Leadership in any sphere of life is multi-stratum (Gibb 1954: 877-920, Merton 1968:441-474). Trade union leadership is also not a homogeneous category. In Baroda we have identified two broad types of leaders namely the 'outsiders' and the 'insiders'. This typology was recognized long back in the Indian Trade Union Act of 1926.

As we saw in chapter three, those who initiated and developed the trade union movement in Baroda, just as elsewhere in India, were the 'outsiders'. That is, they did not belong to the ranks of the workers whom they led as they were not employees of any plant. Instead, they were politicians or social workers who had taken up trade union leadership as a full-time vocation. The 'dominance' of these 'outsiders' over the trade union movement in India is a much debated issue in the literature on Indian trade unions (Punekar:1952, Myers and Kannappan:1970, Ramaswamy:1974, Karnik:1978, Rothenmund:1981). It is almost impossible to discuss the leadership of Indian trade unions without any reference to the outside leaders. In Baroda most of these outside leaders are associated with one or other federation as full-timers.

The other significant tier of trade union leadership is that of insiders who are regular employees of a plant and who take up active leadership role. As we saw in the case-study of the Alambic strike, these insiders, or the worker-leaders, also play an important
role in organizing and mobilizing their fellow workers.

But, there is a difference in the sphere of influence of both these types of leaders. The insiders or the worker-leaders take an active interest only in the unions of their plant or industry. Their influence is confined to relatively a limited number of workers, mostly of their own unions. On the other hand, the interest and influence of the outsiders cut across a number of unions encompassing a larger magnitude of workers.

Besides, in many cases the insiders are initiated and influenced by the outsiders, as the former generally work under the guidance of the latter. In this sense the insiders are the leaders of the workers but the followers of the outsiders. Obviously, therefore, the outsiders wield more influence and power. They may more appropriately be known as 'top leaders' or 'local elites' or 'federation leaders'. The insiders on the other hand are known as the 'activists' or the 'worker-leaders'. In the present study, we shall use the terms 'full-timers' or 'top-leaders' or 'federation leaders' or 'outsiders' synonymously. Likewise, we will use the terms 'activists' or 'worker-leaders' interchangeably with the term 'insiders'.

In a number of studies, internal differentiations in either or both of these categories are recognized (Vaid:1962, Sheth and Jain: 1966b, Bogaert:1970, Ramaswamy:1973,1974, Singh:1980). But few attempts have been made to examine the basis of these differentiations in detail. We will therefore attempt to explore some of the significant sub-strata in each of the two broad categories, namely the outsiders and the insiders from this perspective.
However, we are not interested merely in indentifying the significantly distinct sub-strata of both the outsiders and the insiders, but we are also interested in understanding some aspects of political socialization. Hence we will try to find how the outsiders try to politically influence the insiders, and to what extent the latter are influenced.

In this chapter we will mainly concentrate on the outsiders and try to identify distinct but interrelated sub-strata of this category. While doing so we will try to understand their distinguishing features with reference to their background, their recruitment and commitment, and their roles.

In the following chapter we will do the similar exercise with reference to the insiders. And in the next chapter we will attempt to examine the extent of political socialization of these insiders and some of the factors determining this socialization.

The Outsiders: Prominents and Non-Prominents

The outsiders in Baroda are usually associated with one or the other national federation of the trade unions. They hold crucial positions such as President, General Secretary/Secretary or Treasurer in the unions affiliated with their respective federations. There may be many unions in a federation but only a few full-time, paid, outside leaders are found holding the key positions in all, or most of these unions. For instance in 1983 there were 424 offices (such as President, Secretary, Treasurer etc.) in the Executive Committees of the 64 trade unions affiliated with the 6 federations of Baroda, out of which 147 positions were occupied by only 25...
outsiders. In other words, only 6 per cent of the total officeholders occupied 33 per cent of the total offices. On an average these outside leaders were holding nearly six positions each. Some of them in actuality were holding as many as sixteen to seventeen positions. It is not unusual to find an outside leader holding the same office in all the unions of his federation. For instance, late Murlidhar Ranalkar (HMS) was popularly known as Mantri (Secretary) among the members of HMS unions because he held the position of Mantri (Secretary) in all the unions of HMS.

Although all the outsiders are involved in most of the important activities of their federations, in each of the six federations some are more prominent than the others. The prominent outsiders are generally the heads of their federations and act as their spokesmen. Policy statements or press notes about their unions or federations, are issued in their names. Whenever, there are important city-level meetings for some joint action, it is the prominent outsiders who represent their respective federations. They are involved in a number of other organizations in the city and they have city-wide recognition. Generally the unions affiliated to their federations are known by the personal names of these prominent leaders such as the unions of NLO are known as Dabyabhai's unions, the unions of BMS are known as Keshubhai's unions, the AITUC unions are known as Shalchandra's unions and so forth. In short these prominent leaders are the local bosses of their respective federations. They represent the local units in the state or national level councils of their respective federations and some of them even hold important offices in such councils.
These local bosses, or heads of the federations, whom we have defined for our purpose as the prominents, are obviously few in number, since each federation has only one head/boss, except HNS in which there are two because of the two factions. Hence out of twenty-five outsiders in the city of Baroda, only seven are prominents and the remaining eighteen are the non-prominents Table 5.1 gives a break-down of the twenty-five outsiders.

**TABLE 5.1**
TOTAL NUMBER OF UNIONS, OUTSIDE FULL-TIMERS, AND THE NUMBER OF POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY THEM IN EACH FEDERATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federation</th>
<th>Total No. of Unions</th>
<th>Total No. of Positions Occupied by the Outside Full-timers</th>
<th>Total No. of the Outside Full-timers Prom.</th>
<th>Non-Prom.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AITUC</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMS</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITU</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HNS</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTUC</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majoor Mahajan(NLO)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>64</strong></td>
<td><strong>147</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prom. = Prominent  
Non-Prom. = Non-Prominent

The following analysis is based on in-depth interviews of twenty-one, out of the total twenty-five outside leaders who work as paid full-timers in the six federations of the city. We wanted to
study the entire population of the outsiders of Baroda. But four of them could not be interviewed. All the four are the non-prominents, the stratum which is even otherwise also adequately represented in the sample, as it consists of 7 prominent and 14 non-prominent.

The Distinguishing Features of the Two Sub-Strata: Prominents and Non-Prominents

As Table 5.2 shows, most of the prominent and non-prominent are Hindus and Gujaratis. In terms of caste, however, except one, rest of the prominent are from higher castes, whereas the half of the non-prominent belong to the middle or low castes.

The prominent are relatively older, they have joined the movement at an early stage and therefore more experienced. Half of the prominent do not have any previous employment experience. Their non-prominent colleagues, however, are relatively younger, recent joiners and mainly coming from the working class background.

The prominent are relatively highly educated as all the seven of them are educated above the school-level. Five of them are graduates and one, of these five, holds post-graduate degrees also. Only two prominent leaders did not complete their college education. On the other hand, all the five leaders with only school-level education are the non-prominent.

