Chapter 4

Work in the Coalmines

This chapter attempts to describe the nature and conditions of work in the Jharia coalmines. While considerable information on the current state of work has been elicited, one makes a self conscious attempt to take a historical perspective of the work in the coalmines. Right through the study it can be seen that the historical perspective has been stressed at. This is important in order to understand the contemporary work situation which cannot be comprehended without referring to the past. The past chapters have already shown a very long and uninterrupted history of modern industrial work in India.

One therefore begins with the early mining days in the colonial period with a focus on the work culture. One goes on to firstly look into the work culture before the nationalization of the coalmines and secondly, after the nationalization till the contemporary period where the state has increasingly retreated. One also seeks to sketch the migration pattern in the industrial town of Jharia and explore how it affects the socio-economic culture of the place.

The focus in this chapter is to describe the actual nature of the coalmine work, the gender division at work and the women workers negotiations within the masculine work culture. Further one seeks to capture people's perceptions of manual jobs, notions of status, attitude towards work, wages, payment, and notion of time. In other words one is seeking to look at both the work sphere in specific as well as the broader socio cultural lives of the people which impact the nature of their work.

This thesis, as is evident, focuses on women workers in the labour movement. Proceeding on the assumption that the private personal lives of women have a huge role to play in their public participation, the earlier chapter has spent considerable attention to the nature of their family, marriage and kinship patterns. One also drew attention to the multi ethnic, multi tribal social composition of the area to indicate the complex mechanism of social
interaction of the area. It clearly reflects that these social institutions play an important role in the world of labour and in the dynamics of the labour movement.

In this chapter one shifts the focus to the actual work conditions and the characteristics within the coalmines. Keeping in mind Jharia’s long history, the historical perspective is retained in this chapter.

One broadly divides the discussion on work into three broad periods-
  - The colonial period
  - Period after independence (1947) up to period before Nationalization
  - Nationalization (1971) and the period afterwards.

This chapter also highlights the political world of the Trade Unions and how caste politics plays an important role in dividing the work force of the coalmines.

4.1 Early Mining days and Work culture

Workers in the Jharia Coalfield come from diverse background. There are small landholders, landless labourers, cattle herders, bonded labourers and craftspeople (Dasgupta 1994: 176-204). Few of them coming from the nearby districts worked in the coalfields of Raniganj, Giridih and Rewa earlier. Some were service tenants of mine-owning zamindars. After the trade boom more workers started coming in from distant areas as has already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Migrants came from distance areas as well as adjacent areas. Miners who migrated to Jharia could be categorized into four categories. Firstly there were the settled ‘family mazdoor’, who settled down in the coalfields, living either in company dhowrahs, or in rented rooms provided by contractors or in a hut constructed by them. The second category was that of ‘Regular Urban Commuters’ from adjoining bastees, and then there were ‘Regular single males’ from adjacent and distant areas. Lastly there were ‘seasonal rural-urban majdoors’ from neighbouring and distant areas (Srivastav 1970).
The mine was opened up following the extension of the railway line from Jharia to Patherdih in 1895. In 1901 the first coal was extracted from Bhowra, 6010 tons were raised. The colliery was steam powered indicating that the mine was technologically advanced, even from the very beginning. Since the mine was British owned it was favoured by the administrations. In spite of this, the early years of coal mining in Jharia did not witness extensive mechanisation. The mines were still very shallow. Most of the coal was extracted via inclines\(^\text{17}\), and was dug out by picks and shovels, and loaded by baskets.

The collieries were under private owners, many of whom employed managing agencies to take care of the actual operation of business. The managing-contractor, along with the recruiting sirdar, was responsible for employing and making the miners work. Work routines varied in different establishments and, frequently, in different jobs within the same colliery. The routine varied significantly between the big and small mines, especially during the rainy seasons depending on the state of business.

The collieries were of different sizes and under different managements. A number of workers were employed in these mines. The actual operation of the different collieries fluctuated with time and the need of the workers. The number of collieries gradually increased from late 1896 till 1920s.

In the early days before the company's act was regulated, the workers could go for work and leave the workplace according to their own time preferences and convenience. The workers enjoyed their work routine and would refuse to follow any rules and hours of work schedule. Due to this flexible working condition strikes and lockouts were unheard of and the social atmosphere was cordial between the workers and the owners.

\(^{17}\) Any entry to a mine that is not vertical (shaft) or horizontal (adit). Often incline is reserved for those entries that are too steep for a belt conveyor, in which case a hoist and guide rails are employed. A belt conveyor incline is termed a slope.
In 1921, an estimated 81% of the mining population in the province were employed in coal mining, 41% were classed as skilled, and included miners, mechanics, enginemen, firemen, carpenters and bricklayers. Other categories included coolies working on haulage, maintenance Khalasis, masons, drillers and shot-fires, blacksmiths, boilermen, lamp-boys, gate coolies, coal carters and carriers, ash-cleaning Kamins, shale pickers, store-keepers, switch-men, power-house men, processors of soft and hard coke, and horse-boys (Simeon. 1995).

The piece rate colliers- the coal cutters, loaders, trammers, underground tram line mistris and wagon-loaders who formed a large proportion of the miners, worked primarily within this form of flexible time schedule (Seth 1940: 64). Like work in rural areas and the early factories, the usual workday in most mines was the entire day. Till 1925 electricity was available only in 50% of the mines so the mine owners were keen to make the workers work through the sunlight hours. As the demand for coal increased the underground work also extended to night time shifts. The extension of work time took place only in big collieries like Kustore, Lodna, Bhowra, Jaelgora, Jamadoba, Sijua and Katras (Foley 1920:40). Workers were driven from their dhowrahs (labour lines) into coalmines. The mining sirdar received some commission for getting the colliers to work hard. The private miners deployed private guards, popularly known as lathaiths or Pehalwans, to police work and property and to help control the movement of miners recruited on commission and service tenancy. The use of coercion became more intensive when big collieries came up in 1910s and when the pit went deeper and deeper. The workers never preferred going underground even when paid a higher wage rate.

The Labour Enquiry Commission of 1896 reported:

The Sonthalis and Bauris, like many other people, prefer doing no more work than they are obliged to do, and are only anxious to earn enough to live on. The mine worker got capital pay, and in a few days can earn enough to keep him and his family idle and let them enjoy themselves thoroughly for a few days. They accordingly take advantage of Sundays and all possible holidays, and take a holiday
with, or without, an excuse. From this can we speak of these people as 'target workers' who had some sort of clearly defined objective or target, ' on the attainment of which they went back to their homes. Though the Commission did not make any explicit mention of the agricultural connection of the mine workers, that there must have been such connection of very close nature can be presumed from 'other evidence for earlier and also later years (Dasgupta Ranajit).

Workers depended on the recruiters and frequently the entire gang of workers moved from one particular colliery to another along with their sirdar, whenever some irresoluable conflict arose (Rees, 1919:40). The Kamins and the children, as loaders, were relatively untied, and worked as long as they wished in the family gangs. They carried their babies underground, and carved out a space to take care of them. Children worked as loaders alongside their parents. In 1923 the Indian Mines Association (IMA) prohibited children (below the age group of thirteen) from the mines. The kamins tried to circumvent the regulation. They left the older children in the dhowrahs with some retired collier or a member of a different shift, and carried the babies underground, opiated and drugged so that officials could hear no screams (Seth 1960:40). Employers did not interfere with the working of family gangs, and were keen on sustaining the personalized bonds between workers and supervisors. R. Barrowman, manager of Standard Coal Co. for 18 years, stated the official policies: 'it is essential that all labour should be settled on the colliery and as near their own shaft or incline as possible. By this it means that the mining shafts get in personal touch with the labourers, and are in a position to assist them in difficulties; they also understand one another better if they were housed anywhere of the colliery.'

Coal Procurement was done in pairs and gangs. Nearly 80% of the women worked with husbands or male relatives. The highpoint of female employment in the collieries was reached in 1920, when they formed 37.5 % of the total workforce. This proportion declined to 35.8% in 1923; 29.6% in 1926; 25.4% in 1929 (when the government ordered

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18 The Kamins constituted 40% to 50% of underground workforce in different collieries. There was albeit a thousand of the women as coal cutters in the early decade as well, who subsequently lost this occupation to men. Other kamins worked on the surface as earth cutters, shale pickers, wagon loaders, etc.

19 Evidence of barrowman to Foley, 1920, report, p.68.
their gradual exclusion from underground working); 18% in 1932; and 13.8% in 1935. In 1937 the ban was implemented, and by 1938 they constituted only 11.5% of the colliery workforce. Around this time, 60% of adult women in mining centers were unemployed. The decline was linked to the eclipse of the small operations which employed a large number of women, and the mechanization of haulage, pumping, screening and loading in the big collieries.

The coal was extracted from below the ground by making ‘galleries’ 20, and then driving galleries from this main one, at right angles, leaving pillars of coal to support the roof of the mine. For safety the pillars are kept wide, but to extract the maximum amount of coal, as cheaply as possible, these pillars are invariable reduced. ‘Pillar robbing’ by the miners were common and this led to accidents and death. Such practices were often done with the connivance, or orders, of the mining sardar. Everyone in the mines, from raising contractors to the actual miners, was piece-rated, which facilitated this practice further.

Above the ground too, none of the workers were safe, their lives was at the risk from the ‘pillar-robbing’ going on below ground. One night in February 1916, suddenly the earth opened up, and a whole row of ‘dhowrahs’ 21 fell into it. There were three rows, one remained, one subsided intact, and the third, tragically fell sideways. Of the forty-five people living there, twenty four died. They were all locals, and included men, women and children. Whole families had been living there (Barnes: 1989).

