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THE WORKING CLASS

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Public Sector Workers Rally

Bengaluru; 28 January, 2017

CITU General Secretary Tapan Sen addressing

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NATIONAL CONVENTION OF CPSU WORKERS

Bengaluru; 28-29 January, 2017

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WORKING CLASS

MARCH 2017

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Editorial

Entire Working Class Movement Must Defend Public Sector

Modi government's budget 2017-18, on 1 February, 2017, proposed record disinvestment of central public sectors units (PSUs) of Rs.72,500 crores to meet fiscal deficit 3.2% of the GDP through minority disinvestment, strategic sale and listing of general insurance companies and of railways arms, IRCTC, IRCON and IRFC, beginning railway's massive privatisations drive of services, construction and finance mobilisation. Union finance minister in the Parlaiment states, "Criteria for strategic disinvestment of CPSEs is not based on profitability. NITI Aayog has classified CPSEs into 'high priority' and 'low priority' for the purpose of strategic disinvestment."

The public sector workers had their national convention in Bengaluru on 28-29 January, 2017 and decided countrywide campaign, mobilisation, demonstrative programmes and preparation for strike against this demolition drive of the PSUs. In post-independent India's capitalist path of economic and industrial development, public sector played the leading role, as was the necessity for public investment and sustainable gestation period in set-up industries to serve the emerging big capitalists of India for their own capital formation. In fact, Bombay Plan of 1945 of India's big capitalists' club prepared the road map for the Congress party for post independent India's economic and industrial development.

Yet, the establishment of public sector prepared ground for economic development with workers and people's participation for a self-reliant India and for onward march for a strong democratic India. The working class movement in post-independent India played a major role in building the public sector. As such, public sector WAS in the centre stage of industrial and economic development with capitalist objective and working class movement with democratic objective. However, after huge capital formation the Indian big capitalists changed track and wanted to grab the readymade public sector industries and their huge assets. The inside reason for the capitalists and the global neoliberal path of privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation combined to set the stage for introduction of neoliberal policy by the same Congress party led Narsimha Rao government. With the introduction of neoliberal policy also began the journey of the united trade union movement to resist it with countrywide campaign and series of countrywide general strikes. The working class and people's unity in resisting the neoliberal policy drive of the capital, the public sector remains at the centre of India's democratic movement.

Public sector is the people's property created by hard toil of the working class. It is being looted by the private corporates with policy support of the government. Public sector workers unitedly have taken some initiative. But, entire working class must be mobilised in the campaign and action and broaden it further with all democratic sections of the people. CITU has its ideological political basis to take the lead.

CPSU Workers Rousing Rally

Union Budget: Deadly Push to Privatisation; Calls to Prepare for Nationwide Strike Action

Swadesh Dev Roye

Jointly organized by CITU, AITUC, HMS, INTUC, LPF, Joint Action Front (JAF), Bengaluru and Coordination Committee of CPSU Unions of Hyderabad; a national convention of central public sector workers was held at Bengaluru on 29 January 2017. It was attended by more than four hundred leading representatives of trade unions from all the major central public sector undertakings (CPSU) in the country.

Before we delve into the deliberation and decisions of the convention it is of utmost importance to write on the gigantic event which was planned as precursor to the convention. Organised by JAF on 28 January 2017, the city of Bengaluru witnessed a huge protest rally. For the first time in the memorable past more than eight thousand workers exclusively drawn from the CPSUs of Bengaluru and Mysore - BEML, HAL, BEL, BHEL, ITI, VISL Bhadravathi marched through the streets of the 'silicon valley of India' holding high the red flags, union banners and huge number of placards, shouting slogans against the anti public sector policies of the Modi government. The rally ultimately culminated into a huge public meeting at the Freedom Park located at the centre of the city of Bengaluru. The rally was addressed, amongst others, by Sanjeeva Reddy, president of INTUC; Tapan Sen, general secretary of CITU; H. Mahadevan, working president of AITUC, Meenakshi Sundaram of JAF, Bengaluru.

The agitating and motivating factors behind the huge mobilization have been Modi government's aggressive drive of privatization including 'strategic sale' of Bengaluru based CPSUs which have been playing pivotal role in producing products having strategic importance in the country's defence. The Indian missile and space programme is being supported by HAL and BEL. BEML is behind the manufacture of war vehicles like TATRA, and also manufacturer of mining equipment. The crucial communication electronics required for modern warfare is produced by BEL. Warplanes used by IAF are either manufactured or maintained by HAL. Thus disinvestment or privatization of CPSUs like HAL, BEL, and BEML is deeply dangerous to our national sovereignty and will directly wreak economic havoc.

On the next day of the rally, a daylong national convention was held on 29 January at the indoor auditorium of BEL, Bangalore. Sanjeeva Reddy, president, INTUC and Tapan Sen, general secretary, CITU delivered the inaugural and keynote addresses to the convention respectively. A total of 31 representatives took part in the deliberation. The impact of the destructive public sector policies of the Modi government in various CPSUs has been captured by the participants in course of the deliberations. Excerpts from the 'Declaration' and the action programmes adopted at the convention are reproduced below:

Multiple Attacks: Privatisation, Closure and Liquidation of CPSUs

It is extremely shocking and deeply condemnable that the Modi Government has launched mad drive through dubious commercial routes to sell more CPSU equities and increase the total collection of fund by further selling of CPSU equities within the remaining days of the current financial year.

An ill conceived instrument called Exchange Traded Fund (ETF) has been pressed into aggressive play by the Government with the shortsighted intention of quick sell off bypassing important commercial and administrative procedures brazenly sacrificing the interest of the CPSUs concerned. As per media report the Government has targeted to collect Rs.6,000.00 crore under this category of equity selling and the bids worth Rs13,726.00 crore are under processing. The present CPSE ETF is a basket of 10 maharatna/navratna strategic CPSUs: ONGC, GAIL, Coal India, REC, Oil India, IOC, Power Finance Corp, Container Corp., Bharat Electronics and Engineers India.

It is revealing and appalling that Reliance Mutual Fund Managers has been appointed by the Modi Government to provide consultancy and execute the 'project privatization' of the strategic CPSUs of the nation.

Promoted and funded by the Government, an agency called National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP) has submitted a paper to the NDA Government drawing therein a dangerous blueprint for elimination of India's CPSUs. It has suggested, "*The way forward is more aggressive privatization – especially for the 17 Navratnas, the 73 miniratnas and the other 140 smaller PSUs which are not even in the ratna category. Only then will be PM's word that "the business of government is no business" has some meaning."* The NIPFP has recommended adoption of "*a 10 – year plan to divest at least 50% PSU assets … An adhoc expediency based on yearly targets is not going to work".(page 21)* Relevant to recall that the NITI Aayog has already submitted a list of 74 CPSUs (including many 'ratna' category) to the PMO recommending privatization,

Government has already sold out 46% of equity of BEML Bengaluru connected with defence production and now execution of the decision to further 25% strategic sale is under process. That means Modi Government has decided to hand over BEML to private corporate – indigenous or foreign. Another core sector maharatna CPSU under serious attack is SAIL. Strategic sale of Salem, Durgapur, and Bhadravati steel plants has been decided by the Government. Shockingly 67 discovered oil fields of ONGC and Oil India are being processed for privatization. Government has declared to disinvest 25% shares in all the five public sector General Insurance Companies to private hands including foreign companies, and in that direction the Government has decided to list those companies in the stock exchanges. Moreover the NDA Government has also decided to windup IDPL, RDPL and to privatize Hindustan Antibiotics and Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Limited.

From the Parliament (1)
Privatisation & Strategic Sale of CPSUs

On 7 February in Rajya Sabha in Zero Hour, raising the issues of privatisation and strategic sale of central public sector undertakings (CPSUs); CITU general secretary Tapan Sen, MP said, "I would like to draw the attention of the House towards the disastrous selling spree of the Government at the Centre targeting most of the well-functioning and wealth-generating public sector undertakings, mostly in the core and strategic sector of the economy. In fact, the national economy as a whole is being sought to be thrown in the auction mode. While making high-decibel noise of 'Make In India' slogan, actually, the Government has been targeting most of the profit-making PSUs for privatization in the name of strategic sale, thereby striking at the root of country's manufacturing capability.

The NITI Aayog comprising handpicked personnel appointed by the Government for this purpose have already produced a big list of 74 CPSUs for outright sale. While profit-making companies like BEML, Pawan Hans, Bridge and Roof, etc. have already been pushed to the advanced stage of privatization, the potentially viable and strategically viable PSUs in steel like Alloy Steel Plant, Salem Steel Plant and VISL under Maharatna SAIL are also being processed for outright privatization.

On the other hand, certain PSUs which are producing essential and important medicines, particularly, drug-producing companies, which have been pushed to sickness are being sold out as if they are loss-making units. In fact, the privatization exercise is aimed at severely weakening and destroying the country's manufacturing capability. Otherwise, how can one justify a Maharatna PSU like BEML, catering to defence-sector requirement, being targeted for privatization? How can one justify, as a follow-up action to the BEML's privatization, the hectic move of the Defence Ministry to list in the stock market other Defence PSUs like BDL, BEL and MIDHANI? How can one, even with minimum sense of ownership of national interest, conceive of strategic sale of the BSNL unless benefiting the private players becomes their priority? How can one justify the decision of outright privatization of a premier PSU like Bridge and Roof in the construction and heavy engineering sector, despite the company being a profit-making company having a sound order book position? How can one having minimum respect to national heritage, think of selling out and closing down the PSUs like Bengal Chemicals and Pharmaceuticals Limited set up by the great scientist of our time, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy?

