CHAPTER - IV

ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNIONS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Introduction and historical background

Trade union movement or labour movement is the term which may be explained as an organised activity of wage earners to better their own conditions either immediately or in the more or less distant future. In almost all the countries it has functioned and is functioning on three lines — political, economic and cooperative, and Andhra Pradesh is no exception to it. It implies the existence of a wage earning group, but does not appear until that group develops some consciousness of the separateness of its interest as opposed to those of its employers and until it realises the necessity for some organisation in order to advance the interests. It is an evolutionary concept of pre-historic stages — merchandise, employer and management. These historical stages to certain extent have been identified while discussing in the earlier chapter the origin, growth and development of industry in Andhra Pradesh.

It is observed that trade unions have emerged in Andhra Pradesh from the first historical stage. The stages of
development the trade unions that emerged in the process may be explained as follows:

(a) **Craft unions**: They refer to the combination of workers engaged in a particular occupation or a single trade.

(b) **Industrial unions**: These unions are combinations of workers of the same industry irrespective of their trade and occupation.

(c) **Federation**: Such unions are combinations of different trade unions which come together for the purpose of solidarity based on local, state and national features; e.g. like, All India Railwaymen's Federation, All India Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Sabha, United Trade Union Congress, etc.

The labour or trade union movement development along with its historical stages may be divided into different periods, namely, social welfare period, early trade union period, leftwing, leniency period, constitutional parliamentary period and copartnership period. The first historical stage and the first period of labour and trade union movement are based on the origin, growth and development of industries (as shown in the previous chapter).
The trade union movement in Hyderabad took its origin from the trade union movement of British India though it was legalised 20 years later by an enactment of the Nizam's government in 1946. The movement started when the first trade union was organised in 1926 by the workers of the then Nizam's state granted railway, Lalaguda -- a suburb of Secunderabad where there are workshops of the railway. Seven other unions were formed in other industries of the state like the textile unions in Secunderabad, mint and electricity workshops in Hyderabad city. A number of other unions of small industries also came to be started. Of these, the railway workers union could establish itself because of the systematic attitude shown by the resident who administered Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Trade unions in other parts of the state were opposed both by the employer and the Nizam's government. In 1930 there was the interference of Mr. N.M. Joshi who was then a member of the assembly and Mr. V.V. Giri who was president of the Nizam granted state railway employees union. The trade union act of 1926 was enforced in the British industrial areas (administered areas) and the Nizam granted state railway employees union got itself registered under the act in 1930. The success of the Nizam granted state railway union in dealing with the railway administration brought about its rapid development and its membership rose soon to 8000. It was sponsored by the then finance ministers of the Nizam's...
government and the president of the Nizam's state railway the late honourable Sir Akber Hyderi. All these things encouraged the workers of other unions to act. The second World War which started in 1939 increased the cost of living. This problem, together with the organisation of the skilled workers of certain categories, confronted the Nizam government. The Nizam government was forced to pass the Defence of India (Hyderabad) ordinance making strikes and lockouts illegal and making arbitration and conciliation in industrial disputes compulsory. There already existed an established practice of recognising certain groups for the purpose of giving representation to the industrial workers before the boards of arbitration or conciliation. This meant some recognition from the government to the trade unions and this went some way in encouraging the healthy growth of the unions. So a number of unions came to be started, notably in coal mines, textiles, tobacco, oil mills, tanneries and so on.

The trade union movement was more or less a national movement. It was a product of the national movement led by Lala Lajpat Rai in Punjab, Mahatma Gandhi in Ahmedabad, Subas Chandra Bose in Jamshedpur, V.V.Giri in Kharagpur and Hyderabad, Vallabhai Patel in Bombay. The first All India Trade Union Congress was founded in 1920 in Punjab by the
encouragement of Lala Lajpat Rai. In Hyderabad V.V.Giri started in 1926 a strike which lasted for three months; it was badly opposed by the government, for it was a part of the national movement. In 1928 he assumed the presidency of the Nizam granted state railway union. Though he was well received by the Nizam's government, when he went to organise a union in Nanded, it was broken by the police. The secretary Mr.Vidyasahana courted arrest. The Nizam's government felt that there was no need for trade union movement in Hyderabad.

The first trade union in Hyderabad was formed in 1927. It was inaugurated by Mr.K.Maglaish, a retired employee of the railway. It was strengthened by the efforts of Mr.A. Doraiswamy, an electrician in the railway, and Mr.K. Somayajuloo, a clerk in the railway.

In brief it may be stated that the first trade union action and the birth of a trade union took place in 1927 when, out of a strike in the Lalaguda workshop, was born the railway union. In 1935 was formed the Aurangabad Girijan Kamgar union. In 1938 a labour conference was held in Aurangabad with these two unions as participants. But this attempt remained the first attempt in the direction of forming a central labour organisation to inspire labour into activity.
But with the beginning of the second World War and the consequent rise in the prices started a fighting trade union movement, directly inspired, at least in the city of Hyderabad, by the railway union.

