CHAPTER III

TRADE UNIONISM

EMERGENCE OF TRADE UNIONISM IN INDIA:

The process of industrialization has on one hand contributed to the peace and prosperity of nations; on the other hand, created multifarious problems of personal and social adjustment. In the initial stage these problems were not acute and were sought to be tackled by individuals in their private capacity or by small units working as groups, but in course of time, with advancements in the fields of industrialization, these problems became quite pressing and call for conscious, planned and organized efforts for their solution. Earlier, the caste started building up unions. Other old social organizations are also the guild-type, Mahajans or shrenias, which existed in the pre-British society. Some of them still exist and in a city like Ahmedabad they still exercise a certain measure of influence and authority. But essentially they were the organizations of traders and merchants. They laid down rules and regulations of trade, insisted on their observance, and punish those who did not follow them. They were not the organizations of the working

masses and also were not essentially economic as are the trade unions of the present day. The main purpose of guilds was collective security of life and property and freedom of thought, speech and action, and freedom from want and misery. Whatever, their character and their place in the social life of ancient India they did not influence in any way the rise of trade unions. Over the country as a whole they had ceased to exist as living organizations long before the emergence of the factory industry. M.N. Roy in his well-known book, "INDIA IN TRANSITION" commented as follows:

"The craft Industries of India were not gradually replaced by factories. The commercial penetration of India by British capitalism pushed the productive forces backward. Having lost his trade the artisan was forced back to the land. It was only three generations back that industries grew-up in Indian cities. Thus the city workers of modern India did not come out of the ranks of artisans, but comprised mostly of the landless peasants or agricultural labourers. No wonder the majority of wage-earners remained unskilled and loosely for a long period."

Harold Butler, of the ILO, has expressed the same opinion. He also confirms that there is no trace of transition

from the old to the new modern methods of the development of trade-unions. They are voluntary organizations of workers formed to promote and protect their interests by collective action.

Trade Unions are essentially the product of modern large-scale industry. A society which did not have the latter did not have the former, neither was there any need for them. But before the Unions were actually formed there were some earlier attempts though isolated to express the lessening of the rigours of industrial life. These Unions were short lived and ending even sometimes in a couple of days. The strikes formed by them were merely elemental revolts rather than organised actions. As a general rule, they ended in defeat for workers. For employers were very powerful and workers were not yet united and organised. They were ignorant, backward and disorganised. They had no protective organizations which could guide them and help them. When the war broke out and prices soared high and shortages of food and other consumer goods developed, the whole burden of the economic crisis fell upon the unprotected shoulders of


5. In 1877 workers of the EMPRESS MILLS in Nagpur protested a record strike over their wage-rates.
workers. They bore the burden for a time, silently and ungrudgingly. But as it became more and more unbearable, dissatisfaction and resentment developed in their ranks; a protest began to take shape and out of that protest was born the trade union movement which gave voice to their demands and aspirations.

In September 1934 two public meetings of textile workers were organised in Bombay which were better organised and demanded for improvements in laws relating to factories. A petition was adopted at the meeting demanding a weekly holiday, half an hour recess, regular payment of monthly wages and compensation in case of accidents. The petition was signed by 5,000 workers and presented to the president, factory commission, who was appointed to make recommendations regarding the improvements of factories act. This attempt was the land-mark regarding the organised labor movement in India.

Organized Trade Union Movement in India:

The first organization on the lines of a modern trade union formed in India was the Madras Labor Union in the year 1918. It was principally an organization of textile workers employed in Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. This was formed by B.P. Wadia and was assisted by Kalyan-Sundaram Mudaliar, a

famous Tamil writer and also by E.L.Iyer. Scores of trade
Unions were formed after Trade Union Act 1926 was passed.
This act was a break through and Trade Unions were openly
supported from all fields. J.Bapista, S.M.Jhabwala, F.J.
Ginwala and many others were moved by humanitarian philosophy.
J.N.Weheru, Subash Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarojini Naidu and
others were moved by political and N.M.Joshi and others by
moderately political considerations some were inspired by
Gandhian thought and some by communistic ideology.

Trade Union movement during this period was influenced
by number of factors —— class consciousness class solidarity,
industrial unrest aroused by grave economic difficulties
created by war, Russian revolution 1917; establishment of the
ILO 1919 and All INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS 1920 and a compara-
tive shortage of workers owing to the epidemic of influence.

The year 1920 was of crucial importance in the history
of the trade Unions movement. It was the birth of the All
India Trade Union Congress. The first session of the Congress
was held in Bombay in the month of October. The veteran leader,
Lala Lajpat Rai, presided over it. The number of Unions
affiliated to the Congress was 107, out of which 64 Unions

7. Singh, Surendra - Jyotan - Industrial Relations and
Personal Management in India, Lucknow 1977.
had a membership of 1,40,854. This increased to 167 Unions with a membership of 2,23,377 in the year of 1924. There also developed some federations of trade Unions whose number was 3 and with a membership of about 2 lakhs. This Central organization grew in course of time and came to occupy a crucial position in the movement until it was shaken by a split which took place in December 1929 at Nagpur.

