws like ESMO.

The Committee further decided to organise massive workers March to Parliament on 23 November in support of these demands. Lakhs of workers from all over the country in all the industries will converge in Delhi on the occasion and warn the Central Government for rise in prices and anti-working class policies and consider the date of one day strike through out the country.

The Committee considered the Memorandum to be submitted to the International Labour Organisation regarding the suppression of Freedom of Association and Right to Collective Bargaining in India. It was decided to submit the memorandum within on week.

The next meeting of the National Campaign Committee of Trade Unions will be held on 1st November 1981 at New Delhi. The meeting was attended by Comrade Indrajit Gupta MP., Comrade Parvathi Krishnan (AITUC), Dr. Shanti Patel MP. (HMS), Dr. M.K. Pandhe, Comrade Nrisingha Chakravarty (CITU), Shri R.K. Bhakt, Shri G.S. Vasishat (IMS), Shri J.S. Dara (INTUC), Com. Sushil Bhattacharya, Com. Sourin Bhattacharya (UTUC). Com. Pritish Chanda Comrade Gian Singh (UTUC-IS) and Com. Amar Chakravarty MP. (TUCC).

9th September 1981.

THE WAGES QUESTION : SOME ASPECTS

In reply to a question in Lok Sabha during the last budget session the Labour Minister informed that the Government is at present engaged in preparing a wage policy statement and expects to finalise it in consultation with the representatives of employers and workers at the next national tripartite conference. Such a statement in generalities has however already been made in its essential outlines in course of the Sixth Plan Policy Framework dealing with wages and incomes policy. The Economic survey, 1980-81 of the Ministry of Finance published on the eve of the last budget indicates the line of Government thinking on the question of wages. The Sixth Plan Policy Framework says that "There is.....need for bringing about a greater rationalisation of the wages structure and linking of wages at least in some measure to labour productivity." The Economic Survey avers that controlling or "moderating inflation" will depend on "the success achieved in containing demand for higher wages and income within limits of productivity increases." The Finance Minister addressing the Karnataka small-scale Industries Association at Bangalore on June 1, called for "tightening the belt" to ease the inflationary pressures on the economy. Everybody knows whose belly will be squeezed in the name of fighting inflation, certainly not of the fat moneybags. Naval Tata, the spokesman of Indian employers, has gone a step further by demanding delinking the DA adjustment from the Consumer Price Index. It has now become a fashion, or a ritual, to shed crocodile tears for the unorganised workers of the industrial sector and also rural labour, wages although the unorganised labour whose and emoluments are fixed by the Government, central and state, are condemned to pitifully low wages, much below the poverty line, and for the rural labour the Government cannot even implement the paltry wages fixed by the latter. This year at the ILO, Naval Tata as well as the chief government delegate, Ram Dulari Sinha, Union Minister of State for Labour have both shed profuse tears for the rural labour and asked the ILO to shift its attention from the organised workers. This is perhaps because any number of pious conventions and recommendations for rural labour and unorganised workers will mostly remain on paper. The basic idea, both of the Government and employers is to enlist public sympathy for imposing a wage freeze on the organised sector workers, and to leave the unorganised workers, both urban and rural, to fend for themselves. The freeze as a matter of fact, is already partly in operation; the rate of DA is already freezed at Rs. 1.30 per point of the consumer price indices and a ceiling on bonus is being imposed wherever, as in LIC, there was no ceiling so long.

There is talk of reviving Wage Boards for different industries with statutory backing for determining wages, etc. instead of bipartite collective bargaining. On the basis of experiences of the working of different Wage Boards appointed in the sixties for a large number of industries, all the trade union organisations came to the conclusion that Wage Board as a machinery for wage determination has outlived its utility for the workers. Even then, the government is reported to be thinking of bringing back Wage Boards.

The Government, as it says, has not accepted the recommendations of the Bhoothalingam Panel, but the basic tenets, its ideological content are no different from what the Government is following in practice in respect of wages, DA, bonus etc. The ruling classes are ideologically wedded to the basic approach of the Bhoothalingam report.

Under various slogans and theme embellished theoretically by the learned intelligentsia of the bourgeoisie, the basic drive is to impose wage freeze, if not, at least wage restraint on the organised sector workers who by their collective strength and long years of bitter struggles have been able to force some order and standardisation in the anarchy that was prevailing in the realm of wages, and also secured some increases in the wages levels. The Government and the bourgeoisie are both anxious to put a curb on the collective strength of the organised workers, to impose restraint on wage rises, which include D.A., Bonus and other financial benefits in the name of setting right "distortions" as if all other sectors of economic activities are free from distortions. They are not worried nor much bothered by the vast unorganised workers in urban and rural sectors and also vast and fast increasing army of unemployed for whom their sympathies are utterly hypocritical. The latter are a handy stick to beat the organised sector workers, their wages and rights. They try to paint the organised workers as a privileged class occupying "high wages islands" compared to poverty and squalor in which the vast millions are steeped in.

It is worthwhile to point out in this connection that out of the total organised sector workers numbering 223.61 lakh (as in June 1980), 72.38 lakh belong to the private sector, and the rest 151.23 lakh to the government sector which includes central and state government employees, employees of local bodies and public sector industrial and service undertakings. The wages and emoluments of the bulk of the government sector employees are much below the needbased minimum wages and still far away from what are called "high wage islands".

Thus all exercises on the part of the government and employers for evolving a so-called rational or national wage policy have always and invariably been aimed at working out, as far as possible with the concurrence of compromising trade unions, if not unilaterally, a system by means of which wage claims of the organised sector can be curbed under cover of linking wages with productivity, on the pretext of fighting inflation, or in the name of unorganised labour and so on. Attack on the right of collective bargaining is also a part of the same policy.

WAGES AND PRODUCTIVITY

One of the old slogans again revived, for preventing wage rise, is for linking wages with productivity the implication being that existing wages are ahead of productivity rises and that any wage increase must follow productivity increase.

All studies so far made including the report of the Nati National Commission on Labour have established that wages have always lagged behind production and productivity measured in terms of value added by manufacture. In fact, share of wages in the Value Added have been declining during all these years of Planning. The essayist of The Hindustan Times who advocated the standpoint of government and employers, had, however, to admit: "Impartial studies have established that wages have not kept pace with increase in production and productivity" (May 1, 1981). The study published in the Indian Labour Journal of September 1980 has shown that the total Value Added (at constant prices) had gone up at a faster rate compared to total emoluments (at constant prices). The same study has further shown that during 1960 to 1977-78, that is in 17 years, in real terms, the average annual wages per worker recorded an increase of only 22.3 percent, whereas the per capita value added increased by 50.3 per cent. Those who are advocating the linking of wages with productivity should concede a general wage rise to make up the existing gap between wages and productivity, before they ask for the linking.

The second trend of propoganda against the organised workers is that the organised sector workers who number only a little over 22 million out of the total labour force of 180 million are taking away a disproportionately larger share of the national income or what they say the national cake. This of course, is a canard, and not borne out by facts. It has the sole purpose of showing the organised workers in unfavourable light, to isolate them from the rest of the working people and thus prepare ground for imposing wage freeze shielding the explcitors, the real culprits. According to the National Accounts Statistics published recently by the Government of India, during the period of 1970-71 to 1976-77, there was significant downward trend in "compensation of employees" both in public and private sectors with corresponding gain under the share of "Profits and Dividends". In regard to the Organised Sector, while the share of "Compensation of employees" declined from 71.2 percent in 1970-71 to 66.4 percent in 1976-77, the share of "Profits and Dividends" on the other hand, recorded an

increase from 16.9 percent to 21.3% during the same period. This trend continued through 1978-79 for which data have been released only a few days ago. During the same period the Net Domestic Product (NDP) at current prices registered an overall increase of 93%. It is therefore totally unfounded that workers in the organised sector are taking away larger share of the national cake. The opposite is in fact true. Those who are taking away the lion's share to the detriment of the national economy as a whole are escaping attention behind the slander campaign launched against the organised workers.

The following table published in The Economic Times of July 21, 1980 would further prove that wages or emoluments are lagging behind productivity or Value Added by Manufacture:

=====		
Name of the Industry	Value Added per Employee per annum	Emoluments per employee per annum
1	2	3
=====		
1. Food Products :	Rs. 4,498	Rs. 2,211
2. Beverages, Tobacco & Tobacco Products :	6,611	2,347
3. Cotton Textiles :	6,389	5,369
4. Wool, Silk & Synthetic Fibre :	11,471	5,318
5. Jute, Hemp & Mesta Textiles :	6,183	4,990
6. Paper, Paper Products, Printing Publishing & Allied Industries :	12,066	5,748
7. Leather, Leather Products & Fur Products :	7,857	4,139
8. Rubber, Plastic, Petroleum & Coal Products :	20,510	7,511
9. Chemical & Chemical Products :	22,464	8,312
10. Non-Metallic Mineral Products :	7,476	4,020
11. Basic Metals, Alloys Industries, Iron & Steel :	9,962	5,632
12. Metal Products & parts except Machineries & Transport Equipment :	9,852	5,205
13. Machinery, Tools & parts except Electrical Machinery :	13,728	6,806
14. Electrical Machinery, Apparatus & Supplies & Parts :	17,401	8,281
15. Transport Equipments & Parts :	11,279	7,671
16. Water Works & Supply :	7,350	3,822
=====		

N.B: Figures relate to the year - 1975-76

This apart, most of the trade union organisations are opposed to the idea of linking wages with production and productivity as workers have no control, nor any say over production and productivity or any other aspect of management activities . Production and Productivity depend on many factors besides labour, like supply of raw materials, market, production process, condition of machineries etc., and above all, the motive of profit and profitability governing production. It is wellknown that technological development has been grossly neglected in almost all the major traditional industries in India having had assured high profits in sheltered market which had adverse impact on the growth of production and productivity. In such industries burdened with obsolete technology and machineries and which employ bulk of the workers in the manufacturing sector, increasing productivity has only one meaning and that is, increasing the work load. Even when employers instal new technology etc. they do so with a view to cutting down jobs and sweating it out on the remaining work force. Closures and lockouts are also handy weapons in imposing increased workload and other harsher conditions .

As a matter of fact, linking wages with production and productivity really means and in fact is understood by the government and employers as of wages and wage increases linked with increased workload. It is evident from the policy framework of the sixth plan also where increasing wages commensurate with increased productivity in modern industries working with modern technology has been discouraged. It states to say: "but such a policy (of linking wages with productivity) may still require those engaged in occupations with rapidly rising productivity to accept a somewhat lower increase in earnings..."

