26 NOVEMBER - ON THE DAY OF STRIKE

At Jantar Mantar in New Delhi

In the Snowfall in Kullu (H.P.)

At Closed Airport in Guwahati (Assam)

Frontline Covid-19 Fighters in Kerala

A Deserted Road in Agartala (Tripura)
Condolence

Comrade Ramón Cardona Nuevo

WFTU Condolence

WFTU Secretariat on 1 December 2020 expressed its grief and conveyed condolence on the passing away of Comrade Ramon Cardona Nuevo, the veteran trade union leader of the CTC, the central trade union of Cuba; former WFTU’s Secretariat member, its permanent representative to ILO and head of the WFTU Geneva office; and later served as head of WFTU’s regional office for Latin America & Caribbean. He had contributed significantly in the resurgence of WFTU in its 15th World Trade Union Congress in Havana in 2005.

CITU Condolence

In a condolence message on 3 December 2020, CITU expressed its deep grief on the passing away of Comrade Ramon Cardona. Coming from the militant revolutionary rank of the great Cuban working class, Comrade Ramon had demonstrated his class oriented commitment and capability by shouldering various organizational assignments in Cuba and in various International Fora, particularly of WFTU and ILO. It is a big loss to the International Working class movement.

Comrade Ramon was one of the most admired international trade union leaders by CITU and many of CITU leaders had close personal camaraderie with him.

CITU dipped its red flag in the memory of Comrade Ramon; paid respectful homage to the departed leader and conveyed condolences to his bereaved family members and comrades.
Rise of David – The Small

The farmers protest in Delhi border is neither sudden nor a one-time affair. The discontent and anger of the toiling millions have been brewing against Modi government and its corporate cronies due to series of pro-corporate and anti-worker, anti-farmer anti-national actions taken by Modi government.

Not only pro-corporate, domestic and foreign, actions; there is also rise of crony corporates. Also in the process BJP’s governments at the Centre and States and of Sangh Parivar’s functionaries at all levels have been displaying utter arrogance, disregard to Parliamentary and democratic norms and subjugation of human values and rights.

The Small – the economically marginalised and socially weaker sections – is the worst victim. Workers, employees and farmers are becoming targets of attacks on their rights and livelihood while there is rapid job loss, increasing unemployment and lack of job opportunities. A society of people of arrogance, affluence and lack of human values are developing living aside vast deprived sections. RSS-BJP Goliath is in operation plundering and subjugating the deprived sections.

The legislation of the three Labour Codes and three Farms Acts triggered a momentum by simultaneous, coordinated and synchronized series of actions by the joint platforms of trade unions and of the farmers’ organisations culminating into 26 November workers countrywide general strike and 26-27 November farmers Delhi Chalo programme. Rest is unfolding history.

It is now the rise of David, the Small - the workers-peasant masses of the country - to take on the giant RSS-BJP Goliath for annihilation. Watch! (6.12.2020)
3 December Countrywide Protest Against Farm Acts

Led by AIKS, CITU, AIAWU, other mass organisations and constituents of the AIKSCC, there were massive countrywide *Rasta Roko* and demonstrations, with wide public support, on 3 December protesting against BJP government’s repression on the agitating farmers in their March to Delhi opposing the Farm Acts.

This was also the protest observing anniversary of Bhopal Gas Tragedy and against corporate cronies promoted by the BJP government and loot of the resources.

- **Kerala** had torchlight procession across the State on 2 December night in hundreds of villages across the State.
- **Tamilnadu** continued for the second day with massive protests in over 200 centres facing police action at several places.
- **Maharashtra** saw thousands coming out on the streets in solidarity with the Kisan struggle and roads were blocked.
- **Telangana** - The protests were spread across the State in all the districts. Telangana State Rythu Sangham Secretary T. Sagar and many others were arrested.
- **Andhra Pradesh** - Protests were held in nearly 150 centres and activists and leaders were arrested in Vijayawada and some other places.
- **Assam** saw protests and Road Roko in 21 districts.
- **Rajasthan** - Protests took place in 25 districts with enthusiastic participation by peasants, workers, agricultural workers, students, youth and women.
- **Jharkhand** saw protests in many places.
- **Odisha** - Protests were held in 14 districts in nearly 50 centres and police used force to disperse protesters at many places.
- **Madhya Pradesh** - Police manhandled Ashok Tiwari, Central Kisan Committee member and State Vice President and 250 people were arrested. About 100 vehicles coming from Madhya Pradesh to Delhi with farmers was stopped at Palwal.
- **Chhattisgarh** - protests were held in 20 districts across the State.
- **Bihar** saw united protests across the State.
- **Uttar Pradesh** and **Uttarakhand** also saw protests at many places.
- **Gujarat** - Protests continued for the second consecutive day.
- **West Bengal, Karnataka** and few other States have series of protest actions planned.
- **Delhi** - Solidarity actions at the Delhi borders also took place and many people came forward with food and medicines for the farmers on the struggle front.

Many States have decided to have the protest next day and consistent action till 10 has been decided. On 5 December effigies of Narendra Modi, Amit Shah, Adani and Ambani was burnt across all villages throughout the country. Dharnas, processions and other protest actions will be held continuously. *(6.12.2020)*
The Strike and Solidarity

Hemalata

Historical struggles of the workers and peasants have been unfolding during the last few days since the countrywide general strike called by the joint trade union movement on 26 November; and the call for Delhi Chalo and countrywide protest actions by the joint Kisan movement on 26-27 November.

The joint platform of trade unions declared its total solidarity with the peasants’ struggle including physical participation in their protest actions at all levels. Similarly, the joint Kisan movement extended support and solidarity to the general strike of the workers.

The 26 November strike, the second general strike within the span of less than a year, saw huge and spontaneous response from all sections of the working class. The anger against the amendment to labour laws, further curtailing their rights and benefits, was witnessed among the industrial workers, both in the public and private sectors. Thousands of workers, in different sectors across the country, who were aloof from strike action earlier, joined the strike; many more supported it actively.

Workers-Peasants Solidarity

What is highly significant is that this solidarity was not confined to mere statements. It was visible in actions at the ground level. The calls for solidarity and support by the two joint platforms found consonance among the broad masses of workers and peasants and moved them into action. Thousands of peasants and agricultural workers participated in the protest actions across the country on the day of strike. Thousands of workers are on the roads today in solidarity with the peasants’ protests. Massive protest actions were held all over the country on 28 November, at the call of CITU, against the BJP government’s attacks to prevent peasants from reaching the national capital.

