CHAPTER - 2

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

2.1. EARLY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN AND U.S.A.:

Trade Union Movement in Britain:

Trade unions are closely connected with the capitalist system of production, and a review of the trade union movement in Britain and America is necessary. Great Britain was one of the leading industrially developed countries in the world. The growth of British trade union was closely connected with industrial revolution of 18th and 19th centuries.

The Industrial Revolution in U.K. (1760-1800) ushered in technological development. Due to introduction of labour saving machinery many skilled workers became unemployed. These workers formed their own combinations of trade clubs, which brought together men in particular crafts. These clubs could claim to be the first unions with membership entirely of skilled workers. These early trade unions came into conflict with the government and the judiciary. They were regarded as a threat to the government. At that time the country was at war with France. The need of the hour was higher and higher productivity. The Combination Laws of 1799-1800 prohibited the formation of combinations of workers in order to avoid hindrance to production.
"Minister of the crown in most cases knew very little about the lives or feelings of manual workers. Any sign of organisation among them, were frequently regarded with suspicion and as being potentially criminal and even seditious. This was in fact, the main reason for the passing of the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 during the crisis of the war with revolutionary France" (Henry Pelling, 1963, p.324).

When the government repealed the Combination Laws later, trade unions acquired legal acceptance. Later on the T.U. Congress was formed in 1868. In the last period of 19th century, unskilled workers also formed trade unions and thus it strengthened the British Trade Union movement. In 1893, Independent Labour Party was formed, ultimately it was renamed and restructured as British Labour Party.

The 'Party' formed the Labour Government in 1924. So, trade union in U.K. played an important role in the second world war.

Thus in U.K., T.U.s emerged as a political pressure group.

Like any organisation within a free society a union has the right to persuade government to follow policies, beneficial to the union members. While the Labour Party was in power, the union movement was accepted by them as an avenue for political and social advancement. With time, the relationship of T.U.s in U.K. and British Labour Party developed gradually and the
relation became more strong in 80s. "In Britain in 1980s, the unions political relationship with a political party has become deeper and more fundamental as unions have a legalised voice in the control of the Labour Party" (Appleton, 1982, p.85).


A trade union was an agency involved in the system of collective bargaining which regulated the level of wages, methods of employment and the conditions of work within the work environment. A union strove to lessen the impact of the following on its members -

(a) the power of market forces

and (b) the arbitrariness of management decisions.

General aims of T.U. in U.K. were:

(a) to improve the economic and social condition by:

(1) improving pay and working conditions;

(2) raising the level of job security by influencing the demand for labour;

(3) reducing the hours of work to give more leisure;

(4) helping to increase share of wages in the National Income.

(b) to foster the organisational growth of union by:

(1) increasing its size and improving its working efficiency;
(2) working to enhance the power and status of the union in society at large;

To achieve these aims, a union has to work in several fields of activity. (Appleton, 1982, p.85).

(a) together with employer, they operate a price fixing mechanism for labour which tries to distance itself from the pure economic forces of supply and demand;

(b) they construct a framework to facilitate the day to day working relationship of management and men;

(c) unions are a political pressure group:

Trade Unionism in the U.S.A.:

The American T.U. movement developed on lines parallel to the British Trade union movement. There were also some dissimilarities between the two countries because of differences in economic and political conditions. The economic conditions of the working class were developed through collective bargaining process. "Off and on throughout American history, working class leaders have experimented with a type of organisation which served the union purpose of bargaining with employers and which also functioned in election years as a political party" (Hopkins, 1948, p.147).

The history of American T.U. movement goes back to 1778, when the journeymen printers in New York combined themselves to demand increased wages. The first Craft Union was formed in
Philadelphia organised by Shoemakers in 1792. The name of that union was Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers. In 1806, members of the union were charged and found guilty of disrupting production and ultimately fined. Bankruptcy resulted, and it collapsed. In 1827, the first central type American labour organisation was formed when Philadelphia unions gathered under a single banner to fight for a ten-hour day. In 1828, they demanded free public education, abolition of imprisonment for debts, lien laws and other reforms, best accomplished through political action (UAW, p. 4).

With the beginning of Industrial Revolution the "merchant capitalist" developed but employees were not happy. The long hours of work, exploitation of workers, use of child labour and virtual wage slavery for thousands, created intense dissatisfaction for labouring people.

The Industrial Revolution strengthened unionism and trade unionism was established. "The transformation of economic enterprise that began after the revolution was the major cause for the development of labour's most significant institution - "permanent" trade union. The most notable labour combination established during the revolution were those of the printers, employed by James Rikington of the Royal Gazette of New York. They went on strike in 1778. The Philadelphia Seamen also went on strike in 1779. Both unions were temporary. During the confederation period, New York Cordwainer and Philadelphia Seamen also established organisations and went on strike for higher wages.
But there was no effort to make the strike organisation permanent (Rayback, 1963, p.54).

Trade unions, along with their struggle for a ten hour day, added the need for education. They demanded equal universal education. The depression of 1837 had made workers compete against each other for job and no union was able to withstand such competition. "The Communist Party of the U.S.A. played a big role in maintaining the militant traditions of the labour movement, in the spread and revival of traditions, and in the struggle for social progress. It is a known fact that the communists did more than anyone else for the creation of an organised movement of the unemployed" (I.M. Krasnov, p.506).

The Communist Party also strengthened the working class of the U.S.A. against fascist and monopolist movements. On this matter, William Z. Foster comments "The communists helped the working class to get its bearings and, correctly appraising the situation at home and abroad, strengthened its sense of class solidarity and were most active in the anti-fascist and anti-monopoly movement of the American Working people" (I.M. Krasnov, p.509).

Michael Bakunin, expelled from the communist party, formed the "Black International", on May 3, 1886. Strikers and strike breakers at the McCormick Harvester Company fought a battle, Police opened fire on the Crowd in Chicago-Hay market (UAW, p.11). The year 1886 was a very significant year for the
working class movement in the U.S.A. In that year the American Federation of Labour was formed at a convention in Columbus. Samuel Gompers, a cigar maker, impressed by Karl Mark's scientific socialism decided to get rid of evil effects of the then social and economic system to form trade union made up of ordinary workers, who wanted food on the table and security of job.

In 1903, the Locwe HAT company, Danbury Connecticut, sued its employees for $2, 40,000 in treble damages under the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The property of the workers were attached. AFL spent $1,00,000 on legal fees but the union lost (UAW, p.13). This proved how a law could wreck the most effective economic action.

In 1895, Lake Seamen's union was formed. Seamen's Act of 1915 was passed which is known as the Magna Charta of the Sea." (UAW, p.13).

Labour in the U.S.A. played an important role in the political sphere that helped to establish political democracy and capitalism. In the midst of the CIO drive for organisations of the mass producing industries, the presidential election of 1936, occurred, an election in which labour was destined to play an important role. It was inevitable that labour would become politically active during the New Deal period. Labour in general had recognised quite early that the New Deal was trying to solve a political and economic crisis in a way that would preserve both political democracy and capitalism and at the same time would
spread the benefits of the nation's economic system over the entire population (Rayback, p.356).

AFL and CIO merged in 1955. The merger of AFL and CIO gave power to isolated workers. They forced corporations to discuss matters in the collective bargaining machinery where worker representative played an important role.

From now on they were concerned with the security of their employment, the recognition of the worker as an individual, appreciation for work well done, health and fringe benefits, sympathetic support in personal problems, and occasional participation. The new humanism increasingly based on a recognition of social imperatives and "collective action" became a method of progression. Socially responsible unions would replace the old job conscious unions more and more.

The labour movement in America put main emphasis on three basic human needs:

1. The need for security and work cohesion as represented by the craft guilds,

2. The need for dignity secured through freedom. This was represented by mankind's spirit of revolt against oppression,

3. The need for social unity, brotherhood and solidarity.
American labour movement, as seen from its evolution, was a dynamic one. It started its life against opposition from employers and government. Employers kept paid groups to break trade unions. At that time, the functions of the trade unions were to fight with trade union breakers and also to get concessions from employers. They had to pass through a period of great sacrifice. Again government was against the workers' efforts to combine. During this period trade unions were treated as 'law breakers'.

T.U.s had to prove that they were not law breakers but mere organisations to support helpless workers to get their legitimate dues. They were demanding increase of wages, reduction of long hours of work, abolition of imprisonment for debts, demand for food, security of jobs and employment etc. These they demanded normally through protests, strikes, demonstrations against various odds. Gradually T.U.s in America could get many benefits of the above kind from employers and government. Government and employers accepted T.U.s in due course. Their normal functions were to serve the interests of workers. Thus a legitimate base for unionisation was established. Gradually, their position improved and they became partners with employers to solve various mutual labour problems. From this the collective bargain machinery developed. T.U.s used this machinery for the development of the workers.

Their attention was gradually drawn to social aspects of the workers. They introduced free public education, equal
universal education. They looked into the problems of women la-
bour etc., "The influx of women into industry produced a varied
reaction from male labour. The natural tendency was to regard
women solely as competitors. Accordingly men deplored, condemned
and bitterly opposed their use by employers. This attitude re-
mained dominant in the labour world in the post war era. It was
one of the reasons for the appearance of separate union of women
although they worked side by side with men. Many working men,
however, recognized that women were to stay in industry. They
argued that the logical answer to the problem was to organise
women and secure for them the same wage and hours as men. It was
this element which aided working women on strike and helped women
set up their own organizations in trades" (Rayback, p.121).
2.2. INDIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

2.2.1. Early growth of labour movement (1875-1890):

The genesis of the labour movement may be traced to the very earliest times, when the caste panchayats in every village and hamlet settled disputes between the workers and their employers. "If the washerwomen or any other class of artisans, felt aggrieved against their masters with respect to wages and conditions of service, the caste Panchayat decided the course of action for the redressal of their grievances by representation, in the first instance, and later, if it became necessary by direct action which lay in a mere refusal to work for a particular employer or master. Success or failure of their effort naturally depended on the justness of the demands and the sanction behind them" (V.V. Giri, 1955, p.2).

Modern industrialisation in India commenced in the years 1851-60. It created labour problems. The British Government in India adopted some crude legislation for the interest of employers rather than of labour. These acts were 'Apprentice Act' (1853), 'Fatal Accidents Act' (1853), 'W&rkmen Dispute Act' (1860). The First Bombay Factories Commission was appointed in March, 1875, for the investigation of factory conditions. But this Commission failed to regulate female labour and had inadequate provisions regarding child workers. The period between
1881 to 1890, was a landmark in the history of labour movement as the second Bombay Factory Commission (1889) was set up during the period. "Shri N.M. Lokhanday, who can be called the first labour leader in India organised the 1884 meeting and got a memorandum signed by 5500 workers for submission to the second factory commission" (Punekar, Deodhar and Shankaran, 1984, p.207).

The memorandum demanded the following, (a) one complete day of rest on Saturdays, (b) half an hour recess at noon, (c) payment of wages within a specified time, (d) compensation in the case of workers' injury or accidents, (e) work commencement time at 6.30 a.m. and stopping at sun set, (f) a workmen sustaining serious injuries while at work at the Mill, which might disable him temporarily, should receive full wages until recovery.

2.2.2. Labour movement (1890-1918):

The second phase of the labour movement was very significant due to establishment of some associations such as Bombay Mill Hands Association (1890), Kamagar Hitwardhak Sabha (1909), Printers' Union, Calcutta (1905), Social Service League, Bombay (1910), the Amalgamated society of Railway Servants of India and Burma (1897). Most of the leaders of these organisations were social reformers. These were loose labour associations, and were not true trade unions. "The labour associations were merely friendly societies and should not be
mistaken as trade unions. Before the growth of active trade unionism in any country, Mutual Aid and Fraternal Societies developed among the workers, in the same trade, to assist them in case of death, sickness or the like" (Punekar, 1948, p.62).

These labour associations were purely social and economic but never political in character. "The labour movement, at this stage, was engaged chiefly in agitations for factory legislation, legal and medical help, improvement in industrial conditions, literacy and redress of individual complaints" (Punekar, 1948, p.63). Till 1918, labour movement relied mainly on moderate methods, such as investigation, memorandum, petition, legal enactments, committees and commissions. Such a labour movement, was moderate in character and reluctant to face employers directly. These labour associations highlighted labour problems. However, they paved the way for the birth of a mature Indian trade union movement.

2.2.3. **Birth of Indian T.U. Movement (1918-1922):**

The First World War gave a new turn to the Indian labour movement. Three major events gave a tremendous boost to this labour movement - the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the establishment of a workers' state, the formation of the ILO in 1919, which legitimised a large member of worker demands and Gandhiji's active involvement with textile labour in Ahmedabad. The two or three years following the war, saw the formation of a
large number of labour organisations—strike committees, welfare associations and the like. During the war, prices and profits went up, whereas wages lagged behind. So the workers placed their demand for increasing wages and ultimately called strikes in the factories. Most of the strikes were successful, because employers found it more profitable to concede the demands than lose all profits by closing the concerns. This success paved the way for the birth and growth of trade unionism.

2.2.4. Left Wing Unionism (1922-1934):

From the early stages of Indian trade unionism, communists with inspiration from the Red International of labour unions, Moscow, took active interest in trade unions. The All India Trade Union Congress was established by 64 unions in 1920. This ushered in the influence of communists in the T.U. movement in India. "The period of 1928-31, saw the growth of communism to its zenith, when extremist ideas pervaded almost all the industrial centres in India" (Punekar, 1948, p.93).