Coal miners enjoyed some control on the decision-making regarding the pace and the direction of work especially in the underground. At the worksite, the gang headman/gang-sirdar worked out a plan, direction, and pace of mining in combination with his gang members. He supervised the work process and worked alongside other miners. He was usually from the same social group—kith, caste, tribe and community—as other gang miners. He was responsible for recruiting workers, then training and controlling them (Nite 2009:40). W.C Banerjee, a big colliery proprietor, manager and agent of many collieries explained how the system worked:

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20 A horizontal or a nearly horizontal underground passage, either natural or artificial.
21 Miner's dwelling houses.
We have recruiters and under them certain miner sirdars. We send these men into the districts.......They know certain people as miners and coolies and bring them. We do not bring all the coolies and teach them coal cutting. These sirdars bring with them their relatives, acquaintances and co-villagers, and employ them in surface or underground work according to their abilities..... they teach and turn out as coal cutter, they will be paid a certain sum of money in addition to what we pay them, namely, certain wages and certain commission per tub of coal raised by their gang of coolies (Foley, 1920:61-62)

The managers always experimented with ways to extract more coal from underground at a minimum labour cost by splitting the pillars into several smaller ones. The worst part is that these pillars were being robbed. After the accidents, compensation for the miners' families was never mentioned as it did not fall under the purview of the management. In haulage accidents, tubs were used to bring the coal to the surface, on rail tracks below ground. Few workers were killed when the ropes gave way, and the tub ran wild. Such accidents with tubs below ground, and wagons at the railway sidings, occurred. This indicates that the machineries used in the mines were too outdated. The number of accidents increased in the second decade of this century, after the mine had established itself (Barnes 1989: 64).
Terminology of causes of Indian coal mine accidents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roof/side fall</td>
<td>Accidental fall of roof or side at the time of excavation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winding</td>
<td>Accident in the course of raising or lowering coal or man in shaft</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haulage</td>
<td>Accident in the course of raising or lowering coal by tubs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dumper</td>
<td>Accidents associated with dumper – wheeled vehicles for carrying coal with tipper mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conveyer</td>
<td>Accident in the use of belt or chain conveyers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other transport machinery</td>
<td>Accident associated with trucks and wagons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other machinery</td>
<td>Accident associated with non-transport machinery like loading machinery, crusher etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explosives</td>
<td>Accident in the course of using explosives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>Accidents resulting out of the use of electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dust/gas</td>
<td>Accidents due to explosions of noxious gases, due to absence of oxygen, due to explosion of coal dust etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall of object/person</td>
<td>Accidents occurring due to sudden fall of an object or a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inundation</td>
<td>Accidents due to sudden rushing in of water</td>
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In the coalmines, a fundamental division of labour did operate at work. The older command the younger, the men the women, the brothers the sisters, just as it occurs in the village within the framework of an agrarian economy. The policies of the Labour management, entrepreneurs, and recruiting agents, and the attitudes of the employees union link the separate groups of permanent and casual laborers who are often involved in unrelated tasks in specific places. As soon as one crosses the mud wall of the hut that serves tea near the worksite or mine, things change. Village friendships and family ties are reaffirmed, especially at the level of men from close age groups. These bonds acquire greater importance as the distance from the coal belt increases. Many permanent employees from the rural areas have casual labourers among their relatives and neighbours and they do not hesitate to mix with them.
Only the women workers (*kamins* or *mazdoorni*), almost always engaged in carrying coal or coal dust, remain aloof and quiet while walking all along the way leading to their houses. In the village, the family ties, neighborhood solidarities, and the regulations of the caste system organize the majority of the social relations for both sexes and for people of all ages and different statuses.

Within these groups, the work was divided along gender lines: men cut the coal, women loaded it. The work was complementary and men and women received equal wages. So well entrenched was this division that single male workers that came to work in the coalmines often faced difficulties, for they had no women to load their coal. The women who came to the coalfield came to work along with their men folk, and the idea that they should do otherwise was alien to them.

P.C. Tallents, the Census Superintendent for the 1921 Bihar and Orissa spoke of the substantial agricultural connections of the mine workers. He quoted the following from one non-specified source: "For miles around the coal field many of the villagers follow a dual occupation, working in the fields in the seasons of planting and harvesting and cutting coal for the rest of the time.

The average mine worker's wage was unable to procure for him his subsistence, so much so that, occasional absence from work became a physiological necessity, arising out of the sustained lack of nutrition. The other important issue that encouraged absenteeism was the lack of insurance of safety inside the mines. Other welfare measures such as housing, or
more importantly, the steps to prevent occupational diseases and/or minimize health hazards, also lay unaddressed.

The workers of the coalmines lived in a diverse complex and contested social milieu. This actually opens up a sociologically rich area for investigation. Banded together as a class under the new industrial regime, their links with their traditional society at large remained intact nonetheless, and their movements can best be comprehended as part of an unfolding historical context. They were not always in a state of agitation. These groups included jobbers, gang-sirdars, contractors, foremen, clerks and supervisors- the mediators of employment and work discipline; and the shopkeepers, moneylenders, petty bureaucrats and policemen who provided access to marketable necessities and represented the state. (Simeon, 1995)

In the case of private mine owners, it was very difficult to cope up with the work culture. The workplace was highly corrupt and this affected the moral of the miners so the women miners had to take drastic steps to fight against corruption. Prior to the nationalization of coalmines the social atmosphere of the mines was dismal. The workers were paid over the counter and snatching of miners hard earned money, extortion, etc. was part of their lives. The proportion of the miners' income spent on liquor consumption was also another important aspect which played havoc with these economies of families who were already living under huge debt burdens. In 1959, a survey conducted by coalmines labour welfare organization on the coalmine workers residing at Bhuli township (Dhanbad) showed that 50 per cent of the workers' families were in debt (Roychaudhury, 1964: 409). A case study on the Bhowra colliery, southwest of Jharia in March 1962 points out that adivasi daughters were taking to wagon loading because their families were unable to survive on the measly savings of their fathers after much had been spent on drinking (Ambasht 1979:14). Women were at the receiving end of the resultant frustrations: directly, through physical violence (wife-beating), or indirectly through other harrowing activities like gambling, drunkenness or absenteeism.

The social spectrum stretching from the poorest workers to the clerks and supervisory personnel did not end there, but extended to elements of the middle-class literati, with
whom unionist as well as workers had ideological and social links. Appeals for public support by strikers and exhortations by managements took place within the ethical matrix of the national movement, linking those with broader socio-political interests. Thus the labour movement was a dynamic totality, and the mode by which labour ‘interests’ were expressed was not a purely class articulation even when it was represented as such by its leaders. (Simeon, 1995).

4.2 Labour Movement before Nationalization of the Coalmines

The labour unrest in 1920 forced the government to change its attitude towards labour and treat it as a separate subject. The Government of India realized the importance of a careful study of the various problems connected with labour that arose in the country as well as in other countries in that era. With this in view they established a Labour Bureau attached to the Central Government. Information was collected with respect to the existing situation then, and measures were being considered for an enquiry into the actual conditions of labour including their of wages, expenditures and cost of living. The legislations made in favor of labour were passed only when the labour movement took up the issue and fought vigorously for their implementation and the employer was in a position to adjust his own requirements in the light of the new legislation. Thus, while moving a resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly (February 19; 1921) on limiting working hours (as per the Geneva Convention of the ILO) in factories, Sir Thomas Holland said "... the ratification of the Convention had been demanded by workers in various parts of India and appears to be now generally acceptable to employers".

The movement of miners was against the entire labour-management relationship as practiced in the industry, and aimed at laying out a republican control on the labour process. It all began with an opposition to abusive, intimidating and racist treatment of Indian staff and other workers by the Europeans. In the early years of 1920, Mr. Case, manager (mining engineer) of the standard coal company abused and slapped one of his Indian subordinate’s Bengali-speaking babus. The latter retorted and punched the manager. He was dismissed but his action became a sign of a new time- a demand for dignified and just treatment. Since that was a time of nationalist upsurges, the miners hoped for public support of their cause. The Indian Colliery Employees Union was also formed in 1920, and
mainly clerical workers were members. In the wake of the formation of ICEA and the impending strike action of the employees, white officials themselves demanded caution, and sensitivity to demands of social positions. Amongst workers, the demand for dignity became widespread. Coal-cutters, loaders and trammers began to voice their grievances against abusive and racist treatment. The abusive behavior of the bosses including the native clerks and the supervisors was notorious. They treated the workers with contempt, and regularly abused workers while driving them from dhowrahs to collieries and in the workplace. The relationship between the management and the workers deteriorated when the colliery tried to speed up production. As the conflict between the colliers and management increased the area of contention widened. Every aspect of work became a site of struggle: tasks/workload, work hours, rest time, leaves, payment, spheres of responsibility and social relationship (Pol Spl files.1920:248).

Industrial unrest was experienced all over the country in the early 1920's. The mines owner were making huge profits since the price of coal in the early 20’s was double compared to what it had been at the beginning of the war. In 1920 some collieries witnessed labour trouble amongst their highly-paid skilled workers, but the agitation did not amount to much since the bosses quickly agreed to increase their pay (Barnes 1989).