The Employers' Federation of India has asked for a "recognisable criterion such as productivity , social justice and economic viability" to be the basis for any wage increase. As a matter of fact, no wage increase will be possible satisfying the criteria prescribed by the employers .

Wage-price spiral theory has been rejected by the trade union movement, that wages are responsible for inflation, and for rise in prices .

Whatever Naval Tata or the Employers' Federation and their theoreticians might try to claim, all studies so far made by the Reserve Bank of India of the finances of the corporate sector have established beyond doubt that even after the introduction of the guaranteed minimum bonus and DA adjustments with cost of

living fluctuations, wage costs in relation to the value of production have not gone up during all these years and are hovering around 15 percent. Therefore, the source and causes for inflation and price rises should be sought elsewhere with the monopolies, speculators and traders and their aggrandisement who profit most in a situation of inflation and high prices.

DA AND NEUTRALISATION

In the context of utter inability on the part of the government to hold the price line, attempts are being made since sometime to put an upper ceiling on Dearness Allowance, to freeze the rate of dearness allowance, to deny full neutralisation of the cost of living, and to cap it all to continue a fraudulent price index which depresses the index. On all these counts the Government has succeeded to an extent and persistent efforts are under way to bring all DA schemes under one pattern. For the LIC employees, there was no ceiling on DA, but the Government in the name of rationalisation is trying to impose a ceiling, as in respect of bonus. Wherever the DA rate was higher than Rs. 1.30 per point, the Government tried as in Oil Industry, to bring down the rate.

Full neutralisation of the rise in cost of living is still a far cry for the workers of the organised sector, not to speak of others. A theory has been gradually built up that full neutralisation above the minimum wage level is not legitimate and should be foregone and a so-called tapering off rate has come to stay. When sellers of every commodity are demanding remunerative price, a price which is cost plus it is being denied to the worker whose input costs also have gone up eroding the purchasing power of his money wages. Every industry particularly controlled industries, demands fixing of the price of its commodity on the cost-plus basis. The cement industry, for example, gets a guaranteed rate of return with provision of full escalation clauses commensurate with the rise in the cost of inputs. Peasants are demanding remunerative prices for their products which are certainly cost-plus based. Why the question of full neutralisation will not be dealt with the same yardstick? The Employers' Federation has gone a step further; it has pleaded for delinking the DA adjustment, which, perhaps, will not be taken seriously even by all employers.

Not only full neutralisation is being denied, the workers are being systematically deprived of their due compensation by means of fraudulent consumer price index. The Rath Committee recommendation with regard to rectification of the current 1960 series indices has been unceremoniously rejected by the Government.

As a result all wage earners with sliding scale DA are being doubly penalised to the direct benefit of the employers.

There is nothing wrong but quite justified for workers and employees seeking protection against inflation and continuous price rises when the Government is unable to control prices of even the essential commodities, because the powers that be are unwilling and unable to act against the urban and rural vested interests, the monopolies, big traders and black money holders who are manipulating the prices to enrich themselves.

NO MORE WAGE BOARDS

There is talk again of reviving the machinery of wage boards for wage determination in different industries. The State Labour /Ministers' conference held in July last year is reported to have decided to set up industrywise statutory wage boards at state and national levels.

The Indian Labour Conference in 1957 recommended setting up of tripartite Wage Boards to replace the time consuming one-man Tribunals. In course of time Wage Boards proved to be a hindrance to quick settlement of wage disputes. They outlived their utility not because they had no statutory backing but because lately wage boards took inordinately long years to complete its work, the question of unanimity of recommendations amounted to veto vested on the employers, rise in wages even after long delays was paltry. For a considerable period of time, a decade or more, workers had to remain content with meagre wage rise. As a result, all trade unions since the early seventies rejected the wage board as a machinery and demanded bipartite collective bargaining for settlement of wages claims.

Trade Unions have seen the fate of the Journalists' Wage Board, and the only statutory wage board at that, and how in face of the organised blackmail of the newspaper monopolies the statutory wage board was disbanded and the Government of the day meekly reverted back to one-man Tribunal with consequential long delay and even now the whole issue is yet to be finally clinched.

Perhaps because of the negative features of wage board the Government is inclined to reintroduce this machinery in order to, through this machinery, stall wage increases, delay as much as possible and curb wage struggles.

In so far as workers of the organised sector is concerned both of private and public sectors, reverting back to the machinery of wage board would be a retrograde step when the need was to strengthen the collective bargaining process which has already achieved a measure of success and to extend the process to all public and private sector industries.

MINIMUM WAGE

It was perhaps for the first time that the 15th Indian Labour Conference in 1957 defined minimum wage as "need based" and laid down certain norms which are capable of being wuantified. And that was a unanimous resolution agreed to by the Government, employers and trade unions. But the initiative of departing from the unanimously agreed norm was taken by the then Government which did not take much time in repudiating the "need based" concept at the time of the Second Pay Commission (1957-59). With this lead, all wage fixing machineries, employers, sabotaged this agreed norm.

In so far as a national minimum wage is concerned, the National Commission on Labour (1966-69) stated: "We feel that a national minimum wage in the sense of a uniform minimum monetary remuneration for the country as a whole is neither feasible nor desirable." The Bhoothalingam Panel and its learned members had, of course, no hesitation in recommending a ridiculous sum of Rs. 100 as the national minimum wage per month which will rise to Rs. 150 per month after seven years.

The earlier Chakravarty Committee imported the so-called poverty line concept for determining minimum wage and quantified what was called a poverty line wage. The concept of a needbased minimum wage has been gradually replaced by the Poverty line wage. One of the recommendations of the Committee set up by the State Labour Ministers' Conference which met in Delhi on 13 February 1981, as quoted in the Indian Labour Journal, March 1981, stated to say: " The Committee recommended a biennial review of minimum wages which on no account would fall below the poverty line." The Indian Labour Conference Resolution in 1957 on the needbased minimum wage enjoined on all wage fixing authorities, including minimum wage committees, wage boards, adjudicators, etc. to be guided by this norm while fixing minimum wages.

Now after a quarter century of "progress" and after so much concern expressed in season and out of season by the powers that be for unorganised urban and rural workers, the guideline is changed from needbased to poverty line standard. The existing minimum wages in the scheduled industries as fixed by the central and state governments are, however, much below the poverty line even on the basis of the criteria laid down by the Planning Commission. In fact, in almost all cases, at least a hundred percent increase will bring the existing minimum wages nearer the poverty line. Trade Unions have however, never accepted the concept of a so-called poverty line for determining minimum wage, or as a standard of minimum wage level.

Also, the needbased norm of minimum wage agreed to at the 15th Indian Labour Conference is almost a quarter century old and therefore needs updating in order to raise the standard.

Secondly, the concept of three consumption units of a family depending on the earnings of the worker which is being carried forward since the British days is a fiction divorced from the realities of an Indian family. Family consumption unit must provide for old dependents and unemployed members of the family. As the State does not take any responsibility of maintaining the unemployed, they have to depend on those employed and their earnings. Wages/Salaries of employed persons must therefore reckon with and be calculated by taking into account these factors. Accordingly, consumption units of a workers' family should be revised upwards. It appears that the family planning norm of a family unit which is a slogan that emerged much later was long back imposed on the working class insofar as the working out of their wages is concerned.

- T.N.S.

(from the TUR of 5 July 1981)

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SOME DATA ON WAGES AND PRODUCTIVITY
(from Indian Labour Journal, September 1980)

T A B L E I

Average annual earnings of workers with wage income less than
Rs. 400 per month.

Year	Per capita money earnings (Rs.) at 1960 prices	Index of per capita money earnings at constant prices
1960	1459	100.0
1961	1481	101.5
1962	1501	102.9
1963	1510	103.5
1964	1396	95.7
1965	1427	97.8
1966	1399	95.9
1967	1322	90.6
1968	1413	96.8
1969	1405	96.3
1970	1435	98.3
1971	1412	96.8
1972	1485	101.8
1973	1329	91.1
1974	1026	70.3
1975	984	67.4
*1976 (P)	--	--
*1977 (P)	--	--

(P) -- Provisional

Source: Labour Bureau

* Data relate to average earnings of workers with income less than Rs. 1,000, and are not comparable with the earlier series.

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TABLE II
Growth rates of important aggregates

Year	<u>Index of Employment workers</u>	<u>Index of Total wages (at constant prices)</u>	Index of total value added (at const- ant prices)
1960	100 . 0	100 . 0	100 . 0
1961	103 . 5	108 . 1	116 . 4
1962	109 . 5	119 . 3	125 . 9
1963	114 . 1	127 . 3	134 . 2
1964	119 . 8	124 . 4	150 . 5
1965	121 . 4	127 . 9	161 . 0
1966-67	121 . 5	123 . 0	154 . 6
1967-68	120 . 3	121 . 1	152 . 8
1968-69	122 . 4	128 . 7	161 . 8
1969-70	127 . 1	140 . 7	184 . 4
1970-71	131 . 1	149 . 7	198 . 4
1971-72	136 . 1	162 . 0	202 . 4
1973-74	144 . 4	156 . 6	231 . 2
1974-75	147 . 5	152 . 6	229 . 9
1975-76	154 . 8	175 . 7	233 . 4
1976-77	162 . 5	196 . 0	262 . 0
1977-78 (P)	171 . 7	210 . 0	292 . 6

(P) -- Provisional

TABLE III

Annual average earnings and value added
(at constant prices)

Year	Annual average wage per worker (at 1960 prices: Rs.)	Annual average earnings per employee (at 1960 prices: Rs.)	Annual average value added per employee (at 1960-61 prices:Rs.)
1959	N . A	N . A	N . A
1960	1,202	1,290	2,792
1961	1,256	1,353	3,174
1962	1,310	1,435	3,188
1963	1,341	1,502	3,243
1964	1,250	1,452	3,387
1965	1,266	1,485	3,488
1966-67	1,217	1,462	3,312
1967-68	1,209	1,476	3,295
1968-69	1,263	1,596	3,411
1969-70	1,331	1,659	3,728
1970-71	1,372	1,726	3,871
1971-72	1,431	1,796	3,787
1973-74	1,304	1,664	4,041
1974-75	1,243	1,637	3,864
1975-76	1,364	1,723	3,721
1976-77	1,457	1,829	4,013
1977-78 (P)	1,470	1,843	4,197

