

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN GOA 1936-1986

---Its origin, development in the Port-Docks, Mines, Railway of
Goa, and its expansion in other areas.

A thesis submitted for pursuance of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
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to Goa University

by

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STATEMENT BY THE CANDIDATE

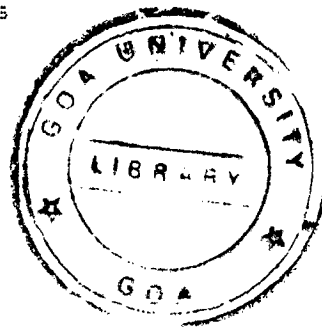
I hereby state that the thesis for the Ph.D. Degree on "Trade Union Movement in Goa 1936-1986 - Its origin, development in the Port-Docks, Mines, Railway of Goa, and its expansion in other areas", is my original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or any other similar title.

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K. Desai

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CONTENTS

	Page
Title Page	1
Statement by the Candidate	2
Acknowledgement	3
Contents	5
Abbreviations	8
Introduction and Synopsis of the thesis	9-16
CHAPTER ONE - GROWTH OF RAILWAY, HARBOUR, MINING AND OTHER INDUSTRIES IN GOA	17-97
Part I - RAILWAY AND HARBOUR INDUSTRIES IN GOA	17-47
(A) "M.S.M.R." and "S.M.R." in Goa	17
(B) Marmagosa Railway and Harbour	19
(1) Introduction of Railways in India	19
(2) Portuguese bent by British Interests	21
(3) Additional Agreement with W.I.P.R. Company.	26
(4) Coming of S.M.R. and M.S.M.R. into Goa.	27
(5) Progress during the Blockade.	37
(6) British depart from Portuguese India.	39
(7) Post British Era.	40
Part II - MINING INDUSTRY IN GOA	45-70
(A) Early stage, Availability and Quality of Iron ore in Goa	45
(B) Mining Concessions in Goa	52
(C) Chowgules and the Mining Industry	54
(D) Modes of Transport in the movement of Iron Ore in Goa.	61
(1) Inland Water Transport	61
(2) Railways.	64
(3) Feeder Roads.	66
(E) Export of Ore and Marmagosa Port	66
Part III - INDUSTRIAL GROWTH IN GOA AFTER LIBERATION	70-73
Part IV - RECRUITING OF LABOUR IN GOA RAILWAY, MARMAGOSA HARBOUR AND GOA MINES	73-91
CHAPTER TWO - RISKS WORKERS FACED TO DEVELOP GOA	98-161
I Minor Risks	91-111
(a) Stones fell on heads	99
(b) Stones fell on hands	99
(c) Scars on back	99
(d) Waist broken	100
(e) Back broken legs broken	100
(f) Legs smashed	104
(g) Thighs sawed	104
(h) Hanging legs	104
(i) Toes cut	105
(j) Life wound	105
(k) Eyes pierced blasted, thighs burnt, hands deformed	106
(l) Torn by wild animals	111

II	Major Risks	112-137
	(a) Collapse of Mines	114
	(b) Fall of building material	125
	(c) Mining Machinery	125
	(d) Transport	128
	(e) Explosion of Explosives	130
III	Dimensions of Risks	137-151
	(a) Beggars	138
	(b) Struggles of widows and orphaned children	139
	(c) Destruction of young families	143
	(d) Youthful life blown off	145
	(e) Annihilation of family tree	146
IV	Symbols of Workers' Risks	151-155
CHAPTER THREE - LIBERATION AND GOA TRADE UNION MOVEMENT		162-203
I	LABOUR MOVEMENT DURING PORTUGUESE DAYS	162-170
II	EMERGENCE OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT	171-199
	(A) Reds take the lead	171
	(B) INTUC - Goa established	185
	(C) HMS comes to Goa	190
	(D) Overcoming fear of Goa Police	195
	(E) Resistance to formation of Trade Unions	196
CHAPTER FOUR - RAILWAY STRAINS		204-271
I	GOA RAILWAY WORKERS	204-249
	(A) Goa Branch of Sangh	204
	(B) Option for India	209
	(C) Sangh goes to Court	218
	(D) Goa Mazdoor Union	241
	(E) 1974 Railway Strike	244
II	Commercial Clerk Benefits	250-266
CHAPTER FIVE - WAVES OF HARBOUR TENSIONS		272-363
I	MARMAGOA DOCK LABOUR BOARD	272-315
	(A) Dock Labour Board in Bombay-Calcutta-Madras	272
	(B) Pool	275
	(C) Winchmen Strike	300
II	BARGEMEN	315-353
	(A) Importance of Bargemen	315
	(B) Struggles under Communist Leadership	316
	(C) Struggles under INTUC Leadership	319
	(D) Advances under HMS Leadership	349
CHAPTER SIX - IRON ORE WAGE BOARD STRUGGLES		364-413
I	INTERIM RELIEF	364-376
	(A) Recommendation of Interim Relief	364
	(B) Resistance to Interim Relief	367
	(C) Implementation of Interim Relief	372

II - IRON ORE WAGE BOARD	376-407
(A) Final Recommendations	376
(B) November 3rd	379
(C) Wage Board Death	389
CHAPTER SEVEN - TRADE UNION EXPANSION-RIVALRY CO-ORDINATION	414-508
I - EXPANSION	414-428
(A) INTUC - Expansion	414
(B) HMS - Expansion	417
(C) Communist Expansion	418
II - RIVALRY	428-471
(A) Rivalry in HMS Camp	425
(B) Rivalry in INTUC Camp	447
(C) Rivalry in Communist Camp	452
III - CO-ORDINATION	472-489
CONCLUSION	501-508
APPENDIX	509
GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS	511
BIBLIOGRAPHY	512-532

XXX

ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	- All India Congress Committee
AIP&DWF	- All India Port and Dock Workers Federation
AIPDWF(W)	- All India Port Dock Workers Federation (Workers)
AITUC	- All India Trade Union Congress
CC	- Central Council
CITU	- Centre of Indian Trade Unions
CM	- Chief Minister
CME	- Chief Mechanical Engineer
DCRG	- Death cum Retirement Gratuity
DIR	- Defence of India Rules
EPW	- Economic and Political Weekly
GDD	- Goa Daman Diu
GMLWU	- Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union
GMDEA	- Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association
GPDEU	- Goa Port and Dock Employees Union
GSJ	- Geological Survey of India
GT&CWU	- Goa Trade and Commercial Workers Union
GTUTW-CDC	- Goa Trade Union & Traditional Workers Coordination Committee
HMS	- Hind Mazdoor Sabha
ICSSR	- Indian Council of Social Science Research
INPDWF	- Indian National Port Dock Workers Federation
INTUC	- Indian National Trade Union Congress
IRCA	- Indian Railway Conference Association
MDLB	- Marmagao Dock Labour Board
MMTC	- Metal and Mineral Trading Corporation
MOHP	- Mechanical Ore Handling Plant
MPDNMWU	- Marmagao Port Dock Non Ministerial Workers Union
MPDTWU	- Marmagao Port Dock and Transport Workers Union
MPRWU	- Marmagao Port and Railway Workers Union
MPT	- Marmagao Port Trust
MRF	- Madras Rubber Factory
MSA	- Marmagao Stevedores Association
MSMR	- Madras and Southern Maratha Railway
MWFWU	- Marmagao Water Front Workers Union
NCES	- National Commercial Employees Sangh
NC&HWU	- National Cinema and Hotel Workers Union
NDTWU	- National Dock and Transport Workers Union
NMWU	- National Mine Workers Union
PDWFI	- Port, Dock and Waterfront Workers' Federation of India
PSP	- Praja Socialist Party
SDP	- State Domestic Product
SMR	- Southern Maratha Railway
SRES	- Southern Railway Employees Sangh
TDWU	- Transport and Dock Workers Union
WIPGR	- West India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway
XCHR	- Xavier Centre of Historical Research

INTRODUCTION AND SYNOPSIS OF THE THESIS

Whereas the Trade Union Movement in the rest of India began in pre-independent times, it evolved in Goa after the Liberation of Goa. Certain nascent Trade Union ideas, spontaneous and sporadic labour assertions were already visible during the last years of the Portuguese Rule, without definite form and direction. The Liberation of Goa, catalysed for the first time, clearly and decisively the Trade Union Movement in Goa. The Thesis, ventures to study and research the spread of the Trade Union Movement in Goa.

What draws individual workers together and creates in them a collective strength and consciousness is **INDUSTRY**. Hence the study, at the very outset, delves into the industrial growth of the Railway, Port-Docks, Mines and other industries in Goa. It is this dynamic that gives the foundation to the thesis and has to be borne in mind for a better insight and appreciation of the study.

There is the element of **OCCUPATIONAL RISK** which supremely qualifies the worker to play his historical role in the area of industrial development. It is this lived experience which shapes his thinking, his options. Hence this element of risk features in the thesis as an historical imperative.

The thesis ventures into a field as yet uncharted viz. the Trade Union Movement in Goa, and has also tried to scan a fifty year period. It has used a vibrant and life-like literary genre in that it has allowed the principle actors related to the Trade Union Movement, to speak for themselves. An important aspect

of this study is the struggles encountered by the workers of the Railway of Goa, because it is the oldest industry in Goa.

The study then enters more deeply into the emerging movement of the Port-Dock workers and the Barge men. It etches out in vibrant quality the interpersonal and inter-group struggles of the labourers, culminating in the acquisition of their rights, and creating healthy industrial labour relationships, which resulted in achieving certain specific goals.

Trade Union activity further anchors itself and finds a new confidence to pursue concrete goals. The Mine workers struggles give expression to this process. That very simple legal demands calls for, paradoxically, such acute and prolonged struggles, is highlighted by this study.

Like a living organism, the Trade Union Movement in Goa, must be viewed as an organic whole, which grows and develops with its strengths and limitations. And so the movement had necessarily in its growth, encounters and conflicts. These last did hinder the movement but did not prevent co-ordination of rival forces to tend towards solidarity. The thesis treats of all these positive and negative aspects even handedly.

Representative nature of the thesis

Before we raise the curtain on the thesis, it has to be mentioned that the material chosen in the various chapters of the thesis is of representative nature - representative of the Trade Union Movement in Goan Mines, Marmagao Port-Docks, the Goa Railways and other areas. And since the workers of the above industries together constitute the major portion of the industrial working

class of Goa, the matter presented in the thesis, claims to be representatative also of the whole working class of Goa. To have a perceptible feel of the various situations and issues that the thesis delves into, a conscious effort is made to make the Trade Union leaders and related personalities to speak for themselves by means of their letters and other written materials.

Synopsis of the thesis

The thesis is sought to be developed over seven chapters with an introduction cum synopsis and a conclusion, as in the following schema:

Title of thesis - Trade Union Movement in Goa 1936-1986
-- Its origin,development in the Port-Docks,
Mines, Railway of Goa, and its expansion in
other areas.

Introduction and Synopsis of the thesis

Chapter I - Growth of Railway, Harbour, Mining and other Industries in Goa.

Chapter II - Risks Workers faced to develop Goa.

Chapter III - Liberation and Trade Union Movement.

Chapter IV - Railway Strains

Chapter V - Waves of Harbour Tensions.

Chapter VI - Iron Ore Wage Board Struggles.

Chapter VII - Expansion-Rivalry-Co-ordination.

Conclusion

Area and period of the thesis

As the title of the thesis indicates, the subject of the thesis is limited to the Labour Movement or Trade Union Movement in Goa mines, Marmagaoa Port-Docks and the Goa Railway; the thesis also includes the influence that the Trade Union Movement in the above milieu had on other industries and, in general, on the rest of the workers of Goa. As to the period, the thesis is ambitious to focus on the possibilities and signs of workers' Trade Organisations as far back as 1936, and the march of the Movement up to 1986 - a fifty year period, unexplored so far.

Chapter I - Growth of Railway, Harbour, Mining and other Industries in Goa

The Chapter one has four parts. Part I, deals with the establishment of the Goa Railway and the Marmagaoa Harbour. Part II, goes into the growth of the Mining industry of Goa and the shaping of the Marmagaoa Harbour by the mining industry. Part III looks at the growth of industries after the liberation of Goa. And Part IV enters into the recruiting of the majority of labour in the above industries. This chapter one is the base on which the rest of the thesis rests. The chapter one places the thesis not in the abstract but within the dynamics of the Nationally and Internationally related economy of Goa, and its allied forces.

Chapter II - Risks workers faced to develop Goa

Of the main three inter related industries dealt with in the thesis, since the Mining industry is the anchor industry and since it has been and still is the backbone of the Goan economy,

an attempt is made to study the various risks that the mine workers of Goa faced in the process of developing the mining industry in Goa. The chapter goes into the living and working conditions of the mine workers. In this chapter, an attempt is made to bring to light the various accidents that the mine workers faced, and the effects of these accidents on the workers and their families.

Chapter III - Liberation and the Goa Trade Union Movement

The positioning of chapters two and three, places the character or authority of the workers over the Trade Union Movement. The workers are supreme in the Trade Union Movement and they precede it. It is only after the workers have risked their lives by entering and working in an industry, that the next step of the workers venturing out to organise themselves, follows. The very placing of the chapters also indicates that the interests of the workers are superior to that of a leader or a trade union; the leader and an union are only the conscious focus and the voice of the workers they represent.

The placing of chapter one, chapters two and three, further indicates that it is the industry that brings together the working class - that collects the working class together, and that it is the physical coming together and working collectively that gives the collective consciousness and strength to the industrial workers, from which is born the collective organisation of the workers - the collective bargaining of the workers, and the rest of the Trade Union Movement. This collective consciousness and strength of

the workers needs an impetus to work itself out and, in Goa, that impetus to the workers was given by the Liberation of Goa from the dictatorial colonial bonds of the Portuguese.

Chapter III deals not so much with the beautiful flowering of labour unions in Goa after Liberation but rather with the birth pangs of the labour unions in Goa. The chapter also indicates that the rivalry between unions starts in the cradle itself, partaking perhaps from birth, of the competitive nature of the industrial world at large from which the labour organisations are born and progress.

Chapters IV, V, and VI go into the specific and main struggles of the workers in a particular industry.

Chapter IV - Railway Strains

This chapter deals with the struggles of the Goa Railway workers with the nationalised railway administration, to uphold their interests. The Railway industry puts the Goan workers in the company of the vast working class of the Indian Railways. We see in this chapter how the workers get united beyond the pale of regional constraints. These struggles bring out an important feature of the Goan workers joining hands with those across the Goan border.

Chapter V - Waves of Harbour Tensions

Chapter V enters into the various struggles of the different workers working at the Marmagoa Harbour - the winching struggles - those against the labour contractors called Mukadams.

struggles which led to the formation of the Dock Labour Board and also the settling down of labour tensions to a great extent. The chapter also deals with the prolonged struggles of the Goa bargemen to try to get the central benefits as dock workers, and to work out a pattern of work based on the eight hour working day.

Chapter VI - Iron Ore Wage Board Struggles

Chapter VI shows that the mine workers have not only to sweat to work, but also to spill their blood to get those simple demands which were recommended by the Central Government after making years and years of study of the paying capacity of the Mining Industry.

Chapter VII - Expansion - Rivalry - Co-ordination

The previous chapters are more in the nature of showing how the Trade Union Movement in Goa Mines, Marmagoa Harbour and the Goa Railways, came into existence, and then established itself in the above industries after various agitations. Here in Chapter VII, the expansion of the Trade Union Movement is gone into. So also the rivalry between the different unions is looked into, a rivalry which was there right at the birth of the labour unions. Here an attempt is made to see what shape this rivalry takes in the different camps of the labour organisations.

This chapter also tries to bring out and highlight the deep urge of the workers to co-ordinate their efforts and thus defend their interests in solidarity with each other.

Conclusion

The conclusion states, that the Trade Union Movement in Goa, having struggled to come to birth and having established itself in the Goa Mines, Marmagoa Harbour and the Railways, tended to flow out to other areas where other industries had collected workers and had organised them to utilise their labour power to transport, sell or produce socially useful commodities and the wealth of the Goa region.

X X X

CHAPTER ONE

GROWTH OF RAILWAY, HARBOUR, MINING AND OTHER INDUSTRIES IN GOA

PART I - RAILWAY AND HARBOUR INDUSTRIES IN GOA

A) "M.S.M.R." and "S.M.R." in Goa

Marmagao Harbour lies at the southern side of the mouth of River Zuari on the West Coast of India, in the State of Goa. Marmagao is about 230 miles South of Bombay and approximately 360 miles north of Cochin.¹ If one takes a train from Marmagao Harbour Railway Station and alights at the Cansaulim Railway Station, one will find three long wooden benches with the letters "M.S.M.R." engraved on the three benches (cf. photo No.2,p.18).

By taking another train if one travels to Kalay Railway Station of Goa and enters the Rest-Room of the Kalay Station, one will notice two wooden benches with the letters "S.M.R." engraved on the two wooden benches. (cf. photo no.3,p.18).

In the railway Godown police check post office of Belgaum Railway Station in Karnataka, there is a wooden bench with the same letters "M.S.M.R." engraved on them as on the benches of the Cansaulim Railway Station in Goa. Travelling to Hubli from Belgaum, if one enters the Hubli Division Railway Headquarters Compound, just opposite the main building, one will find three benches with the letters "M.S.M.R." engraved on them. Continuing the Railway journey to Fort Road, Madras and inspecting the wooden benches of the Headquarters' Dispensary of the Southern Railway, one will find five to six wooden benches with the very letters "M.S.M.R." engraved on them as in Cansaulim, Goa. What do the



The inventor of the steam engine.

Ph.No.1: James Watt



Ph.No.2: Bench at Cansaulim Railway Station with letters M.S.M.R.

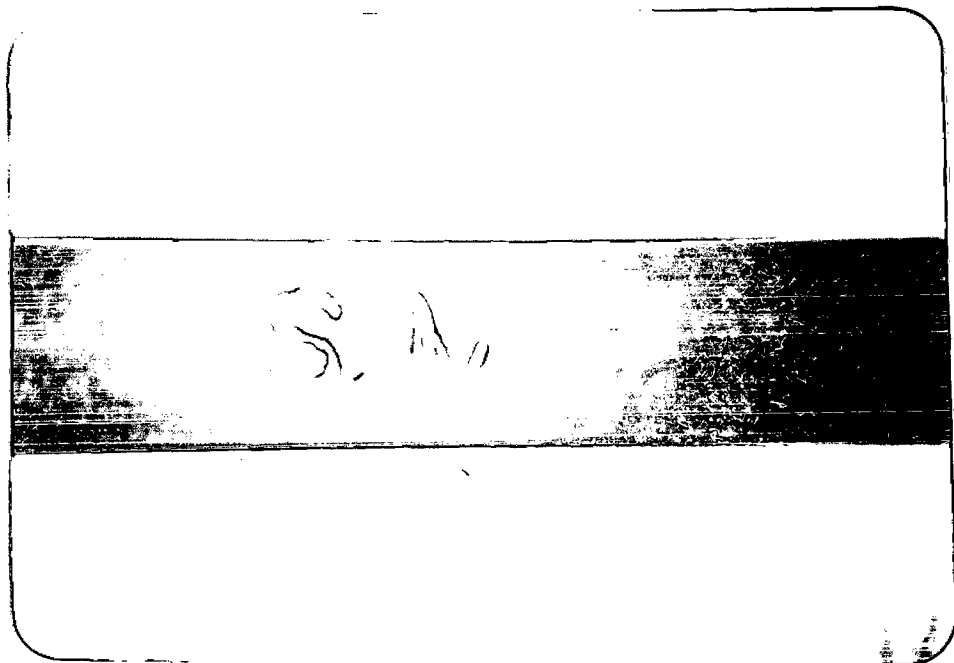


Photo No.3: Bench at Kalay Railway Station with letters S.M.R.

letters "S.M.R." at Kalay Goa and the letters "M.S.M.R." at Cansaulim Goa mean ? Is there any connection between the benches in Cansaulim in Goa-Belgaum-Hubli and Fort Road, Madras and the letters "M.S.M.R." engraved on them? Is there any relation between the letters "S.M.R." and "M.S.M.R."? Since the benches engraved with the letters "S.M.R." and "M.S.M.R." are all found in Railway institutions, perhaps a glimpse into the origin and spread of the Railway System in India could help us to see the meaning of the letters "S.M.R." and "M.S.M.R.", and also to find the answers to our other related questions.

B - MARMAGOA RAILWAY AND HARBOUR:

1. Introduction of Railways in India:

As early as 1832 a railway line between Madras and Bangalore was contemplated upon². But the locomotive power of this line was to be horses³. Also a railway line of 240 kilometers running parallel to the embankment of river Cauvery from Cauveripattam to Curror was thought of. But none of these schemes were actualised⁴. The first railway to be built in India was the Bombay-Thana Railway Line. It was 32 kilometers long and was opened on 16th April, 1853. It had fourteen coaches and was driven by three engines. Between 1844 and 1860 eight railway companies were registered in England to build and run railways in India. These companies were: 1) The East Indian Railway, 2) The Great Indian Peninsula Railway, 3) The Madras Railway, 4) The Bombay Baroda and Central Indian Railway, 5) The Scindia Railway, 6) The Eastern Bengal Railway, 7) The South Indian Railway and 8) The Calcutta and South Eastern Railway⁵.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 gave great impetus to colonial trade and also to the growth of railways in India. By 1873, 5655 miles of railway lines were opened to traffic. And by 1880 the total railway length opened to traffic was 9325 miles. Till the end of 1880 the rates of Indian Railways were not subject to competition between the railway companies. The four ports, i.e. Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi and Madras were served by railways working independantly of each other. And each railway served practically its own territory⁶. But the year 1881 proved to be the year of the begining of competition between the railway companies. In despatch No.128 dated 7th August,1885, of the Government of India Public Works Department, to the Secretary of State, reference is made to this initial period of competition between railway companies:

"The first competition arose in 1881, on the completion of the through route from Bombay to the North-Western Provinces of Punjab, via Ahmedabad to Agra and Delhi, and showed itself in the rivalry of the three routes for the piece goods traffic of those Provinces:-

1. From Calcutta via the East Indian Railway.
2. From Bombay via East Indian Railway and Great Indian Peninsula Railway.
3. From Bombay via Bombay, Baroda and Central Indian railway and Rajputana-Malwa Railway.

This was followed in 1882 by the competition of rival ports of Calcutta and Bombay for the grain export of the same districts, and the settlement of the rates on fairly satisfactory basis had eventually to be undertaken by the Government. The difficulties as regards the claims of the rival seaports were, however, no sooner temporarily settled than others arose with the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway".

By 1888 competition between railway companies had reached such an extent that they started quoting low rates in order to secure or retain as much business as possible. Lowering of rates was done both by new and the old railway companies, smaller and bigger companies. But the companies realised that unlimited and prolonged competition did not profit the involved parties. When competition found its limit, the companies came to some agreements. Equal rates by alternative routes, or division of traffic or allotments of territories to each route, were settled between the companies. In spite of the agreements, the competition did not stop. The competition continued after some respite. And competition led to combination and amalgamation of companies. The Goa railway came into existence at this stage of competition, when weaker companies could not exist by themselves and were forced into combination and amalgamation with stronger companies.

2. Portuguese bent by British Interest:

The Portuguese since 1864, were pleading with Britain regarding the building of a railway line that would link Goa to British India^B. The negotiations between the Portuguese and the British, regarding the construction of the Marmagao railway and port, took a more definite shape with the signing of the Treaty of Commerce and Extradition between Portugal and Great Britain on 26th December, 1878. After the Luso-British Treaty was signed, a committee was appointed in London with the sanction of the British Government. The committee came to be named as the Stafford House Committee. Once the Stafford House Committee and the Portuguese Government came to initial agreements, the British Government

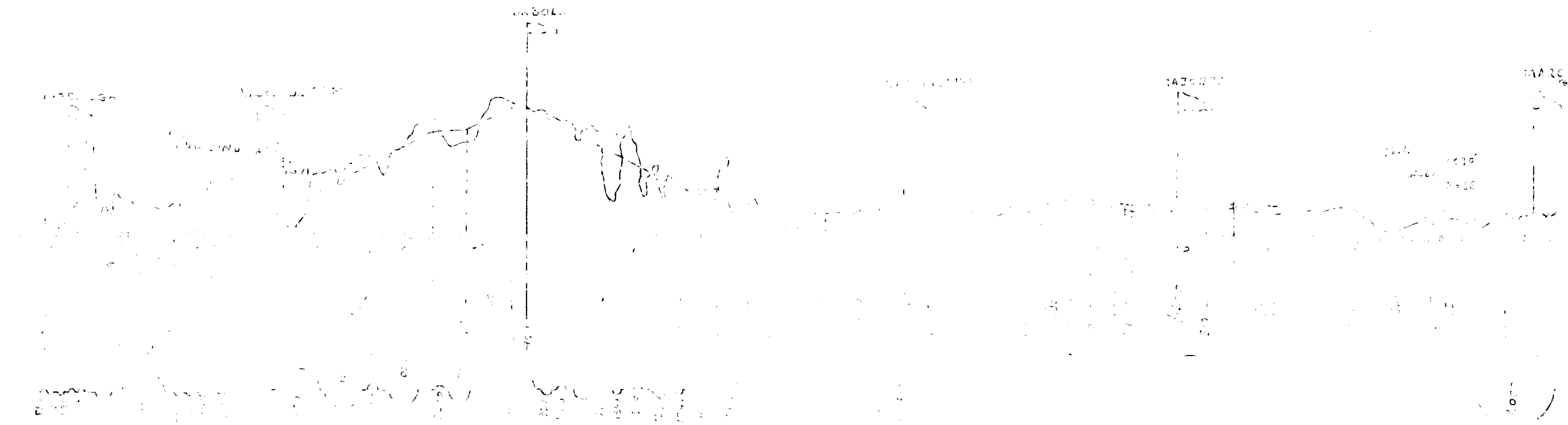
gave its consent to the agreement about the survey for the railway line. In 1879 "The Stafford House Committee" deputed Engineer E.E.Sawyer to make a detailed study from Marmagoa to New Hubli. Based on Mr.Sawyer's survey report, in July 1880, the "Stafford House Committee" made a contract proposal to the Portuguese Government to build the Marmagoa port and the railway line upto New Hubli. The important points of the Contract proposal were that every six months the Portuguese had to pay 5% interest on all capital upto the sum of 800,000 pounds. The Portuguese Government had to mortgage the sum of Rs.4 lakhs which the British Government paid to the Portuguese Government under article 15 of the Luso-British Treaty of 26th December 1878. The amount of 4 lakhs annual mortgage was a guarantee for the interest on 800,000 pounds. And on all extra capital above 800,000 pounds the Portuguese Government had to pay 6% interest⁹.

Independent of Engineer E.E.Sawyer, the British Government consulted the London based Engineering Firm M/S. Hawkshaw, Son and Hayter, on the questions of the directions of the railway and whether the railway line would be broad or meter gauge. This Engineering firm was for building a railway line with broad gauge. After receiving the report from M/s Hawkshaw, the Secretary of State for British India addressed a letter on the 8th of December 1880, to the British Foreign Office to be sent to the Portuguese Government. By this letter the British took the decision to build the Marmagoa railway line as a metre gauge. The Portuguese Government on 3rd January, 1880, basically accepted the conditions of the British Government as spelt out in the above

mentioned letter of 8th December, 1880. The Portuguese Government also accepted the conditions proposed by the "Stafford House Committee". On 18th April, 1881, Sir T. Douglas Forsyth, Duke of Sutherland, William Mackinnon, Sir Henry Green and Frederick Youle, all of "Stafford House Committee", signed the contract with the Portuguese Government to construct the Marmagoa port and the railway. Only after signing the 18th April, 1881 contract, "The West of India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway Company Private Limited" (W.I.P.G.R.) - the company that built the Marmagoa port and the railway - was constituted in England. The registered office of W.I.P.G.R. was situated at 332 Coastal Chambers, Buckingham Palace Road, Westminster. The contract of 18th April, 1881 gave to the W.I.P.R. British company a lease free of charge for 99 years. The British company made the Portuguese pay even for the registration of the English company in England¹⁰.

In 1881 Marmagoa was a small fisherman's village and had only 1451 inhabitants. Seven of the inhabitants were Europeans, the rest were Goans¹¹. This village of fishermen was beginning to be drastically changed. Work on the Marmagoa port and railway began after 15th December 1881. At the commencement of work, around 4635 men and women labourers were engaged. Gradually the labour force engaged to build the railway and harbour grew to 50,000. Most of the labourers were from Goa. Since Goan workers were not skilled in certain areas - labour from outside Goa was also engaged to build the Goa Railway and harbour. On 9th February 1887, miners, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths and other workers, 458 in all, were busy building the tunnels in the ghat section, 13 of

UNBENTED STATE



W. W. WAIN
W. W. WAIN
W. W. WAIN

W



Map No. 1 p. 24a

these workers were women. The sky was the main roof for all these labourers who built the Goa Railway and Port of Marmagoa - with the sweat of their brow and labour power. The length of the railway upto the Portuguese frontier was 51 miles¹². The railway line from Marmagoa to Chandor was laid on a level and easy terrain with no obstacles. The line from Chandor to Collem was also laid on an easy terrain and on level ground but had to cross the Paroda and Sanguem rivers. The Railway line from Collem to Caranzol was laid on extremely uneven and difficult terrain with tunnels and bridges.¹³ In all there were 16 tunnels upto Castle-Rock.¹⁴ Railway Map No.1¹⁵ (cf.pg.24a) gives the plan of the longitudinal section of the railway track from Marmagoa to Collem. This map gives details of the track with stations,distances in miles, curves radii and other technical details. Railway Map No. 2^{15a} (cf.pg. 24b) gives the plan of the longitudinal section of the track from Marmagoa to Castlerock. The collective labour of about 50,000 workers made it possible to inaugurate the railway line from Marmagoa to Savordem on 15th January 1887. This section of the railway was opened to the public on 17th January 1887. And on the 31st January 1888, the thousands of workers labouring and living in sun and rain connected the Marmagoa railway line with the Southern Maratha railway at Caranzol-Castle Rock meeting point. The inauguration of the railway on 31st January 1888 was done by the Portuguese Governor General Cardozo de Carvalho and the Governor of Bombay Lord Reay.^{15b} The Goa railway began to function with 12 steam locomotives,37 bogies and 147 wagons¹⁶.

Alongwith the work on the railway line, work at the Marmagoa harbour was also begun in 1881. By 1887 the quay wall upto berth no. 3 was protected by the break-water of 358 meters. The berths were completed with long intervals. By 1912 berth no. 4 with an extension of break-water to 508 meters was completed. The break-water of 522.40 meters was completed in 1917 and a mole of 270 meters was added. Berth no.5 was completed in 1922 and by 1934 berth no. 6 was only partly completed. The Marmagoa harbour was thus gradually provided with an approachable quay with a length of 846 meters. The quay was protected by the break-water with a length of 522.40 meters. The mole of 270 meters was built on the east side of the break-water. Six ships could be berthed along the quay. The quay was divided into 6 berths with following lengths :-

Berth No. 1	92 meters
Berth No. 2	92.50 meters
Berth No. 3	140 meters
Berth No. 4	139 meters
Berth No. 5	159.5 meters
Berth No. 6	223 meters ¹⁷

The ship "S.S.WESTBOURNE" with a draft of 25 feet was the first ship that sailed into Marmagoa in April 1885, bringing railway equipment into Goa. In 1888 Bombay's Victoria Dock (Indira Dock) was built; 5 years later the first dock in Calcutta came to be constructed. And a good 25 years after the Victoria Dock was built, Madras Harbour was completed.¹⁸

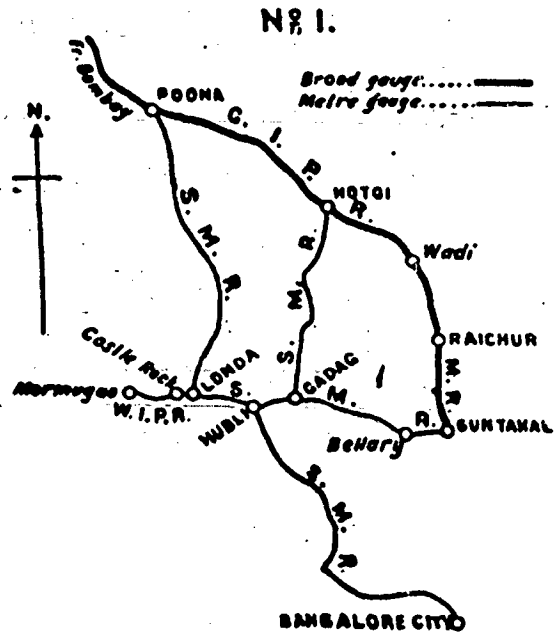
3. Additional Agreement with W.I.P.R Company:

While the Goa Railway and Marmagoa Harbour was being constructed, the British Government in 1892, denounced the Luso-British Treaty of 26th December, 1878. The Treaty's validity came to an end with effect from 15th January, 1892. The denouncement of the Luso-British Treaty by the British Government freed Britain from paying the annual subsidy of Rs. 400,000 to the Portuguese Government, against the monopoly for salt exploration. By the time the Luso-British Treaty was denounced, the Portuguese were annually paying 73,000 pounds as guaranteed interest to the W.I.P.R. company. But with the denouncement of the Luso-British Treaty, the W.I.P.R. company felt that the Portuguese Government would not be in a position to annually guarantee the interest of 73,000 pounds, and so proposed that the Portuguese Government should buy the railway line. The Portuguese Government did not accept the proposal made by the W.I.P.R. Company to buy the railway line. Instead, the Portuguese Government signed an additional contract with the W.I.P.R. Company on 19th December 1892 in London. As stipulated in the Additional Contract of 19th December 1892, the Portuguese Government had now to mortgage Rs. 600,000 instead of Rs. 400,000 for the purpose of guaranteed interests. The Additional Contract of 19th December 1892, also stated that if at any time the Portuguese Government did not pay in full the guaranteed interest of 73,000 pounds annually, the Company had the right to give six months notice to the Portuguese Government to buy the Railway and the Company would have to be paid by the Portuguese Government in Sterling in London, the entire sum

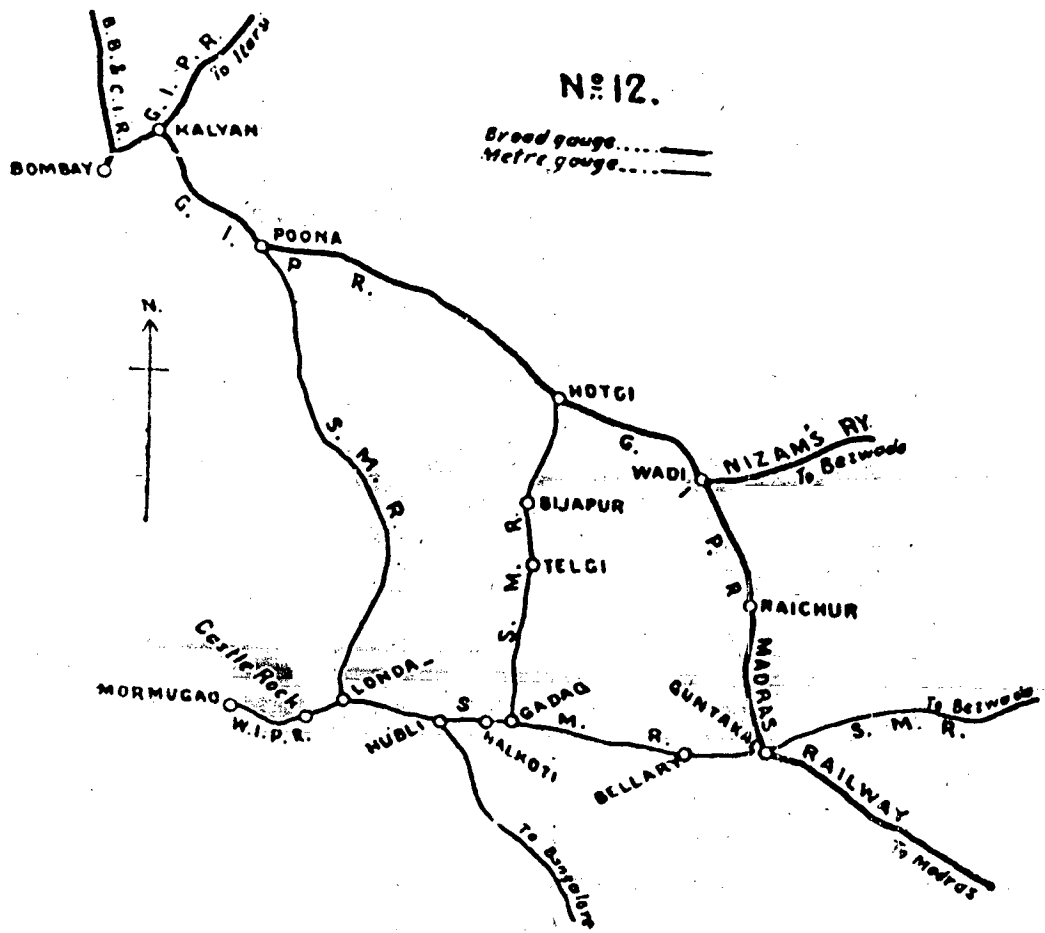
actually spent on the works of the railway, telegraph and other works with the addition of 10%, besides the cost value to be assessed of the fixed and rolling stock, machines, and other railway and port equipment.¹⁹.