The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) held its second session in Jharia, and the colliery bosses for the first time witnessed a more serious expression of labour’s potential strength. The coalmine owner had panicked before the meeting was held, and requested the Viceroy to ban the meeting altogether and not to allow such political agitators within a radius of 200 miles of the coalfield. Although this ban was not enforced, the Viceroy sent sufficient security force for the protection of ‘Law and Order’ (Guha 1973: 96). In spite of the threat of severe disciplinary action against workers participating in the conference by the bosses, thousands of miners attended, thereby closing down the mines for almost week. The coalmine owners witnessed the most ‘serious disturbance’ they had ever seen, nor seen again for many years to follow. The miners went along to the meeting in huge numbers in the full knowledge that they could not lose their jobs- there was a labour shortage which continued until 1923. The colliery owners, faced with labour shortages and labour trouble did the obvious- they increased wages. Despite their action,
the bosses continued to argue that the Indian miner was so 'irrational' that wage rise led to lower output per person. Managers also complained that increased wages also led to increased idleness (Barnes 2006 99). Indian miners were content with a fixed income, and were not prepared to work for five days a week if they could earn the same in three. The wages could not be lowered for the fear of labour discontent. On April 1939, 150 loading coolies of the Bararee Coke Plant near Jharia struck when the management refused to pay for extra work. Within 10 days, the remaining 250 workers had joined them, and processions were taken out between Bararee and Jharia. P.C Bose of the Indian Miners Association was active, and the ADC of Dhanbad began arbitration after 20 days of closure. Workers at Tata's Schist Rock Quarry at Kenduadih went on strike from 11th to 18th April against the change from fixed daily wages to piece-rates. A settlement was arrived at and the TISCO mines dismissed 50 workers after the 18th and reduced wages from 5 and a half to 5 annas daily. The 1000 workers struck again on 22 April and the management closed down the quarry.

Some young men like Mukutdhari Singh and others, after getting their training in Ahmedabad came to Jharia Coalfield and started organizing labour here. The first attempt in organizing a general union of coal workers was made in 1939, when the Chotanagpur Association was formed. It had a very large membership and some of the biggest strikes in the coalfield, like the three labour strikes of Kustore collieries involving about six thousand workers and lasting each for more than three months, were launched. Then came the World War II and with the rise of prices of commodities, the first demand for dearness allowance was made, and as a result of negotiations with the employers, a 10 per cent increase in wages as dearness allowance was given. It was at this time that the Bihar Labour Enquiry Committee was appointed under the leadership of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and first time attempts were made to go deep into the living and working conditions of the coal miners. The efforts of the Committee went a long way in ameliorating the conditions of the workers. As war progressed, most of the labour leaders were put in jail and the labour movement came to standstill for the time being. Due to war, there was a great fillip to the coal industry and coal owners made enormous profits.

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22 Searchlight, 20/4, 28/4 and 4/5/39
But wages and other amenities for workers were not appreciably increased. Naturally, there was discontentment, but due to various ordinances and stiff measures nothing tangible was visible and labour agitations were almost negligible. It should be noted that during this period more specially when Russia entered the war on the side of the allied, Communist elements got some hand and in collaboration with interested persons tried to organize the workers in the name of war efforts. In the coalfield, the followers of Mr. M.N. Roy formed a branch of Indian Federation of Labour (Radical Democratic Party) and for sometime they were the only people seen moving about and working among the workers. But they could not fully succeed in leaving lasting impression on the workers.

The Kustore Workers ‘Union, the first militant labour movement was started under the aegis of Kustore Workers’ Union in the year 1939, when the first successful strike of about six thousand workers began on the question of reinstatement of a few workers, but resulted in other important grants to the workers. Another strike in Kustore began in 1940 and yet another in 1941, both lasting over 100 days. A Regular union was started there which functioned properly till the war came. Its activities were again revived in 1946 and yet another big strike was fought successfully by the workers in 1946-47, just on the eve of the appointment of Conciliation Board.

In the 1940s the coal field witnessed widespread discontent, with many spontaneous militant struggles erupting in the different coalmines of Jharia. Mukutdhari Singh wrote to his mentor in November 1939:

When I had come here, there was an awakening not merely among the workers in Jharia, but all over the country. With the coming into power of the Congress, the workers believed that their problems would disappear, that ‘Ramrajya’ would dawn. This aspiration made them vibrant, there were strikes on all sides, and the workers seemed as if in a euphoria. This was when we appeared on the scene. Because of the peculiar and complex conditions over here, the workers derived some immediate benefit from our presence, and they began to trust us
fully. Lots of meetings took place, lots of speeches were delivered, and hopes inspired......

It has been a year since we first came. We have been unable to deliver the kind of benefits that would truly shake the workers. Naturally, they do not accept our utterances with the same trust.....your Enquiry Commission has contributed much to our woes...for how long can we simply keep consoling workers? Nowadays, they have...begun to look upon us as dishonest people...the liveliness instilled in the workers after the installation of the congress ministries has gradually ebbed. The non-appearance of the report...is proving to be very dangerous for us. Today it is a year since we began sustaining workers with the belief that their trouble would be over with the publication of the report....because it has not been published yet, many workers think we are fooling them around\textsuperscript{23}......today it has become difficult to collect regular membership fees from the union...\textsuperscript{24}

The causes of the strikes were many. With the end of the war, the labour camps which had been set up were disbanded, and many returned to the coalfield to find themselves unemployed\textsuperscript{25}. Women too found themselves retrenched when the ban on their employment belowground was re-imposed in 1946. With the war-time boom in demand, the coalmines increased production, and even sought ways of tempting the miner to stay at the collieries. The wages of the miners were increased by 25 per cent in 1937 and continued to rise. Cheap ration was introduced since prices were rising and the colliery labor found it difficult to obtain adequate food grain\textsuperscript{26}. In 1943, faced with bumper harvests, which is a disaster for colliery owners- the band on women’s employment belowground was lifted and by 1945 over 11 thousand women were working down the coal mines in the Jharia

\textsuperscript{23} Mazdoor yeh samajhte hain ki hum log Phaanki de rahe hain.
\textsuperscript{24} Hindi letters from Mukutdhari Singh to Dr Rajendra Prasad, 4/11/39; and 6/11/39 RPA,NAI. File 1-L-39.
\textsuperscript{25} CIMAR, 1946,p.3
\textsuperscript{26} Indian coal Statistics,1930-1947, Department of commercial intelligence and statistics, Delhi.
coalfield again\textsuperscript{27}. In 1946 over 36,000 women were working in the Jharia coalfield, comprising around 25 per cent of the workforce. Never again in the history of the coal industry have women held such an important place in the workforce, after the ban on women workers were re-imposed in 1947. The months which followed the re-imposition of the ban witnessed widespread discontent in the coalfield (Barnes :155). Along with the ban, the retrenchment of thousands of women, loss of the higher wages and the poor quality of ration they were receiving from the Government did perhaps lead to a new phase of history in many collieries of Jharia.

Newly formed unions sprang up all over the coalfield as a result of the general discontent\textsuperscript{28}. The government responded by setting up a Trades Disputes Conciliation Board in 1947. The Congress union leaders supported the Government’s initiatives to suppress trade union militancy. Non-Congress labour leaders did not, and trade union rivalry was thus established\textsuperscript{29}. There had always been unions which worked hand-in-hand with the bosses, as well as unions which were antagonistic. By the late 1940’s such differences assumed greater importance. The Jharia coalfield was not a stronghold for the Congress at that point of time. Many strikes became violent and cases of assault were common. Two cases of police firing took place where many workers were killed. These incidences showed the sort of political disturbances that existed on the coalfield on the eve of Independence. After independence Congress became the party in power, and the split in the Trade union movement consolidated. The Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) split from the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) (Sen 1977: 409)\textsuperscript{30}. The former were eager to stem labour discontent which would adversely affect production in the newly independent nation. Besides, many of the Indian colliery owners were congress supporters (ibid 411)\textsuperscript{31}. Throughout 1948 the labour situation in the Jharia coalfield remained tense, but fewer strikes took place. The Chief Inspector of Mines noted an

\textsuperscript{27} CIMARs-1945  
\textsuperscript{28} CIMAR, 1946,p.40  
\textsuperscript{29} New Sketch, a mines journal. 17.2.1947  
\textsuperscript{30} A decision to form a separate trade union by the congress had already been taken in May, before Independence  
\textsuperscript{31}
increasing tendency in recourse to arbitration and conciliation. This tendency coincided with INTUC’s expanding ‘sphere of influence’ in the coalfield\textsuperscript{32}.

By 1950 INTUC had become the dominant union. Their union not only received the support of the authorities but the bosses too, since they had abandoned strike and other such tactics. INTUC-affiliated unions were invariably recognized by managements even if more popular, but more antagonist unions existed (Sen 1977: 411-412). The communist were conveniently forged underground, or were detained, after 1948, which further facilitated the consolidation of INTUC’s monopoly in the field.

The 50s and the 60s were mostly labor trouble-free years for the private mine owners to expand production and maximize their profits. The Congress party affiliated union, the Colliery Mazdoor Sangh (CMS), consolidated its monopoly in the coalfield (CIM, 1950). The ownership of the mines passed from the British to Indian owners Karam Chand Thapar in 1955. There was a lack of basic facilities like water supply and sanitation in the settlements. Women’s health was in an even more precarious state. Reproductive and child-care facilities were lacking and women hardly received any maternity benefits. The CMS leaders were busy repairing temples and mosques setting up religious meetings for the miners (Banerjee 1981: 124).

For women these years were grim. Although the women had been active and militant during the strikes and the Trade Union struggles of the 1940s, the CMS had no need of them. When machines were introduced, the union accepted the retrenchment of women workers without any voice of protest. Instead the CMS involved itself in the setting up of the ‘welfare centers’ for women and children. These centers were supposed to make better housewives for the coalminers. They were to be taught sewing and knitting, advised on family planning, hygiene and food preservation and other necessities for the ‘ideal’ mining family household. They were, however, largely unsuccessful (Sen Gupta 1960:149).