In reality, the purpose is not to promote 'Make In India'. That is a slogan for fooling the people. The purpose is to serve the big foreign corporate houses along with their Indian chamchas.

Privatization of Indian PSUs means the end of reservation for SCs and STs, end of selfless corporate social responsibility being undertaken by the Central PSUs. This destructive design must stop."

It is necessary to recall that 100% FDI in strategic and sensitive sectors like Defence, Coal, Petroleum, Mining, Power Sector, Telecom, Civil Aviation, Satellites, Construction, Insurance, Pension Funds, PSU Banking, Railway operations and maintenance, Multi brand retail, pharmaceuticals has already been cleared by the Government. Ironically the Prime Minister has proudly proclaimed that India has now become one of 'the most open economies in the world and strongly committed to continue such policies in the name of 'reforms'.

Union Budget 2017-18

Union budget for the next FY presented to Parliament has given a deadly push to privatise the public sector entities. An all time high target to amass an amount of Rs.72,500 crore by both partial and full privatization of CPSUs has been provided in the budget. It is clear, for realizing such huge amount the Government shall resort to strategic sale and massive equity disinvestment in maximum CPSUs. The Rail PSUs and General Insurance companies are already identified targets. It appears the Modi Government is desperate to hammer the last nail in the coffin of CPSUs.

Right from the day of presenting the budget, onslaught on public sector has been launched by the Government. During his conversation with media after presentation of the budget the Finance Minister is reported to have said, "*The government will put out a mechanism to list all public sector enterprises in a time bound manner and launch another exchange traded fund with diversified PSUs to achieve the target."* The Secretary to the Coal Mine Ministry has announcement decision to auction 25 coal mines. Again Non Coal Mines Secretary has said that 250 non-coal mining areas will also be put to auction shortly. The real intention of the Government to create integrated public sector oil company by merging the oil CPSUs shall come into open in due course. However, once it is an 'Integrated Oil Behemoth', private international oil giants shall be certainly attracted in the game of privatization.

The budget proposals are bound to slash down capital expenditure by CPSUs. Because Modi Government has not only been compelling CPSUs to pay abnormally high dividends but even the investible reserve funds of the CPSUs are also recklessly siphoned off by the Government. The situation has been captured, *"Besides demand slowdown and decline in capacity utilization, CPSE's capex has also been impacted by a sharp rise in their dividend outgo and reduction in their cash reserves" (*Business Standard 04 Feb)

Accelerating Attacks of Contractorisation

Given the alarming acceleration of the extremely exploitative phenomenon of contractorisation and inhuman plight of contract workers despite being employed in the most organized public sector industries, it is high time that at least public sector trade union movement, as a whole as well as sector-wise, irrespective of affiliations, must unite and come on the street to launch short term and long term struggle with immediate and ultimate twin objectives.

Contract work force has already attained extra ordinary numerical and strategic strength in PSUs as a whole. This situation calls for more close cooperation between regular and contract workers. Despite huge contribution of contract workers in the production, productivity and profitability of the PSUs concerned they, (the contract workers) are victims of despicable exploitation in the matter of terms and conditions of employment including wages and benefits, social security and safety. In the light of the recent Supreme Court Judgment entire trade union movement of the country must take up the matter with all seriousness for implementation of equal pay for equal work in a massive way.

The Forthcoming Wage Negotiations in CPSUs

The 3rd Pay Revision Committee for the executive cadre employees of CPSUs, chaired by Retd Justice Satish Chandra, (3rd PRC) has submitted its report, unprecedentedly, to the Prime Minister's Office. A studied silence is continuing over the recommendations of the committee. This can be called *'lull before storm'*. It is gathered that Government has appointed a Committee of Secretaries to study the 3rd PRC report. In the meantime trade unions have started submitting Charter of Demands (CoD) for negotiating the next Pay Revision to be effective from 1st January 2017. The convention decided to incorporate the suggestions in CoD of the respective CPSUs.

The Call of the Convention

The convention has decided to launch a long phase of campaign, propaganda and agitation vehemently opposing all kinds of disinvestment of CPSU equities, no strategic sale/disinvestment, a firm no to partial and/ or complete privatization of any CPSU, no dissolution of BIFR and AIFR and exhaustive and effective steps to revive sick CPUS in complete public sector ownership. It reiterated the basic working class demand of unfettered right to collective bargaining, particularly in view of the forthcoming LTS negotiations.

The Convention Adopted Following Programmes:

- **Joint Industry/Sector/PSU specific conventions/seminars/meetings at Local, Regional and National level within 28 February 2017;**
- **Literature campaign, gate meetings, dharna before main gate of the respective establishment; and slogan shouting during recess hour and at the end of duty hour to be completed by 20 March 2017;**
- **All India Protest Day on 30 March 2017 by wearing Black Badge at work; and dharna, slogan shouting etc according to local practice;**
- **National Seminar in New Delhi during the second half of the coming budget session of Parliament** *(Date to be decided)***;**
- **Convention appealed to all public sector workers, irrespective of affiliation, to prepare for a Nationwide Strike** *(Date to be announced later).*

From the Parliament (2)

Privatisation & Disinvestment of CPSUs

In reply to questions related to privatisation and disinvestment of CPSUs; union minister of state for finance submitted a statement in Lok Sabha on 2 December, 2016.

- The statement included 4 years 'targets' and 'achievements' (!) as below. (Amounts- Rs in Crs)

Year	Target	Strategic Sale Target	Amounts Realised
2013-14	40,000	-	15,819
2014-15	43,425	-	24,349
2015-16	41,000	28,500	23,997
2016-17	36,000	20,500	21,400.84 (*as on 15.11.2016*)

- Disinvestment Amounts Receipts

2013-14: Hindustan Copper (HCL) – 259.56; ITDC – 30.17; MMTC – 571.71; National Fertilizers (NLF) – 101.08; State Trading Corp (STC) – 4.54; Neyveli Lignite Corp (NLC) – 358.21; Engineers India Ltd (EIL) – 497.32; Indian Oil Corp (IOC) – 5341.49; CPSE-Exchange Traded Fund – 3000; NHPC -2131.28; Power Grid Corp (PGCIL) – 1637.32; BHEL – 1886.78.

2014-15: SAIL – 1719.54; Coal India Ltd (CIL) – 22557.63.

2015-16: Rural Elect. Corp (REC) – 1608; Power Finance Corp – 1671; Dredging Corp -53.33; IOC – 9369; EIL – 642.5; NTPC – 5014.55; Container Corp (CONCOR) - 1155.20; Bharat Dynamics (BDL) – 198.85; Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd (HAL) – 4284.37.

2016-17: NHPC – 2716.55; IOC – 262; NTPC – 203.78; NALCO – 2831.71; HCL – 399.93; NMDC – 7519.15; Manganese Ore (MOIL) – 793.87; NBCC – 2201.14; Bharat Electronics (BEL) – 1802.60; EIL – 31.38; CIL – 2638.24.

From the Parliament (3)

Disinvestment, Strategic Sale & Listing of PSEs in Budget 2017-18

Budget 2017-18, currently under discussion in the Parliament, proposed a record disinvestment target of Rs.72,500 crores to meet the fiscal deficit at 3.2% of GDP. Rs.72,500 crore through capital receipts comprises of Rs.46,000 crores from minority disinvestment; Rs.15,000 crores from strategic sale and Rs.11,000 crores from the listing of five public sector general insurance companies.

The government announced listing of five public sector non-life insurance companies namely National Insurance Company Ltd, Oriental Insurance Company Ltd, New India Assurance Company Ltd, General Insurance Corporation of India and United India Assurance Ltd.

Significantly, world's biggest insurance company Lloyd will begin its operation in India from April, 2017.

The government also lined up listing of railways arms – Indian Railway Catering and Tourism Corporation Ltd (IRCTC), Indian Railway Finance Corporation Ltd (IRFC) and Indian Railway Construction) International Ltd (IRCON). Both, IRCTC in catering and hospitality services and IRCON International in the railway infrastructure construction are debt-free and profit making companies. IRFC is the financing arm of the Ministry of Railways which has a higher net worth. Listing of these companies is the gateway of massive privatisation of railways.

Strategic Sale of Public Sector Enterprises

Recently, Modi government has decided strategic sale of Public Sector Enterprises (PSEs). According to the Department of Disinvestment, in the strategic sale of a PSE, the transaction has two elements: (1) *Transfer of a Block of Shares* to a private strategic partner and (2) *Transfer of Management Control* to the private strategic partner.

It is not necessary that more than 51% of the total equity go to the private strategic partner for the *Transfer of Management* to take place. For example, out of 51% of government's shares in a PSE, 25% shares go to the private strategic partner and the government retaining 26% shares. Remaining 49% shares are dispersed through disinvestment. But the necessary condition is that the control of the PSE is with the private strategic partner.

The strategic sale of PSEs is a major way of privatization. In many such strategic sale of PSEs in the past, the private sector firms got more than 51% shares in the final stages as in case of BALCO, VSNL, Hindustan Zinc Limited.

PSEs in the Chopping Box

Government approved first strategic sale of PSE – the Allahabad-based Bharat Pumps and Compressors Ltd. Others listed for strategic sale include Bharat Earth Movers, Hindustan Newsprint, Ferro Scrap Nigam, some units of Cement Corporation of India, Nagarnar Steel Plant of NMDC. Niti Aayog list also proposed strategic sale of Bhadrawati, Durgapur and Salem units of SAIL.