Meanwhile Communism came to India through Communist literature. The process began in 1921. M.N.Roy, who then held a high position in the international communist movement had started the publication of his journal, "vanguard and the Masses," copies of this journal were sent to India. They influenced the thinking of a number of left elements in the national movement. The non-cooperation movement of M.K.Gandhi had just swept through the country and had brought into the movement a number of young and eager intellectuals. Some of them were particularly influenced by the Communist literature. Prominent among them were S.A.Dange in Bombay and Muzaffar Ahmed in Calcutta. Some communist activity had also developed in Northern India. The first big attempt of the government to

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8. Source. The Directory of Trade Unions - Published by ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

9. There was a further split in the Trade Union Congress in 1931, resulting in the formation of Red Trade Union Congress. This body, later in 1932, united with the parent organisation.
nip the communist movement in the bud was the Kanpur Communist conspiracy case which was instituted in 1924. Many communist leaders were arrested, convicted and sentenced but that did not stop the growth of communist activity.

Communists work in Trade Unions began round about in 1923. It began in two cities of Bombay and Calcutta. In Bombay, the Communists started a regular drive for capturing and dominating the trade Union movement. The Communist workers were determined, earnest and enthusiastic. They worked day and night together. They organised a number of Unions and revived some old Unions. In 1926 and 1927 they organised a number of strikes, some of which were successful.

The communists did not restrict their activities to Bombay. They were active in Bengal, U.P., Punjab and also Madras. They organised jute workers of Calcutta, who were mostly unorganised and were seething with discontent, provided them a fruitful field for their operations. They also penetrated amongst railway workers in that area.

As a result of these activities of the communists, 1928 was a year of intense industrial unrest. The number of industrial disputes in the year was 203 as against to 128 in 1926 and 129 in 1927. The number of workers involved was 5,66,651 as against 1,66,611 and 1,31,655 of the early two years. The
number of mandays lost rose to the figure of 2,18,47,404, the highest figure on record untill then. These achievements of the communists were applauded in the international journal "the International Press Correspondence" on April 9, 1938.

In 1931-32, a unity platform was formed to void the split occurred in All India Trade Union Congress in 1929 at Nagpur. Though the employers attitude did not change yet the government observed slight change in its attitude towards labor problems. The important legislative measures adopted during this period were the payment of Wages Act 1926, and Dock Labour Employment Act, which though enacted in 1934 was not enforced till 1948. In Bombay, the Bombay conciliation Act 1934, which was replaced subsequently by the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act 1934, which was replaced subsequently by the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act 1938, was enacted. After the 150 years foreign rule India became independent and the national leaders entirely adopted new approach. There was a feeling on the part of nationalist minded trade Union leaders, when they came out of jails, that trade Union movement was in a most unorganised manner and that steps should be taken to recapture the unity. All the four central trade union organizations namely the Indian National Trade Union Congress (founded in May 1947), the All India Trade Union Congress 1930, Hind Mazdoor Sabha (1948) and United Trade Union Congress (which
broke away in December 1948 from AITUC) developed the general objectives namely to promote the economic, political, social and cultural interest of workers. However, they differed on political attitude.

According to Giri, V.V., the present leadership of All India Organization is in the hands of politicians and not in those of working class. This is obviously due to the backwardness of Indian labor. The existence of various political parties having an immediate interest in the working class, at times, for purely political purposes, has resulted in the absence of genuine trade Union leadership. The political color of the trade Unions has been so dominant that at the international level also, the Indian trade Union movement is divided. The Indian National Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha are affiliated to the international confederation of Free Trade Unions, an organization mainly supported by the Anglo-American bloc, while the All India Trade Union


12. Indian Trade Union Congress and Hind Mazdoor Sabha try to achieve its objectives through peaceful, legitimate and democratic methods. The both are wedded to democratic means.

AITUC is dominated by communists and are working to nationalize the means of production, distribution and exchange. They believe that Trade Unions are the organs of class struggle. Their approach is more radical and not as non-violent (Giri, V.V. pp. 50-51).
Congress is affiliated to the world federation of Trade Union, supported by the communist bloc.

TRADE UNIONISM IN KASHMIR

It is very difficult to find a first germ of trade unionism in Kashmir from any written document. Though of material is available about the political situation of the state but industrial sector is particularly ignored. For the first time the labourers were organised under the Mazdoor Sabha in 1937. The period which followed the end of the world war was featured by a number of new and important developments in the entire world. One of the aspects of the war was severe economic depression felt in Kashmir also. The labouring class was hit tremendously. As the prices of the essential commodities rose steeply, there was no corresponding increase in the wages of industrial workers. Many of the workers, especially carpet weavers were thrown out of their jobs. The silk factory was also jolted by the economic depression, as a result of which the Government had to reduce the wages of the Farinahs by 24%. A 10% cut was also effected on the clerical establishment of the factory. Moreover, the labourers were required to do double the work at the reduced rates, they made several

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13. A person who draws silken thread from cocoons.
representations to the authorities requested them to reduce their work load and restore their usual wages. When the economic conditions of the silk factory improved and the government had restored the wages of the clerical staff, nothing was done in the case of the labouring classes who continued to suffer as before.