Politically the prominent are more eminent than the non-prominent, as all the seven prominent have contested public elections at one or the other level, while from among the non-prominent only three out of fourteen have done so. The profiles of some of these leaders given below would illustrate the differentiation between the prominent and the non-prominent influentials.
TABLE 5.2
CLASSIFICATION OF THE PROMINENT AND THE NON-PROMINENT OUTSIDERS ACCORDING TO A FEW SELECTED BACKGROUND VARIABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prominents</th>
<th>Non-Prominents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Mother Tongue**   |            |                |       |
| Gujarati            | 5          | 8              | 13    |
| Non-Gujarati        | 2          | 6              | 8     |
| Total               | 7          | 14             | 21    |

| **Caste**           |            |                |       |
| Upper               | 6          | 7              | 13    |
| Middle & Low        | 1          | 7              | 8     |
| Total               | 7          | 14             | 21    |

| **Age**             |            |                |       |
| High (50+)          | 6          | 4              | 10    |
| Low (50-)           | 1          | 10             | 11    |
| Total               | 7          | 14             | 21    |

| **Period of Joining The Movement** |            |                |       |
| Early (Before 1960)         | 5          | 6              | 11    |
| Late (After 1960)           | 2          | 8              | 10    |
| Total                        | 7          | 14             | 21    |

| **Employment Experience**  |            |                |       |
| Yes                          | 3          | 7              | 10    |
| No                           | 4          | 7              | 11    |
| Total                        | 7          | 14             | 21    |

| **Education**              |            |                |       |
| High (Above SSC)           | 7          | 9              | 16    |
| Low (SSC or less)          | 7          | 5              | 5     |
| Total                       | 14         |                | 21    |

| **Contested Public Election Atleast Once (Parliament, Assembly, Municipality)** |            |                |       |
| Yes                           | 7          | 3              | 10    |
| No                            | 11         |                | 11    |
| Total                         | 7          | 14             | 21    |
AITUC Prominent

He is a sixty-years old Gujarati Brahmin. He is a science graduate and has been active in the trade union movement of the city since 1940s. He is the General Secretary of the Gujarat Council of All India Trade Union Congress and a member of its national executive. He is a Joint-Secretary of the Gujarat Council of the Communist Party of India and the Secretary of its cell in Baroda district. He contested elections twice for the membership in the Gujarat Legislative Assembly without success. He has visited the USSR and the GDR as a representative of the AITUC from India.

AITUC Non-Prominent

He is a forty six years old Gujarati Patidar and holds a Diploma in Mechanical Engineering. He was an employee of Alembic Chemicals but lost his job due to his participation in a strike in 1972. Then he became a paid full-timer of the Alembic Karmachari Union affiliated to AITUC. He is the treasurer of the Gujarat Council of AITUC and is a sympathiser of the Communist Party of India.

BMS Prominent

He is a fifty years old Gujarati Lohana. He is a matriculate. He left his Diploma course in Engineering after passing the first year to take up a job in 1945. Since then he has worked at several places. He is an active member of the Rashtriya Swayam-Sevak Sangh (RSS) since 1939. He was one of the founding members of the Jan-sangh and also of the Bharatiya Majdoor Sangh in Baroda. He was an employee of the Sarabhai group of industries before joining BMS as a full-timer. He is the President of the Gujarat unit of BMS of
which he was formerly the General Secretary. He unsuccessfully con­tested election as a Jansangh candidate in 1967 for membership in the Gujarat Legislative Assembly.

**BMS Non-Prominent**

He is a forty years old Maratha, whose forefathers migrated from Andhra Pradesh to take up service in the Gaekwad's army, at Baroda. He is nonmatric, holding a diploma in turning and fitting. He is an active member of RSS. Before joining BMS, as a full-timer in 1968, he was working in Sarabhai group of industries and was an active member of the Chemical Mazdoor Sabha of BMS.

**CITU Prominent**

He is a Maharashtrian Brahmin, who is in his early sixties. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Law. He came into contact with CPI in his student days in 1939-40 and organised trade unions under the banner of Red Flag at Baroda and Surat. In his young age he was a champion wrestler of Baroda. He is the President of the Gujarat Council of Centre of Indian Trade Unions and also the Baroda unit of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). He once contested an election for the Gujarat Legislative Assembly but did not win. He was arrested under MISA during the internal emergency declared in 1974-75.

**CITU Non-Prominent**

A Maratha by caste, he was a postman before he left his job to join the Communist Party. He is in his mid-forties and is a full­timer of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). He has been a Municipal Councilor of Baroda for three consecutive terms. He is educated up to school level only.
HMS Prominent

He is in his fifties and is a Gujarati Brahmin. He is a science graduate and has undergone a short training course in labour relations at the Harvard University, USA. He has been active in the Baroda labour movement since 1949. He was associated with the Socialist and the Praja Socialist Party before he joined the Congress(R) in 1971. He was a Municipal Councilor at Baroda and the leader of the opposition in the Baroda Municipal Corporation before being elected as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Gujarat. He was the Minister of Labour and Civil Supply between 1972 and 1974 in the Gujarat Government. Before that he contested the election for Parliament in 1970 as a PSP candidate with Congress(R) support but he was defeated. At present he is a Minister of Finance, Planning and Labour in the Gujarat Government. He is the President of Baroda City Labour Council, a co-ordinating body of the trade unions affiliated to HMS in Baroda. Although he joined Congress(R) in 1971 he preferred to retain his ties with HMS.

HMS Prominent

He is a Maharashtrian Brahmin with a Bachelor's degree in Arts. He is now in his sixties. He joined the Socialist Party and the HMS in 1953 as a full-timer, quitting a well-paid Government job. In 1971, when a majority of the PSP workers of Baroda joined Congress (R), he decided to be one of the few to remain with the Socialist Party. In 1974 he was elected to the Gujarat Legislative Assembly on the Socialist Party's ticket and was also offered a ministerial position but he declined to accept it in favour of his trade union activities. He contested the election again for the next term in
the Legislative Assembly but did not succeed. He is the President of the Gujarat unit of HMS, and the Secretary of Baroda City Labour Council. He visited the Philippines and East Germany to participate in training courses for trade union leaders, as a delegate of HMS. He is the President of the Samyukta Kamdar Samitee of Baroda which co-ordinates joint-action programmes of different trade union federations of the city.

HMS Non-Prominent

He is in his sixties and is educated up to school level only. He was a press-worker before joining the movement in the 1940s. He is a Maratha by caste. He was a full-timer in CPI. He contested the election for the Bombay State Legislative Assembly on the CPI ticket in 1952 but was defeated. Soon after that, he developed differences with the Party and left it. Then he joined the Majoor Mahajan (INTUC). But he could not work in Mahajan for long either. So he left it after a few months. In the meantime he was elected as a Municipal Councillor for one term in 1954. Since then he has been almost inactive. In 1970 he joined Congress(R) and tried to form the base for its labour front, INTUC, in Baroda without much success. However, in 1973 he joined the HMS. In HMS also his loyalties oscillated from one faction to another faction.

INTUC Prominent

He is a forty year old Gujarati. He is the only prominent leader of the city who is relatively young and who belongs to the Scheduled caste. He is educated up to inter-Arts. He participated in the Mahajgan Gujarat movement and then left his job in 1962 to join the CPI as a full-timer and worked for AITUC. However, he left the Party after
some time and joined PSP and HMS. When PSP-HMS leaders joined Congress(R) in 1971 he also followed them. After joining Congress(R), he decided to start the office of INTUC in Baroda in 1975. He is the General Secretary of the Baroda Unit of the INTUC and is a Municipal Corporator. He is also a Joint Secretary of Baroda City Congress(I).

INTUC Non-Prominent

He is a forty-two years old Nayar from Kerala who has been settled in Baroda since 1965. He is M.A. and presently reading for his law degree. As an employee of ONGC he was actively associated with the ONGC Mansoor Sabha of HMS. However, in 1976 he left his job to work in INTUC as a full-timer. At present he is the Secretary of the Baroda unit of INTUC.

Majoor Mahajan(NLO) Prominent

He is in his early fifties and has been in the labour movement since 1949, when he joined Majoor Mahajan (INTUC) of Baroda as a full-timer. Formerly, when Mahajan was affiliated with INTUC he was the Secretary of Gujarat unit of INTUC and the General Secretary of its Baroda unit. Since 1972, when Mahajan left INTUC and formed its own federation, the National Labour Organisation (NLO), he has been the Secretary of NLO and the General Secretary of its Baroda branch. He has been active in public life since his college days and is actively associated with several local bodies including the Baroda Productivity Council and the M.S. University of Baroda. He has been a Syndicate member of the M.S. University for the last three terms. In 1972, he unsuccessfully contested the election for the Legislative Assembly of Gujarat on the National Labour Party's ticket with Congress(O) support. He has a Master's degree in Arts.
and Bachelor's degree in Law. Recently he had been to Phillipines as the representative of the NLO.