(P) -- Provisional

T A B L E I V

Growth rates in average wages/earnings and
value added

Year	I n d e x o f a v e r a g e		
	Wage per worker.	Earnings per per employee (at constant prices)	Value added per employee
1960	100 . 0	100 . 0	100 . 0
1961	104 . 5	105 . 0	113 . 7
1962	109 . 0	111 . 2	114 . 2
1963	111 . 6	116 . 4	116 . 2
1964	104 . 0	112 . 6	121 . 3
1965	105 . 3	115 . 1	124 . 9
1966 - 67	101 . 2	113 . 3	118 . 6
1967 - 68	100 . 6	114 . 4	118 . 0
1968 - 69	105 . 1	123 . 7	122 . 2
1969 - 70	110 . 7	128 . 6	133 . 5
1970 - 71	114 . 1	133 . 8	138 . 6
1971 - 72	119 . 1	139 . 2	135 . 6
1973 - 74	108 . 5	129 . 0	144 . 7
1974 - 75	103 . 4	126 . 9	138 . 4
1975 - 76	113 . 5	133 . 6	133 . 3
1976 - 77	120 . 6	137 . 8	143 . 7
1977 - 78 (P)	122 . 3	142 . 9	150 . 3

(P) -- Provisional

WAGE BOARDS SET UP SO FAR

Sl. No.	Name of the Industry	Date of appointment of Wage Board	Date on which final report was submitted to the Government	Date of acceptance of the recommendations by Government.
1	2	3	4	5
+1	Cotton Textiles	30-3-57	1-12-59	2-3-60
+2	Sugar	26-12-57	28-11-60	23-2-61
+3	Cement	2-4-58	7-10-1959	29-2-1960
4	Jute	25-8-1960	4-9-1963	27-9-1963
5	Tea Plantations	5-12-1960	31-5-1966	4-6-1966
6	Rubber Plantations	7-7-1961	12-8-1966	29-9-1966
7	Coffee Plantations	7-7-1961	6-8-1966	19-9-1965
8	Iron & Steel	5-1-1962	21-2-1965	9-7-1965
9	Limestone & Dolomite Mining	3-5-1963	21-1-1967	3-6-1967
10	Iron Ore Mining	3-5-1963	21-2-1965	3-6-1967
11	Coal Mines	10-8-1962	13-2-1967	31-7-1967
+12	Working Journalists	12-11-1963	17-7-1967	27-10-1967
13	Non-Journalists	25-2-1964	17-7-1967	18-11-1967
14	Cement (2nd)	2-9-1964	14-8-1967	13-2-1968
15	Cotton (2nd)	12-8-1964	31-12-1968	17-5-1969
16	Port and Dock	13-11-1964	29-11-1969	18-3-1970
17	Engineering	12-12-1964	3-4-1969	21-3-1970
18	Heavy Chemicals & Fertilizers	3-4-1965	29-8-1968	16-11-1968
19	Sugar (2nd)	16-11-1965	18-2-1970	7-7-1970
20	Leather & Leather goods	21-3-1966	14-8-1969	18-9-1969
21	Electricity Undertakings	28-5-1966	18-12-1969	13-7-1970
22	Road Transport	28-5-1966	19-11-1969	2-2-1970

+ First Wage Boards

* Statutory

(Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 377, Dated 23-4-1981).

N.B. Second Wage Boards for working journalists and newspaper employees were set up in 1977, but were disbanded in early 1979 under pressure of newspaper owners.

MINIMUM WAGES FRONT ::

:: GROWING ACTIONS OF TRADE UNIONS

The Thirty-first Visakhapatnam Session of the AITUC had noted the growing unrest of the workers of Scheduled Employments covered by the Minimum Wages Act of 1948, and called upon "the State Trade Union Committees and all the unions in this sector and appealed to all the other Central trade union organisations to launch a united struggle for securing a reasonable minimum wage of not less than Rs. 400/- per month and a system of cost of living allowance linked to the Consumer Price Index....."

In pursuance of this resolution of the Conference, the Secretariat had advised the STUCs to hold Zonal Conventions of all unions in this sector irrespective of affiliation, to chalk out united action for securing a reasonable minimum wage. The Zones were to be as follows ---

- South Zone : Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Kerala
- East Zone : West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam and North-eastern states.
- West Zone : Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh.
- Northern Zone : Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal, Delhi and Rajasthan.

So far, according to the reports received at the AITUC office, one South Zone Convention was held at Hyderabad on July 12 and 13, 1981. 459 delegates (308 from Andhra Pradesh, 113 from Karnataka, 26 from Tamilnadu and 12 from Kerala) attended the Convention. The Convention was attended by AITUC, CITU and even INTUC unions and leaders as well as a number of independent unions in this sector.

This Convention noted that --

- 1) Wages in Kerala were the best in this zone and they were getting a variable D. A. too;
- 2) the employers tended to shift the establishments to the neighbouring state where low wages prevailed;
- 3) the wage revision was inordinately delayed for years; and
- 4) the implementation was very tardy, machinery ineffective and employers evasive.

The Convention has decided that the Minimum Wage should be Rs. 500/- per month at the April 1981 Consumer Price Index and the rise above this should be compensated by granting a Cost of Living Allowance as provided in the statute fully neutralising the rise. The Convention demanded an effective implementation/enforcement machinery involving also the trade unions.

The Convention decided to launch united action and decided to observe August 31, 1981 as the Demands Day.

The concept of fixing Minimum Wages was first discussed by the Royal Commission on Labour in 1928, which suggested that the feasibility of setting up a Minimum Wages Fixation Machinery be gone into.

The International Labour Organisation adopted Convention No.26 and Recommendation No.30 at its 11th session in Geneva in 1928 for setting up adequate machinery for fixing minimum wages and properly implementing them.

This question was taken up by the 6th Indian Labour Conference in October 1944 when the question of a statute for fixing minimum wages was accepted in principle.

In our country the ILO Convention No.26 was adopted in 1948 and Minimum Wages legislation was brought in. The law came into force w.e.f. 15.3.1948.

This law provides for --

- fixing and revising the minimum wage by the appropriate Government in each of the employments listed in the schedule;
- Cost of living Allowance to compensate the rise in prices;
- fixing hours of work, spread-over;
- payment of over-time; and also
- penalties for offences under the law, such as non-payment of wages fixed, etc.

Despite this law, the position obtaining in this sector is that about 48% of the population lives below the Poverty Line and less than half of this population is covered by the Scheduled Employments under this law. Poverty line is drawn at Rs. 65/- per capita per month at 1977-78 prices corresponding to a minimum daily caloric requirement of 2400 per person in rural areas, and Rs.75/- corresponding to a daily per person caloric requirement of 2100 in urban areas. On this basis the population below the poverty line statewise in 1977-78 was as under:

Sl. No.	STATE	RURAL		URBAN		COMBINED	
		Number (Lakhs)	Percentage	Number (Lakhs)	Percentage	Number (Lakhs)	Percentage
1.	Andhra Pradesh	170.35	43.89	36.44	35.68	206.79	42.18
2.	Assam	88.34	52.65	7.07	37.37	95.41	51.10
3.	Bihar	338.44	58.91	32.94	46.07	371.38	57.49
4.	Gujarat	94.84	43.20	26.48	29.02	121.32	39.04
5.	Haryana	22.10	23.25	6.95	31.74	29.05	24.84
6.	Himachal Pradesh	10.37	28.12	0.51	16.56	10.88	27.23
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	14.57	32.75	4.35	39.33	18.92	34.06
8.	Karnataka	124.10	49.88	38.62	43.97	162.72	48.34
9.	Kerala	93.42	46.00	22.19	51.44	115.61	46.95
10.	Madhya Pradesh	244.59	59.82	42.74	48.09	287.33	57.73
11.	Maharashtra	214.11	55.85	61.30	31.62	275.41	47.71
12.	Manipur	3.42	30.54	0.56	25.48	3.98	29.71
13.	Meghalaya	5.51	53.87	0.36	18.16	5.87	48.03
14.	Nagaland	N.A.	N.A.	0.03	4.11	N.A.	N.A.
15.	Orissa	158.97	68.97	10.33	42.19	169.30	66.40
16.	Punjab	13.49	11.87	9.59	24.66	23.06	15.13
17.	Rajasthan	85.79	33.75	19.12	33.80	104.91	33.76
18.	Tamilnadu	170.47	55.68	66.59	44.79	237.06	52.12
19.	Tripura	10.93	64.28	0.61	26.34	11.54	59.73
20.	Uttar Pradesh	429.93	50.23	72.27	49.24	502.20	50.09
21.	West Bengal	227.65	38.94	48.10	34.71	275.75	52.54
22.	All Union Territories	6.35	34.32	11.24	17.96	17.59	21.69
All India (weighted)		2527.74	50.82	518.39	38.19	3046.10	48.13

(Source: Reply to USQ No. 3220/IS/10.12.1980)

The All-India average Consumer Price Index for 1977-78 being 324, the "Poverty Line Wage" at 427 in April 1981 would work out to Rs.85.66 per person per month for rural areas and Rs.98.84 for urban areas. For four consumption units the "Poverty Line Wage" at Index No.427 would work out to Rs. 342.64 in rural areas and Rs. 395.36 in urban areas. And this is the "Poverty Line Wage." Compare this with the wages prevailing in this sector and even "fixed" and "revised" by the "appropriate" authorities. In Delhi the Minimum Wage fixed and existing is Rs. 240/-. In Haryana it is Rs. 297.50 and in the Punjab it is Rs. 285/-. In Rajasthan the statutory minimum wage fixed is only Rs. 182 per month. In Madhya Pradesh in some cases it is as low as Rs. 120/-. In Andhra Pradesh it ranges from Rs. 101/- in Mica works to Rs. 300/- in Cotton Ginning and Pressing (fixed in 1981).

ANDHRA PRADESH EXPERIENCE

In Andhra Pradesh, upto 1974 the Minimum Wage was only Rs. 78/- in the various employments. At this point of time an agitation was launched by unions in this sector demanding a higher wage and Cost of Living Allowance as in Kerala, Punjab etc. Then the Minimum wage level was raised to Rs. 110/- and Rs. 130/- and wage revision was promised every two years in lieu of Cost of Living Allowance.

Again in 1979, the Unions held a joint Convention and launched a movement. All the Central trade union organisations, the AITUC, the INTUC, the CIU, the HMS and the BMS and independent unions were together in this movement. A powerful statewide general strike was organised in this sector on June 22, 1979. As a result of all this, the State Minimum Wages Advisory Board fixed the range of Minimum Wages from Rs. 180/ to Rs. 220/. On this the employers' representatives resigned from the Board. But workers' united action continued and a wage level ranging from Rs. 170/- to Rs. 200/- was achieved as against the Joint Action Committee demand of Rs. 300/- at Consumer Price Index No.300 (1960 base) and a cost of Living Allowance of Re. 1.30 per Point above 300 points.