4) Coming of S.M.R. and M.S.M.R. into Goa

The Secretary of State for India, in 1882 had signed a contract with 'Southern Mahratta Railway Company (S.M.R.)'. The contract was for 25 years. This contract had given the Secretary of State, the right to take possession of the S.M.R. lines on 30th June, 1905²⁰. On 31st January 1888 the Southern Mahratta Railway and the West of India Portuguese Railway formed a junction at Castle-Rock (cf. map No. 3²¹ p.28). During this period Indian Railways were entering the stage of stiff competition and Marmagao Railway was gradually getting integrated into the net of British Railways and their competition. The Marmagao Railway line was laid to be fed by the traffic from the Southern Mahratta Railway (S.M.R.) region. The S.M.R. extended the Marmagao line in the direction of Bellary and linked the Marmagao line to the British Railway net work of the Madras and G.I.P. railway companies (cf Map.No.4^{21a} p.28). In 1888 the Southern Mahratta railway Company took over the working of the Guntakal Bezwada line which included the Guntakal Bellary Section^{21b}. The Southern Mahratta and G.I.P. came to an agreement with each other in August 1889, regarding the division of traffic on their lines. The two companies formed junctions at Hotgi and at Poona. The August 1889 Agreement was undertaken without taking the W.I.P.R. into consideration,



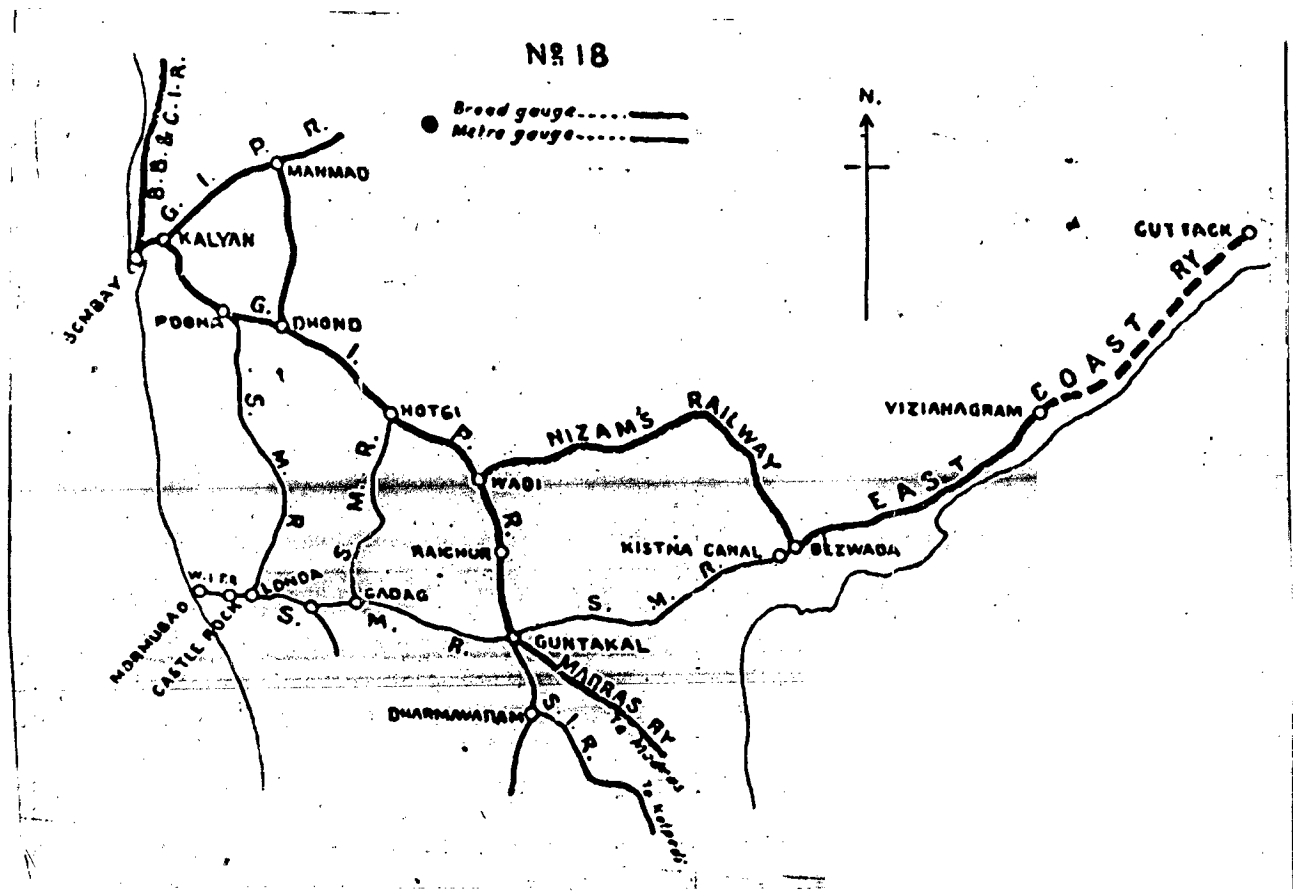
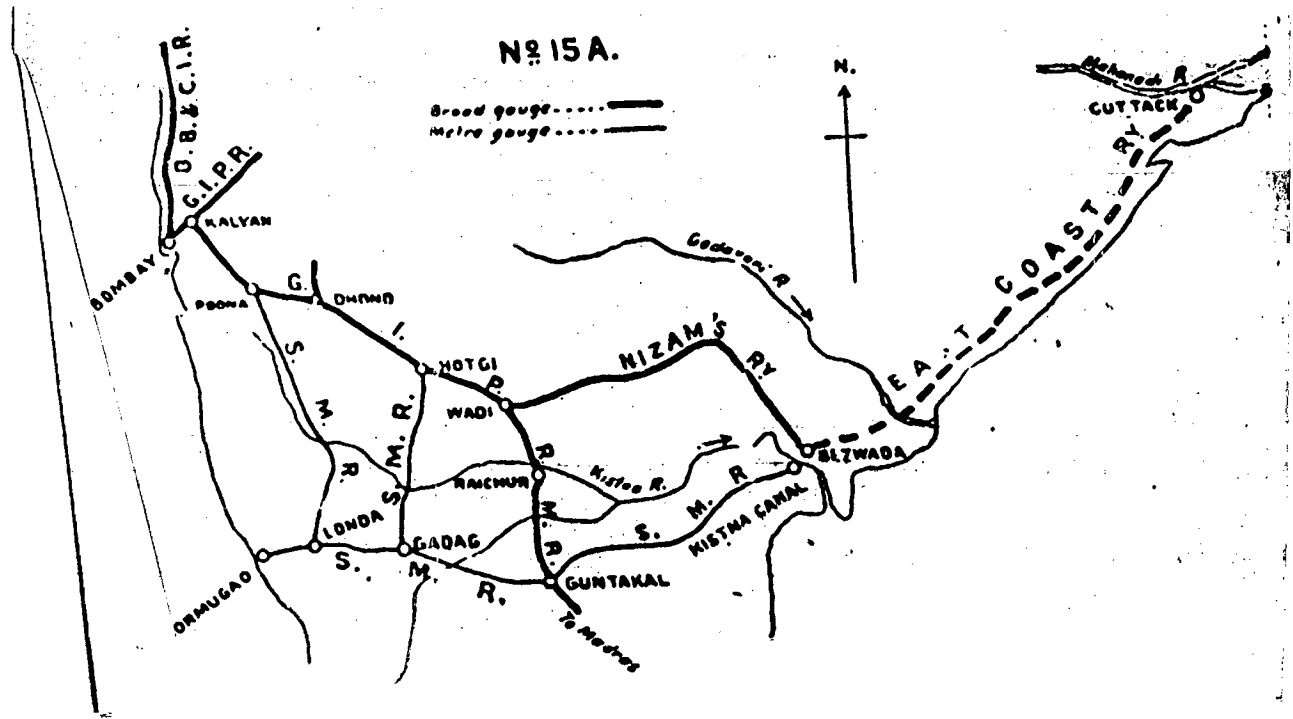
Map No. 3

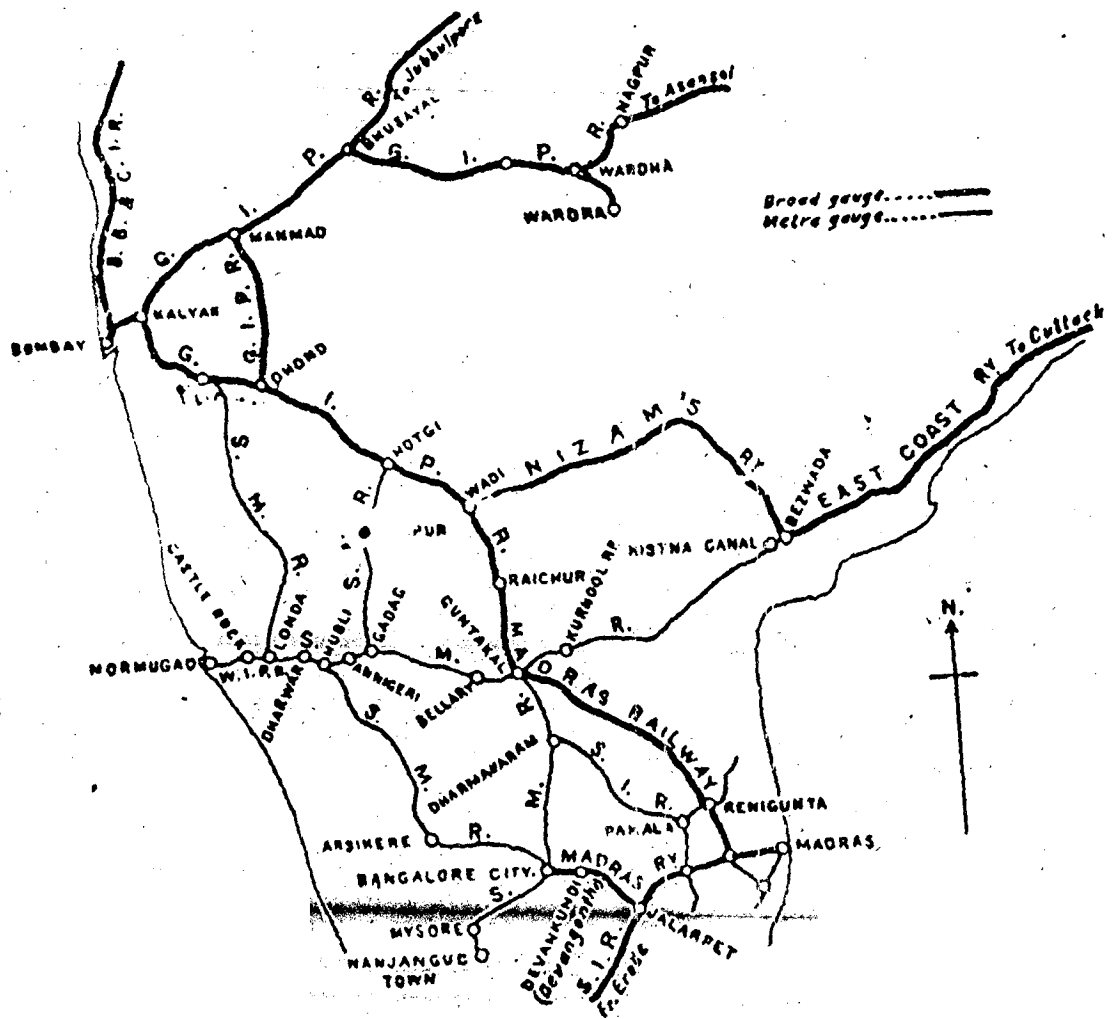


Map No. 4

although S.M.R. applied their scale of rates via Castle Rock, the junction with W.I.P.R.. After the August 1889 agreement, traffic to Marmagoa started to drop.²²

By 1892 the Nizam's Guaranteed Railway line, a broad gauge line of 5'6", was opened for traffic from Wadi to Bezwada on the Northern side of River Krishna (cf Map.No.5²³ p.30). The S.M.R. extended their metre gauge line by 1892 upto the Southern bank of River Krishna. There was no connection between Nizam's guaranteed Railway and the S.M.R Company till the East Coast Railway from Bezwada to Cuttack came into existence. Nevertheless competition had already started between the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway and the S.M.R.. The competition was for the traffic from the eastern sections of the S.M.R. and the Nizam's lines, to the G.I.P. railway's southern line and to Bombay. On 1st January 1891 the Secretary of State of India purchased the South India Guaranteed Railway. But the working of the purchased railway was handed over to a new company called the South India Railway Company. The Guntakal-Dharmavaram Section was transferred from the South Indian Railway to the S.M.R. in 1893 (cf.Map.No.6^{23a} p.30). By January 1894, a connection was established between the East Coast and the Southern Maharatta Railway companies at Bezwada by means of a metre gauge track over the Krishna Bridge. Thus Bezwada became a junction between the East Coast Railway (5'6"), the Nizam's line (5'6") and S.M.R. (3'3 3/8"). Now, there was a through communication from Bezwada to Marmagoa Port^{23b} (cf.Map No.7^{23c} p.31)





Map No.7

In 1895, the S.M.R. gave six months notice of the cancellation of the August 1889 Agreement between S.M.R. & G.I.P.. With the cancellation of the August 1889 Agreement, war of rates began. The 1889 Agreement was based on the shortest distance between the Hotgi and Poona routes. The distance via Hotgi was disadvantageous to S.M.R.. S.M.R. wanted to get a better lead by a revised routing of traffic via Poona. So matters were under discussion between the two railway companies. The interests of W.I.P.R. were also involved in the discussions and the war of rates.

Marmagoa Port, the terminal of W.I.P.R. dealt with traffic to and from the S.M.R.. The immediate destination of Marmagoa traffic was Bombay. The W.I.P.R. in combination with a steamer company, offered an alternate route for the traffic between Bombay and the S.M.R.. S.M.R. also had all railway routes at its service. By adjustments of rates over their own line and in the steamer freight, the W.I.P.R. was able to maintain a difference in favour of the combined rail and sea route to Bombay as compared to all rail routes via Poona and via Hotgi. S.M.R. and G.I.P. came to an agreement in 1895. This agreement between S.M.R. and G.I.P. came into effect in 1896. By the 1895 Agreement the routing of traffic was mainly via Poona, not Hotgi. But the 1895 Agreement greatly went against the interest of W.I.P.R.. The effect of this agreement was that the difference in rates in favour of the Marmagoa route, as compared with the rates by all the rail routes, was reduced and in some cases the rates, which were hitherto cheaper via Marmagoa, became higher than those by the Poona and

Hotgi routes.²⁴ Faced with the adverse effects of the implementation of the 1895 Agreement between S.M.R. and G.I.P., the steam navigation company which was working with W.I.P.R., went on the offensive and reduced one anna per maund from 1st March, 1896. This offensive by the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, sent the traffic via Marmagoa instead of via Poona. But G.I.P. changed the via Poona rates to such effect that the via Marmugao rates became the maximum. The Bombay Steam Navigation Company and the W.I.P.R. could not reduce their rates further and so the traffic went to Bombay via Poona or via Hotgi the all rail routes. Traffic and tarriff wars were on in South India between the English Railway companies. During these traffic and tarriff wars, Marmagoa railway was made to starve for traffic to Bombay²⁵. The Portuguese Government and W.I.P.R. made various attempts to save the situation but without success. To get out of the tarriff wars and increase traffic to Marmagoa railway and Port, W.I.P.R. proposed to the Portuguese Government to hand over the working of the Port and Railway of Marmagoa to S.M.R.. On 21st August 1902, the W.I.P.R. and S.M.R. signed a Lease Agreement. On 3rd October 1902 the Portuguese Government sanctioned the Lease Agreement. This Lease Agreement or the Working Agreement was also sanctioned by the British Secretary of State for India²⁶. By the 21st August 1902 Lease or Working Agreement, W.I.P.R. ceded its right for the working of the Marmagoa Railway and the Port to the S.M.R. English Company:-

"Agreement of 1902

Preliminary condition of agreement:-

1. The S.M. Railway accepts all the obligations of the Contracts dated April, 18th, 1881 and December, 19th 1892, between the Portuguese Government and the W.I.P.Rly., so far as they may be applicable to the maintenance and working of the W.I.P.Railway and Harbour by the S.M.Railway".²⁷

The Working Agreement of 1902, will now explain to us the presence of the benches marked "S.M.R." in the rest room of the Kalay Goa Station, and the engraved letters on the benches "S.M.R." surely mean Southern Mahratta Railway (cf.pp.17-19).

The Secretary of State in India in 1908, terminated the contracts of the S.M.R. and Madras Railway Companies. With the cancellation of these contracts, new arrangements were made by the Secretary of State regarding the railways in South India. With the new arrangements the S.M.R. absorbed the whole of Madras Railway with the exception of the Jalarpet-Mangalore section and branches thereof. The Katpadi-Dharmavaram and Pakala-Gudur sections were taken from the South Indian Railway and handed over to the S.M.R.. And out of the old S.M.R. and the Madras Railway Companies, a new company came to birth - The Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway (M.S.M.R.).²⁸ The S.M.R. Company, incorporated in London on 24th May 1882 with Licence No.16,860 C. under the Companies Acts of 1862-1900, at an extraordinary general meeting of the Company, duly convened and held at the offices of the Company, 46, Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster, London, S.W., on the

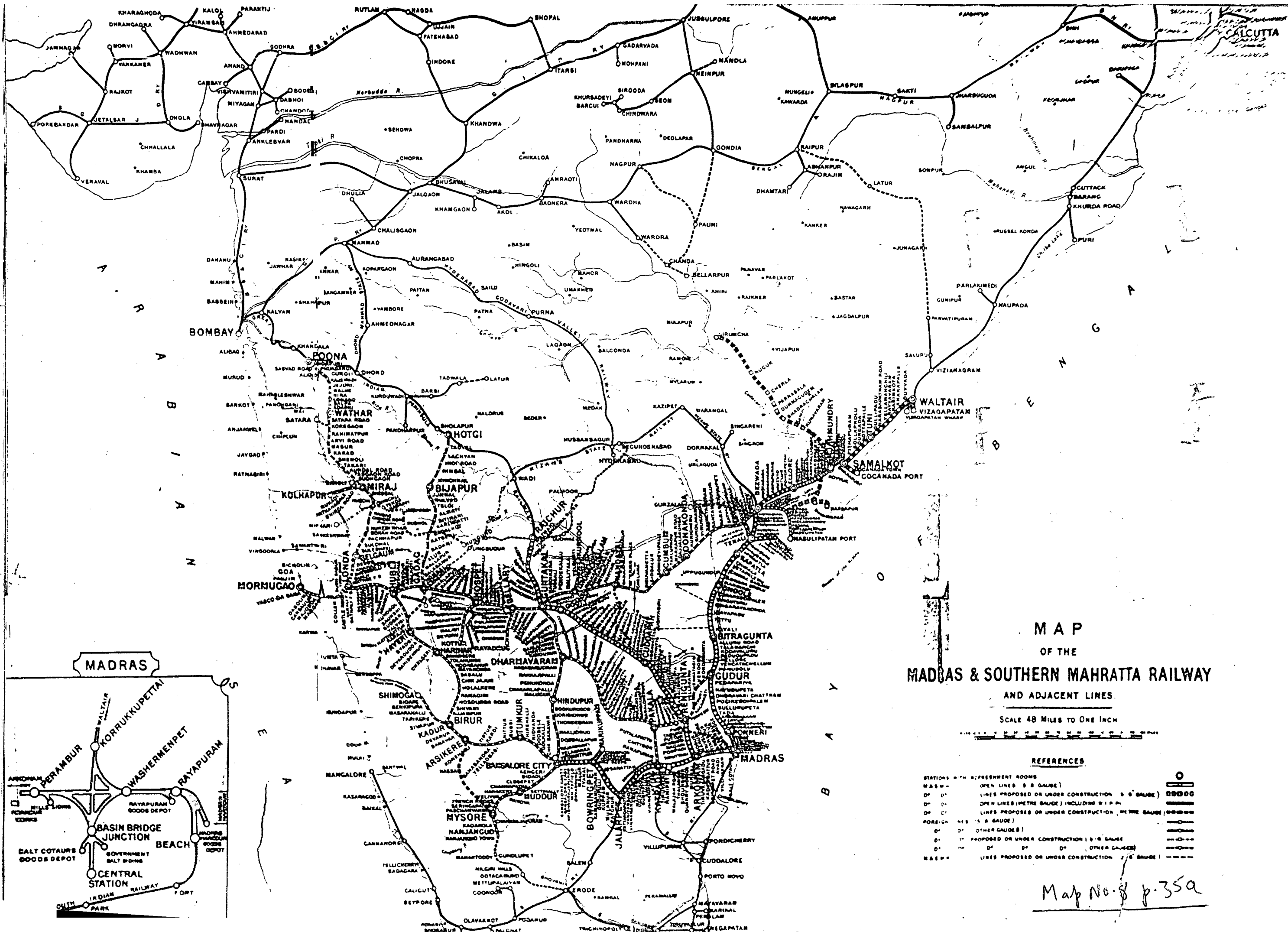
8th day of January 1908, the special resolution that changed the name of the company to 'The Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company Limited', was duly passed. At a subsequent extraordinary general meeting of the said company, also duly convened and held at the same place, on the 24th day of January, 1908, the above special resolution was duly confirmed. This change came about when W.V.Constable was the Chairman of the company.²⁹

The Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Company Limited was an amalgamation and combination of eight railway systems:-

- Madras and Southern Maratha Broad guage.
- Madras and Southern Maratha Metre gauge.
- Mysore State Railway, Broad gauge.
- Kolhapur State Railway.
- West India Portuguese Railway.
- Sangli State Railway.
- Tenali-Repalle Railway and
- Alnawar-Dandeli Railway.³⁰

The Indian Head quarters of M.S.M.R. were at Fort Road, Madras (cf.p.35a, Map No.8^{30a}).

The amalgamation of S.M.R. and Madras Railway company in 1908, and the change of the name of S.M.R. into M.S.M.R., read along with the Working Agreement of 1902 with W.I.P.G.R., explains to us of the presence of the three benches at the Cansaulim-Goa railway station, marked with the letters "M.S.M.R." Now it can be safely stated that the engraved letters "M.S.M.R." on the benches, means Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. The benches with this engravings, found at the railway stations of Cansaulim-Goa,



**MAP
OF THE
MADRAS & SOUTHERN MAHRATTA RAILWAY
AND ADJACENT LINES.**

SCALE 48 MILES TO ONE INCH



REFERENCES

STATIONS WITH REFRESHMENT ROOMS	
M.S.M. (OPEN LINES 5' 6" GAUGE)	
DP (DP) (LINES PROPOSED OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION 5' 6" GAUGE)	
DP (DP) (OPEN LINES (METRE GAUGE) INCLUDING W.I.P.)	
DP (DP) (LINES PROPOSED OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION, METRE GAUGE)	
FOREIGN (5' 6" GAUGE)	
DP (DP) (OTHER GAUGES)	
DP (DP) (PROPOSED OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION 1' 6" GAUGE)	
DP (DP) (OTHER GAUGES)	
M.S.M. (LINES PROPOSED OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION 2' 6" GAUGE)	

Map No. 8 p. 35a

Belgaum, Hubli and in the railway dispensary at Fort-Road, Madras, tell us that they are remnants of the time when all these railways were administered and maintained by the British Railway Company - M.S.M.R. (cf. pp. 17-19).

After the Independence of India, the railways were nationalised in Independent India. M.S.M.R. was reorganised as the Southern Railway with headquarters at Fort Road, Madras. Independent India accepted to honour the Working Agreement of 1902 between S.M.R. and W.I.P.R.. Accordingly the Southern Railway of Independent India undertook to work and maintain the Marmagoa Railway and Port of Portuguese India. The Marmagoa railway was integrated in the railway network of the Southern Railway. For working purposes the Marmagoa Railway was considered a section of the Southern Railway lines. This section was known as the West India Portuguese (W.I.P.) section and belonged to the sixth district of the Southern Railway. The headquarters of the sixth district were at Hubli. The Southern Railway of India appointed a Traffic Superintendent with an office at Marmagoa to act simultaneously as the joint representative of the Southern Railway and the W.I.P.R. Company before the Portuguese Government. The Portuguese Government was represented by its officer known as Eugenheiro Fiscal. Eugenheiro Fiscal was the chief of the office - Fiscalizacao de Caminho de Ferro e Porto de Marmagoa. All affairs, be it concerning traffic or of technical nature, were dealt with by the Southern Railway either in Hubli or in Madras. And all accounts of the Marmagoa Railway were finalised in Madras. Due to increasing tensions in the political field between

Independent India and Portugal, the role of the Southern Railway came to be limited strictly to routine affairs required to keep the Marmagoa Railway and Port working, and thus keeping up the contractual conditions with W.I.P.R. Company to the minimum. These strained relations lasted till 1955 and then snapped. Already in 1954, the Southern Railway of India had notified W.I.P.R. Company of its decision to give up working of the Marmagoa Railway and Port. The 1902 Working Agreement, which was successfully renewed for periods of five years from 30th July, 1907 was finally concluded on 31st December, 1955. On 21st February, 1956 the Southern Railway of India removed the railway track from the section beyond the frontier of Goa and thus totally suspended rail communications between Goa and India.³¹

5. Progress During the Blockade:-

In 1955 the Portuguese Government had to live with the Economic blockade imposed by the Government of Independent India on Portuguese India. Since 1955 the Portuguese tried to make best use of the Marmagoa Harbour and the Railway. Improvement and efficient use of the Port had become very important to the Portuguese Government. The 1954 Report of Engineer Mr. Carlos Krus Abecasis, later Minister of State for Overseas Provinces of Portugal, planned rapid advancement in the Port and Railway infrastructure. One of the lasting and very important concept that Engineer Abecasis thought of, was the concept of dedicated berth - especially for the export of iron ore. The different berths were for the first time chalked out for specific traffic. Berths 1 and

2 were set aside for coastal ships with passengers and goods. Berths 3 and 4 were marked for general cargo and passengers. Berth No. 5 was kept for coal. And berth No.6 was for ores.

The main development at Marmagoa Harbour, during the blockade was the installation of the Mechanical Ore Handling Plant. The lease grant of the Mechanical Installation for ore loading at berths 6 and 7 was granted to M/s Chowgule and Company. On 24th March, 1959 the Japanese firm M/s Sumitomo Machinery Company Ltd., drew the plans of the Mechanical Ore Handling Plant. Though berths 6 and 7 were leased to the Chowgule Company, the W.I.P.R. Company was responsible to maintain by dredging the depths of 27 feet and 13 feet at low tide alongside berths 6 and 7. Berth No.6 was intended for ocean going vessels and Berth No.7 for river transport barges. In exchange for the lease, the W.I.P.R. was to receive a unit grant at the rate of Rs.258 per hundred square meters per annum to be paid in monthly instalments by the Portuguese Government through the Government Inspectorate. The concession of the Mechanical Plant was given to the Chowgule Company to last for 36 years; the concession could be renewed by the Government—if the Government so desired, if not the Plant had to be handed over to the Government free of charge.

Of all the mine owners only those exporters who could secure a plot adjacent to berth 6 and 7, for dumping the iron ore, and had suitable barges, could make use of the Mechanical Ore Handling Plant in collaboration with the Chowgule Company. 60% of the storage area was reserved for the Chowgule Company. The users of the lease area of thirty four thousand, five hundred and sixty

seven square meters, and ten square decimeters, set aside for the Mechanical Plant, had to pay a rent at the rate of Rs.800 per 100 square meters³². The Chowgule Company was granted cheaper rent for the land needed within the harbour area for the company's office, canteen, stockrooms and workshop:

"The Contracting Party of the second part (M/s. Chowgule and Company) will be granted against a rental of 258 rupees/100/m²/ per annum, the land within the harbour area which by agreement is accepted as necessary for building an office, canteen, stockroom and a small workshop for the preparation of samples and the service of the mechanical installation of quays 6 and 7"³³.

These rents were collected by the Government Inspectorate.

6. British depart from Portuguese India:

On 31st December 1955, the Working Agreement of 1902 was terminated by the Southern Railway of India. From 1st January 1956 the working of the Marmagoa railway and the harbour was again in the hands of the British W.I.P.R. company. The British perhaps sensed that their days were numbered in Portuguese India too. At midnight of 31st March, 1961 at 00.00 hrs. of 1st April 1961, in Panaji, at Palacio de Hidalcao, the residence of the Governor General of the Portuguese State of India, Col. C.G. Blackford, the Attorney of W.I.P.R. Company, handed over the Marmagoa railway and harbour, to Manuel Antonio Vassalo e Silva, the Governor General of Goa. The handing over ceremony of the Marmagoa railway and harbour was completed around 00.50 hours on 1st April, 1961. And

"...to take over the (Marmagao) Port and Railway, works and materials, the Portuguese Government paid 'The West of India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway Company Limited', a sum of 1,350,000 pounds..."³⁴

7. Post British Era:

After the redemption of Goa railway and Marmagao port from British interest, from 1st April 1961, the Marmagao railway and harbour came into the hands of the Portuguese autonomous body -Junta Autonoma dos Portes e Caminhos de Ferro do Estado de India. This autonomous body was in short called -Junta. It was created by Decree-Law Number 42517 of 25th February, 1961, to be incharge of the Marmagao railway and harbour. The short lived role of Junta - to shape the Marmagao railway and harbour - came to an end on 19th December 1961, when Goa was liberated.

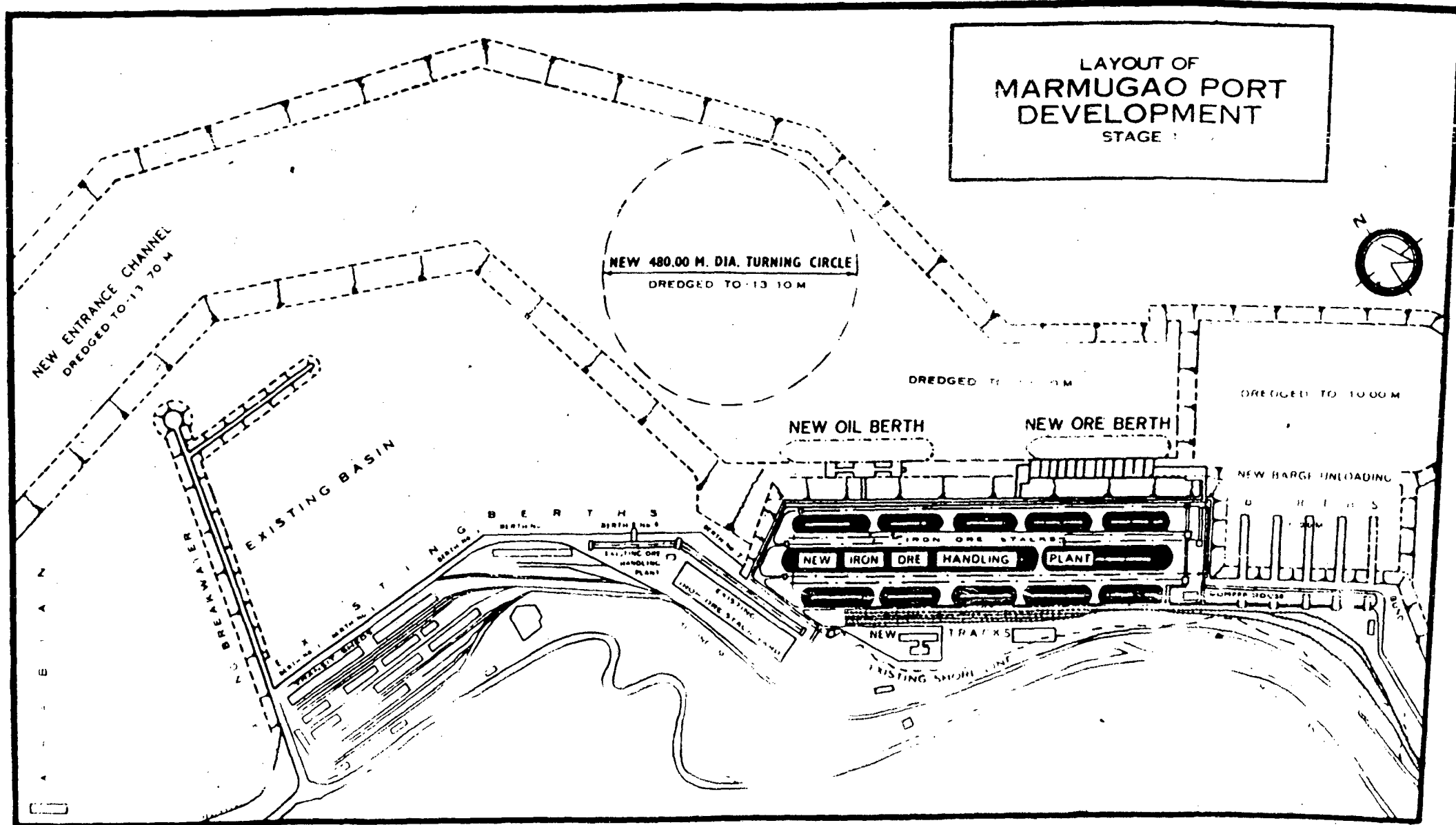
The new Indian Government took steps to take over the Goa Railway and Harbour. On 5th January 1962, T.S.Parasuram of the Central Secretariat of India was appointed Administrator of Marmagao Railway and Harbour by the Government of India. By 1st May 1963, the Government of India took the major decision to delink the Marmagao Railway and Harbour management. The Marmagao Railway section from Vasco da Gama to Goa's border came under the jurisdiction of the Southern Railway with headquarters in Madras. Marmagao Port Railway and Station was kept with the Marmagao Port administration. By 2nd December 1963, the Indian Ports Act of 1908 was made applicable to Goa and the Ministry of Transport and Communication declared Marmagao Port to be a Major Port. And later the Major Port Trust Act of 1963 was applicable to the Marmagao

Port. Now the Marmagosa Port came to be governed by a Board of Trustees whose Chairman has to be appointed by the Central Government of India. The first Board of Trustees came into effect from 1st July, 1964³⁵.

Modernisation of Marmagosa Port took a new turn at the hands of the Government of India. A new Mechanical Ore Handling Plant (M.O.H.P) was planned to be built at berth No.9. On 1st October, 1979 the new M.O.H.P. at berth No.9 was commissioned for commercial operations. The unique feature of this new M.O.H.P. is the provision of 8 grab type barge ore unloaders. Besides the mechanical barge-unloading facility for receiving river-borne ore, the M.O.H.P. has a wagon tippler for rail-borne ore. The new M.O.H.P. has a ship loading system with rated capacity of 8000 tonnes per hour. The old and privately owned M.O.H.P. of M/s Chowgule built in 1959 has a capacity of loading 1000 tonnes per hour. On 19th April 1982, the foundation stone for the multipurpose general cargo berth - berth No.10 was laid. Berth No.10 has a total length of 250 meters and an apron of 50 meters. It has a transit shed of 7700 square meters and open storage area of 10,000 square meters. This berth is capable of accommodating bulk carriers of upto 35,000 D.W.T.. Berth No.10 was commissioned by late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on 15th April 1985. It was the day when the Port celebrated its first centenary year³⁶ (cf. Map Nos. 9&10,^{36a} pp.41a,41b).

The the general infrastructural picture of the Marmagosa Port is as follows. The Port has 10 operational berths with a

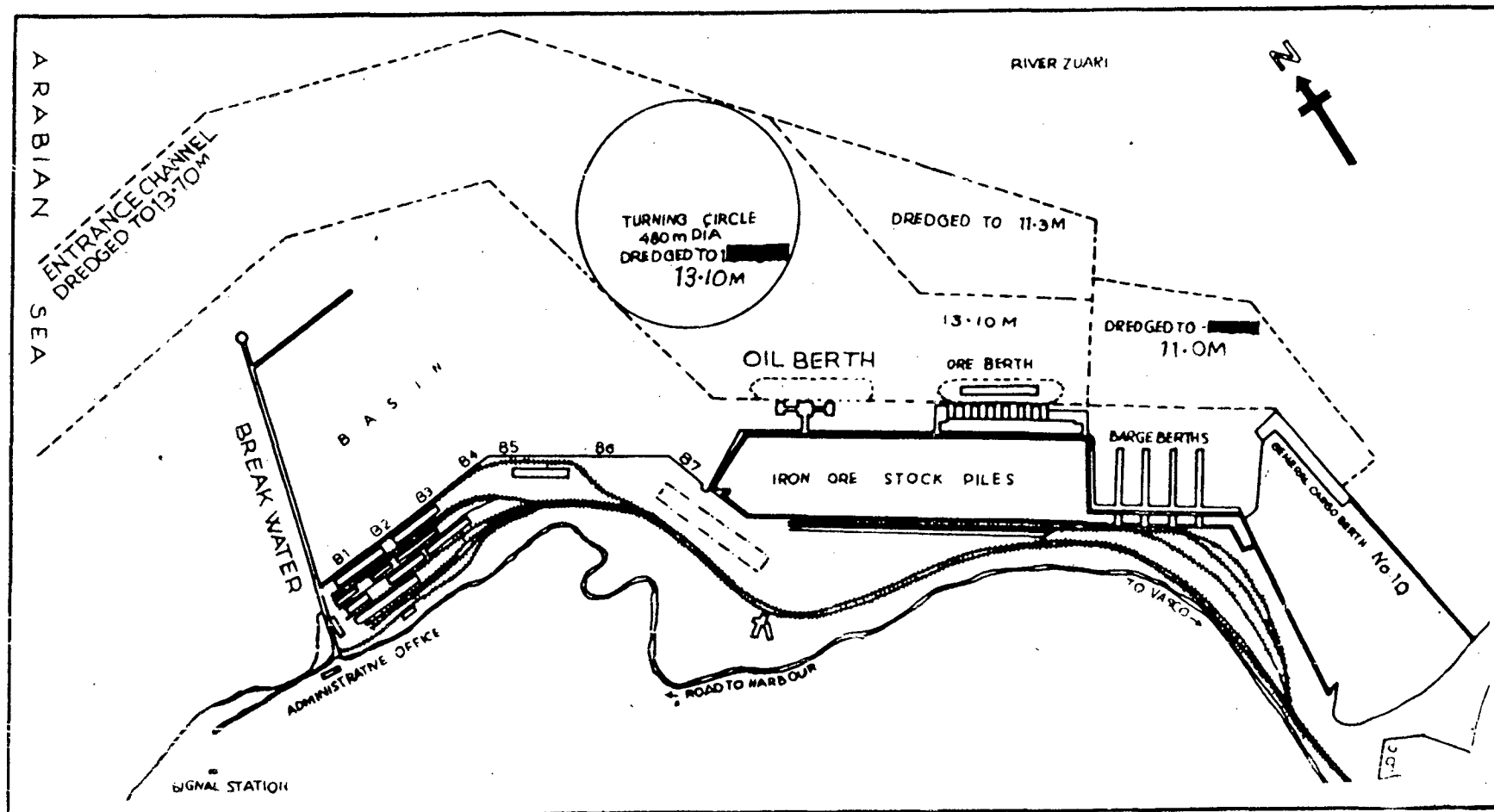
SKETCH OF MORMUGAO PORT



- (1) Break Water (2) Basin (3) Berths (4) Ore Handling Plant (1000 t. p. h.) (12) Existing Metre Gauge Tracks.
 (5) Entrance Channal (6) Turning Circle 480 m. DIA. (7) Oil Berth (8) Ore Berth (9) Barge Unloading Berths (10) Ore Handling Plant (8000 t. p. h.)
 (11) Railway Tracks.

Map No. 9 p. 41a

Mormugao Harbour General Layout

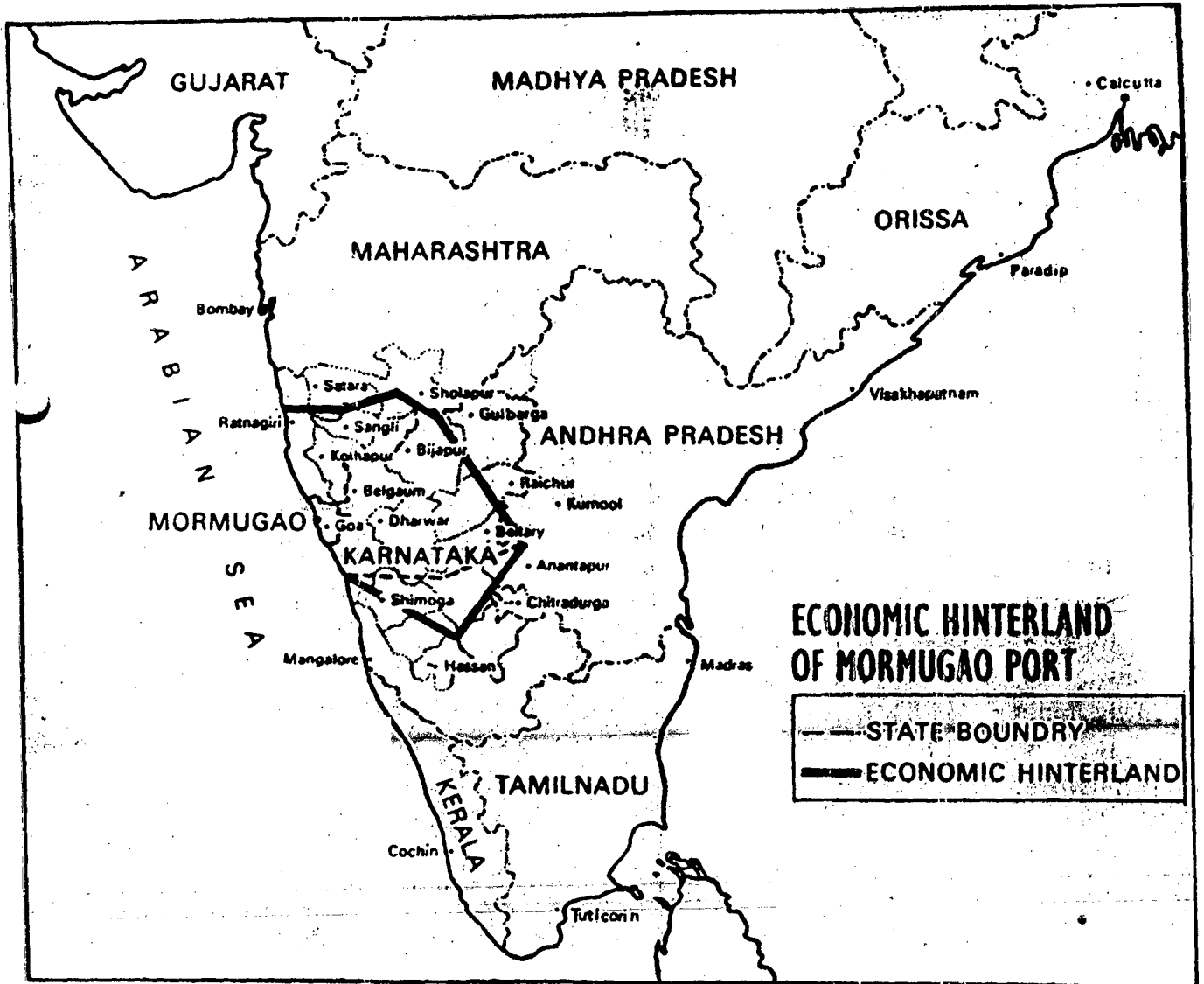


Map No. 10 p. 41 b

total quay length of about 1850 meters. Berths 1 to 5 are conventional berths. Berths 6 and 7 are at the disposal of the privately owned smaller mechanical ore handling plant. Berth No.8 is an oil berth. The modern M.O.H.P. at berth No.9 dominates the Marmagoa Harbour. Berth No.10 for general cargo completes the picture. Loading and unloading of goods is facilitated by 15 electric cranes, and other equipment. 13 of these cranes are 3 ton capacity each, and the other two cranes are of 6 ton capacity each. Besides the 15 electric cranes, there are two mobile cranes of 12 and 30 ton capacity each. There are 14 forklift trucks, 12 of which are of 3 ton capacity each and 2 of 2 ton capacity each. The port has three dredgers. Five launches are provided for surveying, pilotage and mooring. The port has five tugs which have a pulling power ranging from 12 to 30 tons. The port has a signal station equipped with VHF and telephone services.³⁷

Besides making vast infrastructural progress, the Marmagoa Harbour Authorities have moved into the world of computers for better personnel administration, financial management and hope to go further.³⁸

Map No.11³⁹ (cf.p.43) gives us a look at the economic hinterland of Marmagoa port which consists of Goa and most of Karnataka, a little of Andra Pradesh and Southern parts of Maharashtra.