**Majoor Mahajan (NLO) Non-Prominent**

He is a forty-nine years old Gujarati Bania who holds a diploma in Agriculture. He has been in Majoor Mahajan (INTUC-NLO) since 1955-56 as a full-timer. He is a Joint Secretary of the Baroda unit of NLO and mainly looks after the unions of the textile industry. Recently he had been to Sri Lanka as a representative of NLO.

**Majoor Mahajan (NLO) Non-Prominent**

He is a Gujarati Bania. He is fifty-two years old and educated up to inter-commerce. He has been with Mahajan (INTUC-NLO) as a full-timer since 1950. He is one of the two Joint Secretaries of Mahajan (NLO) and mainly looks after its non-textile unions. In 1976 he contested the Municipal election and was elected as a corporator. Formerly, he was in Congress(O) and now he is in Janata Party of which he is the Joint Secretary of the city unit.

These profiles of some selected promineints and non-promineints illustrate the distinguishing features of both the sub-strata of the outsiders. Besides, from these profiles it is clear that most of them have one or the other kind of political slant which is congruent with political allegiance of their respective federations. Not only that, many of them are actively involved in politics and some of them have been successful enough to become the members of the Municipal Corporation and/or Legislative Assembly. One of them has become a minister also in the state cabinet. However, if we look at them in terms of prominence, we find that the promineints, as compared to the non-promineints, are more actively involved in politics.
Recruitment and Commitment to the Leadership Role

Before we try to understand the role performed by these outside leaders it is essential to know what actually motivated them to take up trade union leadership as the full-time activity and to what extent they are committed to this activity.

Recruitment to the Leadership Role

It is generally observed that only a few persons are prepared to take up active leadership role in the trade unions. As a result, the burden of these few leaders increases substantially. This, coupled with the general passivity of the workers, makes the task more difficult and dispiriting. The question arises, therefore, how and why do some people take up trade union leadership as a full-time vocation?

We asked the outside leaders to say what actually motivated them to take up trade union leadership.

The responses revealed that more than half of the prominents (i.e. four out of seven) had entered the trade union field through politics and all of them were initiated in politics from their adolescence. They never worked as wage-or-salary-earners. The remaining three, though did not begin their career in politics, were also actively interested in politics in their early age before becoming full-time trade union leaders.

From among the non-prominents, half of them (seven out of fourteen) had joined the movement as insiders, that is, as activists or worker-leaders. Due to their active trade union involvement, some of them either experienced strains in the work place or were victimized.
A few of them also left the job to do full-time trade union work as they got involved in the trade union or the ideology of its federation. The remaining seven non-prominents directly joined the movement without having worked in any factory or office. They were co-opted to the leadership role by the prominent federation leaders due to their political and/or personal connections with them.

The following quotations from the interviews with these leaders will illustrate the process through which they were recruited to the leadership role.

AITUC Prominent

When I was in school I started reading the Communist literature. Since, I had a burning desire to work for the downtrodden I joined the Communist Party in 1941, when I was in College. In the beginning I was active in the students' movement and later on I began to work on its trade union front.

AITUC Non-Prominent

Due to my participation in a strike in my company I lost my job. But later on our union asked me to join as a full-timer. It was not difficult for me to get another job, nor was I in a dire need of the job. But I joined the union as a full-timer so that I can do something concrete for my fellow workers.

BMS Prominent

In 1939 when I was 15 years' old I joined Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS). Since then I am connected with the Sangh's activities. However, I came into contact with the trade union movement only in 1954-55 when I decided to support the union of INM in Sarabhai where I was an employee. It was not that I supported the Socialist ideology of INM. In fact, in our factory at that time there was a union of Majoor Mahajan (INTUC) which entered into a contract with our management which was not fair to the workers. Therefore, the majority of the workers were thinking of joining AITUC of CPI.
However, I was deadly against Communism. Therefore, to prevent others from joining AITUC I, along with my other friends, decided to join the HMS union of the Socialist Party which we accepted as a lesser evil. However, later on, we found that HMS was also not much better than Majoor Mahajan. I was thinking of a better alternative which I found in BMS and therefore, I started it in Baroda.

BMS Non-Prominent

Since my young age I was active in RSS... during my employment in Sarabhai I was active in the union of HMS. But its leadership was not successful in solving some of our problems. Even in the department where I was working many workers, including myself, had to suffer from injustice. Inspite of our repeated efforts the HMS leaders did not protect us. In the meantime BMS came into existence. I knew... (the BMS prominent) from my young age as we were together in RSS, living in the same neighbourhood and had worked in the same company. Therefore, I decided to leave the job and join BMS as a full-timer.

CITU Prominent

In my youth I was influenced by Vivekanand and Bhagat Singh. Later on I came into contact with the Communist literature. Afterwards, I joined the Rationalist Study Circle which was formed by those who were influenced by the Communist ideology. In 1939, when I was a student, I decided to join the Party. Then the Party posted me at Surat where I, organized the Red Flag Trade Unions till 1948 when I returned to Baroda.

CITU Non-Prominent

When I was working as a postman, I was active in our union. During those days, I came into contact with some Socialists. I was also impressed by Russia's achievements and I wanted to know more about it. Therefore, I contacted some Communists. They asked me to join their study-circle which I joined and later, after being convinced about the Communist ideology, I joined the Communist Party of India. As a part of the Party's work I also started organizing the workers.
In 1940, at the age of 15 I was an active member of the Students' Association of Bhavnagar. I was influenced by the national freedom movement in general, and Socialist ideology in particular. Later on I joined Congress Seva Dal and also became a member of Congress Socialist Party. When the Socialist Party came into existence in Gujarat I joined it. In 1948, I played an active role in a railway strike in Saurashtra. Afterwards I came to Baroda and since then I am associated with the HNS and its labour movement.

While studying in college I stayed with my uncle, who was an important political leader in those days. During that period I read socialist literature which inspired me to work for the poor. After passing my B.A. examination I joined M.A., but I left my studies in that year and came back to Baroda and took up a Government job in 1946. In 1947 I joined All-India Radio's Baroda office. However, I was all the while restless since I had a strong urge to serve the people. Therefore, I left my job with a monthly salary of five hundred and twenty five rupees in 1957 and accepted full-time work in HNS with a monthly honorarium of sixty rupees which was also not paid regularly in those days.

In 1952-33 there was a strike in a textile Mill of Baroda which created a good deal of tension in the city. At that time Pangarkar of Red Flag Union was addressing the workers' meetings which I used to attend out of curiosity. However, I was moved by his powerful speeches and therefore, I established contacts with him. Inspired by him I also formed a union in our Government Press where I was working. But I was soon victimized and thrown out of the job which made me more militant. After serving at a few other places I left the services to join the CPI in 1942 as a full-timer and started working actively among the workers.
INTUC Prominent

I took active part in the Maha Gujarat Movement, 1956-60. During that period I was influenced by Indulal Yagnik and his close associates who were mainly Communists. I had a strong desire to change the society therefore in 1962 I left my job and joined the CPI. As the party believed in organizing working class I also started working in its trade-union front.

INTUC Non-Prominent

Since 1955-56, I was active in the students' movement in Kerala. I participated in the movement which was launched to oust the first Communist Government of Naboodaripad. In 1959, I migrated to Gujarat in search of a job and joined the CNGC on daily wages at Khambhat. In 1965, I was appointed as a store-keeper in CNGC at Baroda. Here I found that the attitude of my boss was not humane therefore, to protest against him we formed a union which was affiliated with HMS. I became its Branch Chairman. I had a great pleasure in exposing the faults of my boss during that period, which increased my interest and involvement in the trade union activity. However, later on we were disgusted with HMS leadership. Meanwhile I got a good job in another factory in Baroda. During this time, Mrs. Gandhi formed Congress(R) and INTUC sided with it. Since I believed in Congress(R) ideology I decided to join the INTUC in 1976 as a full-timer.