The Muslim conference (one of the leading political party) was aware of these labour troubles and passed resolution for organizing the labour and for seeking them justice. They appealed to the labourers of the state to organize their own unions and co-operate with Muslim conference as an associate body so that an organized fight could be waged for the removal of their complaints. In its resolution the general council urged upon the party to divert its attention to improve the conditions of labouring class which had been growing from bad to worse. A sub-committee consisting of Kh. G. M. Sadiq, C. M. Bakhshi, Hakim Qurban Ali and Mirza Afzal Beg was formed.

Though Bakhshi Gh. Mohammad took a keen interest in organizing the labour movement, he could not succeed in planning laborers on the path of trade Unionism. The burden of this task fell on the shoulders of a group of intellectually advanced young men inclined towards Socialism. Their mental outlook and political convictions were coloured with Marxian socialism. They discussed socialism and tried to apply it to the conditions prevalent in
Kashmir. The young comrades were in contact with Indian socialists like comrade Bedi, Mrs. Paroda Bedi, Dr. K.M. Ashraf etc. They re-organised various associations, such as the Kashmir Motor Drivers Association, Carpet Weavers Association, Tonga Drivers - Association etc. These organizations were brought under the banner of single organization which came to be known as the Mazdoor Sabha. The Mazdoor Sabha had the following features:

I. It had no concern with religion. Every member was free to profess any Faith in his personal capacity. The members were required to honour and respect the religious sentiments of one another.

II. During the course of discussions on any matter of the Sabha nobody could be criticised on the ground of his belonging to any religion.

III. Every member had to believe that; (a) Every community had in it both good and evil elements, and that the Muslim capitalists were as oppressive for a labourer as a Hindu capitalist (b) That the Mazdoor Sabha was above communalism. Finally all working classes such as factory - workers, coolies on daily wages, artisans, scavengers, barbers, carpenters,

drivers etc., could become its members irrespective of religion, caste and creed. The Mazdoor Sabha played an important role in organizing the workers. It tried to exhibit the strength of workers in performing tasks assigned to them. They launched a battle against the excesses of the authorities of the silk factory on its workers. They presented a memorandum to the government containing various grievances. The memorandum said that the "average income of a labourer was five rupees a month and on it he had to live a life of extreme poverty." The following were the demands contained in the memorandum: (1) To restore cuts in their wages. (2) To furnish the labourers with work for the whole year so that they were saved from hunger and employment. (3) to restore the work load which had been doubled by the Government during the days of economic depression.

Nothing came out of the memorandum; the authorities in return, threaten the workers with a drastic action in case they continued to be the members of Mazdoor Sabha. Consequently, many workers were subjected to harsh treatment. The Silk Factory workers Union, held a big meeting in the premises of the factory and was attended by about three thousand workers. Kh. Gh. Mohammad Sadiq and Prem Nath Baxas made speeches on the

15. Handar (Weekly) Srinagar September 4th 1937, p.57
(The memorial presented by the labourers of silk factory to the government of Kashmir).
occasion. Another rally was held and was attended by about five thousand workers. A one day strike was called by the President of Mazdoor Sabha (C.N.Sadiq) urged on the workers to create among themselves a unity, a feeling of self sacrifices mutual co-operation and a sense of discipline so that entire labour community was benefitted, he urged the need of establishing the labour movement on trade union basis. After these demonstrations a revolutionary cadre had been born among the trade unions. The banners contained new slogans and demands of purely economic character.

After these demonstrations one day, Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg, an elected member of the Legislative Assembly had to introduce a bill regarding restoration of cuts in the wages of the workers of the Government silk factory. In the legislative assembly the bill was passed and the government announced that 1,47,371 rupees and two annas would be distributed among the affected labourers.

Kisan Sabha:

The Kisan Sabha was formed by the leftist forces. They started organizing the peasantry. It was thought that the peasant organizations would be more helpfull in the secularization of politics and conduct of freedom movement on nationalistic

lines. The first meeting of Kisan Sabha was convened at
Hyderpora (Kashmir) under the presidency of Sofi Mbd. Akbar.
The meeting was also addressed by Sardar Budh Singh. The aim
of the Kisan Sabha was to organize the peasants on a common
platform so that they can fight for their demands which
hitherto has been ignored.