In 1980 the Minimum Wages Advisory Board unanimously revised the guidelines giving the Minimum Wages a range from Rs.275/- to Rs. 325/- and accordingly recommended unanimously a minimum wage of Rs. 300/- for Metal Foundries and General Engineering as also for Cotton Ginning & Pressing. But the Government modified the recommendation in the case of Metal Foundries and General Engineering and notified a wage of Rs. 250/-

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The Central Minimum Wages Advisory Board has recommended, for example, in Construction, Maintenance of Roads & Buildings, and Stone Breaking establishments a minimum wage for the unskilled ranging from Rs. 5.10 daily in Area-D to Rs. 7.50 daily in Area-A. Semi-skilled/Un-skilled Supervisory were fixed at minimum wages ranging from Rs. 6.40 to Rs. 9.35. Skilled/Clerical minimum wage ranged between Rs. 8.20 and Rs. 11.95 and the Highly skilled workers were in the range between Rs. 10.25 and Rs. 14.95. These wages were lower than those fixed, say, by A.P. Board at Rs. 8/-, 12/- and 16/- for the unskilled, semi-skilled and the skilled categories in construction employment.

The Central M.W. Advisory Board has suggested, in lieu of Cost of Living Allowance, a revision of Minimum Wages on the basis of six-monthly average of All-India Consumer Price Index (base 1960=100) for the period October-March and April-September.

But the Union Finance Ministry is yet to approve this.

The Board recommended that Physically Handicapped should be paid full wages fixed and not 70% of the wage as at present. The Union Finance Ministry has not yet approved it.

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The experience is that Employers' representatives take shelter behind the low wages fixed by the Central Government and resist the Trade Union demand in the States.

Lack of uniformity as between neighbouring states, leads to the tendency on the part of the employers to shift the establishment to low wage areas.

The implementation machinery is inadequate, inefficient and in most cases corrupt.

The Minimum Wages struggle is also getting differentiated between two distinct movements of two different sectors. In Punjab and in Delhi it appears it has taken the form of a State Minimum wage for all at Rs.500/- per month. But the movement elsewhere pertains to the wages of sweated labour of scheduled employments which is largely unorganised.

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The following issues emerge for discussion and decision

1. The determination of minimum rates of wages, according to Article 232 of International Labour Code has to be guided by the need of a suitable standard of living for the worker with due regard to the rates of wages being paid for similar work in trades where the workers are adequately organised and have concluded effective collective agreements, or to wages prevailing in the area. But these, or the criteria laid down in Fair Wages Committee report, or even the promises made in the Five Year Plans have all been thrown to winds.

The 32nd session of the States Labour Ministers' Conference held in New Delhi on August 4-6, 1981 shamefully suggests that "Appropriate criteria should be developed to ensure in a phased manner that the minimum wages do not fall below the Poverty line".

This means even the "Poverty Line Wage" will be achieved "in a phased manner".

The other suggestions of this Conference are--

- (a) General rates of wages be fixed for distinct groups of employments, such as Agriculture and allied, Shops and Establishments, factory establishments etc., so that the benefits could be extended to workers not covered by the law.
 - (b) Mechanism to link the minimum wages to the Consumer Price Index to the extent possible so that they can be revised periodically without delay.
 - (c) Government of India should bring forward at an early date comprehensive legislation to amend the Minimum Wages Act, to remove the defects and to make it more effective. The Conference decided to set up a Committee to consider the various proposals in this regard.
2. The areas should be abolished. What can be considered is a division broadly on the basis of rural and urban areas, with a higher wage for metropolitan towns.

3. Cost of Living Allowance or automatically revision of wage upwards on rise in the Consumer Price Index.
4. Central Government fixed wages should be ahead of others and should set the pace for the movement of Minimum Wages.
5. Amending the law to cover all the labour and make enforcement effective.

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This sector is coming up in a big way. The Government can also not remain indifferent towards this sweated labour. The job is to organise and move it into united action. The organised have to move to organise ~~these~~ sections.

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Raj Bahadur Gour.

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NOTE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The note is based on the agenda papers circulated in connection with the National Labour Conference scheduled to have taken place in October last year, but postponed and is now reported to be held after monsoon Session of the Parliament.

Although no firm dates or fresh proposals for the conference have yet been received, the proposals circulated earlier will in all likelihood stand.

Some of the items pertaining to Industrial relations are dealt with hereunder:

1. (a) Verification vis-a-vis Ballot

The last verification of membership of the Central trade union organisations took place as on 31 December 1968. Since then the stalemate over the procedure for determination of membership continues because of the boycott of verification procedure by AITUC and HMS.

The INTUC as in the past has continued to stick to its position in favour of verification of membership while the other central Trade unions including the AITUC have been reiterating their stand in favour of secret ballot. The INTUC meanwhile has opted for the check-off system as an alternative to verification or secret ballot, which the other TUs have rejected.

Several meetings at the Labour Ministry have taken place during the last few months specifically on this issue both at the level of Minister as well as at the Secretary's level. But the stalemate continues.

Other TUs agreed to go into various problems attending the secret ballot and try to resolve those on mutually agreed basis if the INTUC accepted in principle secret ballot as the method of determining the respective strength of those claiming to be central organisations. But the INTUC continues to be allergic to the very principle of secret ballot.

On the resolution of this stalemate depends representation not only on the National Labour Conference, but also in ILO, other tripartite committees, industrial committees, etc.

The whole issue of the method of determination of membership of the Central trade Union organisations and the criteria of their representation at the national level as well as ILO will come up before the NLC.

The Government has of late started to introduce a new pattern in the matter of setting up certain committees at the national level giving representation to only the INTUC and to none else as in the Provident Fund Review Committee and presently the ESIS Review Committee.

Meanwhile, government furnished an incomplete list in 1979 and this year in respect of claimed membership of different central TUs which is given below:

CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP AS PER RETURNS SUBMITTED TO THE REGISTRARS OF TRADE UNIONS.

	1977 (Lakhs)	1978 (Lakhs)	*Maharashtra	Total (1978)
INTUC -	23.88	17.36	3.67	21.03
AITUC -	13.07	10.85	0.93	11.78
HMS -	10.75 0 8.53	6.32	2.59	0 8.91
HMP -	0 2.22	0.94	0.29	0 1.23
UTUC -	1.74	2.26	0.03	2.29
UTUC (L.S.) -	3.85	10.37	Nil	10.37
CITU -	8.18	8.78	0.25	9.03
BMS -	8.59	10.78	2.20	12.98
NLO -	2.03	2.46	--	2.46
NFITU -	2.25	4.64	--	4.64
TUCC -	0.34	0.90	--	0.90

* Maharashtra figures are not for 1978, but for 1979.

None of the central trade unions has, however, accepted the correctness and the authenticity of the figures supplied by the state registrars of trade unions.

(b) Amendment to Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, Trade Unions Act, 1926 and the Industrial Employment (Standing orders Act) 1946.

The main proposals of the government as indicated in the agenda papers are:

(i) "..... an effort to evolve a comprehensive law on industrial relations, on account of divergence of views on some of the basic aspects, was likely to take time", so amendments have been proposed in the three principal laws.

(ii) Redefinition of the term "Industry" "taking note of the Supreme Court's judgement." But the actual redefinition and coverage has not been indicated particularly if hospitals etc., educational institutions, etc. will be covered or not.

(iii) Coverage of supervisory personnel drawing wages upto Rs.1600/- p.m. has been proposed.

(iv) "Measures for streamlining the procedures for registration and cancellation of registration of trade unions" will be introduced. Whether in the name of streamlining the procedures, further restrictions will be imposed on the formation and functioning of the trade unions as were sought to be done through the notorious Industrial Relations Bill (I R Bill) of 1978, has not been elaborated, nor the actual measures contemplated have been indicated.

(v) The IR Bill introduced in it a new kind of disputes-trade union disputes, to be statutorily decided through tribunal and litigation. The present Government also proposes to provide for "a machinery for resolving trade union disputes", and probably it will be copied from the IR Bill.

(vi) Negotiating Agent for purposes of collective bargaining.

The proposed minimum qualifying membership for recognition as a negotiating agent is 30% of the workmen in an establishment, and 25% of the workmen in an industry in a local area.

But how the membership will be determined?

"The membership of the contesting registered trade unions in an establishment or industry may be determined through a system of 'check-off' which will be available to all registered trade unions." Then again it is said that "where there is no check-off system, and the unions in a particular industry or establishment are not willing to adopt it, the membership of the trade unions may be determined by election through secret ballot open to all workmen." and the election in such cases is to be held under the auspices of industrial tribunal, which again in both the cases will issue certificate of recognition.

One condition of de-recognition cited in the proposals is "any illegal strike, as determined by a Labour Court on a reference made to it by an appropriate government."

(vii) Strikes and lockouts

The proposals have almost been copied from the notorious IR Bill. Only change is that instead of a complete embargo on strike in respect of so-called public utility services, restrictions proposed now are uniform irrespective of the nature of the undertaking. It is proposed that "every strike in an industrial undertaking, whether the undertaking be a public utility service or not, may be preceded by (a) bipartite negotiations..... for a period of 30 days....."

(b) Strike ballot supported by 2/3 of the total number of workmen in the undertaking/industry"..... then

(c) 14 days' notice. The right of strike will not be formally denied, but resorting to legal strike will virtually be made impossible.

(viii) Unfair Practices

In this respect also the proposals follow the provisions of the notorious IR Bill, and the list of so-called unfair practices has almost been copied from that Bill, as is provided for in the Maharashtra Act. The proposals also include that "Whenever a Court of law establishes that the office-bearers of trade union were responsible for any violence or physical duress, they may be disqualified from holding any such office for three years."

(ix) Government's overriding authority

In course of a dispute the government will have overriding power to impose interim measures with regard to terms and conditions of employment and "prohibit the continuance of strike or go slow." The proposal is to amend the ID Act to incorporate such a provision.

(x) Proposal has been made to debar the personnels of Railway Protection Force, the Border Security Force, the CISF or the personnels deputed from the Territorial Army and Home Guard units etc.

"From becoming members of trade unions and participating in strikes, etc."

(xi) Protection for office-bearers of Trade Unions

Proposal is confined to the office-bearers of only a recognised union who would have "protection from acts such as dismissal, termination of employment, changes in the conditions of service and connected matters as long as they are office bearers and for a further period of three years immediately after relinquishing such office."

(xii) Chapter V B of the ID Act relating to lay-off, retrenchment etc.

The proposal is for reducing the qualifying number of workers from 300 to 100. Small-scale industry workers will have no protection if the qualifying number is not further reduced.

(xiii) It is proposed to make a provision in law "that closure of establishments would be legal only where employers have paid to the workers their wages, allowances and other amounts due to them under the provisions of laws." There is no mention about recovery of PF dues.