The textile workers and the Charminar workers were the first to fire the shot. The textile workers in Hyderabad city were demanding the restoration of the cut in wages effected in the early thirties. Dearthness allowance, revision of wage, etc. were their key demands. The railway strike of 1942, the strike of the Mangopal mill workers, the strike of the Aurangabad textile workers, the heroic battle of Handed textile workers facing mounted police, the dogged struggles of the Charminar and the Allwyn metal workers were occurred in this period. The following are figures from official sources themselves:

Table 20: Disputes, workers and mandays lost.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of disputes</th>
<th>No. of workers involved</th>
<th>No. of mandays lost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 1941</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8,635</td>
<td>5,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1942</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18,071</td>
<td>1,13,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Out of a total number of 12 disputes during this period 8 were in the textiles. And a feature that is prominently revealed by the official statistics is that in all these cases the percentage of strikers in the affected factories was 95 or even 100.

Nevertheless this upsurge immediately following the war petered out and stable trade union organisations could not emerge out of these struggles.

The then autocratic government did nothing to protect the labour and its organisation. Even trade union act was not there, not to speak of any civil liberty. It was difficult even to hold public meetings. Political parties like even the state Congress could not function openly.

But these struggles brought the trade disputes order, forcing conciliation in disputes, factories rules, payment of wages act, maternity benefit and workman's compensation legislation. For the first time the government began publishing the cost of living index from 1943-44.

This was a great achievement. Nevertheless lack of legislation protecting the trade union itself and granting it a status in the eyes of law provided an opportunity to the employers to observe these legislations more in their breach than in their implementation.
Trade union movement of Hyderabad state and Telangana

a. The period before 1950: Prior to 1950 there was some kind of trade union movement, but it was not an organised one. Most of the trade unions as they existed then were under the influence of extremists. Most of their unions were not even registered. There was no labour department. The workers were always engaged in some kind of strike or the other even on flimsy grounds. This resulted in strained relations between the employers and the employees. There was no love lost between the two parties.

For the first time in the history of the Hyderabad state trade union movement, the workers resorted to cessation of work collectively as a protest against the inhuman working hours in M.S.K. mills, Gulbarga, where the chief engineer, was reported to be extracting work from workers from dawn to dusk. As a result of this agitation, the working hours were reduced to ten hours. After the introduction of the Hyderabad factories regulations, their working hours were further reduced to eight hours.

Another big strike was launched in Osmania mills of Nanded due to the non-compliance with the workers' request by the management regarding proper working hours, better working conditions and beneficial employment facilities. On the
intervention of Swami Ramanand Tirth, some settlement was arrived at between the employer and their employees and the strike was called off. Under the leadership of Swami Ramanand Tirth, the workers were organised into a union.

b. The period between 1930 and 1940: By 1930 several unions were organised under the leadership of the railway union in the Nizam's dominion. These unions had a very hard time with the managements. A number of managements did not hesitate to break the unions.

The trade depression slowly crept into the economic life of the country in 1932. It also contributed to the slow growth of the trade union movement in the state. Fortunately the Nizam policy of industrial expansion did not lead to any disaster to the working class movement. The railway employees union also took up the organisation of the road transport corporation workers under its fold, because the road transport corporation services were placed under the control and management of the Nizam state railway.

By 1936 the membership of the road transport corporation workers in Nizam's state railway union was more than 1,000. This is how the union movement spread into districts also where the road transport corporation had established its
office. Thus began a new chapter of trade union organisations in the district towns of the Nizam's state.

Not only the leaders of the Nizam state railway union but also other working classes took up the task of organising workers in the districts into trade unions. Just at this time Dr. N. M. Jaisurya (son of the late Sarojini Naidu), equipped with a Marxist background, entered the field of trade union organisation. He took up in the first instance the case of displaced private transport services that were opposed to the policy of the railway union for the placement of the private road transport services after their organisation. Workers were attracted by this personality and his private conferences with the groups of workers to get themselves better organised in the trade union movement and his Marxist theories for fighting for economic betterment. A little later one of the biggest sugar factories was floated and established at Bodhan in the Nizamabad district.

Workers retrenched from the railway in 1945 had found jobs in this factory and were urged to organise sugar factory workers into a union. The trade union movement thus struck roots in Warangal and Nizamabad which are now established industrial centres of the state.

During this period, the workers in important industries
or services of the state such as coal mines, textiles, electricity, municipalities and printing presses struggled to organise themselves and secure improvement in working conditions. Victimisation of the active trade union workers, block retrenchments, lockouts and police repression were resorted to for the suppression of trade unionism.

These trade unions during this period were first controlled by the trade union Congress, a body jointly organised by political leaders of the various trade unions in the state, a sort of federation of trade unions in the state, under the leadership of Dr. Raj Babur Qowd and Mr. Faqdoom Mohiuddin.

As a consequence of the agitation of the railway union in the early stages of the second World War for adequate compensation on account of increased cost of living, the government was compelled to set up an enquiry committee and later promulgated the trade disputes regulations. The enquiry committee proved abortive. However the government, due to the force of trade union action, permitted the conditions of the railway labour to be roughly on par with those obtaining in the Indian union territories. On the whole it can be safely said that the government had no labour policy.