Map No.11

Total traffic handled by Marmagoa Port from 1889 to 1945 was as follows:

"Tonnage Growth of Traffic

Year	Tonnage (00.000)
1889	0.55
1891	0.85
1901	0.66
1911	3.19
1921	1.64
1931	5.38
1941	2.34
1945	5.82" 40

The Independance of India and the consequent liberation process and the Liberation of Goa, released greater forces in Goa to increase the traffic through Marmagoa Port, as indicated by the following data:

"Growth of Traffic through Marmagoa Port

Year	Total Exports-Imports (in lakh tonnes)
1946-47	4.5
1950-51	6.3
1960-61	64.1
1970-71	110.0
1975-76	127.7
1976-77	134.6
1977-78	112.8
1978-79	108.0
1979-80	145.1
1980-81	139.6
1981-82	148.9
1982-83	127.6
1983-84	132.2
1984-85	145.1
1985-86	160.6" 41

The post British infrastuctural progress, as far as the Goa railway system is concerned remained stagnant. The decision of the British to build a meter gauge railway system in Goa still shapes the history of Goa and the Marmagoa Port.

PART II

MINING INDUSTRY IN GOA

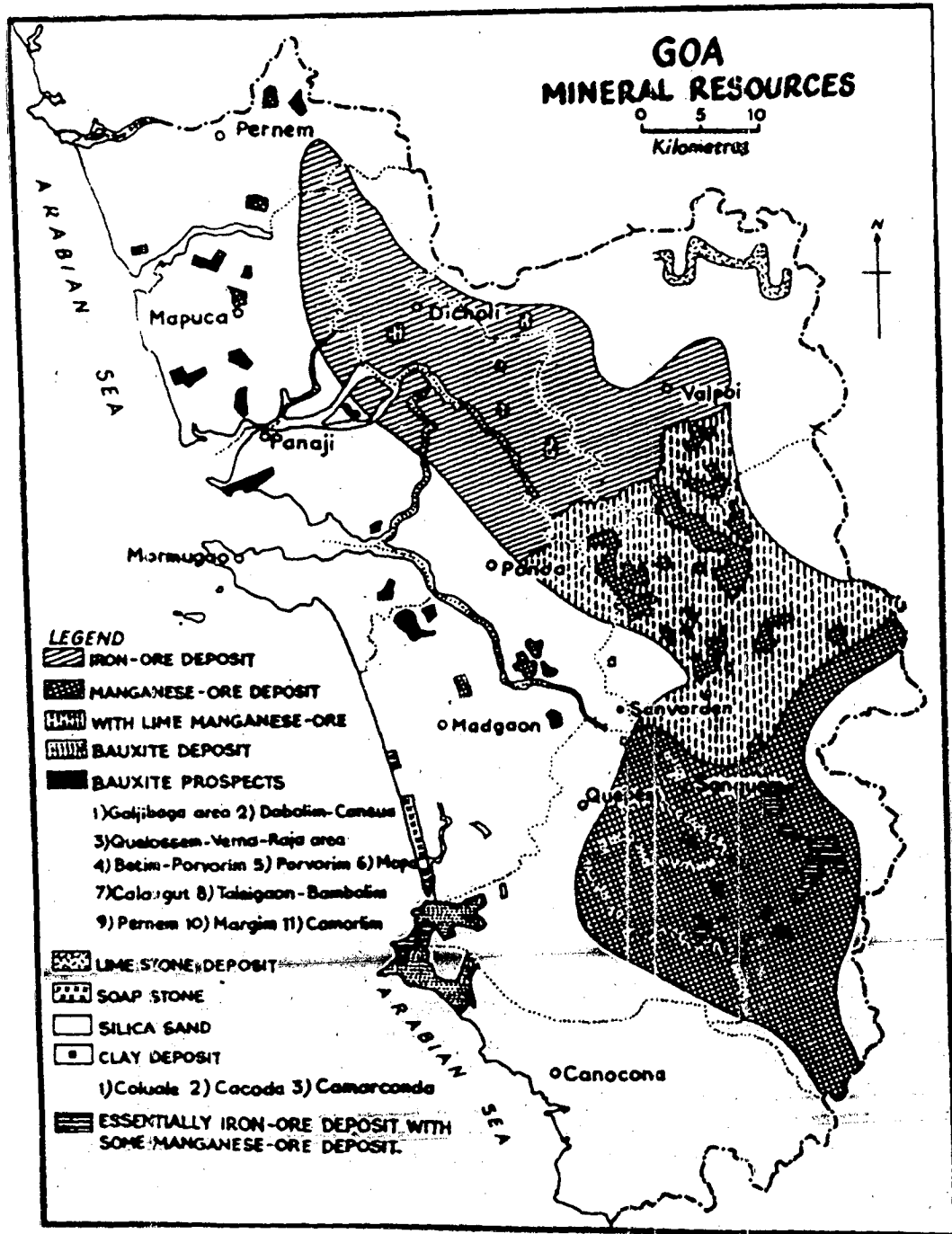
A. Early stage, availability and quality of iron ore in Goa:

The Mining Industry in Goa took a very long time to be created into the backbone industry of Goa. A Dutch traveller by the name of John H.V. Linschoten wrote in the 16th century about the existence of ore deposits in Goa. By 1905 Goa was recognised as rich in Manganese ore, and the mining began in Goa in the same year. In 1905 the Portuguese Government opened a department of Geology and Mines with delegated powers also to give licences to new industries. Portuguese Mining laws came to be enforced in Goa by the Decree dated 20th September 1906. In 1906 a French company with the title 'Compagnie de Explorator de Minerio de Fer' made some unsuccessful attempts at mining in Bicholim. Around 1908 an Italian firm by the name of 'M/s B.D. Lam & Co.' did some commercial explorations of Manganese ore. In 1909 Sir L.L.Fermor studied the Bicholim ore on behalf of Geological Survey of India (G.S.I.). The purpose of this study was to obtain a comparative picture of the ores in Goa and in Sawantawadi. In 1910 a Belgium company 'Compagnie des Mines de Fer' put up its headquarters in Bicholim. This company prospected North Goa carefully, chalked out the iron ore areas and started extraction of ores. To boost the Mining Industry, this very Company had worked out a railway connection of 30 miles from Bicholim to Margao. But when the First World War broke out the Belgians stopped the work on the mines and returned home. During the First World War in 1917, the Germans

prospected Goa for manganese.⁴² By 1920, Goa was exporting manganese ore to the U.S.A.. In 1939 the English company 'Bird & Company', along with the Japanese, surveyed Goa for iron ore deposits. And in 1939 one lakh tons of iron ore was exported from Goa to Japan.⁴³

In the 1950's the Portuguese Government made attempts to have a geological map of Goa. The Portuguese Government commissioned Dr. Dertel—a German geologist, to do a geological survey of Goa. He did the surveys in 1954 and 1957. From 1962 to 1968 G.S.I. made geological surveys of Goa. Based on this survey, it was estimated in 1970 that Goa had about 410 million tonnes of iron ore reserves.⁴⁴ Besides G.S.I. surveys, surveys of Iron ore reserves were also done by the mine owners of Goa. These surveys showed that the estimates of G.S.I. were rather conservative. According to the surveys undertaken privately, the iron ore reserves in Goa were estimated to be 506 million tons of 58 % Fe.. Besides, the reserves of lower grade of Iron ore of 54% Fe., were calculated to be about 209 million tons. Confronted with surveys done by the industrialists of Goa, in 1971 G.S.I decided to reassess the reserves of Iron ore in Goa. Basing their estimates on exploration work done by the private firms and combined with additional drilling explorations carried out in 29 concessions in North Goa, G.S.I. assessed that the reserves were about 610.05 million tons of iron ore with 58.7% Fe..⁴⁵

The major mineral belt of Goa stretches for about 95 kms from Terekhol river in the North to Vichurdrem village in the South-East of Goa. Iron-ore is mostly situated on the northern side of the River Khandepar. To the south of River Khandepar is mostly ferro-manganese ore. The grade of iron is richer in the North, poor in the South, and average in the zone between Usgao and Sanvordem. Bicholim-Advorpale, and Sanquelim-Velguem are the major iron ore deposits. The South is richer in ferro-manganese. The Rivona deposit is the best of the manganese ore deposits. Limestone is found in a belt of 20 kms. Bauxite is available in few pockets like Pernem, Mope, Morjim, and other areas. A look at the ore map⁴⁶ of Goa will help us to understand better the placement of ores in Goa (cf.p.48).



Map No. 12

Apparently there is no agreement between different departments regarding the mineral reserves in Goa. In 1963 the Indian Bureau of Mines estimated the reserves of Iron ore in Goa to be about 535 million tonnes:

"ESTIMATED IRON ORE RESERVES IN GOA	
Zone and Deposits	Estimated Iron ore reserve (million tonnes)
I. NORTHERN	
1. Sirigao-Bicholim	130
2. Pirna-Advalpale, Sanquelim-Onda Cudem, Pissurlem, Cudem Surla and others	190
Total Northern	<u>320</u>
II. CENTRAL	
1. Tolsai-Dongarwado-Sancordem	20
2. Quirlopale-Santona.Costi	30
3. Others	50
Total Central	<u>100</u>
III. SOUTHERN	
1. Netorlim	30
2. Rivona-Colomba	35
3. Others	50
Total Southern	<u>115</u>
-----"47	

Inclusive of Goa, the following statement gives the Statement of production of iron in India from 1957 to 1962:

"PRODUCTION OF IRON ORE IN INDIA STATEWISE

(From 1951 to 1962 - in lakh tonnes)

	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
BIHAR	17.94	20.09	19.49	19.79	19.51	18.77	19.66	22.62	32.34	28.47	29.45	30.16
ORISSA	18.53	17.53	16.92	18.23	19.12	17.99	20.88	21.97	26.15	37.35	46.06	54.74
MADYA PRADESH	00.01	00.09	00.04	00.03	00.06	00.33	00.31	02.34	04.14	14.49	23.04	13.69
MYSURE	00.67	02.00	01.75	02.48	03.69	05.73	05.91	09.72	10.54	18.72	16.39	21.03
ANDRA PRADESH	-	00.17	00.78	02.93	03.93	04.25	02.72	02.10	02.26	03.23	02.12	03.09
MAHARASHTRA	00.02	00.02	00.08	00.17	00.50	01.29	01.24	01.46	03.25	03.20	03.22	03.96
PUNJAB	-	-	-	-	00.25	00.15	00.22	00.17	00.20	00.12	00.12	00.05
RAJASTHAN	-	-	00.11	00.17	00.46	01.24	00.74	00.92	00.90	01.25	00.89	00.86
TOTAL	37.17	39.90	39.17	43.77	47.52	49.75	51.68	61.30	79.82	106.83	121.79	133.39
GOA	02.85*	04.72*	08.66*	12.47*	12.11	25.45	29.48	29.35	30.74	58.56	63.95	53.80
GRAND TOTAL	40.02	44.62	47.83	56.24	69.63	75.20	81.16	90.65	110.66	165.89	185.74	187.19

*Figures relate to export of iron ore.

On the whole the quality of iron ore found and produced in Goa is of low grade. All India grade-wise production of iron-ore in 1962 gives a comparative statistical statement of the quality of iron ore produced in India:

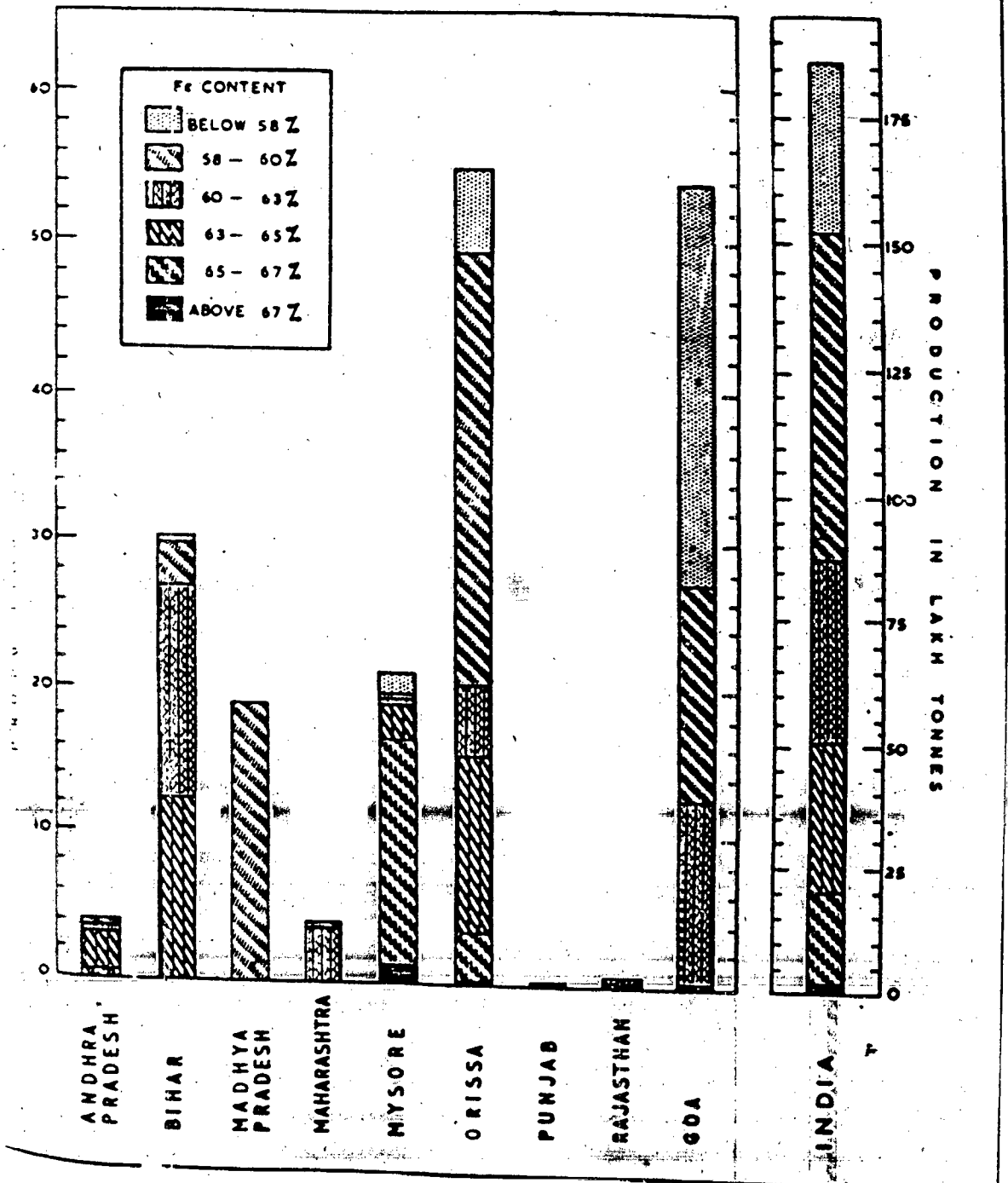
"GRADEWISE PRODUCTION OF IRON ORE IN INDIA DURING 1962
(In lakh tonnes)

State	Above 67% Fe	65-67 %Fe	63-65 %Fe	60-63 %Fe	58-60 %Fe	Below 58% Fe	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Andra Pradesh	-	0.49	2.70	0.51	0.20	-	3.90
Bihar	-	-	12.20	14.24	3.51	0.21	30.16
Madhya Pradesh	-	-	-	-	18.69	-	18.69
Maharashtra	-	0.13	-	3.68	0.15	-	3.96
Mysore	1.42	15.00	2.31	0.39	0.09	1.82	21.03
Orissa	0.27	3.47	11.56	4.68	28.15	6.61	54.74
Punjab	-	-	-	0.05	-	-	0.05
Rajasthan	-	-	0.56	0.31	-	-	0.87
Goa	-	-	0.35	13.08	14.63	25.74	53.80
Total India	1.69	19.09	29.68	36.94	65.42	34.38	187.20
% of Total Production	0.9	10.2	15.9	19.7	34.9	18.4	100.0

49

The above statistical data is represented in the following diagram:

GRADEWISE PRODUCTION OF IRON ORE IN INDIA 1962



Bar Graph No.1

The above statements show that 73% of the iron ore produced in India was below the grade of 63% Fe. Only 27% of the iron ore was of grade 63% Fe. and above. Goa stands out in the statements. 73% of the iron ore below 58% Fe. came from Goa. Iron ore of the grade of 63% Fe. and above, came mostly from Orissa, Bihar and Karnataka.

B) Mining concessions in Goa

Goa has an area of about 3701 sq.kms.. The mining concessions in Goa cover about 17.83% of the total area of Goa. The Portuguese government had granted 798 concessions for mining of iron and manganese ores.⁵¹ The mining concessions registered in 1962 were 776. Of these about 250 held only one concession each. Smaller producers sold their produce to the larger producers.⁵² The following statement gives the zone wise concessions of Iron ore in Goa as at the end of 1962. In this statement one will notice that out of 776 mining concessions in 1962, only 165 were operating concessions.

MINING CONCESSIONS IN GOA IN 1962

	Northern Goa	Central Goa	Southern Goa	Total
1	2	3	4	5
Total No of concessions	214	273	289	776
Number of working concessions	50	41	74	165
Total Production monthly/tonnes	3,93,150	1,14,500	68,000	5,75,650

In 1982-83, out of 581 mining concessions only 197 were working concessions. Of these 197 working concessions, 37 large mines produced two thirds of the total production of iron, manganese and ferro manganese ores. 27 of these large mines were in the Mandovi basin and remaining 10 of the large mines were in the Zuari basin of Goa.⁵⁴

In the 1960's the richer mine owners in Goa gave up labour intensive methods to exploit their mining concessions and introduced capital intensive machinery to work in their mines. The iron ore mines in the North were mechanised to a greater degree than the mines in South and Central Goa. The following statistical data gives us an idea of the over all mechanization in the iron ore mines of Goa in 1962:

MACHINERY USED IN IRON ORE MINES IN GOA IN 1962

	Northern Goa	Central Goa	Southern Goa	Total
1	2	3	4	5
1) Power Shovels (Nos.)	15	-	4	19
2) Shovel loaders (Nos.)	39	22	20	81
3) No. of Trax- cavators in use	13	4	-	17
4) Dozers in use (Nos.)	5	-	-	5
5) Dumpers in use (Nos.)	111	-	-	111
6) Trippers & Trucks in use (Nos.)	426	195	189	810

55

C) Chowgules and the Mining Industry

Production and transport of mineral ores in Goa started with labour intensive traditional methods. Shri V.Dempo, while speaking about transport of ores in Goa speaks about the bullock-cart and country-craft stage of the mining industry of Goa:

" There was a time when ore was transported by bullock carts from the pit-heads to the river-side loading bundars, transferred to country craft which then sailed to Marmagoa port, to be loaded into ocean-going vessels by the crew of such craft..... The industry has moved far from those conditions."⁵⁶

The initiative to mechanize the mines in Goa was taken by Shri V.D.Chowgule in collaboration with Japanese Steel Industry. The Japanese Okura company had business relations with British India since 1908. Bird and Company of British India, based in Calcutta, was in 1937 exporting iron-ore to Japan. In 1939 Mr.F.W.A.Carpenter, the manager of Bird and Company and Mr. Ringoro Kaku of Okura Company had come to Goa and had made a survey of Iron ore mines in and around Goa. These survey reports were later handed over to Shri V.D.Chowgule by Shri Kaku. After the second world war, Japan started to build up its stock of iron ore and was again in contact with Bird and Company, of Calcutta. At this stage Shri V.D. Chowgule ventured out to export iron ore to Japan from Goa. He went to Calcutta and met Mr. Carpenter of Bird and Company. He assured Mr. Carpenter that competition with Bird and Company would be avoided while exporting iron ore to Japan from Goa. Mr.F.W.A.Carpenter and Mr. David Stride of Bird and Company gave Shri V.D.Chowgule a letter of introduction to

Mr. R. Kaku and Mr. Kishimoto of Okura and Company of Japan. Mr. R. Kaku and Mr. Kishimoto brought Shri V.D. Chowgule in contact with Mr. H. Watanabe - the President of Konkani Mining Company of Japan, which was the mining division of Nippon Konkani. Nippon Konkani and Nippon Steel Corporation were then the two major steel producing corporations of Japan. In April 1951 Mr. R. Kaku and Mr. H. Watanabe personally came to Goa to inspect the Chowgule mines. After studying the geological reports of Chowgule mines, the Japanese decided to mechanize the mines in North-Goa at Sirigao. Later the historic 'Sirigao Mines Mechanization Contract' (S.M.M.C.) was signed between Shri V.D. Chowgule and Shri H. Watanabe. The S.M.M.C. involved a loan agreement with the newly established Japanese Export Import Bank. This loan agreement was numbered Special No.1 by the bank. With S.M.M.C., the Export Import Bank of Japan started a new scheme called the Chowgule Formula. All mine owners from Goa, Australia and Brazil, who mechanised their mines with loans from the Export Import Bank of Japan, came under the Chowgule Formula. As far as the bank loan for mechanisation of Sirigao mines was concerned, the Chowgule Formula had three provisions:

1. Chowgule & Co. had to export 15 lakh tons of iron ore to Japan for a loan of 15 lakh dollars.
2. The Japanese provided the loan in the form of material and money to mechanise the Sirigao mines with the help of the Japanese Engineers. The Engineers of the Konkani Mining Co. were enrolled as members of the staff of Chowgule & Co..

3. The loan was to be repaid from the cost of the iron ore supplied. The rate for the ore settled was six dollars per ton, out of which one dollar was adjusted towards the repayment of the loan, and five dollars were paid in cash to Chowgule & Co.

Having mechanised the mines, Shri V.D.Chowgule made a proposal to the Japanese to mechanise the loading of ores at the Marmugao Harbour. The Japanese accepted the proposal but wanted the designing and construction of the plant to be assigned to them. Having agreed to these conditions, Shri V.D.Chowgule, in October 1956, signed his second major agreement for a thirty lakh dollar loan with Nippon Kokan for building the Mechanical Ore Handling Plant at Marmugao harbour. The Sumitomo Company of Japan built the Mechanical Ore Handling Plant at Berth No.6. This plant was the first of its kind east of the Suez Canal. The inauguration of the Plant took place on 14th April 1959. During this time, Mr. H. Watanabe was awarded the Order of Industrial Merit by the Portuguese Government. Shri V.D. Chowgule now received the highest Portuguese decoration of Commander for his contribution to the industrial field. In 1953, Shri V.D. Chowgule was honoured with Knighthood by Portugal⁵⁷

According to Shri V.D. Chowgule, the Japanese in the early 50s were not that quality conscious regarding the iron ore exported:

"Recalling the early days, Shri Vishwasrao observed that the quality of ore was then a matter of little importance. Every stone which happened to contain even a slight quantity of iron ore was good enough to be exported. Some people from

Goa even removed stones from their compound walls and handed them over to him for export."⁵⁸

But with increasing competition between the Iron Ore producing countries, the Japanese were looking for better quality of Iron ore. The following data provided by the Japanese gives us the qualitative position of Goa's iron ore and pellets in comparison to the iron ore and pellets of Australia:

Country Iron ore	Type of Content (Fe)	Iron (Al ₂ O ₃)	Alumina (SiO ₂)	Silica
Goa	Lumpy	59.5	4.5	2.5
Australia	Lumpy	65.0	1.7	2.8
Goa	Fines	61.5	3.0	3.0
Australia	Fines	62.5	3.0	4.5
Goa	Pellets	66.0	1.5	2.5
Australia	Pellets	63.0	3.0	4.5

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The above data shows that the iron content of **Goan Pellets is higher** than Australian Pellets. And the alumina and silica content in Goan pellets is lesser than the Australian pellets. Pellets are concentration of iron ore, minus the clay content. Mechanisation of mines led to greater production of iron ore fines, which though marketable, realised much less than the lumpy ore. In the 60s iron ore fines were sold at \$ 4 per tonne, but pellets would get \$ 13 per tonne. To solve the problem of low grade ore from Goa, Shri V.D.Chowgule found the answer of pellets. The technique of manufacturing pellets was invented by Dr.Myres of West Germany. Shri V.D. Chowgule saw pellets in the United States in 1959. After that he arranged a meeting with Dr.Myres. Lurgi and Company suggested to Shri V.D. Chowgule to establish a pelletisation plant in Goa. Pellets would save a lot of coal for the Japanese. In 1962 Shri V.D Chowgule entered into his third major agreement with the

Japanese for another loan and for the first pelletisation plant in Asia. The pelletisation plant at Pali was inaugurated in 1967 by Shri Chenna Reddy, the then Union Minister for Steel and Mines. Before the Pali Pelletisation Plant there were only two pelletisation plants in the whole world - one in California in the U.S.A. and the other in Peru in Latin America. The capacity of the Pali Plant was 500,000 tonnes. The Second pelletisation plant was established at Borim Shiroda. The capacity of the Shiroda Pelletisation plant was 1.8 million tonnes.⁶⁰

Before the Pali Pelletisation Plant was installed, the Pali mines were mechanised. With the collaboration of the German rope-way company, M/s Pohlig and Co., M/s Chowgule and Co. installed a rope-way for the transport of ore. The rope-way at Pali was about 3 kms long and connected the dressing plant with the loading point at Kotumbi. For an hour, iron ore amounting to about 150 tonnes could be transported by the rope-way. The rope-way had 104 buckets. Each bucket had a carrying capacity of 1260 kilograms. Iron ore was unloaded from the buckets into a bunker at Kotumbi. From the bunker the barges were loaded by means of a conveyor belt.⁶¹

Iron ore exports grew phenomenally from 1961 onwards. With the growth of iron ore traffic, there was growth also in the size of ships. Exporters of iron ore found it difficult to load the ships in midstream by conventional means as most of the big ships were not provided with their own gear for loading of iron ore. Shri V.D. Chowgule sought to overcome these difficulties by procuring a mechanical loading ship - a transhipper. A transhipper

can be used for loading gearless ship in midstream regardless of their size. A trashipper is capable of fully loading ships of over 2,00,000 D.W.T. size. Further, Shri V.D. Chowgule installed a floating iron ore stockyard outside the Marmagoa Harbour for efficient up-topping of ships. Shri V.D. Chowgule had ventured out to build the Sirigao Shipyard and he also developed Shipping as a subsidiary to the mining Industry.

Based on the Mining Industry in Goa, the Chowgules built their Industrial Empire. The House of Chowgules have the following concerns:

INDUSTRIAL CONCERNS IN GOA

Chowgule & Company Private Limited (Mining, Export, Textiles and Ship-building Units at Sirigaon, Gogha(Gujarat), Marmagoa).
Chowgule Brothers, Marmugao
Chowgule Steamships Limited, Bombay
Chowgule Industries Pvt. Ltd, Marmagoa
Chowgule Engineering Company Private Ltd., Marmagoa
Mines Mineral de Goa Limited, Marmagoa
Goa Pesticides Private Limited, Margaon
Cartyon Private Limited, Margaon
Arlem Breweries Limited, Margaon
Chowgule Textile Mills Limited, Kepem
Gomantak Private Limited, Panaji
Mainland Docks Limited, Marmagoa
Chowgule Metal Industries Limited, Marmagoa.

In BOMBAY the Company established the Janata Machine Tools Limited, at Thana.

At their native place at KOLHAPUR, the Chowgules started the Molhapur Oxygen & Acetylene Private Limited, Kolhapur.

And in RATNAGIRI & VERAVAL the Company founded the Konkan Fisheries Private Limited.

The House of Chowgule's CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS are

- Shrimati Parvatibai Chowgule Cultural Foundation
- Chowgule Education Society
- The Shrimati Parvatibai Chowgule College of Arts and Science, Margaon
- St. Josephs Institute, Vasco da Gama
- Mata Secondary School, Baina, Vasco da gama and Marmagoa
- Schools at the Sirigaon and Pale Mines

GOMANTAK PRIVATE LIMITED of the Chowgule's have the

Marathi daily - Gomantak
Konkani Daily - Uzvadd
English Daily - Gomantak Times.

The Chowgule's have BRANCH OFFICES AT

Bombay, New Delhi, Madras, Calcutta, Bangalore, Mangalore, Cochin, Hyderabad, Ernakulam, Kholapur, Ratnagiri, Hospet, Ahmedabad, Gogha and all over Goa.

In 1972 Shri V.D. Chowgule, son of the former railway worker Shri. Dattajirao N. Chowgule, emerged out from the mining and other industries and undertakings as the richest man of India:⁶²

"Shri Vishwasrao has built up this industrial empire in the short span of twenty five years....The Loksabha was told in 1972 that Shri Vishwasrao was the wealthiest man in the country. He had declared an estate of rupees six crores in his individual wealth-tax returns. Two of his brothers, Shri Laxmanrao and Shri Yeshwantrao, figured among the first twenty-five names in the list of the highest tax payers - besides himself."⁶³

Shri. Vishwasrao D. Chowgule, the mining magnet of Goa was insured for Rupees Twenty lakhs.⁶⁴ Shri V.D. Chowgule came to be accepted as not only the leader of the Industrialists of Goa, but also of the politicians of Goa. The pioneering role and the leadership of Shri V.D. Chowgule is best depicted in a statement made by the first Chief Minister of Goa who was a mine owner himself. On 27th April, 1967 late Shri Bhausahab Bandodkar said:

"Shri Chowgule does everything first, and then we all imitate him. This is what has happened for the last twenty years." (stress added)⁶⁵

D. Modes of transport in the movement of iron ore in Goa:

1) Inland Water Transport:

In the iron ore business of Goa, transport of ore is as important as production. In Goa the transport of ore by inland water transport dominates the other two modes of transport i.e. transport by railways and by roads. Inland water ways in Goa have a total navigable length of about 250 kms. The following statement gives us more detailed data regarding the navigable length in different rivers of Goa:

**"NAVIGABILITY LIMITS FOR ORE BARGES AND OTHER
LARGE COUNTRY CRAFTS ON WATERWAYS IN GOA"**

Sl No.:	River/Tributary	Navigable upto	Approximate distance from mouth of river/tributary in kms.
1	2	3	4
1	Tiracol river	Torxem	22.4
2	Chapora river	Salem	28.8
3	Mondvi	Gangem via Goa Br.	48.0
4	Marora Br. of Mondvi	Fully navigable	9.6
5	Candepar Branch	Piliem	12.8
6	Mondvi Tributaries	Orda	4.8
7	Sinquerim river	Mapuca	27.2
8	Mapuca river	Sirigao	6.4
9	Bicholim river	Bicholim	8.0
10	Sanquelim river	Sanquelim	8.0
11	Zuari river	Sanguem	57.6
12	Cumbarjua canal	Fully navigable	17.6
TOTAL			251.2

66

The draft of the water-ways varies in Goa which is about 2 metres in many places. The Cumbarjua canal, connecting Zuari and Mandovi rivers is used during the monsoon season, as the mouth of the Mandovi river is then too rough for barges to sail via this mouth across the sea to the Marmagoa port. Dredging of the Cumbarjua canal is necessary. In Goa, along its 250 kms. long water ways, there are 85 jetties. These ore loading points are on land owned or leased by mine owners. Distances from different jetty points to Marmagoa Harbour varies from 10 kms. to 72 kms.⁶⁷

In the inland water-ways of Goa, transport of iron ore by country craft is a chapter of past history. Self-propelled barges carry iron ore across Goa's inland water-ways to the Marmagoa harbour. In 1952 a self-propelled barge was first introduced in the Goan mining industry by Shri V.D.Chowgule. The capacity of the barges in Goa varies from 200 to 1000 tonnes. The following statement gives us the pattern of ownership of the barges in Goa, growth in No. of barges and their carrying capacity from 1964 to 1978:

68

"GROWTH OF BARGE FLEET IN GOA"

Name of barge owner	March 1964				January 1969				September 1978			
	No. of Barges	%	Capacity (Tonnes)	%	No. of Barges	%	Capacity (Tonnes)	%	No. of Barges	%	Capacity (Tonnes)	%
1. Chowgule & Co.Pvt.Ltd.	37	23.0	8540	19.4	32	14.9	8825	13.9	32	11.8	12335	11.9
2. V.M.Salgaoncar & Bro.	26	16.1	6450	14.7	38	18.4	8420	13.2	19	7.0	8650	8.4
3. Sesa Goa Pvt. Ltd.	22	13.7	6440	14.7	16	7.4	4440	7.0	16	5.9	4360	4.7
4. V.S.Dempo & Co.Pvt.Ltd												
& Dempo Mining Indus.	19	11.8	5625	12.8	22	10.1	6525	10.3	24	8.8	7645	7.4
5. Shantilal K.Bros	12	7.4	3800	8.6	16	7.4	5100	8.0	15	5.5	4550	4.4
6. S. Kantilal & Co.	8	5.0	2400	5.5	8	3.7	2800	3.1	8	2.9	2160	2.1
7. Damodar Mangalji & co.	8	5.0	2360	5.4	8	3.7	2700	4.3	6	2.2	1440	1.4
8. D.N.Agrawal & Co.	11	6.8	2975	6.8	12	5.6	3220	5.1	12	4.4	3371	3.5
9. Marzook & Kadar Ltd.	4	2.5	1400	3.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Timblo Pvt. Ltd.	4	2.5	1140	2.6	8	4.0	2600	4.1	8	2.9	2600	2.5
11. Panduronga Timblo Ind.	4	2.5	1140	2.6	9	4.2	3000	4.7	11	4.0	3900	3.8
12. V.N.Bandekar Pvt. Ltd.	4	2.5	960	2.2	4	1.2	800	1.3	4	1.4	880	0.8
13. EMCO Goa Pvt. Ltd.	1	0.6	350	0.8	1	0.5	350	0.6	1	0.4	340	0.3
14. Agencia Ultramarina	1	0.6	300	0.7	1	0.5	235	0.4	2	0.7	740	0.7
15. Agencia Comm.Maritima	-	-	-	-	6	2.8	2498	3.9	6	2.2	2300	2.2
16. Bandekar Parkot	-	-	-	-	6	2.8	2340	3.7	6	2.2	2100	2.0
17. Agencia G.F.Figueroa	-	-	-	-	6	2.8	1980	3.1	-	-	-	-
18. Orient Goa Pvt. Ltd.	-	-	-	-	6	2.8	750	1.2	6	2.2	870	0.8
19. Mingoa Pvt. Ltd.	-	-	-	-	7	3.1	1920	3.0	7	2.6	1860	1.8
20. Zairam B. Neugui	-	-	-	-	2	1.0	750	1.2	2	0.7	750	0.7
21. Shaparia Dock & Steel	-	-	-	-	1	1.0	400	0.6	15	5.5	7716	7.5
22. Madhu Prasad	-	-	-	-	1	0.5	600	0.9	-	-	-	-
23. Indian Shipping Co.	-	-	-	-	1	0.5	650	1.0	1	0.4	700	0.7
24. Katiawar & Malabar Co.	-	-	-	-	3	1.4	775	1.3	-	-	-	-
25. Pioneer Shipping Co.	-	-	-	-	3	1.4	1800	2.8	1	0.4	700	0.7
26. Token Enterprise	-	-	-	-	1	0.5	300	0.5	1	0.4	330	0.3
27. Saraswat Industries	-	-	-	-	1	0.5	600	0.9	2	0.7	1500	1.5
28. Empreites Gerais Pt.Ld	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7	884	0.3
29. R. Bandekar & Sons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7	1000	1.0
30. Tolani Shipping Co.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	3.3	4500	4.4
31. Varun Enterprise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	400	0.4
32. Jain Shipping & Shipbuilding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	2.9	3300	3.7
33. Zuari River Lighterage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7	1000	1.0
34. Eastern Navigation...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1.9	2150	2.1
35. Sahi Ore Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7	1000	1.0
36. Vipul Shipping & Eng.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	400	0.4
37. Sagar Enterprise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	400	0.4
38. Eureka Shipping Co.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.2	1500	1.5
39. Agencia Pvt.Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	500	0.5
40. Warden Co.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	500	0.5
41. Pioneer Carriers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	430	0.4
42. M.M.T.C.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.4	2000	1.9
43. Sociedade de Fomento	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.2	1500	1.5
44. Fomento Barge Pvt.Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.2	1500	1.5
45. A.B.Cursetji & Sons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.4	2030	2.0
46. Essar Shipping & Co.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2.6	2600	2.5
47. Bombay Barges & Ships	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7	1000	1.0
48. Venkatesh Carriers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	650	0.6
49. West coast Lighterage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7	400	0.4
50. Vimal Corporation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.7	450	0.4
TOTAL	161	100	43880	100	214	100	63560	100	272	100	103190	100

* This includes barges of M/s Salgaoncar Mining Industry Pvt. Ltd.

In 1983 nearly 295 barges were utilised to transport iron ore in Goa from the various jetty points to Marmagosa Harbour.⁶⁹ Transport of ores by barges over the years became the principle means of transportation of ores in Goa. Over 90% of the ores was transported through inland water-ways of Goa by means of barges. The following figures give the share of barge-borne ores in Goa:

" SHARE OF BARGES-BORNE ORES IN TOTAL IRON ORE TRAFFIC⁷⁰

Year	Total Ore Exports (metric tonnes)	Quantity of ore brought to the harbour by barges through 1 WT system & shipped (Metric Tonnes)	%
1965-66	7,578,594	6,967,246	91.9
1966-67	7,652,080	7,012,780	91.6
1967-68	7,666,922	6,988,084	91.2
1968-69	8,371,838	7,675,132	91.7
1969-70	8,722,710	7,954,520	91.2
1970-71	10,579,370	9,730,285	92.0
1971-72	11,201,049	10,541,389	92.6
1972-73	12,265,402	11,527,517	94.0

2) Railways:

In 1956 W.I.P.R. had made an inquiry with the mining firms of Goa to assess the probable amount of ore that would be transported by railway on a yearly basis. Following the 1956 inquiry, some improvements were made by W.I.P.R. at Railway stations which were to handle transport of ores, i.e. at Collem, Kalay and Sanvordem. Loading lines were laid, exporters were allotted more space adjoining the loading lines, to enable them to stack their ore.

Also more wagons were brought to transport ores. During this time Sanvordem got most of the improved facilities, since the station had to compete with river traffic.⁷¹ From 1956 to 1959 the Marmagoa railway transported the following amount of ore:

Year	Manganese ore (Tons)	Iron Ore (Tons)	Total (Tons)
1956	1,14,325	5,58,681	6,73,006
1957	1,66,489	7,58,728	9,25,217
1958	76,875	3,09,964	3,86,839
1959	48,749	4,87,097	5,35,846

"72

After the Liberation of Goa, partly in connection of the iron ore movement in the Londa - Vasco da Gama sector, the railway stations at Ghotgewadi, Caranzol, Dudhsagar and Sonaulim were re-opened as crossing stations at a cost of Rs.15.39 lakhs. Since the share of the railways in the export of Goan ore was not expected to go up substantially, special mechanical loading facilities at the loading stations in Goa were not financially justified. In all about 100 wagons a day can be manually loaded at Collem, Kalay and Sanvordem.⁷³ The following statement tells us of the railway movement of Iron ore for export to Marmagoa Port from the three railway stations during 1962-63:

Mining Sector	Loading Point	Tonnage moved to Marmagoa in tonnes
Goa	Collem	1,87,633
	Kalay	62,075
	Sanvordem	90,456
Total.....		3,40,164

"74

3) Feeder Roads:

There are a number of feeder roads carrying iron ore from the mines to the different loading points or storage plots. Number of these feeder roads are over 10 kms.in length but less than 50 kms.. These feeder roads are mostly untarred roads. Very often, part of a feeder road lies within the mining area, the remaining part being the main road maintained by the Panchayats or the State Public Works Department.⁷⁵ In 1983 about 5000 trucks were operating in Goa as per RTO registration and atleast 4000 of these vehicles were used for the transportation of ore on the mining feeder roads of Goa.⁷⁶

E) Export of ore and Marmagao Port:

Since the 1950s the mining industry of Goa started giving a new orientation to Marmagao Port. Gradually over 90% of the traffic dealt by Marmagao Port came to consist of mineral ores. Exports of iron ore from Marmagao have dominated the over-all traffic handled at the port as is indicated by the following figures:

Year	Total Import-Export (metric tonnes)	Iron-Ore Export (metric tonnes)
1960-61	64,11,792	60,35,556
1965-66	78,60,102	71,72,158
1973-74	1,43,35,024	1,30,77,912
1978-79	1,07,98,072	93,62,116
1983-84	1,32,23,466	1,15,28,072
1984-85	1,45,10,677	1,26,42,974

77

The mining of iron ore in Goa, and export of iron ore from the Marmagao Port have made the Port a mono-commodity Port with iron ore exports accounting for 90% of the total traffic.