Government decided strategic sale of 100% government equity of 7 companies - Scooters India, Hindustan Prefabs, Bridge & Roof Company India, Project & Development Company India, Bharat Pump & Compressors, Pawan Hans and Central Electronics.

Niti Aayog has recommended 11 PSEs as 'high priority' and another 11 PSEs as 'low priority' strategic sale.

Niti Aayog has prepared a third list of 74 sick and loss-making PSEs of which 26 are recommended to be closed; 5 are for giving on long-term lease or transfer to states (these are mainly hotels), 6 for sale or transfer to states. Within these 74 units, 22 currently undergoing a revival plan.

The last strategic sale took place in Jessop and Co in 2003-04 under NDA government, when 72 per cent of government stake was sold to Indo Wagon Engineering for Rs 18.18 crore. In the same year, the government had sold 18.92 per cent of its equity in Hindustan Zinc Ltd to Sterlite Opportunities & Venture Ltd for Rs 323.88 crore.

CITU Denounced Government's Move to Wind Up Public Sector Drug Companies

On 29 December, 2016 CITU denounced BJP's union cabinet decision on public sector drug companies – to wind-up IDPL and RDPL and to privatise Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd (HAL) and Bengal Chemicals & Pharmaceuticals Ltd (BCPL).

Deliberate neglect of the successive governments at the centre in timely modernising IDPL and RDPL made these two PSUs sick. Now these two are being wind up. The dubious game plan is to sell huge land assets at prime locations of IDPL and RDPL.

Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd and Bengal Chemicals & Pharmaceuticals Ltd are functioning despite all odds created by the government itself. BCPL is a heritage company setup by renowned scientist Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy and deserves special measures for protection. Both the PSUs have demonstrated their competence and commitment in meeting urgent domestic demands of certain essential life-saving medicines.

Modi government is killing drug producing PSUs is to make drug market for unfettered exploitation by the private drug tycoons, mostly foreign multinational companies, that too at a time when prices of most of the essential drugs are spiralling high fleecing the masses and mocking at so called price control measures of the government.

CITU called upon the working people and the trade unions irrespective of affiliations to oppose and resist such draconian measures.

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In the Parliament (4)

Countrywide Strike of Medical & Sales Representatives

Raising the issue of countrywide strike of medical and sales representatives in Rajya Sabha during Zero Hours; CITU general secretary Tapan Sen, MP, drawing special attention of the minister of chemicals and fertilizers, who was present in the House; said that about one lakh of medical and sales representatives were going on strike next day, the 3rd February on twofold demands. Firstly, they are demanding cost-based capping of medicine prices and to make it affordable to the people; and added, "*as the Union Finance Minister yesterday also repeated in his budget Speech*." For affordability, "*don't leave the medicine price to be determined by the market. It must be based on cost plus reasonable return*," he said. "*Secondly, the tax or excise duty burden on essential medicines must be made nil. Thirdly, the aggression of the multinational companies to monopolise the supply of essential medicines must be contained and controlled*."

Drawing the attention of the House he said that medical and sales representatives have for long been demanding statutory working rules under the SPE Act. "*A tripartite committee is in place. But, the committee is not doing anything. It is just sitting on papers*." This is only "*to ensure the Ease of Doing Business for the pharma companies, leaving the entire medical and sales representatives to the anrchy of the employers,"* he said.

Drawing again the attention of the union chemical and fertilizer minister, Tapan Sen urged "*to take a call on the issue of medicine prices. He has made a statement in the matter of stens. I request him to intervene in this matter also*."

Several other MPs also associated themselves with the statement of Tapan Sen on medical and sales representatives' countrywide strike and demands. They include Ananda Bhaskar Rapulu [Congress – Telangana], T K Rangarajan [CPI(M) – Tamilnadu], Jharna Das Baidya [CPI(M) – Tripura], Madhusudan Mistry [Congress - Gujarat) and '*Some Other Members*', as the Rajya Sabha proceedings noted.

BIFR in the Boil

[On 10 January, 2017 CITU condemned and strongly argued against Modi government's decision to dissolve BIFR. Business Line in its editorial on 17 January said that CITU is wrong and argued in favour of BIFR's dissolution. CITU general secretary Tapan Sen in his Letter to the Editor on 27 January justified CITU's opposition to BIFR's dissolution. Contents of the debate are being reproduced below.]

CITU Statement

CITU Condemned Government's Decision to Dissolve BIFR As a Big Blow for Revival & Rehabilitation of Sick Industries

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU) denounced the destructive decision of the Government of India to dissolve the Bureau of Industrial Finance and Reconstruction (BIFR) and its appellate authority, the AAIFR, vide the communication to all Chief Secretaries of the State Government's on 2nd January 2017 by the Secretary, Ministry of Corporate Affairs.

The BIFR under the provisions of Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provisions) Act have been entrusted with the revival and rehabilitation of sick industrial companies, both in public sector and in private sector. Dissolution and discontinuation of BIFR and AAIFR struck a fatal blow to the thousands of sick industrial companies referred to BIFR despite possessing potential for revival and rehabilitation including numerous cases already being dealt by BIFR pending resolution. Resultant job losses for the sick companies referred to BIFR but still remaining operational will be enormous.

The Government now citing the provisions of Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code Act 2016 and the Companies Act 2013, prescribed that the sick companies whose cases are pending with BIFR may now file fresh cases for insolvency resolution before National Company Law Tribunal (NCLT). But Exploring possibilities and prospects of revival and rehabilitation of the concerned sick companies is not the mandate of NCLT which is mainly concerned with clearance of dues of the stakeholders viz., creditors etc. And, here also, although clearance of workmen's dues are also made a part of the insolvency resolution, as per the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code 2016, the workmen's dues have been made subjected to a cap of maximum 24 months' salary prior to liquidation where as clearance of dues of secured creditor has been made cap-less.

In fine, dissolution of BIFR and AAIFR is going to make winding up and liquidation of thousands of operational sick industrial companies, cases of which are pending before BIFR, is an inevitability. These companies, both in public sector and private sector turned sick mainly owing to faulty policies of the Government as well as deliberate non-enforcement of statutory regulatory mechanism. Lakhs of workers would lose their livelihood for no fault of theirs. Besides they will be subjected to huge loss in respect of their legitimately earned dues because of the cap imposed on workmen's dues only. This is how the so called "Make in India" programme of Modi Government is reduced to a mere noise-making in media and destruction of domestic industrial capacity in favour of import and big MNC corporates.

CITU demands upon the Government to refrain from such destructive exercise which is severely detrimental to the national interests, besides hitting hard the lakhs of workers in particular. CITU also calls upon the working people and trade unions irrespective of affiliations to launch militant protests against such destructive designs, urging for direct Government support including policy support for revival and rehabilitation of sick domestic industries.

Business Line Editorial

"CITU is wrong"

Failure is an inherent part of business. Unions need to recognise this

The Centre of Indian Trade Unions is wrong in terming the Centre's decision to dissolve the Board of Industrial Finance and Reconstruction as destructive. The trade union, affiliated to the CPI(M), has based its criticism on an under-informed understanding of the effectiveness of BIFR to turn around ailing companies and preserve jobs. The truth is the BIFR, its appellate tribunal, and the Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provisions) Act 1985, the law under which they operate, have failed miserably in carrying out their mandate. Proceedings before the BIFR benches took inordinately long because managements succeeded in using delaying and blocking tactics. Even where orders for revival and rehabilitation were pronounced, implementation was poor — on an average, revival and rehabilitation of sick industrial unit took 5-7 years after BIFR proceedings, and several years more to go through the appeals process. In many instances, while proceedings were on, managements were known to strip the company of useful and valuable assets and siphoning out funds, hastening the final collapse. As a result, there was usually very little of value left that was useful for restructuring and nursing the company back to health.

A major concern of CITU is job losses in these ailing companies when they are referred to the National Company Law Tribunal (NCLT) or the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Board of India (IBBI) because they may inevitably face closure. The trade union claims these companies became sick mostly due to faulty policies of the Government as well as deliberate non-enforcement of statutory regulatory mechanisms. While it is true many ailing companies may remain operative for many years and thus keep some jobs going, it is also true that sick companies make very inefficient use of resources, including human resources. Restructuring would often help in putting these resources to better use. However, CITU must understand that industrial units become sick for a variety of reasons — change in government policies is only one. Other causes include a change in demand caused by the introduction of better products, the changing tastes of consumers, the inability of the company to keep costs down and adapt to changes in the market, as well as product safety concerns and regulations. CITU should understand that the interest of workers is better served where failed businesses are allowed to die and their resources reinvested in a new venture.

Now that SICA has been repealed and both the BIFR and the Appellate Authority for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction have been dissolved, the onus is on the Centre, the NCLT, the IBBI as well as companies to ensure that the new framework delivers on rescuing ailing companies effectively and quickly in the best interest of all stakeholders, including workers. The Companies Act 2013 and the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code of 2016 provide a new framework to rescue ailing businesses and protect the interests of affected workers. All businesses will not succeed, and it is only prudent that those that fail are closed and their assets and other resources reassigned to more effective ends.