Majoor Mahajan(NLO) Prominent

As a student, I was involved in the students' activities. I was a Secretary of Vidhyarthi Mandal in Baroda. After passing my M.A. and LL.B. examinations I was appointed as Nalatdar in Baroda State. In the meantime, I also got a scholarship for the training in labour problems at TLA Ahmedabad. I accepted this scholarship instead of the job. After my training I applied for a job in the Labour Department of the then Bombay Government. But I was offered a post which was lower than that of a Labour Officer, which I actually deserved. Therefore, I rejected it. In the meantime, I was persuaded by some of my friends and well-wishers who were in Congress to join the Majoor Mahajan(INTUC) of
Baroda. Therefore, I joined the Mahajan as a full-timer in 1949.

Majoer Mahajan (NLO) Non-Prominent

My father was an important Congressman of Vaghodia from where he was elected as a member of the Gujarat State Legislative Assembly. I was looking after our farms in Vaghodia. However, in 1955-56 Majoer Mahajan (INTUC) of Baroda needed some more full-timers. In this connection the leaders of Mahajan (INTUC) told me to join it, so I joined.

Majoer Mahajan Non-Prominent

I was associated with Congress in my youth. Due to that association, Bhailalbhai Contractor, the then important Congress leader of the city who was also actively interested in Majoer Mahajan (INTUC), asked me to join the Mahajan (INTUC). Therefore, I joined it.

As it appears from these quotations most of the outsiders were motivated to join the trade union field more for political considerations than for trade union. Nevertheless, the promineats are relatively more involved in politics than the non-prominentes. However, from among the non-prominentes also two have been successful enough to be elected as corporators.

Insiders who have been victimized or who did not find it interesting to continue their jobs, for one reason or the other, have been accommodated in their respective federations as paid full-timers. Yet, their recruitment is mainly based on their political or ideological allegiance. As we have seen, most of the non-prominentes have shown their ideological proclivities to be compatible with that of their respective federations.
Commitment to the Cause

The very fact that those who joined the trade union movement in the 1940s and 1950s have continued, indicates their commitment to the cause to which they are espoused. What is more important is that very few of them have changed their ideology or federation without conviction. Those who have left INTUC to form NLO, or AITUC to form CITU have done so only due to ideological differences. Perhaps, the only person who changed his allegiance quite frequently without ideological consistency is a non-prominent of HMS. He was formerly with AITUC, then he joined Majoor Mahajan (INTUC). After working with Mahajan (INTUC) for few months he left it and became independent. Afterwards in 1970s he joined Congress(R) and tried, for a while, to reestablish INTUC which was wiped out due to the formation of NLO. Finally he joined HMS. In HMS also he changed loyalties from one faction to another. However, this must be considered just as an exception. Because the rest of the leaders have been working in the field for a very long period through all the changing fortunes of the movement.

Inadequate Monetary Rewards & Other Hazards of the Work

This indeed is remarkable, given that the honorarium paid to the full-timers which is less than adequate for a comfortable living. The Majoor Mahajan (NLO) is the only federation in the city which has a fixed and graded salary system for their full-timers and the federation also gives other benefits like a provident fund and gratuity. Again, it is the only federation which has been paying the salary to its full-timers regularly. Yet, by no means their monthly salary can be considered as high. For instance, the prominent leader
of this federation, gets only seven hundred and fifty rupees per month, which is much less than a jobber's salary in a textile mill. Therefore, one of the non-prominents of this federation sarcastically remarked "Hum to jobber se bhi gaye" (we are worse than the jobbers). Hence it is not surprising to find that not a single leader even in this federation, which is relatively better-off, feels that the honorarium paid to him is adequate. If this is the situation of the leaders of the federation like Major Mahajan (NLO), which is relatively better-off financially, we can very well imagine that of others in the rest of the federations, particularly in CITU and INTUC who either do not get any honorarium at all or do not get it regularly whatever little honorarium paid to them. This creates an enormous financial strain on them and in many cases they have to depend upon the income of other family members or they have to survive on the subsistence level of living, as illustrated from the following excerpts from the interviews of one prominent and another non-prominent respondent.

**Prominent**

...I earn about four hundred rupees per month as honorarium from the unions. My wife is a midwife and she earns about two to three hundred rupees per month. Thus, our total income is about six to seven hundred rupees per month which is not sufficient to support a family of six members...

**Non-Prominent**

...When I left my job to join the federation as a full-timer in 1976, I was earning more than one thousand rupees per month. Now, I get about two hundred fifty rupees as honorarium. Plus I get one hundred rupees per case for fighting the individual cases of the workers. In addition, I had to do a part-time job in a firm which gave me one hundred rupees for looking after its correspondence work. Now since my wife has
started helping me in the trade union work as a full-timer. I stopped that work. Thus my total income is somewhere around five to six hundred rupees per month. I have seven members in my family. Frankly speaking, it is impossible to make two ends meet. My entire savings in the form of gratuity and provident fund which I got after resigning from the job have been consumed. I do not know what would have happened if I did not get the provident fund and gratuity.

Although, all of them are not in such a bad situation, most of them cannot be considered better off either. In this connection it should be noted that many of these leaders are well qualified to have jobs which would have fetched them much higher financial rewards than what they get from the trade union work. For instance the non-prominent leader who made the statement above is highly qualified as to get a well paid job, any day. Yet he continues to work as a full-time trade unionist. Thus, the very fact that some of these leaders have willingly sacrificed their occupational careers for the cause which they chose to fight for, without bothering about the financial reward and that some others have devoted their life right from an early age for this cause, though they all were also qualified to have better careers, says much about their commitment.

Other Hazards:

Besides, the nature of their work, as trade union leaders, is such that in addition to the economic hardships, they have to face many other problems. For instance, their personal life becomes disorganised and they cannot pay any attention to their family. Their working hours are not fixed and they cannot even enjoy holidays. Above all the workers often do not hesitate to disturb them at any hour of the day at any place. And if their problem is not solved they
would not only blame the leader for the failure but also make wild allegations against him. Therefore quite a few of the leaders complained that some workers treat them as their servants. "By paying nominal union fees they think that they have bought the services of their leaders" as one of them said.

Non-Monetary Rewards

In view of this, it is quite understandable why nearly half of them (ten out of twenty one respondents) said that is a thankless job and no one should expect any reward from it. One-third of them (seven out of twenty one) said that this is a mission and the personal satisfaction of doing some good work is the only reward. However, nearly one-fifth (four out of twenty one) said that even though they do not get monetary reward, they do get status and respect in society and this motivates them to continue the work. For instance, the prominent leader of INTUC said,

Financially my position is not so sound and yet I am elected as a Joint-Secretary of Baroda City Congress(I), against the wish of many rich and powerful people of the city. This is only because of my trade-union work. Similarly, some of us could get elected to Assembly and ... (the HMS prominent) could become a minister in the Government of Gujarat mainly because of their trade union background.

Thus, despite the poor monetary rewards many of these leaders continue to work in the field for years together either because they get intrinsic reward in the form of satisfaction of doing some good work or extrinsic reward in terms of social status, prestige or political prominence. In fact all the prominetns do get some recognition in local politics.
However, their political involvements help their trade union activities also. For instance, if a trade union leader gets elected as a Municipal Corporator or as an MLA his sphere of influence increases and therefore his capacity to help his followers in various ways also enhances. Besides, he ceases to be a burden on his federation. Because, he gets an honorarium as a Corporator or MLA and therefore he stops receiving the same from his federation or unions.

Moreover, his political victory not only enhances his own status and respectability but also that of his federation and the unions. For instance, the workers belonging to HMS unions always felt proud of the fact that one of their prominent leaders had become a minister in the state cabinet. Thus, the leader's political involvement being mutually rewarding, it is not unusual to find the workers collecting election funds and campaigning for their contesting leaders with great enthusiasm, a similar fact is observed by Ramaswamy also in Coimbatore (1977).

From the data on their recruitment and commitment, it can be concluded that most of these outsiders, both prominent and the non-prominent, are motivated to join trade union leadership mainly because of their political interests and inclinations. And this interest provides them a major motive-force to continue in the vocation despite the relative inadequacy of the monetary rewards which they receive. In fact their political involvements prove mutually rewarding to both the leaders and their followers.