The share of Marmagao Port in the export of iron ore in comparison with the rest of India was as follows:

**"GROWTH OF IRON ORE TRAFFIC (INCLUDING IRON ORE PELLETS)
(in million tonnes)**

Year	Total India	Share of Marmagao Port	
		Qty.	%
1950-51	0.6	0.3	50
1960-61	9.1	6.0	66
1970-71	20.8	9.5	46
1975-76	22.5	11.5	51
1976-77	23.1	12.2	53
1977-78	21.6	10.2	47
1978-79	21.5	9.4	44
1979-80	24.9	12.8	51
1980-81	23.7	12.6	53
1981-82	26.0	13.4	52
1982-83	21.8	11.4	52
1983-84	25.5	11.5	45
1984-85	26.0	12.6	48
1985-86	28.8	14.2	49

78

The iron ore exports from Marmagao Port were persistently and mostly to Japan as the following figures indicate:

**DESTINATIONWISE IRON ORE PELLETS
EXPORTS HANDLED AT MORMUGAO PORT
(in lakh tonnes)**

Destination	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86
Japan	89.5	82.1	82.4	89.1	94.4
East Europe	32.4	15.3	17.4	17.4	19.9
West Europe	2.5	4.4	4.1	7.6	14.3
Far East	6.9	8.9	7.2	-	9.1
U.S.S.R	-	-	-	-	-
Other Countries	2.2	3.4	4.2	12.3	4.2
Total	133.5	114.1	115.3	126.4	141.979

Share of exports by different Shippers in Goa from 1981 to 1986 is given in the following statement:

"SHIPWISE IRON ORE PELLETS EXPORTS HANDLED AT MORMUGAO PORT
(In lakh tonnes)

SHIPPERS	1981-82:	1982-83:	1983-84:	1984-85:	1985-86
1. M/s.M.M.T.C.	34.2	18.8	22.7	21.6	24.7
2. Chowgule & Co. Pvt.Ltd.	22.0	24.9	20.6	22.1	25.1
3. V.M.Salgaoncar & Bros.Pvt.Ltd.	22.2	22.5	23.6	26.0	25.8
4. V.S.Dempo & Co. Pvt.Ltd.	16.4	13.3	16.8	17.4	19.6
5. Sesa Goa Pvt. Ltd.,	11.0	11.5	8.2	13.6	24.1
6. Sociedade de Fomento Ind. Pvt. Ltd.,	10.0	10.8	10.4	10.2	10.2
7. Mandovi Pellets Ltd.,	1.0	-	-	-	-
8. M/s.A.V. Sarmalkar	3.6	2.8	2.8	3.4	1.8
9. M/s.Timblo Pvt. Ltd.,	2.5	0.9	0.8	1.9	1.8
10. M/s Orient Goa Pvt.Ltd.,	4.2	3.2	4.5	4.4	3.9
11. Others	5.8	5.4	4.9	5.8	4.9
TOTAL	133.5	114.1	115.3	126.4	141.9

The following statements give the value of ores (including manganese ore), exported from Marmagoa Port:

VALUE OF ORE EXPORTED FROM MORMUGAO PORT

Year	Quantity exported through Marmagao '000 Tons	Exports of ore of Goan origin '000 Tons	Total value in crores of Rs.
1960-61	5,810	5,810	16.23
1961-62	6,637	6,637	19.05
1962-63	5,410	5,257	15.59
1963-64	5,877	5,679	17.02
1964-65	6,932	5,989	19.86
1965-66	8,178	6,748	22.92
1966-67	8,125	6,829	32.67
1967-68	7,638	6,467	35.44
1968-69	8,674	7,251	42.39
1969-70	8,046	7,514	37.64
1970-71	11,081	8,955	49.80
1971-72	11,268	10,933	48.70
1972-73	12,265	11,244	N.A
1973-74	13,580	12,514	66.09
1974-75	13,225	12,041	77.21
1975-76	11,884	11,209	93.20
1976-77	12,633	11,725	109.27
1977-78	10,664	9,887	99.41
1978-79	9,755	8,925	90.52
1979-80	13,242	12,339	132.14
1980-81	12,828	12,185	163.62
1981-82	13,740	13,036	179.35

81

Note: Discrepancies are found between data published in statistical Pocket Books published by the Government, and the statistics published in the bulletins of Goa Mineral Ore Exporters' Association and those obtained from other sources. Variations are within the limits of 10%. Actual foreign exchange realisations depends upon grade and moisture analysis at the destination.

In the money spinning and highly competitive world of mining and exporting of ores from Goa, the trend was towards the survival of the fittest, and this was indicated by P.S. Angle in 1983:

"Against the background of an assured demand for Goan ore, a scramble for obtaining mining concessions began..... 798 concessions for iron and manganese ores were granted by the erstwhile Portuguese Government. Today less than 200 concessions are being worked. Scores of concessionaries earned a sizable amount of money, some by selling their concessions outright and others by giving them on royalty basis. The royalty system is not invoked presently due to legal difficulties. Though about 200 mining concessions are in operation, they are mostly in the hands of exporters, and the number of non-exporter mineowners is gradually getting reduced because of the high cost of mechanisation of mines which they cannot afford, and without which the operation of mines is uneconomical. Only those who can produce high grade ore or have their mines very near jetty points have survived to some extent. Even out of 27 licenced exporters, including the public sector Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation, only 15 exporters were active during 1981-82, 3 out of which exported less than one lakh tonnes each and another three exported around two lakh tonnes each. Four of the exporters excluding Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation (M.M.T.C.) accounted for more than 50% of total exports of 1981-82."⁸²

Part-III INDUSTRIAL GROWTH IN GOA AFTER LIBERATION

Before the Liberation of Goa, there was hardly any large scale industry apart from iron ore mining. The demand for manufactured goods in Portuguese Goa was met mostly by imports. Goa's own pre-

liberation spectrum of industrial activity was restricted to a few areas such as rice mills, auto repairs, saw mills, bottling units, canning units, cashew factories and tyre rethreading. The era of planned economic development was ushered in India in 1951 when the First Five Year Plan was introduced. For Goa, the planning process was introduced only in 1962-63 after the liberation in December 1961. The actual beginning of planned industrialization in Goa started with the Third Five Year Plan. Notable industrial growth took place in Goa from the Fourth Five Year Plan onwards. The number of Industrial units in 1965 was only 69. But by 1978 there were 23 large and mediam sized units and about 1500 small scale units of which 999 were registered with the Directorate of Industries. Employment in the Industrial sector also increased considerably from 704 in 1965 to 14,669 persons in 1976-77, of whom 4394 persons belonged to the large and medium scale industrial units and the rest of 10,275 persons to the registered small scale units.⁸³ The growth in the number of industries along with the number of persons employed in them is given for the years 1965 and 1977 in the following table^{83a}.

Sr. No.	Major Industry Group	No. of Industrial Units as on 31-3-1977				No. of Persons employed as on 31-3-1977			
		In 1965	Large & Medium	Small Scale	Total	In 1965	Large & Medium	Small Scale	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Agro Based	9	6	197	203	26	1593	2503	4096
2	Forest Based	2	-	113	113	18	-	802	802
3	Mineral Based	1	1	72	73	60	230	1299	1529
4	Chemical & Allied Prod.	8	9	53	62	86	1214	644	1858
5	Rubber & Rubber Products	1	2	34	36	34	619	207	826
6	Leather Works	1	1	8	9	N.A.	40	56	96
7	General Engineering	2	-	142	142	N.A.	-	999	999
8	Steel Furnitures, Metal Industries, Workshops & Barge Repairs	33	4	114	118	354	698	1666	2364
9	Non-Ferrous Metals	1	-	31	31	26	-	336	336
10	Miscellaneous	11	-	235	235	100	-	1763	1763
Total		69	23	999	1022	704	4394	10275	14669

By 1988-89 there were 41 large and medium industrial units in Goa with a total investment of about Rs.305 crores and were employing 8838 persons. Likewise, there were 4231 small scale industrial units with an investment of Rs. 60.89 crores and employing 27,124 persons. Of all the industrial units, the multinational units of M/s Zuari Agro Chemicals Ltd., M/s Ciba Geigy, M/s Madras Rubber Factory dominate the industrial scene of Goa. These industrial units have considerably widened the spectrum of industrial activity in Goa, producing a range of products from Television sets, watches, auto components, ceiling fans, nylon fishing nets,

processed food, cotton yarn, IMF liquor, fertilisers, pesticides, tyres, drugs, sugar and various other consumer goods. Given the fact that in 1960-61 there were only about 60 small scale units, the industrial growth of Goa since liberation can be stated to be quite remarkable. The State Domestic Product (SDP), of Goa increased from Rs. 27 crores in 1960 to Rs. 315 crores in 1980-81 and to Rs. 789 crores in 1988-89. The percentage contribution of the manufacturing sector to the SDP of Goa increased from 7.3 in 1960 to 25.3 in 1988-89. 83b

Part - IV RECRUITING OF LABOUR IN GOA RAILWAY, MARMAGAO HARBOUR AND GOA MINES.

During the Portuguese colonial days, Goa native labour was well known for migrating from Goa into British India and later Independent India, and also go in search of greener pastures in Portuguese and British colonies in Africa and the Middle East. With the introduction of the Railway in Goa, beginning of Marmagao Harbour and specially with the rise of minning industries in Goa, some job opportunities were available for Goan labour of both skilled and unskilled categories. These industries also started

the trend of labour from neighbouring States and other parts of India, to migrate into Goa. Number of descendants of the labourers who came into Goa to built the Goa Railway and Marmagao Harbour, were absorbed as employees of the W.I.P.G.R. and later the M.S.M.R.. For example, Sheikh Kareem, along with other Muslims from Sawantwadi, had migrated to Goa around 1885. Sheikh Kareem had settled down at Jetty-Vasco and was working as a labourer to built the Goa Railway. He was earning Rs.15/- a month. His son Sheikh Yunus was absorbed in the W.I.P.G.R. as Underguard. Later, Sheikh Hameed, the grand-son of Sheikh Kareem was a railway employee in Goa. S.A.Azeem and S.Kamaluddin, great grand-sons of Sheikh Kareem were also railway employees in Goa. S.A.Azeem retired as the Station Master of Cansaulim, Goa. And S.Kamaluddin retired as Traffic Inspector.

The story of Sheikh Kareem and his descendants is not an isolated one. Babu Punaji Redkar had come into Goa from Shiroda of Sawantwadi, with over 300 labourers to work on the Goa Railway and Marmagao Harbour projects. After the building of the Goa Railway and Marmagao Harbour, most of the labourers of contractor Babu Punaji Redkar were absorbed in the Goa Railway and Marmagao Harbour, and Babu Punaji Redkar himself grew to be a Clearing and

Forwarding Commission Agent. The workers who were absorbed in the Goa Railway and Marmagoa Harbour, in one way or the other kept bringing their relatives either into Marmagao Harbour or Goa Railway. For example, Sagun Babu Kaskar, grand-son of Gangman S.B.Kaskar (of Bogda, Vasco), started his Railway career as a gangman. He advanced to be an engine driver, and retired in 1966. Workers who were recruited into the Goa Railway, from local areas also tried to introduce their relatives into the Goa Railway. For example, Vishram Bablo Mayekar of Bogda - originated from Mayem, Bicholim, was introduced in the Goa Railway by his elder brother Ganesh, in 1933. Ganesh was a fitter in the Goa Railway. Vishram started his career as a temporary coolie under Mukadam Ragoba from Karwar. Vishram retired as Maestry in charge of 41 gangs looking after the Railway lines from Marmagoa Harbour Station to Vasco.^{83c} Migrant labour from Maharashtra, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh, was the major work force in Goa Railway and Marmagoa Harbour. From among the various labour sections of Goa Railway and Marmagao harbour, let us concentrate on the labour recruited into Marmagoa Harbour from Uttar Pradesh.

Mukadam System in Mormugao

Shri Dulichand Kalanmal Agarwal, aged about 72 years, of Headland Sada, Mormugao, hails from the village of Nimka, Taluka Kudza, District Bulandshar of Uttar Pradesh. He came to Goa in 1942. And from 1944 to 1964 he was running the Mormugao harbour railway station canteen. According to Shri D.K. Agarwal, the first Bhaya mukadam was Baba Bhaya Thakur and he was working with M/s Bandekar. Shri Ram Dular Yadav and Shri Ram Dular Bhaman were workers with Baba mukadam; they broke away from Baba mukadam and became joint mukadams with M/s Dempo. They began with 32 Bhaya workers. After the death of Shri R.D. Bhaman, Shri R.D. Yadav was the chief mukadam. In 1948 iron ore began to be loaded by the Bhaya workers but before this the Bhaya workers were emptying only coal. During the economic blockade of Goa, iron ore exports began to increase and there was need of more Bhaya workers who were brought into Goa by the mukadams. In all there were 42 mukadams in Mormugao harbour before 'the Pool' was formed. The families of the Bhaya workers started to come to Goa only after 'the Pool' was formed - when they started to get better pay.⁸⁴

Shri D.K. Agarwal mentioned that Shri Ram Dular Yadav (cf.ph.No.4, p.86) was the biggest mukadam. Let us see how Shri

Ram Dular Yadav came into, lived and worked in the mukadam system in Mormugao. Aged 72 years in 1991, Shri Ram Dular Yadav was born in 1919. He came to Goa at the age of 15. He stayed in Goa for 27 years during the Portuguese days and 30 years after the liberation of Goa. Born in Raipur village, Barraipur Post of Jonpur Zilla in Uttar Pradesh, Ram Dular Yadav was a cowherd boy in Raipur. He was not happy looking after buffaloes. He with another boy, Birju of Quarie village, ran away from home and came to Allahabad. Ram Dular Yadav bought a ticket of rupees fourteen and came to Bombay by train where he stayed at Seven Rastha with a Bhaya who was working at Bombay Docks to lift sacks. The Bhaya gave R.D.Yadav coolie work at the Bombay Docks at Ghadia Goji, where he worked for three months. For the first month he received twenty annas per working day. For the next two months he earned rupees one and a half per working day like other workers. Meanwhile, Jingri Tiwari who was working with M/s Bandekar Company at Mormugao port, came to Bombay to bring workers to work in Mormugao harbour. Jingri Tiwari was sent by Baba mukadam of M/s Bandekar. Baba mukadam was of Khuvavan village of Jonpur zilla of U.P.. Tiwari told R.D. Yadav that work in Goa was easier than in Bombay though the daily wage was the same as in Bombay. R.D.Yadav came to Goa by boarding the ship Silawati, the ticket then was

rupees five. Only R.D.Yadav came to Goa with Tiwari; a worker of Baba mukadam by the name of Antumala had deserted the mukadam, gone to Bombay and dissuaded the Bhayas there not to go to Goa to work as it was tough - filling of coal and ground-nuts. Antumala also made propaganda that though a worker got rupees one and a half a day, at the end of the day, the workers got so black while filling the coal that a person could not be recognised. And that the work was from 8 a.m to 12 noon, one hour break for lunch, and work again from 1 p.m to 6 p.m.. Because of the propaganda of Antumala about the working conditions in Mormugao harbour, others did not join Tiwari. Ram Dular Yadav came to Goa only because Baba mukadam was from his own Zilla of Jonpur of U.P.. He came to Goa in 1934 at the age of 15. In Mormugao harbour, in 1934, there were only two companies, one of Millku Pereira of Baina and the other of Bandekar. M/s Millku had three gangs of twelve workers each, that is 36 workers in all. M/s Bandekar had five to six gangs of twelve workers in each gang. The workers with M/s Bandekar were all Bhayas and they were all under Baba mukadam. All the workers with Baba mukadam were staying near the present Tilak ground in Vasco on the sea side in a single hut of about 40 meters in length. The roof of the hut was of tin. The floor was of mud coated with cowdung. Bandekar had dug a well for the workers. There were two

cooks - bandari. The cooks also used to apply cowdung to the floor of the hut. Baba mukadam used to get rice, wheat, and other food items from Bhaskar Bhanya of Belgaum and give the rations to the cooks. For food expenses Baba mukadam used to cut Rs.8/- per month from each worker. Besides this, he used to cut whatever amount he had lent to a worker. There was no regular work. Only Baba mukadam used to get a fixed pay of Rs.60/- per month. At that time in Goa, gold was worth Rs.70/- a tola. The workers with M/s Millku Pereira were all Pathans, their mukadam was Mira Shaheed, a Muslim. The Pathans used to stay in Baina by the sea side in conditions similar to the Bhayas. When M/s Millku Pereira's company failed, the Pathans left Goa⁸⁵.

Baba mukadam used to make the workers mallish-massage his body with oil after the days work. One day Chalai Yadav of Sayedpur village of Jonpur Zilla, aged about 15, told R.D. Yadav that Baba mukadam used to make him mallish his body with oil after work. R.D. Yadav told Chalai to work along with him the next day. But Baba mukadam shifted Chalai from Berth No. 5 to Berth No.2 and slapped him for complaining against him. R.D. Yadav questioned Baba mukadam whether they should fill coal or mallish him. After this confrontation with Baba mukadam, Ram and Chalai decided to go back to U.P.. Before leaving, they threatened Baba mukadam that

they would burn his house in his village in U.P., if their wages were not paid before they left Goa. On the day of their departure, Baba mukadam gave each of them Rs.30/- and a lungi; prior to their departure, somebody had set fire to Baba mukadam's haystack. He had four to five buffaloes in Vasco and was supplying milk besides doing mukadamgiri. Before R.D.Yadav left Goa, there were rumours that new companies were to be set up by Dempo and Chowgule. R.D.Yadav had made arrangements with Ram Duler Sukla to inform him about the starting of the new companies. Twenty days later, Shukla informed R.D.Yadav to return with sixteen workers for M/s Dempo Company. Now R.D.Yadav returned to Goa as a mukadam with 16 workers from his village. Soon, R.D.Yadav - the mukadam of M/s Dempo Company, sent a letter to his elder brother in U.P. to come to Goa with more workers. He now had 32 workers under his control. All these workers were fixed with the Dempo company and were getting Rs. One and a half per day. Within a year the number of workers with R.D. Yadav increased to 70, of which 32 were fixed and the rest temporary. The temporary workers got the same wages as the fixed workers, but they did not get regular work⁸⁶.

Before the blockade of Goa, Baba mukadam had returned to his native village in U.P. and died. The workers of Baba mukadam

joined R.D. Yadav. By the time the train stopped going to India, mukadam R.D.Yadav had hundred workers under his command. But the blockade of Goa created insecurity amongst the Bhaya workers of whom 20 ran away from Goa. To avoid other Bhaya workers from running away, the mukadam distributed the remaining 80 workers between Dempo, Salgaocars and Chowgule Companies in the proportion of 32-24-24 respectively. All these workers were given photo-permits by the companies to stay secure in Goa. By 1958 the Bhaya workers who had run away began returning to Mormugao on the quite and joined the mukadam. Mukadam R.D. Yadav had 400 Bhaya dock workers before the Liberation of Goa. Of these, 200 were living in two chawls at Bella Bavdi in Vasco. The rest of the 200 workers stayed in similar chawls behind the present Dr.Kamat's hospital in Vasco. Other mukadams like Surojband, Sukla, Megu, Ramphal, Jamuna, Kadar, Ramkaran, Mattaprasad Dhube and others were all workers with mukadam R.D.Yadav as he was a worker with Baba mukadam.⁸⁷ There were about 3000 Bhaya workers staying in Baina and Vasco areas around 1954. After liberation of Goa, many more Bhaya workers came to Goa and Baina was now so full of Bhayas that there was no place to sleep on the roads.⁸⁸ Since 1955, the commission of the mukadams was Rs.12.50 per gang, per shift. The mukadams had by now reduced the actual strength of a gang from 12

to 10 workers, thus increasing the work load of the gang workers⁸⁹.

Mukadam System in Goa mines

To have a glimpse of the workers who produced the ores in the mines of Goa in the Portuguese days, let us travel with a leading mine owner Shri.V.M.Salgaocar. As a member of a club he tried to coax his friends to get into the mining industry and make millions. The enthusiasm of Shri V.M. Salgaocar in the mining business led his friends to see a mine for the first time:

"This is a mine?", Pascoal asked, astonished. Indeed it was, for the evidence laid before their eyes: dozens of workers, clad only in loin clothes, sweating profusely under the blazing sun, swung huge iron picks at the ground: streams of women, like lines of worker ants, filled baskets full of the rock and rubble thus unearthed and moved off in single file into the impenetrable jungle...."⁹⁰ (Stress added)

How and from where did the sweating loin clothed workers and lines of women working like ants in the mines were brought together to labour in the mines? During the Portuguese colonial days the chief method of recruiting labour for the mining industry in Goa was through the **MUKADAMS**. A mukadam was a labour contractor. A mine owner had a network of bigger and smaller mukadams. A bigger labour contractor had a number of smaller mukadams under him.

There was no contract signed between a mukadam and a labourer recruited into mine work. Besides not having any written contract with the labourers, the mukadams did not keep any records.

Mukadam Manuel Alemao who had about 100 workers under him specifically admitted that "No records were kept, but (only) small notes (were kept) to give pay."⁹¹

Though there was no written contract between a mukadam and a mine worker, there were other means of binding a labourer to a contractor. Accepting an advance of money by a labourer from a contractor was binding. Accepting an advance was as good as signing a contract. By accepting an advance the labourer tied himself to a particular mukadam. The advance varied from Rs.20/- to Rs.100/- per labourer. Smt. Lilavati Naik, a former mine labourer from Vodar-Madkai-Goa, stated:

"To get labourers to come for mine work, the contractors used to advance money - Rs.100/- only, which was cut from the daily wages. In case a labourer ran away to another mine, he would be brought back to the same contractor who had advanced the money."⁹²

In Goa, labour power was a scarce commodity during the Portuguese days. The economic blockade of Goa had made the labour supply more difficult. This scarcity made some of the mukadams to search for labourers within and outside Goa. Shri Manuel Alemao from Santimol-Raia-Goa began his mukadam career in 1952 and ended it in 1972. He worked with mine owners like Shri Costa of Curtorim-Goa, The Dempos and Timblos. Mukadam Alemao used to look out for workers by going around Margao, Nuvem, Rachol and other villages. He used to advance about Rs.200/- to Rs.300/- to a group of workers depending upon the size of the group. At the head of each group was a smaller mukadam. Mukadam Alemao got this advance money from the mine owners.⁹³

Mukadam Joao Caitan Dias of Santimol-Raia-Goa got workers

mostly from outside Goa. He was working in Bombay before he became a mukadam in 1951. He worked with Shri Dayanand Bandodkar, Chowgule, Shantilal and other mine owners. His first batch of twenty workers were Marathi speaking and from Miraj. They were recruited in Bombay and brought by ship to Mormugao. Advance to these workers varied from Rs.20/- to Rs.50/-. During the time of the economic blockade, these workers were sent back to Bombay. But the same workers urged mukadam Dias to bring them to Goa and give them employment in the mines. During the blockade time mukadam Dias used to bring workers from Maharashtra to Goa illegally. He used to pay Rs.30/- to smuggle a worker into Goa. A person called "Mengo" was a labour smuggler, who helped mukadam Dias to collect about 60 workers from across the border. Once the workers were brought into Goa the registration of the workers was done by the mining company.⁹⁴ Besides the registered workers there were also workers who stayed illegally in Goa and worked in the mines.⁹⁵ Antonio Silva of Cortalim indicates the reasons why labourers preferred to work in the mines around 1946,

"A man used to get in mines 10 to 12 annas and woman 5 to 6 annas. But in village work (not mine work) a man used to get 8 to 10 annas and a woman 4 to 5 annas. So mine work was preferred."⁹⁶

Preference for mine work continued in the later years because of higher wages in the mines. Shri Concecao Fernandes who started to work in the mines around 1956 states:

"People preferred to go to the mines because in the villages a male worker got Rs. one and eight annas for a day, and a woman got 8 annas. Whereas in the mines a man got Rs. two and a half and a woman got Rs. one and eight annas."⁹⁷

The Portuguese Government showed legal concern for the mine workers collected by the mining industry. The Portuguese Government passed laws to look after the living conditions of the mine workers:

"LEGISLATIVE DIPLOMA NO.1497

.....considering that the mining work is hard by nature and as such it demands special protection from the Government; Considering that our social policy imposes a just and humane protection of the labourers.....the Governor General, (Paulo Bernard Guedes) of Portuguese India orders as follows...

Art.18 -It is obligatory for the employers to give lodgings in hygenic conditions to labourers whose usual residence is not near the site of work **and each room of the quarters to be built cannot accomodate more than 10 labourers.**(stress added)

Art.21-No kitchens are to be built near the quarters but seperate from them in such a way that each group of 6 to 12 labourers has their own kitchen..."⁹⁸.

From the Portuguese Law, let us come to the mukadams and workers.What do the workers tell us about the living conditions in the mining industry of Goa? The labour that was recruited by the mukadams was housed near the mines.The dwellings of mine workers were generally a kilometer or two away from the actual work site. Shri Augustine Faleiro of Chandravaddo-Fatorda-Margao and his wife Smt.Inacin (cf.Ph.No.5,p.86) who worked in the Chowgule mines at Sirigao during the time when ore was carried in bullock-carts⁹⁹,tells us that they stayed in "mangor open on all sides and no partitions"¹⁰⁰. In the mines of North, Central and South Goa, the mining labourers were generally housed in 'mangors' and each



Photo No.4: Ram Dular Yadav



Photo No.5: Inacin & Augustin Faleiro



Photo No.6: Niesen Gomes Pise/Francisca Gomes

mine had a number of 'mangors'. For example in Sirigao, North Goa, Mineowner Bhandodkar had 15 'mangors' made of coconut leaves.¹⁰¹ In Central Goa in Barazana, Shantilal had 5 to 6 mangors. And in Nuvem near Betul port of South Goa, Dempos had 5 mangors.¹⁰² These quarters were called 'Mangor'. According to the Konkani dictionary of Shri R.Desai, 'Mangor' means a work house - a house without walls - farm house - godown - a place where instruments are kept¹⁰³. The mine workers referred to the mangors as 'ghote' - cattle sheds. The mangors were the property of the mine owners. The mangors were built with the material and money provided by the mine owners. The mangors were initially made of jungle wood and coconut leaves, in some areas coconut leaves roofings were replaced by tin roof. Later the mangors were built of stone and mangalore tiles. The floors of the mangors were usually of mud.¹⁰⁴ Shri Luis Piedade Fernandes born and bred in Nuvem, Betul states, "Nuvem mines started around 1951 and were closed after liberation in 1967.... There were 5 mangors There were about 200 labourers in each mangor."¹⁰⁵

Shri Conseciao Fernandes of Ollatori-Velim was working in the mines of Shantilal in Barazana. He informs us about the lives of mine workers in mangors there:

"At Barazana there were 5 to 6 mangors. In all we were about 1000 workers staying in the mangors. Sleeping arrangements were, heads in the middle of the mangor, and legs outward. All workers were sleeping in a line of about 100 workers on either side. Husband and his wife and children slept side by side. We were kept like cattle in 'ghote'. Workers of two-three mukadams were made to stay in a mangor. There were no partitions nor beds in the mangor. Mangors were big 'ghote' (cattle sheds).... The 'chools' (fire places for cooking) of each family were on the outer

edge of the mangor. We slept on cowdung floor with legs towards the fire place and heads in the middle of the mangor. In the morning at 3 a.m. the first bell was rung. At 4. a.m. the second bell was rung. At 6 a.m. (zirmir jatona) the third bell was rung. After the third bell the workers had to leave the mangor and go to the work site which was about a ten minutes walking distance....."¹⁰⁶

Besides living in the mangors like cattle, the mangors were also the kitchens of the workers. The cooking arrangements in the mangors were basically of two types. In one pattern, cooking was done by the workers themselves without the help of a separate cook.¹⁰⁷ In the other pattern, the mukadams kept a separate cook - 'randpin' (female cook) to prepare the afternoon meal, look after the children of the mine workers and watch the mangors. Shri Concecao of Ollatori-Velim, is elaborate in describing the randpin-pattern of the cooking arrangements in mangors:

"A 'randpin' was kept by each mukadam. Breakfast, i.e. 'ambil' (porridge of ragi) - or 'pej' (kanji) of rice was prepared by us, workers. What remained of 'ambil' or 'pej' was taken to the work site to be eaten at 10.00 a.m.. No tea or coffee was taken. When we left the mangor at 6 a.m., we left behind in our vessels at our fire place the raw rice needed for the family, along with fire wood and water. The 'randpin' made fire and cooked rice in each 'chool' in the afternoon only. The 'randpin' was also the watchman of the mangoor and caretaker of the children of the mine workers. Sunday was a holiday and market day. On sundays about two hours used to go to bring fire wood for the week. Both men and women workers brought the fire wood. Cowdung was also collected to keep the mangor clean."¹⁰⁸

From the living conditions of the mine workers, let us have a look at the work patterns. Work in the mines was done either on 'Angar' (self-contract) basis, or 'Hazri' basis (working directly

for a company on daily attendance basis). Work that was done on a 'Hazri' basis was supervised by the company supervisors and masters. Work done by mukadams was usually on 'Angar' basis. In 'Angar' type of work, digging was done for a week and a representative of the mine owner would take measure of what was dug during the week. Shri Padkar Domingo Baptist of Cavellosim gives us little more details about work on 'Angar' basis:

"In work that was done on 'Angar' basis, plots were divided by a fixed measure of a 'paroi' (iron bar to dig, arrowed on both sides). A 'paroi' was five feet in length. A fixed plot was taken and worked by a family; sometimes family took a 'manai' (assistant labourer). For 'covor' or 'robbor' (non-ore waste) we got Rs.5 a 'brass'. But for 'min' (ore) dug, we used to get Rs.10 a 'brass'. Sometimes a family used to get mostly 'covor' and sometimes mostly 'min'. If 'min' was got, then taking work 'Angar' was more profitable than 'Hazri'. Getting too much 'covor' meant less wages though same work. There was work that was done on 'Hazri' basis, but it was less paying."¹⁰⁹

Mukadam Joao Caitan Dias speaks about his commission:

"First, my commission was four annas per worker per working day. Later, for 100 cubic feet of ore that was dug, I got commission of Rs.one."¹¹⁰

Shri Manuel Alemao, one of the bigger mukadams tells about his profit in taking work in the mines on 'Angar' basis:

" Profit was mainly from the number of trucks filled. Rs.11 were given for the small mukadam, and Rs.one was kept for myself. A filled truck fetched Rs.12. Only ore-filled truck got Rs.12. But 'covoll' ('covor' non-ore waste) truck was given only Rs.5 per truck. Only on the ore truck I got Rs.one. Portuguese times were tougher but after liberation things improved. After liberation I used to fill about 200 ore-trucks per day, as shovals were used in the mines."¹¹¹

As to the wages of mine workers, in 1942 a good mine worker used to get 8 annas a day and for a worker whose work was not rated as good, would get 6 annas. A women mine worker used to get 4 annas. Francisca Gomes of Govol-Kotombi (cf. Ph.6, p.86) tells of her husband's wages, who died in January 1942:

"Luis ... was a very good mine worker for he used to get 8 annas a day. Not so good worker used to get 6 annas, and a woman used to get 4 annas."¹¹²

While speaking about wages in Sirigao, Shri Arjun G. Ghantwal says:

"I first worked with Bandekar on 'Angar' basis. This way, I used to get Rs.25-30 weekly. Men who worked on 'Hazri' basis used to get 12 annas to Re.one. Women used to get 8 annas. This was when the mine started in 1946."¹¹³

Smt. Pedrin Laura M. Costa of Davorlim, Navelim, Salcette, who started to work in about 1954 in the Palli mines of Chowgule at the age of 15¹¹⁴, relates about the evolution of her wages:

"First the wages were eight annas but night duty was twelve annas; then Rs.one; later Rs. one and a half. Before leaving the mine work i.e. around 1977, my wages were Rs.two and a half."¹¹⁵

Two conclusions could be drawn regarding the wages of mine labourers:

1. That the daily wages tended to be better both for men and women labourers in the mines than in other areas of rural labour.

2. The wages mentioned above from 1942 to 1977 indicate that women mine workers tended to be paid half the wages of men mine workers:

Approximate Year	Approximate Wages of Men mine workers	Approximate Wages of Women mine workers
1942	8 annas	4 annas
	10 annas	5 annas
	12 annas	6 annas
1946	Re.One	8 annas Re. One
1956	Rs.Two and half	Rs. One and half
1960		Rs.Two
1977	Rs.Five	Rs.Two and half

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CHAPTER TWO

RISKS WORKERS FACED TO DEVELOP GOA

In chapter one we had a glimpse of the development of Goa Railway, Marmagao Harbour, Goa Mining and growth of other industries in Goa. Let us go into the risks that the mine workers faced to develop Goa. Since the mining industry is the major and backbone industry of Goa, we will deal with the risks faced by the mine workers.

Besides living in mangors like cattle, what were the hazards the mine workers faced to place Goa on the industrial Map of the world ? From every Taluka of Goa, men and women workers have worked to develop the mining industry of Goa. From East to West, North to South of Goa, mine workers faced risks to develop the mining industry of Goa. Scars, blinded eyes, sawed off and hanging legs, burnt skin, live wounds, broken families of mine workers, spread out across the length and breadth of Goa, are like living fossils telling their own story of the perils the workers faced to develop the mining industry of Goa. Besides the living human fossils cut shaped and formed by the mining industry, there are the memories of mine workers - their families - co-workers and acquaintances, memories which speak the type of life and death the mine workers underwent to shape the mining industry of Goa. These collective memories of mine workers and their families are part and parcel of the collective consciousness of the people of Goa. The living human fossils and collective memories tell us that the heads, the hands, the feet, the blood, the labour power of the

mine workers pushed Goa out of the age old agricultural slumber and economic stagnation, and railed it on to the path of industrial life and economic growth.

I-Minor Risks

a) **Stones fell on heads:** Smt. Alxin Cardoz Vaz of Ugem-Sanguem (cf. Ph.No.7 p.102) was working in Nonea mines of Ayub of Sanguem. Alxin was about 18 years old and married. While working, a stone fell on her head - on the left side above the ear. She fainted and regained consciousness only after a week. She was in Hospicio, Margao for three months.¹

b) **Stones fell on hands:** Shri Ramnath Lakshman Gowde of Amarkhani-Keri-Ponda, once a mine worker, states why his maternal grand-mother Phulu Thomsu Gowde of Ambadi-Keri-Ponda, desired to die:

"Phulu used to go for mine work at Kosmoi near Pirla-Quepem. While working, manganese rock fell on her left hand. The left hand was swollen and heavy that day itself. Phulu came home since nothing was done to her hand by the mine owners - Namba and Naidu. After sometime, pus started to flow from the wound of her hand. The wound never got cured and the hand remained like that swollen for 7/8 years. For financial reasons the family could not take her often to the doctors. Phulu used to say that it would have been nice if she had been dead, for her hand used to pain her a lot. She died 7/8 years after the stone fell on her hand."²

c) **Scars on the back:** Shri Luis Carvalho of Shatnamol, Smt. Anna Marie Carvalho of Xixawado, Smt. Rosa Fernandes of Godgal and

others all of Ambaulim, were working in the mine of Shantilal under contractor Devappa. The mine was at Zolar, Quepem side. On 22nd October, 1968, the mine collapsed on the workers³. In this accident Shri Luis Carvalho was badly wounded. His upper lip was cut and his back was injured. Two scars of the wounds are still very visible on Luis's back on the right shoulder blade side. The two scars are each an inch broad. One scar is six inches long and the other scar is nine inches long.⁴

d) Waist broken: Daxit Pinto, his wife Smt. Aielin, their daughter Concesao and their son Shri Anton Pinto of Baradi, Velim (cf. Ph.No.8 p.102) were working for Simoes of Savordem in his mines in Molliank near Rivona. Shri Anton Pinto, now 45 years old, was twelve years old when his father Daxit fell down with 'paroi' from a height of an electric pole, and broke his back at his waist. This was about the year 1956. Anton was about 25 feet away from where his father had fallen. Simoes took Daxit to Kalapura (Santa-Cruz) and his waist was plastered. After the plastering, Daxit was kept in the garage of Simoes in Sanvordem for about two months. But he did not get cured. Daxit was crippled and bedridden for life. From the garage of Simoes, Daxit was brought to Baradi and was looked after by his wife and children. Daxit was in bed with a broken back for about 20 years.⁵

e) Back broken legs broken: Smt. Lakshimi Narayan Shetkar, Gopika Foti Shetkar Kumar, Shri Shanu Foti Shetkar Kumar and Smt. Satyabhavi Vital Shetkar all of Padiadeg-Shirvoi-Quepem (cf. Ph.No.9 p.102) tell the story of Smt. Parvathi Shanu Shetkar Kumar

- mother of Lakshimi, mother-in-law of Gopika and grand mother of Shanu Foti. It was during the Portuguese days. Smt. Parvati was working as a mine worker in Mollkonja in Sanguem in the mine of Nagesh Deolli who was in partnership with Popat Kamat of Margao. Lakshimi, Gopika and Satyabhavi were also working in the same mine in which Parvathi was working. Lakshimi and Gopika had taken their 'kails' (iron baskets) and gone ahead, Satyabhavi Vital Shetkar and Parvathi Shanu Shetkar were lifting their 'kails', and the tree, which was close by, fell. A branch of the tree hit Satyabhavi and threw her away. But the main part of the tree fell on Parvathi. While digging the mine, all the sides of the tree were dug and the roots were exposed, yet work around the tree continued. The tree fell around five p.m. in the month of Sawan about fifteen days before Chowti. Workers lifted the tree and removed Parvathi from below. On the way to Margao Hospicio, Parvathi was taken to the Quepem police station. In Margao, Parvathi was kept only for a day and then shifted to Raibandar. Parvathi's back above the hip was broken. Also her legs at the heels were broken. Parvathi was in Ribandar Hospital for six months. But she could not stand at all. Lakshimi stayed in the hospital with her for six months. After six months the doctor at Ribandar Hospital told Lakshimi to take Parvathi - her mother, home, since she could not be cured. Thus Parvathi with broken back and broken legs was brought home to Padiadeg-Shirvoi-Quepem. Dr. Mablou of Sanvordem used to look after Parvathi when she was at home. A month after Parvathi was brought home, she died.⁶



Ph. No.7 Alxin Cardozo & Joao Cardozo



Ph.No.8. Concesao, Jackin & Anton Pinto



Ph.No.10 Anna Marie



Ph.No.9 Shanu, Gopika & Lakshimi



Ph.No.11 Chistod Colaco



Ph.No.12 Felestin Fernandes



Ph.No.13 Rama Naik



Photo No.14 Luis Costa



Foot of Luis Costa

f) **Legs smashed:** In the Zolar mine accident of 22nd October, 1960 a huge stone fell on Benjit Fernandes and Anna Marie. Both were taken to Hospicio Margao. Anna Marie was kept in the hospital for six months. Her left leg was badly damaged. She was about 15 years old when the accident took place⁷ (cf.Ph.No.10 p.102).

g) **Thighs sawed:** Chistod Colaco, age 47 of Raia, Arlem (Ph.No.11 p.103) was working for Sal Lutufer Mine Company owned by Neugo and others. The mine was in Pali (Usgao). Sal Lutufer had taken contract from Salgaocar to exploit the mine. While breaking iron-ore with 'ghono' (huge iron hammer) and 'xeni' (metal chisel), a very huge stone of about five feet high fell on the left leg of Chistod and crushed his leg up to the knee. Eight Portuguese security force people and about 25 mine workers both Kannadigas and Goans, used 'parois' and lifted the stone and removed Chistod. He was conscious all this time and was taken to Ribandar Hospital. On April 4th itself, Chistod's left leg was cut above the knee by a Portuguese doctor. The accident had taken place at 3.30 p.m on 4th April 1960⁸.

h) **Hanging legs:** Smt. Felestin Fernandes, aged about 60 of Koprmoddi Xeldem-Quepem, was working with contractor Rajaram of Mollkonja of Sanguem in the manganese ore mine of Vishnu Cuchadkar. Felestin was carrying 'kail' filled with ore and the mine collapsed and fell on Felestin. She was taken to Panjim Hospital by Rajaram. She was unconscious for three days. She was wounded all over the body but her legs were badly damaged. She was kept in the hospital for five years. Two years before the liberation of Goa and three years after the liberation of Goa. Her

left leg was permanently damaged - the shin bone or the tibia of the leg was broken with a gap of an inch - an inch of the bone is missing. She was thirty years old when she met with this accident. The people of her village call her 'dando' because she uses walking sticks to walk since the time of her accident⁹ (cf.Ph.No.12 p.103). Compared to Felestin, the leg of Shri Rama Naik is more terrible even to look at (cf.Ph.No.12 p.103). Rama Naik, aged 63, is living in Rankhol, Borim, Shiroda. He was working in the mine at Dabolim, Shiroda. The mine owner was Jaganath Ganekar of Ponda. While digging in the mine, a huge stone fell on his leg. The stone was removed by about twenty men and entrapped Rama was removed from below the stone. Rama was unconscious. He was taken to Panaji Hospital. He was then 25 years old and married. He was in the hospital for three years. Rama's leg is just hanging on muscle. Over two inches of his left shin bone or tibia is missing¹⁰.

i) **Toes Cut:** Shri Luis Costa, aged 70 lives in Rachol. Luis was working for Chowgule in Palli mines. Luis started to work in the mines in 1955. In 1957 a 'paroi' fell on the left toe-third small toe from the big toe. Luis was hospitalised in Raibandar and kept there for a month. The third little toe was removed in the hospital (cf.Ph.No.14. p.103). Dr.Lame was treating him. 10 years after liberation, the second little toe from the big toe got infected and had to be removed in the Panaji Medical Hospital.¹¹

j) **Life-wound:** The following case tells us of a wound that has lasted and nursed by a mine worker for 27 years. The name of this worker is Shri Joaquim Anton Colaco, age 45, of New Kirbot-Baid-

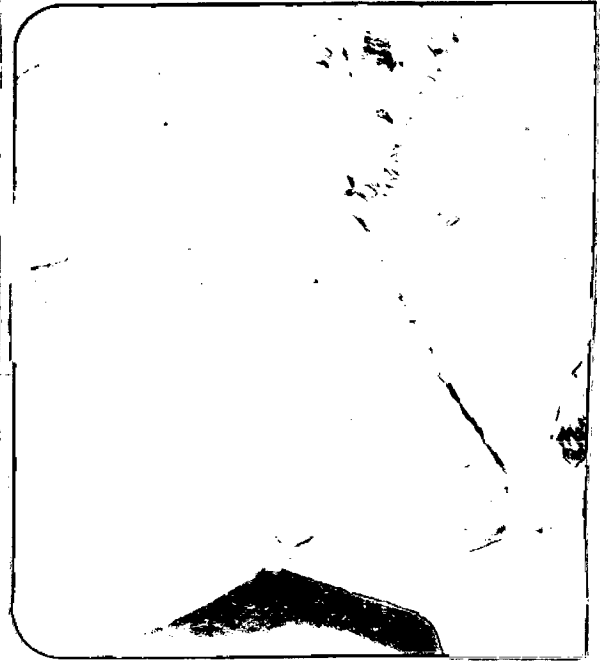
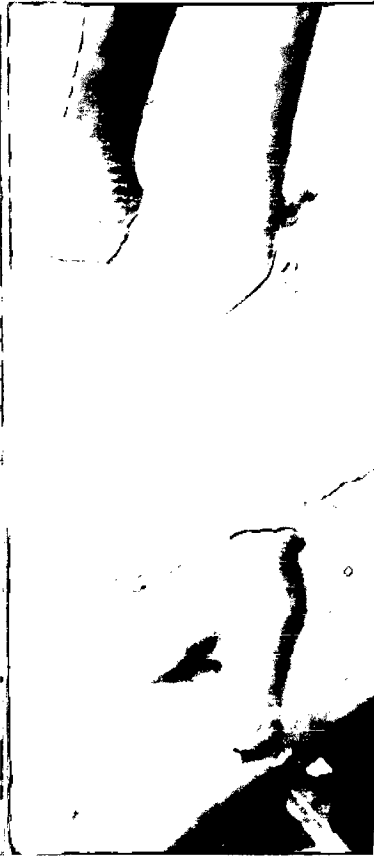
Nuven, Margao (cf. Ph. No. 15 p. 108). Joaquim was working in Molleank, also called Sarkode, post Collem. The iron ore mine in which Joaquim worked belonged to M/s Talaulikar who was once partner with Late Jack Sequeira. While working in the iron ore mine at Molleank, in May 1962, a huge stone fell on Joaquims right foot and rolled away. Joaquim was in a pool of blood. He was yelling and twisting in pain. A worker rolled Joaquim's foot with a towel. The accident took place on a Monday at 5 p.m.. There was no medicine at all at the mine site, not even a bottle of Dettol. Joaquim was first taken to Usgao (Tisk) to a private doctor. But this Doctor did not do anything. Next He was taken to the Government hospital at Ponda. Here he was only given an injection and shifted to Panaji Government hospital in the company's truck. All this time blood was flowing from his foot. They reached Panaji at about 10 p.m.. He was kept in the hospital for about four months. At the time of the accident Joaquim was 18 years old. On the very first day at the hospital, three toes and part of the foot were cut. Before the wound was fully healed Joaquim was asked to leave the hospital. The wound of Joaquim never got cured. And for the last three years the wound became bad (cf. Ph. No. 16 p. 108). Joaquim goes to doctor now and then, but mostly applies medicines at home by himself. He himself bandages his life-wound¹².

k) Eyes pierced blasted, thighs burnt, hands deformed: At the early stage of mine blasting, the gun powder thread of the dynamites or gelatins, was ignited by the use of fire wood which had a live coal at one end, not a flame¹³. Shri Antonio Silva of Curpuwado-Cortalim, aged about 70 and who was working in the mines

since the age of 18, i.e. since about 1945 says that, "workers like me used to light the gelatin with fire wood (burning without flames) in our hands, and run for dear life."¹⁴ Shri Remedio Miranda of Runder-Belloi-Nuvem, Margao aged about 52 is totally blind for thirty years. Remedio is blind in both the eyes since the age of 22. He was working in the mine of Shri Vasant Dempo in Sonci-Dankol in Sanquellim about the year 1959. Remedio had taken work there on 'angar' basis.¹⁵ Remedio gives more details of the risk of manual blasting in a mine area:

"To blast an area a worker had to dig a blast hole. To dig and prepare a blast hole used to take 4-5 hours. A blast hole was about 5 feet deep and three inches wide. The blast hole was dug with 'paroi' and mud removed with 'kanulo' (a bent rounded spoon). The 'kanulo', which was rather long, was made of iron bar as thick as the hand finger. After the blast hole was dug the gun-powder thread was placed and gun-powder was then gently packed."¹⁶

The day Remedio went blind, he was preparing a blast hole. He had already put the necessary amount of 'dhar' (gun-powder) in the blast hole, after placing the gun-powder thread (all brought from the company), he was checking the gun powder by tapping the 'kanulo'. The 'kanulo' hit a rock and sparked into fire. There was a burst and blast and he fell down about 10-15 feet below. He was taken to Asilo Hospital at Mapusa where he was kept for seven months. Both his eyes were destroyed and face burnt. His right hand became useless for work. Except for the thumb of the right hand, the other fingers were cut or permanently bent or stiff. Now he could not hold anything in his hand (cf. Ph.No.17 p. 108). The above accident took place just a year after the marriage of Remedio to Santana Miranda¹⁷.