Kashmiri workers, like their brethren in British India
provinces could not evolve an organized movement due to govern-
mental ban on the formation of associations. Besides, their
poverty, backwardness and illiteracy were so abysmal that they
just could organize themselves into unions and subscribe to
them.

The leadership did not play effective role in the growth
and development of an organized and institutional labour move-
ment in the state. Though the leadership pleaded the causes
of labourers for the solution of their immediate problems, it
failed to make them realize their potential strength. This
state of affairs continued until 1950. In 1953 Bakhshi Ch.
Mehd. tried to organise workers and framed, "state central
Labour Union, Jaamu and Kashmir." This Union was not having
any definite constitution and no line of action. The funds
were not sufficient to organise trade unions on modern lines.
This economic dependence made trade unions dependant on politici-
ans and it involved itself in political issues rather than
economic issues. These were so to say "Political Unions."
State central labor Union after 1963 framed a constitution and tried to increase the membership fee and collected donations to solve the problems of the labor class collectively. State Central labour Union is only the biggest Union or federation of Jammu and Kashmir claiming its membership exceeding to 25,000. There are many other Central Unions working in the State like INTUC, AITUC and Hind Mazdoor Sabha. These Central Unions influence other unions to meet at some odd situations. It is evident, however, that Indian trade Union movement has a direct influence on trade Unions of Kashmir.

At present there are many unions working in Srinagar and Gulmarg but the following are selected for the purposes of present study:

17. The present study involves the trade unions of Srinagar and Gulmarg only. The unions at these places are either working independently or with other federations like State Central Labor Union, AITUC, INTUC or Hind Mazdoor Sabha.
## Table 1

**List of Trade Unions, Workers Working and Trade Union Membership (Selected for Study) — Srinagar and Gulkarg.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the Trade Union</th>
<th>Workers Working</th>
<th>Trade Union Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Industrial Telephone Industry Employees Union (Srinagar)</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>HMF Employees Union (Srinagar)</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Masoor Cooperation Press Workers Union (Srinagar)</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>All Kashmir Beechkar Anjuman Workers Union (Srinagar)</td>
<td>2360</td>
<td>1217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Industrial Estates Union Barzula Bagh</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Gang Labor Union, Gulkarg.</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td>1073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Markaband Union, Gulkarg.</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1031</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 10,286 | 5,073 |

The Table 1 is framed from the statement of the list of Registered factories in Jammu and Kashmir state (Country Labor Commissioner's Office). The trade union names, workers working and membership in the Unions are often changed.
2. **Structure of Trade Union**

In Srinagar and Gulmarg the pattern of trade union organization is of small unit-wise unions loosely federated at the area or state level. In the initial stage the organization at plant level unions and general unions interested in the well being of the general mass of workers was inevitable as most of the workers were manual, having similar types of needs and skills. During industrialization process the establishments of multiple units of different unions at one industrial centre, and this led to the realization of desirability of organizing industry-cum-area-wise unions at a given centre in order to tackle the common problems of the industry in a more organized and effective manner. These industrial unions are referred to as the verticle unions in that they include all workers in a particular industry regardless of their occupation or trade. There are also horizontal unions as they cut across many plants and industries.

Thus in Kashmir a trade Union is developed on the basis of plant or industry. The industrial Unions have been organized as Centre-cum-industry unions and industry wise national unions. The organizational structure of the Trade Unions in Kashmir - Srinagar and Gulmarg can be studied at three levels:
(1) At the local level exist the plant unions. Some of them function as independent unions (IU) having no formal relations with any other federation. There are almost maximum number of unions which are having formal links with the federation.

(2) State federations exist at the state level. They may function either as a branch of a national federation like INTUC and AITUC etc., or as an independent federation as state central labor union.

(3) At state-level the national federations are functioning dependently on the national federations. Most prominent state federations are functioning normally under the patronage of political parties such as INTUC affiliated to congress party, AITUC affiliated to communist party of India. But state central labour Union is at present patronized by the state government.

3. GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONISM IN KASHMIR:

The mushroom growth of trade unions started vigorously from 1970, for the purpose of defending and advancing workers

18. The state branches of INTUC or AITUC function as link between the apex body (National level) and local units.

19. Before 1970 it is difficult to trace trade unions number and Trade Union membership. This statement is confirmed also in 'Labor Problems in Indian Industry by Giri, V.V. 1970 (Rev. edition) Table 3 pp. 33-66.'
collective interests either mutually or in relation to outside parties, such as employers, government and other trade unions. In principle, unions of employers, peasants or any class or classes is formed but here this study is concerned with the "Trade Unions of workers only." Such trade unions have increased enormously both in numbers and membership. According to the Report of Labor Department 1970, there are 430 trade Unions, having membership of 48,953 in Jammu and Kashmir state. However, unfortunately there is no such yearly report available before 1972 but after 1972 the number of Trade Unions increased and decreased again in the year 1973-74 from 210 to 180. In the year of 1975-76 it increased only by 10 more unions. But from 1975 onwards the trade unions resumed their growth.