\textsuperscript{32} CIMARS-1948
The year 1967 marked the beginning of the most militant decade of colliery workers' struggles in the history of the coalmines in India. This year was a new era in the history of the coal miners' struggle in the Jharia coalfield. Many industries witnessed labor unrest at this time. The coalfield of West Bengal initially saw more protests, perhaps influenced by the changing political scenario and the (extreme left) radical naxalbari movement in North Bengal. Some of this new radicalism and upheaval 'spread' from west Bengal to Bihar (Barnes 336).

The economic crisis also showed its effect during that time. Few blocks of Dhanbad districts were declared famine areas (Coalfield times, various year). The mine owners started to retrench old workers, and replace them with new ones through contractors (Ghosh, 1992: 280-281). By late 60s, the exploitation and oppression of the coalminers and the neighboring villagers had reached its peak. Moneylenders became influential and rich, with most miners indebted to them. A strong caucus of contractors, pocket trade union leaders and moneylenders had emerged. Violent clashes between the miner and the muscleman of the colliery owner became widespread. Drinking and gambling constituted an enormous drain on resources. Such situation played havoc with the vulnerable household economic security of the tribals and by extension, the role of women as 'household managers'. Women were at the receiving end of the resultant frustrations: directly through physical violence (wife beating), or indirectly through gambling, drunkenness or absenteeism. Resistance would invite greater violence and abuse.

In the midst of violence and labour unrest the coking coalminers in the Jharia coalfield were nationalized\textsuperscript{33} in 1971.

\textsuperscript{33} During the period 1971-1973, the government carried out a series of nationalizations of the privately owned coal companies in a major effort to increase production and overcome the shortage of coal. At the time of the nationalizations, total coal production in the country was 72 million tons, and the industry had been passing through cycles of shortages and surpluses which prevented effective planning for expansion and modernization. Coking coal mines, with the exception of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, were nationalized in May 1972, and a new public sector company, Bharat Coking Coal Limited (BCCL), was floated to manage them.
4.3 Nationalization of the Coalmines and the Subsequent labour Movements

In 1971 the Government of India announced its decision to nationalize the Coking Coal Mine of the Jharia coalfields. There were many reasons for the take-over. At a large workers’ rally in Dhanbad immediately after nationalization, Kumarmangalam, the Minister for Mine and Steel at the time, blamed the owners. He narrated how they had not paid the workers’ wages, how they had kept *lathaiths* (musclemen) to silence workers, and how they had not maintained proper account books. There were other economic reasons advanced for the takeover. Coking coal reserves are limited and are essential for the production of steel. Most private collieries used wasteful and unscientific methods to extract coal, since profits were more important than conservation. Both public and private sectors of Indian industry needed an assured supply of coking coal but the private collieries could not meet this demand satisfactorily.

The larger coal mining concerns welcomed the takeover. Their collieries had been ridden with corruption, mismanagement, and were no longer profitable. The easily exploitable coal seams had been exhausted already, and deeper mines necessitated greater investment (Barnes 1989: 215). The late 1960s had seen the emergence of militant trade union struggles against the management and their pocket. The rising tempo of labour discontent, with the accompanying violence and chaos was hardly conducive for the consumers of the private and public industries.

The sort of issues that had mobilized and agitated workers in the late 1960’s were not only with respect to narrow economic demands. The context that miners found themselves in, precluded such demands for more fundamental grievances existed. The nexus between the contractors, pocket union leaders, and moneylenders produced what increasingly became known as, the ‘mafia’. Dhanbad’s socio-political system had some apparent contrasts. Coal workers were well paid; the BCCL’s daily wage varies between Rs 6000 to Rs

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34 *New Sketch*, a mines journal. 17.2.1947
35 M. Kumarmangalam’s booklet describes the sort of ownership that existed prior to nationalization in the coal industry. *Coal in India*, New Delhi, 1973.
36 In 1970 the nexus between labour leaders (‘barons’), the contractors, the lathiats is reported. *Coalfield Times* (*CT*), 6.3.70. In 1971 the rise of ‘mafia’ gangs within the trade union movement is noted. *CT*, 11.6.1971.
15,000. The workers' exposure to the political process had been long and varied. Yet their general living conditions were most wretched. This is because of a careful perpetuation of primitive cultural practices among other things -- which drove the workers to drinking, gambling resulting in indebtedness. The loans had to come from unofficial moneylenders. To ensure security of this usurious investment, force, or at least the threat of it, was imperative. This was provided by the gangsters who often called themselves moneylenders (Dhar 1979).

With nationalization this ‘mafia’ consolidated its position. In an article entitled ‘Terrorism in Trade Union Movement’ the ‘Coalfield Time’ noted that the trade union leaders and contractors were forcing the induction of names into the register of employment at the collieries. Leaders were not only selling jobs to outsiders for a high price, but upgrading existing workers too37. Now that jobs in the collieries became lucrative, these ‘mafias’ called their own relatives and friends to the coalfield at the time of nationalization. It is alleged that thousands of telegrams were sent from Dhanbad to Arrah, Ballia and Chapra districts (Bhojpur ) informing people there that jobs were available (Sengupta 1982 : 15).

Local miners often found themselves jobless, having been casual or contract labourers prior to nationalization. It has been estimated that nearly fifty thousand Jharkhandi miners lost their jobs in a single week following nationalization, replaced by people hailing from Bhojpur, Balia, Chapra (Sengupta). Even Kumarmanglam estimates not less than 30,000 workers were inducted into the mines of the Jharia Coalfield at the time of nationalization38. Corruption reached new heights after nationalization. ‘New Sketch’, the local news journal ran a series of articles in 1973 entitled ‘Corruption Galore in Mines’ pointing out the malpractices of the officers and administration in the newly taken-over industry39.

37 Coalfield times, 28.12.1973
38 M.Kumarmangalam’s booklet describes the sort of ownership that existed prior to nationalization in the coal industry. Coal in India, New Delhi, 1973
One study indicated that 40 per cent of the total wage bill of the coal industry went into the hands of the moneylenders\textsuperscript{40}. In one drive against the moneylenders the District Commissioner arrested many of them and found that many were on the payroll of the coal company, BCCL. Yet BCCL did little against such activities of their employees, and soon after the district Commissioner was transferred\textsuperscript{41}.

Nationalization of the coalmines sharpened earlier contradictions, and helped to cement an alliance between miners and local villagers. Miners’ struggles against pocket union leaders, contractors, moneylenders and lathials began to be supported by local villagers too. The activities of earlier trade unions’, if they initiated any action at all, had been limited to demanding higher wages. The grievances that miners were struggling against from the late 1960’s and particularly in the 1970’s were common to the villagers too. The same moneylenders, contractors and lathials that harassed and exploited the miners in the collieries, also oppressed locals living in the villages on the fringe of coal belt. Many local villagers were miners too, but worked as contract or casual labourers prior to nationalization. The induction of workers into the mines was an obvious common issue for local villagers and many colliery workers too.

Villagers, however, faced additional problems, such as land alienation, even tribal land which was supposedly protected by legislation (Maharaj, Iyer 1982, 165-200). In places adjacent to the mines many villagers lost their lands to the coal companies, often without, or with very meager compensation. These grievances of local villagers and miners led to their combined struggle in the 1970’s, popularly known as the Jharkhand-Lalkhand Alliance. The local villagers’ support for Jharkhand existed much before the 1970’s, the Jharkhand party was formed in 1940’s, but had ceased to exist in 1963 when its leader joined the Congress (N.Sengupta, 167). The population of the Jharkhand movement increased with the influx of outsiders into Dhanbad after nationalization. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), the radical movement for autonomy amongst the villagers, emerged in the early 1970’s. There are many examples of joint struggles. Local villagers supported miners’ struggles against the management’s henchmen at the colliery where the security

\textsuperscript{40} CT, 25.4.1975.
\textsuperscript{41} NS, 21.4.1975.

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force of the colliery fired on workers. Often local villagers gave shelter to miners during times of acute oppression. Miners too, supported the villagers' struggles.

In such an atmosphere of Dhanbad’s coalfield, with ‘mafia like’ trade unions, violence and corruption, the movements of the BCKU and JMM could not eschew violence either. It has been noted that “mass movements by day and warfare at night is fairly common in Dhanbad...”. Many leaders of BCKU had been killed during the struggle. The henchmen of the management used their guns and bombs, and miners and villagers retaliated with traditional weapons-bows, arrows and lathis (Pradeep, Das 1979: 246).

The year 1973-74 saw the heyday of the Indian labour movement; as many as 47 per cent of all workers in the country were involved in strike action in 1974. Worker’s action i.e., strikes accounted for as many as 83.5 per cent of all man days lost due to industrial disputes. In other words workers held the initiative in industrial action that year. The very next year saw the imposition of internal emergency and the strikes were ruthlessly suppressed and the initiatives returned to the capitalists. Thus in the last year of the emergency, man days lost due to lock-outs far outstripped the man days lost due to strikes. They accounted for 90 per cent of all man days lost. It was after the emergency was lifted and democratic rights were restored that the labour movement revived. It almost reached the pre-emergency levels in 1979. The ruling classes panicked and once again restored the Congress government in 1979. Once again, the labour movement shows a downturn. By the 1980’s the Jharkhand-lalkhand alliance weakened to some extent due to the poor leadership quality of both JMM and BCKU.

The decade that follows 1987 shows a definite decline in the labour movement especially after 1991. It is intriguing to note that despite a constant increase in the size of the working class there is an absolute decline in the number of workers participating in the strikes. The intensity of the strike action as reflected in the average duration of the strikes also shows a decline.

It is a matter of concern that the strike action, the conventional form of class struggle waged by the working class, seems to be declining in the last decade. For example, it
seems that less than 6 per cent of the workers seem to be participating in strike actions in recent years as compared to as many as 47 per cent in 1974 (Roy 2001, EPW).