c. The period between 1941 and 1950: From 1936 or more
correctly from 1937, when the Congress took office in the provinces, communal bitterness which increased in the British India entered into the body politic of the Nizam's dominion. When the first communal riot took place in Hyderabad, it completely upset even the trade union leadership in the lower ranks. Feelings were aroused and the first attempt to divide the constitution of the union in terms of communal ratio took place though not in an intense form. During these periods, as in the first five years, the employers tried to break any attempt of the workers to organise themselves. While the workers could not form their organisations openly, they formed themselves into groups for the purpose of collective bargaining which was limited in most cases to increase in wages. The pre-war atmosphere was influenced by the certainty of the coming war and improved the industrial activity of the state with the beginning of small industries and an industrial area was presently marked out by the Nizam's government in the centre of the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. One of the major industries under the title of Allwyn Metal works was established with a work force of 1200. About this time began the spread of Communist trade ideologies into the trade union movement. The declaration of war in 1939 brought groups of young men, influenced by the Communist propaganda, into the trade union movement. In the beginning the Nizam's government did not admit any official participation of the Communist
party in the trade union movement. But the groups of young men of this party began to organise trade unions in the newly established industries and enter into the executive posts of established unions. By 1942 the Nizam's government did allow the functioning of the Communist party union and a move to cooperate with them was also made by the officials of the Nizam's government. It began to be felt that the Communist groups could better organise the trade unions. The achievement of the Communists in collective bargaining was considerable. The increasing workers' tempo compelled the employers to accept several of the workers' demands. But one chief factor that should be remembered is that the Communist workers did not work by themselves but with the collaboration of the other workers of different political affiliations. The All Hyderabad Trade union was organised for the first time in Aurangabad by the Communist group. When they organised the conference, other working class leaders smelt some snare in the deliberations and suspected a Communist control on the working class movement in the state.

Just at this time in Hyderabad, the National Congress took shape of a political party. The leaders of the Congress and particularly strong socialist groups among them made a beginning of the trade union organisation under the name of Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh with Mr. Abid Hussain as president.
The government of Hyderabad decided upon constituting a legislative assembly for political reforms. The constitution of this assembly was based upon representations of the Muslim on 50:50 basis. This was opposed by the Congress and by the rest of the political parties including the trade union. The Muslim workers in the trade union began to feel that there should be a representation for Muslim workers in the executive of the unions in an equal proportion with the other workers. Though the trade union act passed by the assembly of All Hyderabad state did not lay down this specific requirement of the trade union, the general political atmosphere prompted dismissed workers to demand this reform in the constitution of the trade union. Even the biggest and the oldest trade union, i.e. the railway employees union had to face this demand from Muslim workers backed by the leaders of the Razaker movement, some of whom occupied ministerial posts. The refusal of this demand by the trade unions increased the bitterness between workers and workers and rivalries started. As the Nizam government banned the Communist party in the state, what is now called the famous fight of the Communists in Telangana (with Nalgonda as the Stalingrad of India) started with violence of organised type and counter attacks by the government police and military. The coal mine suffered the worst. The president of the Kothagudem collieries workers union and some workers were assassinated or shot dead. Many
of the executive and worker leaders were arrested; some of them went underground to operate individual warfare with government forces. The office of the union was smashed and deserted. Generally speaking trade union workers were suspected of Communist leanings and were arrested or unless they went underground. The bitterness of communal feelings was such that the Razakars did not spare even the railway workshops workers who were attacked while travelling in the workman trains.

The industrial development of the Hyderabad state showed marked progress during this period. Most of the trade unions in the state were in a disorganised condition and, because of the harassment from managements, strikes were sponsored by the victimised trade unions leaders; they took out long processions by pulling out workers from the various factories. To prevent such strikes, the government enforced the trade disputes regulation in the year 1942 and constituted a machinery for adjudication of disputes.

The trade disputes regulation helped the management more than the labour, because workers were prevented from going on strike and conciliation proceedings, when held to settle the disputes between the employer and their employees, did almost nothing to secure benefits for the workers.

From 1940 till the end of 1950 the Communists were
completely eliminated from the trade union field as a result of the government's ban on their party and because of their going underground. In this period the trade union activities in the state were totally controlled by the Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh leaders. Most of the trade unions which owed their allegiance to the Communist party were captured by the Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh.

During this period the following commissions, boards and committees were appointed to make enquiries into the wage structure, working conditions, etc. of the various industries and make their recommendations:

1. JadHAV committee (for coal mines).
2. Technical wages committee (for government employees and industrial workers).
3. Rege committee (for industrial labour).
4. Hyderabad pay commission (for government employees and industrial workers).
5. Industrial courts for adjudicating upon the industrial disputes between:
   a. The employers of the electricity department and their employees
   b. The employers of the PWD. workshop and their employees
   c. The employers of the drainage department and their employees
   d. The employers of the DSR. mills and their employees
e. The employers of the Praga tools corporation and their employees

f. The employers of the Hyderabad (division) spinning and weaving company limited and their employees

g. The employers of the Nizam Sugar Factory and their employees

h. The employers of the Osmanshahi Mills Limited and their employees

i. The employers of the Azamjahi Mills Limited and their employees.

j. The employers of the Hyderabad State Printers and their employees.

Implementation of the decisions of the industrial tribunal and the recommendations of the Rege committee were kept pending for a long time. A labour advisory committee was constituted by the government to advise them on the labour policy. The government convened only one meeting but nothing effective came out of it as the only meeting held happened to be its first and last meeting.

The recommendations of the technical wages committee, Jadhav committee and the Hyderabad pay commission failed to deal impartially with the several important issues which they took upon themselves to study. Their recommendations could not therefore be a guide for further trade union negotiations in respect of government employers or in respect of private
industrial concerns. In spite of their strength, the trade unions that functioned for over two decades had been ignored.