Ph.No.15 Joaquim Anton Colaco

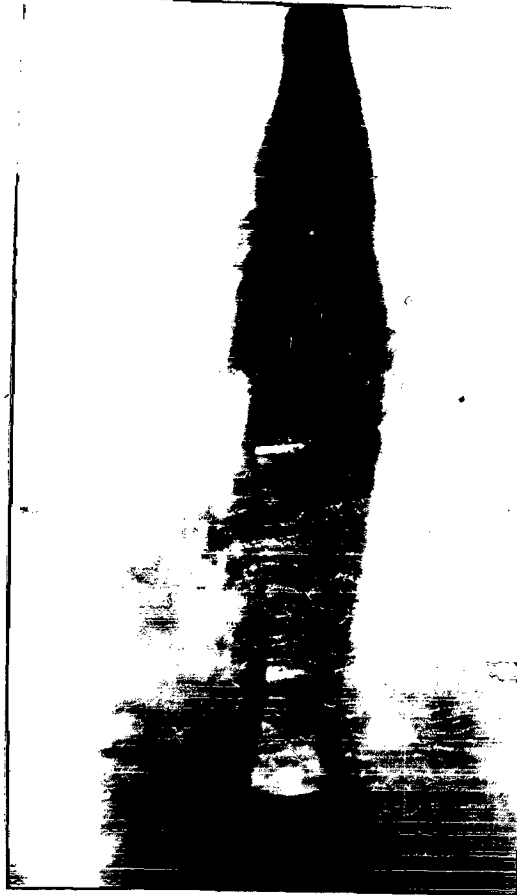
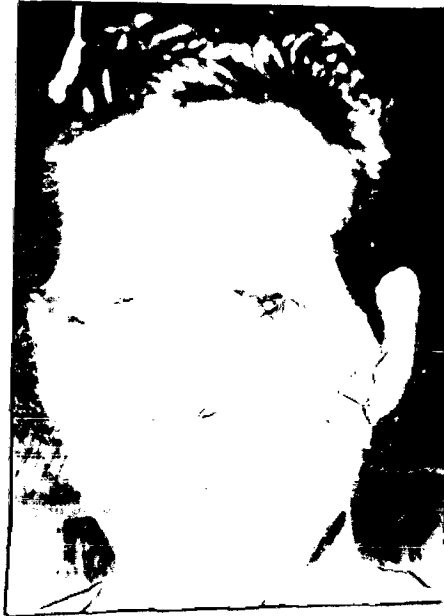
Ph.No.16.Wound of J.A.Colaco



Ph.No.17. Remedio Miranda

Augustine Moraes of Illia de Rachol started to work in the mines at the age of 15. He met with two accidents while working in the mines. The second accident took place three years after his marriage, when working for Shantilal in Melka. Augustine was digging holes for blasting with 'paroi' along with Rocky Dias also from Illia de Rachol. While digging, Rocky accidentally hit Augustine's right eye with the 'paroi'. Augustine completely lost his right eye¹⁸. Before losing his right eye, Augustine was working for Dempo-Souza in Bicholim. Here, due to gun powder blast, his thighs, legs, hands and face were burnt (cf. Ph.No.18 p.110) This first accident took place 4 years before his marriage. In this accident he had a fall and his chest bone was broken. He was in Asilo Hospital, Mapusa for four months and twenty days.¹⁹

When Shri Arjun Mhatara (Bhuipal) Gauns of Saleli-Honda-Satari was about 20 years old, he along with Ranganath Babush Kamat of Sanquelim were working in Pisurlem mine of Sesa Goa. In March 1958, Arjun and Ranganath were preparing to blast the area in Pisurlem mines with gelatin. Arjun was pressing the fuse wire with pliers and it accidentally exploded. Kundolim Mallik of Kudnem and one Naik of Pisurlem put Arjun and Ranganath in a truck and took them to Asilo Hospital in Mapusa and later to Panaji Government hospital. In Panaji Hospital Arjun's right eye was removed. His left leg was badly damaged but the bone was not broken. Now Arjun has scars from the knee upto the left buttock and below the buttocks²⁰ (cf. Ph.No.19 p.110).



Ph.No.18 Augustine Moraes

Ph.No.19 Arjun M.Gauns

1) **Torn by wild animals:** The mining community at the very early stage of mining development were living in the midst of thick forests. The aspect of danger from wild animals, faced by the mining community, is touched by the mine-owners. Yeshwantrao D. Chowgule states, "Tiger cubs used to jump over our car on the Bicholim - Asonoda road. Serpents were in plenty at Sirigao, and we used to kill them literally in hundreds...."²¹ The experiences of the Chowgules with the wild life is confirmed by Shri Vasudev Salgaocar and his team:

"The dangers were very real; the hills were infested with poisonous snakes; wild animals—buffalo, marauding panther, aggressive wild boar — abounded. On one excursion, Salgaocar's team heard a snarling behind a cluster of wildgrass, the sound a large, angry cat might make. When he insisted on investigating, which they did warily with a noticeable absence of enthusiasm, they discovered a panther cub, weeks old, wounded, lost and starving, and brought it back to Vasco"²².

The mine workers living and working in the above mentioned harsh environment, experienced the very teeth and claws of the wild. Mukadam Joao Caitan Dias tells of a mine worker from Maharashtra who was attacked by a tiger:

"Once a worker—Shantaram, had gone to bring fire wood from the forest at Melka, Shantilal's Mine. There a tiger attacked Shantaram Gaikwad of Para-Pandarpur. Shantaram's right leg below the knee was torn while he was climbing the tree. But the shouts and screams of Shantaram and the people frightened the tiger away. Shantaram was kept in Kamat hospital for 15 days and later started to work again"²³.

II. Major Risks:

Shifting our attention from minor risks, let us try to visualise workers crushed & pierced by the jaws of death. In 1952 Mahadev Kusta Gaonkar, his sister Mogra and their father Kusta Zongu Gaonkar of Gholwado, Paryem-Satari of North Goa, were working for M/s Damodar Mangalji and Company. The mine was at Sanquelim hills which was later taken by Sesa Company. Some time in the month of May, 1952, while filling the ore, a huge stone fell on the head of Kusta Zongu Gaonkar and his head was totally crushed. Dharma L. Gaonkar from Buypalli-Honda and another worker shifted with 'paroi' the stone that killed Kusta and removed his body.²⁴

Concesao Fernandes of Ollatori-Velim now aged about 45 (cf. Ph.No. 20 p. 120) started to work in the mines since about 1954 as a boy of 10-12 years. He witnessed two deaths:

"'Parois' were arrowed at both the ends, about 10 kg in weight. As a boy of 15, I saw a man fall from a height of about 20 mens' height. When the man fell down the paroi had gone into his stomach and the man died. I witnessed another death of a mine worker who fell down from a high digging point and broke his neck and died. I heard of other deaths too."²⁵

Moving in North and South Goa among the former mine workers and the relatives of mine labourers, one notices that the deepest wounds caused to the families of mine workers, by the mining industry, were the stabs inflicted by the accidents which resulted in the deaths of the workers. The following Chart gives various causes of death, during the Portuguese period and after, number of

deaths and ranks of causes. This chart is based on 170 informal interviews with mine workers and their relatives, conducted by the candidate himself by moving in North and South Goa.

Chart of DEATHS BY CAUSES

PORTUGUESE PERIOD			INDIAN PERIOD		
Sr. No.	Cause of Death	No. of Deaths	Rank of Cause	Number of Deaths	Rank of Cause.
1.	Fall of worker from hill	2	5	-	-
2.	Fall of tree	1	6	-	-
3.	Fall of building materials	-	-	1	5
4.	Fall of mining machines	3	4	3	4
5.	Transport	6	3	7	2
6.	Collapse of mines	57	1	6	3
7.	Explosion of explosives	19	2	15	1
Total No. of deaths				88	32

The total number of deaths in the above Chart - 'Deaths by Causes', indicate that the mine workers lived and worked in a more treacherous industrial environment during the Portuguese period than during the Indian period. Of the total of 120 deaths, 88 occurred during the Portuguese period and 32 occurred during the Indian period. But the four main causes of death of mine workers remained the same, both during the Portuguese period and the Indian Period. The deaths of mine workers were mainly related to 'collapse of mines', 'explosion of explosives', 'transport' and 'fall of mining machines'.

Except for the detail of dates, the accidents in the mines are spoken of vividly and with fresh pain by the survivors of the accidents and by the family members of the mine workers. Let us

have a glance at the fatal mine accidents along with comments from mine workers and from relatives of Mine workers. The mine workers and their families spoke of 21 mine collapses.

(a). Collapse of Mines

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
1. Nonea in Sanguem	Loyalty by Sheikh Ayub of Sanguem	9-11-49	14	1. Luis Mariano Mascarenhas, aged 23, of Bamonshai, Sanguem ²⁶ 2. Pedru Antonio Mascarenhas, aged 20 of Bamonshai-Sanguem ²⁷ 3. Jepru Naik of Maragana, Sanguem. ²⁸ 4. Eugeneo Cardozo, aged 18, of Catamol, Quepem. 5. Joao Fernandes, aged 25, of Orkato, Sanguem. ²⁹ 6. Manuel Fernandes of Cormollivaddo-Kakoda. ³⁰ 7. Karmol Bandari of Mestavaddo, Kakoda. ³¹ 8. Dhanu Pauskar of Madigall Kakoda. ³² 9. Paoto Narayan Vellip of Zaken Neuturilm. ³³ 10. Rama Kudalkar of Khalwadem Canacona 11. Narayan Forto of Voyamoll Avodem, Xeldem, Quepem. ³⁴ 12. Ganesh Bikant Arparkar (Sangeikar) ³⁵ 13. Not known 14. Not known	Iru Danu Kudalkar of Navin Bhat, Gavdogrem Canacona. Joao Xavier Carvalho of Uguem, Sanguem Marie Gracy of Tarimol, Sanguem. ³⁶ Pondari Datta Modvoij of Noncellem, Sanguem. ³⁷

Death Nos. 52, 53, 54 and 55 dated 9th November, 1949 in the Register of death, of the Church of Our Lady of Miracles, Sanguem, shows that four persons died on the same day. These four persons - Eugenio Cardozo, Luis Mariano Mascarenhas, Pedro Antonio Mascarenhas and Joao Fernandes, were mine workers and all bachelors. As to the cause of death of these four mine workers there is a common remark against their name - died due to asphyxia, collapse of mine walls at Nondem-Netorlim, Sanguem.³⁸ Though all the four mine workers died on the same day of 9-11-1949 at the same mine collapse and buried in the same cemetery,

they were buried on different dates. Eugenio Cardozo was buried on 10th November 1949. J.M.Mascarenhas and P.A.Mascarenhas and Joao Fernandes were buried on 11th November 1949. There must have been some reason for the different dates of burial of the workers. For more light on this incident, let us listen to Shri Iru Danu Kudalkar, (cf.Ph.No.21 p.120) survivor of the Nonea mine accident who explains his escape and describes the Nonea mine collapse:

"When the Nonea mine collapsed most of the workers were digging on the hill top. Only one woman, Karmol, was sorting out the ore below. I was filling 'kails' (iron baskets) below along with Paoto Narayan Vellip. I was miraculously saved. Khrishna of Gaddivaddo, Kakoda, sensed that the mine was collapsing and he just ran for his life. As Khrishna ran for his life he banged into me and threw me away, and the mine collapsed. Poato Narayan Vellip was buried in the ore. It took three days to remove the bodies buried in the mine collapse. On the first day five-six bodies were removed. Ram Kudalkar, husband of Sita was buried in Sanguem. Ganesh Bikant Sangellkar was removed last on the third day. Ganesh Bikant's body was smelling very badly and was buried outside the Catholic cemetery in Sanguem behind the cemetery."³⁹

Francis (Bito) Cardozo aged about 70 of Catamol-Quepem confirms the statement of Iru Danu Kudalkar:

"I was working for Ayub at Nonea mines when my brother Eugenio died in Nonea. I was present at the mine site. I was about 25 years at that time....it took three days to remove the bodies. Stones had to be blasted and mud removed before the bodies could be removed. The body of Eugenio was the first to be found. I brought my brother's body to Catamol in a truck....about 10 'ghatis' (workers from across the Ghats or outside Goa) also died⁴⁰."

Francis (Bito) Cardozo is the only mine worker who mentions about the death of 'ghatis' (workers from outside Goa) in the Nonea Mine accident.⁴¹

The Nonea mine was closed for three months after it collapsed on 9-11-1949, and killed atleast 14 workers. Smt. Alxin Cardozo Vaz (cf.Ph.No.7 p.102) aged about 60, of Uguem Sanguem, was working in the Nonea mines, she got married at the age of 16⁴². She reports about her days in Nonea:

"Two years after my marriage the Nonea mine accident took place. I was not injured at all in the accident. After this accident, the Nonea mine of Ayub was closed for three months. During the Nonea mine accident in which fourteen people died, Joao Xavier Carvalho (cf. Photo No.7 p.102) also of Uguem was burried upto the shoulder and he was hospitalised. Three months later when the mine re-opened, I went to work again to the Nonea mine and then a stone fell on my head."⁴³ (cf.p.99).

Name of mine	Name of Mine Owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
2. Gotga- phoni beyond Tolalem in Sanguem	Catdor of Sanguem	38-1-42	5	1. Andre Clement of Govol, Cotombi, Xeldem, Quepem. (bachelor,) 2. Quiteria da Costa, aged 26, of Govol. (married, female) 3. Sebastiao Gomes, aged 28, of Govol. (married, male) 4. Luis Gomes, aged 25, of Govol. 5. A girl of Kuborwaddo, Xeldem. ⁴⁴	
3. Barkotem of Zakem Neturlim	Vishunat Dessai & partners	about 1950	1	Chandru Mahadev Gaonkar, aged about 15, of Zakem. (bachelor,) ⁴⁵	
4. Sanquelim	Damodar Mangalji	May 1952	1	Kusta Zengu Gaonkar, of Gholawada, Paryem, Sattari. (married, male) ⁴⁶	
5. Shelpi, Moli, Kasargalli Sattari	-	about 1961	1	Dotu Narayan Gaonkar, of Velquem, Valpoi, Sattari. ⁴⁷	
6. Kavrem	Budjishet, Panaji	1954-55	2	1. Sevtu Dhaku Naik of Balli. 2. Shaikh Shukur, aged 28, of Masconi, Cuncolim. (bachelor)	Shatavati Vasudev Naik of Majorda. Shamu Damodar Lotlekar of Maddikotto, Cuncolim. Gopinath Kusstha Bandekar Dessai of Culvaddo, Cuncolim. ⁴⁸

Shri Shamu Damodar Lotlekar (Ph.No.22./23 p.128) a survivor of the Kavrem mine collapse speaks of the mine accident:

"While filling trucks at 11-12 O'Clock the mine collapsed over the workers. I was burried in the ore. My head was on the forehead of the woman from Majorda (Shatavati Vasudev Naik). I was burried for about 10 minutes, others dug up the ore up to my neck and then removed me. But while removing the debris, a pickaxe hit me on the back. I was wounded all

over. About two trucks of wounded people were taken to Hospicio Hospital in Margao. On the way to the hospital, Vaikunth Sawant gave me 'sorro' (liquor) to drink. In this Kavrem accident, Shevtu of Balli and Shaikh Shukur-Mono (dumb), the brother of Babush of Masconi died. When the accident took place, Gopinath Kustha Bandekar Dessai of Cuncolim was also working in Kavrem to wash the ore ⁴⁹.

Gopinath Kustha Bandekar Dessai states (Ph.No.24 p.120):

"On that day, about the year 1954-55, Budjishet had visited the mine prior to the collapse. When the mine collapsed, I was trapped in mud upto my knees. But I came out of the mud and went to save other labourers with a spade. The other workers and I removed Shamu Shet, Shevtu Naik, Mono and some Kannada labourers. Shamu Shet would have died if we had not removed him. Shevtu Naik and Mono died. Kannada labourers also died but they were neglected to a great extent. ⁵⁰

In 1956 Gopinath K.B. Dessai joined Portuguese Troops. And in 1957 he joined Timblo's mines in Pali as a mine mate ⁵¹.

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
7. Manak Colomba beyond Rivona	Neugi	30-7-58	3	1. Pedrin Oliver, wife of Joaquim Oliver, aged about 25, of Igramoll, Duei, Quepem 2. Simao Carvalho, aged 18, brother of Francik Carvalho of Igramoll, Duei, Quepem. (bachelor) 3. Joao Paul of Igramoll Quepem. (married young man)	Francik Carvalho and Josephin Carvalho (husband and wife) of Igramoll, Duei, Quepem. Joaquin Oliver, of Igramoll Duei, Quepem. ⁵²

The Manak accident is remembered vividly by the survivors (cf. Ph.No.25 p.120). The Manak accident took place after having 'pej' (rice kanji) around 10 a.m.. The workers were digging manganese ore on top of the cut hill at a height of about 25 feet above. Over 20 people were digging on top of the cut hill, and six women and five men were filling the truck with ore below. Pedrin Oliver, Simao Carvalho, Joao Paul and Josephin Carvalho were working below. Suddenly the whole wall of the hill on which over 20 workers were digging, caved in and all the workers came down

along with the collapsed side of the hill. Three of the workers, (Francik, Josephine and Joaquim) along with others were removed from the collapsed hill. Then Joao Souza of Igramoll who was the master, took attendance and found that Pedrin, Simao and Joao Paul were missing. But by the time they all realized that the three were missing and were searched for and removed with spades from the collapsed hill, the three workers were all dead. The bodies of Joao Paul, Pedrin and Simao were kept in a nearby hut for the whole night. Francik, Josephine, Joaquim and the late Nicolao Carvalho stayed with the dead the whole night. Only the next day at 5 a.m. the three bodies were brought to Igramoll in the truck of Neugi. The three were buried at 6 p.m. at Quepem cemetery. The bodies were not taken to the hospital and no panchanama or police enquiry was done. Only the engineer had taken down the names of the dead.⁵³

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
B. Potrem Barazana in Sanguem	Kasim Catdor	15.1.57	2	1. Pedru A. Galdino, aged 45, of Govol Kotombi, but residing at Miniz - bhatt, San Jose de Areal. (married male) 2. Caitan Fernandes, of Igorjevaddo Badiar (unwed mother of Mrs. Inas Fernandes Soares of Comba, San Jose de Areal and June Fernandes)	Mrs Sebastian Nim, aged 65, of Padia but staying in Comba, San Jose de Areal. ⁵⁴
9. Melka	Shantilal	18.1.58	2	1. Caitan Furtado, aged 22, of Aquad, Fatorda, Margao (bachelor) 2. Antonio Dias, aged 18, of Shiroda Ponda. (bachelor) ⁵⁵	



Ph.No.20 Conseciao Fernandes



Ph.No.21 Iru Dhanu Kudalkar



Ph.No.22 Shamu Damodar
Lotlikar



Ph.No.23.Babush
Sheikh Isub, Brother &
A.S.Usman - mother of
Sheikh Sukur (Mono)



Ph.No.24 Gopinath
Kustha Bandekar
Desai



Ph.No.25 Fransisca & Josephine
Carvalho & Joaquim Oliver



Ph.No.26 Josefa & Paul Dias,
Uncle & mother of Joanna Dias

Smt. Rosalin Furtado Pereira, sister of Caitan Furtado, was working at the mine at Melka when Caitan met with the fatal accident. Just before the accident, Caitan had arranged for the marriage of Rosalin.⁵⁶ One can imagine Rosalin's pain, shock and sorrow when she saw her brother caught in blasted rocks. The mine area, where Caitan was working, was blasted. For a long time the area that was blasted did not split and come down. Caitan went up to the blasted area to see if the blasting had worked. When he reached the blasted area he noticed that the whole hill side was coming down - he just started running away from the blasted area and yelling "Davai re...davai re..davai re" (run away..run away..run away). But it was too late. The blasted area of iron ore hill came crushing on the workers. Caitan got caught in the rocks from waist down. These rocks were broken with drills to free him. His right leg was badly damaged and he was taken to Ribandar Hospital at night. But he died next morning at 9 a.m and his body was brought home at 12 noon. The next day he was buried in Margao⁵⁷.

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No.of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
10. Vagpede Barazana Sanguem	S.Kantilal	about 1958	2	1.Krishna Ladu Gawde, of Cormoli (near Dada Vaidia's house) Appeawada, Keri, Ponda. (married, male) 2.Ramchandra Gawde Dandekar of Cormonia, Appeawada, Keri Ponda. (married, male) ⁵⁸	

Shri Govind Ladu Gawde accidentally heard of the death of his brother Krishna Ladu Gawde. One early morning, at dawn, Govind had gone to the roadside at Cormoli to defecate. On the road side, near the house of Vaidya- where buses stop now, he had seen a mine truck. He was told by the neighbours that Krishna was dead in a

mine accident and that his body along with the body of Ramchandra of Cormonia was kept on the roadside and the truck was gone. No personal information was given by the company to the wife of Krishna. By chance Govind had come to the road side and got the news of his brother's death and that the dead bodies were at the roadside at Cormoli.⁵⁹

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
11. Colma of Sanguem	Hiralal	1958	1	1. Jose Fernandes, aged 14, of Bam-nabhat, Ambaulim, Quepem (bachelor)	Rosa Fernandes, of Godgal, Ambaulim, Quepem. ⁶⁰
12. Sarzoni of Sanguem	Pandu Garso of Agassaim	14-3-59	3	1. Joanna Dias, aged 16, of Ganebhat, Nesai, San Jose de Areal. (spinster) 2. Yamuna Ladu Gawde, of Nagzori, Boma, Ponda. (married, female) 3. Mardo Kesav Naik, of Kalimatti, Boma, Ponda. (bachelor) ⁶¹	

Paul Dias (cf. Ph. No. 26 p. 120), uncle of Joana Dias who had gone to get the body of Joana⁶² says that,

"She died in the mine which was a 'bueir' (a tunnel). Three days after the burial of Joana, I went to the mine site, the 'bueir' was found to be closed with branches and the entrance of the cave closed with mud."⁶³

Mengheshi Ladu Gowde was a married man when his mother Yamuna Ladu Gowde died.⁶⁴ Mengheshi says, "The body of Yamuna was brought by the company to Boma. Her face was fully defaced..."⁶⁵

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
13. Vagpede Barazana Sanguem	S.Kantilal	about 1959	1	Sabasteao Costa, aged about 35, of Govoi, Kotombi. (married, male) ⁶⁶	

14. Bimla	-	-	5	1. Arie Vital Gowde, husband of (2) below 2. Barkelem Arie Gowde, of Sidnath, Borim, Ponda. 3. Ladu Vishnu Gowde, of Akam, Dharbhandoda, Sanguem. 4. Raghunath Babuso Gowde, of Akam, Dharbhandoda, Sanguem. 5. Shevtem Rama Bhomi Gowde, of Muddy, Khandepar. (married, female) ⁶⁷	
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Ganesh Hasu Gowde of Kurti, Ponda, brother of Shevtem Rama Bhomi Gowde, who was working in the same mine at Bimla⁶⁸ states, "Shevtem's back was fully crushed and she died around 3 O'clock. She was buried in Kurti."⁶⁹

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
15. Villiana	Shantilal	about 1960	about 5	Budo Pandu Gowde of Mowzaddo, Kundai, Ponda ⁷⁰ (cf. Ph.No. 127)	

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
16. Zolar	Shantilal	22-10-60	1	Benedito Fernandes, aged about 15, of Coppeibhat, Duei, Quepem (bachelor)	Rosa Fernandes of Godgal, (cf. Ph.No. 28 p. 127). Ambaulim, Quepem (cf. p. 104). Anna Marie of Xixavaddo, Ambaulim, Quepem. Luis Carvalho of Shagthamoi, Ambaulim, Quepem. ⁷¹

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
17. Colma	Raoji of Kakoda	about 1955	1	Bosteao D'Souza, aged about 22, of Vollemol, Quepem. (bachelor)	Jose Fernandes of Vollemol, Quepem. ⁷²
18. Chiria-band	Mukadam Caitan Costa of Navelim	about 1961	1	Dument Colaco, of Davorlim, Tolliabhat, Navelim (married) ⁷³	
19. Pattolem Vichurlem Neturlim.	Vishunath Desai and partners	about June 1959	2	1. Raghunath Laxman Gadi, of Margavaddo Neturlim. 2. A Christian from Quepem ⁷⁴	
20. Elia	Ayub of Sanguem	18-7-63	4	1. Pak Santan of Chikolmollem, Sanguem. (married, male) (cf. Ph.No. 29 p.127). 2. Santana Colaco, aged about 12, of Tolliank, Shiroda. (spinster) 3. Milagres Fernandes alias Mahadev Naik, father of (4) below. 4. Joaquim Fernandes, aged 14, of Chikolmollem, Sanguem. (spinster) ⁷⁵	

Smt. Isabel Colaco (cf. Ph.No 30 p.127) mother of Santana Colaco speaks of the Elia mine accident and her family thus:

"Santana died at the age of 12...She had gone to work in the mine at Elia along with her father Piedade Colaco. When the mine collapsed a huge stone just rolled over her and she was killed on the spot. Piedade cried for help but all ran away. He removed the body of his daughter from the debris and brought her home. After the death of Santana, Piedade was living in a state of mental shock. He stopped working since her death."⁷⁶

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
21. Panchwadi, Barazana	Chandrakant Tari of Sanguem	1970 Jan.	2	1. Narayan Gaonkar aged 55, of Sollia, Kakoda, Quepem. (married male) (cf. Ph.No. 31 p.127). 2. Chandrakant Tari, of Sanguem, (married, male) ⁷⁷	

b) Fall of Building Material:

Name of mine	Name of Mine owner	Year of accident	No. of workers dead	Name and addresses of dead	Name and addresses of known survivors
Sirigao Plant	Chowgule	1979	1	Megnath Rohidas, aged 20, of Vaiganim Moiyem (bachelor)	

Shrikant Rohidas Gaunkar, brother of Megnath Rohidas Ganukar, describes his brother's death:

"Megnath was about 20 years old when he died at Chowgule's plant at Sirigao in 1979...He was a shovel operator. A concrete pillar fell on him while he was working below. He was crushed to death and the body was removed only on the next day".⁷⁹

c) Mining Machinery:

1. Sebastiao Fernandes, Concessao (Congor) Fernandes, Santana Fernandes (cf.Ph.No.32 p.127) and Kum.Piedade Fernandes, all of Cumbiabatt-Velim, were working for Simoes of Savordem in his mines at Molliank. 'Congor' had come home for her delivery. Kum. Piedade Fernandes was to come home the next day to see her new born sister, but met with an accident. She and Santana were working by the side of the road. A shovel being driven by an apprentice, who had just learnt to drive eight days before, was passing by. It was between 9 and 10 a.m. when this shovel hit both the women, its blade cut open the stomach of Piedade and along with the intestines, food particles came out. Santana's legs below the knees were damaged. Sebastiao Fernandes, the brother of Piedade who was above, saw the accident and came running down shouting at the driver to reverse the shovel. When the shovel was

removed, Sebastiao tied Piedade's stomach and the three of them and two others and the actual driver Bazil, came in the same shovel to Quepem. At around 11.30 a.m. they travelled by a 'Carer' (a mini bus during the Portuguese days) to the mine owner's house in Savordem. Piedade and Sebastiao along with a sister of Simoes, came to Margao Hospital. At around 1.30 p.m. at the gate of Hospicio, on 13th August 1956, Piedade aged only 15, died saying just a word, "Babo" (elder brother).⁸⁰

2. Ibrahim Shaheed, elder brother of Mirja Shaheed, son of Latifa Shaheed of Masconi, Cuncolim, (cf.Ph.No.33 p.127) was working in Dhukharkhani mine in Sanguem in the mine of Shantilal. While removing a compressor, Ibrahim fell into a well with it and died. This accident took place about the year 1955 when Ibrahim was only 23 years old.⁸¹

3. In another machine related fatal accident, during the Portuguese days, 'Chan' (machinery to separate ore by sizes) fell on Roque Fernandes of Baradi, Velim, on 28th May 1956. Roque was only 22 years old and was married to Rosa Pinto (cf.Ph.No.34 p.127) about 6 months before his death. The accident took place at Sulkornem in the mines belonging to Simoes.⁸²

4. Lakshmi Anand Krishna Mitri Naik became a widow (cf.Ph. No.35 p. 127) after the liberation of Goa. Lakshmi's husband Anand, was working as a helper on a shovel belonging to the mine owner Jaisinh Maganlal. The shovel was driven by Piedade Travasso of Caramoddi, Savordem. On 10th June 1972, the shovel overturned



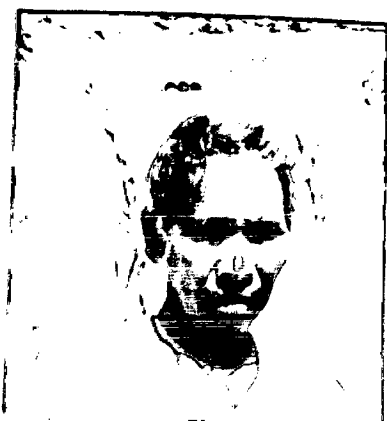
Ph.No.27.Gangu Budo Gowde
w/o Budo Pandu Gowde of
Mozvaddo,Kundaim-Ponda.



Ph.No.28.Rosa
Fernandes (survivor)
& Alex Fernandes
b/o Bernadito



Ph.No.29.Analin
Vaz Dias, d/o
Pak Santan



Ph.No.30.Isabel Colaco



Ph.No.31.Jayashree
Goankar w/o Narayan
Goankar (cf.p.12)



Ph.No.32.Sebastao
(standing), Consesao
& Santana



Ph.No.33 Latifa m/o
Ibrahim Saheed & his
brother Mirja



Ph.No.34 Rosa Pinto



Ph.No.35 Santosh &
Laximi, son & wife of
Anand Krishna Mitri

at Daddem, Sanvordem and Anand and Piedade died on the spot while two others escaped death.⁸³

5. Gunawati Dipu Kudalkar of Dabal (cf. Ph.No.36 p.132), Sanvordem tells how her son, Omu Dipu Kudalkar died⁸⁴ in hospital:

"While starting the 'carer' of Pandurang Timblo at the Codli mines, the crank-handle reversed and struck Omu on his head, and he was flung unconscious to the ground. He was first taken to Dr. Kamat of Margao and thereafter to Ribandar Hospital. Omu's head was operated upon and was treated for three months but died in the hospital itself. He was a twenty-six years old bachelor."⁸⁵

d) TRANSPORT:

With the introduction of fast moving trucks to transport ores and the workers themselves, mine workers faced increased risks which could destroy their lives instantly.

1. Madhu Salgaoncar ('Bero' - deaf) of Phenandwada, Asnora in North Goa,⁸⁶
2. Putt Bikaro Goankar⁸⁷ of Vizarmatt, Ponda and
3. Diago Costa of Betmodi⁸⁸, Kakoda, Quepem, fell off the mine trucks and the trucks went over them killing them. The heads of
4. Merciano Fernandes⁸⁹ (cf. Ph.No.37 p.132) of Cubiabhat, Velim,
5. Nicaloa Joao Pinto⁹⁰ of Baradi, Velim, and
6. Xavier Francisco Casmiro⁹¹ of Copelbhat, Amboulim, Quepem, were crushed and their brains spilled out when the mine workers

fell off the mine trucks and the trucks went over their heads.