20. According to Indian Trade Union Act 1926, a trade Union is defined as under:

"Trade Union" means any combination whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, and includes any federation of two or more Trade Unions."

I believe that the definition of the 1926 Act has some deficiency. The Act has not restrict the functions of the Trade Unions which has developed an abnormal growth in Trade Union system of India. The new definition as under is submitted for suggestion. "Trade Unions is any combination whether temporarily or permanent formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or between workmen and workmen or

Contd....
TABLE 2
SHOWING NO. OF REGISTERED TRADE UnIONS
SHINAGAR AND GULMARG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>NO. OF REGISTERED TRADE UNION</th>
<th>MEMBERSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>5321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>2640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>3315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>6311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE: SOURCE - FIELD SURVEY REPORT

(Footnote continued from the previous page)

between employers and employers to maintain economic, managerial and administrative interests."

21. "Worker" is understood to include all employees who do not perform supervisory functions. In this thesis the study is limited to "Immigrant Mazoors"—those who are working manually and are migrants by nature.

22. Migrant Mazoors sometimes form their own unions and participate in the trade union activities of other unions as its regular members.
The reason for its rise in 1973-74 and fall in 1974-75 is that the state government for the first time established the labor department as an independent department and started publishing labor welfare attitudes. Labor Union leaders rushed to the Labor Commissioner’s office to register their Unions in expectation of some immediate benefits. Afterwards, the acceleration slowed down and Trade Union leaders hardly bothered to register their trade Unions. But in 1975-76 and onwards a steady rise is observed in the number of registered trade Unions.

During the year 1976-77 large number of units and small scale industries were established and this significant increase in the establishment of industries developed an apparent increase in the Trade Union registration. The number of Unions submitting returns has thoroughly increased by 70% during 1975-77 as compared to the early years. This shows a direction in which unionism is expanding.

4. REGISTRATION OF TRADE UnIONS:

Any seven or more members of a trade union may be submitting their names through an application to the labor commissioner and also a copy of rules and a statement of the

23. Actually Registrar Trade Unions is entitled to register a Union but in Kashmir (Srinagar and Gulmarg) the Trade Union is registered Under Labor Commissioner (Annual Administrative Report 1977-78).
following particulars, namely:

a. The names, occupations and addresses of the members making an application.

b. The name of the trade union and address of its head office.

c. Titles, names, ages, addresses and occupations of the office bearers of the trade union.

5. FEE FOR REGISTRATION:

The fee payable for the registration of a trade Union where objects are not confined to one state shall be Rs. 5/-.

Under Bombay Trade Union regulations 1927, the fee payable on Registration of the trade Union is Rs. 5/- for a trade Union with a membership of 1,000 or over, Rs. 2/- for a trade Union with a membership of less than 1,000.

6. TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP:

Usually the workers working in any industry join the trade Union which is functioning in that particular industry as usual members. The membership fees changes from Union to Union. Some of the Unions charge 10 WP, (P.M.) while some charges Rs. 1/- P.M. The incoming members has to apply for
the membership without any age limit. He is considered the trade Union member provided he may mention to abide by the rules and regulations set by the Union. If the member fails to abide by the rules and disciplines, his membership is cancelled or when the Union fails to benefit the member, he withdraws his membership.

7. APPOINTMENT OF OFFICE BEARERS:

In all the registered trade Unions the office bearers are elected through "hands-up process." If need arises, the secret ballot is also used. The office holders is President, Vice-President, Secretary, Asstt. Secretary and Cashier. However, the state central labor Union is having three Vice-Presidents; one Senior and two Juniors representing two provinces i.e. (1) Jammu and (2) the Kashmir. They are also having one publicity secretary and a chief organizer in its working committee. The elections for the posts are held annually as the working committee declares earlier its election day and time. It also declares the names of the election officers. Every worker who is the member of the Union is entitled to caste his vote —— as earlier mentioned the hands up process is in practice.

24. According to Section 21, Trade Union Act 1926, provides that a person who has attained the age of 15 years may be a member of a registered trade Union.
Trade Union multiplicity has developed a larger surface area for migrant masses to join Unions. Present trends show that migrant masses vigorously join trade Unions. Not only new workers are being enlisted but in modernized sector of industries the degree of Unionization is overwhelming. The table 2 shows that there is an upgrading trend of Unionization from 1974-1978. In 1973-74 the degree of Unionization is 56.4% while in 1974-75, the degree of Unionization is 18.4% slowly only, which increases up to 46.4% in the year of 1977-78.