Some of the labour laws which were of some value to the workers during this period were the workmen's compensation act and factories act. However there was no strict supervision on the part of the factory inspectorate to enforce the provisions of the factories act on management who failed to follow the essential provisions of the factories act with regard to the working hours, overtime and safety provisions. During this period all the labour acts of the state were replaced by the central acts of the government of India; the department of labour was then in its infancy.

It is against this background that the trade union workers felt a need for a central organisation to function as a steering body to coordinate the activities of the several trade unions, to help workers in organising themselves and, most important of all, to investigate into the conditions of labour. Though several unions secured affiliation with the All India Trade Union organisations, an organisation in the state similar to the provincial federation of trade unions was needed. A nucleus of such an organisation did exist but the Communist leadership that sponsored it could not get the workers or unions to join it as there was a ban on its activities.
The workers of most trade unions therefore felt a need to organise a body under the name of the "Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh" to work on genuine trade union lines and formed themselves into a working committee of the organisation on 29.6.1946, under the leadership of Sarvasri B.S. Mahadev Singh, S.B. Giri and L. Narayan. Some of the trade unions came under the influence of the state Congress and joined the Indian National Trade Union Congress when a branch of it was started in the state by Sarvasri H.C. Heda, T. Anjaiah and G. Sanjeeva Reddy in 1948.

It is after the police action that the trade unions took up their activities again on a significant scale. The Communist group of workers could not come back again to man the executive of the union. This vacuum was filled by the network of organisations brought into being by the Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh which was generally controlled by the Socialist party though it allowed into its executives other political party leaders also. With the coming of the military government, the Indian trade union act of 1926 replaced the Hyderabad trade union act. The industrial disputes act of 1947 was made applicable to Hyderabad displacing the trade union regulation under the defence of Hyderabad rules. For the first time tribunals were established to deal with industrial disputes. The first general strike covering the entire state took place
in 1949 after the refusal of the military government to accept demands of the workers even for an interim relief of Rs.8/- and for preventing the closure of factories which was then a widespread feature in the state.

The Hyderabad government then appointed a labour enquiry committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Rege, asking the committee to enquire into the labour conditions and to make recommendations on wages. The report was published in 1951. The main recommendation related to a minimum basic wage of Rs.26/- and d.a. of Rs.26/- thus raising the wage limit by Rs.9/-.

There were many other issues on which the government accepted the recommendations of the Rege committee.

After the police action, the working committees of the various trade union federations that functioned in the state reviewed the labour position and immediately made representations to the government for sanctioning adequate dearness allowance to meet the increased cost of living. They also formulated economic programmes for implementation by the new official-cum-popular administration. Several resolutions were passed by the various working committees of the different trade unions in the state belonging to workers in the railways, textiles, iron and steel and coal mines.

d. The period between 1950 and 55: During this period
a significant incident took place. Some of the members of the Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh severed their connection with it and organised another federation of trade unions under the name of United Trade Union Congress which was the branch of the all India organisation of that name. They concentrated their activities mostly in the industrial area of Azamabad (Musheerabad). The Indian National Trade Union Congress branch of the state was also gaining ground and their concentration of trade union activities was mostly confined to the areas of Allauddin Industrial Estate (Sanathnagar). The activities of the Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh spread not only over the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad but also over the districts of the state.

About this time the ban on the Communist party was lifted and this was followed by a general amnesty due to the general elections. As a result of this, most of the Communist leaders who were behind the bars were set free and the leaders who were conducting the trade union activities underground became free to resume their activities openly.

In response to the call of the Mazdoor Sangh nearly 44,000 workers went on a general strike. The main cause of this general strike was the government's refusal to accede to the demands of the Mazdoor Sangh to ameliorate the conditions
of the labour of the state. The general strike commenced on 11-1-1950 and ended on 31-1-1950. The exemplary manner in which the workers conducted themselves during the strike won them a reputation hitherto unheard of. In spite of some efforts on the part of the so-called working class leaders to break the strike, the workers stood together solidly and conducted the struggle successfully.

As a result of this general strike, an interim relief of Rs.8.8 was sanctioned by the government to all its industrial workers and the same was recommended to the private employers. The government gave an assurance to the Mazdoor Sangh that no further retrenchment would take place in any of its organisations. With regard to private employers, it advised its labour department to intervene in cases of retrenchment without any delay, for bringing about settlement according to the directions received from the government from time to time. All the pending awards of the industrial tribunal were announced. The long-awaited Rege committee recommendations as approved by the government were announced and the conditions of labour in the state improved considerably by this action of the government.

In 1950 certain social security laws were introduced. Mention may be made of the Employees' Provident Fund Scheme and the Employees State Insurance Scheme by which the workers
of the state benefited. A noteworthy change started taking place in the trade union movement of the state. As the trade unions were enlarging themselves through their affiliation with outside bodies, they assumed the status of All India associations. On these lines, federations of workers, industry-wise, were sponsored by some of the top ranking labour leaders. All the tobacco workers union in India federated themselves under the name of the All India Tobacco Workers Federation. Another federation of this type was the All India Sugar Factory Workers Federation. Other federations of this type were the All India Cement Workers Federation, All India Coal Mine Workers Federation, All India Municipal Workers Federation, All India Electricity Workers Federation and All India Highway Workers Federation.