"The period 1928-30 is notable for intense industrial unrest within the ranks of Indian labour. The two Bombay Textile general strikes, the Bengal Jute Mill 'General Strike' and the G.I.P. Railway Strike were some of the most important disputes waged under communist leadership, though the primary causes were rather economic" (Punekar, 1948, p.94).
During 1930-34, there were splits among trade unions, "communists, who twice split the AITUC and started their own Red TUC; the Radicals who were also politically motivated, twice reconstructed the AITUC; the liberals, who valued the economic and industrial character of trade unionism and started their own T.U. Federation, after getting out of the AITUC" (Punekar, Deodhar and Shankaran, 1984, p.211).

In this situation, workers felt apathy towards trade unions for a short while. During 1929-35, industrial workers generally kept aloof from trade unionism and even the few unions that were in existence were mostly disinterested in the central organisations.

There were many distinct schools of thought in the labour movement. (1) The communists aiming at the dictatorship of the proletariat, twice split the Trade Union Congress in 1931. "The liberals valuing both the economic and political character of the trade union movement were forced to leave the congress, when the communists with their ultra-leftist programme captured it. They, therefore started the Indian Trades Union Federation and eventually the National Trades Union Federation" (Punekar, 1948, p.97).

During this period, though workers generally kept themselves aloof from trade unionism, yet, some most remarkable strikes were staged. In 1931, the 5300 workers of Hastings Jute
Mill in Bengal, participated in a strike. In 1932, the most serious strike took place in the railway workshops and in the jute mills of Bengal" (Sukamal Sen, 1979 p. 330). In this period, most of the left wing trade unions organised strikes for the solution of their demands. The workers of the jute mills in Bengal went on strike against a ten-percent wage cut.

2.2.5. Indian Trade Unionism (1934-1946):

This period is defined as the revival, unity and disunity of the Indian T.U. movement. The year 1934 was remarkable for the revival of communism. Economic depression had ended and employers stopped the wage reduction policy. But labour unrest continued. During the years 1937-39, and with limited powers, the provincial Congress Governments were unsuccessful in the labour welfare field. With the onset of World War II the whole economic and political picture changed. The Second World War divided the attitudes of the workers. The communists, following the Russian-line, first supported Germany when it invaded U.K. but later opposed when Germany attacked Russia. They advocated a soft line towards the British-Congressmen opposed Great Britain with the Quit India Movement and went to jail when communists came out of it. Shri M.N. Roy and his followers bitterly opposed Germany and when the AITUC failed to accept this line, they too ultimately came out and started their organisation, the 'Indian Federation of Labour' in 1941. In 1940,
strikes occurred in different jute mills of Bengal and workers succeeded in increasing their wages.

Many events, during this period had an impact on the trade union movement. These included - the formation of the progovernment Indian Federation of Labour and its recognition by the Government, establishment of the tripartite labour machinery and the Quit India Movement. The labour field became temporarily leaderless with the arrest of many trade union leaders and the leadership was taken over by communists who had remained free.

2.2.6. **Trade Unionisms - after Independence (1947-1980):**

A tremendous growth in the number of trade unions after independence can be shown through statistics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of registered unions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td>2766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-52</td>
<td>4623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>8554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>11614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>15314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>20681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>21606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974 (P)</td>
<td>26274</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Punekar, Deodhar and Shankaran, 1984, p.213)
The transfer of power on 15th August, 1947 basically altered the political, economical and sociological situation in India. The interpretation of these changes were however, made differently by different sections. While many failed to appreciate the establishment of self-government, others evaluated it critically. "Independence ushered in a new political power held by the capitalist and landlord classes of India whose economic interests and therefore the political interests ran directly counter to those of the working class. It was now a rule of capital - a rule of the exploiting minority against the exploited majority" (Sukamal Sen, p.433). The establishment of the INTUC in 1947, marks a new kind of approach in the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards labour problems.

**Indian National Trade Union Congress:**

Gulzarilal Nanda and the more socialist minded Nationalists had established a separate Central Forum in Jamshedpur after the Communist IFL broke away from the AITUC in 1941. This HMSS became ready for another split as Independence approached giving rise to the HMS with some members shifting away to join the INTUC. In 1947, the establishment of INTUC followed a new line of approach in the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards acute labour problems. Previously, in 1938, the labour sub-committee of the 'Gandhi Sewa Sangh' had established an organisation under the name of Hindusthan Mazdoor Sewa Sangh.
Its object was to organise the workers on right lines for the purpose of establishing just industrial relations, eradicating exploitation in any form, securing speedy improvement of their conditions of work and life, and their status in industry and society and to stress and apply the principles of truth and non-violence taught by Mahatma Gandhi in the activities of organisation of labour, in the day-to-day work of trade unions and in the handling of trade disputes. The Sangh, however, worked merely as an advisory body and not as a federation of trade unions. "The Congress and pro-congress unions cooperated with the AITUC congress, though they looked to the sangh leaders for guidance. In 1947, however, these unions and Sangh being dissatisfied with the policies of the "Communist controlled" AITUC, decided to set up another central federation and thus was born in the first week of May 1947, the Indian National Trade Union Congress with initial membership of 35 unions and 1,57,000 worker members".

(Punekar, 1948, p.345,).

All India Trade Union Congress:

Originally in 1920, 'AITUC' was set up as the central federation of Indian trade unions. At the time of independence, it came ultimately under the domination of communists. The socialists and Radicals left the AITUC immediately after independence to establish Hind Mazdoor Sabha (Dec., 1948). Thus
the Indian trade union movement gradually divided and sub-divided into various groups and sub-groups on the basis of political ideology. Every political party acquired its own trade union wing and this fact led to political unionism. On 30th April, 1949, the United Trade Union Congress was established by radicals, outside the communist and socialist groups. The leaders of this Union were mostly from West Bengal and Kerala.

Al a later date, the UTUC itself broke into two parts, one with headquarters at Lenin Sarani and the other at Bowbazar, Calcutta. The communists too divided themselves into CPI and CPM on ideological grounds. The AITUC came under the control of the former while the later emerged as the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU). The socialists also broke into two - the Praja Socialists and the Samyukta Socialists and they are affiliated to the Hind Mazdoor Sahba and the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat respectively. The Jan-Sangh too set up its own trade union wing, the Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh in 1954.

The picture of Indian trade unions and their political wings today are as follow: (1) Indian National Trade Union Congress (Congress-I), (2) All India Trade Union Congress (CPI), (3) Hind Mazdoor Sabha (PSP), (4) United Trade Union Congress (Bowbazar) (RSP), UTUC (L.S.) (SUCI), (5) National Labour organisation (Congress O), (6) Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CPM), (7) Hind Mazdoor Panchayat (SSP), (8) Bharatiya Mazdoor
Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS):

Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh appeared on the labour scene in 1955. Mr. D.B. Thengdi was the founder of that T.U. He belonged to Jana Sangh, based on Hindu philosophy and revivalism.

Most Indians hoped that a new age had come due to independence of the country, freed from the colonial bondage of about two hundred years. But all the hopes were nipped in the bud due to inflationary spiral, and continuous fall in the real wages of workers. The working class, in this condition, had to put up stiff resistance against this onslaught on their standard of living. This resistance broke out in the form of strikes, industry wise and region wise general strikes, mass demonstration and various mass actions. A picture of the strikes and work stoppages are available from the following charts.
Industrial Disputes from 1951-62

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of stoppages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>11660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source - Indian Labour Statistics.
A historic strike was called in 1960. A Joint Council of Action (JCA) was set up in a meeting in Bombay on 2-3 April, 1960 at the convention of the Central Government employees, the representatives were from All India Railway Men's Federation, the National Federation of Post and Telegraph employees, the All India Defence Employees' Federation and the Confederation of Central Government employees, covering almost all sections of employees in various major departments of the Government of India. Their demands were on the basis of a 6 point Charter of Demands\(^1\), the JCA wanted D.A. on the basis of First Pay Commission and also wanted an end to the discrimination among unskilled, semi-skilled and highly skilled categories on a rational and equitable basis. The JCA also invited the All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation. INTUC directly opposed the strike and dubbed it as 'antinational'. The Central Government also rejected all the demands and a Presidential Proclamation declared the strike as illegal under the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1960. The Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru declared, "this strike is a civil rebellion" and also expressed firmness in meeting the challenge. "The strike was to

\(^1\) Demands which included payment of dearness allowance on the basis of First Pay Commission's recommendations and the grant of national minimum wage in the light of the principle enunciated by the 15th ILC along with determination of differentials between class IV, III, II and I as well as between unskilled, semiskilled and highly skilled categories. (Sukamal Sen, 1977, p.445).
commence from the midnight of July 11. As zero hour approached a large number of leaders and activists who were working for the strike were rounded up. Yet the strike commenced as scheduled and brought the entire country almost to a dead halt. Besides large scale arrests, the government resorted to police action to blunt the progress of the strike. The police, the Home guards and the territorial army were mobilized in full force to meet the challenge of the strike. Even the Army was kept in readiness. The police took recourse to lathi charges at first and then resorted to firing at Dohad, a railway workshop on the Western Railway, resulting in the death of a few striking workers.

"Besides, arrest of over 20,000 people, lathi charge and police firing resulted in several deaths. At least 1500 employees were dismissed from service, about 10,000 were placed under suspension and more than 1500 were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment" (Sukamal Sen, 1977, p.446).

This historic strike was supported by the three leftist central trade unions such as AITUC, HMS and UTUC and also by all opposition political parties. Though, through this strike, no solution came as an immediate result, it left a deep imprint on the future struggles of the working class of the country. The trade union actions of the State Government employees that took place during the period appeared as a new phenomenon in the trade union history of India. Five lakh State Government employees of
Uttarpradesh, and the intermittent strike actions of four million state employees spread like wild fire and engulfed the entire country. "The joint struggles of the Central and State Government employees marked another significant feature of this period. The anti-automation movement of the employees in particular which reached peak height during 1967-69 period gave a new direction to the Indian trade union movement (Sukamal Sen, 1977, p.449).

The Silver Jubilee session of the AITUC held at Ernakulam in 1957 indicated a new turn in the policy of the AITUC. This policy which was characterized as a two pillar policy, envisaged co-operation with the government in the development of the economy and defending the interests of the working class in that economic policy. "The Two Pillar Policy enunciated by Mr. Dange was the consummate expression of the policy of cooperation with the ruling bourgeoisie, in course of time this policy assumed a more unveiled form and created grave internal rift among the communists" (Sukamal Sen, p.454).

The hardcore marxists opposed right deviation of the communist movement and began to blame Mr. Dange as a betrayer of the cause of the working class and sacrificing the workers interests at the altar of the bourgeoisie and fought for reversal of that policy. However, the Marxists belonging to the Communist Party of India (Marxist) remained with AITUC for a long 6 years.
since 1964. Ultimately they found that their attachment was meaningless. When the official convention was called at Goa on 9-10, April, 1970, the splinter All India Trade Union conference was held at Lenin Nagar, Ranji Stadium, Calcutta, 28-30 May, 1970. Mr. Jyoti Basu, in his welcome address, pointed out the historical necessity of setting up of another national centre as a rallying organisation for the militant working class of India. The Conference ended in an open session held on 31 May, 1970 at Brigade Parade Ground, Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. B.T. Ranadive. Nearly a million workers participated. Mr. B.T. Ranadive and Mr. P. Ramamurthy were elected President and General Secretary respectively of this newly formed organisation i.e. The Centre of Indian Trade Unions - "CITU".

In the period 1961-1975, the number of mandays lost due to strikes has varied in the range of 60 to 84 percent of the total mandays lost. The remaining were accounted for by lockouts. This indicates the methods labour used to press for its demands for higher wages, D.A. grievances against retrenchment and for improvement in the terms and conditions of work. However, the year 1975, marks a watershed in Indian industrial relations. This was the year when Congress (I) Government led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared emergency. The authoritarian forces were able to ruthlessly muzzle the voice of the working classes. Immediately employers' militancy started by meting out severe punishment to labour. In 1976, the number of mandays lost due to lock outs.
shot up to 9.9 million as against only 2.8 million mandays lost due to strikes.

The Industrial scene changed once again when the Janata Party came to power in 1977. INTUC, being the largest trade union of the country, directly encouraged workers to take to militant agitation against management. Its aim was to embarrass the Janata Government. INTUC manipulated the HMS, CITU, and AITUC in supporting these strikes. "Consequently, there was a spurt in mandays lost due to strikes and this reached a peak in 1979, touching a record 35.8 million mandays for strike as against lockouts which dwindled to low figure of 8.1 million mandays. In relative terms, strikes accounted for about 82 percent of total loss of mandays against lockouts accounting for barely 18 percent" in the post-Emergency Period (T.S. Papola, P.P. Ghosh and Alakh N. Sharma, 1993, pp.496-497).
Industrial Disputes classified by Strikes and Lockouts

(Period - 1970-1979)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Strike</th>
<th>Lockouts</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2598</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>2889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2478</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>2752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>2857</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>3243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>2958</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>3370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>2510</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>2938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1614</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>1943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1241</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>1459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>2691</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>3117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2762</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>3187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>2708</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>3048</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: T.S. Papola, P.P. Ghosh and A.N. Sharma, 1993, pp.496-497.
2.2.7. **Trade Unionism in the Eighties (1980-1991):**

Soon after the resumption of power by Cong(I) in 1980, the trend was reversed and the share of lockouts began to rise. Datta Samant, a veteran trade union leader organised the Bombay textile workers' strike. More than 41.40 million mandays were lost during 1982 and, in 1983 the mandays lost were 13.38 million due to this. "This irresponsible and prolonged strike did tremendous damage to the working class. A general impression was created that working class was being made a scapegoat to satisfy the ego of a labour leader. The fizzling out of the Bombay textile workers' strike emboldened employers to punish the workers.

"From 1985, onwards, employer's militancy had been on the increase. This was indicated by the rising share of mandays lost due to lockouts since 1985. During 1988 out of the total loss of 33.9 million mandays, lockouts accounted for 21.4 million mandays i.e. 63 percent. During 1989, the share of lockouts was 65 percent" (T.S. Papola et al., p.497).