Secondly, for the employer whether the closure is legal or illegal, is not of much import unless provisions are made to make non-payment of legal dues as a cognisable offence and the amounts realisable from the personal assets of the personnels of the corporate body.

(xiv) Managerial and Supervisory Personnel

Like the provisions of the Bill introduced in 1978 along with the IR Bill, the proposals being made now are the same. They will be provided some avenue to ventilate their grievances, but they will not have any trade union right or right of strike.

2. WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT

It has been stated that "the recommendations of the Committee (21 - member Committee set up during the Janata regime) are receiving consideration of the government."

The NLC is asked for further suggestions, if any, in this regard.

The position of all the trade unions including INTUC have been put forth in the unanimous report of the committee of Trade Unions set up by the Industry Minister of the Janata Government. The report is unanimous in respect of

(a) Method of determining representation in various councils or committees under the scheme.

(b) Scope and functions of the councils at different levels from shop councils upwards.

The position of the AITUC in this regard has been that such participation should be confined at present to public sector undertakings.

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Brief Account of Strike Struggles

Since November 1980

1. The period since the 31st session held at Visakhapatnam was dominated by the agitation and longdrawn strike of about 1,25,000 workers of the Bangalore-based public sector undertakings and the repeated strike actions of LIC employees following the Ordinance issued by the Government to cut LIC employees' DA and bonus, in defiance even of the Supreme Court's verdict and to subvert the right of collective bargaining. There were also widespread protest agitations both inside and outside the Parliament against the draconian ordinance.
2. Earlier, the GIC employees also went on a day's strike on November 17, 1980 demanding withdrawal of the new wage revision scheme unilaterally imposed by executive order amounting to direct wage cut for the GIC employees. The said order has been under stay on court order.
3. On the demand of implementation of the 1978 agreement in regard to minimum wage parity with BHEL, workers numbering about 125000 of 5 Bangalore-based public sector undertakings viz. BEL, IIT, BEMIL, HAL and HMT (watch division), went on indefinite strike from December 26, 1980. Although the demands were placed before the authorities long back, the central government and the concerned ministries remained totally indifferent and took no steps to avert the strike. In support of the strike Bangalore Bandh was observed on January 21 called by all trade unions. The state government resorted to large-scale arrests and even killings, but the Bandh could not be prevented. The strike continued for 77-days and workers resumed duty on March 15 at the call of the Joint Action Front comprising of the striking unions including the INTUC Union at the HMT watch and horological divisions who remained in the strike till about the end despite pressures to dissociate. The Ghaziabad BEL workers who were to go on strike from February 20, were subjected to brutal lathicharge on February 19 at the factory gate. Despite such repression, they continued the strike for 5 days.

Meanwhile the LIC ordinance was issued on February 1, 1981 imposing a cut in DA and Bonus. And the government continued flouting the Supreme Court order for payment of bonus at the substantive rate. These two issues both involving the public sector undertakings and the attack on the very basis of collective bargaining in the case of LIC employees agitated the entire trade union movement. The government it appeared was determined to follow a policy of confrontation with the public sector employees with the idea of teaching them a "lesson".

On the call of central trade unions, a dharna was organized in Delhi in front of the residence of Prime Minister on February 27 in which leaders of different central trade unions and MPs participated; Meetings and demonstrations were held all over the country on March 3 and one day All-India strike in public sector undertakings was observed on 11 March. The JAF of Bangalore called off the strike after 77 days on the appeal of political parties represented in the Karnataka Assembly and the assurances given to the JAF leaders by the Karnataka Chief Minister that workers' demands will be sympathetically considered. But subsequent events showed that either the Karnataka Chief Minister went back on his assurances or he failed to persuade the central government to hold negotiations with the JAF and settle the dispute.

The JAF in face of complete indifference on the part of the government even after a month of calling off of the strike, decided to resort to indefinite hunger strike at Bangalore, Delhi, Hyderabad. The hunger strike also continued for 12 days and was called off on the assurance in Parliament that negotiations will be resumed. The dispute has now been settled after conclusion of agreements with the unions concerned. The Bangalore workers, a new detachment of the fighting working class, in course of the long drawn strike, repression and then lockout, showed remarkable determination and unity despite the fact that the longdrawn strike was just called off without any settlement. This showed their high sense of organisational loyalty and a high degree of consciousness.

The workers of Hindustan Cables, another public sector undertaking, went on indefinite strike on February 5 on 10 point demands which included one similar to that of Bangalore workers.

4. The LIC employees on the promulgation of the Ordinance went repeatedly on strike against the Ordinance and again on February 24 when the Bill was introduced in the Parliament on February 23. Thereafter, at the joint call of the five organisations the LIC employees went on indefinite strike on April 2 which was called off on April 15 following the Supreme Court order to government to pay bonus at the rate of 15 percent along with 12 percent interest. Although the Ordinance has been enacted, the issue is at present pending at the Supreme Court awaiting judgement.

5. The Port & Dock workers and all the four federations by their united strength forced the government and the BPE to come to a wage settlement with a wage rise which was much more than what the BPE wanted. The federations had to serve strike notice twice within a period of one month to force the authorities to come to terms and avert the strike at last moment.

6. During this period, due to isolated action launched by the loco running staff association, the railway authorities were able to crush it by severe repressive measures including summary dismissals under Rule 14(ii), suspension and transfer. The said Rule was also being applied against union activists of other sections of railway employees.

7. Attacks on the TU rights, on the legitimate functioning of trade unions were intensified during this period. Besides application of the National Security Act under which two of the AITUC activists in Ghaziabad are still in detention, banning of strikes at the state level of state government employees and those of state public sector undertakings has been widely and frequently resorted to in different states, like U.P., M.P., Bihar, Orissa, Haryana etc. The industrial centres of Ghaziabad and Mirzapur District in the state of Uttar Pradesh have acquired notoreity in as much as in both the centres the target of attack is the AITUC unions and AITUC activists. Section 144 is permanently clamped in both the places banning meetings and demonstrations, arrests and extortments under the Goonda Act are freely resorted to, physical attacks by anti-social elements in the pay of employers and in collusion with police and district administration are not uncommon and in fact, in Ghaziabad one M.P. was also not spared by the police.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SITUATION DURING LAST
DECADE

The Ordinance banning strikes has been promulgated at a time when mandays losses on account of strikes have sharply declined and that on account of lockouts are rapidly on the increase. These are figures given out by the labour ministry as well as the Home Ministry. The Government seems to have thought that it is caught on the wrong foot by its own statistical figures. Therefore, after the Ordinance was issued some 'doctoring' of figures of mandays lost has started. The total mandays lost in 1980 which was 12.91 million has suddenly shot up on August 4 to 20.80 million, the reason given is that the earlier figure was provisional and that the states are now sending more data. Nobody will be surprised if the figures are further jacked up to make it appear that the mandays lost particularly on account of strikes is of such a high proportion which justifies the promulgation of the Ordinance. Whether this argument justifies banning of strikes is of course a different matter. After all, strike action is neither a pleasure nor a pastime for the workers and their unions, but a grim battle concomitant with intense hardship and privation.

The table below tries to give a full view of the mandays losses on account of work stoppages both by strikes and lockout, in public and private sectors, in central and state spheres. It shows: (1) That mandays losses on account of lockouts are on the increase and in the first three months of 1981 it is almost evenly divided; (2) Mandays lost in private sector is much more than in the public sector, and (3) mandays lost in the central sphere is far outnumbered by those lost in the states sphere.

Total Number of mandays lost (in million)									
Year	Strikes	Lockouts	Total	Public Sector	Private	Total	Central sphere	State sphere	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1971	11.80 (71.30)	4.74 (28.70)	16.55	2.25 (13.60)	14.29 (86.50)	16.55	1.93 (11.66)	14.61 (88.34)	16.55
1972	13.75 (66.92)	6.80 (33.08)	20.54	3.35 (16.31)	17.20 (83.69)	20.54	1.80 (8.76)	18.74 (91.24)	20.54
1973	13.86 (67.21)	6.76 (32.79)	20.63	3.39 (10.43)	17.23 (83.57)	20.63	2.92 (14.15)	17.70 (85.85)	20.63
1974	32.64 (83.56)	6.62 (16.44)	40.26	13.09 (32.51)	27.17 (67.49)	40.26	11.36 (28.22)	28.90 (71.78)	40.26
1975	16.70 (76.26)	5.20 (23.74)	21.90	2.15 (9.81)	19.75 (90.19)	21.90	1.55 (7.08)	20.35 (92.92)	21.90
1976	2.80 (21.96)	9.95 (78.04)	12.75	0.87 (6.82)	11.88 (93.18)	12.75	0.37 (2.90)	12.38 (97.10)	12.75
1977	13.41 (52.96)	11.90 (47.04)	25.32	4.47 (17.65)	20.85 (82.35)	25.32	2.63 (10.39)	22.69 (89.61)	25.32
1978	15.42 (54.41)	12.92 (45.59)	28.34	4.35 (15.35)	23.99 (84.65)	28.34	2.98 (10.52)	25.36 (89.48)	28.34
1979	35.80 (81.64)	8.05 (18.36)	43.85	7.66 (17.46)	36.20 (82.54)	43.85	3.17 (7.23)	40.68 (92.77)	43.85
1980 (P)	7.01 (54.30)	5.90 (45.70)	12.91	2.20 (17.04)	10.71 (82.96)	12.91	1.60 (12.39)	11.31 (87.61)	12.91
1981 (Jan-Mar)	1.87 (54)	1.59 (46)	3.45	1.03 (30)	2.43 (70)	3.45	0.55 (16)	2.90 (84)	3.45

(P) Provisional and based on the returns in the Labour Bureau till

N.B: Figures in brackets give percentages of total mandays lost during the year. 16-2-'81.

SOURCE: LABOUR BUREAU, SIMLA .

8. During this period another all-India strike took place, that of the civilian Defence workers on December 18 to protest, inter alia, against discrimination in the matter of payment of bonus.

9. The plantation workers of Tamil Nadu went on a six-day strike and secured a wage settlement on December 20.

10. On the demand of a minimum wage of Rs. 500 per month state wide general strikes took place in Delhi on April 21 and in Haryana on May 20.

On the programme adopted by the last meeting of AITUC Working Committee to hold four regional conference of workers who come under the purview of the Minimum Wages Act, only one such conference has recently taken place in Hyderabad on July 12 & 13, that of the southern zone comprising of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. The conference was a united one participated by unions affiliated to other Central Trade Unions also, and by autonomous federations.

Two recent agitations which attracted wide attention were the longdrawn agitation of the class IV employees of the Reserve Bank of India which ended on July 14, and the 62 day strike of Orissa Secretariat employees which ended on July 15.