During the period, attempts were made by various political parties to form a united front of all the trade unions affiliated to the various federations controlled by the different political parties in the state, but it did not materialise due to group rivalries in the trade unions and the formation of rival trade unions by many of the self-centred working class leaders.

After the general strike, when many of the active workers abandoned the Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh, its strength dwindled and many of its affiliated trade unions disaffiliated themselves and got affiliated to other trade
union federations. By this defection the strength of Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress and Indian National Trade Union Congress increased.

Consequent on the increasing pressure from the various trade unions and their statewide organisation, the government set up industrywise committees for fixing minimum wages. Their recommendations with a few modifications were notified by the government.

The Hyderabadshops and establishment act came into force in 1951 and considerable relief was secured to shop assistants in regard to their working hours and service conditions.

At this stage, due to the efforts of the various trade union organisations, the government appointed a wage board under the chairmanship of Mr. Deshpande and the recommendations of Mr. Deshpande were reconsidered by the Hanumantha Rao committee and their recommendations with slight modification were accepted by the Andhra Pradesh government. Under these an unskilled worker in a government industrial undertaking was to be paid a total salary of Rs. 60/- per month.

The Hyderabad Mazdoor Sangh again launched a second struggle against the government in 1956, demanding a revision
in the wage structure of industrial labour in the state. Some of the unions which were affiliated to the Mazdoor Sangh took part in this strike but with no appreciable results. The strike however continued for a number of days and ended on the eve of the formation of the new Andhra Pradesh state. The ANTUC also launched certain strikes of the road gang workers, municipal workers, drainage workers, Shahabad cement workers, local bank employees and postal employees.

On the whole the trade union movement of the state cannot stand comparison with that in other state like Bombay and Bengal. But it has rendered yeoman service to the working class of the state. It has fought for the working class and has compelled the authorities concerned to concede in a small but satisfactory manner the most pressing demands of the workers.

Trade union movement of Andhra and Andhra Pradesh

a. Before 1947: The working class drawn to the industrial sector in Andhra was predominantly from the agricultural class. It moved to the industrial centres like Visakhapatnam for better wages and living. In the early days the workers stayed in the towns for certain seasons and returned to attend to agriculture in their villages. As they had
something to fall back upon, their trade union activity was not of much consequence. The trade union activity grew when the large scale and medium scale factories came into existence. The industrial survey of Andhra Pradesh prior to independence indicates that there were 26 factories employing 87,258 workers. In the erstwhile Andhra there were two cement factories, two sugar factories, two jute mills and Scindia Shipyard at Visakhapatnam unionisation consciousness was inculcated among the work force in this area in the beginning by certain social workers who had leftwing bearings.

Prior to the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh there were two wings of the All India Trade Union Congress functioning for the erstwhile Hyderabad state under the name of All Hyderabad Trade Union Congress and another for Andhra state controlling a number of trade unions. Similar is the case in respect of other trade union central organisations, namely, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and the Indian National Trade Union Congress. They all came into operation after 1942. After 1956 i.e. after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, these federations of trade unions which were functioning as two separate entities merged into a single body. These central organisations organised and developed a number of trade unions in public as well as private undertakings like hospitals, mines, municipalities and railways.
From the records it is noticed that the bulk of the membership of various trade unions in the area is controlled by All India Trade Union Congress and Indian National Trade Union Congress. Records reveal that over one lakh of workers in the manufacturing industry of the area are yet to be unionised and are exposed to exploitation by the unprogressive employers.

b. **Between 1947 and 1956:** Following is a rapid review of the developments in the field of trade unions. The review pertains to the establishment, growth, strengths and weaknesses of some of the major unions; their combinations or councils; their problems and struggles to solve them. The analysis is confined to the vital area of Andhra.

**1947:** In February, the Port Non-Casetted Officers Association consisting of the ministerial and subordinate staff of the Port was started, registered and recognised.

The Hindustan Shipyard Officers Association also came into existence.

The shore and stevedore labour of the Port were organised under the name of the Port Khalasis Union by Mr. G. M. A. Narasinga Rao.
A major strike was organised by the Hindustan Shipyard Labour Union from 8 July to 20 October demanding enhancement of basic wages, dearness allowance etc. resulting in a loss of wages of Rs.4,67,800.

1948: All India Railway Ministerial Staff Association, Visakhapatnam branch, was started.

The Prime Minister of India laid the foundation stone for the Harbour and Port Workers Union building. The two rival unions of workers in the Hindustan Shipyard merged and got affiliated to the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

1949: Three unions of defence employees were started. The Indian Naval Armament Depot Civil Employees Union was founded under the leadership of Mr. B.S. Mallikarjuna Rao and was registered in the month of May.

A branch of the Military Engineer Service Civilian Employees Union was started on 22 April under the leadership of Mr. Tenneti Viswanadham.

The third defence employees union viz. the Indian Civil Navy Employees Union was started under the leadership of Mr. Ch. Moses, an advocate.
The South Eastern Railway Porters Union was established under the presidentship of Mr. G. M. A. Narsing Rao.

1951: The Military Engineer Service Civilian Employees Union was accorded separate recognition.

The Hindustan Shipyard Labour Union ceased to be an affiliated union of the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

The Indian Oxygen and Acetylene Company was established.