25. Unionization is calculated as the ratio of Union membership to average strength of workers and expressed in Percentage.

\[ \frac{U}{S} \times 100 = DU \]
# TABLE 3

## DEGREE OF UNIONIZATION (SRINAGAR & GULMARG)

| Year | Union Membership as by Subscription (U) | Strength of Workers (E) | Degree of Unionization IL X 100 = DU (%)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>5321</td>
<td>9420</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>10,300</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>3540</td>
<td>10,970</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>3815</td>
<td>12,344</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>6311</td>
<td>13,632</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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## TABLE 2: FIELD SURVEY REPORT (SOURCES)

### 10. MIGRANT MAZDOORS PARTICIPATION IN TRADE UNIONS:

There have been very few attempts to study workers participation in trade Unions. Most of the available literature on the subject deals with the history of trade Unions and the influence of politics on trade Unions (reference to Indian trade Unionism except Kashmir). Recently, B.R. Sharm

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found that satisfied workers participate more actively in Union programmes than dis-satisfied ones. However, Sinha & Sharma showed that workers with an unfavourable attitude towards Union had a fairly high level of satisfaction from their jobs. Similarly, Prabhakar Singh showed that Pre-Union groups of workers were more dis-satisfied with wages and other financial benefits and working conditions. N.R. Sheth in his study of a large textile mill in Northern India concluded that workers tended to be different in the initial period of their career. As they mature with age and experience, they develop a bond with the union and towards the last years of their services they again start withdrawing from it. Click and others found that job tenure and organizational involvement were also associated with members willingness to participate in the union activities. These studies led to hypothesize that each of the variables - education, age, length of services, wage satisfaction is positively or negatively related to Union participation. However, this procedure is adopted in this study to see the relationship between the Union participation and the other variables among immigrant mazoores of Srinagar and Gulmarg.

1. EDUCATION:

It is assumed that there is no association between education and Trade Union participation of immigrant mazoores
of Kashmir, the data collected during the field survey reveals that the calculated value of $x^2$ is greater than tabulated value (Table 4). So it is highly significant and null hypothesis (Ho) is rejected and there is an association between the two variables.

(2) **Marital Status:**

It is hypothesised that marital status and Trade Union participation of immigrant workers have no association with each other. The present study confirms that the null hypothesis is rejected and there is a relationship between the two variables.

Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>CHI-Square Value</th>
<th>Degree of Freedom</th>
<th>Value of $x^2$ at 5% Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>56.0*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.841*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Length of Service</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Wage-Satisfaction</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.847</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at 5% Level.

(3) **LENGTH OF SERVICES:**

It was tested whether length of services do have any association with trade union participation. It was assumed that there is an association between the two variables. The data in table (4) confirms the hypothesis.

(4) **AGE:**

According to N.R. Sheth the age of the respondents and trade union participation are significantly associated. On the basis of above data it is clear that the age of the respondents is significantly associated with trade union participation. Hence the hypothesis is accepted (Table 4).

(5) **WAGE-SATISFACTION:**

It was presumed that wage-satisfaction is not in relation to trade union participation. The table 4 shows that the hypothesis is rejected and there is a relationship between the two variables.

11. **FACTORS RESPONSIBLE TO JOIN THE TRADE UNIONS:**

To find out why workers join the trade unions in the industries of Srinagar and Culmang, some reasons were asked to the respondents and were asked to choose three of them in order of importance or preference. The reasons which ranked first in both the places were "to get raise in wages" (Please See
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Srinagar (N=200)</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Gulmarg (N=200)</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Get raise in wages.</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Get Bonus</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Safeguard</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Get help during strikes</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Welfare facilities</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Strength in Unity</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Solve Ind. Problems</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5) "Get bonus" is of IIInd rank at both places. The respondents in Srinagar give 3rd preference to 'Solve Individual problems' while in Gulmarg the respondents choose 'For Safeguard.' In Srinagar the respondents give fourth preference.
to "Strength in Unity" while the respondents in Gulmarg give 4th importance to "Welfare facilities."

In Srinagar the respondents give 5th rank in order of preference to "Get help during strikes" while the respondents in Gulmarg give the same rank to "Solve individual problems."

In Srinagar the respondents give 6th rank in order of preference to 'Safeguard' while in Gulmarg the same rank is given to "Get help during strikes."

7th rank in order of preference is given to "welfare facilities" in Srinagar and to "Strength in Unity" in Gulmarg.

Spearman’s rank correlation is applied between the rank orders of two places. It is found that the derived calculated value comes to + 0.43. This clarifies that there is a positive (tive) correlation between the workers of two places so far as reasons given to them for their preference are concerned.

12. TRADE-UNIONS AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS:

Indian trade Unions are in one way or the other close to political parties. In Kashmir also the leaders who founded and nurtured the trade union movement has a significant influence on trade unions. During Dogra rule in Kashmir the industries like carpets, silk and others were owned by the Maharaja of Kashmir. Exploitation of the workers was to the extent that
no definite legislation or laws were made or enforced to uplift the working class. This is the reason which added to the late consciousness of trade Unionism amongst the workers of Kashmir. It was Maharaja's discretion to bestow some tips on his family ceremonies or on religious occasions in the form of Bonus. There was hardly any possibility to cry against the atrocities imposed on the working class. Maharaja later developed political rivalry in his domain when nationalists took the guiding force from Indian nationalist leaders which gave them a lead to emancipate the working class. Political leaders also got a helping attitude from the working class in their political arena (for which almost all political leaders of India jump into the trade Unions).