The contract workers of TISCO, Jamshedpur, numbering about 10,000 most of whom are tribals, are continuing their struggle despite repression and harassments demanding implementation of the tripartite settlement, to which the Tatas were a party, for permanency of workers employed on perennial jobs. But the state and central governments have failed to take effective steps against the Tatas. Ultimately the issue is reported to have now been referred to tribunal.

The period under review has shown the tendency on the part of the government to weaken the process of collective bargaining, if not cutting at its roots, to show scant respect for collective agreements even when the government was a party, to try to flout even the Supreme Court verdicts and to impose its own decisions in respect of wages, D.A. & Bonus on the employees of public sector undertakings. This tantamounts to paving the way to curb wage rises, if not to impose wage freeze.

At the same time, the determination and militancy of the workers to resist all such attacks through united and dogged struggles have also been vividly demonstrated.

(July 22)

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BANNING STRIKES
TEXT OF ORDINANCE

The following is the text of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1981, promulgated by the President in New Delhi on July 27.

1. (1) This ordinance may be called the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1981.

(2) It extends to the whole of India: Provided that it shall not apply to the state of Jammu and Kashmir in so far as it related to any essential service connected with matters with respect to which Parliament has now power to make laws for that state.

(3) It shall come into force at once.

2. (i) in this ordinance, unless the context otherwise requires—
(A) "Essential service" means: (1) Any postal, telegraph or telephone service, including any service connected therewith:

(ii) Any railway service or any transport service for the carriage of passengers or goods by air or any other transport service for the carriage of passenger of goods by land or water with respect to which Parliament has power to make laws.

(iii) Any service connected with the operation or maintenance of aerodromes, or with the operation, repair or maintenance of aircraft, or any service in the International Airports Authority of India constituted under Section 3 of the International Airports Authority Act, 1971.

(iv) Any service in, or in connection with the working of any major port, including any service connected with the loading, unloading, movement or storage of goods in any such port,

(v) Any service connected with the clearance of goods or passengers through the customs or with the prevention of smuggling.

(vi) Any service in any establishment of, or connected with, the armed forces of the Union or in any other establishments or installations connected with defence,

(vii) Any service in any section of any industrial undertaking pertaining to a scheduled industry on the working of which the safety of such undertaking or the employees employed therein depends.

Explanation: For the purposes of this sub-clause, the expressions 'industrial undertaking' and 'scheduled industry' shall have the meanings respectively assigned to them in clauses (D) and (I) of Section 3 of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951.

(viii) Any service in, or in connection with, the working of any undertaking owned or controlled by the central government being an undertaking engaged in the purchase, procurement, storage, supply or distribution of foodgrains,

(ix) Any service in, or in connection with the working of, any system of public conservancy or sanitation, hospitals or dispensaries in any Union territory, cantonment area or undertaking owned or controlled by the central government.

(x) Any service in connection with or in relation to banking,

(xi) Any service in any oilfield or refinery or in any establishment or undertaking dealing with the production, supply or distribution of petroleum and petroleum products,

(xii) Any service in any mint or security press,

(xiii) Any service in connection with elections to parliament or to the legislatures of the states.

(xiv) Any service in connection with the affairs of the Union, not being a service specified in any of the fore-going sub-clauses,

(xv) Any other service connected with matters with respect to which Parliament has power to make laws and which the Central Government being of the opinion that strikes therein would prejudicially affect the maintenance of any public utility service, the public safety or the maintenance of supplies and services necessary for the life of the community or would result in the infliction of grave hardship on the community, may, by notification in the official gazette, declare to be an essential service for the purposes of this ordinance.

DEFINITION OF STRIKE

(B) 'Strike' means the cessation of work by a body of persons employed in any essential service acting in combination or a concerted refusal or a refusal under a common understanding of any number of persons who are or have been so employed to continue to work or to accept employment, and includes,

(i) Refusal to work overtime where such work is necessary for the maintenance of any essential service,

(ii) Any other conduct which is likely to result in, or results in, cessation or substantial retardation of work in any essential service.

(2) Any reference in this ordinance to any law which is not in force in any area and to any authority under such law shall, in relation to that area, be construed as a reference to the corresponding authority under such corresponding law.

(3) Every notification issued under sub-clause (xv) of clause (a) of sub-section (I) shall be laid before each House of Parliament immediately after it is made if it is in session and on the first day of the commencement of the next session of the House if it is not in session, and shall cease to operate at the expiration of 40 days from the date of its being so laid or from the re-assembly of Parliament, as the case may be, unless before the expiration of that period a resolution approving the issue of the notification is passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Explanation: Where the Houses of Parliament are summoned to re-assemble on different dates, the period of 40 days shall be reckoned from the later of those dates.

3. (I) If the Central Government is satisfied that in the public interest it is necessary or expedient so to do, it may, by general or special order, prohibit strikes in any essential service specified in the order.

(2) An order made under sub-section (I) shall be published in such manner as the Central government considers best calculated to bring it to the notice of the persons affected by the order.

(2) An order made under sub-section (1) shall be published in such manner as the Central Government may direct.

(3) An order made under sub-section (1) shall be in force for six months only, but the Central Government may, by a like order, extend it for any period not exceeding six months if it is satisfied that in the public interest it is necessary or expedient so to do.

(4) Upon the issue of an order under sub-section (1)—

(a) No person employed in any essential service to which the order relates shall go or remain on strike;

(b) Any strike declared or commenced whether before or after the issue of the order, by persons employed in any service shall be illegal.

4. Any person:

(a) Who commences a strike which is illegal under this ordinance or goes or remains on, or otherwise takes part in, any such strike: or

(b) Who instigates or incites other persons to commence, or go or remain on, or otherwise take part in, any such strike shall be liable to disciplinary action (including dismissal) in accordance with the same provisions as are applicable for the purpose of taking such disciplinary action (including dismissal) on any other ground under the terms and conditions of service applicable to him in relation to his employment.

5. Any person who commences a strike which is illegal under the ordinance or goes or remains on, or otherwise takes part in, any such strike shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

6. Any person who instigates or incites other persons to take part in, or otherwise acts in furtherance of, a strike which is illegal under this ordinance shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to Rs.2,000, or with both.

7. Any person who knowingly expends or supplies any money in furtherance or support of a strike which is illegal under this ordinance shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to Rs.2,000, or with both.

8. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, any police officer may arrest without warrant any person who is reasonably suspected of having committed any offence under this ordinance.

9. Notwithstanding anything contained in Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 all offences under this ordinance shall be tried in a summary way by any metropolitan magistrate, or any judicial magistrate of the first class specially empowered in this behalf by the state government and the provisions of sections 262 to 265 (both inclusive) of the said code shall, as far as may be, apply to such trial.

Provided that in a case of conviction for any offence in a summary trial under this section, it shall be lawful for the magistrate to pass a sentence of imprisonment for any term for which such offence is punishable under this ordinance.

10. The provision of this ordinance and of any order issued thereunder shall have effect notwithstanding anything inconsistent therewith contained in the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, or in any other law for the time being in force.

(11). During the continuance in force of this ordinance, The Essential Service Maintenance (Assam) Act 1980, shall have effect as if:

(a) In sub-section (1)—

(i) Clause (a) has been omitted:

(ii) For clause (b) the following clauses had been substituted, namely:

(b) Essential service— means:

(i) Any transport service for the carriage of passengers or goods, by land or water, with respect to which the legislative assembly of the state of Assam has power to make laws:

(ii) Any service connected with the production, storage, supply or distribution, as the case may be, of gas or water:

(iii) Any service connected with the maintenance of public health and sanitation, including hospitals and dispensaries:

(iv) Any public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the state, and also persons appointed to the secretarial staff of the legislative assembly of the state of Assam.

(v) Any other service or employment or class thereof connected with matters with respect to which the legislative assembly of the state of Assam has power to make laws and opinion that strikes therein would prejudicially affect the maintenance of any public utility service. The public safety or the maintenance of the supplies and services necessary for the life of the community or would result in the infliction of grave hardship on the community, may, by notification in the official gazette, declare to be an essential service for the purpose of this act:

(b) "State government" means the state government of Assam:

(2) In sub-section (2) for the words brackets and figures under sub-clause (v) had been substituted:

(b) In section 3 and 9 for the words "appropriate government", wherever they occur, the words "state government" had been substituted.

SCHEDULE OF INDUSTRIES

The following are the 42 industries listed in the scheduled category in the 1951 Act consisting of both the public and private sector:

1. Aircraft, 2. arms and ammunition, 3. coal including coking and derivations, 4. iron and steel, 5. mathematical, surgical and drawing instruments, 5. scientific instruments, 6. motor and aviation fuel, kerosene, crude oils and synthetic oils, 7. ships and other vessels propelled by the agency of steam, or by electricity or other mechanical power, 8. sugar, 9. telephones, telegraph apparatus and wireless communication apparatus, 10. textiles including cotton, jute, woollen, silk, artificial silk and staple fibre, 11. automobiles, 11-A. tractors, 12. cement, 13. Electrical pumps, 13-A. electric fans, 14. electric motors, 15. heavy chemicals including fertilisers, 16. machinery used in industries including boilers and steam generating equipment, 16-A. ball, roller and tapered bearings, 17. locomotives, 17-A. rolling stock, 18. machine tools, 19. machinery and equipment for the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity, 20. non-ferrous metals including newsprint, paper boards and straw boards, 22. pharmaceuticals and drugs, 23. power and industrial alcohol, 24. rubber goods, 25. leather, leather goods and pickers, 26. glue and gelatine, 27. vanaspati, 27. vegetable oils, 28. agricultural implements, 29. batteries, drycells and storage, 30. bicycles, 31. hurricane lanterns, 32. internal combustion engines, 33. power driven pumps, 34. radio receivers, 35. sewing machines, 35-A. knitting machines, 36. Small tools, 36-A. hand tools, 37. glass and ceramics, 38. dyestuff, 39. soaps, 40. other toilet requisites, 41. plywood and 42. ferromanganese.

.....

- (4) Upon the issue of an Order under sub-section (1),—
- (a) no employer in relation to an establishment to which the Order applies shall commence any lock-out;
 - (b) any lockout declared or commenced whether before or after the issue of the Order by any employer in relation to an establishment to which the Order applies shall be illegal.

(5) Any employer in relation to an establishment who commences, continues or otherwise acts in furtherance of a lock-out which is illegal under this section, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

.....

POWER TO PROHIBIT LAY-OFF IN
CERTAIN ESTABLISHMENTS

Clause 9:(1) If the Central Government is satisfied that in the public interest it is necessary or expedient so to do, it may, by general or special Order, prohibit lay-off, on any ground other than shortage of power or natural calamity, of any workman (other than a badli workman or a casual workman) whose name is borne on the muster rolls of any establishment pertaining to any essential service specified in the Order.