Mining trucks while reversing hit and killed

7. Yeshwant Gopal Naik⁹² of Shiroda, Ponda and
8. Budaji Avdu Devidas⁹³ of Devaddo, Kudnen, Sanquelim.
9. Miss Sajan Arjun Malik, aged about 19, tries to spell out the death of her father Arjun Krishna Malik,

"He was a heavy truck driver in Chowgule Company. He was working in Sirigao mines. The truck along with him collapsed from a height of nearly two coconut trees. He died on the spot. He died on 3rd November, 1977. He was about 35 years when he died."⁹⁴

10. For Christians, Christmas is the most joyous feast with promise of new hopes and new life to the poor living in huts. It is believed by the Christians that on Christmas day, the Christian God incarnates himself as a child of a labourer and is born in a 'gotto' - a cattle shed. Diogin Rebelo, Remedín Rebelo and Piedade Carvalho (cf. Ph.No.38 p.132) of Gotnamodi, Tilamol, now experience Christmas as a most sorrowful event. Diogin is Remedín's daughter-in-law. Remedín is the mother of Miguel Rebelo and grand-mother of Xavier Rebelo. Diogin and her husband Miguel Rebelo were working in Kaurem mine of Prabhakar Curtorkar. Every year Prabhakar Curtorkar used to take the workers for the midnight mass after the days work on 24th December, and after the mass was over, he used to take the workers back to the mine site at Karvem in his truck. Thus Prabhakar used to make the workers spend Christmas day at the work site. But it was not a working day - it was a holiday without pay as on Sunday. On December 24th at midnight of 1980, the Catholic mine workers were taken for Christmas night mass

in the truck of Prabhakar Curtorkar, driven by Antonio of Paroda, Quepem. The truck was filled to capacity. The mine workers - both men and women were coming to Tilamol, Quepem Church for the Mass. The truck overturned when it reached Rivona near Pondorsoddar where there is a bend. No damage was done to the truck. But (1) Xavier Rebelo (2) Miguel Rebelo (3) Flori Carvalho of Kariagol, Tilamol and (4) Miss Miguelin Rebelo were badly wounded in the truck accident. (5) Lorencio Carvalho had a hole in his neck and was taken to Panaji Hospital. On 5.1.81 Lorencio died and was buried in Tilamol. Xavier Rebelo, Miguel Rebelo, Flori Carvalho and Miguelin Rebelo were first taken to Sanvordem Government Hospital and then to Hospicio Hospital Margao. Miss Minguelin Rebelo survived. Miguel's and Xavier's bodies were brought to Gotnamodi on Christmas day! Two deaths in the same house! Miguel aged 20 and Xavier aged 18, uncle and nephew were buried in Tilamol on 26th December morning-1980. Flori died on 4-1-81 in Margao Hospital and was burried in Tilamol.⁹⁵

e.) Explosion of Explosives:

1. In the Church of St.Thomas,Aldona,Bardez,Goa,the Death Register Book No.12 - 1956 to 1961, page 26,in mute silence declares:

"Tome Noronha
Died on
29th April,1960
Died of explosion
at the age of 22
Profession - mine worker
son of Antonio Noronha and
of Maria Augusta Lobo Noronha
Died in Asilo Hospital - Margosa
buried on 30th April,1960"⁹⁶

One of the most spoken and ferocious explosions in the mining industry of Goa which extinguished the lives of six workers, occurred in the Chowgule mines in Sirigao on 29th April, 1960. The names of the mine workers who died in this explosion are:-

- 1) Kamalakar Shridar Burkule
Kamat of Kori Assonora.
- 2) Mukund Vital Salgaonkar of
Mulgao Bicholim (cf.Ph.No.39 p.132).
- 3) Appa Satu Salgaonkar of
Aidonwadi, Moyem, Bicholim.
- 4) Kashinat Babuso Dongrikar of
Aidonwadi-Moyem, aged about 22.
- 5) Shashikant Jaganath Salgaonkar
of Temer Anjuna aged 18 years (Cf.Ph.No.40 p.132).
- 6) Tome Noronha of Corzuem Aldona
aged 22 years.⁹⁷

Shri Chandrakant Pip Gaonkar (cf.Ph.No.41 p.132) aged about 45, of Vainginim, Mayem, escaped the clutches of Lord Yama in the Sirigao explosion of April 1960.⁹⁸ Chandrakant states,

"I had joined the Chowgule company about 8 months before the accident occurred. A day before the Sirigao Jatra we had gone to work as usual to the Sirigao mine. At about 11.30 a.m. Mukund and myself were operating the Charandil drill. Mukund was the operator and I was the helper. Kamalakant, Appa, Shashi and others were removing gun powder. Kamalakant was in charge of blasting. Friction took place while emptying the gun powder and the blast took place. 7-8 workers were taken to the hospital at Mapusa including the driver of the truck. The driver and I were badly burnt at the elbows, legs, and other parts of the body. Before I recovered consciousness, the others except the driver, died."⁹⁹

2. Previous to the April 1960 accident, Sirigao workers of Chowgule Company had faced another violent explosion on 6th December 1958. As a result of this accident, Joseph Baptist Martins, a mechanic aged 34, was badly burnt and died in Asilo Hospital on



Ph.No.36: Gunawati D.Kudaikar



Ph.No.37: Damacian Correa & Conceisao Simoes Fernandes, witness
& the wife of Merciano Fernandes (Cf.p.128)



Ph.No.38: Diogin, Resedin Rebello
& Piedade Carvalho



Ph.No.39: Dhananjai, b/o Kashinath Dongrekar,
Chandrabhagi, w/o Mukund &
Lakshimi, w/o Appa Salgaoncar



Ph.No.40: Lilawati I. Salgaoncar, w/o Sashikant



Ph.No.41: Chandrakant Pip Gaoncar

7th December 1958. He was buried in the Church of Salvador-do-Mundo (Saloi). Joseph Baptist Martins was a bachelor from Paitona. He died along with Lakshimikant Shridar Kamat Burkule of Kori, Assonora. He too was a bachelor of about 32 years.¹⁰⁰ Geeta Gurudas Kamat, aged about 57, and a former worker in the company of V.M.Salgaocar at Surla, is the sister of Lakshimikant Kamat and of Kamalakar Shridar Kamat. Geeta blurts out in certain anger:-

"Lakshimikant died along with Martin of Paitona...In February that very year our father died with shock. My younger brother, Kamalakar was in Tatode mine of Morju Kadar. At this time my father came in Kamalakar's dreams and told him to go to Kori, Assonora, and run the masala shop of the family at Kori. So Kamalakar came to Kori. When Kamalakar came home, Vishwasrao Chowgule and Atmaram Shettia came to the house to take Kamalakar to work for them at Sirigao. Mother did not want Kamalakar to join the company since one brother had already died. But Kamalakar said, " Kavllian gai mor mor munliar, gai morona". (If the crow says to the cow, die die, the cow does not die). And thus he joined the Chowgule company. Within a month Kamalakar was fixed as a blaster. About the third month, he died."¹⁰¹

3. In South Goa, Shri Curerkar, Mehta and others had a mine at Zamblimollar, Sisorem in Sanguem. Their office was at Kolba. Dian mukadam of Rai, Temper, (now selling tiles in Temper) had taken Luis Moreira of Rachol to work at Curerkar's mine at Zamblimollar. On 6.3.1951, Luis aged 16 and Krishnanath Vishnu Tilli of Mott, Rivona, aged about 20, were grinding gun powder in an iron 'kail' (gambela), while grinding the gunpowder, a blast took place and Luis's stomach and chest were burnt. Luis and Krishnakant were taken to Hospicio Hospital, Margao, and they both died in the

hospital. On 7th March 1951, Luis was burried in our Lady of Snow Church Cemetry at Rachol.¹⁰²

4. Agnelo Tavares (cf.Ph.42 p.136);, twenty years old, of Pras de Rachol, son of Jose Antonio Tavares and Emilia Tavares, was working in Sanquelim (North Goa) in the mine of one Rane. While preparing a blast hole, a blast took place and the interstines of Agnelo Tavares fell out. Philip, a woman worker from Arlem who was close by, took her saree and tied it around the stomach of Agnelo. This was on 15.11.60. Agnelo was shifted to Aisilo Hospital in Mapusa, where he died that very day itself.¹⁰³

5. Arjun Shirphotu Vellip, (cf.Ph.No.43 p.136) aged about 23,of Keri,Rivona, was working for Pandurang Timblo in the Borga mine in Rivona. On the day of the death of Arjun, he was carrying gelatin in his hands from the godown to the mine site, when it exploded. When Arjun was being taken to Hospicio Margao, he died.¹⁰⁴

6. Savitribai Babush Kamat of St.Inez, Panaji, sorrowfully evokes the memories of her son Ranganath Babus Kamat who died at the age of 27, in the Pisurlem gelatin blast (cf.p.109) in the mine of Sesa Goa Company:¹⁰⁵

"Ranganath had studied Inter Science in R.P.D. College, Belgaum. In March 1958, a blast took place and he had a head injury. He was put in an ordinary truck and brought to Asilo Hospital Mapusa...Ranganath was later transfered to Panaji Hospital and was there for four days. Though head surgery was done, Ranganath died due to the accident in the mines..."¹⁰⁶

7. Perhaps, the worst explosion that annihilated the dreams and lives of mine workers, was the Barazana explosion in the mine of S.Kantilal at South Goa, on 22nd March 1967. One policeman and 14 mine workers were turned to mincemeat. Six of the workers were from Karnataka, the rest from Goa. The Goans were:

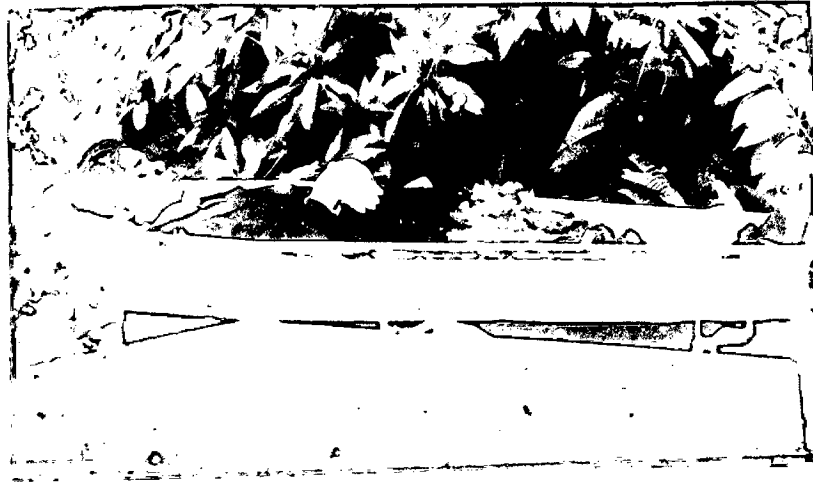
- 1) Caitano Francisco Pereira - policeman of Sadolxem, Canacona.
- 2) Siemen Fernandes of Chorbai, Sarzora, Chinchinim, aged 17.
- 3) Remetin Fernandes of Chorbai, Sarzora, Chinchinim, aged 14.
- 4) Francisca Cardozo of Dugtebhatt, Sarzora, Chinchinim, aged 25.
- 5) Sebastiao Joao Fernnades of St. Miguelwado, Dharmapur, aged 26.
- 6) Santan Fernandes of St. Miguelwado, Dharmapur, aged 20.
- 7) Vinayak Madolkar of Savordem.
- 8) Puttu Narayan Desai of Kotombi, Quepem, aged about 30.
- 9) Anil Gauns Desai of Kotombi,¹⁰⁷ Quepem (cf. Ph.No.44 p. 136).

Death certificates of Santan, Sebastiao, Siemen, Remetin and Francisca state that they died due to explosion in the mines and were burried together in one coffin. Shri Anton F. Cardozo (cf. Ph.No.61 p.152), brother of Francisca Cardozo further gives evidence how the Sarzora mine workers were burried,

" There were no intact corpses, but pieces of flesh and some hair were burried."¹⁰⁸

Nalli (cf. Ph.No.52 p.142), widow of Vinayak Madolkar, confirms the statement of Anton F. Cardozo regarding the fate of the Barazana mine workers,

"Two years after my marriage with Vinayak Madolkar of Savordem, Vinayak died in the Barazana gelatin (store) blast. Only pieces of Vinayak's body were brought home..."¹⁰⁹



Ph.No.42: Agnelo Tavares



Ph.No.43: Tulsidas, Lilawati & Tanuja,
family of Arjun S.Vellip



Ph.No.44: Durga, m/o Anil Gauns Desai



Ph.No.45: Inas Fernandes



Ph.No.46: Vishram Desai

Smt. Vinarina Fernandes was the only survivor of the Barazana blast, who is able to give first hand information of the blast, and of events thereafter. On the day of the blast, there were six Kannada workers besides the nine Goans and Vinarina working in cleaning the explosive store. There was watery material on the ground floor of the store. The work was making Vinarina a little giddy, so she had decided not to work in the store after 4 o'clock. The Kannada workers were removing the watery material and the spoilt gelatins. The Goans were throwing the gelatins outside, a little away from the store. A few days before, the spoilt gelatins were burnt. Since Vinarina was unwell, she had left the work at the store for the day after informing Master Anil Desai, to mark her present or absent. The store was called bungalow. After leaving the bungalow, she had gone to wash her clothes. But before she could start the washing of her clothes, she had heard the blast. When she went to see the bungalow, there was no bungalow, but a deep hole, as deep as and broader than a coconut tree.....After the burial of the workers who had died in the blast, Munilal (Manager, then residing at Savordem) took Vinarina and her mother, Antonette Fernandes, to Savordem in a taxi, and told Vinarina to say that only Goans were there in the bungalow, not to say that six Kannada workers were also working, in the bungalow when the blast occurred.¹¹⁰

III. Dimensions of risks

In the background of the above and other accidents, let us try to trace various dimensions of the risks faced by the mine workers to develop the mining industry of Goa - backbone of Goan economy.

a. Beggars:

Mine workers turned into beggars, and family members of mine workers, surviving as beggars, brings out an important aspect of the risks that the mine workers were exposed to, given their extremely fragile economic background. Shri Vasu Shankar Gaonkar of Saleli, Honda, Sattari in North Goa, informs about the beggar woman 'Monem' (dumb woman) Jongu Devlli, mother of Govind Jongu Devlli, and of Sevtu all of Saleli, Honda. 'Monem', was working with Sesa Goa as an unskilled labourer lifting 'kailo' (gambelas). She was working in Pisurlem Mines of Sesa Goa. She had started to work after the death of her husband. She worked for about two years in Sesa Goa, and was getting Rs. 1 and 8 annas as daily wages. Once after lunch, when she was resting near a shovel tyre, it fell on her head. She was taken to a hospital. She survived, but her eyesight became weak and her neck started shaking. She could not work anymore after the accident. For about 20 years she begged in Shankeli, Honda, Pisurlem, and other places. She begged till she died. Her two children were small. By begging, she brought up Sevtu and Govind.¹¹¹

The begging case of Jongu Devli was not a stray case. In the mining collapse at Potriank-Barazana on 15th January 1957 (cf.p.119), Inacin Fernandes of Igorjevaddo, Badiar, San Jose de Areal, in South Goa, mother of Miss Caitan Fernandes, was buried in mud and ore. But she was removed and hospitalised in Sanguem. Inacin was in hospital for 45 days. Due to the accident, Inacin's back was broken. She could not do any work. She had to start

begging in order to look after herself and her two grand-daughters, Jun and Inas (cf.Ph.No.45 p.136). Caitan Fernandes, the mother of Jun and Inas had died in the mine collapse at Potriank. ¹¹².

Sita Vishram Desai stays in Ambianudok near Costi mines in Savordem, Central Goa, she and her children are devotees of Goddess Bhavani of Kholapur. Sita is the widowed wife of Vishram Desai (cf.Ph.No.46 p.136). She relates why the family started to beg:

"He (Vishram Desai) was working for Salgaocar in the mines at Dhukarphoni - in mine No.5. While filling the blasting hole with gunpowder, there was a blast. The entire front portion of (Vishram), including his face was burnt. This incident took place a little before the liberation of Goa. He was kept in the Sanguem hospital for a month by the company. About five months after the accident, he lost his eye-sight. In order to survive, after he turned blind, he used to go around begging with the picture of Goddess Bhavani of Kolhapur. One of the children or myself used to take him around..."¹¹³

Besides the above three cases of mine workers and their families surviving by begging, there other cases too. ^{113a}

b.Struggle of widows and orphaned children

Many of the families of the mine workers resisted being pushed to the socio-economic level of beggars. When the Colma mine of Raoji Guruver of Madyagalli, Kakoda, collapsed, Jose Fernandes of Vollemoll, Quepem was about 25 years old (cf.pg.124). Jose recalls the past with a shudder (cf.Ph.No.47 p.142),

"We were breaking manganese ore when suddenly the mine collapsed. Bostav D'Souza died in this mine collapse. I was buried up to my chest. I was married and my wife was pregnant with our first child."¹¹⁴

Jose Fernandes was lucky, so also his young wife. He survived the accident to fondle his first child - a son, Luis Fernandes, and take care of his family.

Many wives of mine workers and their children were not so lucky as Jose Fernandes. For example Francisca Gomes of Govol, Kotombi (cf. Ph. No. 6 p. 86), the widowed wife of Luis Gomes, was pregnant when her husband died. Later she delivered a baby girl, Neicen Gomes. Francisca worked as a labourer to bring up her daughter.¹¹⁵

Gangu, the widowed wife of Budo Gowde of Mowzwado, Kundai who died in the Villiana mine collapse (cf. p. 123) was pregnant and in the 6th month when she became a widow. The death of Budo affected the mind of Gangu slightly. Megnath, son of Gangu was born three months after the death of Budo. Gangu (cf. Ph. No. 27, p. 127) brought up Megnath by working in the village as a labourer.¹¹⁶

Chandravati Dottu Gaonkar of Velquem, Valpoi, was about 18 years old when her husband died in Shelpi mine (cf. p. 117). At the time of Dottu's death, his elder son Narayan was one and a half years old. The younger son Bala was only eleven days old. Chandravati (cf. Ph. No. 48 p. 142) worked as a labourer in the fields and houses in and around Velquem, Valpoi and thus brought up her two sons.¹¹⁷

The courage of the widows of the mine workers, to swim against the tide of survival, inspite of the disasters that befell their unprotected lives, is remarkable in the situation. As seen above, we repeatedly experience the grit of these widows all over Goa.¹¹⁸ We see it again in Lakshimi Krishna Gawde, of Cormolli, Appeawada, Keri, Ponda. Lakshimi is the wife of Krishna Ladu Gawde who died in the mine of S.Kantilal in Vagpede, Barazana (cf.p.121). The last rites of Krishna were done by his brother Govind, and not by Mahadev, the elder son of Krishna. Krishna's children were not told of his death, thinking that it might affect the children. Since the death of Krishna, his elder son Mahadev was kept in the house of Shrinivas Gopal Vaidya of Cormolli, to look after cows and buffaloes. Mahadev was 10 years old at that time. He used to stay at the landlord Vaidya's house day and night. Except for food and shelter, Mahadev was not paid anything for his services. But Shrinivas used to give some grains to Mahadev's mother when she asked for it. Lakshimi (cf.Ph. No. 49 p.142) brought up her four children - 1) Mahadev Krishna Gawde, 2) Shamba, 3) Pandu, and 4) Chandrakant, by working as an agricultural worker and by selling wood and grass. She also cut leaves for beedies which she sold in Ponda at the rate of rupees two and eight annas for 100 leaves. She used to collect the leaves from the hills. At the time of their father's death, Mahadev was 10 years old, Shamba was 7, Pandu 4 and Chandrakant was only 9 months old.¹¹⁹



Ph.No.47: Jose Fernandes &
Miguel, b/o Bostav



Ph.No.48: Chandravati, Narayan & Bala



Ph.No.49: Lakshmi & her son, Mahadev



Ph.No.50: Shatavati Vasudev Naik



Ph.No.51: Ganga



Ph.No.52: Nalli Naik

c) Destruction of young families

Shatavati of Majorda (cf.Ph.No.50 p.142) and her husband Vasudev Naik had a 'gado' (stall) in a hut at Kavrem, South Goa, where they used to sell bhajas, cigarettes, tea, to the mine workers of Kavrem. The 'gado' was looked after by Shatvati's husband. Initially she was not working in the mines as she was still a 'vokol'(young bride). But on the day the Karvem mine collapsed(cf.p.117-118),Shatavati had been to work in the mine and was one of those on whom the mine collapsed. When the mine collapsed, people were saying "Vokol melli, vokol melli" (the young bride died, the young bride died). But Shatavati the 'vokol' was saved as she was dug out from the collapsed ore and mud.¹²⁰ With the removal of Shatavati from her grave of certain death, it was not only that a youthful life was saved, but a family in the flowering stage of life was rescued from the tomb of destruction. The joy that one feels in seeing a family being saved in the seedtime of life,cannot always be extended to all the families of the mine workers of Goa. Another dimension of the peril that the mine workers were exposed to, while Goa woke up to industrialization, was the dissolution of their young families. When Krishne's husband, Ramchandra Gawde Bhandekar of Cormonia,Appeawada, Keri, Ponda, (cf.p. 121) died in Vagpede, Barazana in the mine of S.Kantilal, Krishne was about 15 years old and barely married for six months.¹²¹

Ganesh Babu Gaonkar of Zakem had witnessed the marriage of Paoto Narayan Vellip who died in the Nonea mine collapse with 14

other mine workers in 1949 (cf.p.114-115). Ganesh, the brother-in-law of Paoto, says:

"Paoto's marriage was actually a child marriage. He was about 14 years old when he married Ganga, who was not even a woman when she married Paoto. A year after their marriage, Paoto died in Nonea in the mine collapse."¹²²

Ganga speaks for herself (cf.Ph.No.51 p.142):

"When I married Paoto Narayan Vellip, I was a small girl of about eight years. After the death of Poato, I went back to stay with my father, Narayan Gaonkar of Talser, Kuddnem, Sanguem."¹²³

Sita Ram Kudalkar of Kalwadem, Canacona (cf.p.114-115) speaks of her marriage to Ram.

"Ram Kudalkar died in Ayaub's mine in Nonea along with Dhanu Pauskar. Ram was about 14 years old when he died. I was not yet a woman when he died, I was just about 12 years old when I married Ram. This marriage lasted for about two years."¹²⁴

Rose Pinto of Baradi, Velim (cf.Ph.No.34 p.127) tells the story of her first marriage, that lasted for about six months:

"Rock Fernandes of Baradi was working for Simoes of Savordem. Rock was less than 20 years when he died. I was not yet a woman when Rock married me. I was only 12 years old. When Rock died, I was still not a woman, I was just about 13 years old."¹²⁵

The list of the destruction of young families of the mining industry of Goa goes on.^{125a}

To rebuild their broken lives, many of the young widows got married again. Sometimes the total situation forced a young widow just to live with another man and bring up a family of her own. And who knows what agony and pressures a widow underwent to abandon her child?

Nalli Naik (cf.Ph.No.52 p.142) tells how she came to marry Krishnanath Naik of Moingall Shiroda:

Two years after my marriage with Vinayak Mardolkar of Savordem, Vinayak died in the Barazana geletin blast. When Vinayak died I was only 19 years old, and soon my in-laws started treating me very badly. The only kind person I found was Krishnath Naik, so I married him...."¹²⁶

Ramnath Lakshman Gowde of Amarkhani, Keri, Ponda, sadly speaks of his sister Krishne Ramchandra Gowde Dandekar of Cormonia (cf. p.121):

"Krishne did not receive any compensation for the death of her husband. Krishne was about 15 years old when her husband, Ramchandra died. They were barely married for six months. Two three years after the death of her husband, Krishne went back to mine work and then she started staying with a man and got children."¹²⁷

Ganesh Bikant Arparkar (Sangelkar) had died in the Nonea mine collapse (cf.p.114-115) Ganesh's wife, Sumita Bikant Arparkar, after the death of Ganesh, went to Dandelli with another man, leaving behind her daughter Sumoti. Sumoti Ganesh Arparkar was brought up by Savitri Ramchand Kodaicar of Pullpoitolle of Savordem, who was the cousin sister of Sumitra. At the age of 18, Sumoti was given in marriage to Daku Vitoba Rivonkar, by Savitri.¹²⁸

d) Youthful life blown off:

Shri Anton F. Cardozo (cf.Ph.No.61 p.152) of Dugtebatt, Sarzora cries when he thinks of his sister, "Francisca was a spinster. On the day she died, a boy was supposed to come to see her."¹²⁹ Miss Francisca's dream of blossoming into life by getting married was blown to pieces by the Barazana geletin store blast. All that remained of the springtide dreams of life of 25 year old spinster

Francisca were "pieces of flesh and some hair". Her dreams of life were buried along with her remains. Francisca's was not the only youthful life that was annihilated by the mining industry of Goa. In about 45 fatal accidents that the mine workers and their families spoke about, 46 mine workers were spinsters and bachelors of marriageable age. These young men and women risked everything they had and dreamt of, even their marriage, in the process of Goa's awakening to industrialisation.

e) Annihilation of family tree.

To go deeper into the meaning of death of the mine workers like, Lakshmikant, Kamalakar and others, we have to turn to the frontline mine owner Shri Vasudev Mahadev Salgaocar - the Patriarch and founder of the Salgaocar Industrial House in India. Sons of a family continue the family tree or family line, and so sons are deeply desired in our dominantly patriarchal economy, culture and society. Late Shri V.M.Salgaocar, devotedly fathered four daughters and three sons. When his third son Shri Dattaraj married Dipti Ambani, the Patriarch Salgaoncaar desired a grandson, dreamt of a grandson, told Smt.Dipti to bring a son from her confinement and before dying placed orders of a wardrobe for a baby boy:

"Salgaocar and his wife often engaged in friendly argument over Dipti's confinement. **It would be a boy, Salgaocar would say with quiet conviction** (stress added)....He had decided on a boy and it would be so. Dipti remembers a flower ceremony of the 7th month where Salgaocar was the only man among a hundred women. Completely at ease, he watched keenly as the high point of the ritual took place. A tray of

covered sweets, variously prepared and shaped, and covered with an opaque cloth, was offered to Dipti who had to select one sweet from beneath the cloth. **She picked a modak; the symbol of male fertility. Salgaocar smiled; he had known all along that it would be son....** (stress added). ¹³⁰

When Dipti was going to her mother's house for her confinement, V.M.Salgaoncar told Dipti to come home with a son:

"Dipti...recalls an occasion much after she married, when she was pregnant and was leaving for Bombay for her delivery.(V.M.Salgaoncar) escorted them to the plane, and he said to Dipti, **"Bring back a baby boy."** Those were the last words he would ever say to her. (stress added)

"He was right; the baby was a boy, born in Bombay exactly thirteen days after his death. He was named Vasudev. (stress added) ¹³¹

V.M.Salgaoncar so much desired a grandson that before he died he had ordered clothes for a baby boy:

".....A month later a postcard arrived at the Ambani residence at Usha Kiran. It was from the Ratan Tata Institute in Bombay, and said that a parcel for Mrs.Dipti Salgaocar was ready for collection. Dipti went to the shop the next day..... tears came into Dipti's eyes, **for before her lay an entire wardrobe for a baby boy** (stress added). Clothes, booties, caps, shawls, night dresses, linen, pillow covers, soft fluffy towels, exclusively designed and made, delicately embroidered in white. **All in blue. Made to order, weeks earlier, by Vasudev Salgaocar.**" (stress added) ¹³²

The last family dream of Shri V.M.Salgaocar was, that the first born child of his last son, Dattaraj, should be a male.

Patriarchal thinking is firmly rooted also among the working class, as the following example will show. Shri Joaquim of New Kirbot, Baid, Nuvem, Margao, after the accident which gave him his life-wound (cf.p.105-106), only helped his mother, sisters and maternal uncle to cook their food when they went to work. Joaquim

is the youngest brother of three elder sisters. Joaquim is the only son of the family. The three sisters wanted the family of their father to continue to grow and not become a 'goton' (a house—a family without children), so, four or five years after the accident, the sisters of Joaquim found Miss Anafrancik and got her married to their brother Joaquim. Smt. Anafrancik Colaco became the bread winner of the family and Joaquim used to help his wife by cooking when she went to work. Today, Joaquim and Anafrancik have five children. Three of whom are boys - 1) Pobri Colaco - boy, 2) Conseca Colaco - boy 3) Teresa Colaco - girl, 4) Inacin Colaco - girl and 5) Pedru Colaco - boy.¹³³ With three sons born to Joaquim and Anafrancik, the family dreams of the three sisters of Joaquim were surely fulfilled as far as the continuation of the family line of their father was concerned.

Without a son in a patriarchal family, that family line comes to a complete end. Even the hope to flame the mortal remains of parents by a son of the family, is all wiped out without a son. What is the despair of families who had sons but are now dead ?

In the background of the patriarchal desires of V.M.Salgaocar and the thinking of the three sisters of Joaquim Anton Colaco, we will understand better the shock of Shridar Vasudev Burkule Kamat of Keri, Assonora, when he saw his elder son Lakshimikant (cf. Ph.No. 53 p.149) destroyed forever in the prime of his life, by the mining industry of Goa, on 6th December 1958. Sridar Vasudev Burkule Kamat died in February 1959. Surely he wanted his family



Ph.No.55: Sunanda Mantri & Lakshimi S. Kamat



Ph.No.53/54: Lakshimikant & Kamlakar Sridar Burkule Kamat



Ph.No.56: Rosalin, Pedrin, Esporance & Angelin

line to be continued. He wanted his younger son Kamlakar (cf. Ph.No. 54 p.149) to live and work in the family shop in Kori Assonora (cf.p.133). But the last family dream of Sridar V.B.Kamat, was all blasted to ashes when the mining industry of Goa perpetually squashed the life of Kamlakar Sridar B. Kamat on 6th April, 1968. The only two sons of Sridar V.B.Kamat - Lakshimikant and Kamlakar, will never light the pyre of their very old mother, Laximi Sridar B.Kamat who stays with their sister, Sunanda Mantri at Redi in Maharashtra ¹³⁴ (cf. Ph.No.55 p.149).

In South Goa, with the death of mine worker Xavier Francisco Casmiro of Copelbhat, Ambaulim (cf.p.128) another family tree was extinguished by the mining industry of Goa. Xavier was the only son of the family. ¹³⁵ Similarly, Mardo Kesav Naik of Kalimati, Boma, Ponda (cf.p.122) was also the only son of the family. ¹³⁶ Husband of Krishna Ramchandra Gowde Dhandekar (cf.p.121) was the only child of his parents. Ramchandra's mother went mad after the death of her only child and son. ¹³⁷ With the death of Paoto Narayan Vellip in Nonea (cf.p.114,144) his family tree was extinguished. ¹³⁸

The three elder sisters of Joaquim Anton Colaco of New Kirbot, were fortunate to see the family tree of their father saved and spreading. But the three younger sisters of Caitan Furtado of Aguad, Fatorda, Margao, were not so favoured by the mining industry of Goa. Rosalin, Pedrin, and Angelin are daughters of Esperanca Furtado (cf. Ph.No.56 p.149) Esperanca had one son, Caitan, who was the eldest. He was born to Esperanca four years after her marriage. He was 'sath angonacho chedo' (son born after

making seven vows). And Caitan grew up to be a responsible man. Before his death, he had negotiated the marriage of Rosalin and had gone to work to the mines in Melka (cf.pg.121). This one son, one treasure, one hope, one lamp of the house of Esporanca was blown off by the mining industry of Goa. With the death of Caitan Furtado, this family tree was buried forever.¹³⁹

IV. SYMBOLS OF WORKERS' RISKS:

The Sirigao explosions of 1958 and 1960 wiped out Lakshimikant Sridar B.Kamat and Kamalakar Sridar B.Kamat - two sons of one mother. The rythm of mining discipline and Karvem truck accident gave Christmas gifts of twin deaths to the Rebelo family of Gotnamodi, Tilamol, Goa. The Barazana gelatin store blast struck double tragedy in the house of Shri Raphael and Smt. Josephin Fernandes of Chorbai, Sarzora. Siemen Fernandes and Remetin Fernandes were sisters born of one womb of Smt. Josephin Fernandes.¹⁴⁰ Aelin Fernandes (cf.Ph.No.57 p.152) and Caitan Fernandes of St. Miguelwado, Dharmapur were ruthlessly pierced with two swords in an instant second. Their elder two sons, Sebastian Fernandes and Santan Fernandes¹⁴¹ were consumed by the mining industry in Barazana, along with three daughters of the neighbourhood hamlet of Sarzora, i.e. Siemen, Remetin and Francisca (cf.Ph.No.58 p.152). In the face of mortal blows shaking the very foundations of faith in life, the Dharmapur and Sarzora families turned to their God for stability in the midst of



Ph.No.57: Aelin Fernandes



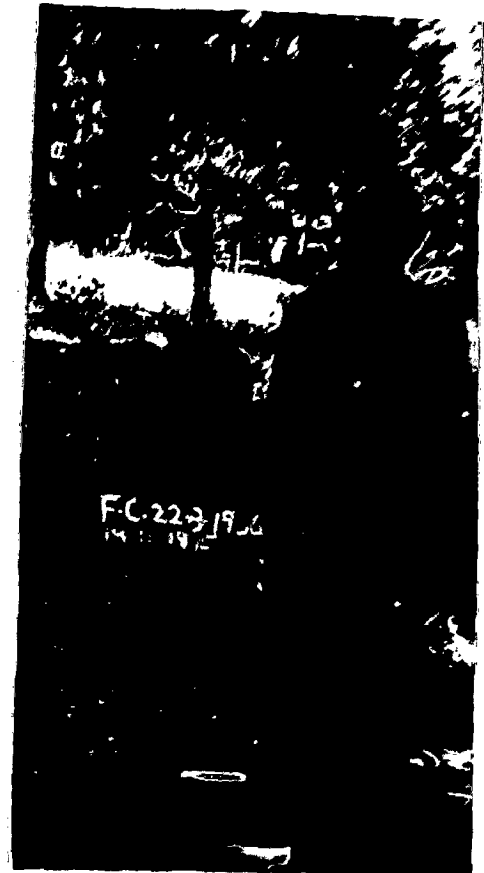
Ph.No.58: Francisca Cardozo



Cross of Two Brothers
At St.Miguelwaddo,
Cinchinim (Photo No.59)



Cross of Two Angels
Chorbai, Sarzora
Cinchinim (Photo No.60)



(Photo No.61) Cross of
Francisca at
Sarzora,Cinchinim

life devastating storms. The three families erected three crosses. The family of Miss Francisca raised a cross in front of their house in Dugtebhatt, Sarzora, to perpetually stabilize the name of their daughter in their hearts. To constantly embrace in faith the two sisters, Sieman and Remetin, the cross of two angels was built in Chorbai, Sarzora. And to continually feel the presence of the two brothers, Sebastian and Santan, the cross of two brothers was constructed in St. Miguelwado in Dharmapur.

The cross of two brothers (cf. Ph.No.59 p.152) the cross of two angels (cf. Ph.No.60 p.152) and the cross of Francisca (cf. Ph.No.61 p.152) are silent human emblems giving eternal witness to all the mine workers who risked their very lives to develop Goa. The three crosses in Dharmapur and Sarzora, Chinchinim, are also symbols of the cries, pains, agonies and the sorrows of the families of mine workers whose children, brothers, sisters, husbands and mothers worked to develop and industrialize Goa.

The following chart of employment in the mines gives us an indication of the number of mine workers who risked their lives to shake Goa out of its agricultural slumber and economic stagnation and push it on the rails of modernization.

Chart of Employment In MINES

Average daily employment in mines in Goa, Daman and Diu, by sex,
1955-1976.

	Ferro-Manganese, Manganese and Iron - Ore		
Year	Total	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
* 1955	1,13,534	63,214	50,320
1956	28,037	15,482	12,555
1957	30,813	15,997	14,816
1958	24,057	13,389	10,668
1959	68,391	38,890	29,501
1960	1,52,491	85,049	67,442
1961	2,12,282	1,41,442	70,840
* 1962	23,972	15,772	8,200
1963	25,931	16,978	8,953
1964	21,460	13,711	7,749
1965	15,863	10,575	5,288
1966	14,219	9,268	4,951
1967	13,320	9,816	3,504
1968	12,745	9,391	3,354
1969	11,007	8,246	2,761
1970	11,063	8,177	2,886
1971	9,941	7,657	2,284
1972	7,992	6,382	1,610
1973	7,834	3,816	4,018
1974	7,415	5,951	1,464
1975	7,863	6,359	1,504
1976	7,702	6,336	1,366

* Staff as on 31st December.

142

Only with the Liberation of Goa, the growth of Trade Union Movement and the consequent extension of various labour laws to Goa, the workers of Goa became conscious that they risked their precious lives and those of their families, to industrialize Goa. These thoughts were well expressed by Bonaventure Almeida - a mine worker:

"The national objective of the Government is to improve the lot of the workers by giving a fair deal to a man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow. The Mines Act and other similar Acts, which have been applied to the Union Territory, have made the mining and other workers conscious of their rights and duties. It is through such a legislation that the workers have come to know that they are part and parcel of the companies, that they are taking part in something or having share in something with somebody, where as during Portuguese Regime they were made to work like slaves in the industries where it was said that the owners only run the risks in the business but today the workers can express that they also risk their life and health and the livelihood of their families."¹⁴³

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40. Statement dated 25-10-89 by Cardozo Francis "Bito", pp.1-2.
41. Ibid., p.2.
42. Statement dated 23-10-89 by Vaz Cardozo Alxin, p.1.
43. Ibid., pp.1-2.
44. Death Certificate of Clement Andre; Death Certificate of Quiteria da Costa; Death Certificate of Sebastiao Gomes; Death Certificate of Luis Gomes; Statement dated 02-01-89 by Gomes Francisca, pp.1-4.
45. Statement dated 29-11-89 by Gaonkar Shantaram Mahadev, pp.1-2.
46. Statement dated 12-02-90 by Gaonkar Mahadev Kusta, pp.1-3; Affidavit dated 26-04-90 by Gaonkar Mahadev Kusta, p.1.
47. Statement dated 03-02-90 by Gaonkar Chandravati (Salgem) Dottu, pp.1-4.
48. Statement dated 15-10-89 by Lotlekar Shamy Damodar, pp.1-4; Statement dated 17-10-89 by Desai G.K.B., pp.1-2; Statement dated 12-10-89 by Naik Shatawati Vasudev, pp.1-2; Statement dated 10-10-89 by Naik Lilawati Kushali; Statement dated 10-10-89 by Usman Sheik Aminabis and Sheik Isub "Babus", pp.1-2.
49. Lotlekar S.D., op. cit., pp.1-3.
50. Desai G.K.B., op. cit., pp.1-2.
51. Ibid., p.2.
52. Death Certificate of Pedrina Carvalho; Death Certificate of Simao Carvalho; Statement dated 21-10-89 by Carvalho

- Francik and others, pp.1-5.
53. Carvalho Francik and others, op. cit., pp.2-4.
 54. Death Certificate of Galdino Pedru Antonio; Death Certificate of Fernandes Caetana; Statement dated 15-05-90 by Galdino Joao; Statement dated 15-05-90 by Soares Inacin.
 55. Death Certificate of Dias Antonio; Death Certificate of Furtado Caetano; Statement dated 22-10-89 by Pereira Furtado Rosalin and others; Statement dated 02-12-89, by Dias Jose.
 56. Pereira Furtado Rosalin and others, op. cit., pp.1-2.
 57. Ibid., pp.2-4.
 58. Statement dated 05-01-90 by Gawde Lakshmi Khrishna and others; Statement dated 05-01-90 by Gawde Ramnath Lakshman.
 59. Gawde Lakshmi Khrishna and others, op. cit., pp.1-2.
 60. Death Certificate of Jose Fernandes; Statement dated 21-10-89 by Fernandes Alex and Fernandes Rosa.
 61. Death Certificate of Dias Joanna; Statement dated 20-05-90, by Dias Paul and Dias Josefa Costa; Statement dated 02-01-90, by Gawda Mangheshi Ladu; Statement dated 03-01-90 by Naik Shali Sudam.
 62. Dias Paul and Dias Josepha Costa, op.cit., p.1.
 63. Ibid., pp.1-2.
 64. Gowda Mangeshi Ladu, op.cit., p.1.
 65. Ibid., p.2.
 66. Gomes Francisca, op.cit., pp.3-4.
 67. Gowda Naru Vithal, statement dated 3-1-90; Gowda Ganesh Hasu, statement dated 4-10-89.
 68. Gowda Ganesh Hasu, statement dated 4-10-89.
 69. Ibid., p.1.
 70. Naik Lilawati, op.cit., p.1.; Gowda Gangu Budo, statement dated 3-1-90.
 71. Death Certificate of Fernandes Bernedito; Carvalho Anna Marie and others, statement dated 21-10-89.
 72. Fernandes Jose, statement dated 25-10-89, pp.1-2.
 73. Colaco Anton, statement dated 24-11-89.
 74. Gadi Premawati Ragunath, statement dated 29-11-89.
 75. Death Certificate of Fernandes Joaquina; Fernandes Marie, statement dated 17-5-90; Colaco Isabel, statement dated 25-10-89; Dias Vaz Amelin, statement dated 25-10-89.
 76. Colaco Isabel, op.cit., pp.1-3.
 77. Gaonkar Jayashree, statement dated 25-10-89, pp.1-2.

78. Gaonkar Shrikant Rohidas, statement dated 10-2-90, pp.1-2.
79. Ibid.,pp.1-2.
80. Fernandes Sebastiao & others,statement dated 31-10-89, pp.1-5; Death Certificate of Piedade Fernandes.
81. Shaheed Latiffa, statement dated 10-10-89,pp.1-2.
82. Pinto Rosa, statement dated 31-10-89; Onton Elier, statement dated 21-10-89.
83. Death Certificate of Anand Krishna Mitri. Naik Mitri Lakshimi Anand Krishna, statement dated 27-11-89; Travasso Dominic, statement dated 30-10-89.
84. Kudalkar Gunawati Dipu, statement dated 1-12-89; Compensation Receipts dated 13-6-86, 15-6-87, 21-4-87 and 29-6-88.
85. Ibid.,pp.1-2.
86. Salgaoncar Kamal Madhu, statement dated 25-2-90, pp.1-2.
87. Gaonkar Sonu Narayan, statement dated 6-1-89, pp.1-4; Gaonkar Bayulla Puttu, statement dated 1-12-89.
88. Death Certificate of Diago Costa; Costa Esporance Gomes and others, statement dated 25-10-89.
89. Death Certificate of Fernandes Marciano; Fernandes Conseciao Simoes and Coriea Damacian, statement dated 10-10-89, pp.1-2.
90. Pinto Anton and others, statement dated 22-10-89, pp.1-2.
91. Coutino Nickel, statement dated 17-10-89, p.1,Death Certificate of Fransisco Xavier Casmiro.
92. Naik Shantaram Yeshwant, statement dated 2-12-89, p.1.
93. Devidas Satyawati B., statement dated 25-2-90, pp.1-2.
94. Malik Shajan Arjun, statement dated 3-3-90.
95. Rebello Diogin and others, statement dated 21-10-89, pp.1-7; Death Certificates of Miguel Rebello, Xavier Antonio Rebello, Laurengo Carvalho and Florina Castana.
96. Death Certificate of Noronha Tome, dt.7-9-92.
97. Gantwal Ganesh Arjun and others, op.cit.,p.4; Salgaonkar Chandrabagi Mukund, statement dated 10-2-90; Dhongrekar Dhanajai Babuso, statement dated 10-2-90; Salgaoncar Lakshimi Appa, statement dated 10-2-90; Salgaoncar Lilawati, statement dated 11-2-90; Fernandes Patrick, statement dated 11-2-90; Noronha Simon, letter dated 25-9-90.
98. Gaoncar Chandrakant Pip, statement dated 10-2-90, p.1.
99. Ibid.,pp.1-2.
100. Death Certificate of Martins Jose Baptista; Martins Rita, statement dated 23-2-90; Ghantwal Ganesh Arjun and others, op.cit.,p.4.
101. Kamat Gita Gurudas, statement dated 12-2-90.
102. Death Certificate of Morera Luis;Morias Inacio,statement dated 20-5-90;Tilly Chandrabagi,statement dated 26-10-89

103. Death Certificate of Tavares Agnelo; Tavares Imilia Cruz, statement dated 20-10-89; Tavares Caetan Nicolau, statement dated 14-5-90.
104. Vellip Lilawati Arjun and Vellip Tulsidas Arjun, statement dated 26-20-89; Compensation Receipts.
105. Kamat Savitribai Babush and Sardessai Subod, statement dated 3-3-90; Gauns Arjun Matharo Bhuipal, op.cit.,p.2.
106. Ibid.,p.1.
107. Death Certificates Pereira Caetano Fransisco, Siemen Fernandes, Remetin Fernandes, Sebastiao Joao Fernandes, Santan Fernandes, and of Fransisca Cardozo; Baptism Certificate of Fransisca Cardozo; Cardozo Anton F., statement dated 4-11-89; Naik Nalli,statement dated 1-12-89; Dessai Ambika Gonsu, statement dated 2-11-89 ; Fernandes Aelin, statement dated 2-12-89; Fernandes Isabel,statement dated 4-11-89; Barreto Ramonna, statement dated 24-11-89; Dessai Dinanath, letter dated 2-6-69.
108. Cardozo Anton F., op.cit.,p.2.
109. Naik Nalli, op.cit.,p.1.
110. Fernandes Vinarin, statement dated 4-12-89, pp.1-3.
111. Gaonkar Vasu Shankar, statement dated 13-2-90, pp.1-2.
112. Soares Inacin, statement dated 15-5-90.
113. Desai Sita Vishram, statement dated 30-10-89, pp.1-2.
- 113a. Gomes Niacin Pise, statement dated 2-11-90; Fernandes Aelin, statement dated 2-12-89.
114. Fernandes Jose, statement dated 25-10-89, pp.1-2.
115. Gomes Fransisca, op.cit.,p.2.
116. Gowda Gangu Budo, op.cit.,p.2.
117. Gaonkar Chandrawati (Salge) Dottu, op.cit.,pp.2,4.
118. Salgaoncar Kamal Madhu, op.cit.,p.2; Vellip Lilawati Arjun & Vellip Tulsidas A., op.cit.,pp.1-4.
119. Gowde Lakshimi Krishna & others,op.cit.,pp.2-5.
120. Naik Sattawati Vassudev, op.cit.,pp.1-2.
121. Gowde Ramnath Lakshman, op.cit.,p.2.
122. Gaonkar Ganesh Babu, op.cit.,pp.1-2.
123. Gaonkar Gangu Ziju, op.cit.,pp.1-2.
124. Kudalkar Iru Dhanu, op.cit.,p.1.
125. Pinto Rosa, op.cit.,p.1.
- 125a. Fernandes Conceisao Simoes and Corea Damaciano,op.cit.,p.1; Gaonkar Bayula Puttu, op.cit.,pp.1-2.