The peasants are heroically resisting the war like attacks unleashed by the BJP government. The workers’ strike on 26 November, despite the threats of victimisation and vindictive actions including arrests was no less heroic. Thousands of workers across the country have been arrested on the day of the strike. Police in some states like Andhra Pradesh, Haryana etc have resorted to preventive arrests. The government and several managements of public sector enterprises have issued circulars warning employees about disciplinary action for going on strike, organising mobilisations etc.
The Strike

Strike in Public Sector

As per the reports available so far, the strike in the public sector saw increased participation of permanent employees, while contract workers totally participated in many public sector units.

Strike was effective in most of the Bengaluru based public sector units; it was partial in the Hyderabad based PSUs. It evoked good response in the public sector units in Visakhapatnam. There was total strike in CEL in Ghaziabad, with the total participation of contract workers.

The strike was effective in the petroleum sector. It was near total in Digboi refinery and successful in Guwahati refinery. All contract workers participated in the strike in Bongaigaon refinery. All LPG bottling plants and product terminals of the entire North East region were totally shut down due to the strike. It was total in ONGC project in Cachar and partial in Tripura. Strike was partial in BPCL and HPCL.

80% of the total 25 lakh electricity employees and engineers across the country have reported to have participated in the strike. Protest actions were held in more than 12,500 places in cities, towns, villages, power plants and substations in 615 districts out of the 680 districts in the country.

Strike was successful in coal industry affecting production and dispatch. Workers in the captive coal and iron ore mines under SAIL were on near total strike. Strike was massive in Salem and Vizag steel plants; it was partial in others; though contract workers participated in a big way.

Strike was near total in Calcutta, Cochin, Tuticorin, Paradip and Bhavnagar ports and Jawaharlal Nehru Port Trust (JNPT). Except in Mumbai, North Mangalore and Goa ports workers in all the other major ports joined the strike.

Strike was near total in the insurance sector including life and general insurance all over the country and in the banking industry except in SBI and most of the private banks. In most of the states, strike received massive response from the central and state government employees. Others government employees organised demonstrations in support of the strike. BSNL employees across the country joined the strike and also participated in the demonstrations in large numbers.

Other Governmental Sector

The scheme workers - Anganwadi employees, ASHAs, Midday Meal workers, para teachers, teaching and non-teaching staff of National Child Labour Projects, the different categories of scheme workers in the National Health Mission etc joined the strike en masse. Thousands of them participated in the protest demonstrations on the day of the strike.

Railway employees in several places in the country held protest demonstrations in solidarity with the striking working class in the country and against Railway privatisation. In some zones and divisions, the joint platforms of railway employees’ organisations formed against railway privatisation, led the protests. In some places the railway employees joined torch light processions in support of the strike on 25 November evening, along with other trade unions. Railway contract
workers’ unions participated in the rallies and dharnas held on the day of the strike in several places. Rail Neer plant employees joined in solidarity actions.

Other Sectoral Strikes

Over 3.5 crore transport workers have reported to have participated in the strike across the country despite the severe repression by the government and the police in many states forcing them to ply their vehicles. Autorickshaws, taxis, private buses were off the road. In several states, truck operators also stopped plying their vehicles in solidarity. The strike in the state road transport sector was total in Kerala, West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar, Odisha, Assam etc.

The participation of workers in the private industrial clusters has been increasing since the general strike of 2015. This trend continued further in this strike. Workers in most of the major industrial clusters across the country – in West Bengal, Kerala, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Telangana, Delhi, Odisha, Jharkhand, Assam, Punjab etc joined the strike, as per the partial information available. In Tamil Nadu, while the industrial clusters in and around Kancheepuram were closed due to the heavy rains, workers in other industrial clusters joined the strike.

As per report from the Construction Workers Federation of India, around 30 lakh construction workers participated in the strike on 26 November. Over 700 union activists were arrested in Odisha, West Bengal and in other states.

ITES employees in Kerala and Telangana joined the strike. The IT companies in the SEZ in Kerala were closed, along with the other companies. Active participation of IT employees in the campaign was a significant feature in this strike. IT employees in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal etc took initiative in designing and widely circulating the posters, slogans, and popularising the message of the strike through social media, in wall writing etc. IT employees also participated in motorbike rallies on the eve of the strike.

Indian seafarers on sea in Indian and foreign vessels owned by Shipping Corporation of India, Dredging Corporation of India, Director Shipping Services (DSS – Andaman), Essar Shipping etc sent solidarity messages from around the world. Seamen working in several foreign vessels also sent solidarity messages.

Strike in States

The strike took the shape of bandh in the states like West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Assam, Odisha, in some districts in Jharkhand etc.

A&N Islands: In Andaman and Nicobar Islands, postal and BSNL employees were on strike; mass dharna and public meeting held in support of the strike in Port Blair.

Andhra Pradesh: Strike was complete success in Andhra Pradesh despite cyclonic storm and heavy rains. Over 20 lakh workers participated in the strike as per initial reports. Preventive arrests were made in Krishna and West Godavari districts. Around 1 lakh workers participated in the rallies, bike rallies, processions and public meetings in pouring rain. Strike was total in postal, insurance and banks. SWFI affiliated to CITU served strike notice in the state road transport corporation and all SWF members participated in strike. Head-load workers,
construction workers, autorickshaw workers, aqua-workers, cashew workers etc participated in the strike across the state. Anganwadi employees and ASHAs fully participated in the strike. 60%-70% municipal workers and health workers participated in strike in major corporations and municipalities.

**Assam:** Strike was total in Assam. Cities, town and suburban areas except Guwahati (due to the cremation of former chief minister Tarun Gogoi) came to a standstill due to the strike by transport workers. Construction workers played an important role in making the strike success participating in the road blocks. Strike was successful in 40 tea gardens. Scheme workers actively participated in the strike. Sales promotion employees, shop employees, municipal workers etc were on strike. 500 workers were arrested.