1952: The registration of the King George Hospital employees Union was cancelled in June due to non-submission of annual returns. The general body of the union meeting in October elected Mr. M. V. Bhadram as its president in place of Mr. B. S. Mallikharjuna Rao and its registration was also restored.

The Hindustan Shipyard was taken over by the government of India.

1953: The Hindustan Shipyard Labour Union conducted a strike from 22 April to 12 May for several of its demands.

The Andhra Provincial Medical Employees Union was established by transforming the King George Hospital Employees Union into a statewide union of all hospital employees with Mr. M. V. Bhadram as its president.
On 12 and 13 December the first conference of the Andhra Provincial Medical Employees Union was held at Visakhapatnam. On 24 December it got its registration.

1954: The Imperial Tobacco Company of India Limited staff union was started in September with Mr. B.S. Mallikharjuna Rao as its president.

1955: The Commercial Employees Union started functioning from 15 May under the presidency of Mr. G.M.A. Narsinga Rao. On 21 August, the union was inaugurated by Mr. B. Gopal Reddy, the then chief minister of Andhra state.

The Harbour and Port workers union elected Mr. K.V. Bhadram as its president, and thus the union went into the Communist fold.

1947 is a red letter year in the history of the trade union movement not only for the region of Andhra but also for other regions because this was the year when the entire country became independent from foreign rule. Another significant feature of this year is the passage of the industrial disputes act replacing the previous acts. Some of these changes enabled the trade unions, particularly in the area of Andhra, to consolidate themselves. Many young leaders subscribing to different political ideologies emerged...
to continue the trade union organisations more effectively, at least in Visakhapatnam.

In the early nineteen fifties a beginning was made in Visakhapatnam of Andhra area in forming omnibus trade unions called the "Gird Type." This trend was evidenced in the formation of unions for the workers of rice mills and oil mills. For the workers of the several motor transport companies, particularly in Visakhapatnam, another omnibus trade union called "Andhra Motor Vehicle Workers Union" was formed. In this period, Mr. Lanka Sundaram, and M.P., strengthened the Hindustan Shipyard Workers Union and gave it a status.

In the year 1951-52, when the Communist party was banned, the trade union of the workers of Chittivalasa jute mills (which was dominated by it) went under the control of the Congress leaders. But when the ban on the Communist party was lifted, the leadership of the trade union went back to it again. The union of the workers of Hellimarla jute mills were not politically motivated whereas at Visakhapatnam Port, till 1955, the union leaders belonged to the various political parties. 1955 onwards however the union came under the control of the Communist party.

An interesting trend of the period is worth noting.
The trade union leaders had on their hands the difficult task of conceiving demands on behalf of the workers, finding a justification for it and then convincing the members of the public about the rightness of the demands. Compared to the task of the trade union leaders of today, this task of the early leaders was rather a tough one.

During the year 1952-53, a successful attempt was made by Dr. Laaka Sundaram to organise trade union councils. There formation the councils denoted that attempts were made to bring unity among the working class. This also indicates that, during the period under review, the trade unionists and workers realised the need for a united organisation of labour to safeguard their interests. The idea was to bring pressure collectively on the employers or the government for the redressal of grievances and improvement of general living and working conditions of the workers. The need of the hour for an organisation of this type was to equip the unions with first hand knowledge of problems of labour in various industries. It was altogether a new trend in the trade union movement and was far ahead of time. The trade unions in Visakhapatnam were eligible for membership of the council. The council had its own office bearers elected by the members unions. It was more or less a federation of trade unions.
The council was active and rose to the occasion several times and organised sympathetic strikes if any injustice was done to workers in any industrial undertaking in the area of Visakhapatnam. For instance, when the workers of the Hindustan Shipyard went on a strike in 1953, the trade union councils actively supported their cause and organised sympathetic strikes of its member unions. It extended financial help at times to the workers involved in strikes. The council organised meetings from time to time to ascertain the grievances of individual unions and help them in their efforts to better the living and working conditions of their members.

On 19 February 1956, the council organised a meeting of all the member unions and appealed to the government to settle the long-standing issues between the employees of King George Hospital, Visakhapatnam, and the administration. It urged the government to put an end to victimisation in the form of transfers, suspension etc. of active workers of the King George Hospital Employees Union. On 2 April 1956, the council met and adopted a resolution to conduct May Day celebrations and organise demonstrations and public meetings. It directed the member unions to request the managements to close the factories at 4.00 P.M. to enable the workers to participate in the celebrations. At the same meeting it voiced the protest of the unions against the rising prices of essential commodities and appealed to the state and central government.
to curb the prices or to open fair price shops. On 2 August 1956 the council convened a meeting to discuss the 18-day-old strike of Port signalling staff. The council functioned actively until 1958 and helped its member unions to fight for their causes. It served as a common platform for all the trade unions in the area to ventilate their grievances. It served the purpose of publicising the labour problems and demands among the people to gain their sympathy and support. The formation of this type of trade union council was the first attempt made in the history of trade union movement in Visakhapatnam to unite the trade unions in bonds of fraternity for mutual advantage and benefit. Unfortunately due to some misunderstanding between some of the unions and the council on the one hand and splits among the unions on the other, the council ceased functioning in 1958.