A state-wise picture of 'Average number of Workers' involved in a lockout (A) and average number of days of duration of a lockout (B) is provided below:
We get the state-wise picture of 'Average Number of Workers' involved in a Lockout (A) and Average Number of Days of a Lockout (B).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Union Territory</th>
<th>1987</th>
<th>1988</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. West Bengal</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Maharashtra</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bihar</td>
<td>1457</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tamilnadu</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gujrat</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Karnataka</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kerala</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Orissa</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Rajasthan</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Haryana</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Punjab</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Goa</td>
<td>1041</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Maharashtra</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Tripura</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Delhi</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Assam</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(T.S. Papola et al., p.508)
There was a radical change in the industrial relations scenario in Bengal from 1984 to 1990. As against 49 strikes in 1984 there had been a continuous decline and the number of strikes dwindled to 15 in 1990. Employers' militancy had been continuously and sharply increasing. The number of lockouts increased from 135 in 1984 to 207 in 1989 and to 174 in 1990.

Dr. M.K. Pandhe, General Secretary of CITU said in an interview about the factors responsible for lockouts:

a) "Growing sickness of industries and decline in govt. orders and exports.

b) To avoid legal strike by workers, employers declared lockout before the strike was called. The employers were not required to pay any compensation in lockout, while they have to pay compensation in a legal strike"

(T.S. Papola et al., p.509).

The demands of trade unions during this period related mainly to wages, bonus and other workers' welfare measures. But in spite of demands of unions, number of lockouts were always higher than number of strikes between 1985 and 1990.
### Percentage Distribution of Strikes and Lockouts by causes (1984-87)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strikes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Wages and allowances</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bonus</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personnel</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Retrenchment</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Leave and hours of work</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Indisciplined and violence</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Others</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Not known</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total No. Of work stoppages</strong></td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>1355</td>
<td>1458</td>
<td>1348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lockouts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Wages and allowances</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bonus</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personnel</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Retrenchment</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Leave and hours of work</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Indiscipline and violence</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Others</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Not known</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total No. Of work stoppages</strong></td>
<td>405</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: T.S. Papola et al., p.511.
The study of the causes of the lockouts in the period 1984-87 revealed that 41-48 percent are caused due to indiscipline and violence. The question which needed deeper analysis was whether violence was engineered by the employers to call a lockout or to pre-empt a strike. Usual causes of lockouts such as uneconomic running, financial stringency, loss of economic viability etc. accounted for 77 percent of mandays lost due to lockouts in West Bengal in 1990. Alleged labour disputes and go-slow were responsible for only about 8 percent of mandays lost.

### Causes of Lockouts in West Bengal during 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>No. of workers involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wages and allowances</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bonus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personnel (dismissal discharge, changesheet suspension etc.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Uneconomic running</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>81622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Alleged labour disputes</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Alleged go-slow</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Miscellaneous</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So, we find that the role of trade unions had changed considerably due to rapid change of political picture of our country. After independence i.e. from 1947 onwards, the trade unions were directly attached to the existing and emerging political parties. They (T.U.s) became the labour wings of the political parties embarking on the political currents. In eighties, after the sudden and tragic death of Smt. Indira Gandhi, political disturbances resulted in economic depression. Later, the New Industrial policy, launched in 1991 gave greater emphasis to private sector. Today, trade unions are on the defensive. Organised movements by the trade unions declined. They were busier with different inter and intra union conflicts. Many workers had lost faith in existing unions. New, smaller, non-political trade unions were developing. As a result, except for some strikes, demonstrations and representation, the trade unions were not performing their functions properly.

Are then the unions losing their effectiveness? We have found from the survey of literature that trade unions are performing certain functions. Some gave more emphasis on some functions and less on other functions. But was this performance of trade unions sufficient to meet their objectives? The level of performance of such function would indicate the effectiveness of trade unions. Hence the need arises to measurement of the performance level of the various functions of trade unions in recent years. This would indicate the actual position and also effectiveness of trade union functioning today.
2.3. **TRADE UNIONS - CONCEPTS, FEATURES AND CHARACTERISTICS:**

To give a precise conception of the T.U. is a difficult task as it is a complex institution which has many aspects - economic, psychological and political etc. The conception of the trade union lies in the struggle of protest against the emergence of the capitalist system of economy in which the means of production and the out put of the productive effort are not owned by the section of people who put in the major effort. It is an agreed effect of modern trade union thought that T.U.s should have an interest in the efficient conduct of industry to the benefit of the nation as a whole.

Classical theory defined the trade union to be a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining and improving their working lives. According to this, trade unionism is the organised expression of the needs, wishes, aspirations and attitudes of the working class and functions collectively to protect and promote interests of workers within a given socio-economic system (S. Banerjee, The Labour Movement in India, it's dynamics and dimensions, Indian Labour Journal, xvii (5), May 1976, pp.853-880).

To discuss the features of the T.U.s the three main groups, craft unions, industrial unions, and general unions were considered.
A craft union such as a spinners' or a weavers' union, is an organisation of workers following a particular craft. It is also called an occupational union. The Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, is a federation of a number of craft unions. An industrial union is an organisation of workers in a single industry, without any distinction as to occupation, skill or sex; for example, the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh in Bombay and the Engineering Mazdoor Sabha are industrial unions. An industrial union is organised only for a particular unit or factory, e.g., Larsen and Toubro employees union, Hindusthan Steel Employees union etc.

The general union is an organization of workers. These workers may belong to any trade or craft. The Bombay Labour Union and the Baroda city labour council are examples of this type. At present, T.U.s might be placed in two categories - organised sector trade unions and trade unions in the unorganised sector. Durgapur Project Workers Union, Durgapur Project Employees Union, Durgapur Ispat Sabha, Hindusthan Steel Employees Union, M.A.M.C. Sramik Union etc. are trade unions in organised sector. On the other hand, West Bengal Bidi Sramik Union, Burdwan Maid Servant Union, Burdwan Rickshaw Pullers' Union, Burdwan Press Workers' Union are T.U.s in the unorganised sector. So the conception of a T.U. depends on the role or influence, in various countries and in various times. The trade union is expected to perform a
variety of functions. It has to raise wages of its members and to earn various concessions to employers for their members.

T.U.s aim at welfare of workers and want to actively participate in the welfare works for their members. Ultimately 'aim' is a better life for workers. It also helps to increase the civic and political awareness among workers.

Different people look upon the trade union from different viewpoints. It is a moral institution, inspiring workers to lead a good life by better education, recreation and other healthy aspects of living. Mahatma Gandhi influenced the 'Textile Labour Association' in Ahmedabad to build up such moral aspects. He believed that if one was able to develop such human qualities such as purity of means, dignity of labour and faith in the individual, there would be development in all sphere of workers, trade unions, employers and the nation as a whole.

T.U.s in developing countries like India have some peculiar characteristics mainly because of the social and economic conditions of these countries, suffering from mass poverty and low standard of living.

A predominantly agricultural country would take a longer time to have a strong and viable trade union movement. Actually, only non-agricultural workers formed T.U.s in large and medium
industries such as in manufacturing. On the other hand due to scattered location, agricultural workers are not yet widely organised. In some cases, unions were used as instruments to eradicate poverty, to educate the workers etc. Often the leadership of unions were from party cadres. The characteristics of a T.U. also depends upon the type of management. In case of dynastic management the unions are dependent on managers and are mostly engaged in minor welfare functions. Where the management comes from middle-class intellectuals or professionals, the T.U. is more independent. Leadership is mostly from within and relies on collective bargaining.

2.3.1. Conceptual definition of T.U.s:

Different writers, politicians, trade unionists have defined "trade union" on the basis of their own angle of vision: The British T.U. Act of 1913 had defined a trade union as a combination whose main objective is the regulation of the relation between the workmen and masters or between workmen and workmen or between masters and masters for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business and also the provision of benefits to members. American Federation of Labour defined "trade union" as 'an organisation of wage-earners to protect and promote the interests of wage-earners and to enable them to contribute according to their ability and experience to social and industrial enterprise'.
The Oxford Dictionary defines "A trade union is an association of workers in any trade or allied trades for the protection and furtherance of their interests in regard to wages, hours and conditions of labour, and for the provision, from their common funds, of pecuniary assistance to members during strikes, sickness, unemployment, old age etc.

Industrial Federations:

In India, there are Centres or forums of federations of Trade Unions. The primary unions, the regional unions and industrial federations are affiliated to these national centers according to their convenience and political inclinations. The centres are not registered. In India, two types of federation are generally seen. (1) regional federations (2) national federations. The national and regional federations of an industry deal with the problems of national and regional level respectively. Industrial federations at national level are also in operation in Cotton Textiles, Cement Engineering, Iron and Steel plantains, Sugar Chemicals, Banks Insurance, Post and Telegraphs (P&T), Ports and Docks, Railways, Oil, Coal and even in defense establishments.
Federations of T.U.s:

The following are some of the main National Federations of Trade Unions in India.

1. All India Bank Employees Association
2. National Federation of Indian Railwaymen
3. All India Port & Dock Worker's Federation
4. National Federation of P & T Workers
5. All India Mine Worker's Federation
6. Indian Federation of Working Journalists

The main nine union centres are:
1. Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) - Congress
2. National Labour Organization (NLO) - Old Congress
3. Centre of Indian Trade Union (CITU) - CPI(M)
4. All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) - CPI
5. Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) - Praja Socialist
6. United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) - (Radical points/Lenin Sarani)
7. United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) - (Central Avenue, Calcutta)
8. Hindustan Mazdoor Panchayat (HMP) - Samukta Socialist Party
9. Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) - Janasangh.
Of these:

1. **INTUC** - It has strong roots in West Bengal, Assam, Gujrat, Bihar and Maharashtra. The largest number of its members are drawn from the textile industry in Bombay and Maharashtra.

2. **AITUC** - It has very strong roots in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andra Pradesh, Punjab and Delhi.

3. **HMS** - Its members are mostly drawn from the railways, cotton textiles, coal mining and engineering industries.

4. **UTUC** - Its influence is the greatest in West Bengal, Bihar, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. It is powerful in the plantation industry, in agriculture and among textile, ports, dock and shipping workers. Its political affiliations are with left wing parties.

5. **CITU** - The centre of Indian Trade Union (CITU) was formed by CPI(M) workers in 1970.

2.3.2. **Features of T.U.**:

The National Commission on Labour pointed out that, in India, the pattern and structure of unions and the basis on which they were organised did not admit any simple generalisations. The
different types of T.U. and the split due to different types of political ideology, made it very difficult to understand the actual features of T.U.s. In other countries such as U.K., U.S.A., France, Italy, Belgium etc. unions developed along different lines depending on social, political, economical and historical conditions. For instance, in U.K. where unions grew out of the guild system, occupation or trade became the basis of workers getting organised for collective action. The Australian experience is similar.

In U.S.A., workers are members of local unions, most of which are affiliated to national unions, covering an occupation or an industry. In the U.S.S.R. (before its breakup), trade unions were organised on an industry basis with all persons employed in a factory or establishment belonging to one union and at the higher levels., each industry union comprised a branch of the national economy. French, Italian and Belgian, unions were divided not only on industry/plant basis, but also had strong religious denominations. Thus trade unions formed or changed due to national conditions. Government intervention also played a significant role in giving a direction to unions and in restructuring the unions.
2.3.3. International labour organisation and its impact on Indian Trade Unionism:

At the end of First World War (1914-18) a peace conference was convened which led to the creation of ILO in 1919. As an original signatory to the treaty of peace, India won its membership in 1919 in I.L.O. After World War II, in June, 1944, ILO convened a conference at Philadelphia to consider the programmes and policies to be pursued. The aims and purposes of the ILO were redefined in the form of a declaration - the Declaration of Philadelphia. It was also based on some fundamental principles:

(1) Labour is not a commodity

(2) Freedoms of expression and of association are essential for sustained progress.

The main aims of the organisation are:

(i) To remove the hardships and privation of the toiling masses, and to help in welding together management and workers in different countries into independent organisation.
Impact of ILO on India:

India was benefited by the ILO (International Labour Organization) in different fields in operational activities and educational activities. In the operational programme, ILO has been providing technical assistance and guidance for the implementation of social security programmes, programmes of vocational training, education for improving economic and social life of the workers. It has also helped in improving the productivity of industry and workers in India.

2.3.4. National Commission on Labour and Functions of Trade Unions:

The commission was appointed in 1966 under the chairmanship of PB Gajendragadhkar and it published its report in 1969. The National Commission has stated that the primary function of unions is to promote and protect the interests of its members. It has, therefore, to strive to better the terms and conditions of employment and generally to advance their economic and social interests so as to achieve for them a rising standard of living. Welfare activities like co-operatives, employment assistance, liberties, games and cultural programmes are one aspect of union functions. Education of its members in all aspect of their working life is another. Thus, in discharging the basic functions, unions have to operate on many fronts - social,
economic, civic and political. The Nation Commission pointed out the following basic functions to which the trade unions have to pay greater interest and attention.

1. To secure for workers fair wages

2. To safeguard security of tenure and improve conditions of service.

3. To enlarge opportunity for promotion and training

4. To improve working and living conditions

5. To provide for educational, cultural and recreational facilities

6. To cooperate in and facilitate technological advance by broadening the understanding of workers on its underlying issues.

7. To promote identity of interests of workers with their industry.

8. To offer responsive cooperation in improving levels of production and productivity, discipline and high standard of quality.

9. To promote individual and collective welfare.

Besides these basic functions of T.U. the commission also entrusted the following responsibilities to trade unions:
(i) Promotion of national integration.

(ii) Influencing the socio-economic policies of the community through active participation in their formulation at various levels.