126. Naik Nalli, op.cit.,pp.1-2.
127. Gowde Ramnath Lakshman, op.cit.,p.2.
128. Rivonkar Daku Vitoba, op.cit.,pp.1-2.
129. Cardozo Antonio F.,op.cit.,pp.1-2.
130. Simoes Frank, op.cit.,p.196.
131. Ibid.,pp.193-197.
132. Ibid., pp.196-197.
133. Colaco Joaquim Anton, op.cit.,pp.72-74.
134. Kamat Geeta Gurudas, statement dated 12-2-90; Kamat Nisha, letter dated 6-5-91; Gaitonde Manorama Chintamani, statement dated 28-5-91;
135. Coutinho Nikel, op.cit.,pp.1-2.
136. Naik Shali Shudam, op.cit.,p.1.
137. Gowde Ramnath Lakshman, op.cit.,p.1.
138. Gaonkar Ganesh Babu, op.cit.,p.1.
139. Pereira Furtado Rosaline and others, op.cit.,pp.1-2.
140. Fernandes Isabel, op.cit.,p.1.
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CHAPTER THREE

LIBERATION AND GOA TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

I. LABOUR MOVEMENT DURING PORTUGUESE DAYS:

How did the Trade Union Movement that made the workers conscious of their contribution to industry by risking their lives, begin in Goa? Were there any signs of the Trade Union Movement in Portuguese Goa? Shri Sheikh Hameed (cf.ph.No.62,p.170) of Dhudallim, Kalay, Goa, at 96, was the oldest ex-employee of W.I.P.G.R. in Goa. He was the grandson of Sheikh Karim and Azizanbi who had migrated to Goa from Sawantwadi, Maharashtra, around 1885 with other Muslims and worked as labourers to build the W.I.P.G.R..¹ Born on 14-07-1895, at Jetty, Vasco-da-Gama,² Sheikh Hameed passed Std.V in 1912 from the M.S.M.R. English Medium School, at Vasco.³ He was taken as a railway general clerk in 1912 itself and posted at the Vasco Station of W.I.P.G.R.. After a year at the Vasco Station, he was sent to Arkonam (Madras) Railway School, to do the three months signallers course. He passed the '20 Words' course needed for signallers and managed two circuits, i.e Hubli-Madras and Hubli-Bangalore as a signaller. Sheikh Hameed retired in 1951 as a Station Master of Kalay station, Goa.⁴ Regarding Trade Union activities in Goa Railway, Shri Sheikh Hameed loyally declared that V.V.Giri's Union was his Union. V.V.Giri's representative, Adv.V.S.Bandari was the advocate of the Railway workers. As Station Master of Kalay, Sheikh Hameed used to pay Rs.6/- a year to advocate V.S.Bandari who lived in Hubli. A driver from Castle Rock used to collect the annual fees.

V.V.Giri's Union was open to all railway workers of Goa. However no meetings were ever held in Goa by the Union or its representative⁵.

Shri G.J.Bandodkar of Gotton,Cuncoim,Goa, had joined W.I.P.G.R. in 1947 as a junior clerk and was posted in Mormugao. During the Portuguese days he used to pay Rs.2/- a month towards Union fees which were collected by a Catholic driver from Castle-Rock. He further stated that there were no Union activities in the railways in Goa during the Portuguese regime.

Shri Laxman Rajaram Shirvaikar of Quepem, had joined the W.I.P.G.R. in 1944. He stated that M.S.M.R. Union activities were not allowed to be spread in Goa territory⁷.

M.S.M.R. Employee's Union (M.S.M.R.E.U.) was founded in Perambur, Madras in 1919 (cf.p.205). Shri V.V.Giri was elected as the President of the M.S.M.R.E.U. in 1929 and as President, he spread the influence of M.S.M.R.E.U.throughout M.S.M.R.(cf.p.206).

From what Sheikh Hameed, G.J.Bandodkar and L.R. Shirvaikar state, the following could be validly surmised :-

- During the Portuguese regime, some of the Goan Railway workers were aware that the M.S.M.R. workers in British India had a Trade Union, and that Shri V.V. Giri was a prominent leader of the M.S.M.R. workers.
- That there was no branch of M.S.M.R.Union in Goa and that there were no Railway Union activities in Goa during the Portuguese

days. But all the same, some of the Goan Railway workers were paying Union fees to the Union popularised by V.V.Giri all over M.S.M.R..

Though there was no Union of the railway workers in Goa, the workers were not a totally passive lot during the Portuguese days. Leonard Rodrigues, General Secretary of Marmagao Port and Railway Workers Union (M.P.& R.W.U.) tells us of an agitation that was taken up by about 250 W.I.P.G.R. employees working in the Railway Workshop at Baina, Vasco. In 1958 the Portuguese Government had built a fish factory with German collaboration, to extract fish oil and to prepare fish manure. This factory was situated about 50 yards from the Railway Workshop at Baina. The stench emitted from the factory created an unhealthy environment and disturbed the Railway Workshop workers. The workers in groups reported the situation to the respective section-heads of the Workshop. When these heads did not respond, the workers complained to the British Officer of the Workshop Mr.W.T.Rooke, whose reply was that since the Portuguese Government had established the fish-factory, he could not file objections against it.⁸

The failure of the workers to force Mr.W.T.Rooke to take any action, led to the railway workers to send a protest letter to the Chief Mechanical Engineer(C.M.E.). **Thomas D'Silva**, George Rego, a diesel fitter, Manuel Roadrigues, Manuel Baretto, Anthony J. Henriques, and Joseph, formulated, signed and sent the protest letter to the C.M.E. on behalf of all the Railway Workshop workers. The letter suggested that the factory should be operated during the night and not during the day. This letter was sent in

the early months of 1959. But the C.M.E. paid no heed to the workers⁹.

Since the protest letter had no effect on the W.I.P.G.R. Administration, the workers took the next step of reporting sick en masse to the Medical Officer and asked the officer to admit them in the hospital as they were sick from the smell emitted by the fish factory. They had left the Workshop during the afternoon session and sat in the hospital compound till 5 p.m.. On the grounds of insufficient beds, the Medical Officer did not admit them and instead, gave them eucalyptus oil and sent them away. This strategy of reporting sick en masse by the workers, four or five times, finally resulted in the fish factory being operated from 6 p.m. onwards as the railway workers desired.¹⁰

Like in the railway and harbour industries, Trade Unions were conspicuous by their absence in the mining industry of Goa during the Portuguese period. Despite of non-existence of Trade Unions in Portuguese India, **stoppage of work in the Goa mines was not an unheard of reality.** Joao Caitan Dias of Shantimol, Raia, a mukadam who smuggled Indian labour into Portuguese India (cf.p.84) tells us of a stoppage of work in the mines of Shantilal at Melka. What was the reason for the stoppage of work and how did the strike end? Around the year 1960, in January after the new year, there was a fight between the 'Ghantis' (workers from outside Goa) and the Goan drivers and cleaners of the Shantilal Company. After the 9 p.m. bell for silence, the Goans were making noise after

drinking liquor. The 'Ghantis' caught the shirts of two Goans and things flared up and during the night the 'Ghantis' were beaten up by the Goans. The next day the 'Ghantis' went on strike for half a day, and consequently the trucks could not be filled up and stopped plying. The 'Ghantis' were demanding an inquiry as to why they were ill treated by the Goans. When J.C.Dias came to the mine site, he told his men, the 'Ghanti' labourers, to start work first and then ask for an inquiry. Work began. He then sent a letter to Shantilal Company to inquire why his men were illtreated. The Company asked him to find out the cause of the strike. He found that his master had caught the shirts of the driver and another Goan worker. The master of the 'Ghanti' labourers was a Goan. After the inquiry the tensions became quiet.¹¹

Shri Y.D. Chowgule speaks of another strike that took place in the Sirigao mines in North Goa, during the Portuguese days:

"Chowgule Bros., evolved out of Chowgule & Sons (1916), was set up in 1938 at the Palace Hotel, Mormugao... Vishwasrao then turned to the mining business....Dada, Anna and myself went to Sirigaon once, and a new chapter in the iron-ore trade opened on that day....We had to face all sorts of problems in those days.... **We also had a strike one day but our relations with the workers being of a personal nature, the next day work was resumed.**"¹² (stress added)

Shri Fermin Fernandes (cf.ph.63, p.170) of Modlovaddo, Assonora, not far from Sirigao, was working for Chowgule Brothers in the Sirigao mines as a hand-driller. Fermin, now about 60 years old, was one of the participants of the Sirigao mine strike during the Portuguese regime. The strike took place about the year

1951/52. At that time Fermin was about 21 years old. Let us review the Chowgule strike as experienced by Fermin. The main leader of the strike was an Anglo-Indian by the name of Chik, a bachelor aged about 25-26. Chik was staying in a rented house in Modlovaddo, Assonora, belonging to Appolin. The strike took place when bullock carts were replaced by the introduction of trucks, but 'wodio' (country-craft) for river transport were still used, barges were not yet introduced for the transport of ore on the river. Romald Mendes of Bamonvaddo, Assonora was the head supervisor and was the next important leader after Chik. On the day of the strike, work started as usual at 8 a.m.. At about 10 a.m. about the month of February, Chik told Romald to tell the workers to stop work and come down to the office site of the Chowgule's. No reason or purpose of the strike was explained to the workers. About 700 workers, both Goans and Kannadigas stopped work. The Goans came home. The strike lasted for 12 days. On the 12th day the Goans were given whatever wages had to be given to them and were sent home. They were all dismissed - not taken back. Fermin was one of the workers who had lost his job. Even workers with over a year of service, who were party to the strike, were dismissed. But the Kannadiga workers were kept on their jobs. They had been brought to Goa on a permit. New Goan workers were taken in the place of the Goan workers who had gone on strike.

The fact that most of the Goan workers lost their jobs because of the strike, unnerved Chik, and left Assonora for good, he was never heard of again. Romald apologised to the workers who had lost their jobs on account of his order to go on strike; the public apology saved the situation for Romald.

Since both the leaders and about a hundred Goan workers who participated in the strike were from Assonora, the Chowgules held a bias towards workers from Assonora. Admitting that one came from Assonora was a guarantee card not to get a job with the Chowgules. This attitude of the Chowgules towards the workers from Assonora lasted for some years after the liberation of Goa.

After the strike, Fermin was jobless for five months. Later he joined Bandekar's mines at Sirigao itself as a wagon driller, @ Rs.90/- per month. After the Chowgule strike, he worked for 11 years with Bandekars, i.e 10 years during the Portuguese times plus one year after liberation. So the strike was about the year 1951/52¹³

The memory and the effects of the 1952 Sirigao strike were lingering on in the Chowgule Company, even 12 years after the strike. James Gomes, a Foreman, refers to the 1952 strike in his letter dated 4th September, 1964, in reply to the memo that he had received from the Director of M/s Chowgule & Company, dated 1st September, 1964. The memo had been sent to him for having helped some workers to fill Union forms¹⁴ After explaining his actions to the Director, James Gomes concludes and refers to the 1952 strike:

"...in conclusion you will permit me to say that I am surprised at the action taken by the Company against me. The management seems to be the victim of a false propaganda carried out by interested parties and I suspect Joe Ferrao a mechanic in the heavy repairs who it is known was on strike in 1952 for which he was discharged and reemployed by the Company after some years."¹⁵ (stress added)

The following could be deduced from the 1960 strike at Melka and the Sirigao strike in 1952:

- The strikes were not organised by any Unions.
- The strikes were spontaneous by nature.
- The workers were just ordered to go on strike by the leaders.
- The issues involved were not freely discussed among the workers.
- There was no involvement of the State to solve the strike situation.
- The method of order - "work first-inquiry later" ended one strike.
- The Sirigao strike was so crushed that the leaders could not face the dismissed workers and one leader, Chik, left the area for good. And the other leader, Romald Mendes (cf.ph.No.64,p.170) asked the jobless workers for forgiveness for having asked them to go on strike.



Photo No.62: Sheikh Hameed



Photo No.63: Fermin Fernandes

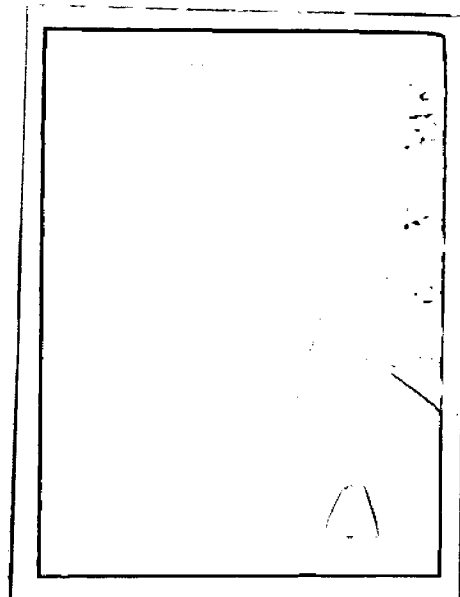


Photo No.64: Romaldo Mendes

II. EMERGENCE OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

A. Reds take the lead

Before India became Independent, Trade Union Movement was established and spread in British India. But the Trade Union Movement began and spread out in Goa, after "Operation Vijay" - the battle for the Liberation of Goa, cut off the oldest colonial chains of 451 years from the soul and soil of Goa on 19th December 1961. The Liberation of Goa released democratic forces all over Goa. The workers began to voice their dormant hopes. Advocate Pandurang Mulgaocar, Alfredo Alfonso, Naguesh Karmali, Fabiao D'Costa, Paul Dias, Vasant Karapurkar, Lakshman Desai, V.R. Kenny, R.V. Mahambre, Chandrakant Kerkar and others met in Margao in South Goa on 10th June, 1962, and expressed their hopes:

- 1) That the newly integrated territory of Goa Daman and Diu be granted the fundamental rights of employees to organise themselves into free and democratic Trade Unions through the application of Trade Union Act to these territories.
- 2) That the scope of other legislations providing benefits to labourers be widened by extending them to these territories also...
- 3) That during the period of the transition, the Administration in Goa should enforce existing local legislations beneficial to labourers with immediate effect.^{15a}

To celebrate the first May Day in liberated Goa in 1962, Alfredo Alfonso, based in Sanvordem, urged the workers to assert their basic Trade Union rights by asking for five demands that

- 1) Workers' right to unite, organize and strike in defence of their legitimate demands should be recognized by the employers as well as by the government .
- 2) All progressive legislation in force in the Indian Union should be as early as possible applied to Goa.
- 3) Security of employment should be assured to all workers.
- 4) Eight hours work a day and forty-six hours work a week should be the maximum time of work.
- 5) All the workers should have holidays and leave with pay.^{15b}

In North Goa, the mine workers had met at Sirsaim on 29th April, 1962, and J.B.X.D'Cruz spelled out the concerns of the mine workers:

"The meeting of workers has welcomed the liberation of Goa and has expressed the wish that the Civil Administration of Goa will look into the grievances of mining labour in Goa - mining being the major industry of Goa."^{15c}

In liberated Goa, the communists or the 'Reds' were not busy making mere statements on Trade Union rights and legislations being extended to the workers in Goa, but they took the lead to unionize the workers. On 13th January 1962, just 12 days after the liberation of Goa, the Marmugao Port, Dock and Transport Workers Union (M.P.D.T.W.U.) was born out of mass struggle. The Marmugao Port Dock and Transport Workers Union was born on 13/14th

January, 1962, when there was a spontaneous 48 hours general strike in the Mormugao Dock. The issue was simple. M/s Damodar Mangalji & Co., had retrenched all the 54 winchmen which they had in their company. There was general fear and insecurity of job among the Dock workers. Some other companies also had retrenched more winchmen and other workers. Appeals and prayers did not help. Government laws and its machinery apparently remained stagnant and watched helplessly. There was no union. There were no leaders, but the workers shouted back --- Down with retrenchment, Liberation means more employment and not unemployment. Automatically all the 5000 workers from the docks came out on the streets and in a huge rally on 13th January, 1962, at Vasco-da-Gama, the union was formed. They fought back the retrenchment policy of the shipping companies and the Stevedores. M/S Damodar Mangalji was forced to take back all the 54 winchmen and so also the other companies. This was the victory for the working class in Goa. Thus the union was born and it was named M.P.D.T.W.U.. The baby born in the streets of Marmagoa and Vasco da Gama got a room, a postal address and a flag. The Marmagoa Port, Dock and Transport Workers Union was now a living body, with 5000 workers on its rolls, its post box was number 90, its head office was in New Market, Room No. 37, Vasco-da-Gama, and its Red Flag was flying 24 hours. Unfortunately there was no Government Trade Union Registrar to register the new born Union in liberated Goa.^{15d} But if there was no Government Registrar to register the birth of the baby, who was responsible - the Government or the Union? On 15th May, 1962, during the first conference of M.P.D.T.W.U., the Constitution and Rules of the Union were adopted. During this Conference Gerald Pereira was

reelected as the General Secretary of M.P.D.T.W.U..¹⁶ From 30th June to 3rd July 1962, M.P.D.T.W.U. led the Mormugao labour workers into the first general strike lasting for four days. The general strike was launched after the Union failed to stop lowering of wages, dismissal and retrenchment of labour by the companies operating in Mormugao Harbour. Some sections of the Goan community considered the four day general strike as "a physical and moral defeat" to Goa, brought about by "unruly elements":

"The real cause of the hartal is only the panic spread by some unruly elements who under threats succeeded in forcing the shops and restaurants to close down indefinitely thereby causing serious inconveniences to the peaceful citizens. The strikers and the bulk of peaceful workers were compelled to join the strike out of fear...the strike was a physical and moral defeat to all of us and I only hope that the Government will henceforth take strong hand and the workers grow wiser so as law and order may prevail"^{16a}

The Communist led M.P.D.T.W.U. was then an unregistered and unrecognised Union and so its actions were considered "illegal". The Union had to publicly defend its existence and actions in the newly liberated part of India - in Goa, as early as 19/20 July 1962. From the very birth of the union, the workers and their leaders had made demands that the Government of India should extend the Indian Trade Union Act and other laws to Goa; they had sent a representative to New-Delhi and submitted a memorandum to Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, the then Union Labour Minister to extend the labour laws to Goa. Questions were raised in the Parliament on the same topic. Other unions in Goa had also made similar demands.

Indian Central Trade Union organisation had also agitated to apply Indian labour laws to Goa. In defence of the Union and its actions, Gerald Pereira raised fundamental questions. He pointed out that in the situation when Indian Labour Laws were not extended to Goa, the communists refused to register the Unions under the then existing Portuguese Laws. Gerald Pereira pointed that even though Portuguese Laws existed in theory in Goa, day to day life in liberated Goa was already shaped by the Indian democratic laws. For example, "D Herald" and other papers were freely publishing what they wanted, enjoying full freedom of press under Indian laws, as against the censorship under the Portuguese laws. The Goa Pradesh Committee of the Indian National Congress and other political groups enjoyed full freedom of speech and association. The Goan mine-owners, Shippers and Stevedores, and other Industrialists enjoyed absolute freedom, to dismiss and retrench workers under Laissez-faire, the hire-fire policy of the 19th century Europe. But the workers alone were deprived of forming their trade unions and their fundamental rights of collective bargaining and even to resort to strike as a last weapon. Pereira felt that in the new Democratic situation of Goa the question of legal or illegal strike does not arise.¹⁷

After the formation of M.P.D.W.U., its General Secretary applied for affiliation to the Bombay based All India Port & Dock Workers Federation (A.I.P.& D.W.F.). The A.I.P.& D.W.F. gave no reply to the letters of the General Secretary of M.P.D.& T.W.U.. S.R.Kulkarni was the President and Makan Chatterjee was the General Secretary of A.I.P.& D.W.F.^{17a} (cf.p.192).

From the Mormugao waterfront let us shift to the mining front. The first union to emerge in the mining area of Goa was the "Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union" (G.M.L.W.U.) led by George Vaz.¹⁸ The formation of G.M.L.W.U. was due to a situation that developed at the Sirsaim and Pisurlem mining areas of the Sesa Goa company. While on duty, if the trucks broke down, the drivers of these trucks were rendered "idle". The drivers were not duty bound to assist in the repairs of the trucks. Instead of paying full wages on the days when the drivers were "idle" while on duty, they were paid "idle rate" which was less than the full wages.¹⁹ George Vaz wrote to the Lt. Governor, Shri. T. Sivashankar regarding the "idle rate":

" The company was paying an idle rate of Rs.6/-per day so that they could tie down their drivers and see that they do not go to any other company for workThe company makes the drivers work for eight hours a day and pays them only Rs.7/8 per day, the lowest rates in the world."²⁰

On 24th April 1962, the Chief Mechanical Engineer (C.M.E.) of the Sesa Goa Company, decided to reduce the "idle rate" of the drivers to Rs. 2/-, if they did not assist in the repairs of the broken down trucks. The drivers had now also to work as mechanics and not be "idle" if they wanted to collect the reduced "idle rate":

" Commencing on the 1st May 1962 the idle rate for the drivers will be rejected as follows:

- a) Rs.5/- for drivers helping at repairs of their own trucks OR other trucks if their own trucks are down for a longer period for want of spares, etc.

b) Rs.2/- for drivers not willing to assist at repairs.

The decision, whether a driver is helping properly at the repairs and whether as such he is to be paid according to (a) or (b) is left to the C.M.E. or Supdt. of workshop or Supdt. of Orasso Dongor."²¹

The C.M.E. claimed that the reasons for rejecting the idle rate was not to deprive the drivers of their customary wages but to make the drivers get acquainted with their vehicles and thus to have well trained drivers in the Company.²²

The Sesa Goa drivers were disturbed by the arbitrary change in the idle rate. They felt that it was the duty of the company to keep the trucks in working conditions and that the workers should not be penalized for no fault of theirs. And so they should get the normal "idle rate" as they were getting before, without doing the added duty to assist as mechanics in the repairs of the trucks. Thus disturbed, the Sesa Goa drivers led by J.B.X. D'Cruz of Revora, a driver himself, came with their problems to George Vaz based in Assonora. George Vaz advised the drivers that an Union of workers will first have to be formed before the issues troubling them could be tackled. J.B.X. D'Cruz, Sebastiao Andrade (Camilo) of Assonora and others enthused the Sesa Goa workers to come for the first general and open meeting of the workers on 29th April 1962.²³ This first meeting of Goa mine workers was held at the base of a huge banyan tree at Sirsaim,²⁴ where presently a respectful temple is being built in honour of Goddess Rashtroli Mahalaxhimi. The Sirsaim general body meeting of Sesa Goa workers held on 29th April, 1962, was presided over by Britto of Assonora. He was the head clerk at Sesa Goa Sirsaim office. During this meeting, the Sesa Goa workers decided

to unionise themselves. J.B.X.D'Cruz suggested that the Union be named as "Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union" (G.M.L.W.U.) which was accepted by the workers. George Vaz was the first President of the Union and J.B.X D'Cruz it's first General Secretary.²⁵

The gathering storm in Sesa Goa broke on the pay day - June 8th 1962. The May wages of the drivers were calculated with the Idle rate of Rs.2/-. The drivers accepted their salary for the month of May under protest. Protest notes were sent to the Management of Sesa Goa by the drivers. Dr.Leon Pinto - Inspector of Labour, was asked to intervene in the matter by the workers collectively.²⁶

Individually too, the workers wrote to Dr.Leon Pinto of Calangute, e.g. N.Naik Namshekar of Panarim, Aldona, explained to the Inspector of Labour:

"When the truck goes for repairs to the garage the Company pays me only Rs.2/- per day cutting my wages to the extent of Rs.6/- per day. (stress added)

"This wage cut imposed by the company on me is unjustified and I claim my full wages for the month of May '62...."²⁷

The Sesa Goa Management, besides ignoring the sentiments of the drivers regarding the "Idle rate" and cutting down the wages of the drivers, verbally dismissed all the drivers who had sent the protest notes to the Management.²⁸

Faced with a cut in wages, and the dismissal of the workers in relation to the "IDLE RATE" issue, G.M.L.W.U. tried to talk with the Management, but the Company refused "to discuss the

dispute with the employees when they assembled before the office of the C.M.E. on 15th June and again on 20th June."²⁹ Dr. Leon Pinto, was not able to solve the dispute. In the situation, G.M.L.W.U. was "forced"³⁰ to lead the Sesa Goa mine workers to the first mine workers strike in liberated Goa, on 25th June, 1962.³¹

The Union had two basic demands -

- 1) that all victimised workers be reinstated
- 2) that the Union be recognised by the Company.³²

The Sesa Goa workers responded very well to the strike call given by George Vaz. He relates an important incident that took place when the Sesa Goa workers came to demonstrate in Panjim for the first time after the liberation of Goa. The incident involved Shri Hondoo, the Special Adviser to the Governor of Goa:

"...During the first Mine workers morcha in Panjim, an important incident took place. While the red flag workers were marching up the Altinho Road, Shri Hondoo's car was stopped by the morcha. For about an hour Shri Hondoo had to unwillingly witness the purposeful morcha of the mine workers going to the Sesa Goa Office."³³

Shri Hondoo considered G.M.L.W.U. as **illegal** and brought obstacles to an early settlement of the Sesa Goa dispute. George Vaz objected to Dr. Leon Pinto about the interference of Shri Hondoo in the dispute:

"As the management was prepared to recognise the Union and come to a negotiated settlement directly with the Union, but were stopped from doing so by Shri G.K. Hondoo, Special Advisor to the Governor, who advised the management not to recognise the Union as the Union according to him was illegal. The workers took objection to this interference of the Special Adviser which disrupted and obstructed an early settlement of the dispute."³⁴

Two letters of Gerald Pereira dated 28-6-62 to George Vaz, tells us how he experienced Hondoo during the Sesa Goa dispute period:

" We also discussed the issue of Hondoo...Even though he is not a man of the labour, certainly he has not supported the capitalists",³⁵

Gerald Pereira then goes on to confide to George Vaz:

" You see on Monday, when I was in Hondoo's office there were two Italian officers. They did not know who I was. Hondoo told them that the Unions are illegal and that the strikes are bad but at the same time he clearly told them that he would not touch the workers or arrest them if the strike is peaceful.... Hondoo told the Italian officers that he puts both the Management and workers on par. He repeated to them his classical phrase "Dignity of Labour must be respected"....So you see you continue the strike peacefully."³⁶

The first mine workers strike in liberated Goa was successful. The Sesa Goa mine workers came out victorious from their strike which began on 25th June and ended on 5th July 1962.

George Vaz wrote of the eleven days strike as follows:

" The 11 day strike at the Sesa Goa mines ended with the complete victory of the workers in their demand that the nine dismissed drivers be reinstated on duty. Not only the Company has been forced to reinstate the dismissed drivers but the "Idle rate" of Rs.6/- has been restored to the drivers....After the workers resumed duty on the 6th July the Company again tried to dismiss a number of workers but had to reinstate all the workers after Lt.Governor Shri T.Sivashankar had passed an order enforcing that there should be NO VICTIMISATION of the workers because of the strike."³⁷

The July victory of the Sesa Goa workers was short lived. In September, 1962, the dumper drivers of Sesa Goa Ltda., who were in-

charge of the loading operations at the Sirsaim jetty, approached the Accountant Mr. Borne for their October, 1962 pay. They were surprised to see that the pay-sheets had marked the flat rate of Rs.5/- for all working days and a rate of Rs.3/- per day as idle rate; this amounted to a cut in wages. All the dumper drivers refused to collect their wages. On Monday the 10th of September, 1962, the dumper drivers approached the C.M.E. Mr. Symogln and questioned him about the cut in wages. Mr. Symogln refused to hear them out and so they sat out on a sit-down strike. Mr. Symogln then called the regular drivers of the Land Transport to work on the dumpers. They refused to do this work as they were not trained for driving of dumpers. Mr. Symogln then brought the regular Land Transport trucks at the jetty for the purpose of loading the barges. Now the dumper drivers appealed to their colleagues not to load the barges as they were on a sit-down strike, and the drivers of the regular Land Transport refused to load the barges. The C.M.E. now decided to load the barges himself and he started an OM TRUCK, but dumper driver, Sudam Shankar Kandolkar slept in front of the truck started by the C.M.E.. The C.M.E. dragged Sudam before the truck for some distance and injured him. Mr Symogln only stopped the engine when the other drivers present threatened him to immediately stop the engine. Meanwhile Mr. Miranda, the ex-Portuguese police, came on the scene and arrested Sudam and Pandurang Babul Parchekar at about 3.30 p.m. on September 10, 1962.³⁸

George Vaz who was in Panjim, was informed about the arrests of the Sesa Goa workers and the tense situation at Sirsaim jetty.

He came to the jetty to inquire about the incidents of the day. On entering the Sesa Goa compound he was told by Inspector Manjrekar of the Mapusa police station that he could not interview the workers on the company premises, on which George Vaz went out of the compound and took a decision to call for stoppage of work in protest against the arrest of the workers. Meanwhile trucks loaded with ore came to the Sirsaim jetty and George Vaz picketed at the entrance and advised the drivers to strike work. At about 5 p.m. on 10th September 1962, the police led by Inspector Manjrekar put George Vaz under arrest and was taken to the Mapusa police station. He was detained at the Bicholim police station till the 14th of September 1962.³⁹

While in prison, George Vaz maintained that the workers had the right to strike, as guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. As such, merely calling out the workers on strike and picketing at the entrance of Sesa Goa Limitada was no offence. George Vaz was not prepared to accept the Portuguese Fascist laws operating in Goa which were directly in contradiction to the Constitution of India. He felt that the ordinance issued by the President of India validating the Portuguese laws in Goa was bad. This spirit of George Vaz was conveyed in his letter to the freedom fighter Dr. Antonio Furtado, the late husband of respected freedom fighter Mrs. Berta Menezes de Braganza, the niece of Shri T. B. Cunha:

"I have been arrested at Sircai for having called out the Sesa Goa workers on strike. The other charges being that I have obstructed the works.

I wish to take fundamental stands:-

- 1) That the Portuguese Law is ultra vires of the

Constitution of India and hence I do not accept it.

- 2) That the President's ordinance is being challenged as the Portuguese law which is validated by the ordinance is ultra vires of the Constitution of India which assured all citizens the full liberties, the right to form associations and unions and the right of the workers for collective bargaining and the right to strike.
- 3) I wish to challenge the right of the Court to try me according to the Portuguese Law.

I was to be summarily tried in camera by the Court of Bicholim. I have asked for 24 hours to engage a lawyer who will take the stand I wish to take and record the statement. If my present stand amounts to a contempt of court, I do not mind it. It is better to be sentenced for ignoring the Portuguese Law than to defend myself on the basis of the present law which my conscience does not accept."⁴⁰

The arrest of George Vaz on the 10th of September by the Mapusa police had roused all the democratic forces in Goa to protest against the imposition of the Portuguese Laws in Goa. Mass meetings were held in Bicholim, Mapusa and other places demanding the immediate withdrawal of Portuguese Laws and the release of George Vaz and other striking workers. The trial of George Vaz attracted wide public attention and there was a huge crowd surrounding the court made up mainly of workers from the Sesa Goa Company, Dempo Souza Company and members of the Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union. Advocate S.Tamba defended the accused George Vaz, Sudam Shankar Kandolkar and Pandurang Babul Parchenkar. The trial lasted the whole day, the Judge by mid-day had passed his

judgement on George Vaz and declared that the charges framed against him were not proved and released him unconditionally. After the release of George Vaz and other prisoners, a large meeting was held at the Bicholim grounds. The Trade Union heroes were garlanded and taken in a procession."⁴¹

In the trial of George Vaz the spirit of the Constitution of India was victorious in the newly liberated territory of India. The Judge held the view that the strikes were not illegal and the workers rights to form Unions and collective bargaining were protected by the Indian Constitution. Freedom fighter Berta Menezes Braganza congratulated George Vaz for his triumph against reactionary forces in the newly liberated territory of India, she wrote from Chandor, Goa, on 17.9.1962,

"Dear Vaz,

Here go my felicitations on your bold stand and your triumph against the forces of reaction. May the near future put an end to the present inconceivable state of affairs, so incompatible with freedom and the supposed building of a socialist society...."⁴²

The struggle for "Idle rate" in the Sesa Goa Company from April to September 1962, gave birth and established the G.M.L.W.U. in the mining areas of Goa. The Reds also established two other unions in South Goa:

- (1) Goa Khann Kamgar Union, Cacora, Curchorem under the leadership of Divakar Kakodkar.
- (2) Goa Mining Transport Workers Union, Cacora, Curchorem under the leadership of Chandrakant Kakodkar.

But both these mine workers' unions were eventually amalgamated in G.M.L.W.U., based in Assonora, Bardez, Goa.⁴³

B - INTUC - Goa Established

Though the Goan Reds took the initiative to start the Trade Union Movement in liberated Goa, Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) and Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) were not far behind. About the month of January / February 1962, Congress and INTUC big wigs met in the Malabar Hill, Bombay house of S. Shah - once Labour Minister of the former Bombay State. Besides S. Shah, S.R. Vasavada, P.K. Sawant, G.D. Ambekar, S.N. Undalkar and Vasudev Arjun Gawas were present at the meeting. During this Malabar Hill meeting, the Congress and INTUC leaders took the decision to start INTUC work in Goa. The mission to organize INTUC in Goa was given to V.A. Gawas. Initial expenditure to start labour activities in Goa was guaranteed to Gawas.^{43a}

The coming of INTUC in Goa was mainly and chiefly linked to organizing the mine workers and the Port and Dock workers of Goa (cf. p. 188, 414 ff). To plant the INTUC flag in Goa, Vasudev Arjun Gawas was "appointed" by Shri G.D. Ambekar, who was the then General Secretary of Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh, Bombay (R.M.M.S.)⁴⁴. He appointed V.A. Gawas for and on behalf of the Indian National Trade Union Congress.⁴⁵ The appointment letter of V.A. Gawas is dated 25th May, 1962, and it states:

"Shri Vasudev Arjun Gawas, is appointed to work in Goa. He should start his work by the first of June, 1962. He should open Goa Branch of Indian National Trade Union

Congress (INTUC) and work as Secretary of the Goa branch of INTUC till a regular branch with constitution is established. This is (in) pursuance of the authority given to me by the General Secretary and the President of the INTUC to start work in Goa and open a branch of INTUC in Goa."⁴⁶

The starting of INTUC activities in Goa were taken up in the Central Working Committee of INTUC as the letter of Shri G.D.Ambekar addressed to Shri. S.R. Vasawada, then General Secretary of INTUC (Central), dated 25th May, 1962, indicates:

"My dear Vasawadaji,

Shri Vasudev Arjun Gawas will start work in Goa by the beginning of June, 1962. He will send you a telegram at Culcutta as to which bank he will open an account as Secretary of the Goa Branch of INTUC.

On receipt of the telegram, a resolution should be passed or take an authority from the Working Committee, to authorise Shri Gawas to operate the account as Secretary, INTUC Goa Branch, in Goa or Reddy....."⁴⁷

After V.A. Gawas came to Goa with his appointment letter, he gradually started four INTUC Unions -

1. National Mine Workers Union (NMWU)
2. National Dock & Transport Workers Union (ND&TWU)
3. National Commercial Employees Sang (NCES)
4. National Cinema and Hotel workers Union (NC&HWU)

He chose Sanvordem to be the headquarters of INTUC Goa Branch.⁴⁸

INTUC-Goa had 15 full time workers in 1962 to establish its activities in Goa. Shri. Anthony D'Souza (later the Labour

Minister in Babushaheb Bandedkar's first Ministry) was a full time worker of INTUC-Goa.⁴⁹ The Pay-Sheet of November, 1962, of INTUC-Goa, gives us the month of entrance into INTUC of its full time workers and the monthly honararium they received. The Pay-Sheet was drawn up on 5th December, 1962.

S.No	Name of Worker	Date of entrance	Monthly honararium
1.	V.A. Gawas, Secretary INTUC, Goa.	June, 1962	225.00
2.	Joseph D'Souza, Worker for Sanquelim area	"	150.00
3.	Alfred Alphonso, General Secretary N.M.W.Union	July, 1962	150.00
4.	Nagesh Karmali, Treasurer N.M.W.Union	"	150.00
5.	Murlidhar Rane, Collem office In-charge	"	125.00
6.	Ravindra Gondalkar, Palli-Velguem area In-charge of N.M.W.Union	August, 1962	125.00
7.	Shivram Asgaonkar, Vasco office In-charge	"	125.00
8.	Keshav Kherjuekar, car driver	"	135.00
9.	Saolo Kerkar, Palli, office In-charge	Sept., 1962	110.00
10.	Titus Coutinho, full timer for Vasco area (left from Dec.'62)	"	125.00
11.	Uttam Sanvordekar, Sanvordem area worker	Oct., 1962	100.00
12.	Ankush Keluskar, Vasco area worker	Nov., 1962	100.00
13.	Govind Bhende, Bicholim-Goa	Dec., 1962	125.00
14.	Gajanan Bhende Bicholim - Goa	"	100.00
15.	Anthony D'Souza, Vasco da Gama (office In-charge)		125.00

50

The above chart shows that excluding the driver, four INTUC workers were for the Harbour area of Goa and ten INTUC workers were for the mining areas of Goa. From the above distribution of INTUC work force, we can come to the conclusion that INTUC-Goa started working in Goa by basing itself in the mining and harbour areas of Goa.

From among the mine owners, Shri Manohar H.Naik Parulekar tried to float a Trade Union and he appealed to the Goan workers to join his "Goan Workers' Organisation".⁵¹ Shri Naik Parulekar made it known to the public that his Union was an INTUC Union.^{51a}

Goan Railway workers too initially came under INTUC flag. The main Railway section of W.I.P.G.R. from Vasco to the border of Goa was transferred to the Southern Railway with effect from 1st May 1963 (cf.p.40). The Goan Railway workers, now employees of the Southern Railway, formed a branch of the "Sangh" under the leadership of S.N.N.Karmali. The "Sangh" was affiliated to INTUC (cf.p.209).

M.P.D. & T.W.U. led by Gerald Pereira, while referring to the first stage of INTUC in Goa, viewed the INTUC branch as "companies' unions":

"We have no doubt it will be difficult for the companies stooge like INTUC-branch to break the solidarity of the Port and Dock workers of Marmagao. One Shri Naik Parulekar, a prominent mine owner, worth some lakhs of rupees, had formed an Union called "Goan Workers Organisation"....,officially declaring that they belong to INTUC....

INTUC has opened so called branches in one or two places in the mines. They are meeting stiff resistance from the Mine Workers Union., led by Com. Diwakar Kakodkar at Sanvordem, where INTUC has established its headquarters in Goa. On 15th August, an office was opened at Vasco-da-Gama of National Dock & Transport Workers' Union (Goa) INTUC. So far they have no membership among the dock workers, they will have some nonsense value for some time and probably (they) will be more or less like in the rest of Indian ports, perhaps worse.