4.4 Work Culture: Post nationalization

In this section, one shall examine the work culture after the nationalization of the coalmines. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the condition of work was severe in the coalmines before nationalization. There were no standard rules and regulations which could provide welfare to the workers and the mines were under the private mine owners who made the workers work according to their whims and fancies. Workers never got their wages on time, there was no accounts maintained\textsuperscript{42}. The workers' daily schedule in the coalmines was full of humiliation that they suffered at the hands of the "mining sardar" and the "mining munshi", who supervised their work.

Kapil Singh (moneylender) caught Kala Chand (worker) by his shirt collar.

"Salla, out with the money!" he barked.

"Money? I don't have any money."

"But you got your weekly wages just now, didn't you?"

No, no, I don't have any money. I didn't go to work last week."

"Then what were you doing here? Admiring your sister?"

"Mind you, better watch your tongue," Kala protested.

"I'll hear no excuse. Out with the money."

"I told you, I don't have any money."

One of the moneylender's men punched Kala Chand in the stomach, the other punched on his cheek while another man started tugging at his clothes.

Sehdev (Kala chand's friend) got furious and said:

\textsuperscript{42} New Sketch, a mines journal 17.2.1947.
"If he has taken money from you that does not mean that you should rip off his clothes"

"Clothes? We can even flay his skin (moneylender) (Gaddi 2002:31)

The corruption indulged in by the owners of the mine in collusion with contractors and supervisors denied the basic of human rights. The exploitation of the workers' ignorance, and the inhuman treatment meted out to women by these persons and the moneylenders of the village were very common before the mines were taken over by the Government.

The organizational structure of work prior to nationalization was severe; there was a change in the work structure in the coalmines post nationalization. This section is further divided into the following subsections which highlight the work culture post nationalization.

- Organizational structure at work
- Working Condition
- Gender politics at work and women’s recruitment
- Workers’ health
- Political world of the workers and the Trade Unions

4.4.1 Organizational structure at work:
A typical hierarchal structure in a mine:

- General Manager
- Additional General Manager
- Project Officer (performs duty as owner)
- Manager (one for two/three sections, Area Safety Officer)
- Assistant Manager (one for one section)
- Overman (overall supervisory role)
- Mining Sardar (lowest Supervisory Staff, two for one section)
- Grass Roots Worker (50 for one section)


The organizational structure of the typical colliery is rather complex with many layers of intermediaries between the top and bottom ranks. The above figure describes the overall hierarchical structure of mining in a typical colliery. It shows the large range of non-manual workers involved in the mining organization in Indian collieries. Only the lowest level of workers in this structure were engaged in blue-collar jobs in actual coal production and the rest were either white collar or supervisory in nature. Within the blue collar workers most were kamins who were at the bottom position without any senior or supervisory position.
4.4.2 Working Condition

The place of work and the physical environment of the miners are of great significance. But this aspect has remained long neglected. Underground working conditions are often so hazardous that most miners do not have a long working life in the mines (Dogra 1982: 1136.). The working environment is characterized by its depressing darkness, low ventilation, high underground heat, often low seam height demanding work in uncomfortable postures, high gravitational force resulting in early exhaustion etc.

Photograph 4.1 Working Environment: Underground Mines
The workers have to work in pits which are water logged, ill ventilated and excessively humid. These can be easily called not only poor but hazardous conditions of work. In many mines the working faces are saturated with moisture so that the mere effort of walking causes profuse perspiration. This apart, areas are also extremely hazardous, prone to accidents that could be fatal or could cause severe harm to the body. Geographically the mines are situated in extreme climatic conditions. The scorching heat of summer days, the chilling cold of winter nights and the bizarre rains accompanied by slush and water logging make the working environment uncongenial. Accidents and health hazards though relatively less in open caste mines, are by no means absent.

Working in Open-cast mines is simple to understand but the actual execution of the job is extremely taxing. Thick layers of coal lie buried under about 50 to 60 feet of earth, sand and stones, which is technically called as over burden (OB). This over burden is blasted using an explosive which leaves the earth softer.
Larger draglines then remove the soil and deposit it in heaps at a little distance which look like aggregation of small hillocks. Once the OB is completely removed, deep bore holes are made on the coal surface by means of drills and high power explosives are descended into it. After all the people and machines are removed to a safe distance, the holes are blasting. This leaves the 9 to 15 meter high coal seam loose. Then a huge shovel machine standing down just by the side of the coal face picks up the coal in its bucket and feeds it to the rear or bottom dumpers which carry the coal to the Coal Handling Plant (CHP) situated at a distance of 1.5 to 2 Kms from the face. Here they deposit it in heaps. From here the same is carried by means of pay loaders to the grinding plant where large sized coal blocks are cut to small pieces as per the instruction of the customer.

Whether in open caste mines or underground mines, the facilities provided to the workers are bare minimal. There are no basic facilities like eating joints, women's rest rooms or any relaxing place for workers at work.
The coercive and corrupt methods of labour management practiced by the supervisory staff in the different coalfields do not resemble the mode of capitalist labour management conceptualized by Marx. While discussing the nature of labour management under the capitalist mode of production, Marx noted: "The place of the slave-driver's lash is taken by the overlooker's book of penalties. All punishments naturally resolve themselves into fines and deductions from wages...". The distinctive mark of Marx's notion of capitalist management is replacement of coercion by 'rule of law'. The multiple forms of coercion resorted to by colliery management had nothing to do with any rule of law.

The industrial capitalist established his rule over the workers not only at the workplace, but also in the social milieu in which the workers lived. Gramsci's concept of capitalist 'hegemony' (intellectual and moral leadership) over the 'civil society' is a relevant pointer to this mode of legitimization of power. In his seminal work, 'Americanism and Fordism', Gramsci noted that attempts (were) made by Ford, with the aid of a body of inspectors, to intervene in the private lives of his employees and to control how they spent their wages and how they lived. The Indian capitalists, in general, and the colonial state did not take any initiative in reforming the everyday patterns of living of the workers and provided housing accommodation to only a small section of workers. Rather than a means of establishing hegemony, such scanty housing was used as an additional instrument of coercion. On the other hand, the power of the jobbers/sirdars was extended to the industrial neighborhoods. They often acted as moneylenders, landlords and shopkeepers in the workers' colonies. Some of them acted as agents of professional money lenders and landlords. The power relations in the industrial neighborhoods played a significant role in the perpetuation of the coercive methods of labour control followed by the jobbers/sirdars at the work sites. This mode of disciplining of labour could not integrate the workers permanently in the neighbourhood life. Most of the workers in the industries under consideration were found to maintain social, economic and cultural ties with their villages during the early years of Industrialization.

43 Karl Marx, Capital, Vol I, Moscow, 1977, p 400
Photograph 4.4 Lunch Area

Photograph 4.5 Coal Picking
Women’s recruitment became more remunerative after the nationalization of the coalmines in 1971. It is a different matter though that after the nationalization many *adivasi* families lost their jobs (Sengupta 1982: 16). According to an estimate, the total number of families displaced by Coal India Limited and its subsidiary concerns were 32,751 while the number of jobs provided (to one member of the family) were only 11,901 (Sinha 2006: 103, Areeparampil, 1989: 19). The rehabilitation procedures were also significantly influenced by patriarchal considerations. After some agitations, if any vacancies came up in the mining companies, they were generally offered to men. This was in accordance with *adivasi* system of land inheritance, where males are the owners of land (das 1992: 72). By enacting the Equal Remuneration Rule, 1976, the government perforce made the private mine owners and industrialists provide women labourers with equal remuneration. Yet in many cases, a politically correct wage structure contributed to their victimization. In the industrial areas, the rules enacted by government for the safety and security of the women labourers acted as a major deterrent to women’s recruitment. According to these rules, women labourers were prohibited from working in evening and night shifts and in underground mines. Women labourers were not taken in employment (generally in mines operated by private concerns) to avoid maternity benefits, equal remunerations, rest shelters and crèches. Progressive mechanization and gender discrimination (they were considered unskilled and less strong as compared to their male counterparts) also was a great disadvantage.

That there is a gendered hierarchy in the mining industry is illustrated by the changing employment pattern in the Bharat Coking Coal Limited (BCCL), a public sector enterprise. It employs a large number of women who are nearly always porters and packers assigned to work on the surface. In earlier years, the enterprise hired a workforce which comprised up to 40 per cent women, and in 1960, 50 per cent of the miners’ wives were still working. There were still some 30,000 women at the BCCL in 1975, but their number dwindled to 12,000 in 1983 and 7,000 in 1987 (7 per cent of the workforce in 1983). Now there are 4 per cent women workforce left in the Jharia coalmines. Situated at the bottom of the wage and qualification scales, these women in general belong to low caste, tribal or semi-tribal
origin. Mining as a work is constructed in ways that enable men to assert a specific form of cultural masculinity. This is one reason that the women mineworkers in India do not construct their roles in positive ways. All work has strong gender divisions of labour which are perpetrated by organizations. The occupational identity becomes a resource that workers draw upon, enact and affirm through their daily actions to enhance the meaningfulness of their work. An important aspect of identity at work is how it affects gender relations. The construction of coalmining work as dirty, risky, heavy and hazardous work by women miners in the Indian collieries, explains the way in which the women workers build their identities at work. The lowest level of workers in the mines job are engaged in blue collar jobs and the rest are either white collar or supervisory in nature. The kamins are put at the bottom positions without any managerial titles or senior or supervisory position. The ethnic identity and caste were, from the very beginning, an undesirable part of labour identity in the Jharia coalmines. Most of the coal cutting jobs were taken up by the Santhals and Bauris. Bhuiyas and Rajwars became mostly loading coolies and tramners, Beldars and Nunias were mainly earth cutters and surface worker, where as migrant bilaspuris workers and Biharis workers did semi skilled jobs (as cap lamp maker, battery chargers) as they came through proper channels, and networks and moreover they had some connections with the management who generally tended to be from the higher castes. The women miners themselves did not object to the portrayal of their jobs as hard, risky, heavy work which is considered unfit for women.