**Bihar:** The strike was highly successful in the Bihar. Entire banking and insurance sectors were paralysed. Government employees participated in the strike. Construction, transport, beedi, fishers, rickshaw and auto drivers, railway contract workers, Rail Neer plant workers, anganwadi employees, midday meal workers, ASHAs, Speed Craft, safai karmacharis and parivahan mitras participated in the strike and in the rallies and demonstrations. Joint rallies and demonstrations were held in 35 out of the 38 districts with huge participation of CITU members.

**Chhattisgarh:** In Chattisgarh, there was complete strike in Dalli Rajhara and Hirri iron ore mines, in Kasmunda area and in Balco. Postal, insurance, income tax, RMS employees and medical representatives almost totally participated in the strike. In coalmines under SECL strike was more than 60% affecting production and dispatch. Around 50% Anganwadi employees joined the strike. Rallies were held in several places; peasants also participated in some of these.

**Delhi-NCR:** Industrial and service sector workers in the Delhi NCR participated in the strike and the processions. Strike was successful in Ghaziabad and Gautama Buddha Nagar of Uttar Pradesh despite the promulgation of ESMA by the BJP government in Uttar Pradesh in an attempt to thwart the strike. Thousands of workers participated in processions in the workers' colonies and residential areas in addition to those held in the industrial clusters. The police resorted to preventive arrests of CITU cadres. Airport employees' union organised demonstration in front the import wing. Medical representatives were on total strike and held processions. Bank, insurance and BSNL employees in Ghaziabad joined the strike and held demonstrations. Electricity employees struck work.

**Gujarat:** In Gujarat, Anganwadi workers and helpers, ASHAs joined the strike in several districts. There was total strike in Bhavnagar port.

**Jammu & Kashmir:** In the Jammu region, construction workers, Border Roads Organisation (BRO) workers, ASHAs, hydro power project workers participated in the strike in Jammu and various towns in Kishtwar, Banihal, Udhampur and Kathua districts. Around 3500 workers participated in the strike and demonstrations. Despite the highly adverse political and weather conditions in Srinagar, the workers in several sectors joined this strike and also the
demonstrations. A joint demonstration was held in Srinagar, in which ASHA, Anganwadi employees, midday meal workers, agricultural workers, daily wage workers in the electricity department, horticultural workers, construction workers etc participated. Around 3000 Anganwadi employees participated in the demonstrations across the state.

**Jharkhand:** Strike was successful in Jharkhand in the coal mines, iron ore mines of SAIL and was partial in the copper and bauxite mines. In HEC, only CITU and AITUC leaders and cadres joined the strike. Strike was total among the contract workers of IOC depot in Namkum in Ranchi district. The MGR rail lines that carry coal from Rajmahal to Farakka NTPC power plant were totally shut down. More than 100 coal workers of ECIL mines in Rajmahal project were arrested. Lafarge cement factory in Singbhum and ACC cement factory in Sindri remained closed. There was total strike in road transport in Dhanbad, Dumka and Sahebganj districts. Construction workers, beedi workers and stone quarry workers joined the strike and held processions. Anganwadi employees and midday meal workers in 7 districts totally joined the strike. Strike was total among the medical representatives. 70% contract and 10% permanent workers of DVC Maithon joined the strike. AIKS participated in road blockade in several places in support of the strike.

**Kerala:** November 26 national strike was a total success in Kerala. Around 1.6 crores workers participated in the strike including agricultural. Most of the shops and commercial establishments remained closed. Only very few private vehicles were seen on the roads. All public transport including KSRTC was off the road. Banks, insurance, postal services were almost paralysed; strike was total in the state public sector like Water Authority, KSRTC, KSEB; it was a grand success in central public sector like FACT, BSNL, and HLL; state and central government offices and cooperative institutions remained closed. Strike was a grand success in the unorganised sector, traditional industries, plantation, construction etc.

**Madhya Pradesh:** In Madhya Pradesh, passenger road transport in 20 districts was affected to the extent of 40% - 60%, due to the strike by the road transport workers. Production was stopped for 3 hours in Ultratech cement factory; in others there were demonstrations. There was good response to the strike among anganwadi employees and ASHAs. No demonstrations could be held in the state due to the imposition of Sec 144.

**Maharashtra:** Strike was total or near total in the financial sector, including insurance and banking, among the state government and central government employees, in Maharashtra. Industrial workers in the industrial clusters of Nasik, Pune, Aurangabad, etc took part in the strike in a big way. Medical representatives, anganwadi employees, ASHAs, midday meal workers etc participated fully in the strike. Workers in the unorganised sector, like construction, brick kiln, head load, domestic workers, and agricultural workers etc, who were out of the purview of the mainstream trade union movement and did not participate in any strike earlier, participated in the strike this time. Joint demonstrations, human chains, rallies, processions, dharnas etc were held in most of the districts in the state with the participation of thousands of workers. Huge demonstrations were held in several places including Solapur.
Manipur: Strike had seriously impacted daily life in Manipur. Around 5 lakh central and state and central government employees, bank, insurance employees, scheme workers, transport workers, street vendors, construction workers etc participated in the strike. Shops and women markets remained closed.

Odisha: The strike totally paralysed the mining sector in Odisha. Paradip Port witnessed a massive strike. The iron ore mines and manganese mines in Koida area, in Barabil region were seriously affected. Contract workers affiliated to CITU in NTPC, Nalco in Angul, Nalco M&R Complex in Damanajodi participated in the strike. Strike was total in the State owned Nilanchal Ispat Nigam Ltd. in Kalinganagar in Jajpur district. Electricity workers held protests in different districts. In JK Paper Mills, Rayagarha, 2500 workers joined the strike. Strike was total among the medical representatives, who also played an important role in the strike in all districts. Transport workers in the unorganised segment were on strike throughout the state giving visibility to the strike. Construction workers joined the strike all over the state and participated in demonstrations, picketing, road blockades etc. Around 250 construction workers were arrested in Cuttack. Shops and commercial and business establishments were totally closed. Strike was partial among the scheme workers. Municipal workers in Bhubaneswar joined the strike and demonstrations. Domestic workers picketed the Doordarshan Kendra in Bhubaneswar. Rural workers in almost all districts joined the strike. Activists of kisan and other fraternal mass organisations joined the demonstrations.