In Kashmir almost all prominent Trade Unions are having definite links with political parties. Some are supported by Congress while some by communists but state central labor Union of Jammu and Kashmir is linked to the state government at this time. While talking to the President of one of the Unions he affirmed that all trade Unions should truck with the ruling party if trade Union leaders are optimistic about its progress. To some extent the president believes correctly as the trade unionism of Kashmir are in its sapling and it needs a political care and support.
13. LAWS RELATING TO TRADE UNIONS:

Registration is not necessary but it gives a legal status to the Union. On registration the trade Union becomes a corporate body, having a perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to acquire and hold movable and immovable property and to contract. It can sue and can be sued by its name. The Act gives immunity to a registered Union from criminal liability in respect of any agreement for the purpose of furthering any of the objects specific in the Act. The comparatively recent Trade Union Act is of 1926. It was only in 1926, that for the first time, the necessity of granting legal status to trade unions and protection to their members and executives against criminal and civil suits.

While the Act confers the rights on a registered trade Union, it also imposes certain obligations and restrictions on it. Minimum membership subscription must be paid per month. It must not spend its funds on objects other than the trade Union purposes as specified in the Act. It permits a trade Union, if so desires, to maintain a separate political fund. It must maintain records and proper accounts which must be open for inspection to members and must be duly audited.
While the Act provides for the registration of trade Union complying with various specified requirements, it imposes no obligation on employers to recognise and deal with such registered Unions. The Royal commission on Labor in India pleaded for the recognition of Unions by employers both in letter and in spirit. But throughout the thirties the question of recognition proved to be a recurring cause of friction between employers and organised labor. The Indian Trade Union (Amendment) Act, of 1947 provided for compulsory recognition by employers of "representative trade Unions."

14. **INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES:**

During the year of 1977-78, only 78 cases were reviewed, out of which the conciliation officers and the labor courts together settled 2 63 cases and 3 cases were referred to the state government for adjudication.

The industrial disputes Act provides machinery for the settlement of the Industrial disputes. This machinery consists of conciliation officers and the labor courts. This machinery is to resolve disputes between workers and the management speedily so that lengthy process of adjudication and protracted process of litigation is avoided.

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33. The Central laws were extended to the state (Jammu and Kashmir) in the year 1971 as a result of Central labor laws (Extension to Jammu and Kashmir) Act, 1970 (No.51 of 1970), reproduced as Annexure 'A'.

WORK STOPAGES (STRIKE LOCKOUT)

In Srinagar and Gulmarg there is no frequent process of work stoppages. May be because of the present popular government or because of any unseen reason. However, according to the records, only 2 cases of work stoppages involving 339 employees were reported as compared to 2 cases involving 1339 employees in the year 1976. As far lockout is concerned 5 cases are reported during 1976-77 involving 1336 employees but most significant reason reported for the lockout was break down of electricity.

15. DEFICIENCIES OF TRADE UNIONISM IN KASHMIR

Trade Unionism in Kashmir faces much more hurdles in attaining the true spirit of Unionism. In other parts or states of India trade Unionism crept into the crevices of social order through compromise or negotiations and also through confrontations and contradictions. This unique tactics really proved helpful in reaching trade Unionism towards stabilization. Consistent struggle and strong leadership owed a lot to the labor class but the trade Unionism in Kashmir though picked up from the Central Trade Unions yet the local leadership lack a lot to give a bright future to the trade Unionism of Kashmir.

29. The report is reviewed from Union records (Field Under Study).
Field study shows that migrant laborers and other workers are having a great affinity to join trade unions but how to organise them and how to come to the expectations of the working class still raises in the minds of union leaders? However, in addition, the trade unions of Kashmir is having the following deficiencies which hurdles in its progress:

1. **Illiteracy**: Generally workers and particularly migrant workers of Kashmir usually fail to understand the implications of the modern trade unionism. Their ignorance and indifference account for the dominance of outsiders who exploit them for their own ends. The workers lack the vision and the enlightened outlook which proves a significant hurdle in the evolution of trade unions on healthy lines.

2. **Migratory Character**: Healthy trade unionism needs a stable industrial population and migrants also need a stability to take vigorous part in trade union activity. Housing facilities, other conditions of services and extension of social security benefits, a large number of migrant workers may like to settle down in industrial areas.