Tapan Sen's 'Letter to the Editor'

We have gone through the editorial of your esteemed newspaper dated 19th January 2017 titled '*CITU is Wrong*'. We do not subscribe to your perception and outlook that failure is an inherent part of business, overlooking the phenomenon of "failure" and "sickness" being made an instrument by the concerned players for pursuing illegitimate gains at the cost of the concerned industrial units and workers. CITU stands resolutely by its statement dated 10th January 2017 against the policy decision of the government to discontinue BIFR and AAIFR through repealing the Sick Industries Companies Act 1985 (SICA 1985).

In nullifying our accusation that companies became sick mostly due to faulty policies of the government as well as deliberate non-enforcement of statutory regulatory mechanisms, the editorial has noted, "*CITU* *must understand that industrial units become sick for a variety of reasons – change in government policies is only one. Other causes include a change in demand caused by the introduction of better products, the changing tastes of consumers, the inability of the company to keep costs down and adapt to changes in the market, as well as product safety concerns and regulations."*

It is relevant to recall that a former Chairman of BIFR had said that making industry sick has become a profitable business. And it is this black hole which has been contributing in dangerous accumulation of intentionally unpaid outstanding loans called 'NPA' from Banks by business houses and turning the banks as well as the economy of the country sick. This objective reality vindicates our evaluation that deliberate non-enforcement of statutory regulatory responsibilities to prevent siphoning of resources from one industrial unit to another more profitable venture, ensure maintenance of proper accounts and financial discipline etc provides advantage to business houses leading to immense the suffering of the poor workers over whose sweat and blood industry and business extract surplus value. The industry becomes sick and the industrialists continue to grow wealthier. In your editorial observation, it has been clearly admitted that"W*hile proceedings (in BIFR) were on, managements were known to strip the company of useful and valuable assets and siphoning out funds, hastening the final collapse."* You may please note, as per statute, the company under BIFR is not permitted such striping of assets or siphoning of funds, but they could merrily go on doing the same just because the Government indulged them to do so while abdicating its regulatory responsibility**.** There are Mallyas, Subrata Roys and many more are burning examples.

The editorial has commented that *"CITU should understand that the interest of workers is better cared when failed businesses are allowed to die and their resources reinvested in a new venture."* Allowing to turn enterprise sick willfully and then allowing it to 'die' intermittently allowing siphoning off of assets and resources, disowning all liabilities and simultaneously expecting that the same business establishment will honestly invest the capital to establish new enterprise and generate employment, let alone absorbing the retrenched employees mostly at their middle-age, do not match with the real phenomenon of lakhs of sick enterprises in the country.

We request your esteemed newspaper to kindly organize a study and publish report on the innumerable cases of sick enterprises with sound techno-economic potential, including assured market, for revival, facing the doom due to policy hostility of the Government and ill intention of the management against such revival causing immense harm to banks and FIs – the creditors and of course lakhs of workers.

"Change in demand caused by the introduction of better products, the changing tastes of consumers, the inability of the company to keep costs down etc," as mentioned by you are all issues in the ongoing business processes and they can well be tackled by the entrepreneurs themselves, provided there is will and also provided the regulatory machinery acts impartially. Say for example the 'print media'. Has it totally been closed down due to the emergence and development of electronic media? No, judicious action has saved the industry from decay, rather it has been growing. Several examples can be cited to establish that it is only the government policy and deliberate non-enforcement of statutory regulatory mechanisms has paved the way for industry-owners earning more gains illegitimately through sickness route. It has practically become a business and truly BIFR/AAIFR like quasi-judicial bodies have been abused and/or misutilised by the treacherous business sharks with active Government-indulgence.

Still SICA 1985 at least had some concrete provisions to attempt revival and rehabilitation of sick companies. The amended Companies Act 2016 though have the provisions of National Company Law Tribunal (NCLT) and its appellate body, their mandate is totally different; their activities have totally been restricted through various provisions of the Companies Act 2016 and Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code 2016. The new enactments are actually a process for quick winding up and liquidation of the sick company within a time bound process. Lakhs of workers would lose their livelihood for no fault of theirs and they will be subjected to huge loss in respect of their legitimately earned dues because of the cap imposed on workmen's dues only that too has been prioritized at Sl No. 2 [Item 178 (b) (i) of the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code 2006].

CITU is of the firm opinion that, the Companies Act 2016 and Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code 2016 do not provide a new framework for revival and rehabilitation nor to protect effectively the interest of the affected workers but are exclusively aimed at rescuing the creditors, big business, business houses and MNC corporates.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

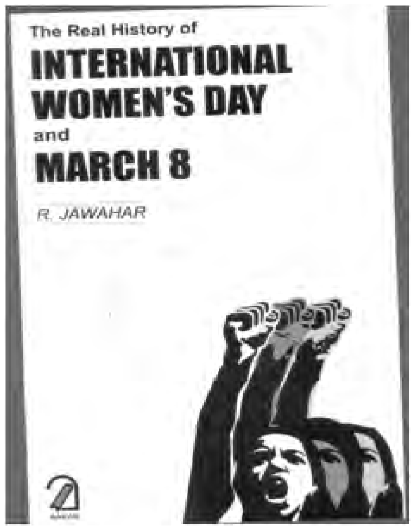
An Introduction to

"*The Real Story of International Women's Day and March 8*'

K. Hemalata

As women all over the world prepare to observe International Women's Day on 8th March, 2017; brands line up with their 'special offers' to 'honour womanhood' – from home appliances to airlines, from fashion products to telecom companies, from food chains, health products to taxi services. They delve through data to find what appeals to women in different income brackets, with different backgrounds. Suitable advertisements designed on that basis are released during that period. Consultants provide free tips on various issues. Greeting cards are printed idolising qualities that women are supposed or required to possess – patience, caring, poise, strength, grace, trust, love etc and etc. Media channels organise discussions, about women in the lives of celebrities or women celebrities. The idea is for the corporates to present themselves as socially conscious and use the occasion to sell their products, improve profits.

In the din, the real content, the real purpose, the real background of International Women's Day is totally lost, intentionally or unintentionally. The vast majority of women workers, particularly in countries like ours, in the unorganised sector, poor, illiterate, burdened with under paid and unpaid work go on with their toil totally out of the limelight. The appalling conditions of women workers of the big companies located in the Special Economic Zones, working as home based workers as part of the supply chains of big brands, is something that is totally ignored.



It is in this context that the small and well researched book '*The Real Story of International Women's Day and March 8'* assumes significance. The author R Jawahar was a trade union activist and a full time cadre of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in the early 1970s. Now he is a senior journalist. As an activist working with women he used to try to answer various questions they had in their minds. Some such questions related to the reasons behind different versions of the origin of International Women's Day led him to undertake this painstaking research to find out the facts, which he presents in this book. In the process he tries to correct several myths associated with the International Women's Day and its origin with the necessary supportive documents.

The author traces the origin of International Women's Day to the Second International held in 1889 in Paris which was attended by communists from many countries like Germany, France, USA, England, Russia etc. The famous communist and fighter for women's rights, Clara Zetkin also attended this conference and raised the issues of working women arguing that liberation of working class women could be achieved only by allying with working men under the banner of socialism. This congress declared that '*male workers have a duty to take women into their ranks upon a basis of equal rights, and demand in principle, equal pay for equal work for the workers of both sexes and without discrimination of nationality'*. It was in this congress that the famous resolution on observing demonstrations in all countries and all cities on 1st May demanding eight hours' working day was passed, leading to the observance of May Day across the world since 1890. Starting from this the author enlists the sequence of many international conferences and events and establishes the role of women communists in the evolution of March 8 as International Women's Day.

In this year, when the working class all over the world is celebrating the centenary of the Great October Revolution, it is pertinent to note that Russian Revolution began on 8th March 1917 (23 February as per the old calendar) when thousands of women textile workers struck work and marched on the streets of Petrograd demanding bread and an end to war. As Alexandra Kollantai, the Russian revolutionary explained, '*On 1917, on this day, the great February revolution broke out. It was the working women of Petersburg who began the revolution; it was they who first decided to raise the banner of opposition to the Tsar and his associates. And so working women's day is a double celebration for us...*'

Socialist Russia, under working class rule, was the first country that gave the right to vote to women, long before women in England and USA got it. The rights of women almost universally recognised today, like equal pay for equal work, equal right to work, paid maternity leave were not only legally provided but their implementation was ensured under socialism. In one of the first decrees, the right to use land was accorded to all Russian citizens including women. The basis for women's emancipation was created under socialism with women advancing in huge strides in all aspects of life.

As the author of this book correctly points out 'International Women's Day is a day to recall the struggles by women for rights and liberation and to plan for future struggles'. This is all the more important today when the growing discontent among the people due to the onslaught of the neoliberal regimes on their working and living conditions is sought to divide people, disrupt their unity and weaken struggles against these policies. It is being utilised by the rightwing forces across the world, as exemplified by the RSS driven BJP government in our country and the election of Trump as president of the USA, with their regressive and retrograde attitude towards women.

At the same time it is also heartening to see that more and more women are voicing their opposition against these forces and their divisive actions. Hundreds of thousands of women and also men participated in the 'Women's March' against Trump in the USA and in hundreds of cities across the globe soon after his inauguration as president of United States.

International Women's Day this year should be an occasion to spread the message of struggles for women's equality and empowerment, on the need to intensify the struggle for decent employment for women, for safe work places and for protection and effective implementation of the hard won rights of women workers in our country.

This Day should be utilised to spread the awareness among vast sections of working women, reaching out to all those who are yet unreached, about the link between their day to day problems, their miserable conditions and the anti worker neoliberal regime; about the need to join the broader struggle against the exploitative system As they did in 1917 in Russia.