Samuel Elderveld, discussing political parties, observes that the data on how people become actively involved help us to understand, among other things, their subsequent attitudes and behaviour
In view of this, it may be expected that while performing their leadership role they would try to spread their ideologies and political commitments among the workers.

As we observed earlier, the trade union federations have both short-term and long-term objectives. The short-term objectives refer to wage-and-work related problems of the workers, which are common to all the federations. However, these federations justify their separate existence by referring to their long-term goals which differ from federation to federation. These long-term goals are reflected in their respective ideological orientations and political allegiances. These ideologies, as we saw in chapter two, range from Marxist (AITUC-CITU) to Socialist (HMS) to Gandhian (INTUC-NLO) to Nationalist (BMS). But they can be broadly grouped into, the radical or leftist (AITUC-CITU-BMS) and reformist or rightist ideologies (BMS-INTUC-NLO). In this connection it can be assumed that the outsiders would try to educate their followers in the value system or the political philosophy of their respective federations. In order to find how do they do this we will examine their leadership role.

**The Leadership Role**

In order to find the goals the outsiders pursue in reality, it is essential to have an idea about what role they actually perform. The outside trade union leaders have to perform several activities to fulfill the patterned expectations attributed to their leadership role. As a part of his role a trade union leader is normally expected to solve the workers' individual or collective problems, for which he has to go to federation office, factories, conciliation office,
labour courts/industrial tribunals etc., meet various people and use different methods to settle these disputes. To understand their role, therefore, we attempted to find: (i) the activities which they generally perform (ii) the places where they spend most of their time and (iii) the methods by which they settle most of the disputes arising between the workers and the employers.

The Main Activities

On the basis of our observations we noticed that a trade union leader generally performs some of the following activities:

(i) To solve work-related, collective problems of the workers regarding their wage-and-work conditions.

(ii) To solve work-related but individual problems such as suspension, dismissal, gratuity, accident benefits and so on.

(iii) To solve individual but domestic (other than work-related) problems such as helping them in private court cases or police case or getting admitted in government hospital, or getting their documents attested by appropriate authorities etc.

(iv) To look after the general welfare activities undertaken by their federation such as running cooperative societies, or reading rooms or libraries etc.

(v) Conducting workers' education classes.

Although there is no regular and fixed daily routine of their activities, a definite pattern of allocation of their time during the whole year can be reasonably assumed.

We asked, therefore, our respondents to specify the allocation of their time during the whole year on the above mentioned activities in the following three categories (i) most of the time i.e. more than
fifty per cent of their time (ii) some time i.e. between twenty five and fifty per cent and (iii) a little time i.e. less than twenty five per cent. While interviewing we noticed, however, that it was difficult for the respondents to give this kind of breakdown in exact terms. Nonetheless, the responses based on their rough estimates indicate the leaders' priorities as revealed in Table 5.3.

Work-related Collective Problems

All the seven prominent leaders said that they spend most of their time in collective disputes, regarding wage-revision and improvement of work conditions. This requires them to meet workers, to understand their grievances, to formulate their demands and then to initiate the process to solve these problems.

The settlement of collective disputes regarding wage revision is an important activity since a trade union has to enter into a contract on behalf of the workers with an employer for a specific period. Before entering into such a contract the leaders have to do some spade-work, to assess the aspirations of the workers and then to translate them into concrete demands. The next task before them generally is to assign priority to these demands keeping in view the employers' capacity and willingness to grant them. As the INTUC leader stated:

By and large, we define certain demands as the main demands. And then we add a few extra demands with a clear understanding with our workers that the latter would be withdrawn in favour of the former at the time of negotiation so that there is some room for bargaining between us and the management.
TABLE 5.3
CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONSES OF THE PROMINENT AND THE NON-PROMINENT
OUTSIDE LEADERS REGARDING THE ALLOCATION OF THEIR TIME IN SOME
OF THE IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Allocation of time during the year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prominents (N=7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. To solve work-related collective problems of the workers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To solve work-related individual problems of the workers</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To solve individual domestic problems of workers not related to the work-place</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. To look after other welfare activities</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. To conduct workers education classes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One of the non-prominents said that he was left with no time from solving work-related collective/individual problems of the workers to do anything else.

But this simple looking task is not that simple. As the BMS leaders observed:
Most of the workers do not even have much idea of their own grade, category, basic wages, past revisions in the wages, other allowances and so forth. The management would not oblige us by providing this information. Therefore, we have to find out some workers who possess such information. Some of the workers who have such data may not have sufficient supporting evidence to prove their claim. If, after a lot of efforts, we find a worker with the necessary information and sufficient proofs, he may not be willing to share the same, due to the fear of victimization by the management. Therefore, at times, it becomes a real task to persuade such a worker. But, what is more difficult is to persuade the workers to arrive at some consensus upon demands. If the workers agree, then the management would not be willing to oblige us. Many of the management personnel make it a prestige issue and therefore refuse to budge. The inevitable result is litigation. Some of the employers would not even accept the labour court’s verdict and go up to the Supreme Court. Thus, it is a prolonged process.

Work-Related Individual Problems

However, once the issue is settled and an agreement is entered into, the problem is solved at least for the time being. But this does not mean that the leaders have no role to play after settling the collective demands. Because, many disputes arise about the interpretation of the contract and its implementation. Besides, what makes the continuous functioning of the union more meaningful is the individual disputes of the workers with the management. These individual problems may be about the charge-sheet, suspension, dismissal, lay-off, retrenchment, provident fund, gratuity, leave, promotion, ESI, accident benefit and so on. Generally, as many leaders complain, some workers come to the trade union only when they have such problems. Until then they avoid even becoming the members of the union. In such instances technically, the union cannot take
up the problems of such non-members and yet it cannot say 'no' to them, otherwise they would go to some other union and start spreading a bad word about the former. Therefore, such workers are asked to pay up the union fees for the whole year plus the litigation charges ranging from twenty five rupees to two hundred and fifty rupees depending upon the nature of the case. Besides, in some instances they are also asked to make a donation of a certain percentage of their arrears to union, after winning the case.

It seems that such individual problems are mostly handled by the non-prominents, as twelve out of fourteen non-prominents said that they spend most of their time in solving individual problems only. However, the prominent leaders are also, at times, involved in settling the individual disputes, as five out of seven prominent said that they spend some of their time in solving such problems.

The solution of the individual problems, in a way, is simple but quite intriguing. Some of these problems are solved at negotiation level but most of them go to litigation. However, even when a dispute reaches the adjudication level, efforts are made to arrive at a compromise. Generally, in the case of suspension or dismissal, both the union and the management become adamant. Because in some cases such suspended or dismissed workers are union activists and therefore no union would like to 'sacrifice' them. While the management would not like to be soft with these workers because they fear that by becoming soft with them the authority structure would be weakened. Therefore, the cases of such workers drag on for quite a long time. But the delay in the judgement on such cases makes some
of these workers restless and compels them to compromise with the management, often even against the wish and advice of their own leaders. Because, most of them have to find out a job during the suspension period for economic reasons. And once they find another job they hesitate to go back to their previous employer, even if they are reinstated, due to the strains developed in the relationship with the management.

Ironically, a lump sum amount which they hope to get, in the form of provident fund, gratuity and other arrears, provide an additional incentive to these workers to rush for a compromise. This is generally true for these technicians/workers who are in much demand and/or whose wages (and therefore also arrears) are quite high. As one INTUC leader said:

These workers often come and tell us: 'Hamara Final Karo, Hum Jata Hai (Settle my dispute, I want to quit).’ Managements also do not mind in cooperating to arrive at such a compromise, since they get rid of a disgruntled and 'union-minded' worker. In fact, whenever it is possible they would trap such 'union-minded' workers and then compel them to leave the job, first by provoking them through suspension notice or charge-sheet, and then tempting them by offering 'handsome' amounts in the form of notice-pay and other dues if they resign voluntarily. They (management) would also tell these workers that if they resign voluntarily they would get a job elsewhere very easily. But if they are dismissed it would be difficult for them to get another job. As a result some of these workers resign even before consulting us. What is most unfortunate is that some of them are our own representatives.