(2) An Order made under sub-section (1) shall be published in such manner as the Central Government considers best calculated to bring it to the notice of the persons affected by the Order.

(3) An Order made under sub-section (1) shall be in force for six months only, but the Central Government may, by a like Order, extend it for any period not exceeding six months if it is satisfied that in the public interest it is necessary or expedient so to do.

- (4) Upon the issue of an Order under sub-section (1),—
- (a) no employer in relation to an establishment to which the Order applies shall lay-off or continue the lay-off of any workman (other than a badli workman or a casual workman) whose name is borne on the muster rolls of such establishment, unless such lay-off is due to shortage of power or to natural calamity and any laying off or continuation of laying-off shall, unless such laying-off or continuation of laying-off is due to shortage of power or to natural calamity, be illegal;
 - (b) a workman whose laying-off is illegal under clause (a) shall be entitled to all the benefits under any law for the time being in force as if he had not been laid-off.

(5) Any employer in relation to an establishment who lays off or continues the laying-off of any workman shall, if such laying-off or continuation or laying-off is illegal under this section be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Memorandum explaining the modifications contained in the Essential Services Maintenance Bill, 1981, which seeks to repeal and replace the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1981.

.....

Apart from changes of a formal, drafting or consequential nature the Bill contains the following modifications:-

- (1) Clause 1(4) of the Bill restricts the duration of the proposed legislation to a period of four years from the date on which it receives the assent of the President.
- (2) Clause 2(1) (a) of the Bill which defines the expression "essential service" has been amplified to specifically include—
 - (a) service in any establishment or undertaking dealing with the production of goods required for any purpose connected with defence,
 - (b) water supply in any Union territory or cantonment area,
 - (c) service in any establishment or undertaking dealing with the production, supply or distribution of coal, power, steel and fertilizers.
- (3) The Bill seeks to include specific provisions regarding prohibition of lock-outs and lay-offs in essential services.

.....
The provisions with regard to lock-outs and lay-offs are reproduced below:

POWER TO PROHIBIT LOCK-OUTS IN
CERTAIN ESTABLISHMENTS

Clause 8: (1) If the Central Government is satisfied that in the public interest it is necessary or expedient so to do, it may, by general or special Order, prohibit lock-outs in any establishments pertaining to any essential service specified in the Order.

(2) An Order made under sub-section (1) shall be published in such manner as the Central Government considers best calculated to bring it to the notice of the persons affected by the Order.

(3) An Order made under sub-section (1) shall be in force for six months only, but the Central Government may, by a like Order, extend it for any period not exceeding six months if it is satisfied that in the public interest it is necessary so to do.

NOTE ON SOCIAL SECURITY

At the Srinagar meeting of the general council in July 1980, the memorandum submitted to the Ramanujam Committee, set up to review the working of the Employees' Provident Fund Scheme, was circulated to all members. Later, at Vishakapatnam, the commission on social security discussed various aspects of social security and a resolution was adopted calling on all unions to undertake campaigns on the outstanding demands.

Later, when the Ramanujam Committee report was completed, the recommendations were discussed in the working committee held in April and the decision taken to undertake a campaign against the implementation of certain major recommendations which were retrograde, especially that of decentralisation. Our comrades in the Central Board of Trustees, Diwakar and Parduman Singh, also took a strong stand in the meeting of the Central Board of Trustees held to discuss the recommendations. The AITUC also addressed a letter to the Minister of Labour, N.D. Tiwari, demanding a meeting of representatives of all central trade union organisations to discuss these recommendations before they are brought in as legislation. But, it must be stated that, beyond this we have done nothing to take up these issues.

In the meanwhile, government has set up another committee to review the ESIS scheme. This is headed by another INTUC leader, V.R. Hoshing. Once again the pattern of the committee is the same. There is one worker representative as Chairman (INTUC) one employer representative and the rest officials from various ministries. Our representative on the Standing Committee, M.S. Krishnan, has made strong objection to this. In all earlier committees, the practice has been to reflect the representation in the EPF or the ESIS as the case may be. This departure from the usual practice is significant. It illustrates the manner in which government is confining the membership of the committees to the INTUC alone and making way for recommendations that are employer-oriented and anti-worker as was the case in the Ramanujam Committee.

This is a part of the increasing attacks on the living and working standards of the working class and we should not lose sight of this aspect.

The Hoshing committee is now likely to prepare an interim report to recommend that Section 63 of the ESI Act should be amended so that sickness benefit or temporary disablement benefit should not be payable to an insured person during a period of strike, lock-out, lay-off or closure. This was also discussed in the Corporation where it has been stoutly opposed by our comrades M.S. Krishnan and K.A. Rajan as well as the HMS representative. The argument put forward is the usual one that during such periods workers draw large sums of money from the ESIS and this is a continuing drain on resources and hindrance to further expansion and improvement of medical and hospital facilities, etc. No steps are taken to augment the finances of the ESIS by increasing the share of the state governments, or by contributions from the central government - a unanimous recommendation of the ESIS Review Committee made over ten years ago. The valuation report has also pointed out that the funds of the ESIS are not being utilised judiciously and there is still a potential for increasing hospital facilities, etc. Strikes are, on the other hand, being made an excuse for making inroads into the right of the insured person to sickness benefit. This has to be stoutly opposed. It is only another facet of attack on the rights of the working class.

The AITUC should take up the whole question on the attacks and on erosion of social security schemes in a determined manner. The experience in all advanced capitalist countries also is that with growing economic crisis, social security is one of the first casualties

of governmental expenditure. But there is also a basic difference, that in India the schemes, particularly the ESIS, are mainly financed by the workers and the employers and government contribution is minimal. Hence the attack on the social security standards are far more subtle. Government interference in the running of the scheme and government representatives' domination of the executive bodies has been one of the issues which we have been fighting against from the very beginning. Now, government is trying by various means to help the employers and cut down on the workers' benefits of the schemes. The Ramanujam Committee recommendation on decentralisation is clearly a step towards putting more monies into the pockets of the employers even after years of experience of malpractices, mounting arrears and embezzlement of Provident Fund and ESI contributions by the employers. Protection of the interests of the workers is constantly talked about but nothing is done about it and now in this manner it is the workers' interests that are being jeopardised.

The need to take up these issues and to organise regional and state conventions which we had planned some two years ago but did not materialise has become more urgent than ever. Workers and trade unions have to be made aware of the dangers of the government and employer moves in the direction of restricting social security benefits, instead of extending them. These moves have to be stoutly resisted. Our comrades have been concentrating much more on the deficiencies of the existing schemes and on individual cases and representations and lost sight of the wider issues involved. The demands which have been put up by us time and again have never gathered sufficient active campaigning and strength to be achieved. In the meantime, it is the attack from government and employers which is being steadily mounted.

The general council should take this question up in all earnestness and discuss the campaign that should be conducted on the widest possible scale.

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE ESIS REVIEW COMMITTEE :

"The Committee shall review the working of the Employees' State Insurance Scheme, with particular reference to the administration of medical and other benefits and recommend how it may be improved. The Committee may also review the position of the arrears of contributions to ESI Scheme and suggest measures for the recovery and prevention of accumulation of such arrears in future".

PERSONNEL OF THE COMMITTEE :

1. V.R.Hoshing, Chairman. President Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh
2. T.N.Lakshminarayanan, former Director General ESI Corporation
3. R.K.A.Subramanya, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Labour
4. Dr. P.A.Desai, Employers' Representative on the ESI Corporation.
5. Dr. I.D.Bajaj, Director General of Health Services, New Delhi
6. N.K.Panda, Financial Adviser, Ministry of Labour, New Delhi
7. Shri J.C.Jetli, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Social Welfare
8. Shri T.V.Antony, Ministry of Health, New Delhi
9. Shri T.V.Vasudevan, Labour Secretary, Government of Tamilnadu
10. M.S.Dayal, Health Secretary, Government of Gujarat
11. Karnail Singh, Labour Secretary, Government of Uttar Pradesh
12. R.K.Mahajan, Controller of Insurance, Ministry of Finance, New Delhi
13. V.N.Kaul, Member-Secretary

MEMORANDUM TO THE ESIS REVIEW COMMITTEE

by the

ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

COVERAGE

With regard to the extension of coverage to new industrial establishments that come into being, the powers are in the hands of the central government and a dilatory process ensues. The decision for extension in the case of newer areas should be vested in the Corporation. Regional Boards should be given the task of identifying the areas to be covered and their recommendations should be dealt with by the Corporation. The ESIS is mainly financed by the two principal contributors, employers and employees. They are both represented on the regional boards. If a difference of the opinion exists in the regional boards, the Corporation can consider it. The present process of extension is time-consuming and cumbersome.

The wage limit that exists is militating against the workers in a period of rising prices and costs. Hence the ceiling that is placed should be removed and the definition of "employee" made clearer and unambiguous so that all workers, irrespective of their earnings are covered by the scheme.

The AITUC is in favour of coverage of seasonal factories provided the seasonal workers are ensured of getting benefits, both cash and medical. The permanent workers as well as the temporary workers should be covered by the scheme. The centres which have 200 and more workers should be brought under the scheme and all workers in agricultural farms should be included.

With regard to other categories of employees, the ESIS Review Committee, which was a tripartite one, as far back as 1966 had recommended that the employees in shops and commercial establishments should be included and measures taken to achieve this. But so far no action has been taken. We are of the opinion that all workers and employees including teachers, specially of primary and secondary schools should be drawn into the scheme. At present, teachers in some cities in government service have the benefit of government schemes, but others do not. There should be a common standard for all, irrespective of their employment, and all teachers should be brought under the ESIS. At the same time, quality of services should also be improved. Mere expansion is not enough.

EXEMPTION

We would like to mention here that the exemption limit for

payment of contributions by workers should be raised to at least Rs.6.00 per day. With regard to exemptions of certain establishments we deal with this question at the end of the note.

MEDICAL BENEFITS

Medical benefits including hospitalisation should immediately be extended to families of all insured persons throughout the country on a standard basis at the earliest. It has already been observed that there has been a growing excess of income over expenditure in the ESIS. There is something seriously wrong with the development of hospital and other such facilities. Such accumulation of resources is not justified in a social security scheme, particularly when the scheme is contributory.

Hence hospitals should be provided in all district centres, and where there are large number of workers there should be a net work of diagnostic centres with ambulances attached to them. The employment injury benefit should be 150% of the standard benefit rate and maternity benefit should be raised to a period of four months in place of three months as existing today.