Public visibility of women and their participation in employment have occupied center stage in anti-colonial nationalist discourses as well as in postcolonial developmentalist narratives of nation building in India. Public discourse in the nineteenth century, particularly the views of social reformers, centered on two opposing categorization: labour force participation of poor women and widows and the employment of upper-class women in high-status professions (Ganguli Ruchira: 2003). While the former could be tolerated because it was an absolute necessity, the latter was not only desirable but also a moral obligation, a public duty. For the rest, women's entry into the workforce signaled a loss of respectability. This was not only for the women themselves, but it also meant a loss of
familial status. These oppositions are crucial for examining the ethnographic context of our informants because they do not fit either class category.

Falling prey to vicious manipulations of the unholy alliance between factory management, union leaders and job solicitors, many *adivasi* women had to make way for prospective job seekers under the grab of ‘voluntary’ retirement schemes (VRS). According to the provisions of the scheme, a woman labourer could voluntarily retire once she had reached the age of thirty six and (if she thought appropriate) offer her job, and also her Provident Fund Contribution Number to her husband, son, brother-in-law, son-in-law, or any other person recognized by her as her kin. Studies conducted in and around Jharia and Dhanbad reveal that during the post nationalization period, sums ranging from Rs 10,000 to 30,000 were taken as bribes from interested person and later divided among the sons and husbands of the ‘voluntarily’ retired women, management, union leaders and the middlemen; all those who were involved in cajoling the women to retire. In a way a large number of outsiders from Arrah, Chapra (parts of North bihar), ballia (UP) and other regions as well, appropriated the jobs of tribal and other low caste women by producing fake marriage certificates and false affidavits claiming to be their husbands. This is the reason why one finds in the official records of those coalmines that the surnames of the *father-in-law* of Jhas, Singhs, Dubeys or Mishras are Manjhis, Mundas, Oraons, Bhumiyns, or Rabidas. In some cases genuine marriages indeed took place, but only temporarily; the outsiders estranged their wives immediately after getting the appointment letter or after getting them pregnant, which compelled women to knock on the doors of the management or the union leaders (Prasad 1988:5). Women miners have suffered and continue to suffer from many such similar incidents in their day to day working conditions.

4.4.4 Workers health

Whether in Open caste mines or underground mines, the facilities provided to the workers are bare minimal. The health facilities are very outdated and most of the time the workers have to spend their own money for buying medicines. The situation on women’s health continues to be precarious. Women and reproductive health care in mines have to be understood in the larger context of direct and indirect impacts: exposure of women and
children to mine disasters and mine pollution as well as to the reduction of quality of life due to denial of access to food security, natural resources and livelihoods.

Photograph 4.6 Unhealthy eating environments: causes ill health!

Respiratory problems, silicosis, tuberculosis, leukemia, asbestosis, arthritis, etc., are reported to be very widespread among women working in the mines. The failure or unwillingness to recognize industrial diseases led to discursive investments in explanations of health effects stemming from the mining environment. Indeed, colliery employers came out with a concept of ‘natural death’ that allowed the mining authorities to brush aside a number of fatalities whose cause was in the mining environment. The application of the technique of ‘finding the gaps and filling in the blanks’ while scanning official documents readily provides some clues in this regard (Barraclough, CIMAR, 1971: 164). One finds the mining authority preferring to discover casual concepts like “heart failure”, “loss of eyesight and suicide”, “death in room after work due to ganja smoking”, “lung diseases”, and “epileptic fits” to explain many a death among the mining classes. Yet disease and death were caused by excessive exposure of colliers to coal dust, and nitrous fumes (nitrous oxide, nitric oxide, di-nitrogen trioxide, nitrogen oxide and nitrogen dioxide), and carbon monoxide (Co), methane, arsenic, beryllium, cadmium, fluorine, lead, mercury,
silica, noise, and the grueling heat. A regular and excessive exposure of colliers to these toxic and enervating effluents and influences appears to have resulted in their physical degradation and the deterioration of pathological-mental orders thereby leading to silent, slow and steady demise.

Mineworkers have thus become ruthlessly exposed to the operation of the market and other commercial forces and of unscrupulous elements that have been flocking into the tribal heartland in the wave of exploitation of mines and the industries (Singh 1987:8).

4.4.5 Political world of the workers and the Trade Unions

An interesting development emerged after the nationalization of the coalmines. This was perhaps not an intended consequence of nationalization. It was one of the many unintended consequences which sociology invariably looks into. One has already referred to the economic crisis which led to the nationalization of the mines. This was the rise of a new class of people who had acquired new wealth which was also usually quick and not necessarily 'clean' wealth. One is referring to a rise of the mafia in the 1970's through the 1980's which became the characteristics feature of this region. Sociologically it becomes interesting to describe the origin and emergence of this group which subsequently played a significant role in the labour movement and in the nature of women's participation in the movement. The life histories captured in this section reflects the political economy of the place.

After nationalization of the mines, a neo-rich class replaced the mine owners. That was the time of the rise of the mafia in the '70s and '80s in the form of B P Sinha, Surajdeo Singh and Sakaldev Singh. Known as Pahalwanji, Surajdeo Singh became the most powerful man of the coal belt, virtually controlling everything from supply of materials to BCCL, construction of buildings and transportation. With the nationalization of coalmines, the 'mafia' consolidated its position. In an article entitled 'Terrorism in Trade Union Movement' the 'Coalfield Time' noted that trade union leaders and contractors were forcing the induction of names into the register of employment at the collieries. Leaders

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45 Interview with the veteran Marxists Leader
were not only selling jobs to outsiders for a high price, but upgrading existing workers too.\(^{46}\)

From an ordinary worker in the coalmines, Surya Deo Singh became the mighty Don of Dhanbad colliery. Born in a poor family of Gonia Chapra, Ballia district of UP. He came to coalmines in late 50s as a muscleman to help the private mine owner maintain law and order in their colliery and to control the miner’s revolutionary act. He was a bodyguard of the local leader B.P. Sinha of the large Congress Trade Union. Surya deo Singh became a gaint big businessman after his master’s death (probably engineered by him). He was a prominent political figure (MLA of Jharia) from 1977 till 1990.

In 1983, he owned more than 200 lorries, three cinema house and several residential properties. He died in 1991 due to heart attack and his political and business career was being taken over by his brother Baccha Singh. Due to family conflict, Kunti Singh wife of late Surya Deo Singh came into power in 2005 and has been reelected as the MLA of Jharia in 2009.

After the jobs in the collieries became lucrative, these ‘mafias’ called their own relatives and friends to the coalfield at the time of nationalization. It is alleged thousands of telegrams were sent from Dhanbad to Arrah, Ballia and Chapra districts (Bhojpur) informing people there that jobs were available (Sengupta, N, 1982, 15).

In the coal belt, coal mafia ran parallel government on the basis of terror and the power to strike. Caste politics among the various Trade Union party leaders played a turbulent role in the politics of the Trade Union in the coal belt. The “mafiazation” of Coalmines began in a big way after nationalization of coalmines and by now, it has reached alarming proportions. The various ministries there promised to wipe out the traces of mafia power, but failed to do so. The rise and growth of the ‘Dons’ in Mumbai is akin to that of the ‘mafia’ in Dhanbad. In both cases, it was rags to riches success story. Almost all the underground leaders began life as petty migrant coolies or labourers in the coalmines and then went on to being extremely rich. The coal mafias found politics as the best cover for their illegal activities. In the coal belts region, trade union and the labour politics came in handy for covering up illegal activities. Between 1960 and 1970, Rajdev Rai was an

\(^{46}\) Coalfield times, 28.12.1973
epitome of terror, a known coal mafia. After the nationalization of coalmines the muscle power of Suryadev Singh began with a bang and he became the most important money-baron. From an ordinary worker in the mines he became a rich and influential contractor with immense muscle power and after the murder of B.P Sinha, he became the uncrowned king of this rich mafia town. Suryadev Singh originally belonged to Ballia district in UP. His village was Gonia-Ranigunj. His life was full of sordid tales and he left his village in a pitiable condition. He began his life literally from scratch (Interview with his daughter). He was accused in dozens of criminal cases and yet he continued to be a Janta Party MLA representing Jharia. He won the Vidhan Sabha elections on the Janta party ticket a number of times with the support of Chandrasekhar government at the Center (Chaturvedi, Ritu. 252). From INTUC, he formed his own party called “Janta Labour Union” (now called Janta Mazdoor Sangh). This led to a clash between INTUC and JMS.

Dhanbad has been a sort of battleground for the two warring caste groups of Bihar. In the coal belt, the Bhumihiar versus Rajput undeclared caste war for mafia supremacy had raged since the death of B.P Sinha. One of mafia groups was Rajput, known for their physical strength, while the other was under the sway of the cunning diplomacy of the Bhumihiars. B. P Sinha was himself a bhumihiar by caste but his ace musclemen were Rajputs. During B.P Sinha’s life time, the Bhumihiars had a field day in the politics of Dhanbad. Gradually, the Rajputs felt that the Bhumihiars were lording over the trade union politics at the cost of Rajputs. This was enough for the germination of caste feud (Chaturvedi, Ritu. 252). Sinha’s supporters (INTUC) were instrumental in murdering a few Rajputs in Dhanbad. The Rajputs were seething in anger. The fatal out of such caste anger was the murder of B.P Sinha. Sinha’s murder shook the bhumihiar lobby in Dhanbad. It was at this juncture that a Bhumihiar-Brahmin alliance was forged into jointly counteracting the Rajput hegemony in Dhanbad. At that time Bindeshwari Dubey headed the Brahmin lobby. His caste strategy was to evolve a new ‘cadre’ for the Bhumihiar lobby. With this end in view, Dubey started giving Bhumihiars plumb posts in trade union politics in Dhanbad. A couple of Bhumihiars were given important assignments in the National Colliery Labour Union which had connections with INTUC. The new fang led Brahmin-Bhumihiar symbiosis was
in for a jolt as resentment crept in and the Bhumihars felt that they were being utilized by Dubey for his Brahmin politics. The Rajputs on the other hand were with Dubey for unduly favouring the Bhumihar lobby in the INTUC. Thus the age old Bhumihar-Rajput antipathy took a new offensive turn, both inside and outside the political arena of Dhanbad. The Bhumihars could not get over the bitter truth that it was the Rajput lobby, which had upstaged them in the politics of coal belt. The caste and the power politics of the Trade Union leaders affected the local miners.