(iii) Instilling in their members a sense of responsibility towards industry and community.
2.3.5. **Trade Union Functions in different theories of Trade Unions:**

(i) **The Theories of Industrial Democracy:**

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, in their book "Industrial democracy" commented on the pressure put on workers by the haggling of the market which led them to organize into unions to protect their economic interests. In order to improve the economic conditions of the workers, the unions sought each firm to pay at least a minimum rate of wages to maintain their living conditions. The unions also demanded shorter hours of work, sanitation, safety, etc. According to Webbs these were termed as "common rules". Common rules included minimum standards of wages, working hours and working conditions in each firm. Trade union movement was not an instrument of revolution to overthrow the capitalist order. It was only to eliminate industrial autocracy and replace it with industrial democracy. After 1924, union activity being no longer outlawed, they added the technique of collective bargaining. According to Webbs the unions would accomplish these goals through political action. Webbs never advocated the nationalisation of industries. They advocated the method of collective bargaining as an important aspect of industrial democracy.
(ii) **Gandhian Theory:**

Gandhi advised workers to organise, because this would give them more wealth and resources through their labour. He also believed that T.U.s should take up reformation programmes for workers as good citizens, as also for defense against assaults from outsiders. He ruled out class struggle. His principles were based on certain values such as - (a) faith in individual, (b) purity of means, (c) economic equality, (d) trusteeship. He also felt that trade unions should remove the evils of industrialization and be the moral institution for the improvement of ethical behaviour, upholding the dignity of labour, and following the trusteeship ideals and principles of equality and equity. Its basis was nonviolence, pure and simple.

(iii) **Karl Marx's Theory:**

Marx insisted on a rapid, revolutionary and perhaps violent change. Unions had a necessary and useful task to perform in protecting wages and working conditions. But he also advocated organising power to emancipate the working class by destroying the capitalist system. He wanted abolition of the social system which compelled the poor to sell themselves to the rich. "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work", "Abolition of wage system", were the main slogans of Marxian theory.
(iv) **The Collective Bargaining or Economic Protection Theory:**

John Mitchell was an American Labour leader. He gave emphasis to economic protection, freedom from fear, improvement in efficiency and establishment of citizenship in industrial society. Labour unions were for the workman but against no one. There was no need of hostility between labour and capital.

(v) **Robert F. Hoxie's Theory on Trade Unionism:**

Robert F. Hoxie, was an economist at the University of Chicago who established the idea of functional types of trade unions. He explained the origin of trade unionism in terms of group psychology. He stated "workers who are similarly situated, economically and socially, closely associated and not too divergent in temperament and training, will tend to develop a common interpretation of the social situation and a common solution of the problems of living" [Dr. B.P. Tyagi, 1982, p.89].

(vi) **Frank Tannenbaum:**

Frank Tannenbaum was a professor of History at Columbia University. He saw the T.U. movement as labours' reaction to the dominance of the machine in modern industrial society. The emergence of unionism was spontaneous and unpremeditated. It reflected the urge of human beings to create a society. Unions did not use their power to create a socialistic or communistic
state. The primary purpose of unions was to protect and promote the well being of the workers. Tannenbaum believed that the process would ultimately lead to unions absorbing all function of management. Regarding the nature of trade unionism, he said that there was nothing static about it and the emphasis was on the movement.

(vii) Selig Perlman:

He analysed the labor movements in Russia, Germany, Great Britain and the USA. He concluded that three factors were "basic in any labour situation; first, the resistance-power of capitalism, determined by its own historical development; second the degree of dominance over the labour movements by the intellectual's mentality which regularly under-estimated and third, the degree of maturity of trade union mentality" [Tyagi, p.93].

Different Methods of Trade Unionism:

The different concepts were utilised by the trade unions to achieve their goals. The methods used to attain goals are stated as follows:
(a) **Method of Mutual Insurance**

This method was widely used in UK, USA and USSR. This was related to the welfare of the members of the trade unions in exchange for contribution or subscription from their members. The trade union might give them a variety of welfare amenities such as medical facilities, educational, recreational, co-operative societies, housing, children's education funds etc. If the union undertook some welfare measures for their members, it was only for their members and was not available to non-members. Hence, the need and importance of this policy was an effective method of trade unionism.

(b) **Method of Collective Bargaining:**

In this method, the T.U. as a representative organisation of workers bargained with the employer on various issues such as wages, allowances, bonus, hours of work. This was the usual method carried out by the T.U. after unions had secured bargaining power.

2.3.6. **T.U.'s Method in India:**

In Western Europe, including Great Britain the reaction of workers to exploitation in industry assumed various forms of peoples associations. So trade unions which started as resistance organizations were fighting for the workers against employers. However, workers in many countries feel they needed influence
over government also and entered the political field. In a few countries in the world like Soviet Russia, China, Cuba and Chile, workers captured government power through revolution. However, almost every political party claimed to be democratic, socialistic and prolavour. So, sometimes trade unionists of the ruling party assumed the labour minister's portfolio. In India, in Janata regime (1977-79), a number of trade unionists were in the cabinet.

To understand unionism in India, it is very urgent to study the economic system. In India, we have a mixed economy consisting of the public sector, the private sector and cooperative sector. According to the Trade Unions Act (1926) only seven persons can form a trade union. In the light of the above the public sector undertakings contain a large number of trade unions. There is considerable inter union rivalry and intra-union rivalry among trade unions. Often trade union leaders behave like big bosses.

However, irrespective of political colour all trade unions particularly in the public sector undertakings follow the process of collective bargaining. The collective bargaining agreement duration is generally for two to three years and includes clauses covering wages, DA, bonus and incentives, hours of work, overtime, holidays, festivals, promotion, transfer, lay-off and discharge, safety and health, grievance procedures and labour welfare amenities etc.
2.4. **INDIAN TRADE UNION ACT AND FUNCTIONS:**

The object of trade union legislation is to define trade union, fix their duties and to protect the members. The Trade Unions Act was passed in 1926. It was amended on various occasions during the last fifty years. The Act gave a legal cover to the activities of unions and defined a T.U. as primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and workmen or between employers and employers or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business and includes any federation of two or more T.U.s. For a registered T.U. the expenditure of the general fund has been limited to certain specified objects. It also provides some immunities to the office bearers.

However, the union can constitute a separate fund for the protection of the civil and political interests of the members. No member can be compelled to contribute to this fund. So the T.U.s have a chance to widen their duties and responsibilities. The Workers Education Scheme was introduced in India in 1958 by the government of India with a view to train workers in the techniques of trade unionism, to bring consciousness amongst them about their responsibilities in a democratic society and to enable them to play their role effectively in the social and economic development of the country. The aims and objectives of the scheme are launched, after tripartite consultation, are:
(i) To develop strong and more effective trade unionsims through better trained officials and more enlightened members;

(ii) To develop leadership from the rank and file and promote the growth of the democratic processes and traditions in trade union organisation and administration;

(iii) To equip organised labour to take its place in a democratic society and to fulfil effectively its social and economic functions and responsibilities;

(iv) To promote among workers a greater understanding of the problems of their economic environment and their privileges and obligations as union members and officials and as citizens. Thus the Trade Unions are to perform certain functions for the greater interest of the workers.

The functions of T.U.s have been generally classified under the following three headings:

(1) Intra-mural activities or militant functions. The aim of such activities is to ensure adequate wages, secure better conditions of work and employment, reduce hours of work, get better treatment from employers etc. under this type of functions, the T.U.s have to fight for the rights
of workers and may have to adopt methods of collective bargaining, negotiations, strikes and boycotts.

(2) **Extra-Mural activities:**

This function includes the following —

(a) To create a fund through subscription for supporting the workers during unemployment, sickness and lock-outs.

(b) To arrange legal assistance to the workers.

(c) To foster a spirit of cooperation and friendly relations among their members.

(d) To make provisions for the education of the children of their members.

(e) To make provision for indoor and outdoor games and other recreational facilities.

(f) Running of cooperatives.

(g) Providing housing facilities.

(h) Participating in community development and community protection activities.

(i) To make provisions for transport facilities.
(j) To make provision for worker's education and training.

These functions are called as social functions.

(3) Political Functions:

Political functions of trade unions include:

(a) To influence political system through their representation in Parliament. It is possible only through success in elections.

(b) Extending help to candidates of other political parties who are sympathetic to the cause of labour.

(c) Exerting pressure for securing protective or other prolabor legislation.

(d) Pressure for new-labour legislation and improvement over the existing ones.

(e) Trade unions also seek to obtain welfare amenities under laws of the state, such as housing, recreation and educational facilities, medical and health facilities etc.

(f) To form independent labour parties or to develop political wings and political contacts with the like minded parties.
(g) Participating in and representing the workers on national and international institutions and bodies and various advisory bodies.

(h) Developing military and revolutionary urge amongst workers etc.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

National centres of trade union organisations have organised themselves at International level to achieve their objective. International labour institutions like the ILO, the WFTU, the ICFTU have been formed. The following functions are expected from trade unions at the international level.

(a) They should participate in the organisation and activities of ILO.

(b) They should also participate in the organisation and activities of international federation of trade unions to build working class unity and solidarity.

(c) Sending monetary and other help to workers of other countries during periods of strikes and natural disasters.
So, from International activities we find that T.U.s are engaged in various works which are mostly beneficial to the workers and its surroundings.

2.4.1. **Various Labour Laws and Trade Unions Functions:**

The need of T.U. law in India was felt because of a legal decision of the Madras High Court in the case of the Madras Labour Union and the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. The company filed a complaint against the union charging that it incited the workers. In the absence of a T.U. law, this legitimate activity was considered to be a conspiracy under the common law, and the High Court granted an injunction restraining the union from interfering with the business of the mills. The union leaders were sentenced and the union was broken. It was because of this necessity for a law was felt to provide to the workers freedom of association and the right to voice their grievances and to agitate for their redress through organised action. Accordingly a bill was introduced in 1921 in the Indian legislature, which in due course became the Trade Union Act, 1926.

The main object of this Act is to confer on a registered T.U. a legal and corporate status. Registration is not compulsory. However, unregistered unions do not receive the benefits provided by the Act. The provisions of the act can be broadly divided into three parts.

(1) **Registration of T.U.s**
(2) Rights and privileges and

(3) Obligations and liabilities

Registration of T.U.s:

Any seven or more members of a trade union can apply to the Registrar of Trade Unions for registration. At least half of the office bearers of a registered union must be persons actually engaged in the industry to which the union belongs; persons convicted of offences, involving moral turpitude are debarred from becoming office bearers. A minimum subscription of Rs. 1/- per month is fixed per member of a trade union.

"The Registrar, on being satisfied that the trade union has complied with all the requirements of this Act in regard to registration, shall register the T.U. He shall register the trade union by entering in a register to be maintained in such form as may be prescribed, the particulars relating to trade union contained in the statement accompanying the application for registration" (Sec. 8) (N.D. Kapoor, 1980, p.L.226).

The Registrar on registering a trade union under Sec.8, shall issue a certificate or registration in the prescribed form. The certificate shall be conclusive evidence that the trade union has been duly registered under this Act.
Rights and privileges of a registered T.U. (Sec.13):

The law has given a T.U. the ample scope for its development, Sec.16 indicates "the separate fund for political purposes. This may be made for the promotion of the civic and political interests of its member.

Immunity from punishment for criminal conspiracy (Sec.17):

An office bearer or member of a registered T.U. shall not be liable to punishment under Sec.120-B(2) of the Indian Penal Code.

Immunity from Civil suit (Sec.18):

A suit or other legal proceeding shall not be maintainable in any civil court against any trade union or any office bearer or member.

Right of minors to be members (Sec.21):

Subject to any rules of the trade union to the contrary, any person who has attained the age of fifteen years may be a member of a registered trade union and enjoy all the rights of a member.

Besides these, many states in India have amended the T.U. Act for its proper functioning. The Maharashtra Act 1971, has
been passed to provide for the recognition of T.U.s for facilitating collective bargaining for certain undertakings to state their rights and obligations, to confer certain powers on unrecognised unions, to provide for declaring certain strikes and lockouts illegal. The Act provides that the T.U. with the largest membership of employees employed in an undertaking should be recognised as or the sole representative of such employees.

The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946, the Uttar Pradesh Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, and the Madhya Pradesh Industrial Relation Act, 1960, provide for the role of trade unions in industrial relations particularly in the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes. There are some more Acts and regulations by which industrial relation may be maintained and interests of workers protected. These Acts and Regulations are stated below.

2. The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923.
3. The Payment of Wages Act, 1936.


2.4.2. **Different Functions of T.U.:**

Every organisation has some objects and goals. Trade union is an organisation, so it has some goals. To reach the goals, T.U.s have some objects. These objects depend upon some functions which might be changed with respect to social, political, work organisations and economic conditions of the workers. In the previous chapters, we have discussed overall functions.

From the above discussion we may classify the trade union functions under five main heads:

(a) social and welfare functions

(b) organisational functions

(c) financial functions

(d) political functions

(e) work related functions
FOCUS:

From the study of different theories of trade unions and the various acts, the functions of trade unions may be summarised as follows:—

1. Wage and hours of work
2. Safety and security
3. Development of value systems among the workers
4. To form a socialistic and democratic society
5. Common standard of working conditions
6. Politicalisation of unions
7. Improvement of efficiency
8. To develop the degree of maturity of trade union mentality
### Functions of Trade Union from the different definitions, Theories, Acts, Commissions and organisations may be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Distinguished persons</th>
<th>Definitions given by different distinguished persons</th>
<th>Functions extracted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.H. Richardson</td>
<td>Trade unions are essentially associations of manual and or nonmanual work people, including professional grades, formed to safeguard and improve the working conditions of their members and more generally to raise their status and promote their vocational interests.</td>
<td>(1) Improve the working condition. (2) Improving the status of the workers and promote their vocational interests. (3) Question of security arises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solan and Zurcher:</td>
<td>It is an organisation incorporated or otherwise consisting of employees. The organisation acts in the collective interests of the employees in negotiating with employers, particularly in matters of wage and working conditions.</td>
<td>(1) Collective bargaining. (2) Wage. (3) Working condition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.V. Giri:</td>
<td>Trade unions are voluntary organisations of workers formed to promote and protect their interests by collective action.</td>
<td>(1) Promote and protect their interest by collective action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Definitions given by different distinguished persons

Dale Yoder:

A continuing long term association of employees, formed and maintained for the specific purpose of advancing and protecting the interests of members in their working relationships.