There should be a periodical check-up of IPs and their families, and the law should provide for employers giving alternative occupations to employees who suffer from any disability whether due to employment injury or otherwise.

With regard to occupational diseases, insufficient is being done to investigate the extent and type of diseases which exist. The procedure to identify these diseases is also very cumbersome and in coordination with the National Safety Organisation the ESIC should have a permanent cell to go into this matter. Regional and local boards should be activated and send in their suggestions to the ESIC for examination.

BENEFITS

Sickness benefit should be provided to the IPs as long as the illness persists. The allegations regarding malingering are unfounded and stray cases are picked up to generalise. The IPs should receive sickness benefit as long as prescribed by the doctor concerned. The waiting period should be done away with as it militates against the IP. To avoid inordinate delays and harassment of the workers, the teller system could be introduced for payment of cash benefits. There has been a constant and unending debate on the question of continuation of the panel system. Earlier it was decided that the panel system would be gradually replaced by the service system. But that was not implemented. It appears that for some years to come the panel

system is likely to continue and hence steps should be taken to remove such deficiencies as may exist. The local boards should be authorised and made responsible for checking such matters as the standards of space and facilities at panel doctors' clinics and see that the regulations are strictly enforced. Attendance of the doctors, attention paid by them should be monitored and it should be ensured that they give the service which they are paid for.

EMPLOYMENT INJURY BENEFITS

The definition of employment injury should cover journeys from and to the working place. The present schedule should be brought up-to-date and the certification process be simplified.

MATERNITY BENEFIT

As already stated above, the AITUC is of the opinion that maternity benefit should be extended to four months, and in no case should there be any restriction based on the number of children. Family planning has to be achieved by socio-economic measures and not by retrograde, compulsive steps.

MISCELLANEOUS

With regard to no-claim bonus, to the earlier Review Committee which considered about a decade and a half ago it might have appeared justifiably to be a premature proposition. Later, the perspective planning ^{committee} again considered the matter. Although the committee as a whole did not agree with any proposal for introduction of no-claim bonus, some opinions were recorded in favour of such proposal.

The allegation that ESIS has led to an increase in absenteeism and malingering, that it is misused at the time of strikes etc., has been a constant one ever since the scheme came into being and a favourite gambit of the employers. While deficiencies in the running of the scheme and harassment of workers continues these are sought to be overshadowed by such allegations. We do not subscribe to this point of view and are against any restrictions on the IPs in respect of the benefits ensured under the ESIS.

The strength of the medical referees needs to be augmented to ensure that workers get a fair deal. There are occasions where rapport between the medical practitioner and the sick person militate against the IP.

If local boards are made more active and trade unions drawn more actively into the running of the scheme, any cases of malpractice by the IPs, which are few and far between, can be

checked with the cooperation of the trade unions. Due to a few resorting to such practices, the majority cannot be penalised by penal provisions.

CONTRIBUTIONS

As stated earlier the contributions from workers should be only from those earning above Rs.6.00 per day. In this connection we would like once again to draw the attention of the committee to one of the major recommendations of the ESIS Review Committee made as far back as 1966, in respect of contributions by the central and state governments to the scheme. The central government at present does not contribute to the scheme, and hence we suggest that the central and state governments should contribute as recommended by the perspective planning committee.

The state governments, in accordance with the recommendation of the ILO experts should contribute 2/3 of the medical care to the families. The contribution of the state governments was reduced from 1/3 to 14th. While the employers and employees are the main financiers of the scheme, it is run solely by the state government and the contributors have a very limited say in the day-to-day running of the scheme. More involvement of the insured persons is required to make the scheme viable. At present if one examines the per capita expenditure of states on their citizens it will be found to be more than their contribution to the ESIS. Hence as recommended by the Review Committee we would suggest that the state governments should be charged as follows:-

- a. 1/3rd of the cost of medical care of standard quality (including the supply of surgical appliances) for insured persons.
- b. 2/3rds of the cost of medical care, like-wise of standard quality but less comprehensive than that provided for the insured persons for wives and children and
- c. the excess cost of sickness benefit, to insured persons in the state, over the average rate for the country as a whole.

In principle we are of the firm opinion that any meaningful scheme of social security should be undertaken by the government and the employers. Hence this would be a first step towards achieving that goal.

In respect of investment it should be liberalised and the ESIC

should have more autonomous powers to invest the funds in keeping with the guidelines that the central government may lay down, in such concerns as the Unit Trust of India, public sector undertakings, nationalised banks and post office time deposits.

ADMINISTRATION & ORGANISATIONAL SET-UP

The ESIC should be turned into an autonomous body and given full autonomy. The present constraints and restraints that exist in the functioning of the Corporation lead to delays in executing plans which need urgent completion. All matters are dependent on government sanctions and clearance. The recommendations and decisions of the Standing Committee or Corporation are delayed inordinately in implementation. It is necessary that the Standing Committee meet not less than once in three months to take speedy decisions and to keep track of all developments. The tendency for the Standing Committee to meet on the eve of the Corporation meeting and deal with a voluminous agenda in just a day is of no benefit. Regular meetings of regional boards and local boards which should act as feeders to the standing committee and Corporation, should be ensured, and, if required, statutory provision should be made for this.

The composition of the Corporation and Standing Committee should also be changed. The representation of the main contributors, employers and employees, is minimal and the representation is over-weighted with government representatives, both from the state and the centre.

The representation should be changed so that all the parties are equally represented, 1:1:1, so that the Corporation has a truly tripartite character. Decisions of the Corporation today tend to reflect only governmental policies due to the overweightage of government representatives and do not meet the real requirements of the insured persons. While the decisions have to be in tune with the general overall policy of the Corporation itself, this can be ensured by having a genuine tripartite administrative structure. Delegation of certain powers to the regional boards would help to overcome many delays in clearing of claims for cash benefits, etc. Review of the working of the scheme cannot be fully achieved without the involvement of the regional and local boards. This would also help to overcome the hiatus which tends to exist due to dual administration by the state government and the ESI Corporation. For instance, the yardstick for the staff complement in dispensaries, and hospitals in regional and local offices can best be decided by taking the view of the local boards and regional boards, where since the

trade unions and employers are represented, a more adequate picture can be got.

The regional boards should meet at least once in two months and the local boards once a month. The local boards could deal with the various problems arising locally and if necessary put up to the regional boards the recommendations for extension of the scheme, for improving the working of the dispensaries and hospitals, the shortage of drugs and medicines required etc. The Regional Boards should be empowered to deal with such issues which do not involve expenditure above a certain amount. Unless such powers are given to the regional boards, there are inordinate delays in removing many irritants which arise locally.

ARREARS OF CONTRIBUTIONS

With regard to the arrears in contributions, the penal provisions which are so far provided in the Act are insufficient to meet this problem. This is a problem identical with the problem of arrears in the payments to the Provident Fund Scheme also. Hence the penal provisions should be strengthened.

MINES AND PLANTATIONS

We are dealing with this point separately as it merits special consideration.

The AITUC stands for a comprehensive social security scheme. This matter has been the matter of discussion and recommendation by a series of committees, the standing labour conference and the Indian Labour Conference since as far back as 1955. Until such time as it is possible to introduce such a scheme it would not be advisable to include mines and plantations in the present ESIS. The mines and plantation workers are now having the benefit of medical schemes which are non-contributory.

While some machinery is required to ensure that their medical benefits are commensurate with their requirements, they should be left out of the ESIS until such time as the goal of an integrated social security scheme can be introduced. The aim of the ESIS should now be to cover the maximum number of workers, including rural sector, who do not have the benefit of any scheme whatsoever. This first step has to be achieved before going forward to include sections already having their own schemes.

24-Canning Lane
New Delhi - 110 001
Dated: 28th July, 1981.

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WFTU APPEAL TO WORKERS
THE TENTH WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND THE CHALLENGES
OF THE FIGHTERS

Havana, the capital of the first free territory in America, will host from the 10th to the 15th February 1982, the Tenth World Trade Union Congress, the supreme body of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

A Congress which will face up to the big challenges of our time.

For almost a decade, a deep crisis is ravaging the capitalist world and exercising its harmful influence on all aspects of social, economic, political, cultural and international life. A crisis which has thrown out of jobs 400 to 500 million human beings, condemning them often to absolute poverty. What an enormous and inhuman waste of the human resources of our planet!

Is this crisis inevitable and universal?

The Tenth Congress will give coherent and constructive answers to such questions.

A crisis that carries with it the grave danger of war.

War or Peace?

This is the central challenge before the peoples of the world today and for years to come.

Have the workers and the peoples the strength and the means to oppose the arms race, to stop the hands of the warmongers, to impose peace on our earth?

The Tenth Congress will give a positive answer to these crucial questions and will seek ways and means to achieve this.

Hundreds of millions of men and women in the underdeveloped countries live on the threshold of the Middle Ages. Infant mortality has reached a frightening rate. Half the population of the globe suffer from malnutrition, and among them, a large proportion suffer from hunger. Almost a billion people are illiterate. Yet, at the same time, other people, a minority, is getting fabulously rich and is living at the expense of those millions who are exploited.

Is this a situation to be perpetuated?

Solutions and means exist for an equitable and harmonious development of mankind, for the elimination of inequality, and to advance towards a new international economic order.

The Tenth Congress will contribute to define them.

Colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and fascism have not yet completely disappeared from the face of our planet.

It is a challenge to the spirit of our time.

To eliminate completely and once for all these scourges of another age-this will be at the centre of attention of the Tenth Congress.

W H O L E S A L E P R I C E I N D E X

(Base : 1970 - 71 = 100)

Week Ending	All Commodities	Food Articles	Manufactured Products
<u>27 December 1980</u>	- 256 . 1	211 . 4	251 . 2
<u>3 January 1981</u>	- 257 . 5	212 . 8	252 . 3
<u>24 January 1981</u>	- 262 . 8	215 . 0	254 . 7
<u>7 February 1981</u>	- 265 . 2	219 . 1	256 . 2
<u>28 February 1981</u>	- 267 . 8	218 . 3	260 . 5
<u>7 March 1981</u>	- 268 . 4	218 . 1	261 . 5
<u>28 March 1981</u>	- 270 . 0	217 . 8	266 . 1
<u>4 April 1981</u>	- 271 . 8	216 . 1	270 . 1
<u>25 April 1981</u>	- 275 . 8	219 . 4	275 . 3
<u>2 May 1981</u>	- 274 . 7	220 . 6	272 . 3
<u>30 May 1981</u>	- 277 . 4	225 . 9	274 . 0
<u>27 June 1981</u>	- 279 . 1		
<u>4 July 1981</u>	- 279 . 5		
<u>11 July 1981</u>	- 284 . 6		