It is obvious that in this whole process enormous time and energy are spent by these leaders.
Although all these leaders have to be involved in all major disputes of significance, whether individual or collective, there is a broad understanding among them and also among the workers about the division of work. Generally, whenever, workers have a problem, first they approach the non-prominents who are of course easily available. If the issue is a routine one, the non-prominent leader would handle it himself. But, if it is of a serious nature he would consult his boss, the prominent leader.

**Personal and Domestic problems**

Interestingly, many of these leaders help the workers in solving other than work-related problems also. These problems are wide ranging which may include domestic or social problems or the problems regarding illness and hospitalization, police or court cases, employment for the relatives or getting documents attested by appropriate authorities and so forth. Five out of seven prominent and four out of fourteen non-prominents said that they spend a little time in helping the workers in such matters. Two out of four non-prominents who help the workers in such problems are corporators.

**Welfare Activities**

Very few of these leaders spend any time in welfare activities. Only two out of seven prominent and five out of fourteen non-prominents spend their remaining time in such activities. One of the prominent belongs to Major Mahajan (NLO) and the other belongs to HMS. Similarly from among the non-prominents four belong to Mahajan (NLO) and the remaining one to HMS. It may be recalled that only these two federations have tried to undertake some welfare activities for their members.
It is not that the other unaware of the necessity of such welfare activities. When they were asked about the possibility of taking up such activities they listed a whole range of such issues which could be undertaken by them. But except Majoor Mahajan (NLO) and HMS, no other federation has made any effort in this direction. HMS, which had organised some cooperative societies of the workers for different purposes has now became more or less inactive in this area since the split. Majoor Mahajan (NLO), is the only federation which has a long tradition of taking some welfare measures for its workers. This is due to its sound financial position as well as the tradition of TLA inherited by it. The leaders of many other federations complain that they do not have enough resources to undertake such activities. Even for publishing a news bulletin, the lack of resources is the main hurdle. Except Majoor Mahajan (NLO), no other federation has been able to publish its bulletin regularly. The IMS used to publish a fortnightly before the split but now it has also ceased to do so.

However, the leaders of AITUC were of the opinion that welfare activities might be useful but such activities do not promote the revolutionary cause of the working class. As one of them said, the Majoor Mahajan (NLO) of Ahmedabad does excellent work in this area. But it has not been able to win the workers' loyalty as indicated by the defeats of its candidates at various public elections such as municipality or assembly. Therefore, he said, instead of wasting resources on welfare activities, the trade union leaders should spend more time in educating the workers by conducting their study-circles. He said:
Welfare is the duty of the Government, whereas the trade-unions are, for leading working-class struggles. If the unions start diverting their attention to welfare activity then they would be bogged down with it and forget the main goal.

**Workers' Education**

Nevertheless, when asked about the efforts made by them regarding workers' education none of the leaders said that they conduct regular study circles for them. Only three promine nts and three non-prominents spend their remaining time in conducting workers' education classes with the assistance of Workers' Education Board of Government of India. But these are training classes in trade unionism, not in their respective political ideologies.

In short, it can be said that most of these outside leaders, prominent and the non-prominent, are bogged down with solving the Dal-Roti problem of the workers. Hence they are left with very little time for taking up any welfare or educational activities consonant with their long-term goals. Although both are more concerned with the work-related problems of the workers, a rough division of labour is discernible between the promine nts and the non-prominents as the former concentrate more on collective problems, while the latter on the individual problems.

**Time Spent At Different Places**

In order to perform his role effectively, we observed that, a trade union leader has to be in constant touch with the workers, the management and the conciliation/adjudication machinery. To have some more idea about the trade union leader's role we thought it useful to find how much time the leaders spend at different places. Therefore we asked these leaders to rank order any three of
the following places in terms of the time spent on an average by them during the year: (i) federation office (ii) factory (iii) conciliation office (iv) labour courts/tribunals and (v) workers' neighbourhoods. The answers are classified in Table 5.4

**TABLE 5.4**

CLASSIFICATION OF THE RESPONSES OF THE PROMINENT AND THE NON-PROMINENT OUTSIDE LEADERS GIVING PRIORITIES TO DIFFERENT PLACES IN TERMS OF TIME SPENT ON AN AVERAGE DURING THE YEAR (THREE RANKS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places</th>
<th>Priority in terms of time spent</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prominents</td>
<td>First Rank</td>
<td>Second Rank</td>
<td>Third Rank</td>
<td>Non-Prominents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federation office</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conciliation office</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Court/tribunals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers' neighbourhoods</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Time spent in Federation Office**

As the answers revealed, almost all of these leaders spend most of their time in the office of the federation. This is indicated by the fact that twenty out of twenty-one leaders gave it the first priority. This is because, most of them deal with many unions and only a few unions have their independent offices. Therefore, the
federation office is the only central meeting place for all. Many of these leaders attend their federation offices almost as regularly as the officers of any other organisation. But they are generally available in the office either in the mornings (between 9 am. to 12.30 pm.) or in the evenings (between 5 pm. to 9 pm.). During the rest of the day, usually they are busy negotiating with the managements or fighting cases at the conciliation office or at the labour courts.

In the federation office the leaders are mainly busy with the following activities: (i) listening to workers, individually or in small groups, (ii) drafting correspondence or documents (which also includes drafting answers to charge-sheets given to the workers and preparation for other cases) and, (iii) conducting workers' meetings.

Time Spent in Factories And Conciliation/Adjudication Machinery

All the prominent leaders stated that they spent the second largest part of their time at the factories, while only five of the fourteen non-prominents stated that second most of their time was spent at the factories. Out of the remaining nine non-prominents, six (one each of all the six federations) reported that they spent more time at conciliation office, two in the workers' neighbourhoods (one of Mahajan and one of CITU) and the remaining one (of AITUC) spent his time in second priority at federation office. In fact, he is an advocate and is mainly concerned about the legal aspects of the disputes therefore he spends best part of his time in adjudication machinery. He is the only leader who does not spend much time at the federation office.
Generally, it appears that negotiations at the factory are attended to by the prominent leaders, whereas conciliation by the non-prominent leaders. For labour courts and tribunals, they mainly depend upon their own lawyers. Nevertheless, there is an elasticity in this kind of arrangement, since in most cases the distribution of work is determined by the seriousness of the dispute, pressures of other activities and certain other exigencies.

Interestingly, those who stated that they spend some of their time at the factory do not necessarily go there just for negotiations with the managements. Quite frequently they go to the factories for addressing gate-meetings and organizing other agitational activities. This is particularly true for those leaders whose unions are connected with the non-textile industries and/or where there is very little cooperation between the managements and the trade-unions. Majoor Mahajan (NLO) is the exceptional federation whose leaders never hold gate-meetings and who spend most of the time at factory for negotiations. This is because they have a long established tradition of harmonious relations with the managements of textile and non-textile units.

Time Spent in Workers' Neighbourhoods

What is surprising is that the majority of these leaders spend no time in workers' neighbourhoods. Only two non-prominent leaders, one of Majoor Mahajan (NLO) and one belonging to CITU, are in touch with the workers' neighbourhoods as indicated by the fact that they gave it a second priority. Both of them are corporators. Majoor Mahajan (NLO) leaders of course have a long-standing association
with the workers' localities due to some welfare activities done by them. The CITU leader is elected as a Municipal Corporator since the last three terms, from a locality which is dominated by the working class. Naturally, therefore, he has to be in touch with the neighbourhood of the workers.

One of the veterans, who was a Communist and now is with UMS, was quite unhappy about this situation. According to him, in the good old days of the 1930s and the 1940s they used to have neighbourhood cells of their trade union organisation and the worker leaders were also generally the neighbourhood leaders. According to him that was one of the sources of the trade-union strength. The leaders of the other union did not dare to enter into an area over which one union had a hold. Another veteran who is now in CITU said:

In past we used to conduct meetings quite frequently in workers' neighbourhoods. But now not a single neighbourhood meeting is conducted for trade-union purposes. Though, of course, political meetings are still inevitably held in the neighbourhoods mainly at the time of elections.