3. **Meagre Funds**: Funds at the disposal of trade unions are limited. Hence they can not have full time officials to undertake the work of organisation or negotiations, nor they can provide adequate relief to their members, or undertake social welfare schemes.
4. Small size of Trade Unions: During recent years, trade unions of smaller size have been increasing fast in Jammu and Kashmir state. Many scholars do not understand it a healthy sign but it is observed in the field under study (Srinagar and Gulmarg) that trade union multiplicity increases the surface area of trade unions which helps it to come close to the workers. This small union system also develops a discipline and increases man-to-man rapport which is beneficial for the healthy growth of trade unionism. However, these small unit unions should link with grand trade unions so as to influence government and employers collectively.

5. Outside Leadership: Trade Union in Kashmir lack self-reliance because there leaders are usually in the hands of the outsiders whose interests are not always identical with those of the workers. These leaders are mostly professional persons like lawyers, social and political leaders. Often they do not possess any technical knowledge of the industry concerned. They even fail to have a sympathetic insight into labor problems. Many a times they are connected with a number of unions because they need their own face and publicity. And thus sometimes find themselves unable to give proper attention to the work of the Unions. Further, the philanthropic nature (if even they have) of their work weakens their sense of responsibility.
15. SUGGESTIONS FOR HEALTHY GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONISM

It can hardly be over stressed that the interest of employees can be best protected by the creation of a trade union having a bargaining power equal to that possessed by the management. A strong trade union movement is essentially both to safeguard the interests of labor and to help in achieving the targets of production. In the absence of a strong and united trade union movement in India, the industrial structure to be built on the full fledged socialist democracy would not have firm foundations. Under developed countries aiming at democracy have two reasons for developing powerful trade unions. They are needed to construct a system of collective bargaining which will protect the rights and interests of workers, and they are required to help to stabilize political democracy. Except a few powerful organizations which have developed traditions and kept the movement from falling into disrepute. Following are the suggestions advanced to purify the movement of its ills in Kashmir:


1. **One Union in one Industry:** The ideal of one union in one industry should be achieved. Multiplicity of unions in the industrial set-up leads to inter-Union rivalries which cut at the root of the movement. The existence of many unions in one industry weakens the powers for collective bargaining and reduces the effectiveness of workers in securing their legitimate rights. Mutual understanding between the organization of employers and workers would be greatly facilitated if the principal of "one Union in one Industry" is fully implemented and adhered to in practice. Addressing the 16th Indian Labor Conference in May 1938, the Union Labor Minister emphasized that the concept of "one Union in one industry" could not be achieved unless trade unions were divorced from party politics. (S.C. Kuchal - p. 520).

2. **Removal of Inter-Union Rivalries:** In May 1938, an informal meeting of representatives of the four Central union organizations (I.N.T.U.C., A.I.T.U.C., R.M.S. and U.T.U.C.), was convened by the Union labor minister to formulate a common code of conduct with a view of resolving inter-union rivalries so that a healthy trade union movement might grow in the country. The basic principles of the code are:

1. Every employee in an industry or unit will have the freedom and right to join the union of his choice. No coercion will be exercised in this matter.
IIInd. There will be no dual membership of Unions.

IIIrd. There will be no unreserved acceptance of and respect for democratic functioning of trade unions.

IVth. There will be regular and democratic elections of executive bodies and office bearers of trade unions.

Vth. Ignorance and backwardness of the workers will not be exploited by any organization. No organization will make excessive or extravagant demands.

VIth. Casteism, communalism and regionalism will be eschewed by all unions.

3. Training of Trade Union Workers:— With the phenomenal growth of Trade Unionism in modern Industrial society, the responsibilities of trade union workers have increased manifold in all directions. Trade Unions must be led by workers who have intimate knowledge of their particular industry, economic forces at work, finance, law, business principles and psychology. They must possess calibre and mental equipment equal to those of the employer sitting opposite to them at the bargaining table. To encourage working class leadership, it is necessary to provide facilities for the training of the trade union workers. Labor colleges on the lines of the Ruskin College, at Oxford may be suggested in this direction. It is welcoming that Government of India has recently established a trade union college at Calcutta. This would help in giving a proper understanding of industrial organization and their own role in such an organization.
**Table 4-a**

**Education and Union Participation**

*Trade-Union Participation N = 400*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Low</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Medium</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. High</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**

|       | 100 | 120  | 172  | 400   |         |

$x^2 = 56.0$

Source: FSR

**Table 4-b**

**Marital Status and Union Participation**

*Trade-Union Participation N = 400*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$x^2 = 8.1$

Source: FSR
### TABLE 4-c

#### TRADE-UNION PARTICIPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of services in years</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>Observed frequencies are not shown in the table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 25</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>FSR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 55.3 \]

### TABLE 4-d

#### TRADE-UNION PARTICIPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in years</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Observed frequencies are not shown in the table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>228</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 43.7 \]

\*Source: FSR*
WAGE SATISFACTION AND TRADE UNION PARTICIPATION

TABLE 4-6

UNION - PARTICIPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wage Satisfaction</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfactory</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>Observed frequencies are not shown in the table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not satisfactory</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 39.7 \]

Source: FSR