Robert F. Hoxie:

A monopolistic combination of wage earners who stand to the employers in relation of dependence for the sale of their labour and even for its production; and the general purpose of the association is, in view of that dependence, to strengthen their own power to bargain with the employers.

J. Cunnison:

A monopsonistic combination of wage earners who are similarly situated economically and socially closely associated and not to divergent in temperament and training, will tend to develop a common interpretation of the social situation and a common solution of the problem of living. He also quoted, "workers who are similarly situated economically and socially closely associated and not to divergent in temperament and training, will tend to develop a common interpretation of the social situation and a common solution of the problem of living."

"Revolutionary unionism is extremely radical both in viewpoint and in action. It rejects private ownership of production resources and the wage system. Its weapons are either political action or direct action in the form of violence and general strikes. So it reveals about the political functions such as strike, agitation, class consciousness etc.

Functions extracted

(1) Develop the working relationships i.e. to minimize intra and inter union rivalry.

(2) To strengthen their power to bargain with the employers i.e. to say about collective bargaining.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Distinguished persons</th>
<th>Definitions given by different distinguished persons</th>
<th>Functions extracted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frank Tannebaum:</td>
<td>He observes the followings:</td>
<td>(1) Rebellling against automation, wants the importance of workers in work place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Workers are engaging in an unconscious rebellion against the automization of industrial society.</td>
<td>(2) Function of economical development of the workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) T.U. is not merely an economic organisation it is also a social and ethical system and its ends are moral and not economic.</td>
<td>(3) Social and ethical system development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney &amp; Webb:</td>
<td>Trade Union movement is not an instrument of revolution to overthrow the capitalistic order. In fact, they saw the solution of class conflict in equality of bargaining power and collective negotiations. According to him, the unions would accomplish these goals through political action.</td>
<td>It also clearly speaks for taking political action. So political functions are arising.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* A continuous associations of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives.</td>
<td>Emphasis on solution of class conflict through collective bargaining and negotiation as equal partner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) Improving of working environment.</td>
<td>(1) Improving of working environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2) From the word &quot;working lives&quot;, we mean the life of a worker both in the work place i.e. in the factory</td>
<td>(2) From the word &quot;working lives&quot;, we mean the life of a worker both in the work place i.e. in the factory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Selig Perlman: After analysing the labour movement in Russia, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, Perlman came to conclusion that three factors are basic in any labour situations:

(i) the resistance power of capitalism determined by its own historical development, (ii) the degree of dominance over the labour movements by the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Distinguished persons</th>
<th>Definitions given by different distinguished persons</th>
<th>Functions extracted and the life outside of the factory. So it includes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Social and welfare functions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Organisational functions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Financial functions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Political functions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Work related functions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Trade Union is to resist the dominance of capitalism.

(2) Dominance of intellectuals in Trade Union leadership - worker leadership is ushered in.

(3) To develop mental maturity of Trade Union - education, social development, development of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Distinguished persons</th>
<th>Definitions given by different distinguished persons</th>
<th>Functions extracted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prof. G.D.H. Cole:</td>
<td>intellectuals mentality which regularly underestimates, (iii) the degree of maturity of a trade union &quot;mentality&quot;.</td>
<td>leadership qualities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An association of workers in one or more occupations, an association carried out mainly for the purpose of protecting and advancing the members' economic interests in connection with daily work.</td>
<td>In a stable organisation the following are the functions (1) to protect the interest or worker (2) to make effective communications Other functions also to be considered (1) advancing the members economic interest i.e. to increase wage, payment of bonus and old age pension.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### T.U. FUNCTIONS AS FOUND FROM DIFFERENT ACTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Functions of Trade Unions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The British T.U. Act of 1953:</td>
<td>&quot;Trade Union as a combination with the main objective of the regulation of the relation between workmen and master or between workmen and workmen or between masters and masters for imposing of restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business and also provision of benefits to members.&quot;</td>
<td>Regulation of relation between masters and masters for (a) imposing of restricted conditions on the conduct of any trade, (b) provision of benefits to its members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The British TUC Report on post war reconstruction</td>
<td></td>
<td>(i) maintaining and improving wages, hours and conditions of work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) providing and improving the opportunity for the advancement of the workers to obtain &quot;full employment&quot; is an aim which trade union have always persuaded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(iii) extending the influence of work people over the policy and purposes of industry and to arrange for their participation in management.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is an association of producers in which citizens employed for remuneration in state, cooperative and private undertakings, institutions and business are organised. The union acts for its members in all negotiations with the various state institution and represents them at the conclusion of agreements and contracts and in all discussions of questions relating to labour and social welfare.

To order to get the objectives they are to negotiate as representatives of workers with

(1) various state institutions

(2) represents them in final conclusions and setting contacts relating to labour and social welfare.

Various sources reveal the functions of Trade Unions in Soviet Union are:

(i) raising the labor productivity
(ii) improvement of quality of production
(iii) improving wage rates
(iv) participation in the settlement of industrial disput
(v) medical assistance
(vi) raising their political and general educational leve
(vii) setting up sanitarium and rest houses, social and industrial security
(viii) set up clubs, homes, libraries, developing artistic mass activity, physical culture, sports, etc.
(ix) provision of housing and other welfare amenities.
The Trade Union Law of the people's Republic of China:

'Trade Union is a mass organization of the working class formed on a voluntary basis including manual or non-manual wage workers in enterprises, institutions, schools and irregular employments whose wages constitute their sole or main means of livelihood.

Mass organization formed for wage earners to look after their development and also the development of the organization

(i) It is a mass organization

(ii) to improve the material and cultural standards of workers' lives.

(iii) to educate the workers in three R's, vocational efficiency, current economic and political problems

(iv) to enter into collective agreements with the management for mutually fulfilling the targets in respect of production, wages, labour norms labour safety, welfare, social security.
"A trade union is any combination whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or between workmen and workmen, between employers and employers or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business and include any federation of two or more trade unions."

(1) Regulating the relations between workmen and employer

(2) Regulating the relations between workmen and workmen

(3) Regulating the relations between employers and employers.

Extracted from the study of related area

(i) achieving higher wages and better working and living conditions for the members of the trade unions

(ii) acquiring the control of industry by workers

(iii) minimising the helplessness of the workers against the victimization and injustice of the employers

(iv) imbibing sincerity and discipline in workers

(v) taking up welfare measures for improving the morale of the workers.
## FUNCTIONS OF T.U.s FROM DIFFERENT ORGANISATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation/Person</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Extracted Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.American Federation of Labour:</td>
<td>* An organisation of wage earners to protect and promote the interest of wage earners and to enable them to contribute according to their ability and experience to social and industrial enterprise.</td>
<td>(a) To promote the interests of the workers related to wages. (b) Social and welfare function and economic function arises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.Prof. G.D.H. Cole:</td>
<td>* An association of workers in one or more occupations, an association carried out mainly for the purpose of protecting and advancing the members economic interests in connection with daily work.</td>
<td>(1) Here, from the word &quot;association&quot; we understand that in a stable organisations the following functions will be considered - (i) General meeting, (ii) Issues related to the interest of workers, such as political, social, economical and also work related functions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Oxford Dictionary:

*An association of workers in any trade or allied trades for the protection and furtherance of their interests in regard to wages, hours and conditions of labour, and for the provision from their common funds, pecuniary assistance to the members during strikes, sickness unemployment and old age etc.*

4. Robert's dictionary:

*An association of workers in a particular trade or a craft organised to promote a common interest and to further that interest through negotiation of wages, hours and other conditions of employment.*

(a) From the analysis of this definition, the probable function may be considered: Special assistance by the trade unions in strike, unemployment, industrial sickness and also make provision for old-age pension.

(b) Protection of the interest of workers - (to take action accordingly) relating to wages, hours of work and conditions of labour.

Here from the word "Common interest" we understand, the interest of industries and workers. Industry interests: To increase the productivity, and to maintain better industrial relations. On the other hand workers interests such as- (i) social and welfare developments. (ii) economical and political gain, (iii) work related interests. To speak more specifically a better environment of work place, rest rooms, sanitary, housing, library facilities, drinking water, communication facilities (from the residence to work place), hospital facilities, children's education and also speaks about the working hours.
### Trade Union function from the different "Theory" and "Models"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karl Marx Theory &amp; Approach:</th>
<th>Theory</th>
<th>Functions visualised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Unions had a necessary and useful task to perform in protecting wages and working conditions, but should not limit themselves to these narrow economic goals instead, they should use their organised power to emancipate the capitalist system. Thus to Marx and Engles, the trade union movement represented a prime instrument of the class struggle between the politarian workers and capitalist businessman.&quot;</td>
<td>(1) Protecting wages, working conditions, hours, leave, rest and environmental conditions of work place.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Prime instrument of class struggle.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) To struggle against capitalist system.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) To overthrow the capitalist system.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Gandhian Model: | | |
| "Gandhi's view have arisen out of the fundamental principles of his idealism, such as the faith in individual purity of means, importance of bread labour, economic equality, trusteeship and need to remove the evils of individualism. hence T.U. can be moral institutions for the improvement of the ethical | |
| This extracts the following functions | | |
| (a) Class Harmony | |
| (b) Reformist organisation | |
| (c) to develop the normal and intellectual values of the workers. | |
behavior, upholding the dignity of labour, following the trusteeship ideals and principles of equality and equity.

(d) its aim is internal reform and evolution of internal strength. The indirect result of this evolution when and if it ever becomes complete will naturally be tremendously political.

From the word "stress and strain" to arises all type of interest of workers such as

(1) social and welfare
(2) organisation
(3) work related functions etc.
The National Commission on Labour pointed out the following basic functions of the Trade Union:

1. To secure for workers fair wages.
2. To safeguard security of tenure and improve conditions of service.
3. To enlarge opportunity for promotion and training.
4. To improve working and living conditions.
5. To provide for educational, cultural and recreational facilities.
6. To cooperate in facilitating technological advance by broadening the understanding of workers on its underlying issues.
7. To promote identity of interests of the workers with their industry.
8. To offer responsive cooperation in improving levels of production and productivity, discipline and high standard of quality.
9. To promote individual and collective welfare.
10. Promotion of national integration.
11. Influence on the socio-economic policies of the community through active participation in their formulation at various levels.
12. Instilling in their members a sense of responsibility towards industry and the community.

General view of N.C.L (National Commission on Labour):

The primary function of a union is to promote and protect the interests of its members. It has, therefore, to strive to better the terms and conditions of employment and generally advance their economic and social interests so as to achieve for them a rising standard of living, welfare activities like organising cooperatives.

Employment assistance, libraries, games and cultural programmes are one aspect of union functions. Education of its members in all aspects of their working life will be another.
Trade Union functions as found in I.L.O.

1. To remove injustice, hardships and privatisation of large masses of toiling people all over the world.

2. To improve their living and working conditions and thus establish universal lasting peace based upon social justice.

3. The regulation of hours of work, laying down the maximum work load for day and week.

4. To give suggestions and recommendations of the prevention of employment hazards.

5. To take suitable steps for protection of the workers against sickness, disease and injury arising out of employment.

6. To take steps and give special attention for the protection of children, young persons and women.

7. To take suitable steps for the protection of interests of those workers who have been employed in countries other than their own.

8. To take steps for the recognition and implementation of the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value.

9. To take steps for the recognition and implementation of the principle of freedom of association.

10. To make provisions for vocational and technical educations.
FOCUS: A

Modern Trade Unions should undertake the following functions

1. T.U.s place at the disposal of workers a knowledge of market conditions which increases their mobility and their power of resistance against underpayment.

2. T.U.s secure just and humane conditions of working and living.

3. T.U.s regulate hours of work, shift working conditions and paid holidays and limit overtime work.

4. T.U.s regulate conditions of apprenticeship and juvenile labour.

5. T.U.s try to increase national income and get a greater share in it for workers. They try to develop the overall conditions of the country.

6. T.U.s maintain and improve wages and to find out a solution of 'Bonus'.

7. T.U.s provide cash or benefits in kind, social security, social insurance and health insurance, pension programmes, recreational and educational facilities to workers.

8. T.U.s introduce working rules, democratise labour management relation and workers participation in management.

9. T.U.s protect labour from exploitation and tyrannies of employers against victimisation for taking part in union activities and unfair dismissals.

10. T.U.s avoid inequalities between different sections of communities by aiming at the overall development.
11. T.U.s assist on drafting, issuing and implementation of labour legislation in the country.

12. T.U.s try to raise the standard of living of all the members of the society and as a partner in industry.

13. T.U.s negotiate and administer collective bargaining agreements, safety, security, to lessen work hazards.

14. They are to improve education level, intellectual level, social responsibility, health care and other development activities in the lives of workers.

15. Workers are to develop with equal strength in all aspects of life so that they become equal to management and thus work responsibility as equal partner in the production activities in the country.