One AITUC leader tried to explain this phenomenon in the following words:

Formerly the textile mills were the main foci of trade-union activity and the textile workers were congregated in a few neighbourhoods. Now, many new factories have come up and consequently many working class localities and slums have come into existence in the city. In such neighbourhoods, you would find persons working in different factories. Such (heterogenous) neighbourhoods are no longer meaningful for organizational purposes. Therefore, the gate-meetings have increasingly replaced the neighbourhood meetings. This is also partly due to increased consciousness and fearlessness among the workers. Formerly, they were afraid of being manhandled at the factory-gate by the
henchmen of the management or even of being noticed participating in the trade union meetings. Now it is not so. Besides, their visits to trade-union offices have also increased in comparison to the past. Hence in view of all these developments the importance of the neighbourhood meetings has declined.

Thus, the data on time spent at various places by these leaders also confirm the fact these leaders are mainly busy solving the wage-and-work related problems of the workers. They do not have much time even to visit the workers' neighbourhoods which they used to do earlier, nor are the neighbourhoods any more meaningful for trade union purpose as they were in the pre-independence period. But this change certainly indicates a trend of formalisation of the movement as now the federation office is the main centre of activity and next in importance is the factory or conciliation and adjudication machinery.

One fact which is further confirmed by this analysis is about the division of work between the prominent and the non-prominent. Although there is no fixed pattern, the former mainly attend to the negotiations with the managements whereas the latter generally look after the problems pending at conciliation level. It appears that a leader who negotiates with the managements should not only be more skillful and tactful but also must have greater influence and power. Because, generally the success or failure at this level determines the next course of action. Therefore, it is not surprising that this task is undertaken by the prominent.

Methods Preferred to Solve Workers' Problems

Generally when a dispute arises the trade union leaders try to take it up first with the management. If they succeed in settling
the dispute through bilateral discussions the matter ends there. But if they fail at this stage then the issue can be taken up for conciliation, adjudication and/or agitation.

In order to find which of the different methods are more frequently used in settling the disputes, the leaders were asked to state at which of the following levels they generally succeed in settling most of their disputes and how satisfied they were at each of these levels: (i) negotiation (ii) conciliation (iii) adjudication (iv) agitation. The responses are classified in Table 5.5

**TABLE 5.5**

CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONSES OF THE PROMINENT AND THE NON-PROMINENT OUTSIDE LEADERS IN TERMS OF THEIR SUCCESS IN SETTLING MOST OF THEIR DISPUTES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level/Method of settlement</th>
<th>Prominents</th>
<th>Non-Prominents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negotiation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conciliation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjudication</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agitation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
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The answers reveal that only five out of twenty-one (about one fourth) leaders said that they were successful in settling the disputes mostly at the negotiation level. All of them belong to Major Mahajan (NLO). Six respondents reported their success at conciliation, the other six said that they succeeded generally at the adjudication level and remaining four mentioned that they succeed only at agitation level.
Most of the leaders said that they were not very happy about spending their energies in the routine legal fights. But whether they like it or not they have to use the legal machinery most frequently. Many of the leaders do not claim to have settled most of the disputes through negotiations. Rather, they succeed in solving their disputes only at conciliation or adjudication level. Only the Majoor Mahajan (NLO) leaders have reported that they were quite successful in arriving at the negotiated settlements. As one of its leaders proudly said, "We have not declared a single strike in last 30 years". Mahajan (NLO) leaders usually avoid strike and other such agitations. They do not even hold gate-meetings. The only agitations which they organised in recent past were not against any management but against the inefficient functioning of the ESI scheme or for reopening of some textile mills, generally they were aimed at the Government, that too of Congress(R). On the other hand the AITUC leaders believe that unless they back up their negotiations with agitational mobilization of workers the management or the Government do not take them seriously.

Sharing the same view, one BMS leader said,

Very few managements are genuinely prepared to discuss the workers' problems on the table. Their main aim, while negotiating, is usually to waste time so that workers lose faith in us. Successful negotiations require frequent meetings and cordial relations with the management. But if we meet the management frequently and nothing comes out of the negotiations the workers would start doubting our integrity. In such a situation, if we are found even sharing a joke with the management personnel the workers would suspect our intentions and without telling us they would drift away from our union. This is precisely the reason why Majoor Mahajan (NLO) has become unpopular among the workers and
why AITUC is becoming more and more popular. The former always insists on the cordial relations with the management whereas the latter talks in the language of struggles and strikes. Since we are concerned about national interest we also do not blindly encourage strikes though our record shows that we do not avoid confrontation either, if it is imposed upon us. However, I have adopted a middle-path. Whenever, an issue crops up I always initiate the negotiations and the legal process simultaneously. So that even if we fail in negotiations we do not have to waste time in opting for legal process. The workers also have no reason to be unnecessarily perturbed about our negotiations with the management.

Several leaders confess that workers generally do not like much hob-nobbing with the management and therefore many of them said that they prefer to keep the workers' representatives with them while negotiating with the management. However, one INTUC leader pointed out that keeping the workers' representatives with them while negotiating with the management, is not always free from dangers. Because, first of all, the managements, in most cases, do not like to sit with their workers at a table to discuss issues on equal terms. In some cases, when both the parties involved in the dispute meet at the table, the situation becomes emotionally so charged that it becomes almost impossible to arrive at any understanding. Secondly, according to him, in some cases, where the management is prepared to negotiate with leaders along with the workers' representatives, the latter do not always understand the complexity of the situation. They would, for instance, give in where they should not and where a compromise is necessary and/or possible, there they would not budge an inch. Thirdly, the representatives sitting in the conference room some times are cited by the management as the examples of the indisciplined, disobedient or Kam-Chor workers (laggards) in order to
put their leaders in an embarrassing or defensive position. For these reasons, according to the INTUC leader, many a times it is difficult to arrive at a negotiated settlement.

In some cases where settlement is possible through negotiations, the trade union leaders have to avoid it especially when the rival union exists and when they are not sure of the full trust of all the workers. For example, in the Alembic Glass, until recently Majoor Mahajan (INTUC-NLO) was the only recognised union. And there was an established long-tradition of negotiated settlement between the Management and the union. But the Mahajan (NLO) leaders avoided such a settlement as soon as some attempts to form a rival union were being made in this plant. They were afraid that, if they agreed to sign a settlement with the management quietly, they would be branded as a Chamcha Union (company union). Therefore, they preferred to go for adjudication where, according to them, almost the same agreement was made which they were planning to make earlier through mutual consent. In other words, the form in which the agreement is arrived at is, at times, more important than its content.

Sometimes, as one HMS leader said, the workers also believe that they would gain more in labour courts than in agreeing with the management just at the negotiation level. Therefore, they insist upon taking the case for adjudication instead of solving the issue through negotiations.

According to some of these leaders one important reason for the failure of negotiations, or what is popularly known as 'table settlement', is that although the strike is an important weapon in their
armoury they cannot always use it very easily. Because, very few unions are strong enough to mobilize support required for such an extreme action from the workers. Secondly, the existing laws make most of the strikes illegal for one reason or another. In these circumstances the only course open to them is to go for adjudication. However, since conciliation is a necessary step before going for adjudication the issue is first taken for conciliation. But in the majority of the cases, where the management has not cooperated in negotiations, there is little hope of their cooperation at the conciliation level either.

Most of the leaders, however, are quite bitter about the conciliation machinery. Their general experience is that time is unnecessarily wasted in the conciliation. As one EMS leader said, many a time the representatives of the management do not turn up for the conciliation and the conciliation officer has no power to compel them to cooperate. Some of these leaders feel that the conciliation officers are more favourably inclined towards the management. What is worse, even after the conciliation officer has failed in settling the issue at his level, it takes months before the matter comes up for the adjudication. "As a matter of fact", one CITU leader quipped "we have, at times, to give a strike-notice just to expedite the adjudication process".