It is of interest to note that on 4 March 1956, the Secretary of the Military Engineer Services Civilian Employees Union, having been impressed by the impact of the activities of the trade union council of Visakhapatnam, appealed to all the central government employees unions to come forward and cooperate in forming the trade union council for them with the object of bringing pressure on the government of India to grant increased house rent and compensatory city allowance and other benefits. And the said council came into existence on the same day i.e. 4 March 1956 with the following objectives:
a. To bring together all the central government employees unions under one banner.

b. To demand collectively higher wages and better service conditions for its members.

Like the city trade union council, this council was also active from the very beginning and convened a number of meetings of the central government employees unions. On 13 May 1956 the council held a meeting and adopted a resolution to impress upon the district collector the need for the immediate opening of fair price shops. On the same day it was resolved to request the government of India to consult the recognised trade unions of the central government employees in matters of retrenchment, reversion and declaration of surplus staff in its establishments. It lodged a strong protest with the Garrison Engineer, Visakhapatnam, who, it is said, did not consult the Military Engineer Services Civilian Employees Union in such matters. On 2 June 1956 the council submitted a memorandum to Mr. B.N. Datar, minister for home affairs, government of India, when he visited Kurnool. In this memorandum upgrading of the Visakhapatnam city from 'C' class to 'B' class was urged for the purpose of granting higher rates of house rent and city compensatory allowances. On 25 August 1956 the council observed a demands day following the instructions of the confederation of central government
employees, New Delhi. The demands included, among other things, payment of dearness allowance on the basis of the present cost of living index, sanction of four advance increments to the clerical staff of the subordinate offices of all central services, opening of fair price shops, abolition of cycle tax in Visakhapatnam municipality and upgrading of the Visakhapatnam city. On 7 August 1957 a joint meeting of the city trade union council and the trade union council of central government employees union was held to discuss the countrywide strike of post and telegraphs and other central government employees unions, scheduled to commence on 8 August 1957, and to decide the course of action which the unions should adopt.

Thus this council also rose to the occasion several times. It devoted its time and energy to the cause of central government employees in Visakhapatnam. It strove hard to get their grievances redressed and demands conceded. But unfortunately this council also became defunct consequent on the strike of the central government employees in 1960.

During the period, the year 1953 is considered to be a landmark in the history of the trade union movement in Andhra. In this year the municipal workers working in municipal and local boards got their different trade unions integrated as
a federation and organised one day general strike on 28 March 1953. Almost all the municipal workers belonging to Vijayawada, Eluru, Guntur, Kurnool, Nandyal, Amalapuram, Palakollu, Vijayawaram, Narasaraopet, Chirala, Bapatla, Ponnur, Repalle and Adoni joined this strike to press for increase in wages as it was granted to other, government, employees. On 20 April 1953, this federation gave a call again for a general strike calling at a "Demanda Day." As a result the government sanctioned an increase of Rs.6/- in the wages of a municipal worker.

6. After 1956: Andhra Pradesh: The year 1956 is the landmark in the history of trade union movement in Andhra Pradesh as the trade union movements of Andhra and of Telangana got integrated along with the political integration of the two regions.

The following table relating to the industrywise trade union membership and the membership of the central trade union organisations in the state of Andhra Pradesh for the year 1956-57 indicates the rate at which the trade union movement has developed in the state after 1956 i.e. immediately after the formation of Andhra Pradesh.
Table 21: Industry-wise trade union membership of state, central trade union organisations in the year 1956-57.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>Number of workers</th>
<th>AITUC Unions</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>INDEPENDENT Unions</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>IFTUC Unions</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>HMS Unions</th>
<th>Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jute</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Transport (state)</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25,200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, oil mills</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbour</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road works</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14,200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3,70,000</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Labour, Government of Andhra Pradesh.
The unique feature of trade union movement during the period 1963 to 1966 was the joint struggles of the middle class employees belonging to central and state governments. The struggles were launched against price rise and for full protection of the value of pay. Their struggles and demonstrations were always at the call of their central organisations. The state government employees and the workers of the state government industrial undertakings and other establishments, together with the workers of Road Transport Corporation and Electricity Board, constituted two separate action committees in a coordinated manner to organise statewide action for the redressal of their grievances. These action committees represented the unions of Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Sabha and other independent organisations like those of non-gazetted officers, teachers and class IV employees. These held a joint convention against price rise and for linkingearness allowance with cost of living index, and for revision of wages. They decided to evolve a machinery to coordinate their activities and struggles. The strike of the Road Transport Corporation workers for bonus and revision of wage rates and the Eluru jute workers strike were jointly conducted by the All India Trade Union Congress and Indian National Trade Union Congress Unions. Similar trends were observed in Visakhapatnam and Hyderabad of organising conventions, rallies and demonstrations jointly by the All
India Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Sabha and other independent unions on issues of common interest. The joint action committees at one stage took a decision to organize a general strike in the state on 21 September 1965. The workers of Singareni Collieries organized agitations on several occasions for disbursement of profit bonus. The Eluru and Bajranj Jute Mills workers waged prolonged strike actions of 45 and 115 days respectively for the implementation of the wage board decisions. In support of the jute mill workers strike all the trade unions in Guntur organised a one day solidarity strike. The unions felt that it was ridiculous on the part of the government to express its helplessness and refer the demands to wage boards. They also thought it strange that the local tribunal should reject the guidelines of the national tripartite boards. The electricity workers of the state responded to the call of their provincial organizations and participated in a one day strike all over the state. Nearly 38,000 workers of National Tobacco Company and Indian Leaf Tobacco Limited at Guntur organised a general strike which resulted in the increase of their wages from 15 to 25 per cent. These and other far-reaching events gave a fillip to the trade union movement in the state.