Tamilnadu: In Tamil Nadu, 13 districts were shut down due to the cyclone and heavy rains. The strike was successful in all the other districts where a total of around 30000 workers participated in the picketing and were arrested. Strike was 70% in Ashok Leyland, MRF, Madras Refineries, TVS Lucas, TI Cycles and in the Ambattoor industrial area in Chennai. Strike was massive in BHEL plant in Trichy and Steel Plant is Salem.

Telangana: Strike in Telangana was total in the beedi industry; unorganised sector workers including construction workers, loading and unloading workers, private road transport workers etc joined the strike. 60% anganwadi employees and 70% ASHAs joined the strike. Rallies and public meetings were held in 519 mandal centres in which over 1 lakh workers participated. E Seva employees in the state joined the strike. Significantly, 1450 workers of two unions affiliated to BMS also participated in the strike.

Tripura: The strike in Tripura was total throughout the state and is reported to be unprecedented. Though there was no picketing, people of the state made the strike a grand success. All the offices including banks and insurance offices were closed. Public transport was off the roads, markets and shops were shut. Irked by the response from the people, BJP goons attacked CITU workers, vandalised our offices and also some shops and vehicles.

Uttarakhand: Demonstrations and dharnas were held in several places in 7 districts of Uttarakhand in which around 900 workers participated.
West Bengal: Strike was total and comprehensive in West Bengal. It took the shape of spontaneous bandh. Suburban railway services in all divisions of Sealdah and Howrah have been stalled due to rail roko since early in the morning in hundreds of places. Common people supported the strike. The markets in all districts were closed. Strike in private road transport was total in the districts and 70% in Kolkata; private buses were off the road. 80% Uber and Ola taxi drivers participated in the strike. The state government deployed 93% buses but due to lack of passengers, they were withdrawn soon. National and state highways were blocked by the activists of CITU and other trade unions along with AIKS and AIAWU workers; in several places, police resorted to lathi charge in which around 1000 people were injured; around 400 CITU workers across the state were arrested. Strike was total in jute mills, in the beedi industry in the small and medium steel and iron factories, in private passenger transport in all the districts and among medical and sales representatives; it was total in the banking sector with ATMs; the financial sector was seriously affected. 80% cement workers, and 70% automobile dealers’ employees joined the strike. 90% strike was observed in the Indian Institute of Management Joka. Shopping malls were totally closed. Strike was total among anganwadi employees and midday meal workers; it was significant among ASHAS; medical representatives.

Hundreds of processions were taken out all over the state with huge participation of workers. DYFI, SFI and AIDWA cadres also actively campaigned for the strike and participated in the demonstrations and processions on the day of strike.

In many places TMC goon have attacked the striking comrades in the picketing points.

International Solidarity

The strike was recognised by the international trade union movement as an important part of the global workers’ struggles against neoliberalism and its attacks on the basic rights of the working class across the world. World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and many of its affiliated unions from various countries extended their support and solidarity to the strike. Some WFTU affiliated trade unions organised protest demonstrations in front of the Indian Consulates in their countries. International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) also extended its support to the strike.

In Solidarity with the Peasants

The 26 November 2020 strike is over but the working class of India is fully engaged in active solidarity actions in support of the peasantry, from the very next day, 27 November. Demonstrations protesting attacks on peasants, in solidarity with their demands are being organised every day, in almost every state, at the district/block levels.

The joint platform of trade unions called upon the workers to fully support the call of the All India Kisan Sangharsh Coordination Committee for local level demonstrations from 1st December. Building strong ties of solidarity at the lowest level between the workers and peasants by supporting each others’ struggles is the only way to intensify the struggle against the anti-worker, anti-famer and anti-national neoliberal policies and the divisive and polarising machinations of the BJP government led by Modi. (03.12.2020)
The All India Workers General Strike on 26 November 2020 has seen massive participation of women workers. The visibility of the women in the general strikes has been continuously increasing in the recent period.

Massive campaigns and historic women’s Jail Bharo on 6 March 2020, called by CITU, had helped to further consolidate women workers’ movement. Although, as was noted in the meeting of the All India Coordination Committee of Working Women (AICCWW) of CITU prior to the strike, the momentum created by the 6 March Jail Bharo movement could not be maintained due to the Covid pandemic and lockdown; the participation of women workers in the relief operations and independent and joint struggles has been commendable.

There were numerous struggles during the pandemic. At the initiative of AICCWW a call was given highlighting the demands of frontline workers, especially of the scheme workers ‘phol nahi suraksha do’ (Not the flowers but we want safety) on 14 May 2020. A joint All India Joint Strike Of Scheme Workers was held on 7-8 August 2020. Apart from scheme workers, the participation in the strike of the women workers in different sectors, where their number is substantial like in construction, beedi, plantation etc; was more visible.

In the general strike on 26 November 2020, the participation of scheme workers was commendable. According to the reports, the participation of Anganwadi and ASHA workers in the strike was more than that in the 8 January 2020 strike. In construction, the effect of dismantling of the registration process and the welfare boards has created much more anger and thus the participation was much more than the previous strikes. Similar was the case with beedi workers. In Sholapur, a massive rally was held in which the number of women workers outnumbered that of men. In plantation sector also, the women workers were in the forefront of the strike and demonstrations. In health sector, even the private sector workers joined the strike in many states. Women workers in textiles and garments also participated in the strike in large numbers.

During the pandemic, the most affected section was the domestic workers. Most of them lost their jobs and income. This strike has seen an increased participation of domestic workers as well.

The AICCWW(CITU) has decided to take up campaign on the specific issues of women workers such as income and jobloss, free ration, increasing violence, maternity benefit and crèche, night work etc.(04.12.2020)
26 NOVEMBER STRIKE IN PICTURES

Assam

Andhra Pradesh

Andaman & Nicobar Islands

Bihar

Chhattisgarh
Delhi

Haryana

Karnataka

Kerala
Maharashtra

Manipur

Odisha

Tamilnadu
Telangana

Uttar Pradesh

Uttarakhand

West Bengal
Peasants Historic *Delhi Chalo* Struggle

P. Krishnaparasad

The country is witnessing a massive determined struggle of the peasantry that shook the ruling classes. Delhi Chalo struggle of the peasantry is one of the biggest strikes by the people of India against the neo-liberal forces during last 30 years and represents awakening of the peasantry in seven decades of post-independence era.