It is pertinent to note here that the Mahajan (NLO) leaders, who claim to solve their issues mainly through negotiations, specify that they are not equally successful in doing so in the non-textile industry, where the ID Act permits the multiplicity of the trade unions. The case of Alimbic Glass cited above is an instance in point. This
instance also shows that trade union rivalry, mainly existing in the non-textile industry, in some cases not only breeds mutual distrust between the rival unions but it also percolates down so that the followers of each union start doubting each others' integrity and loyalty. This in turn makes negotiated settlements more difficult, if not impossible. They are at times compelled to take a militant posture to convince the workers about their sincerity.

Thus, the existing laws which are framed to enhance industrial harmony do not necessarily serve that purpose. On the contrary, the issues which could have been peacefully settled are also dragged into the labour courts/tribunals. And the inordinate delays in this process make the workers restless and many a times provoke them to declare strikes.

However, the emphasis on adjudication certainly has diverted the attention of leaders, from forming sound organisational base or building up the trade union movement, to litigation. Because, in the present circumstances if a leader has some legal competence he can easily survive inspite of a weak organisation. But if he does not have adequate legal skills then perhaps he might be outwitted either by the management or by his rivals. One of the secrets of the success of the HMS leader, Sanat Mehta, lies not only in his personal charisma, organisational ability and powerful oratory but also in his mastery over the legal and technical aspects of the disputes. As one of his lieutenants said:

When he appears in conciliation office even the top managers shiver in their shoes (in Gujarati: jafde chhe) because of his irrefutable (jabbatot) arguments.
The same is true for another HMS leader, Paradkar, who is short in stature, meek-looking, mild mannered person. But his grip over the unions is due to his command of the labour-laws. On the other hand, the local CITU leaders lack legal competence which perhaps is one of the reasons why it is the weakest federation in the city. For instance, the prominent leader of CITU said:

"Though I am an advocate by profession now I am almost retired. I am not in touch with the recent judgments and other legal matters. Therefore, we direct all our cases to our Ahmedabad office."

This does not mean, however, that the labour leaders have to become the labour lawyers. In fact, all the leaders, even those having degrees in law, prefer to engage practicing lawyers as retainers so that they can be free for routine trade union and organisational work. Besides, though the trade union leaders engage professional lawyers for litigation, they are careful in their selection. Generally, they scrutinise the ideological commitments of these lawyers before retaining them. Therefore, most of these lawyers are either the office-bearers of their federations at city or state level or of the political party to which the federation is ideologically associated.

Nonetheless, the legal framework has considerably influenced the role of trade union leaders. The leaders are more busy fighting legal battles than mobilizing workers to enhance their long-term goals. Whenever they mobilize workers into direct action like strike or agitation, it is more out of frustration rather than as an effective means of collective bargaining. The legal and bureaucratic work leave very little time and energy to undertake any welfare activities which may help them to face some permanent bonds with their
followers. Nor do they have enough time to conduct study circles or to educate their members into their respective political ideologies. The question therefore arises is: what is the meaning of their political ideologies? Or, to put it differently, how do these leaders pursue their long-term goals when they are so much preoccupied with the routine trade union activities? In the following section we will try to answer this question.

The Role of Outsiders As the Socializing Agents

It is true that most of these outside leaders do not have much time or the resources to undertake welfare and educational activities which may be in consonance with their long-term goals. But, this does not mean that their ideological and political commitments have weakened. As a matter of fact these commitments constitute the major motive force which keeps them active in the field. For instance, most of them have continued to work for their respective federations despite the heavy odds, such as poor monetary rewards, gravity of their work, disorganized personal and social life and the general passivity of the working class. Secondly, inspite of the environmental pressure on the legalistic approach they have not been reduced to be merely 'labour lawyers'. Instead, even when they choose a professional lawyer, they prefer to have one with the similar ideological/political orientations. What is more important is that the recruitment of the other full-timers, particularly non-prominents, is also generally made from among those persons who share the ideological proclivity of the federation.

Besides, these leaders try to pursue their long-term objectives, namely the spread of their ideology among the workers, in an
astute but not very visible manner. Their ideological pursuits are partly reflected in the way in which they handle the disputes of the workers. For instance, the Mahajan (NLO) leaders, at one extreme, avoid agitations whereas the AITUC leaders, at the other extreme, do not hesitate to follow the agitational approach. But their ideological pursuits are reflected in a more pronounced way in the themes of their talks and discussions with the workers while solving their individual or collective problems, and also in the speeches which they deliver on various occasions. The Mahajan (NLO) leaders for example invariably bring Gandhi's name into their speeches and the values of truth, peace and non-violence preached by him. The INTUC leaders emphasize national development and the progressive policies of the Congress(I) and that of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The BMS leaders use nationalistic sentiments and they appeal in the name of Mother India. In contrast, the BMS, CITU and the AITUC leaders discuss the issues couched in conflict and class terminology. These appeals are clearly visible at the time of emotionally charged atmosphere of struggles when the participation and the involvement of the average worker also reaches a high level.

Further, these outside leaders have been successful enough to create a small cadre of activists from the rank and file. They become members/officers-bearers of the executive committees of their unions. These workers actively participate in the political programmes of the parties with which the federations are associated. They mobilize support for their leaders who contest public elections and also contribute towards their election funds. Significantly some of these workers are recruited to the full-time leadership role also at the federation level.
We noted in the foregoing analysis that the prominent outsiders differ from the non-prominent outsiders in terms of their social background and role obligations. This distinction also reveals a discernible trend of recruitment of the worker-leaders in the full-time trade union leadership. For instance, two prominent and seven non-prominent leaders were formerly worker-leaders who were gradually coopted as the full-timers. Out of these nine recruits three have acquired political leadership also, as they have been elected on important offices in their respective political parties and also have been elected as corporators. Thus, the process of recruitment to political leadership from among the workers via trade union leadership also takes place, though in the form of a trickle.

What is more important is that those who are non-prominents today are likely to become prominetns tomorrow. For instance, the present INTUC prominent was formerly a non-prominent of AITUC and IMS. Similarly one of the two prominetns of IMS was formerly a non-prominent in the same federation. Only the IMS prominent has directly acquired that position from that of merely a worker-leader. Thus, there is a distinct trend of gradual elevation of the worker-leaders generally as the non-prominent full-timers and then slowly and gradually some of them rise to the level of prominence. This is more likely to happen in the case of those workers who are ideologically committed and also have some education, say above the high school level.

Thus, the outside trade union leaders do try to socialize the workers in their respective trade union/political ideologies and recruit the politically committed workers into trade union leadership, even as full-timers. However, the process is quite latent.
Concluding Remarks

The foregoing analysis reveals two significantly distinct but interrelated sub-strata of the outsiders namely the prominents and the non-prominents. According to our working definition we considered the heads of the federations as the prominents and the rest of the full-time outsiders of these federations as the non-prominents. We found that most of the prominents are from high castes, they are older, more experienced, relatively highly educated and politically more eminent as compared to the non-prominents. Apart from these distinguishing social characteristics we noticed a clearly discernible division of work among the prominents and the non-prominents. However, there is no fixed and rigidly defined pattern regarding this kind of role-specialization, as both are jointly involved in most of the activities of the unions affiliated to their federations. For instance, both are mainly concerned with the wage-and-work related problems of the workers. Yet, the prominents are found to be more concerned with the collective problems of this nature whereas the non-prominents pay more attention on the individual problems. Similarly, the former mainly attend to the negotiations with the managements, to settle these problems, while latter mainly look after these problems at the conciliations level. This distinction of the two sub-strata of the outsiders also reveals a clearly discernible trend of recruitment of some of the politically socialized worker-leaders in the full-time trade union leadership initially in most of the cases as the non-prominents and then promoted as the prominents. Some of them in the process acquire even the political leadership.
In view of this it is essential to identify the stratum of the worker-leaders (or the insiders) which comprise the potential full-timers. The following chapter is devoted to this task.