This book 'The Real History of International Women's Day and March 8' has been translated into German and French. It has been published in Tamil, the author's own language. It is also being translated in other Indian languages including Hindi, Malayalam and Telugu.

This book will definitely help the trade union cadres, particularly but not only women, in understanding the roots of International Women's Day and channelising the struggles of working women on their demands in the right direction.

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ILO: “The Risk of Social Unrest”

A.K. Padmanabhan

The Year 2017 has begun with many questions and issues being thrown up to the working population. With the deepening economic crisis and the sharpened political impacts resulting out of it, working people all over the world are faced with series of challenges.

Simultaneously, some of these issues are being discussed by various international forums also. Notable among them are the discussions in the World Economic Forum – the ‘billionaires club’. World Economic Forum (WEF), the high profile body held its usual annual ‘summit’ in 3rd week of January. As seen recently in the discussions in IMF, World Bank etc, the WEF also discussed the increasing disparities in wealth and income. Almost concurrently Oxfam a voluntary organisation also published its annual compilations on the ever growing disparities. ILO also has released its annual reports like “World Employment, Social outlook’.

All these discussions and reports have highlighted the deepening crisis-may be with varying shades – and also increasing disparities which none is able to cover up.

Billionaires on the rise

The wealth of 8 Billionaires is equal to the wealth of 360 crores of people, which is 50 per cent of the world population. This is for the year 2016. In the year 2015, 62 billionaires wealth was equal to that of the same 360 crores. The concentration of wealth is happening in such a way that 62 becomes 8 within one year! Another report assesses that the year 2016 has ended ‘with the world’s wealthiest people having $237 billion more than when the year began! ‘A mere 500 people will bequeath wealth worth $2.1 trillion, more than the current GDP of India to their heirs in next 20 years.

The Indian Story

Oxfam report says that 57 billionaires in India posses as much wealth as the poorest 70% of the country, i.e. 876 million. The richest 10 per cent in India own 80 per cent of its wealth, while the richest 1 per cent posses 58% of all wealth!

The income growth has also been reflective of this. Between 1988 and 2011, incomes of the poorest 10 per cent of Indians rose by $29 or around Rs.2000, at an increase of one per cent each year. For the richest 10 per cent in the same period, incomes increased by most Rs.40,000 with an annual increase of 25 per cent. This low level growth of income of the poor has resulted in the huge disparities.

While Oxfam report calls for ‘a new economic model to reverse an inequality trend’ that it said helped explain Brexit and Donald Trump’s victory in US Presidential election. While this report from Oxfam, which is compilation of reports from various countries and organisations including the investment Bank Credit Suisse was released, World Economic Forum was to begin its session.

WEF said that ‘rising inequality and Social polarisation posed two of the biggest risks to the global economy in 2017 and could result in roll back of Globalisation’. It is to be noted that this is from WEF, where the only agenda always is Globalisation. As one report noted – ‘WEF has been the standard bearer of the positives from globalisation, new technology, free markets, western democracy and responsible leadership’. The official theme of this year’s forum is ‘responsive and responsible leadership’.

WEF this year insisted that rising inequality was not an “iron law of capitalism” but a matter of making the right policy choices! The neoliberal policies being pursued all these years were, according to them, ‘right policies’. But they conveniently ignore the fact that it is these ‘right policies’ that have led to the huge inequalities!

The Oxfam report had this to say – “From Brexit to the success of Donald Trump’s Presidential Campaign, a worrying rise in racism and the widespread disillusionment with mainstream politics, there are increasing signs that more and more people in rich countries are no longer willing to tolerate the status quo”.

But, WEF report calls on the rich elite “to be responsive to the demands of the people who have entrusted them to lead, while also providing a vision and a way forward so that people can imagine a better future". And to do this "leaders will have to build a dynamic, inclusive, multi-stake holder global governance system…. The way forward is to make sure globalisation is benefiting every one".

We can never expect the elites to agree that it is the policies of globalisation and neo-liberalism that has intensified exploitation resulting in the present situation!

The ILO report

International Labour Organisation reports –The World Employment, Social Outlook, Global wage report etc. also confirm the increasing economic crisis and the growing disparities. The report says – "economic growth continues to disappoint and deficits in decent work remain wide spread". The report also says that "there is persistent elevated uncertainty about global economy". It adds that "the rather disappointing economic performance in 2016 and below trend outlook for 2017 raise concerns about the ability of the economy to (i) generate sufficient number of jobs,(ii) improve the quality of employment for those with a job and (iii) ensure that the gains of growth are shared in an inclusive manner."

With unemployment increasing from 5.7% in 2016 to 5.8% in 2017, 3.4 million persons will be added to the unemployed. Along with the overall increase in unemployment, the report also expresses concern over 'chronic, poor quality employment'. Vulnerable forms of employment are expected to remain above 42 per cent of total employment in 2017 accounting for 1.4 billion people worldwide. In fact, almost one in two workers in emerging countries (India including) are in vulnerable forms of employment rising to almost four in five workers (80%) in developing countries. Unemployment in India is projected to increase in 2017 and 2018, from 17.7 million in 2016 to 18 million in 2018.

The Social Outlook report also says – reductions in working poverty are slowing. What it means is that poverty among those who are working is not getting reduced and various goals set out for this cannot be achieved.

Director General of ILO, Guy Ryder, in his address to the WEF refers to the present situation and says that "we find ourselves at a pivotal point in history" and the global developments of the last few months as "a revolt of the dispossessed, of people – workers – who feel they have not benefited from Globalisation. Every generation hopes and dreams that it will be better off than the previous one, both professionally and as a society as a whole. For many this dream has been thrown into reverse".

For all those, who have been boasting of the huge benefits that will be made available through the process of globalisation, the realities of the last 3 decades have been shattering experience. The Director General of ILO admits that "the societies we all live in are distributing the benefits of globalisation and economic processes extra ordinarily unfairly."

The Task Ahead

What do all these pious statements mean? They are only trying to cover up the realities of the cruel exploitation that has been intensified under the neoliberal regimes as integral part of the capitalist system. They want to prevent people from questioning the capitalist system and its sustainability. They want people to believe that rising inequality was not an 'iron law of capitalism' and it can be addressed by 'making right choices' within the broader policy of globalisation and within the framework of capitalism.

The objective is to pose as expressing concern for the workers, for the poor, for women etc on the one hand and on the other to ensure that the exploitative and the profit greedy capitalist system is preserved. All the talk of the risk of social unrest is meant to warn the big corporates and finance capital to take some measures to prevent the situation going out of their control.

The reality is that the issues of growing income and wealth disparities, rising unemployment, gender inequalities, poverty etc cannot be solved within the capitalist system, which is profit driven and inherently exploitative. The alternative before the working class is the establishment of an exploitation free society, the socialist society. The Great October Revolution has shown us the way a century ago. But despite the repeated and ever deepening crises, capitalist system will not collapse on its own. It has to be thrown out. It is the working class that has to play the leading role in ending the capitalist system and establishing an exploitation free socialist society. This can be achieved by creating the awareness about their class role among vast sections of the workers and mobilising them into bigger struggles.

SCHEME WORKERS

At CITU's Call

Unprecedented Countrywide Strike & Agitation

A. R. Sindhu

Lakhs of workers of Anganwadi, ASHA, Mid Day Meal and also of several other government schemes like NRLM, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, National Child Labour Project etc joined the nationwide Scheme Workers Strike on 20 January, 2017 in 23 states across the country. Nearly 6 lakhs of them came out on streets and staged huge demonstrations and rallies at the state capitals and district headquarters demanding legal status as workers, minimum wage, pension and other social security benefits; and for adequate allocations for the schemes. The strike was in response to the CITU's call of the 15th conference, held at Puri on 26-30 November, 2017; and culmination of series of pre-strike campaign and demonstrative programmes.

As pre-strike preparation, lakhs of leaflets were distributed among the workers and also the beneficiaries; posters were pasted by the unions and CITU committees; and meetings and conventions were held at different levels.

In many states like Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, the workers were threatened with termination of services if they participated in strike. Despite such threats, the workers not only joined the strike, but took part in the rallies and demonstrations.

As was jointly decided, CITU federations - AIFAWH of Anganwadi, MDMWFI of mid day meal and AICCAW of ASHA workers - jointly campaigned for better wages for them and for improved allocations for the schemes in the union budget 2017-18. During November- December memoranda were submitted to MPs. At many places the MPs came, received memoranda and assured their support to their demands. At some places the scheme workers gheraoed the MPs, who were reluctant to meet them. Anganwadi, Asha and mid day meal workers staged consecutive demonstrations in district headquarters on 19, 20 and 21 December 2016.

Statewise reports on 20 January scheme workers joint strike in Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamilnadu, Punjab and West Bengal have already been published. *(The Working Class; February, 2017).* Following are reports from some other states.

Karnataka: The strike was near total. More than 40,000 Anganwadi workers and nearly that many mid day meal workers participated in the rally.

Kerala: More than 44,000 scheme workers of Anganwadi, ASHA, Mid Day Meal and crèche - participated in the district level rallies, held after complete statewide strike.

Maharashtra: The strike was total in 13 districts of Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Gondia, Bhandara, Nagpur, Amarawati, Buldana, Nashik, Mumbai, Pune, Satara, Solapur and Jalna. About 11,000 Anganwadi employees were on strike and more than 4,000 of them joined rallies and demonstrations.