The enactment of the three 3 Farm Acts and the introduction of the Electricity Amendment Bill 2020 have made the peasantry angry across the country who are pauperised by exploitation of neo-liberal market forces.

**Background of the Present Movement**

The struggle demanding Minimum Support Price (MSP) with guaranteed procurement for all crops and comprehensive loan waiver have been going on across the country at different levels independently and jointly by various peasant and agriculture worker organizations and platforms. The formation of joint platforms of Bhumi Adhikar Andolan, All India Kisan Sangharsh Coordination Committee (AIKSCC) and many other regional as well as all India platforms in the recent period represent this fury and the discontent among the peasantry.

*Delhi Chalo* struggle was called by the AIKSCC. This call was essential in the background of the movement unleashed by the coordination committee of 30 organisations in Punjab of which 10 organisations are part of AIKSCC. Their major apprehensions regarding three Farms Acts are land pooling under contract farming by the giant corporates and its ramification on the small and middle peasants and agriculture workers and land alienation and loss of livelihood; the promotion of corporate market system that would disrupt the present, though limited, procurement system involving MSP and FCI network; corporate control over agricultural production and the paradigm shift proposed would destroy the food security; opening up of the domestic food market to multinationals; and the federal character of the country being compromised.

**Series of Movements organised**

The AIKSCC consistently intervened and organized series of action programmes across the country. It gave call to burn on 10 June the copies of ordinances related to the three Farm Acts promulgated on 3 June. In June and July, series of campaigns were organised. Most important development was on 9 August *Jail Bharo* call joining hands with the Central Trade Unions (CTUs) at the joint initiative of CITU and AIKS and AIAWU. Around 12 lakh people across the country were mobilised on 9 August *Jail Bharo* programme.
Movement in Punjab

The various Kisan organizations in Punjab, working together in this struggle and campaigns, have been successful in giving an anti-corporate direction to these struggles and slowly convert it as people’s movement. The major steps in this movement were opening of Toll Plazas; shutting down Reliance petrol pumps and Adani group malls; and sit-in struggle on the rail tracks totally blocking rail tracks leading to cancellation of all rail movement including the goods and service trains. This movement had general support of the trade union movement. Thus, Punjab became the epicentre of the current struggle against the neo-liberal forces under the patronage of the BJP-RSS led Union government.

Joint Peasants – Agri Workers - Workers Initiatives

AIKS along with CITU and AIAWU had conducted series of campaigns since April 2020. The issue of legislating four Labour Codes and three Farm Acts and the Electricity Amendment Bill 2020 were campaigned across the country. When Modi government enacted three Farm Acts on 20 September 2020 by tampering with the parliamentary traditions, even denying the right of the Parliamentarians to cast their votes and not allowing any Parliamentary committee to look into the various clauses of the Bills; the AIKSCC and the CTUs gave joint call to observe All India Protest Day on 25 September 2020. After assessing the growing discontent among the peasants and workers, in consultation with the Punjab Kisan organizations, AIKSCC gave call of Delhi Chalo on 26, 27 November 2020.

Simultaneously, movement also developed by the CTUs which gave call of countrywide Workers General Strike on 26 November 2020 on demands which included the demand of repealing the three Farm Acts and the Electricity Bill. The AIKS and AIAWU union had given call of Grameen Harthal and Chakka Jaam on 26 November in solidarity with the struggle of the working class. The CTUs and AIKSCC leadership had joint meeting on 7 November 2020 in New Delhi and decided to synchronize both the calls and take the campaign to the masses across the country. This synchronization of the peasants and workers struggles is a major step in advancing the class struggle against the corporate forces.

Farmers Delhi Chalo Movement

This is the context of the Delhi Chalo programme of the Kisan movement. The backbone of the massive upsurge of the peasantry is the mobilization from Punjab. They had prepared to go to Delhi mainly in tractor trolleys with ration, kitchen utensils and stoves, woolen clothes with determination to camp in Delhi indefinitely. Though the Modi government and its Home ministry under Amit Shah did everything possible, through the BJP-led Khattar government in Haryana, to stop the cavalcades of Punjab farmers at the Punjab–Haryana boarder itself; the determined peasant warriors foiled all such attempts and advanced towards Delhi.

The Kisan masses reached Singhu border in the Chandigarh–Delhi national highway with around 1200 tractors, trolleys and other vehicles including trucks. At Tikri border in the Rohtak-Delhi national highway on 27 November around 4,800 vehicles reached. Around 2.5 lakh farmers have reached Delhi mainly from Punjab and Haryana. The Haryana Kisan organizations have mobilized the peasantry well in support and joined in the struggle like Punjab Kisans, coming
with tractor trolleys and small vehicles. The people of Haryana have extended full support to the farmers who reached Delhi border.

The peasants coming from MP, UP and Uttarkhand also reached Delhi through various national highways. The police blocked the peasant masses that caused traffic blockade.

Covid-19 related restrictions in rail traffic limited mobilization from across the country. AIKSCC has decided to go ahead with the Delhi Chalo struggle and mobilized the peasantry across the country at local and regional level.

The struggle forced the Government to invite the Joint Kisan Morcha leadership and held several rounds of discussion with them. The adamant stand of the Union government not to repeal the three Farm Acts and the Electricity Bill has caused stalemate. However, the growing participation of the struggle has forced the Government to accept many criticisms of anti-farmer contents in the Farm Acts and the Electricity Bill which were raised by the Kisan leadership and had offered to make some amendments in these Acts. However, the Kisan movement is determined to not to step back till the Government agrees to repeal the Farm Acts and withdraw the Electricity Bill.

The future of the struggle depends on the expansion and intensification of the peasant struggle across the country and the support from all other sections including the workers, the trades, petty producers, students, youth and women. The Kisan Movement is confident to intensify the fight till achieving the just demands. (4.12.2020) (Krishnaprasad is Finance Secretary of AIKS)

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**Kisan Organisations Calls for 8 December Bharat Bandh**

CTUs Calls for Working Class’ Active Support

In a joint statement of 5 December, the Joint Platform of Central Trade Unions and Independent Sectoral Federations/Associations reiterated their wholehearted support to the ongoing united struggles of the farmers demanding scrapping of draconian Agri-laws, Electricity (Amendment) Bill 2020 and legislation guaranteeing MSP.