A.K Rai was the masiha (savior) of the local miners. With regards to Arun Kumar Rai’s trade union life, he said he did not come with the intention of doing trade unionism or politics. Rather he came with the intention of doing his job. But on seeing the conditions of the society he said he was coerced into joining politics. It was during his work at Sindheri while working on tribal issues and spreading awareness that he developed his party. A.K. Rai’s view on trade unionism was that it was much more than a struggle for economical issues. The main issue was to politicize workers. The biggest issue was of minimum wage.

Comrade A.K Roy, an engineer at the fertilizer plant in Sindri was laid off from his work because of his political activities. He joined the JP movement and fought against the emergency. He was arrested many times. He confronted physically and by force the biggest coal mafia of the 70s and 80s in Dhanbad Suraj Deo Singh. He is a small thin man of very little physical from but tremendous will power so much so that he built his own party once he was removed from CPM and formed his own group of strong men to fight the mafia. Fighting mafia, social evils like drinking, gambling, women’s exploitation, caste discrimination, rights of tribals are the central pillars of his economic struggle in the trade union. He says there can be no economic struggle with social struggles for the dignity of man and woman. Dignity of the poor is the stepping stone for building any trade union movement. His main contribution in trade unionism was against the mafia and social evils and tribals.

Since most of the working class in collieries and mines were dalits, issues of struggles for social justice and social reform were integral according to him. On the issue of wages in collieries, A.K. Ray stated that they should be at least Rs. 687 but the actual amount given was far less i.e. Rs. 457. The middlemen ate up the in between. He said his slogan was 'nirman and sudhar' and 'social reform and economical struggle'. It was during this struggle
with the mafia who according to him were the biggest oppressors of mine workers, mainly dalits and tribals, that the JMM was born. He says that most of the JMM leaders were part of this movement. And he still has good ties with JMM. The unique thing in his trade union movement was the mixing of working class struggle with tribal movement in Jharkhand. He mentioned many names of people who were killed by the mafia. The biggest mafia in Dhanbad Suraj Deo Singh fired more than 24 rounds on him. A.K. Ray escaped many times. Finally this led to organizing his workers to fight the mafia also with arms as many of the members were killed. Finally when Suraj Deo Singh realized his men were also being killed and he had a powerful opposition that he stopped murderous attacks on him and tried to reconcile. However A.K. Rai said he never obliged.

In his interview with the researcher, A.K. Rai said that the coal mafia lives by completely corrupting the local officials, police, administration, local politicians, and individual workers and even the women tribal workers. The environment for mobilizing any kind of workers is extremely bad. The whole so called system of justice and police and administration is completely corrupted beyond all limits and in every way possible. From giving money to providing alcohol or women, the social impact of mafia is feudal and with brutal rapacious capitalistic greed, and a lust for a literal rape of the coalmines. Nationalization has just managed to stop it to some extent in the sense that this stopped happening directly. But the private collieries with only profit as their motive, simply observe no scientific processes and dig directly where there is the best coal and completely destroy the entire coal field forever. The town of Jharia today is literally burning from underneath and full of big holes below. The reason for this is that after digging in govt. mines the workers fill the holes with sand. But prior to nationalization the Jharia coal fields were all privately owned. Although these private owners were paid a special subsidy to fill in these huge holes with sand, they ate up the subsidy money and now there are huge underlying holes left which today are burning. There was a committee, which recommended the govt. take over these mines even before nationalization took place. The committee was by the govt. and not by the leftist forces. It recommended this long before 1975 and stated that if the state did not take over the mines there would be a total
environmental collapse in the region as the private coal owners and mafia had created an environmental disaster.

This brings out a very pertinent issue that has not been given particular attention to as such. Although the state owned Coal India Limited has in fact spent thousands of crores of rupees both through the govt. machinery and by giving huge subsidies to private parties involved in the collieries, none of the private parties have done this work honestly. The money is siphoned off and added to their profits. This is the situation on the ground that A.K. Rai said one has to deal with. Corrupted by the mafia, the police and administration do not provide any help for those that seek to change things and are threatened by the mafia. When the collieries workers, mainly dalits and tribals, try to organize physical resistance and offensive actions against the mafia they are hounded and jailed by the police and administration. The state does not implement its own laws by which they are bound. A.K. Rai, in his interview also brought out the aspect of caste as a huge factor since the mafia is completely high caste in its social character. This promotes caste based attacks on workers who are 99 per cent scheduled castes and tribals. The remaining are also low caste i.e. backward castes from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Oriisa, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal. Thus there is also a high caste-low caste divide at the social level for the majority of the coal workers. There are also some workers from high castes working as coalmine workers, but even among them the majority are working as supervisors and are at slightly higher levels mostly close to and under the easy control of private coal mafia parties who are all from high caste categories.

A.K. Rai laid great stress on this social caste aspect. Unlike the traditional parties, he worked and mobilized the workers by using the social i.e. caste based oppression as a medium to do so; this enveloped everyone in the system beginning from the petty low level officials who are mere agents of high caste coal mafias. In this sense A.K. Rai's understanding of the situation and his way of handling it was unique from past endeavours. While being a high caste leftist himself he propagating along the lines of this social reality in a major way in his struggle. A.K. Rai stated that this was perhaps one of the main reasons why his leaders were attacked, jailed, bombed, and shot at. In fact as recently as 14
April 2000 one of their local leaders and MLA of A.K. Rai's party was killed in Nirsa mines. Another leader, Anando Mahato who was also an MLA was killed by the mafia in the Sindheri constituency. According to him trade union politics in coal mines is most difficult and based on sheer force and dabangiri ('Bully' in colloquial language).

Therefore according to him, to be a leader of the poor in the coal mines one had to resort to being 'dabang'. And being 'dabang' means only one thing both for the mafia and poor - it means to have the power to kill by the help of either a group of privately financed goons or an organized group of poor. If one wishes to to exist in coal mines both as an exploiter or as a group of the exploited one has to be 'dabang'. This makes those leaders with muscle power much more appealing to even the poor in the coal mines as compared to idealistic, non violent leaders.

The main issues that A K Rai focused on pertained to the social aspect of the coal mines - indebtedness, alcoholism, women's exploitation, tribal issues, caste issues, social justice and social equality. These according to A.K. Rai were successfully used by him and received a good response from the people. This resulted in his election in these coal mining areas on several occasions as MLA and later as a Member of Parliament. This did not however mean that he did not pay a price for this.; he was attacked physically on many occasions, which were often almost fatal in nature. Though he narrowly escaped death, many of his fellow comrades were not so fortunate and were killed along the way. A.K. Rai appeared to be well informed and knowledgeable and extremely devoted to his cause. In the killing coal fields of Dhanbad, while Suraj Deo Singh was the king of coal mafia on the one hand, A.K. Rai, on the other was the symbol of resistance to him and all that is exploitative in the coal industry.

In December 2008, during the field study, the researcher could manage to attend the workers rally which was conducted by the different political parties to raise some of the workers issues pertaining to their wages, safety issues, health, voluntary retirement scheme and job security. It was interesting to note how the various political parties highlighted different issues - some of the Union's demand were gender neutral and some were gender
sensitive. One can compare the Hind Mazdoor Sabha affiliated Janta Mazdoor Sangh (JMS), and the CITU affiliated Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union’s demand at the headquarters of Coal India in Dhanbad (see annexures at the end).

Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union raised the women workers issues at work pertaining to an increase in their wages, promoting the women workers to higher grades, up gradation of the skills by training them, and to curtailing of Female Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) as that would completely erase the women workforce participation. On the contrary Janta Mazdoor Sangh took a more positive view towards the VRS for the women as that would give the women workers an option to transfer their Government jobs to their son, sons in law or brothers- in-law who in turn would take care of them. A coalmine is not the right place for the women workers and therefore transferring the job to their men folk would help them be in a safer environment. Cases of sexual harassment and discrimination are more at the workplace as the women are exposed to vulnerable working condition (interview with JMS union member). Most of the demands of JMS at the rally were focused on general workers issues i.e. their wages, housing facilities, health facilities, provident fund and so on. The Congress affiliated Union called Rashtra Colliery Mazdoor Sangh (RCMS) had similar issues with no focus on women’s issues in specific. The other pocket unions too spoke more or less about similar issues but nothing in specific on the women workers issues. Some of the important problems faced by these women miners at the workplace is that of the lack of toilet facilities and eating places, no safe environment for work, no promotion for the women workers, and no skill up gradation resulting in a monotonous job. There are also no proper housing facilities, or safe drinking water facilities. There is poor electricity at the residence, poor sanitation and health facilities which indirectly affect the work of the miners. The workers feel that there is an utter disregard for human life and the miners are treated inhumanely especially with regards to the unsafe conditions of mining. The pronounced tendency in the collier’s safety politics was to address the accident-control question in terms of a ‘social insurance’ question. The social insurance form of the safety resolution however meant postponement of everyday agitation over accident-control measures.
The workers could feel that because the elections were around the corner all the parties were making their presence felt and were talking about the rights of the workers at their workplace. These kinds of rallies and dharna do not make any difference to the working conditions.