Gujarat: More than 80,000 Anganwadi workers and ASHA workers participated in the strike. There was unprecedented 50,000 scheme workers participation in the rallies held in 18 districts headquarters.

Madhya Pradesh: Also district level rallies were held in which the participation of scheme workers was unprecedented.

Chhattisgarh: A state level rally of striking Anganwadi workers and helpers was held. Hundreds of workers from nine districts attended the rally. Santosh Rawal, Secretary AIFAWH addressed the striking workers, along with state CITU leaders.

Scheme Workers Demands

1. Implement 45th ILC recommendations:
a. Recognition as workers;
b. Minimum wages not less than Rs.18000 per month linked to CPI;
c. Ensure pension not less than Rs.3000 per month, gratuity, provident fund, medical benefits and other social security measures for all scheme workers;
2. No privatisation of the schemes;
3. Adequate financial allocation to social sector schemes in the Budget 2017-18.

Odisha: About 6,000 striking scheme workers, under the state scheme workers coordination committee of Anganwadi, Asha, MDM, Krushak Sathi workers unions of CITU and coming from 14 districts held state rally, staged demonstration and held public meeting in front of Vidhan Sabha in Bhubaneswar on 20 January. The meeting was addressed by state leaders of CITU and of respective unions. A delegation met the chief secretary of the government and submitted memorandum.

The response to the strike call was from total to partial in varying degrees in different centres, blocks and districts.

Jharkhand: About 1500 Anganwadi and 500 Mid Day Meal workers in Godda district and about 1000 Anganwadi employees in Koderma district were on strike and staging demonstration on 20 January in response to all India call. 2000 handbills were distributed amongst the employees.

Assam: Strike was total throughout the state. All Anganwadi centres were closed. In 21 districts joint demonstrations were staged. In 2 districts sector-wise demonstrations were held.

Arunachal Pradesh: In Arunachal Pradesh, Anganwadi and ASHA workers were on strike in West Siang district. About 700 Anganwadi and 160 Asha workers joined demonstration in the district headquarter.

Tripura: 20 January scheme workers' strike was total in Tripura. Even those, who are not members of Asha and MDM unions of CITU, joined the strike making all 38,000 scheme workers strike total in the state including 19,859 of Anganwadi, 7,360 of Asha and 10,500 of MDM. All 9,900 ICDS centres in the state remained closed. On strike day, the scheme workers brought out rallies.

Strike campaign began with holding state convention of subdivisional scheme workers leaders on the 25 December at Agartala which was addressed by CITU state general secretary Sankar Datta, MP, state working women coordination committee convener Panchali Bhattacharya and the leaders of all 3 schemes workers unions. This was followed by all 23 subdivisional conventions in the first week of January; block conventions by 10 January; holding street corner meetings and bazaar Sabhas; rallies in all subdivisions and at some local places on 17 January.

Pre-strike campaign and strike day programmes were led by state and local leaders of CITU, working women coordination committee and respective unions' leaders and joined by other mass organisations and beneficiaries also. 10,000 posters and 20,000 handbills were distributed. On 17 January, a joint press conference was addressed by Sankar Datta, MP of CITU, Kajal Sarkar of Aganwadi and Nehera Begam of Asha unions.

Bihar: Under the banner of Bihar State Anganwadi Workers and Helpers Union, about 5000 striking Anganwadi employees from 10 districts, including Sharsa, Supaul, Madhepura, Aurangabad, Jahanabad, Arwal and Darbhanga districts, reached the state capital Patna and staged demonstration and held public meeting in front of state government secretarait in the state capital Patna on 20 January. The meeting was addressed by state CITU president Deepak Bhattacharya, its general secretary Ganesh Shankar Singh, state government emplyees leader Manjul Kumar Das and the union's general secretary Shobha Sinha. A 5 members all women leaders delegation of the union met the depart5mental secretary of the government and submitted memorandum on the the charter of demands.

Under the banner of state Mid Day Meal Workers Union had successful statewide strike and staging demonstrations before the administration of Samastipur, Saharsa, Supoul, Madhepura, Araria, Kishanganj, Khagaria, Sitamarhi, Bettiah, Motihari, Lakhisarai, and Sasaram districts. The strike had impact on other districts also.

Uttar Pradesh: Strike took place in 9 districts of Moradabad, Sambhal, Jalaun, Jhansi, Lalitpur, Chandauli, Sonbhadra, Saharanpur and Allahabad. About 1,100 Anganwadi and 300 Asha and MDM workers particpated in demonstrations.

Uttarakhand: Anganwadi, Asha and mid day meal workers participated in the joint strike and the demonstrations. In Dehradun, the striking workers brought out rally and a delegation met the city magistrate and submitted memorandum addressed to the prime minister.

Himachal Pradesh: CITU's call for scheme workers strike had massive response of Anganwadi and mid day meal workers and their strike was total in the entire state under the banner of Himachal Pradesh Anganwadi Workers and Helpers Union and Mid Day Meal Workers Union. In 25 places in all 12 district and tehsils headquarters, demonstrations, rallies and public meetings were held; and memoranda containing demands to central and state governments were submitted.

For pres-strike campaign 40,000 handbills were distributed among the scheme workers; and district, block and project committees meetings were held in all districts.

Delhi: Strike took place in 4 districts. A meeting was held in Jahangirpuri.

Rajasthan: In 4 districts about 1100 scheme workers held protest demonstrations.

Haryana: The first scheme workers countrywide joint strike had massive response of Anganwadi, Asha and mid day meal workers in the state and the strike was total in all districts. The striking workers brought out rallies and staged demonstrations throughout the state.

For the success of the strike, all 3 unions had their separate state and district meetings and had joint meetings with CITU district committees. In some district joint campaign team also mobilized the workers and held joint pre-strike demonstrations as per all India call.

Jammu & Kashmir: All ICDS centres were closed. Despite severe cold, heavy snow fall and tense situation in the valley, under the banner of CITU J&K state committee hundreds of Anganwadi, Asha, Mid Day Meal workers and CPWs (Education) workers marched from Lal Chowk culminating into protest rally and meeting at Press Enclave in Srinagar addressed by CITU state joint secretary Abdul Rashid Najar, senior CITU leader Md. Afzal Parray and leaders of respective unions.

A protest demonstration at press club in Jammu was joined by large number of Anganwadi, Asha, MDM and contingency workers coming from different districts. A rally was brought out from press club and after parading on the streets culminated into a public meeting at Indira Chowk addressed by CITU state president M.Y. Tarigami, its senior leader Sham Parsad Kesar, general secretary Om Parkash and the unions' leaders Om Parkash Khajuria, Rani Devi, Sunita Bhagat and Kanta Devi.

Contraction in Budget 2017-18 Allocation for Welfare Schemes

- Budget allocations for ICDS
  2014-15 - Rs.18108 cores;
  2015-16 - Rs.15433.09 crores;
  2017-18 –Rs.15245.19 (as against 12th Plan allocation of Rs.30,025 crores)

- 2017-18 Budget allocations for other schemes
  For MDMS - Rs.10000 crores;
  For NHM (NHM and NUM without medical education) - Rs.21,940.7 crores.

Protest against Budget Cuts

Scheme workers came out on the streets in protest against cuts and neglect in budget of allocations for the schemes and for the scheme workers. The all India strike and the pressure built by continuous struggles over the years was possibly the reason for the government not to introduce in this budget the cash transfer of schemes.

Reminding BJP's pre-election forgotten promise to "Review the working conditions and enhance the remuneration of Anganwadi worker's" and to protest against the present attitude of Modi government; AIFAWH called upon the workers to resort to countrywide protest on 2 February, 2017 by staging demonstrations, burning of effigy etc jointly with other scheme workers. In response, Anganwadi workers and helpers, ASHA workers and Mid Day Meal workers jointly organised a March to Parliament and burnt the effigy of the Prime minister at Jantar Mantar in New Delhi. In different states, the protest actions are going on. AIFAWH, MDWFI and AICCAW will meet and decide on the further course of action shortly.

Genesis of the Issues and Movement

'Schemes' & 'Scheme Workers'

The first decade of the millennium, India witnessed people's big movement demanding basic services like, food, health, education etc. These movements since 1991 under the leadership of the class and mass organisations, like the CITU, were the product of the continuous struggles against neoliberal policies of the government which was causing distress to the common people in India, pauperising them and removing all social protections. These movements put pressure on the governments to improve the social sector spending, particularly in nutrition, health and education. Many new government schemes were started, the existing were universalised and strengthened, by the government, particularly by the UPA I.

But, instead of making long term basic structures and provisions for universal basic nutrition, health and education (and also other basic services for agriculture and industry), these were all "schemes" meant to be temporary provisions with the grass root workforce who deliver the services as 'volunteers' 'activists,' 'guests' etc and are paid a pittance as 'honourarium' or 'incentives'. Social security is out of question for them. At present, nearly one crore workers, mostly women, are employed for implementation of Central government's different schemes like Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) (26 lakhs), Mid Day Meal (MDMS)(27 lakhs), Accredited Social Heath Activists (ASHAs) (10 lakhs), National Health Mission (NHM), National Child Labour Project (NCLP), National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM), Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas of Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA), Rozgar Sevaks of MGNREGA, Shiksha Mitras, Panchayat Sevaks etc. Majority of both the workers and the beneficiaries, belong to socially marginalized sections.