16. They are to contribute in the nation building activities.
All the functions of trade unions are classified into broad headings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social &amp; organisation functions</th>
<th>Financial functions</th>
<th>Political functions</th>
<th>Work related functions</th>
<th>National functions</th>
<th>International functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Getting contract for suitable Labour &amp; Social welfare activities</td>
<td>(2) Workers participation</td>
<td>(3) Wage improvement</td>
<td>(4) Regulation of relations with workers &amp; employers etc.</td>
<td>(5) Hours of work.</td>
<td>(7) To send representatives to ILO.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To improve material &amp; cultural standards.</td>
<td>• Production targets to be met.</td>
<td>• To get equal pay for equal work.</td>
<td>• Negotiation as representative of workers.</td>
<td>• Labour Norms.</td>
<td>• National integration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Education of workers.</td>
<td>• To acquire control of industry.</td>
<td>• To achieve higher wages.</td>
<td>• Improving conditions of work.</td>
<td>• Labour safety.</td>
<td>• Against casteism, provincialism, communalism and national productivity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Imbibing sincerity and discipline in workers.</td>
<td>• Economic development of workers.</td>
<td>• Minimising the victimisation of workers.</td>
<td>• Security of service.</td>
<td>• Solidarity with International Trade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• To improve status of workers and promote their vocational interest.

• Social and ethical system of development.

• Collective & individual welfare.

• Organising cooperatives.

• To cooperate to facilitate the introduction of new technology. They are to convenience their members.

• To offer cooperation for improvement in productivity.

• General meetings.

• To secure fair wages for workers.

• Collective bargaining for workers.

• To develop working relations among workers though belonging to different unions.

• To enroll opportunity for training.

• Quality consciousness.

• Instilling a sense of responsibility.

• To improve bargaining power.

• To reject private ownership of property.

• Better terms and conditions of workers.

• Arrange-ment for transportation from quarters to

Unions.

• Be conscious of labour standards.

• To learn from International Trade Unions' experiment
- Improvement in social and welfare functions.
- To collect regular subscription.
- Strikes, demonstration.
- Improvement in working conditions.
- Provision for leave, rests etc.
- Development of moral & intellectual values.
- As a reformist organisation.
- Workers participation.
- Production targets to be met.
- To acquire control of industry.
- Imbibing sincerity and

- Special assistance during strikes, unemployment, industrial sickness, provision to old age.
- Hospital facilities.
- Children’s education.

- Provision for leave, rests etc.
• Provision
  for leave,
  rests etc.

• Development
  of
  moral &
  intellectual values.

• As a
  reformist
  organisation.

1. This grouping of functions of Trade Union is not final. This grouping can be made in different ways. In order to keep it on a manageable level, an attempt is made here to group them. There may be more group headings and some may like to alter the contents from one group to another. As there are large numbers of functions of trade unions, instead of following the individual functions. This study will consider 6 or 7 group (it may be even more) functions of Trade Unions. In fact, in actual empirical study. These groups have been altered a little.

2. No Trade Union is performing all functions as mentioned above. This study will try to reveal what functions they are doing actually, where they have put more emphasis, where they have put less and what they should do.
2.5. DISCUSSION OF THE DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS OF TRADE UNIONS
UNDER DIFFERENT HEADS

Introduction

All the functions may be put in general in the following categories:

1. Social and welfare functions
2. Social security functions
3. Organizational functions
4. Political functions
5. Financial functions
6. Work related functions

2.5.1. T.U. in Social and Welfare Function:

The labour movement is a much broader term than labour unions. Such a movement presupposes some solidarity between workers in different trade or industries. Thus labour movement is composed of many forms of organizations based upon the sense of common status and a common need of mutual help. Hence, it emerges from a common need to serve a common interest of the workers. From this point of view, social and welfare functions is an integral part of labour movement. The National Commission on
Labour pointed out some basic welfare functions to which the trade unions have to pay greater attention. Before it in the main report of Labour Investigation Committee (1946) many welfare amenities were recommended to become a part of the statutory obligations. We shall review the present labour welfare measures under various headings in respect of the different components of social and welfare function. Although management is responsible to implement all these functions, the trade unions, today cannot ignore their welfare functions for the benefit of the working classes.

There are several labour welfare agencies which have taken various measures in the interest of labour. Labour legislation has been enacted to make it statutory for employers to maintain a minimum standard of employment and working conditions. Apart from government, employers, social organisations, and trade unions play an important role to see that the statutory requirements are properly implemented and maintained by employers. Trade unions themselves have responsibility to look after social and welfare functions of workers. Now, we will see how the T.U.s are performing such social and welfare functions.

India is a country where different religions, castes and creeds exist. So, it is very natural that any industry contains different types of workers based on religion and caste. To
maintain strong labour movement, an integrated working class irrespective of religion or caste is required. Hence, the drives against communalism and caste by the T.U.s for the workers' unity.

**Trade unions' drive against drug, wine, gambling among the workers:**

Drug and other such materials have penetrated our society, attributed by some to a capitalistic mode of society. Unemployment and dissatisfaction may be other reasons. Whatever may be the reasons, workers are not entirely free from this curse. So trade unions have the responsibility and liability to free workers from this. Some western investigators (Golden and Tutten Berg 1942, Krech and Crutchfield, 1948) had laid great emphasis on the social, psychological and political needs of workers. In a study "Motivational Analysis of union membership" by Durganand Singha (IJSW 23(4) January, 1963), we see from a table "Supervisory opinion of union functions" (Manpower management by R.S. Dwivedi, p. 387) that among 30 candidates, only one i.e. 3.3%, passed opinion about removing evils among workers". This indicates that T.U.s are not propagating among the workers the urgency of removing these evils among them.
Trade Unions drive against casteism:

Trade union leaders too have emerged from different communities. In this matter, a study reveals that "A significant number of trade union leaders call themselves humanitarian. By and large, Hindu religion is more dominant, although, there are more than proportional representation of other religions among trade union leadership - independent organisations being led by persons mostly from non-brahmin castes" (Puneker & S. Madhuri, p. 64). In the above survey, the leaders belonging to scheduled castes is found to be the largest in the region of Bombay. Similarly, Gujrat also seems to have more than a third of its T.U. leadership belonging to the Brahmin caste, although here, the other castes also dominate. It is however, surprising that in Gujrat the proportion of scheduled castes (S.C.) among the leadership is very small (3.7 percent) in spite of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi worked for many years in the labour field of this region .... It is in the independent unions that almost all the religious are represented equally. In independent union and in the AITUC oriented unions, Christians are represented in good numbers - (9.6%). In INTUC, the Muslims comprise 8.1% (Punekar & Madhuri, p. 48).

Thus the survey, shows representation from different communities or different castes. The distribution is not correlated with the ratio of the different castes in the working
class. It varies from one union to another based on the caste and community of the working class. But in the present changed environment as well as globalisation, this tradition is requiring change. So, Trade union should take steps to fight against casteism, provincialism etc.

**Trade Unions for Literacy drive:**

Education is an important thing in every society. Every country requires an educated work force for modern industrialization. So, T.U.s role is very important in the expansion of education among workers. There is a proverb, "Education brings consciousness and consciousness brings revolution". Education is the weapon to fight against injustice in every society. So it is the foremost duty of every T.U. to take steps for minimum education of workers, their children and their wives, to construct an effective environment for the breeding soil of all round development of the human being and his environment. Almost all Trade Unions in the public sector undertakings have important roles to play in this aspect. The workers' education programme was started by the Government of India to educate workers about the union philosophy, rights and duties of workers, collective bargaining and allied matters. The trade union should actively support this programme and enthuse workers to take these education programs seriously. The administration of this programme is entrusted to the Central
Board of Worker's Education. The Board is composed of representatives from Govt. employers, workers (Trade Union) and educational institutions.

The programme consists of three stages of training. In the first stage organizers or education officers are trained. They are full time employees of the Board. In the second phase selected workers are trained by the Education officers. These workers become teachers for their plant and they conduct the training classes at their plants for the workers, usually outside working hours. The trade unions are to see that workers take this up seriously and to actively support these programs.

Under the grants-in-aid scheme, the Board of Workers' Education encourages trade unions and other institutions to undertake workers education programme of the approved pattern and standard by providing financial assistance. The aim of this scheme is that the trade unions, in courses of time, should take over the primary responsibility for workers' education. But the response of trade unions in this scheme is not very encouraging. The unions are not able to pay much attention towards workers' education because of their preoccupation in other activities. It should be one of the prime responsibilities of trade unions to see that they bring in awareness among the workers of their rights and duties, the philosophy of trade unionism, their responsibility towards the organization and their country. One
reason sometimes attributed for the lukewarm response of the trade unions towards workers' education is that office bearers of the unions do not like common workers to become aware and begin questioning the union leaders.

"At the F.C.I., Ramagundam Division the management had agreed to give last half an hour from the working hours for conducting the classes for the workers education programme. The union somehow is not making use of this offer of the management".


National trade union centres should draw up a suitable programme not only for children and spouses of the workers but also for union workers and officials in collaboration with universities and research institutions. It should cover practical field of work and education in the fundamentals of trade unionism, industrial relations, labour laws and evolution of the country's economy. So worker's education is very necessary and trade union should help the management to implement the programmes related to workers development. In fact, the Trade unions themselves should arrange on their own, education facilities for workers.
Social Security and T.U.s:

Social security (Minimum standards) convention 1952 (No. 102) include nine factors as follows: medical care, sickness benefits, unemployment benefits, employment, injury benefit, family benefits, invalidity benefits and survivors benefits. Though the Govt. of India adopted some legal provisions to implement some of these benefits, due to red tapeism effective implementation is not there. Here the trade union should play an important role to optimize the scope of provisions, stipulated by the government. Some eminent writers have underlined to this aspect of trade union function (Veldkamp. G.M.J., ILO, Geneva, 1976). Fisher, P.: International social security, Review (Geneva) No.4, 1978, Abel Smoth, B. (London, Heinemann, 1976).

In the I.L.O. Conference in 1944, recommendations Nos. 67 and 68, have stated this aspect. The objective of these systems is the first and foremost, to give individuals and families, a sense of security, to reassure them that the vagaries of social, economic and human affairs need not cause any significant decline in their standard of living. Various means were employed and those used today are still based essentially on social insurance on the one hand and social welfare on the other which includes the provision of public services for the protection of the national community as a whole (World Labour Report-1, (1984), ILO, p. 151, Geneva).
"The basic responsibilities of trade unions are first and foremost to their members. But in the discharge of these responsibilities, material gains for workers should not be the only criterion for measuring success. It should extend to the improvement of social consciousness in members, establishment and promotion of co-operatives, improve cultural and welfare attitudes, better utilisation of social services, measures and for the acquisition of new skills by members ....


In the United States of America, the trade unions are trying to extend unionism from the work place to the market place. They have highlighted the following programmes in 1986-87:

* The credit card program (introduced in February, 1986)

* The legal service program (introduced in February, 1987)

* The life insurance program (introduced in February, 1987).

**Future Program Possibilities:**

* Early retirement health coverage

* Supplemental health insurance
* Long term health care
* Disability insurance
* Casualty insurance

Indian Trade Unions in the present context, should gradually lay emphasis on these functions. But in the present financial status of the trade unions most of these functions are beyond their reach. But at least they should keep these functions in mind and moral support should be given to these aspects.


FOCUS:

From the above survey, the following functions have been taken to judge the performance level of trade unions, related to the "social and welfare function" of Trade Unions.

1. Movement/awareness against communalism
2. Anti caste movement
3. Movement/awareness against drug, wine, gambling among workers
4. Literacy drive
5. Organisation of blood donation camps

7. Vocational training for the children and dependents of workers.

8. Organisation of cultural functions such as drama, sports, debate among the workers.

9. Hospital facilities

10. Housing facilities

11. Canteen facilities

12. Transport facilities of workers from township to work place (plant).

13. Sanitary, rest room and provision of drinking water in the plant

14. Consultation with the management and finding solutions related to occupational diseases.
2.5.2. **Organisational Functions of Trade Unions:**

Trade union is an organisation. So, like any, organisation, it should also have effective leadership style, clear objectives, proper communication system, planning and even performance appraisal system etc. In order to function properly, the trade unions have to undertake certain tasks. Generally, these functions are (a) time spent for enlisting new members, (b) time spent on collecting annual subscriptions, (c) safeguarding interests of the workers, (d) communication with the workers, (e) meetings, (f) organising joint movements, (g) reducing intra-union rivalry, (h) time spent for listening to personal grievances and problems of workers and their redressal.

These are not the only tasks related to organization. There are other functions also. An organisation is a multivariate system consisting of generally four interacting variables. These are task, structure, technology and people. Here we have taken only a few standard organisational functions. Many trade unionists, politicians, sociologists and others have expressed their opinion relating to these organisational functions and problems of trade unions. The problems generally are as follows:
1. **Inter union rivalry:**

Inter union rivalry is the most vital feature of the trade union movement in India. This problem arises due to many reasons. One of the most important reasons is the T.U.s attempts to increase membership. Due to the existence of several unions in the same workplace which has a fixed number of employees, unions compete with each other to recruit new members at the cost of other unions. Thus, this results in several related task - Soliciting and retaining membership through contacts, meetings, fees collection etc. The nature of conflict may vary from place to place, industry to industry. It may also differ due to the existing socio, economic and political settings. It is also affected by nature of organisation's at stability and health and the quality of its industrial relations. The type of trade union and its leadership style and the character of workers also have impact on inter union rivalry. Lester has argued that such rivalry helps to ensure a vigorous and dynamic trade union movement. But this argument is based mainly on the theory of competition as applied to product manufacturing. "Thus inter union rivalry is presumed to promote innovation and resourcefulness in striving for the attainment of union goals".