The Joint Platform took note with satisfaction that from 27 November 2020 onwards, workers and employees and their unions have been fully active in holding numerous agitations in solidarity with the ongoing farmers’ struggles, in all the states throughout the country braving arrests and intimidation from many of the state administration/police.

The Joint Platform welcomed the firm resolve and determination of the united platform of Farmers Organisations to intensify the struggles countrywide and extend all support to their call for Bharat Bandh on 8 December 2020.

The Joint Platform of CTUs and Sectoral Federations/Associations called upon the workers, employees and their unions, irrespective of affiliations, to organize active solidarity to the Farmers’ Organisations’ call for Bharat Bandh on 8 December, 2020.

(6.12.2020)
During Covid-19 pandemic, ‘Atmanirbhar Bharat’ is the new political slogan of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. ‘Atmanirbhar Bharat’ or ‘Self-Reliant India’ emerged out of national freedom struggle and, though dormant, remained in the anti-imperialist consciousness of the people of India. Though RSS and its political party incarnations had never participated in the national freedom struggle, Modiji realised it as a potential marketing slogan. Therefore, he repackaged his earlier ‘Make in India’ project as ‘Atmanirbhar Bharat’ project. The contents of Modiji’s ‘Atmanirbhar Bharat’ development project remains the same as that of ‘Make in India’ with wider spread and intensity to aggressively enforce international finance capital (Trio - IMF, World Bank, WTO) dictated neoliberal economic agenda of neocolonialism which, in contents and direction, is exactly the opposite to those of ‘Self Reliant India’ which the people of India fought for.

Modiji is in a hurry with Covid pandemic coming in. NITI Aayog has been forecasting post Covid and Trump’s attack on China-in-Business, an exodus of ‘Exit China’ by the transnational corporates opening the opportunity to invite them in India. ‘Namaste Trump’ was organised and declaration of Covid lockdown delayed and when imposed, without preparation. Pro-corporate labour laws against labour and for coporporatisation of agricultural sector Ordinances / Executive Orders were issued and the Bills were passed in opposition-free Parliament.

The State governments, led by them and some others, are in competitive mode among themselves to invite this imaginary exodus of transnationals to India by amending labour laws for the labour-laws-free new industries and increasing workload and imposing exploitative working conditions on the labour in existing industries – all under ‘Atmanirbhar Bharat’ project.]

Pillar Two: Agriculture & Food

Agriculture & Farmers

National freedom struggle was not only for political freedom, but also for freedom from the British exploitative structure of colonial rule - 100 years by the Company and one-decade-less 100 years by the Crown - of forcibly establishing market for British made goods; loot and shipment of natural resources and low priced agricultural produce from India; collecting heavy taxes expropriating rural masses engaged in agrarian production; and forcing the peasants for selected cultivation like indigo, tea, jute etc. They forcibly acquired agricultural land of the peasants for industries, trade, rail/roads, military and administrative purposes. In the process, they ruined India’s the then agrarian-based economy pauperising its people and keeping them in subjugation.

For these purposes, they aligned with Indian nobility; strengthened feudal grip on the peasantry; encouraged and divided chained caste system; and promoted Hindu–Muslim communal divide.

British Agrarian Policy & Peasant Struggle

British Company rule enforced their agrarian land policy in India, in stages, for expropriation of
the peasantry dispossessing them from their own land and imposing unbearable tax burden. For that they enacted first and the most oppressive ‘Zamindari System’ mainly in the East; followed by ‘Riyotwari System’ mainly in South and West; and then by ‘Mahalwari System’ mainly in Central and North India. For dispossessing the tribals of their community forest land and its produce, they enacted ‘Forest Act’. In the process they created chain of tax-collector – landlords, sub-landlord - aligned with the Indian feudal nobility; giving rise of money-lenders; and leading to vast peasant masses under perpetual feudal bondage, pauperisation and early death.

Against this oppressive system there were peasant revolts, including tribal revolts, and, in the later stage, organised movement interspersed with national freedom movement in which leaders of freedom movement also participated. There were at least 77 peasants’ revolts during British rule against landlords, money lenders, tax agents, police and military; and in almost all parts of India and almost all major tribes in India revolted against their dispossession and oppression by the British Rule. Some of these are well known as Indigo Revolt in Bengal; Santhal revolt, Kol revolt, Birsa Munda led tribal revolt in today’s Jharkhand; and peasant uprisings during freedom movement in 1940’s including Tebhaga movement of Bengal; Worli tribal peasant uprising; Punnapra-Vaylar uprising in modern day Kerala; Tripura tribal revolt, Telangana peasant revolt; etc.

As part of national freedom movement, organised peasants movement started in Bihar by Sahajanand Saraswati forming Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha in 1929 to fight against oppressive Zamindari system. Later, in April 1935, N G Ranga, secretary and EMS Namboodiripad, joint secretary of the South Indian Federation of Peasants and Agricultural Labour proposed formation of an all-India peasants body; and All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) was formed in Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress on 11 April 1936 with Sahajanand Saraswati as its first President and other leaders including N G Ranga, EMS Namboodiripad, P Sundaraya, Bankim Mukherjee, Rahul Sanskritayan, Karyanand Sharma, Ram Manohar Lohia, Jay Prakash Narayan, Achariya Narendra Dev and others.

The Core Issues

The core issues of peasant struggle against British agrarian policy in India was raised in the demands of the very first conference of AIKS which included – Abolition of all types of landlords or ‘Zamindari’ system and land to the landless peasants; Removal of Rural debt and Credit facility to peasants; and Minimum wages to agricultural workers.

Another core issue of peasant struggle during colonial rule was for remunerative prices of agriculture produce. Peasants of Pune, Satara and Ahmednagar districts of the present day Maharashtra revolted against poor agricultural prices and high taxes which led to agrarian distress. The uprising caused high peasant mortality. The British historians dubbed it as Deccan riots of 1875–1879. Similarly, the Pazzhassi Raja in Kerala had also revolted and waged a long war during 1793-1805 against the East India Company for dictating low prices on agricultural produce and selected merchants with whom the trade to be carried out.