Organising the Scheme Workers

The Anganwadi workers and helpers were organised since the inception of ICDS in 1975. The All India Federation of Anganwadi Workers and Helpers (AIFAWH), formed in 1989 by the CITU under the leadership and guidance of legendary leaders like BTR, Vimal Ranadive, Nirupama Chatterjee, had developed as one militant trade union federation with strong presence and bargaining power in 24 states. At national level, AIFAWH had held innumerable struggles both independently as well as jointly with other trade unions, and was successful in highlighting the issues of the workers and in achieving some financial as well as other benefits for them.

With the experience of the AIFAWH and taking advantage of the strong cadre base of it, CITU took the initiative in organising other sections of workers, especially the ASHA workers (under NHM) and the Mid Day Meal workers (under MDMS). Their convention was held in 2009 forming the coordination committees. The movement picked momentum in no time that the CITU took the lead to organise 2 days 'Mahapadav'(day and night sit in) of 'scheme workers' (a word coined by CITU) in November 2012 at New Delhi which witnessed participation of nearly 37,000 scheme workers. This gave the focus to their basic demands- regularisation as workers, minimum wages, pension and social security as well as making the schemes permanent.

Historic decision of 45th ILC

In the Standing Labour Committee meeting held soon after, Tapan Sen, general secretary CITU proposed the issue of ‘scheme workers’ as agenda in the 45th ILC which was supported by all trade unions. The 45th Indian Labour Conference (May 2013) recommended that scheme workers should be recognised as ‘workers’, paid minimum wage and ensured social security benefits. This was reiterated by the 46th Indian Labour Conference (2015).

NDA government – Move to close down the schemes itself

None of the recommendations are attempted to be implemented even, till date. The NDA government which came to power promising the strengthening of these schemes, first closed down the Planning Commission, had drastically cut down the budget allocation in two consecutive budgets. It has proposed to close down many of these schemes directly, and many others indirectly, by privatising it. Many of these schemes are now providing statutory benefits like food security and right to education.

CITU Congratulated the Scheme Workers For their Successful All India Strike

CITU congratulated lakhs of scheme workers of Anganwadi, Asha, Mid Day Meal, NRLM, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, National Child Labour Project etc who jointly resorted to countrywide strike on 20 January, 2017 in 23 states and came out on the streets in huge demonstrations demanding recognition as workers, minimum wages, pension and other social security benefits and adequate allocations for the schemes.

Kerala
Cashew Workers Agitation

About 300 cashew workers with CITU state and district leaders resorted to hunger strike on 16 December in front of 28 cashew factories. They were supported by solidarity actions by fraternal unions and other mass organisations. The hunger strike ended in 11 centres on the basis of successful agreement on 18 January.

Thousands of workers marched to VLC cashew factory on 20 January where the hunger strike was continuing. CITU leader P. K. Gurudasan inaugurated massive rally. The rally decided to end the hunger strike in front of various VLC factories and begin again at one place in front of the corporate office of VLC from 1 February.

The leaders of of different centres discussed the demands with the management several times. Ministers and CITU leaders Mercy Kutty Amma and T.P. Ramakrishnan also held discussion with the management. Ultimately, at the intervention of the chief minister and discussion with union leaders and the management, an agreement arrived at and it was decided to reopen VLC factories before 1 February.

Hunger strike in 5 other factories still continued. Com. Rajan, who had participated in hunger strike in Thevalakkara, in meanwhile passed away. CPI(M) PB member Kodiyeri Balakrishnan and CITU national and state leaders E.P. Jayarajan, Elamaram Kareem, Anathalavattom Anandhan, P.K. Gurudasan, J. Mercy Kutty Amma, P. Nandha Kumar, K. Chandran Pilla, K. J. Thomas, Kadakampally Surendran, N. Padmalojanan, Neduvathoor Sundershan and others participated in various stages of the hunger strike.

Road Transport

Protest against Increase of Motor Vehicles Fees

Agitation of Transport Workers, Operators

At the initiative of All India Road Transport Workers' Federation (AIRTF) of CITU; transport workers and operators have started their countrywide agitation to protest against the huge increase in motor vehicles' different fees. On 29 December, 2016 the union transport ministry issued notification increasing 100% to 800% frees for driving license, testing, issue / renewal of registration certificate, fitness certificate, change of address, recording alteration in R.C. etc. The notification also permits state governments to impose additional fees.

Owners of all motor vehicles, including two wheelers and private vehicles, will be affected. Worst affected will be auto rickshaws and trucks as the penalty for the delay in fitness certificate of the vehicle is Rs.50 per day and the auto rickshaw owners will have to pay thousands of rupees as unbearable penalty. They can neither pay the penalty nor can sell it as none would purchase such vehicles.

At Thiruvanthapuram in Kerala on 18 January, a huge joint trade unions protest march to Raj Bhavan culminated into a mass meeting which was addressed by AIRTF general secretary K. K. Divakaran and leaders of CITU, AITUC, INTUC and of their transport unions. In Karnataka, demonstrations were held at Bellary and at other places. In Tamilnadu, big protest rallies were held on 12 and 18 January. In Telangana, statewide protest demonstrations were held on 19 January. In Andhra Pradesh, a Joint Action Committee for Protection of Transport Industry (JAC) was formed with 52 unions and Truck Operators Association. At the call of the JAC, thousands of workers and small owners participated in protest demonstrations throughout the state on 24 January.

In Assam, a big demonstration was staged in Guwahati on 6 February. In Bihar, daylong protest demonstrations were held on 30 January. In the capital city Patna auto rickshaws went on strike on 3 February. Demonstrations were staged in Odisha, West Bengal and Tripura.

In Maharashtra, handbills were distributed and posters were pasted. In Madhya Pradesh, auto rickshaw union organized demonstrations. At Gwalior auto rickshaw observed Bandh on 8 February.

In Himachal Pradesh, mass protest actions are planned. In Jammu & Kashmir, 2 days scheduled strike on 23-24 February was deferred after intervention of and assurance by the chief minister.

On behalf of AIRTF, its secretariat members R. Laxmanaia and Ramasray Yadav met the joint secretary of the transport ministry on 30 January and submitted memorandum. The joint secretary assured that penalty prior to notification date of 29 December would not be collected. On that a clarification notice was issued on 3 February.

Now, the central government circulated a Taxi Policy Guideline to all states for implementation. The intention is to pave way for big corporates' entry in road transport sector which would result in jobloss of lakhs of existing workers engaged in taxi, auto and other light motor vehicles services. New policy allows taxis to be treated as inter-city and intra-city stage carriages which will aggravate the financial crisis of SRTC and private buses and mini buses rendering huge number of workers jobloss. The guideline also allows two wheelers as passenger vehicles. It also allows aggregators in taxi service against Motor Vehicle Act while the proposed M.V. Act amendment is under the scrutiny of parliamentary standing committee.

(Inputs: K. K. Divakaran)

Heavy Manufacturing

Modi Government's Attempt to Sellout Bridge & Roof Co

On 5 January, CITU general secretary Tapan Sen, MP in his letter to the prime minister strongly opposed and demanded reversal of the central government's decision to sell out 100% equity of the public sector heavy manufacturing miniratna Bridge & Roof Co. Ltd situated in West Bengal. He also demanded appropriate capital support for modernization and updating the company's crucial facilities for the best interest of the nation and national exchequer.

The department of investment & public asset management (DIPAM), under the ministry of finance had summoned the management of Bridge & Roof Co., even bypassing the appropriate forum, for this.

Bridge & Roof Co Ltd, in the field of heavy-manufacturing, is catering to vital needs in infrastructures, defence and railway sectors. It has in-house expertise of designing and heavy-manufacturing facilities with dedicated team of engineers and skilled workforce. The company has 2,200 permanent and 15,000 temporary workers.

The company made a turn-around in 2015 with a profit in 2015-16 and comfortable work order to the tune of Rs.1100 crores. Precisely at this juncture, Modi government is attempting to hand it over in private hands.

Joint Trade Unions Protest in Kolkata

On 10 February, all trade unions jointly held a protest rally in front of Bridge & Roof Co's corporate office in Kolkata joined by the workers, engineers, officers of the corporate office and coming from the company's establishments in Kakdeep, Haldia and Palsit in Bardhaman district of West Bengal. The rally was addressed by CITU national and state leaders Shyamal Chakravorty, Deepak Dasgupta and Debanjan Chakravorty; INTUC leader Bishwanath Kole; INTTUC leader Supriya Adhikari; Bridge & Roof Employees Union general secretary Kamal Biswas. The meeting was presided over by Bridge & Roof Officers Association general secretary Pradip Choudhury.

After the meeting the workers-officers-engineers jointly resorted to Little Russell Street blockade in protest. *(From: Ganashakti; 11 February)*

UITBB Asia-Pacific Leadership Conference in Kerala

Global Construction Labours (UITBB) Asia-pacific regional leadership conference was at Thrissur in Kerala on 10-12 December attended by delegates from Vietnam, Japan, Cyprus, Indonesia, Nepal, Bangladesh and India. Members of CWFI of CITU and AICCTU attended from India. Kerala State Construction Workers Federation leaders participated as fraternal delegates. The conference was inaugurated by CITU national secretary Elamaram kareem. Report was presented by UITBB general secretary Mikhalis Pappanicolove. Construction workers problems in the Asian-Pacific countries were discussed and resolution was adopted. Resolutions were on adequate wages and employment to construction employees, social security, minimum wages, against discrimination towards women employees, equal wage for equal work, legislation for job security, rights of migrant employees, ban nuclear weapons etc. Each nation will decide about necessary campaign.