"The reasons for maintaining a relatively low level of subscriptions is to inter union rivalry. The result is that most
of the trade unions are under severe financial strain. Moreover rivalry has not been conducive to the efficient utilization of organisational and financial resources. The average per union and per member annual income of unions in Kanpur Cotton Textile Industry works out at Rs.3,760 and Rs.2.27 respectively. "The resultant precarious financial position of the unions has rendered them unable to undertake members welfare activities. The constant threats of campaigns by rivals has necessitated the expenditure of monetary and manpower resources for defensive purposes which do not bring direct gains to the workers".

(Mr. S.M. Pandey, Rival unionism in an industrial centre, A study of Kanpur, IJIR, 1972, p.156).

To fulfil the objects of the trade union, their leaders should strive for "healthy organisation". Without a favourable healthy organisation, no union would become a proper platform to fulfil it's objects.

Again most of the trade union organisations suffer from internal conflict, in addition to inter union rivalry. In this matter, J. Henry Richardson had commented, "The trade union movement is often assumed to have a solidarity and unity which it does not in fact possess and it suffers from internal stress, strains and tensions which weaken its structure. Many of the difficulties from competition and rivalry between unions applying
conflicting bases of organisation while other divisions result from differences of policy".

(J. Henry Richardson, 1954, p.191).

From the above discussion, the following major functions can be considered as fulfilling the organisational objectives of trade unions:

(1) minimising intra and inter union rivalry
(2) minimising differences in the policies of trade unions i.e. for the better interest of companies and workers, joint movements are required
(3) union organisation development.

Inter and intra union rivalry affect both employers and workers adversely. Before the merger of the AFL-CIO in the USA, the two wings provided an example of such rivalry ... the division in some European countries between socialist unions and catholic or Christian unions is well known. In Britain, the trade union congress has succeeded in achieving a considerable measure of co-ordination".

(J. Henry Richardson, p.191).

The minimisation of union rivalry is also a first condition for Organisation Development. "Organisation Development" is one of the main functions of a trade union. Without proper organisational development, no association or
organisation can exist. "According to Marx, the maintenance of the association of workers is more important and necessary than the maintenance of wages" (Punekar, 1948, p.29).

"Organisation Development" consists of a systematic, planned and long range effort to improve an organisation's capabilities in solving problems and coping with changes in its external environment. To implement the object of organisation development, communication is very important. Trade unions should look after effective communication with the workers. They should listen sympathetically to the grievances of workers, and their problems, not only with reference to the workplace but also to the union and the services it offers.
2.5.3. **Trade Unions in Financial Function:**

There is no organisation which do not have some financial tasks. Trade unions being industrial organisations, possess some economic or financial strategies and policies. In India, if we analyse the causes of T.U.'s weaknesses, it is to be found that poor economic condition is the main one. Workers are both poor, uneducated and ill paid. The resultant effect of this on the trade union is its poor financial condition, as the subscription rate has to be minimal and trade union membership is not increasing, the financial position is also poor.

The financial resources of trade unions mainly depend upon members' subscription. So increased membership is a must for better financial position of trade unions. The rate of subscription per worker is Rs. 1/- to 2/- in almost all public sector undertakings in India. Whereas, if we study the subscription rate in Britain, then we get a different picture. A substantial increase in subscription between 1979 to 1985, more than doubled to an average of almost 64 pence per week per member (about $1). Furthermore, as membership falls, income from other sources such as investment can be shared out among fewer members (Willman and Morris 1988-98). Even the TGWU which lost over 700,000 members between 1979 and 1987, had total assets and funds
Thus the rate should be increased in India. So, to stabilise the financial position of trade unions, regularity in collecting subscription is necessary. It is to be noted that because of the poor economic condition of workers subscription rate is very low in India. But there is scope to increase the subscription to a certain extent. To create a special fund is also important to overcome the different financial crises of workers and the nation. In British trade unions, a special political fund has been created to overcome some problems. These problems, are based on Industrial action, union elections, rule changes, amalgamations, etc.
Due to the reduction of employment, the financial condition of the trade unions have been further affected. So strong unionisation helps the financial position of the trade unions. In the Calcutta Port and Docks, not even 50 percent of the regular workers are organised (Sarath Davala, 1992, p.105). The degree of unionisation among the contract labour is marginal in the last 10 years and there has been a downward trend in trade union membership. This is primarily because of the reduction in the permanent employment. In 1965, there were about 19000 dock workers while today there are only 6000 (Sarath Davala, 1992, p.105).

This degree of unionisation is caused due to weak organisational functions. Thus financial condition of the trade unions, is poor.
### Number of Trade Unions Registered in West Bengal 1970-1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of T.U.s registered</th>
<th>Total membership</th>
<th>Average members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>87,335</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>65,081</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>83,377</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>81,867</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1,96,692</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>48,703</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>28,542</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>50,154</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>60,523</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>97,073</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>51,468</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>69,996</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>36,970</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>89,812</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>1,17,115</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>66,484</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>49,303</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>54,007</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988*</td>
<td>539*</td>
<td>94,409*</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989*</td>
<td>389*</td>
<td>45,956*</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990*</td>
<td>225*</td>
<td>46,973*</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures exclude North Bengal, where however only 23 trade unions have been registered from 1988-1990.*

Unionisation trends have weakened in West Bengal, particularly in the years of 1980 to 1990. The average member per union has decreased in 1982 and 1986. So to attract new members is very important to increase the membership and ultimately for the financial development of trade unions. To implement this object, trade union should (i) concentrate on those functions which take care of the interests of workers and (ii) the collection of subscription regularly. Trade union should properly utilise the collected money. At present, they require strong financial base so that trade unions can spend suitable amount to minimise workers' hardships at the time of retrenchment, strikes or other situations.

A very general trend of decreasing average membership can be linked to the declining trend on average membership all over India over the years. The implications of these trends are extremely important not only for trade unionism in West Bengal but for the Indian labour movement in general.

So, we find that the economic condition of the unions is gradually deteriorating. Besides these, lockouts and closures are now a regular feature. Again, India is also an easy prey to natural disaster such as earthquake, floods, droughts etc. The trade unions should come forward to help people, faced by natural calamities. It is an important function of trade unions in modern times.
Level of expenditure of money by the Trade Unions in Social and Cultural matters:

The above function partly belongs to the social and welfare section under the trade union functions. But here we may consider this also under the financial function, because we want to know how the trade unions perform this important objective. To implement this object a major portion of subscription and donation received is to be spent to fulfil this. So, the trade unions should stress money-collection as one of the important subfunctions. "The essence to this view is that trade unions are there to act as a kind of social police force - to keep the chaps in order and the wheels of Industry turning. To this there is only one answer. The first and most important responsibility of all trade unions is to look after the welfare of their own members. That is their primary commitment; not to a firm, not to an industry, not to the nation. A union collects its members contributions and demands their loyalty specifically for the purpose of protecting their interest as they see them, not their alleged 'true' or 'best' interests as defined by others (Allan Flanders, (1970), p.40).

Numerous methods are used for financing such social services by allocation of a fixed percentage of the wage bill by employers, bi-partite contributions, tripartite contributions, government contribution. These funds are created either by state
or by the industry itself. Besides these, trade unions of every industry must have funds to attend to these functions.

FOCUS:

Financial functions of the trade union is one of the most important function through which a trade union can fulfil its objectives effectively. Membership strength is the fundamental factor, from which monetary stability can be achieved through the collection of subscription from its members. So, financial function of the trade union depends upon the regularity in collection of subscription, collection of special fund. Proper utilisation of collected money in social and welfare matters, in general meetings, for making payment to retrenched workers and also to help workers in the time of strikes. Trade unions are also a part of larger society and so it cannot ignore the effects of their policies on the national economy and the general public. Trade unions should also collect money as special donation or special subscription to form a welfare fund which is to be used at the time of natural disasters, such as flood, earth quake, etc. These functions would help to create a friendly society, essential for the growth of trade unions.
2.5.4. **Trade Unions in Political Function:**

In our country, in true sense, industrialization started during 1851-60 and there developed five major industries. Of these cotton textiles was developed by Indian capital. The others were mainly run by Britishers and Europeans. Their object was mainly to make profit by hook or by crook. "Incidentally the merchant became the political sovereign but he never forgot his mercantile role of exploiting the subject country for the benefit of his own country. The political ruler naturally assisted their own industrial brother" (Birth of the T.U. movement, Labour welfare, trade unionism & Industrial relations, Punekar, Deodhar, Sankaran, 1984, p.169).

As major problems emerged in Indian industries in the years of 1851-60, the British initiated some crude Labour legislation. These were Apprentices Act (1853), Fatal Accidents Act (1853), Merchant Shipping Act (1859), Workmen's Breach of Contract Act, (1859) and Employers and Workmen's (Disputes) Act, (1860). But most of the these laws were in favour of the owners. In consequence, labour unrest began to increase. At last the British Government was forced to appoint the Bombay Factories Commission on March 25, 1875, to look into these matters. From the investigation report, it was seen that children and women in particular were badly exploited. The British Government passed the Factories Act, 1881. An Indian philanthropist named Sir
Shapurji Bengalee made great contributions to this enactment. These activities gave impetus to the labour movement.

But it was the labour movement between 1890-1918 that is important. Most of the leaders in Bombay Mill-hands Association (1890), the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (India & Burma) 1897, Kamgar Hit Vardhak Sabha (1909), the Printers Union, the Bombay Postal Union (1907), were social reformers and they were directly attached to the moderate school of politics. After the first world war, Indians began demanding self government. This movement infiltrated the industrial sphere. The Russian Revolution in 1917 inspired workers with the idea of a "workers raj". They understood that the exploitation of the workers would only be stopped by forming a government of their own.

The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was established on October 30, in 1920 by Lala Lajpat Rai, with 64 trade unions as affiliates. Gandhiji started his civil disobedience movement on 1st August, 1920. Trade unions became involved in this movement. Thus political influence engulfed trade unions gradually.

The period between 1920-1929 was very significant because of the economic crisis leading to misery and poverty in India. Trade unions wanted to take up these issues. But they were divided and subdivided on the basis of political ideologies.
To the period between 1931 to 1947, T.U.s were often split due to different political ideologies. A survey in 1976, found 35 members of Parliament were from the trade unions and 80 members of State Assemblies were from different T.U.s. So we find that T.U.s were continuously under the influence of political parties,. Obviously there was a necessity to welcome "outsiders" to organise and direct T.U.s. Most of the workers were poorly educated. They had no expertise or knowledge to organise T.U.s. And most of the outsiders were directly attached with political parties.

The National Commission on Labour was not in favour of a legal ban on non employee (outsider) leadership, but did favour a restriction on their numbers. In the Trade Unions Act 1926, a provision clearly relates to outsiders - "Any persons not actually engaged or employed in the industry concerned, is deemed to be an outsider". In this legislation there is some restriction on "outsiders". But legislation in many other countries do not contain provisions concerning grounds for disqualification from holding office in a trade union or employers' organisation" (Labour Economics & Social Welfare, by Dr. B.P. Tyagi, 1982, p.167). But there were provisions to resort to outside leadership as a second string to the bow. At one time the American unions were firmly committed to Samuel Gompers' formula for political barter, "Reward your friends and punish your enemies was a so-called nonpartisan policy". They have
almost without exception given their whole hearted support to
democratic candidates in Presidential Elections (Dr. B.P. Tyagi,
p.28).

The political connections of trade unions vary from
country to country. Some trade unions have minimum political
aims. Others have larger political aims. This depends on the
basic objectives of the unions concerned and the circumstances in
which they develop and function. They cannot for example adopt
political aims which would seriously threaten their industrial
unity. Their success in industry depends on their ability to
organise all, or at least a large proportion of the employees
they claim to represent, regardless of their differences in
politics. When political divisions within a trade union become
too acute and occupy too much attention, the result is a split.

"The I.L.O. Convention (No.87) concerning freedom of
association and protection of the right to organize, provides
that workers' and employers' organisations should have the right
to draw up their constitution and rules and to elect their
representatives in full freedom" (Dr. B.P. Tyagi, p.167).

So one finds that neither the National Labour Commission
nor the I.L.O. had put any strict restriction against outsiders
i.e. persons who are directly attached with political
organisations. But inter and intra union rivalry is caused
primarily by the desire of political parties to have their base among industrial workers and to lead the labour movement in the direction deemed to be right as considered by them, and second, by personal-cum-fictional politics of the local union leaders whose low level of tolerance leads to frequent conflicts.

Allan Flanders commented "There are two propositions dealing with the relationship of T.U.s to politics that I want to put before you .... They are derived from studying labour movements and their history, in a variety of democratic countries. They relate to free T.U.s autonomous bodies ultimately subject to the control of their members not to those organisations which are an integral part of the machinery of state, such as exist in the communist countries." [Allan Flanders, 1970, p.26]. When they had a choice, T.U.s invariably preferred to rely on industrial rather than political methods to achieve their aims.

"In Britain, Trade Union Congress was the political arm of the unions. The greater part of its work was directed towards influencing governments and public administration, rather than employers and business management as such. It could possibly be argued that by and large the unions now attach more importance to political action than to their direct involvement in politics. The TUC put forward their second ranking officers for election to
the parties national executives while their general secretaries stand for the general council" (Allan Flanders, pp.31-32).

In India the leftist union leaders consider it the primary duty of unions to create political consciousness among workers (Punekar and Madhuri, p.181).

The following sub-functions emerge under political activities of T.U.s.

(a) Political agitation organised by T.U.s.

(b) Political demonstrations for the political gain of the T.U.s.

(c) Bandh/Strikes organised by T.U.s to gain in terms of politics for themselves or to gain something for their own political wings.

(d) Presenting memoranda to Ministers for their better political interests.

(e) Maintaining level of existing inter and intra union rivalry for political interest.

(f) Level of achievement to organise agitation for movement before legislative or parliamentary elections to help their own political wings.