Aise aise dharna aur rally bahut dekhe, issey kuch nahi hota hain, mazdoor ke bhalai ke liyea Union nahi sochtee, yeh apna vote ke liyea ladte hain (Buddhari bai)

_Buddhari bai thinks that these rallies and dharna do not make much difference in the working condition of the workers, in fact the Trade Unions calls for dharnas and rallies for gaining popularity and winning the upcoming elections._

The workers feel that the Trade Union always finds some or the other issues to fight for election but at the grassroots level they hardly solve the workers issues.

The next chapters take a look at the danger and the safety rules of the coalmines, and the new forms of resistance in the coalmines. They also study the ways in which the miners negotiate with the dangerous work culture in the coalmines.
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<td>राष्ट्रीय कॉप्ला बैठन समीक्षा - 8 का निम्नाधिकरण अविलम्ब किया गया।</td>
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<td>दी. सी. एन. मे कार्यालय कर्मियों एवं उनके आयकोरों का इलाज के लिए सुविधानुसार उचित वित्तपत्तन ने रेफर किया गया।</td>
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<td>श्री. उड़. एच. (एड्स) के तहत आयकों को नियोजन देने का जो मेरा वा जिसे बन्द कर दिया गया है - अविलम्ब पुनः चालू किया गया।</td>
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<td>दी. सी. एन. मे कार्यालय अधिकारियों का गठबंधन एल. दी. सी. एन. एल. दी. सी. का पुनर्गठन अविलम्ब किया गया।</td>
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<td>सेवा नियुक्त कामगारों के बैठन से 13 दिन के विलय का जो कठिनाई किया जा रहा है - उन्होंने रीति जाय।</td>
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<td>दी. सी. एन. मे कार्यरत अधिकारियों के तरह मजदूरों को भी कोल किया एलाउंस का पुनर्गठन किया जाय।</td>
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<td>टाइम रेट मन्दिर रेट में जाने के लिए कर्मियों को सावधानकर हुआ था - की मन्दिर रेट में नियोजित करने के साथ-साथ जितने भी कमी मन्दिर रेट में कार्य करते हैं उन्हें भी सावधानकर लेकर मन्दिर रेट में किया जाय।</td>
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<td>सेवा नियुक्त कर्मियों के परिसर से जो रकम पी. एक. के नाम पर कार्य है उल्लक अविलम्ब पुनर्गठन किया जाय।</td>
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<td>दी. सी. एन. मे कार्यरत कर्मियों के आवासों का समुचित सर्वसाधारण एवं कार्यवाह/ आवासों मे पेयजल की योजना एवं समुचित सफाई की योजना की जाय।</td>
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<td>ब्र. को. को. सर्वेक्षण के जिन क्षेत्रों मे आवास सोसाइटी के लाभ उत्पादन किया जा रहा है उनमें स्वयं और भरोसेमंद बुधध्य का नियोजित किया जाय।</td>
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<td>असपनित वातावरण मे ट्राक लोडर के प्रत्येक दंगल को कम से कम तीन ट्राक प्रतिदिन बुधध्य कराया जाय।</td>
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<td>सी. एम. पी. एक. का रास्ता ब्लाज सहित प्रत्येक महीने कर्मियों के खाता मे जमा को चाहिए या न कराने सी. एम. पी. एफ. कार्यालय द्वारा उनकी आर्थिक क्षति पहुंचावी जा रही है - उसमें सुधार तथा अन्य गड़बड़ियों को हुर किया जाय।</td>
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कोयलांचल में रहने वाले सभी बहनों एवं भाइयों से निवेदन है कि

दिसंबर, 08 को 10 वे दिन में कोयला भवन के कार्यालय के समक्ष होने वाले प्रदर्शन में भाग लेने की कृपया करें।

निवेदक

कुंती देवी
महामायी, जनता मजदूर संग्राम
सदस्य, झारखंड विधान सभा

संजीव सिंह
सचिव, जनता मजदूर संग्राम

रामधीर सिंह
अध्यक्ष
जनता मजदूर संग्राम
बिहार को लियरी कामगार यूनियन
Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union

MANBAD
JHARIA (DANBAD)

Ref. No. ____________________________ Date ________________

स्वागत करते हैं,

अध्यक्ष,
सीएचएस- शिव निदेशक,
10 एन.एस. बी. रोड,
फोल्का - 1

सन्तान- केभ. प्र. निदेशक,
भ. जी. न. बी.,
अनबात को कोटीटिया, छ. र. जव.

सन्तान- 100 एन.एस. बी. रोड,
कट्टर एस. वी. आई.एच.एल.,
रायपुर

विचार :- तिथि 19 दिसंबर 2008 को होंगे एक ज्ञानवार है, जो अनुरोध लेने वालों में दो दिनों से ज्ञान की सूचना

रहस्यः

लोक लोकल कामगार यूनियन ने अपने रूप से ज्ञान का अनुकूलन किया है। ज्ञान का अनुकूलन करने वालों के लिए ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में वर्दी दिखाई देगी। 19 दिसंबर 2008 को होंगे ज्ञानवार है, जो अनुरोध का उल्लेख करने वालों के लिए ज्ञान का सूचना 28 दिसंबर में होगा। नींदों ने रात का सूचना दे रहे हैं।

ज्ञानवार नहीं,

1. यह प्राय: सत्तावा बांध्य के लिए आठवा व्यवसाय तिथि का सूचना नहीं।
2. आठवा ज्ञान में कलिंग दिवस निदेशकों की सहायता के साथ कर लेने का यह निर्देश करता है।
3. ज्ञानवार के साथ विषय निदेशक कम्पनी में ज्ञानवार करते हैं।
4. ज्ञानवार के साथ शेयर कॉम्पनी में ज्ञानवार करते हैं, जो अधिकारी तथा छवि एवं विज्ञापन के प्रकाश देते हैं।

उपरोध...

139
बिहार को लियरी कामगार यूनियन
Bihar Colliery Kamgar Union

MAN BAD
JHARIA (DANBAD):

Regd. No. 2167 (C.I.T.U.)
{0326)2461312 (R)
Mob: 9431730351

Ref. No. ........................................ Date ....................................

5. देनी स.ड. सूची - 7 को पूर्ण तथा हाल होने की वजह से लागू

6. जीवन उपयोग के सुरक्षा का गारंटी दी जाने के साथ हैं शरीयत 

7. कमांडरों को पूर्व लीजिंग, अधिकारी के निवेदन अनुसार सुरक्षा 

8. बात के बादी पर रोक स्थापित, बंद करना, आदि को लागू 

9. जीवन के बदले नियोजन, धुनवानी एवं स्फुरितमार बनाने की 

10. नाम एवं शहर की उज्ज्वलता बंद करो, भुज्ज्वल, अन्य एवं वैल 

11. कानारी को नयां न्यायालय, के भी मजदूरों के आदेश एवं 

12. मान्यता कर्मियों को प्रशिक्षण दें चार चारों काम में लागू 

13. जीवन के जिन के नया बहाने वाले को 

14. जीवन और आदेश के को के साथ 

15. जीवन और आदेश के ताल के साथ बंद करने एवं 

16. प्र. श. म. उपलब्ध के बनाए आदेश - 7 के पर नियुक्त 

17. प. श. म. उपलब्ध के 275.92 से पहले जाने के 

18. तभी मजदूरों ने उन्हें 

19. मजदूरों की भी अधिकारियों के लिए विवेचन को लागू 

निर्धार

विभाग के लिए

सी.एम.ए. वर्मा

मेरोटी
धड़ताल ऐतिहासिक होगी : एकराय

बीसीएसीएल फायदे में, मजदूर हैं बढ़ताल
झरिया नहीं तो कोयला भवन भी नहीं

दस वर्ष के वकालत करने वाले कोल इंडिया के दलाल, उपेक्षा हुई तो पावर प्लांटों का कोयला ब्रड करा देगे।

कारागार संकरदास नहरकर:

जवाहर मददुर संग के बैनले तो रुककर हो कोलाहल पर सदर मुख्या हुआ। हरिमोद की चेतावनी में उनके समस्त जुड़े हुए है इंडियन स्टेट बैंक में राहत के साथ 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रतिष्ठा 35 पूर्वी कंपनियों की सीमित प्रति
सांसद मजदूरों को गुमाल कर रहे हैं : बक्सी

प्रभावित सांसद मजदूरों को भेजने के नाम पर श्रेयदान की, अन्य भतीजे को भेजने के नाम पर श्रेयदान की, अन्य भतीजे को भेजने के नाम पर श्रेयदान की को गुमाल कर रहे हैं।

अधिकारी मालामाल, मजदूर कांग्रेस : संजीव

कोणाना भवन में प्रदर्शन के लिए अनुसार का समाप्त

कई स्थानों पर देखा

संतोषित करते संजीव सिंह

भूली संदर्भदाता के अनुसार पुत्रों के साथ रीति व संवाद करके मान्यता की संवाद की गई।

अधिकारी मालामाल के अलावा पुत्रों के साथ रीति व संवाद करके मान्यता की संवाद की गई।

हिस्सा संदर्भदाता अनुसार गौरवदाता पर नामों का समाप्त करके प्रेम भवन में प्रदर्शन करते संजीव सिंह

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उत्तराधिकारी के संपर्क में प्रदर्शन करते संजीव सिंह

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उत्तराधिकारी के संपर्क में प्रदर्शन करते संजीव सिंह