Thus, uprising, revolts and organised movement of the peasants and the tribals against the British agrarian policies had set important agenda of freedom movement that is (1) End of landlordism and land to the landless peasants including forest land to tribals; (2) Removal of rural debt and for credit facilities to peasants; (3) Remunerative prices on agricultural produce and (4) Minimum wages for agricultural workers. These became the clarion call during freedom movement and Pillar of Self-Reliant India in Agriculture after independence.

Situation Today

Land Issue: Again, after independence, the peasantry was betrayed. On land question the
oppressive structure continues with possession of land by the landlords despite abolition of Zamindari system and state-wise enactment of Land Reforms Acts. Actual land reforms, except in Left-led states and in Jammu & Kashmir, remained distant cry for the peasantry. On the contrary, there is increased dispossession of poor and marginal peasants increasing the number of landless rural proletariat and more land concentration with rich peasants and landlord sections. The peasants' right on land and its return to them was sought to be changed as ‘gift of goodwill’ through Bhoodan Movement.

**Debt Burden:** Absence of remunerative prices, spiraling input costs, distress sale, crop failures – all are leading to peasants’ increasing debt burden and vast peasant masses across the country are committing suicides. The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), which started separately collecting and publishing records of farmers suicide since 1995, reported that total 2,96,438 farmers had committed suicides during 1995 – 2014 or 11.2% of total suicides in the country highest being in the State of Maharashtra and large numbers in the States of Odisha, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Chhattisgarh. The Union Minister for Agriculture told in the Parliament on 18 September 2020 that according to NCRB, 10,281 peasants and farm labourers died by suicide in 2019.

**MSP:** MSP (Minimum Support Price) is one of the core demands of the peasants since colonial days and it is one of the main issues of today’s peasant movement across the country. As per Swaminathan Commission’s recommendation, MSP should be C2+50% [total input cost inclusive of Family Labour (FL), rent on owned land and interest on owned capital + 50%] instead of A2+50 (total cost - excluding FL, land rent and interest on capital - + 50%) or even A2+FL+50% as per claimed formula by the present government. MSP cannot be complete without procurement by the government in designated mandis; one time debt-waver by the government and credit facilities; and subsidised/free agriculture inputs including electricity, irrigation, fertilizer, pesticide etc to help the peasants to overcome their present distress in agrarian production.

**Minimum Wages for Agricultural Labour:** As already stated, the demand of minimum wage for agricultural labour was raised as part of peasants struggle in colonial India. Along with that the demand for extending Workman’s Compensation Act to agriculture labour was also raised. This was a significant demand aligned with freedom movement.

However, even after independence, the wage of agricultural labour remains non-statutory and outside the Minimum Wages Act. In 1991 National Commission on Rural Labour (NCRL) recommended National Floor Level Minimum Wage for agricultural labour; and only in 1996 National Floor Level Minimum Wage for agricultural labour was introduced and notified as Rs.35 per day. The same is being revised upward periodically last being in 2017 raising it to Rs.176 per day for Agricultural Labour.

**Food Availability**

Frequently used word ‘Food Security’ is avoided here as it denotes much wider definition. World Food Summit (WFS) 1996 of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) defined Food Security as “Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.” Instead, the term ‘Food Availability’ to meet starvation is used here.

In pre-colonial India, peasants were self-sufficient in their Food Availability from their own agrarian production. British land policy in colonial India of dispossessing the peasants from their land ownership made the rural population dependent on trade for Food Availability. Food grain supply in the British colonial period was dependent on British trade and high trade prices leading to affordability issues of Indian people for access to food.
Lack of Food Availability led to several famines in colonial India which include the Great Bengal Famine of 1769–1770 killing nearly 10 million; Deccan Famine of 1788-94 killing 11 million; Upper Doab Famine of 1860–1861 that killed nearly 2 million; the Great South Indian Famine of 1876–1878 killing nearly 5.5 million; 5 million Indians died in the Great Bengal Famine of 1943–1944 as food grains from Bengal had been diverted to British soldiers in overseas war.

Europeans were attracted to India for jewels, textiles, other luxury items and much sought-after spices. But, when the British rulers left, Indian economy had plummeted to a mere 2% of world economy in 1947 combined with famines and food shortages as recurring features. They were true to Kipling’s ode to Queen Victoria ‘The White Man’s Burden’.

Therefore, self-reliance in food grains and their availability emerged as the 5th core issue in the agenda of Self-Reliance for Agriculture and Food as emerged out of national freedom movement.

Three Steps for Self-Reliance in Food Production & Availability

**Patents Act, 1970:** Immediate post-Independence India, therefore, was the period when food shortages were common as a legacy of British rule. Though it took 20 years debate, inside and outside the Parliament, it was a significant development when India finally adopted its ‘no patent’ policy to be self-reliant on food, medicinal products and atomic energy and, accordingly, repealed British-made Patent Act, 1911 replaced by Patents Act of 1970. This was the first step.

**Self-Reliance in Food Grains Production:** The second step was to make country self-reliant in food grains production. India had the ignominy of accepting low grade food grains from USA under PL480 agreement and political blackmail for food dependence on other countries.

In such a situation, what is generally known as ‘Green Revolution’ began in 1965 applying M. S. Swaminathan’s technology-driven scheme. It coincided and integrated with the development of high-yielding varieties of seeds of wheat developed by Norman Borlun and his associates in Mexico. These seeds also necessitated changes in farming techniques such as the addition of fertilizers and pesticides and greater use of irrigation. Thus, high yielding varieties of seeds were first introduced in Punjab, Haryana and parts of western Uttar Pradesh.

Though it has some sociological and other shortcomings, the Green Revolution did effectively solve India’s problem of food-grain shortage. Now India is self-reliant in food grains and has surplus in production.

**Food Availability:** The Public Distribution System (PDS) initially started to manage food scarcity in the 1940s. In post-Independence India it became important part of the Food Management Policy. With this policy, Food Corporation of India (FCI) was setup under the Food Corporation Act 1964 with objective of food grains (i) procurement from the farmers at remunerative prices; (ii) its distribution, particularly to the vulnerable sections, at affordable prices; and, (iii) maintenance of food buffers for food security and price stability.

Every year, the Government of India (GoI) declares a Minimum Support Price (MSP) to support the farmers; before each marketing season, assesses the availability of each crop and fixes targets for the procurement of food grains, at the MSP, through the FCI and the State government agencies; and at declared rates the food grains are distributed through PDS by the State Governments.