(g) Exerting pressure to secure pro-labour legislation.

(h) Exerting pressure on government to change policies.
2.5.5. **T.U.s in Work Related Function:**

In the sphere of multipurpose activities of the T.U.s there exist some important and significant functions which are directly related to the work and working conditions of workers in industries. According to the definition given by the Webbs (1920) "Trade union is a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives".

From the analysis of the above definition and others we can derive the work related functions of trade unions as follows, achieved through representation to management, work stoppages, demonstration, strikes etc.:

- (a) About wages/pay scale etc.
- (b) About bonus and its payment in time
- (c) Promotion
- (d) Transfer policy
- (e) About environmental pollution
- (f) About the fulfilment of the target of productivity
- (g) To reduce work load upon workers
- (h) About the hazardous conditions of work in factories and safety
- (i) About workers' participation in joint bodies.

Most of the above functions are supervised by the Management. It is their primary duty to look into these important
functions. But trade unions cannot escape their responsibility on these issues.

In most of the discussions on industrial relations, the focus is generally on work stoppages caused by strikes and the role of trade unions in the matter. Rather surprisingly, the equally disturbing phenomenon of lockouts is overlooked. Professor Ruddar Datt (1991) tries to remove this particular gap in the study of industrial relations by analysing the trends of lockouts in India over the last three decades. In the latter half of this period he observed that the intensity of lockouts has increased vis-a-vis strikes and the phenomenon is particularly severe in West Bengal". 
## Industrial Disputes classified by Strikes and Lockouts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Strikes</th>
<th>Lockouts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2501</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2245</td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2029</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1689</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1355</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1458</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1348</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>1304</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 (P)</td>
<td>1408</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990 (P)</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Jan-Aug)

(* P = Provisional).

(T.S. Papola et al., p.498).
The nature of industrial disputes depends upon many factors. In contrast to the industry-wise issues are those which concern individual mills or sections of their work force. There is a variety of issues which falls in this category and it is difficult to pigeon-hole them under neat labels. Strike statistics published by the government clubs several of these issues under the head 'personnel' and relegates the rest to the category "others". Some idea of the causes of plant level disputes can be had by listing the more recurrent issues. These are dismissal or suspension of workers, transfer from one department to another, promotion of some workers overlooking the claims of others, filling up of vacancies with temporary or casual workers.

From the above, it is seen that most of the strikes and lockouts are caused due to work related functions, so to bring industrial peace, both management and trade unions should look into the matters of wages, bonus payment, hazardous conditions at work, transfer policy, etc.

It clearly emerges from the foregoing discussion that vital questions concerning the entire industry such as wages, work assignments and bonus can on the whole be amicably settled through joint negotiations at the highest levels.

Generally, the motive of trade unions, inter alia, is to bargain with employers and try to improve the economic conditions of the workers and their surroundings. Unions are shown to have a
persistent effect averaging 10 to 15 percent on relative wages in the USA. In Britain a range from 10 to 25 percent was estimated.

The studies are consistent with Lewis' (1963), findings that the wage effect varies over time and across industries. A detailed review of the studies on the impact of trade unions on wages is given by Lewis (1963), George Johnson (1975), Freeman and Medoff (1984) and Blach Flower David (1986). In India, a few studies have empirically tested the impact of unions on wages. The pioneering work was undertaken by Fonsecca (1964). He studies the impact of unionization on money wages of the workers. Fonsecca tested the hypothesis that unions are a factor in raising money wages and analysed data for the period 1939-56. In his regression analysis money wages paid to workers was taken as the dependent variable. Degree of unionization, cost of living index, and productivity were taken as independent variables. His result showed that the impact of unionization is positive but not significant. Taking the same variables, Johri (1967) tests the theory for the period 1951-61, he used the correlation technique to study the relationship. The simple correlation between money wage and degree of unionisation was found to be 0.75. When CPI effect was cancelled out, it became 0.07. He came to the conclusion that the principal determinant of earnings in the manufacturing sector is the consumer price index.

[Ramjas; IJIR 1989), Jan, Vol.24, No.3 (pp.269-274)].
Another study of the aggregate Indian manufacturing sector is by Suri (1976) for the period (1959-69). His dependent variable, money wages paid to workers, had the independent variables as cost of living index (consumer price index), productivity index (at current prices), capital output ratio (at current prices), employment index and the degree of unionism. Index of the degree of unionism has been the traditional measure, employed by Johri (1967) and Fonsecca (1964). The main findings of Suri (1976) are that changes of money earnings are largely explained in terms of changes in the cost of living index and productivity index. He also finds that there is no evidence of the degree of unionism having a positive influence on money earnings. His results show negative but insignificant impact of unionization on money wages. He observes that the influence of unionism could perhaps be understood indirectly in terms of union pressure for neutralising the cost of living and there is reason to believe that an increase in the degree of unionism is accompanied by rivalry and factionalism and to that extent, it reduces their effectiveness.


From the study of "Trade unions and wages" by Dr. Ramjas, we get the following conclusions. "The finding of the paper has rejected the hypothesis that trade unions positively influence the money earnings of workers in chemicals, textiles and the aggregate manufacturing sector of the country". The reason for this is not difficult to understand as trade unions in the
country are highly fragmented (multiplicity of unions in a single enterprise) and consequently this makes the unions ineffective.

However, some studies find evidence of the role of other institutional factors having a positive impact on wages in this country. "Unions do effect at times the institutional factors like social legislation and constitution of wage boards and industrial tribunals which in turn affect the money wages of the workers".

[IJIR, Jan. 1989, p.274].

Measures for Safety:

The National Commission on Labour was of the view that existing statutory provisions on safety were adequate for the time being. Due to rapid changing scenario at the industrial levels caused by continuing technological change, it is necessary to give protection in terms of additional safeguards and safety measures by the enacted law. It is important to take under consideration the conditions under which a worker is supposed to work. Unfavourable conditions affect workers' efficiency in terms of health, psychology and ultimately, productivity. It may not be possible for a worker to perform his job under heat and without any proper arrangements of light.

It may be recalled that the Royal Commission on Labour discussed the working conditions in the context of health, safety and welfare of workers and the administration of the Factories
Act then in force. Working conditions include not only wage structure, but fixing of working hours, period of rest, paid holidays, provision of canteen facilities and provisions of creches for children. Today, safety not only includes the provisions on work hazards but also accident and occupational diseases. "There is little evidence of collective action by employers' associations in safety and accident prevention programmes, although some of them have made significant contributions in this regard. Enlightened employers have been taking interest in promoting safety guides and other means". The National Commission on Labour was of the opinion that employers' organisations have to play a special role in arousing safety consciousness" (B.P. Tyagi, p.377).

But "Trade unions by and large have not taken much interest in safety promotion", too, as pointed out by the National Commission on Labour "Unsafe working conditions have not attracted their attention to the same extent as claims for higher wages and cash benefits. The Commission desired that this attitude has to change" (B.P. Tyagi, p.578).

Thus trade unions cannot ignore the absence of safety measures.

Workers' Participation in Management:

The factory system has divorced managerial and operative functions, authorising persons who occupied managerial positions to exercise managerial functions while workers performed
operative functions. Those who advocate workers' participation in management seek to bridge this gap by authorising workers to take part in managerial functions.

Workers' participation in management has a long history of evolution. It began with ideological concepts and reached the state of social reality mostly through political measures. It was only during the twentieth century that concept of workers' participation emerged from ideological spheres and moved into the domain of social reality and began to appear as a concrete social phenomenon manifested in its different variations.

"Workers participation in management has been considered by ILO, primarily as consultation and co-operation between employers and workers at the level of the undertaking. The most common method of workers' participation in management has been viewed as consultation and co-operation through special bodies, such as joint production committees, works committees, work councils and management councils" (B.P. Tyagi, p.355).

Trade Unions and Workers Participation in Management (T.U. and WPM):

Trade union functions also include an active interest in the performance and functioning of the organisations which employ its members to participate in joint bodies. Under many IR systems, trade unions have demanded, fought for and obtained the right to participate in management decision-making. This calls for a large degree of involvement.
In Britain, "In industries with strongly organised trade
unions, the influence of these committees was insignificant, for
collective bargaining was a more effective arrangement there" (B.P. Tyagi, p.349).

In the context of American industrial relations system
collectively bargaining is the most effective way in which
workers influence managerial decision making process. In Canada
and in Japan, trade union organisations are also very strong and
managerial decision is influenced by way of collective bargain­
ing. In Poland, the workers Self Management Act, was enacted on
20th Dec., 1958, comprising of members of the workers council,
members of the trade union committee for the undertaking and the
members of the party committee for the undertaking. Since 1946,
all undertakings employing 50 or more workers were required law
to set up works committees which have the right to receive in­
formation and to be consulted on economic matters. But in France,
workers' participation has not made much headway except in the
welfare field. In West Germany, Co-determination was the outcome
of the Second World War.

In Yugoslavia, the fundamental principles of worker's
self government were laid down by law on 26th June, 1950. But
Yugoslavia itself has disintegrated now. In Israel, "HISTADRUT",
the trade union organisation has 90 percent of Israel; workers in
its unions and owns a network of undertakings that provides over
20 percent of the NNP.
Indian picture:

The works committee formed by TISCO at the end of the First World War may be cited as one of the earliest efforts at workers' participation in India. In 1931 the Royal Commission had recommended the setting up of works committee. Under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, works committees were set up to preserve "amity and harmonious relations". The Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946 had also advocated "Joint Committees".

But it was not until 1957 that any real attempt at workers' participation in management was made. The structure adopted by resolution at the Indian Labour Conference in 1957 was that of Joint Management Council. Initially this voluntary scheme worked well but it became practically defunct by the 70s except in a few companies like Indian Aluminium.

At the time of the emergency in 1975, as part of the 20-point programme, a Shop Council and Joint Council Scheme was launched. Earlier, the schemes of worker directors in Public Sector Companies and Banks was confined to participation at the Board level. The 1975 scheme extended participation to shop floor issues. Again, after the initial enthusiasm, the scheme became confined to paper and a still newer three-tier scheme was launched in Dec. 1983. This included Shop Councils, Plant Councils and participation in Board meetings. The issues were also enlarged in scope. Some of the larger Public sector undertakings have regular sittings of these councils, but there are none in
the private sector today. On the other hand many of the latter have voluntarily adopted Quality Circles, a very restricted form of participation.

**Conclusion:**

The growth of trade unions relating to the increase in membership, conditions of strikes and lockouts and their causes etc. specially relating to West Bengal, have been discussed.

While, in the immediate post-Independence period number of unions and number of members were increasing, from the 1980s Union growth has become static.

There is a declining trend in strikes, but lockouts are on the rise, especially in West Bengal. The main cause of lockouts in West Bengal relate to the uneconomic running and loss of economic viability of concerns. The number of mandays lost on this account has been more than two-thirds of the total (see Table).

Structural adjustment, globalisation and competition together created more surplus labour and more retrenchments. Added to this, sickness in industry has led to many units being closed or on the verge of closure. Thus, more surplus labour is being created.

In this scenario, can trade unions function effectively? Are they serious about their problems? Is there any change of emphasis in their functioning? What should they do now? Hence,
there is a need to ascertain what functions T.U.s are discharging now and what they should do in future. Since it is not possible to study such details for all unions, a particular region of concentrated industry has been selected.

**Mandays lost due to strike and lockouts in the Public and Private Sectors in India (0005) (1980-88)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Public Sector</th>
<th>Private Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>12,018</td>
<td>17,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>21,208</td>
<td>26,517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>52,113</td>
<td>64,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>24,921</td>
<td>42,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>39,957</td>
<td>48,154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>11,487</td>
<td>26,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>18,824</td>
<td>30,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>14,028</td>
<td>30,123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>12,530</td>
<td>27,314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Number of Trade Unions Registered in West Bengal, 1980-1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of T.U. registered</th>
<th>Total Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>51,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>69,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>36,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>89,812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>1,17,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>66,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>49,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>54,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>94,409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>45,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>46,973</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Causes of Lockouts in West Bengal during 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>No. of mandays lost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wages and allowances</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8,52,273 (4.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bonus</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>55,815 (0.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personnel (dismissal, discharge, suspension etc.)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75,945 (0.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Uneconomic running financial stringency loss of economic viability etc.</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1,58,61,068 (77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Alleged labour disputes</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12,50,297 (6.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Alleged go-slow</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3,79,447 (1.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Miscellaneous</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21,11,417 (10.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All combined</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>2,05,86,946 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Labour Employment and Industrial Relations in India.

Focus:

The usual manifestation of the existence of trade unions is in the form of Industrial unrest and the number and frequency of strikes. Strike, lockout, closures, creation of new trade unions, fluctuation in membership of trade unions are the conventional areas of study. However, the real role of trade unions and their function vis-a-vis their membership cannot be ignored if an evaluation of trade unions has to be made.

This study therefore aims at a proper evaluation of the functions of trade unions in public sectors. For convenience of study and access, the Durgapur Industrial belt has been focused. A survey of literature related to trade union functions starting from Britain and America to India constitutes the preliminary stage of the study. A brief survey of the Indian situation both before and after independence is also made to provide a back drop for the situation in West Bengal. The scope of the study has been however, restricted to 1980-81 to 1990-91 for four public sector undertakings in Durgapur.

Union functioning in the public sector is easier than in the private sector, since there is greater acceptance of union existence by public sector management. If unions are unable to discharge their functions effectively in the public sector, it is unlikely, that they will perform better in the private sector. Hence union functioning in the public sector can be taken as a test of their over all performance in any industrial belt.
The importance of the study lies in the fact that it is based on field work, extensive data based on responses of workers, union leaders and managers and presents a contemporary evaluation of the role and functions of unions in large industry. A comprehensive view of the actual functions and role of unions thus emerges.