42 delegates attended the UITBB executive committee meeting on 11 December addressed by CITU general secretary Tapan Sen. A huge colourful rally of construction workers of Thrissur and nearby districts was held. All delegates were welcomed on the stage. The public meeting was addressed by chief minister Pinarayi Vijayan and others.

Joint Circular

CITU, AIDWA, AISGEF, CCGEW, AIIEA, BEFI, FMRAI

A meeting of representatives of CITU, AIDWA, AISGEF, CCGEW, AIIEA, BEFI and FMRAI was held on 2nd February 2017 at BTR Bhawan, New Delhi.K Hemalata, A R Sindhu, Usharani, and Ranjana Nirula (CITU), Mariam Dhawale, Sudha Sundararaman, S Punyavati and Asha Sharma (AIDWA), Sabita Mallik(AISGEF), R Seetalakshmi(CCGEW), M Girija(AIIEA), Kalyani Chakrabarti(BEFI) , Jyoti Tiwari and Taruna Chauhan (FMRAI) attended the meeting.

The meeting discussed the issues faced by the women workers and the importance of developing a joint movement on the issues and demands of women at work. The meeting also discussed the possibilities of a joint campaign and action on specific demands. The meeting agreed to organise a joint campaign and action programme on the following demands

1. Decent Employment with universal social security(Policies and budgetary allocation aimed at generating decent employment for women, decent wages for existing workers including scheme workers)
2. End gender discrimination including in the matter of wages, promotion etc.
3. Maternity benefit and crèche for all working women
4. Safe and dignified workplace (including addressing issues of Sexual harassment at workplace, violence against women, night work, provision of separate toilet)
5. Cheap housing, accommodation and affordable and safe transport for women workers in cities
6. Right to food, health and education of women and children. Curb Price rise and make adequate allocation for basic service schemes

The meeting agreed upon the joint actions:

- **Joint meetings at the state level followed by district level joint meetings wherever possible**. CITU state committees shall take the initiative to coordinate such meetings
- **Joint campaign from 9 March to 30 April 2017** on the above demands. Concrete local/sectoral demands may be added as necessary. Campaign may comprise of joint state, district level conventions, meetings, rallies, distribution of leaflets, posters etc.
- Signature collection on **a memorandum to be submitted to the district collectors wherever possible on 10 April 2017**(Birth anniversary of Vimal Ranadive)

K Hemalata
CITU

Mariam Dhawale
AIDWA

Sabita Mallik
AISGEF

R Seetalakshmi
CCGEW

M Girija
AIIEA

Kalyani Chakrabarti
BEFI

Jyoti Tiwari
FMRAI

Campaign against Demonetisation

Against demonetisation CTUs joint March in Bhubaneswar, Odisha

Tamilnadu: Central trade unions - CITU, AITUC, AICCTU, LPF, INTUC and HMS - jointly staged demonstrations in all districts on 23 November against demonetisation.

Under the banner of *Action Committee Against Cash Deficiency*, the platform of 23 organisations of CITU associated middle class employees unions and other class and mass organisations, jointly launched statewide public campaign on demonetisation on 29-30 January and organised statewide massive human chain programme on 31 January.

The Public campaign was organised successfully in 635 centres including 100 centres in Kanyakumari district. Public campaign was conducted by autos in Ramnad and Pondicherry; and by two wheelers in Dharmapuri and Tiruppur. In the campaign CITU booklet on demonetisation by its president K. Hemalata was translated in Tamil and 15,000 copies were distributed free to CITU state journal subscribers and to other fraternal trade unions. Vellore, Trivellore and Dharmapuri distributed around 50,000 separate pamphlets; and Kanyakumari, Tiruppur, Pudukottai distributed around 65,000 handbills.

Human chain programme was organised in all the districts at 42 centres. Around 25,000 workers, employees, peasants and general public participated. In Thanjavur human chain programme was organised at 3 centres and in Virudhunagar district in 2 centres. CITU state president A. Soundarajan, general secretary G. Sukumaran, treasurer Malathi Chittibabu, AIIEA state president Swaminathan , BEFI state general secretary C.P. Krishnan, AIDWA state general secretary Suganthi, DYFI state general secretary Bala, SFI state general secretary Uchimakali and other leaders of the Action Committee took part in the human chain programme.

(Inputs: K.C. Gopikumar)

Kerala: Demonetization severely affected the common people and workers. Workers are living in a difficult situation due to the loss of their employment and income. Thousands of workers lost their employment. In response to CITU all India call, protest rallies and public meetings were held in 11 districts on 3 January.

On 28 January, central trade unions jointly organised protest march to Raj Bhavan in the state capital Thiruvananthapuram with 7,000 workers participation and in front of central government offices in all district headquarters in which district-wise workers participation was - Kasargode-560, Kannur- 2200,Waynad-500, Kozhikode-1400, Palakkad-2100, Malappuram-1200, Trissur-2500, Ernakulam-1000, Kottayam-500, Idukki-2000, Alappuzha-1500, Pathanamthitta-1700 and Kollam-2100.

Bihar: Central trade unions and employees federations jointly held protest march against demonetisation at Patna on 28 January marching from Bhagat Singh Chowk near Gandhi Maidan to the RBI office converting into a mass meeting addressed by state president of INTUC Chandra Prakash Singh, state secretary of AITUC Chakradhar Prasad Singh, of AICCTU R.N Thakur, of AIUTUC Pramod, of TUCC Nripen Krishna Mahto. CITU state general secretary Ganesh Shankar Singh presided.

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX NUMBERS (GENERAL) FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS (BASE 2001=100)

State	Centre	Nov. 2016	Dec. 2016	State	Centre	Nov. 2016	Dec. 2016
AP	GUNTUR	271	271	MHR	MUMBAI	285	282
	VIJAYWADA	268	268		NAGPUR	311	303
	VISHAKHAPATHNAM	277	275		NASIK	289	288
ASM	DOOM DOOMA TINSUKIA	251	250		PUNE	280	276
	GUWAHATI	244	241		SHOLAPUR	294	295
	LABAC SILCHAR	260	259	ORI	ANGUL TALCHER	293	291
	MARIANI JORHAT	245	240		ROURKELA	300	290
	RANGAPARA TEZPUR	239	239	PUD	PUDUCHERRY	287	288
BIH	MUNGER JAMALPUR	308	302	PUN	AMRITSAR	279	273
CHD	CHANDIGARH	273	271		JALANDHAR	275	274
CHS	BHILAI	313	308		LUDHIANA	277	277
DLI	DELHI	252	249	RJN	AJMER	255	257
GOA	GOA	285	285		BHILWARA	272	267
GUJ	AHMEDABAD	261	257		JAIPUR	264	264
	BHAVNAGAR	262	258	TN	CHENNAI	250	252
	RAJKOT	272	270		COIMBATORE	248	247
	SURAT	254	252		COONOOR	272	272
	VADODARA	267	258		MADURAI	263	261
HRY	FARIDABAD	254	252		SALEM	260	261
	YAMUNANAGAR	273	271		TIRUCHIRAPALLY	264	266
HP	HIMACHAL PRADESH	248	246	TEL	GODAVARIKHANI	287	284
J&K	SRINAGAR	252	248		HYDERABAD	243	240
JRK	BOKARO	278	274		WARRANGAL	285	284
	GIRIDIH	303	299	TRP	TRIPURA	253	250
	JAMSHEDPUR	321	317	UP	AGRA	299	294
	JHARIA	307	302		GHAZIABAD	275	272
	KODARMA	325	323		KANPUR	290	285
	RANCHI HATIA	311	307		LUCKNOW	279	271
KNT	BELGAUM	280	279		VARANASI	285	279
	BENGLURU	278	279	WB	ASANSOL	305	303
	HUBLI DHARWAR	293	292		DARJEELING	265	263
	MERCARA	285	283		DURGAPUR	303	300
	MYSORE	281	283		HALDIA	307	305
KRL	ERNAKULAM	269	272		HOWRAH	267	262
	MUNDAKKAYAM	282	285		JALPAIGURI	270	266
	QUILON	297	303		KOLKATA	263	260
MP	BHOPAL	273	269		RANIGANJ	254	253
	CHHINDWARA	285	281		SILIGURI	262	260
	INDORE	255	251				
	JABALPUR	277	276		ALL INDIA INDEX	**277**	**275**

Haryana

Thousands of mines workers and villagers of Bhiwani district in Haryana held a public meeting at local Nehru Park, brought out procession, staged demonstration in front of deputy commissioner on 15 February and submitted memorandum demanding continuation of their livelihood by mining activities in the stone quarries which the BJP state government replaced by handing over to companies working with machines.

The workers movement was supported by CITU state president Satbir Singh, construction workers union leader Sukhbir Singh; and local leaders of different mass organisations, political parties and elected representatives.

On 11 February CITU's Asha and mid day meal workers unions staged joint demonstrations in most of the district headquarters in front of the residences of BJP ministers and MLAs and submitted memoranda demanding wage increase. Haryana government increased remuneration even of temporary workers on the basis of 7th CPC report, but left-out the scheme workers.

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22 December Agitation

Equal Pay for Equal Work

Aurangabad, Maharashtra

Dungarpur, Rajasthan

Vishakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh

Warrangal, Telangana

Mohali, Punjab

Kerala

Port & Dock Workers, Mumbai

Coal Workers, Bhubaneswar

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