PDS subsequently developed as Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) in 1997 with division as APL (Above Poverty Line) and BPL (Below Poverty Line) families and having dual Central Issue Price (CIP) for each group. Within TPDS most vulnerable sections formed a separate category as Antyodaya Anna Yojana.
In 2013 the National Food Security Act (NFSA) (known also as the Right to Food Act), was adopted for legal entitlements of the schemes under PDS, Mid Day Meal and ICDS having salient features (i) to cover 75% of the rural population and 50% of the urban population (two-thirds of the total population); (ii) Persons belonging to eligible households to receive 5 kg of foodgrains per person per month at Rs 3 per kg for rice, Rs 2 for wheat and Re1 for coarse grains (AAY continue to get 35 kg per household / month.) (iii) Special focus on nutritional support to women and children with emphasis on pregnant and lactating mothers and children up to 14 years of age; and (iv) Grievance redressal mechanisms at the district and state levels.

Deficiency in Food Availability
Yet, there is serious deficiency in Food Availability. In Global Hunger Index, 2019 India ranks 102nd out of 117 qualifying countries. This was followed by UNICEF report on the “State of the World's Children 2019” which put India in ‘serious category’ reporting the most number of deaths of children below five years in 2018 in the world with 8.82 lakh deaths.

Modiji’s ‘Atmanirbhar Bharat’ Project in Agriculture & Food

High Level Committee on food distribution management
Immediately following the adoption of the Right to Food Act in 2013; as soon as Modi government came to power at the Centre, it took up the process of dismantling the PDS and privatisation of food grains procurement. In 2014, the Government set up a High Level Committee, chaired by Shanta Kumar, to make recommendations regarding ‘restructuring/unbundling of the FCI’. The Committee submitted its report in January 2015. The report stated that India has moved far away from the food shortages of 1960s and, hence, there is need of change in food management system.

Some of the major recommendations of the Committee include (i) Decentralised procurement; (ii) To reduce coverage of Right to Food Act from 67% to 40%; (iii) Cash transfer as DBT in place of food grain supply through PDS; (iv) Private entrepreneur guarantee (PEG) scheme for building new storage facilities; (v) Reducing buffer stock and excess stock to be liquidated through open market sales; (vi) Direct cash benefit to farmers instead of subsidised fertilisers and other inputs; etc.

Policy Implemented: Some of these recommendations are already being implemented.
- Cash transfer under DBT in place of TDPS has already started in the union territories of Puduchery, Chandigarh and Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- The FCI started PEG scheme for the construction of godowns through the private sector.

Corporates Line Up
In 2017, Mukesh Ambani of Reliance Group announced “Agriculture, education and healthcare – all three are on our roadmap...” Adani Agri Logistics has already invested in grain storage-handling-transportation network; and Adani Wilmar is also announced expansion in food commodities. The CEO of agri business of Adani Group said, “At Adani, we want to be known as the big agri-infrastructure player and Adani Wilmar to be a big food company in the country.”

WTO Threat
World Trade Organization (WTO) has also been threatening India’s food security system. WTO members, particularly the industrially developed nations, have opposed India’s MSP-based public stock holding on the grounds that it distorts markets. They are demanding of India to dismantle MSP-based procurement and distribution system of food grains.
But, these countries themselves are heavily subsidizing their own agricultural production – in 2020 the US farm sector is getting $46 billion as federal subsidy (40% of total farms income); while European Union’s Common Agricultural Policy annual average reached €56 billion.

**Modi’s Three Farm Laws**

BJP’s Modi government is in a hurry to implement its ‘Atmanirbhar Bharat’ project in Agriculture and Food Availability which basically revolves dismantling the hitherto developed food management structures; privatisation of farm produce by domestic and foreign private players; and corporatisation of agriculture which are opposed to the very concept of Self-Reliant India in Agriculture and Food as emerged out of freedom movement. Like British rulers, BJP’s Modi government is converting Food Availability to Indian people as a matter of trade and at market prices.

To begin with operationalising its Atmanirbhar Bharat’ project in Agriculture and Food Availability, Modi government got the three misnomer Farm Acts – The Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farms Services Act; the Farmers Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act; and Essential Commodities (Amendment) Act – hurriedly passed in the Parliament, along with the three anti-labour Codes, suspending opposition MPs and without voting in September 2020.

Regarding these three Acts the immediate major concerns of the farmers are as follows:

- All three Acts are inter-related. They are for corporate takeover of agriculture and agricultural produce and for their integrated all India market operated by private players, mainly big players.
- The Acts ends even the existing government’s formula of MSP which is much less than Swaminathan’s formula of C2+50%.
- It ends government’s regulatory mechanism through APMCs (Agricultural Produce Market Committee). The farmers will be at the mercy of big corporates for prices of agricultural produce when farmers are committing suicides in absence of remunerative prices and increasing debt burden. “Without some support from the state, the smallest of Indian peasants would be even more vulnerable” writes Jaffrelot and Thakkar in their recently published article. According to 10th Agriculture Census 2015-2016, ‘small holders and marginal farmers’ in India account for 86.2% of the total cultivators.
- The Acts end local Mandi system, regulated by APMCs; allow establishment of tax-free private Mandis; and allow statewide and inter-state wide sale, including online sale, of agri produce without any government’s regulatory mechanism.
- The Acts allow large scale private warehousing for stocking food grains and other agri produce and their intra and interstate movement.
- The amendment in Essential Commodities Act deregulated essential food items including cereals, pulses, oilseeds, edible oil, onion and potato; and allows the government to add to the list of deregulated items to help the corporates for their integrated all India market of agri products.
- The Acts together affects minimum wage for agricultural workers as MSP include cost of their labour also.
- The Acts allows large scale contract farming by the corporates virtually keeping the peasants under their bondage and ultimate agri land takeover by the corporates; keeping the disputes outside civil laws and weak dispute settlement mechanism.
- Along with these three Acts, the farmers are also opposing Electricity Amendment Bill 2020 which proposes privatisation of power Discoms and end of subsidised/free electricity to farmers proposing instead DBT.
## CONSUMER PRICE INDEX NUMBERS (GENERAL) FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKERS
*(BASE 2001=100)*

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