Apart from central organizations of trade unions like Andhra Pradesh Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Sabha etc., the Indian National Trade Union Congress appeared to be very
active in gaining ground in the trade union movement of state. It organised unions in most of the public sector undertakings like Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited, Synthetic Drugs, Hindustan Machine Tools, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, Hyderabad Chemical Fertilisers, Public Works Department workshop, Hospital and Medical services, Republic Forge, Indo-Nippon, Birla concerns like Sirpur Sirsilk, Tungabhadra Industries and the sugar factory at Nizamabad. It is said that Indian National Trade Union Congress and other central trade union organisations in the state indulged in the formation of rival trade unions and the entire state was plagued with the inter and intra union rivalry.

The following table shows the number of unions district-wise in Andhra Pradesh as on 31-11-1973.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>No. of Unions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TELANGANA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mahaboobnagar</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Khammam</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Warangal</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Medak</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Adilabad</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nalgonda</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Karimnagar</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Nizamabad</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ANDHRA AREA</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ananthapur</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Gadapah</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kurnool</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Guntur</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Krishna</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Nellore</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Chittoor</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Prakasham</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Srikakulam</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Visakhapatnam</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>West Godavari</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>East Godavari</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 7,566

Source: Department of Labour, Government of Andhra Pradesh.
In the years 1974-78 the government made determined efforts for the industrial development of the state. But there was not much improvement in the working conditions of the work force. The period of emergency during these years acted as an aid in putting down to a certain extent industrial unrest and reducing loss of mandays in the industry. Almost all the trade unions in the state appealed to the government to control the prices of food grains and supply the essential commodities through governmental agencies at fair prices. They also demanded that statutory rationing be implemented in the state. Most unions launched a protest in 28 May 1973 against the price rise. There was also the demand that the minimum wages be revised and the existing laws regulating industrial relations be restructured in consultation with the federation of trade unions. The government gave a cold shoulder. In the year 1974-75 a number of strikes were organised by trade unions all over the state; as a result several managements declared lockouts. Consequently there were 42 strikes and 13 lockouts. In all about 28,000 workers participated in strikes. On account of lockouts about 9,000 workers lost their jobs and there was a loss of about 88,000 mandays on account of strikes and 3,08,000 mandays on account of lockouts. From 1973-74 to 1975-76 the number of factories increased from 4,866 to 5,798. During the same period the worker strength rose to about 37,000.
The major agitation of the railway strike of 20 days was significant in the year 1974. Throughout the state about 1,100 employees were arrested and suspended from services and about 300 employees were dismissed. In support of this railwaymen's strike other trade unions organised strikes throughout the state on 15 May 1974. About 3 lakhs or workers participated in the sympathetic strike. Of these 10,000 were of Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation Union, 10,000 were of coal mines, Port and Harbour workers union and the rest were drawn from jute, textile, tobacco companies, municipal worker's ranks.

In this period the trade union movement developed a strong foundation in the port and harbour at Visakhapatnam and other industries, as also among the industries at Vijayawada, Guntur and Rajahmundry. It developed also in the city of Hyderabad and its outskirts like Uppal, Balanagar, Sanathnagar, Ramachandrapuram and Patancheruvu where small scale, medium and major industries were established in the public and private sector employing large number of workers. The unions of the public sector units and in and around Hyderabad developed into a federation known as the joint federation of public sector employees union.

The Singareni collieries at Kothagudem were faced with a strained relationship between members of different unions.
having affiliations with different political parties. The atmosphere all over the place was infected with inter and intra union rivalries and planned industrial unrest.

At Machilipatnam, due to various struggles and agitations conducted by the trade unions, the Andhra Scientific Company was taken over by the defence department of government of India. This emboldened the unions working in the area to force their managements to concede their demands.

In Guntur the employees working in the areas where the minimum wages of tobacco workers were not extended, the trade unions by their agitation brought pressure not only on government but also on their managements to implement the minimum wages. In Wagedi of West Godavari district and at Annadevarapet, besides at Kapavaram, the workers in Navabaratha Tobacco and Sulaiman Companies organised themselves into unions and got many of their grievances redressed. The growth of unions in these places among the tobacco workers had its own impact on the tobacco units in Prakasam district.

After the emergency, in 1977, from 9 June, the municipal workers resorted to a general strike to press their demands pertaining to increase in wages. Similar trends were observed among the workers of the public sector undertakings
in Hyderabad and elsewhere in the state. To settle the disputes of these workers the government at the centre convened a conference of all the representatives of the various unions and their federations. On 15 May 1978 a confederation of all the federations of trade unions functioning in almost all public sector undertakings, nationalised banks, life insurance and other allied industries was formed. On behalf of this confederation a one day strike was observed all over the country, on 28 June 1978, relating to wage freeze, revision of wages through a tripartite board, payment of bonus and against the intervention of Bureau of Public Enterprises in matters of trade unions' relations with their managements. Andhra Pradesh and its trade unions and their federations were exception in showing their resentment, by protests and agitations, against the non-acceptance by the government of the recommendations of the Bhootalingam committee on wages, prices and income.14
Footnotes