We are confident that we will be able to squash this conspiracy of these companies' Unions (INTUC), and our powerful MARMAGOA PORT, DOCK and TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION shall remain as the sole representative of the Port and Dock workers of Marmagao.⁵²

Besides the local Reds, even the National leadership of All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was not very happy with the coming of INTUC into Goa as is indicated by the speech of Shri S.S. Mirajkar, the ex-Mayor of Bombay and then President of AITUC, to the public of Vasco on 12th August, 1962. Referring to the Congress President, Shri Sanjivayya's speeches in Goa, and his appeal to the Goan workers to join "Indian National Trade Union Congress", Mr. Mirajkar said, "let us not break the ranks of the workers, for it will only help to the monopoly -capitalists to take the advantage, let us keep our party politics across Londa and Karwar and not bring that sorry state of Indian Trade Unionism to this newly liberated Goa".⁵³

C. H.M.S Comes to Goa

Hind Mazdoor Sabha (H.M.S.) entered Goa through the Mormugao Port. On the water front - though the Reds had the initial monopoly in Trade Union matters, a number of Mormugao Port workers were not happy with the Red Union and its ideology. Peter Furtado, an orthodox Catholic, employed at the Mormugao Port in the clerical line, met Gerald Pereira and told him that he could become the undisputed leader of Goa Port, provided he changed his communist label. But Gerald Pereira would not give up his communist ideology. Since he did not accept Peter's idea, Peter went to Bombay to contact new leaders. In Bombay, Peter Furtado contacted Late Rev. Fr. Concesao Rodrigues the founder of Agnel Ashram. And Rev. Fr. Conseciao Rodrigues introduced Peter Furtado to S.R. Kulkarni, George Fernandes, and late Pinto of H.M.S.. With the encouragement of S.R. Kulkarni, Peter Furtado formed an Association of Mormugao Port Workers, and named it "Mormugao Port Employees Association". The Association which Peter Furtado tried to establish, did not take roots in Mormugao Port. Peter Furtado's was the first attempt of the Mormugao Port Trust clerical employees to establish their own Union.⁵⁴ Shri Armando Pereira de Andrade refers to Peter Furtado's efforts to unionise the MPT workers in the following terms,

"Towards the formation of Union after Liberation Mr. Peter Furtado - a head clerk in General Administration...tried to form an Association of M.P.T. workers...but failed due to controversies among the workers. Peter Furtado was also opposed by Gerald Pereira who already had formed a communist union..."⁵⁵

Before the clerical staff, led by Peter Furtado or later by Armando Pereira de Andrade, could unionise the Mormugao Port Trust (MPT) workers, **Thomas D'Silva of Majorda**, (cf.p.164) a fitter from the Railway Workshop at Baina, had led his colleagues into a three day sit down strike in March, 1962. Thomas D'Silva was originally working in the Ammunition Factory in Poona. In 1958, when German open railway wagons were brought into Goa, Thomas D'Silva was employed in W.I.P.G.R.⁵⁶. What had agitated Thomas D'Silva into the 3 day strike action? Leonard Rodrigues the General Secretary of M.P.R.W.Union tells us of the strike situation. The Portuguese "Junta" Administration had approved a worked-linked Bonus called "Premio de Economia". The Bonus was given to the Officers of the "Junta" and the workers were to get the Bonus on 20th December, 1961. But on 19th December 1961, Liberation of Goa took place. So the Railway and Mormugao Port workers were always expecting and wanting the sanctioned Bonus. But the new Indian Administration became cool about the Bonus issue. In March 1962, Thomas D'Silva took leadership to press for the Bonus. He had group meetings even with the clerical staff. But the clerical staff were not ready to go on strike. The Workshop railway workers, Train Examiner representatives and some Loco running staff - in all about 350 workers decided to have a tool down strike. All the workers were coming and sitting in the Workshop at Baina. On the third day of the tool down strike, the police came to lift the workers from the Workshop. But the workers just pretended to sleep on the corridors of the Workshop. The police did not touch the workers sensing the intensity of the situation. Infact the workers were afraid of the police, but Thomas

encouraged them to defy the police and just sleep in the Workshop. After the three day tool down strike, the workers were verbally assured that their greivances would be looked into.⁵⁷ During the time of the three day tool down strike, Thomas had contacted Andrade of M.P.T..⁵⁸ The Bonus issue remained unsolved and led to the formation of the Mormugoa Port & Railway Workers Union (M.P.R.W.U.) in 1964 under the leadership of Armando Andrade of Cansaulim-Goa.⁵⁹ Though Andrade took the help of INTUC leader Asgaonkar to formulate the Constitution of the M.P.R.W.U., he did not affiliate the M.P.R.W.U. to INTUC - but attached the Union to A.I.P.D.W.F. led by H.M.S. leader S.R. Kulkarni.⁶⁰

Since May 1962, HMS loyalists from Bombay had ventured into Goa and Shri/s Shivaji Sawant, Ramesh Desai, Urseline Almeida and others were busy in trying to establish a Goa branch of the S.R.Kulkarni led Transport and Dock Workers Union of Bombay. On 30th August 1962, the Working Committee of A.I.P.D.W.F. decided to send a deputation on behalf of the Federation, to study the situation in Marmagoa Harbour. Meanwhile in Marmagoa and Vasco da Gama, the HMS workers had declared that 16th September 1962 would be observed as Demands Day.

Gerald Pereira, who had applied for affiliation of his M.P.D.T.W.U. to A.I.P.D.W.F. led by S.R.Kulkarni, was puzzled by the developments at Marmagoa Harbour in the name of S.R.Kulkarni.⁶¹ Though the news of the coming of the HMS team led by S.R.Kulkarni puzzled Gerald Pereira and he wrote to Comrade S.R. Kulkarni for clarification on 4th September 1962, Gerald Pereira simultaneously made vast preparations to see to it that

S.R.Kulkarni's public meeting would be a complete fiasco . Gerald Pereira was so perturbed and feeling insecure with the coming of the H.M.S. national team to Goa, that he wanted a team of national level Reds to come to Goa even by cancelling their previous engagements, if any, so that "the glorious RED FLAG (was kept) high and above in the air, and thus smash the conspiracy against the unity of the working class"⁶². Gerald Pereira wrote on 4th September,1962 itself to his national level Red comrades to be in Goa on 16th September,1962, the day when the H.M.S. team was to be in Goa.^{62a}

The fierce opposition by Gerald Pereira to the coming of HMS in Goa can best be gauged by reading what he himself wrote to his Red Comrades:

".....You can rest assured that the Dock workers of Marmagoa and other workers from allied unions would never allow such a disruptionary move on the part of this Transport & Dock Workers Union, Bombay, and specially Shri. S.R. Kulkarni, who is the President of the All India Port & Dock Workers Federation. The workers will not tolerate such an insult to be heaped on them by this gang of Union Breakers, and they are confident that this so called public meeting will be a public fiasco. To give a sound death knell to these traitors of the working class, the five Unions from Marmagoa, viz. Marmagoa Port Dock & Transport Workers Union, Mazgoan Dock Workers Union, Oil workers Union, Taxi and Bus Drivers Union and General Employees Union, have decided to hold a public meeting at the same time, i.e. 4 p.m. on 16th September,1962, at Vasco-da-Gama in the maidan located in the very heart of the city. Our programme will be a thumping success. The procession of the workers will be taken out earlier....."^{62b}

In preparation for the arrival of H.M.S. team to Vasco-da-Gama, on 16th September,1962, Praja Socialist Party (P.S.P.)

Workers, Urseline Almeida, Shivaji Sawant, Ramesh Desai and their colleagues flooded the city with leaflets and big wall posters stating that S.R. Kulkarni, President of A.I.P.&.D.W.F., Makkan Chaterjee, General Secretary of A.I.P.&.D.W.F, Bangaram Tulpule, Gen.Sec. of H.M.S., Peter Alvares, P.S.P. leader and Shri. S. Maitre were coming to Marmagoa Harbour to address a meeting under the auspices of 'Transport and Dock Workers Union (Goa)'.⁶³

The Goa Reds viewed the meeting held under the auspices of the 'Transport and Dock Workers Union (Goa)', on 16th September, 1962, as tactics of the P.S.P. leaders to break the nine month unity of the giant M.P.D. & T.W.U. and start a rival H.M.S. Union based on provincialism and divide the workers into Goans and Non-goans. On 16th September, 1962, Vasco witnessed two huge processions - one coming from the Harbour side and the other proceeding from Margao side of the town. The Reds were marching from two directions to oppose, what they considered the plans of the P.S.P. leaders to divide the Goan workers.⁶⁴ Gerald Pereira reported on 16th September, 1962:

Com. S.Y. Kolhatkar, the General Secretary of the Dock Yard Labour Union (Bombay).... castigated the tactics of the P.S.P. leaders, who have come all the way from the different parts of India, to break the existing Union and thereby dividing the ranks of the workers to the benefit of the employers.

Shri. Gerald Pereira....charged Shri. Shivaji Sawant, and his colleagues of trying to bring provincialism among the workers and divide them into Goans and Non-Goans (Uttar Bharatiyas)....."^{64a}

In the face of vigorous opposition from the Goa Reds, the P.S. P. leadership was able to establish two HMS unions in Goa, 1) the 'Transport and Dock Workers Union (Goa)' with Ramesh Desai as its Secretary to look after the Marmagoa Port and Dock Workers. 2) 'Steel Mazdoor Sabha' at Bicholim with Shivaji Sawant as the General Secretary to look after the interests of the Goa mine workers.⁶⁵

D. Overcoming Fear of the Goa Police

As the Goan workers woke up to organise themselves in liberated Goa, they had to overcome their deep rooted fear of the Goan Police; a fear that had become instinctive during the rule of the Portuguese Colonial fascist regime. Some of the Goan workers could not face the wrath of the Goan Police, and so they resisted the Goan Police by "sleeping" (cf.p.191-192).

Unlike the railway workers who confronted the Goa Police in a "sleeping" manner, the Goa mine workers used a more aggressive method to face the Goa Police. Baburaun Nagesh Gaonkar, the President of the G.M.D.W.U. tells us of the moments when the mine workers came to Panjim for the first workers demonstration in Liberated Goa in relation to the "Idle rate". The morcha of the mine workers was blocked by a Police cordon at the National Theatre at Panjim. At this time workers from Bombay who had joined Sesa Goa - like Avito and Patrick of Mapusa and Brittona, encouraged the rest of the workers to break the Police cordon. And the Sesa Goa mine workers did break the Police cordon. This was

the first direct action against the Goa Police that helped the mine workers to overcome their fear of the Goa Police.⁶⁶ The other incident took place at Pirsulem, near the village temple:

"Here Inspector Kale blocked the procession of mine workers and removed his revolver, he came forward and said "I'll Fire!". A comrade told Inspector Kale, "We are not citizens of Pakistan or China, we are citizens of India, if you are going to attack us, we will think that the Portuguese are still there." Saying thus, the comrade caught the gun of Inspector Kale! Inspector Kale did not fire! Workers met peacefully at the temple!"⁶⁷

E. Resistance to formation of Trade Union:

Though the mine owner Naik Parulekar took steps to form a Trade Union of workers (cf.p.188), some mine owners were not so happy with the "interference" of Trade Union Leaders with the workers. V.A. Gawas the founder of INTUC-Goa, had gone to meet Bahushaheb Bandodkar some time in December 1964, at his residence at Altinho - Panjim, in relation to the workers who were retrenched by Bahushaheb Bandodkar from his Pali mines. When Gawas told Bandodkar that it was illegal to retrench workers, Bandodkar shouted and said to V.A. Gawas,

"Who are you, I can do anything with the workers, I am the mine owner. I don't know you, why do you want to interfere, we will tackle our problems."⁶⁸

When the freedom fighters who were in the adjacent room, heard the angry voice of Bandodkar, they came out to the entrance room to see what was happening.⁶⁹ V.A. Gawas was not taken aback by the

scene created by Bandodkar, nor by the anger or what Bandodkar said to him. He replied to Bahushaheb Bandodkar,

"I can solve this problem of the retrenched workers, but I have come to meet you, since you are the mine owner and you can solve the problem. And our ethics is to solve the problem amicably. But you have insulted me. I came to a gentleman's house but you have insulted me. You should have said No gently to me instead of talking to me thus. I know how to solve the problem and we will solve it."⁷⁰

Saying this, V.A. Gawas left the residence of Bandodkar.⁷¹

Unionisation of workers in the Head Office of M/s V.S. Dempo & Co. Pvt. Ltd. was also not very much welcomed. Letter of the Union President of the Dempo Head Office workers, Sri Vithal Pandurang Kamat Mhamai, to George Vaz, dated 6th October, 1966, indicates that the Dempo workers saw rays of hope and joy in the seeds of Trade Unionism planted by George Vaz in the House of Dempos apparently ruled with a tough hand as experienced by V.P. Kamat Mhamai and his co-workers:

".....It is over a fortnight since we have met you and now everyone is quite anxious to meet you once again so that everyone can thank you personally for bombing the firm which was ruled by the Dictators for the last quarter century.

Well, after effects were quite interesting. The drivers were called in and interrogated in a beautiful and convincing manner. They were asked if they were members of the Union, and if so they did not consult them (Dempos) before they joined the Union. They also wanted to know who was paving the way for them and the only answer they got was "One Cristao" (one Christian) named George Vaz who met us and told us what benefit we would get and when we saw that everyone was enrolled so we also signed."⁷²

★ When the Management of M/s V.S. Dempo wanted to have an 'opinion poll' to find out whether the majority of their workers continued to hold allegiance to the Union formed by M/s V.S. Dempo workers, George Vaz addressed a strongly worded letter to M/s V.S. Dempo about the suppression of legitimate trade union activity in the 'enlightened' 'House of Dempo':

"....We would like to bring to the attention of the Management that the right of employees to form Trade Unions is a normal right allowed under the Constitution of India and Parliament has enacted suitable legislation to safeguard this right when it is violated. It was expected that an enlightened organisation as represented by the House of Dempo would not resent or interfere with this normal constitutional right of an employee.

As you have asked for an "opinion poll" by ten this morning whether the majority of members of your staff continue to hold allegiance to the Union which has presented the Charter of Demands, I have taken the trouble to take such a poll this morning and the majority of those present, if not all, want the Union to represent their case...."⁷³

★ In liberated Goa, Bahushaheb Bandodkar and the House of Dempo were not isolated resistors to the Union activities of their employees. The founder of the Salgaoncar House, Vasudev Mahadev Salgaocar was "in a rage" and "shaking with hurt and anger" when the Head Office Staff unionized themselves and went on a token strike:

"...when the head office staff at Vasco decided to form a union, Salgaocar's reaction was, at first, a slightly annoyed neutrality. He decided to ignore the issue, until, one morning, he arrived at the office to find his people - his very own people! - out on the street outside the Salgaocar building waving red flags and banners, and shouting slogans proclaiming a one-day token strike, the

first in the history of the organisation. As his car slowed down, the crowd ceased all agitation and parted to let the vehicle through. Salgaocar stopped at the entrance to the building and turned to face them. No one would catch his eye. In a rage, barely able to contain himself, he turned on his heel and strode to his office.

Chastened, three of the union leaders entered the building and made their way to Fernandes's cabin, where they apologised. They meant the Chairman no personal harm.... in starting a Union, they did not seek confrontation, but merely a united front, to conduct a valid dialouge with management over the years....

Salgaocar gave... a bleak, stricken look. In a voice shaking with hurt and anger, he said " From now on there will be no more Founder's Day.""⁷⁴

Though resistance to the formation of Trade Unions in various companies remained, mine owners and industrialists eventually reconciled themselves to the new trend as inevitable in Liberated Goa. e.g. Bahushaheb Bhandodkar sent an oral message to V.A. Gawas the founder of INTUC-Goa that he was sorry for what he had said to him at his residence and that he would take back all the workers who were retrenched.⁷⁵ And the workers of the House of Salgaocar do celebrate the Founder's Day.

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CHAPTER FOUR
RAILWAY STRAINS

I. GOA RAILWAY WORKERS

A. Goa Branch of Sangh

The beginnings of Trade Union movement in MSMR can be traced back to 1905, when the workers of the Perambur Workshop in Madras, under the then Madras Railway Company, staged a sit down strike demanding higher wages. In 1908 the MSMR was formed (cf.p.34 ff). Under the leadership of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, in 1911, Drivers, Guards ,Station Masters and some openline staff of MSMR participated in another strike for mileage allowance. The following year, in 1912, the Perambur Workshop employees went on a week long strike. In 1913, when the Perambur Workshop workers went on strike, the Management fired at the workers and killed two workers. Soldiers from Fort St.George then dispersed the gathering of railway workers. After the shooting of workers, criminal proceedings were instituted by the Company against 75 leaders and the Court sentenced 12 of the workers to imprisonment ranging from 6 to 18 months. Most of the above sporadic labour actions brought more misery then benefits to the railway workers.

At this juncture, when workers were down and under, the Trade Union Movement took a more concrete shape with the support of a Bhajan Mandal called Sri Venkatesa Gunamritha Varshini Sabha situated in De Mello Road, Perambur Barracks. Shri G.Selvapathy

Chetty and Shri G.Ramanjalu Naidu of the Sabha used to arrange weekly religious discourses under the auspices of the Sabha. Since the Perambur Barracks was a locality of the working class, the workers used to attend these discourses. Their difficulties used to be discussed in the Sabha and Shri Ramanjalu Naidu used to assist them by writing their representations to the Companies. Shri B.P. Wadia, the companion of Dr. G.S. Arundale and Dr. Annie Beasant, was invited by the Sabha to witness the lives of the textile workers in Perambur. In 1918, Shri B.P.Wadia organized the Madras Labour Union - an union of the textile workers. With the formation of the Union of the textile workers, the Perambur Railway workers felt the need of an Union for themselves. Workers, S/Shri N.Govindarajulu Naidu, C. Panchakshara Achary, and M.C.Ghanamuthu sought the assistance of S/Shri Selvapathy and Ramanjalu Naidu for the organization of an Union for the Railway workers. Due to the involvement of the Railway Management, the first two open meetings of the Railway workers under the auspices of the Sabha, were a failure. Shri N. Govindarajullu, on 2-2-1919 issued a pamphlet containing a list of 40 demands, such as leave with pay, residential card pass, medical facilities, drinking water facilities, children's education, quarters and other matters. The pamphlet enthused the railway workers and during a secret meeting on 7-2-1919, the MSMR workers took the decision to form the union with the name of **Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Workshop Union (MSMRWU)**. Sabha members were also chosen to be the office bearers of the Union and the first office bearers of the Union were:

Dr. G.S.Arundale	President
Shri T.V.Kalyanasundra Mudaliar	Vice-President
Shri V.O. Chidambaram Pillai	-do-
Shri V. Chakkarai Chetty	-do-
Shri G.Selvapathy Chetty	Joint Secretary
Shri Ramanjalu Naidu	-do-
Shri Govindarajulu Naidu	Treasurer.

The following week, the newly formed MSMR Workshop Union held a General Body Meeting of Railway Workers at Jamalia grounds. The General Body Meeting was given wide publicity. The MSMR management could not disturb the meeting. The Railway Workers now unionized, were supported by the textile workers. This General Body Meeting was addressed by Dr. Annie Besant, Dr. G.S. Arundale and others. During this meeting Shri B.P.Wadia was elected as President with Dr.Arundale and Shri T.V. Kalyanasundaram as Vice Presidents, Shri B.Shiva Rao and Shri Ramanjalu Naidu were elected as Joint Secretaries and Shri D.K.Dilong as Treasurer. During this General Body Meeting the name of the Union was changed from MSMRWU to **MADRAS AND SOUTHERN MARATTA RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' UNION¹**. The enactment of the Trade Unions Act in 1926 gave a further filip to the growth of MSMR Employees Union. The Union was registered under the Act in 1928 and was affiliated to AIRF and AITUC²

During the fourth Annual Conference of the MSMREU held in the C.R.C. High School Hall, Perambur, on 27th to 28th January 1929, Shri V.V.Giri was elected the President of MSMREU. Under the leadership of Shri V.V.Giri, the influence of MSMREU started to spread among all the workers of MSMR. The fifth Annual Conference of the MSMREU was held in Hubli in April 1930, for the first time, outside Madras. The purpose of holding the Annual Conference in Hubli was to spread the union movement through the length and

breadth of the MSMR. For the Hubli Annual Conference of April 1930, a special train for the delegates was arranged by the Railway to and fro. The entire train was controlled by the volunteers of the union. Delegates from all over the MSMR attended the Hubli Conference in good numbers. Having spread and established the Trade Union Movement in the Railways of South India, Shri V.V.Giri resigned his Presidentship of MSMREU in 1934.

1940 onwards witnessed a tussle for supremacy in MSMREU between the Communists and the Gandhians. Gandhiji had a wide following among the workers of MSMREU. When Mahatma Gandhi visited Madras on 3-9-1927, MSMREU had invited him to lay the foundation stone for their Union Office building; the Mahatma had readily accepted to lay the foundation stone. Smt. Kasthuribai Gandhi and Rev. C.F.Andrews were also present for the foundation stone laying function. Smt. Kasthuribai Gandhi handed the first brick to Mahatma Gandhi to lay the foundation stone; the laying of the foundation stone by Mahatma Gandhi for the Union Office building was a unique incident in the annals of the MSMREU. Loyalty to Gandhian Philosophy asserted itself during the twenty first Annual Conference of MSMREU. The twenty first Annual Conference of MSMREU was held from 21st to 23rd May, 1948, at Perambur. The Conference was declared open by Shri Kamaraj Nadar. During this conference the statue of Gandhiji was unveiled in the union compound. At this Conference the majority of the workers of MSMREU decided to remove the hammer and sickle on the Union flag and to replace the same by a plain red flag. Another resolution of the

Conference asked the AIRF to disaffiliate itself from AITUC.

After the Independence of India, when Shri N. Gopaldaswami Iyengar was the Railway Minister, a high level decision was taken to merge the different railways in India and to create zonal railways. Accordingly MSMR, SIR and Mysore State Railway were integrated into one Railway called Southern Railway - on 14th April 1951. Since the name of MSMR was changed to Southern Railway, the name of MSMREU had also to be changed. The Central Executive Committee of MSMREU met at Jalarpet on 8th and 9th March 1952 and changed the name of MSMREU to **Southern Railway Employees' Union**. In 1955, the Southern Railway Employees' Union (SREU) affiliated itself to NFIR under the Presidentship of Shri S.R.Vasavada.

During the time of the internal struggle by the Ghandians against the Communist hold of MSMREU, the Ghandians of Vijayawada District had broken away and started a new union by the name of M&SM Railway Employees' Association (MSMREA) on 15-9-1946. Later, the MSMREA changed its name to Southern Railway Employees' Association (SREA). SREA was also affiliated to NFIR (Vasavada).

After the formation of the Southern Railway in 1951, there were two unions functioning in the Southern Railway and both were affiliated to NFIR, they were the SREU and the SREA. Efforts were made to merge the SREU and the SREA. A General Body meeting of both SREU and SREA was called at Hubli on 15th July, 1957, to decide on the merger issue. The General Body decided to merge the two Unions in the Southern Railway. **And out of SREU and SREA merged**

out the Ghandian oriented Southern Railway Employees' Sangh (SRES).³

Goa Sector Railway was handed over to Southern Railway on 1st May, 1963. The Goa branch of the Southern Railway Employees' Sangh was inaugurated at Vasco da Gama on 10th November 1963, by Shri P. Krishnamoorthy - Assistant General Secretary of SRES Hubli Division. Shri N.V. Narayanan was elected the Chairman of the Goa Branch of SRES and Shri S.N.N. Karmali was elected Secretary of the Goa Branch of SRES. The Goa Branch of SRES had about 612 members. When Goa Sector Railway came under the jurisdiction of South Central Railway from 2nd October, 1966, the Goa Branch of SRES changed its name to South Central Railway Employees' Sangh (SCRES). SRES or SCRES was in short called the Sangh. The Sangh was affiliated to NFIR and INTUC.⁴

B. Option for India

To pressurize the Portuguese Colonial Power to leave the shores of Goa, Independent India, under the leadership of Pandit Nehru took the political decision to impose the Economic Blockade on Goa. In the context of the Economic Blockade of Goa, Southern Railway decided to hand over the running of the Goa Railway and Marmagao Harbour to W.I.P.R. Company. But before handing over of the Goa Railway and the Marmagao Port, on 1st January, 1956, to the British W.I.P.R. Company, Southern Railway decided to transfer en masse its personnel working in the Goa Railway and Marmagao Harbour. How did the Goa Railway workers experience the mass

transfer from Goa? Shri Sripal Ganaba Nadkarni, aged about 64, of Shirvodem, Navelim, Salcette, Goa, had joined the MSMR in 1950 on 26th October, as a Clerk. Much later, S.G.Nadkarni became a leader of the Goa Railway workers who were transferred from Goa. He transports us to the time and situation when the Goan Railway workers underwent the mass transfer. In November 1955, Shri R.Gopalakrishnan, then Marmagoa Harbour Traffic Superintendent, issued a circular stating that as the Goa Staff was appointed by the Southern Railway, it was a legal obligation of the Railway that the staff should be shifted to the original railway. So the staff had to be prepared to go on transfer to Southern Railway(SR) in Indian territory as the contract between the SR and WIPR Company was to cease in December 1955 and SR had no intention to continue the contract further, due to political movement and harassment to Indian Officers by the Portuguese Military. If the staff did not carry out the transfer, on future date, the staff would not be given entry into India nor any job and that the Provident Fund of the staff would be forfeited.⁵ Shri Gopalakrishnan, on behalf of the General Manager of Southern Railway, issued the Notification No.HPB(G)163/1 dated 17th December 1955, to all staff of the Southern Railway working in the WIP Railway Section and in Marmagoa Harbour:

"In my notification No. HPB(G)163 dated 25th November 1955, you were advised that you will be transferred from the WIP Railway Section and Marmagoa Harbour, to other sections of the Railway consequent on the handing over of the WIP Railway to the W.I.P. Railway Company Ltd., on 1st January 1956. You were also asked to advise the passes that will be required for such transfer.

2. I have to inform you that if you do not comply with the orders of transfer which will be issued to you, you will be treated as having resigned from service without good and sufficient cause and the Special Contribution to Provident Fund or Gratuity is liable to be forfeited if you do not carry out your order of transfer before 1st January 1956 and if at a future date you desire to come to India you will not be permitted to enter India and you will get no appointment in India".⁶

Besides the official notifications, SR officers gave oral assurance to the workers who opted for Indian territory that they would come back to Goa within six months. One officer even told the railway workers not to take any luggage - just the bedding would do, he had said - for they would return to Goa soon. On the other side, the British officers like Mr. Latam, Mr. Blackford and Mr. Charlesworth were pressurizing the Goan Railway workers to stay back and they promised them good wages. Mr. Latam asked S.G.Nadkarni, "What are you going to do?" Nadkarni answered, "I am going on transfer to Indian territory" Latam asked, "Why are you going to India?" Nadkarni answered, "As per the circular issued by SR officers, on future date, if Goa is liberated, we will not be given entry into India." Mr.Latam ended the conversation by stating, "We in England never think about the future!".⁸

Many of the Railway workers had mental agony as to where to go, whether to opt for India or stay in Goa. S.G. Nadkarni had actually decided to stay back in Goa because he was the only earning member of the family and his father was old. So he had actually filled a form given by the British, to stay back. But at Savordem station, they met Shri L.V.Pereira, the Asst. Station

Master, and he told Nadkarni, not to be a fool to remain in Goa. And he told Nadkarni's father to send his son on transfer to India and that he would be back in Goa within six months as per the assurance given by the Indian Railway Authorities. With this pull here and there, a split decision was taken by Nadkarni to opt for India.

Before the December 1955 Notification, nearly all the Railway workers wanted to stay in Goa. But the December Notification changed the whole situation. After this notification most of the Railway workers felt and understood that the Indian Government would treat them as traitors if they stayed back in Goa and did not opt for India. In December 1955 the Indian Railway authorities gave forms to the Railway workers, asking whether the Railway staff would go to Indian Territory or stay back in Goa.⁹ 776 of the staff opted for Indian territory and 413 of the staff decided to stay back in Goa.¹⁰

To transport the Railway staff who opted for Indian territory, the SR provided a special train for ten days. The special train made one trip daily up to Castle Rock. Daily for ten days the Railway staff and their families were transported by the special train to Castle Rock. The Railway workers' families were also provided with railway goods wagon for transfer of house goods. The families of the Railway workers had to stay at Castle Rock at their own cost till the Customs cleared the goods packed in the wagons. Only houses were provided by the SR administration for the workers' families to stay in Castle Rock till the Customs

cleared the goods. Some of the families had to maintain themselves for 2-3 days at Castle Rock.

Transfer orders were issued to the Railway staff at their respective working places in Goa. Assurances were given by the concerned SR officers that all the staff will be given accommodation at the respective stations as per the transfer orders. But these assurances were only assurances. Most of the transferred staff were stranded at Belgaum, Londa, Hubli and Miraj stations for days together for want of quarters. S.G.Nadkarni was at Belgaum Railway station room for ten days along with his family. Every station had nearly 200 and more employee's family members just stranded. The transferred Railway staff used to sign the master roll and go to find houses. The SR had given an advance of about Rs.200 per employee. This advance was deducted every month. During this mass transfer of Railway staff from Goa the menials suffered the most. Most of the menials sold their cows, buffaloes, poultry, fields and house property and left Goa. According to S.G. Nadkarni, the Railway staff with their families who opted for Indian Territory, were treated more like herds during the time of the mass transfer.

Some of the Railway employees transferred to India from Goa in December 1955 on the promise that they would be sent back to Goa within six months, made attempts to see to it that they were sent back to Goa again. This group of employees were led by Guard Kerkar. In about the year 1958/59, when the then Railway Minister Shri S.K.Patil was in Bombay, Guard Kerkar, through his friend had

asked the Railway Minister as to when the Goa Railway employees would be back in Goa as per the promise given by the Railway Ministry before they left Goa? To this question, the Railway Minister had said, " Ekda magaricha tondat dilela hath lavakar kasa sutel?" (Will a hand caught in the mouth of a crocodile be released fast?)

Only in October 1963, the SR issued a circular for the Goa members who had gone outside Goa - i.e. ex WIPR staff. The staff were informed by the circular that since eight hours work rule was to be implemented in Goa sector, and since thereby some vacancies were to be created for the posts of Clerks and Asst. Station Masters, the former staff of WIPR who were willing to go back to Goa were informed to show their willingness to work in Goa, provided they did not claim seniority over the staff working in Goa Sector.

In response to the October 1963 circular, initially eight Asst. Station Masters and five Clerks decided to come back to Goa. These thirteen Railway Employees were perturbed about the clause of seniority in the October 1963 circular, but they decided to deal with it later after taking their posting back in Goa. Once in Goa, the workers who had made the option for India in 1955, and now returned to Goa were called "traitors" by those who had decided to stay back in Goa in 1955! All the same, the 'option for India' workers, when they returned to Goa, joined the **Sangh** hoping it would take up their cause of seniority which the October 1963

circular had mentioned not to claim. As days went by, 'the option for India' workers felt the sting of working under their former juniors, who were made seniors by the Portuguese when the 776 Railway staff had left Goa in 1955. For example Shri V.S.Naik was A.S.M in 1955 in Sonaulim Station and Shri Severino Fernandes was a clerk at Margao. When V.S.Naik went to Belgaum, India, in 1955, Severino Fernandes was made SM at Cansaulim. But when V.S.Naik came back to Goa in December, 1963, he was posted in Cansaulim as A.S.M. under Severino Fernandes who was SM. Another example, Shri E.Fernandes was a hamal at Collem in 1955 but had studied till sixth standard in English medium. After the December 1955 transfers, E. Fernandes was posted as ASM at Sanvordem station. Shri U.M.Sanvordekar who was ASM in 1955 was transferred to Sanvordem in 1963. In the SM's absence, E.Fernandes was treated as Senior to U.M.Sanvordekar and given charge to work as SM!! For the 'option for India' workers who had returned to Goa, the situation of working under their former juniors was unjustified, humiliating and not to be tolerated.

When the 'option for India' workers, like S.G.Nadkarni and others returned to Goa, they had joined the Sangh. But they saw that the Sangh would not be able to help them solve their seniority problem, for the Goa Sangh had promised to keep up the seniority of those Railway workers who had chosen to remain in Goa in 1955. Seeing the clash of interests in the Sangh, the 'option for India' workers like S.G.Nadkarni, decided to leave the Sangh. S.G.Nadkarni, V.S.Naik, S.A.Azeem and Pursekar took initiative to regularly meet at Margao Garden to talk over their seniority

problem and to find a way to solve the unjust situation they were in. While they were in the searching process, Shri Kirparam - a Signaller from Hubli, came to meet S.G.Nadkarni. Shri Kirparam was the Secretary of the Hubli branch of the HMS affiliated Mazdoor Union. Shri Kirparam wanted to open a branch of the Mazdoor Union in Margao, Goa. Interests having met, an unofficial Mazdoor Union branch was opened in Margao in April 1964. The following were the officials of the Goa Branch of the Mazdoor Union, in short called the 'Union' or 'Goa Union':

Shri V.S.Naik	Chairman
Shri S.A.Azeem	Vice-Chairman
Shri S.G.Nadkarni	Secretary
Shri Pursekar	Treasurer

The office of the union was in the house of S.G.Nadkarni.

Within three months of the formation of the Goa Union in 1964, there was a convention of the HMS Mazdoor Union in Madras. V.S.Naik, S.A.Azeem, S.G.Nadkarni and Pursekar went for this convention from Goa. A day before the end of the Convention, the Goa group met Shri Peter Alvares in Egmore. Peter Alvares made the Goa group feel very welcomed and spoke to them in Marathi. The Goa group spoke to him about their seniority problem. Peter Alvares said that they had a good cause and that he would go to Delhi and open the case. The 'Goa Union' people were happy and felt assured under the leading hand of Peter Alvares. About 15 days after

meeting Peter Alvares in Egmore, Madras, S.G.Nadkarni received a letter from him, saying that he had arranged a meeting with Shri Harban Singh, the Chairman of the Railway Board. Pass for Nadkarni to go to Delhi was also arranged.

At the Railway Bhavan in Delhi, when the turn of S.G.Nadkarni came to present his grievances to the Chairman of the Railway Board, Nadkarni stood up to explain about two issues, i.e. return of the 776 SR workers to Goa and the seniority of the Goa Railway workers who had already come back to Goa. When the point of seniority was touched, Harban Singh tried to stop Nadkarni from talking any further by saying that the problem was not in their hands but at the higher level and he also said that the other side i.e. the Goa Sangh was also trying to safeguard the seniority of the Sangh members. So saying, Harban Singh tried to make Nadkarni stop the discussion by calling the next person to bring forward his problem. At this moment, Nadkarni looked at Peter Alvares, and Peter Alvares insisted with the Chairman to fully hear Nadkarni who had come all the way from Goa to Delhi to explain his grievances. So Nadkarni explained the problem of the Goa Railway workers who had left Goa and had gone to India.¹¹ At this point a telegram came from Goa Sangh and the Chairman showed the telegram to Nadkarni saying:

"Here is a telegram received just now from Goa Sangh leaders, and as such I cannot finalize independently. As per the problem of sending Goa staff back to the original posts, most of the staff were from the Marmagoa Port and immediately after liberation, the Marmagoa Port was taken over by the Port Trust. There are no vacancies for your staff. As for the Traffic people, we will try our best to send them back whenever vacancies exist."¹²

When asked about the seniority, Harban Singh said,

"This problem of seniority will be put up before the Railway Ministry."¹³

And the discussion stopped at the Railway Bhavan. Peter Alvares assured Nadkarni that he would personally speak to the Railway Minister. On the return journey from Delhi, when Nadkarni reached the Margao Railway Station, the Sangh members burst crackers. S.G.Nadkarni felt that the crackers were burnt to mock at him. Correspondence was going on between Peter Alvares and Nadkarni regarding the seniority problem. And only in 1965 the Goa Union members were granted their seniority. But the Sangh had gone to the courts, and the seniority could not be immediately implemented¹⁴

C. Sangh goes to Court

'Goa Sangh' was ruffled that the promotion avenues and seniority of its members was threatened by the arrival of former Goan workers from Hubli division back to the Goa Sector Railway. The minutes of one of the General Body meetings of the Sangh verbalized the discontent of the Sangh members who also expressed dissatisfaction at the Administration for not granting promotion to the Goa sector staff, which were due under the then existing terms and conditions of service and at the action of S.Rly. to depute staff from Hubli Division in Goa Sector depriving them promotion. The members stated that they were being given stepmotherly treatment by the S.Rly. administration and were being deprived of their legitimate privileges.¹⁵ The meeting adopted the following resolutions:

"This General Meeting draws the attention of the Administration to the Boards letter ECNG/64/PR2/1 dated 3-2-64 and the assurance given by CPO/MAS, on 13-8-65 at a special meeting at Madras with the representative of the Sangh in regard to transfer of staff, from Hubli division to Goa sector. The meeting demands that immediate action be taken before 30-5-66 to transfer all the seniors out of Goa sector, and the Goa sector staff should be granted their legitimate promotion in all the vacancies which were created due to implementation of HRR (Hours Rule) as per the existing terms and conditions of service and channel of promotion."¹⁶

It was not only the seniority and promotion issues that were agitating the 'Goa Sangh', the Sangh was not at peace with their service conditions. After the integration of the Indian Railway and the extension of Indian Railways Act, to Goa Railway in 1964, the local Goan Press placed before the public the different agitations that the Goa Sangh initiated to draw the attention of the Indian Railway Administration and solve their various problems; the 13th March, 1964 issue of Navhind Times reported that Mr. S.N.N. Karmali, Secretary, Southern Employees Railway Sangh, Goa branch had informed the Prime Minister, Labour Minister, Railway Minister, General Manager Southern Railway and the Divisional Supdt. in telegrams that the Southern Railway Administration was forcibly changing the service conditions of the Goan Sector Railway employees without their prior consent and had requested that the elected representatives of the Railway employees Sangh should be consulted before any action was taken.¹⁷

The 4th November, 1965 Issue of Navhind Time informed that about 600 Railway Employees from Goa Sector refused to collect their salary of the month of October in protest against the new pay scales recently brought into force by the SR Administration,

as a result of which the employees had suffered a cut in their salaries. The employees had also voiced their protest against termination of services of 50 workers by the administration without giving them notice. On 3rd November 1965, evening about 500 railway workers had staged a protest demonstration in Vasco. The workers had also threatened to go on strike, if the administration failed to reconsider its decision by November 29 of the same year.¹⁸

The 3rd June 1967, issue of Navhind Times mentioned:

"Following the Railway Administration's rejection of their ultimatum that the revision of employees conditions of service and terms now under dispute be resolved by May 31, 1967, the Goa Sector Railway Employees Sangh has decided to stage black flag demonstrations at various stations along the Goa Sector daily for half hour from 5.15 p.m. to 5.45.p.m. in support of their demands.." ¹⁹

The Goa Sangh was prepared to fight the Indian Railway Administration in the Indian Courts for the various issues troubling it. The meeting was presided over by Shri N.V.Narayanan, Chairman of the Branch. He requested the Executives to direct the office bearers as to the line of action to be taken in view of the situation²⁰:

"Shri Karmali, Secretary of the branch, read out to the members present the various letters that were exchanged between the Central Office, and the Federation (NIFR) and Shri T.V.Anandan and stated that in order to get the Order early the only way left was to commence fresh agitation for which the Branch needs enough finance. He further said that the S.Rly was trying to handover the Sector to S.C.Rly. without finalising the new terms and conditions of service and pointed out that if the Federation also fails to do this it would be necessary to file a Writ Petition in the High Court of Panjim. He asked the members if they approved this idea. All the members including the Station Masters agreed unanimously on this point. Shri Karmali further pointed out to the ex-Southern Railway Employees who remained in Goa in 1955 that if the Board at the pressure of AIRF tries not to

count the past services and if they are not given the due Seniority and higher grades, it would be necessary to challenge the Order of the Board in the Court and that for this purpose it is necessary to have enough funds at the disposal of the branch. All the members agreed to collect donation at Rs.10/- per class III employee and Rs.5/- for class IV employee, and the Station Masters agreed to extend maximum co-orporation in this regard (stress added)."²¹

What was the Sangh's view of the various issues that forced it to knock at the doors of Indian Courts? And how did the Sangh try to solve the issues before walking into the corridors of Indian Courts?. The Sangh members were formally the employees of W.I.P.G.R. Co.Ltd.. WIPGR was taken over by **Junta** (cf.p.40). After the liberation of Goa, the Railway workers immediately came under the Management of Marmagaoa Port and Railway Administration. The same railway workers came under Indian Railway Administration from 1st May,1963. After the liberation of Goa, from 20th December,1961, the Portuguese territory of Goa became part of India and thus came to be governed by the Union Governmnet of India. The civil servants who were prior to 20th December, 1961, in the service of the **Junta** under the Portuguese Government, were to have the duties and rights of Government employees as per Article 22 of Decree Law 43,517 published in the Official Bullitin dated 17th March,1961, as the Portuguese laws in force in Goa were continued to be in force after the liberation of Goa under the Goa Daman and Diu Administration Act, 1962. Further, the civil servants who were, prior to 20th December,1961, in the service of the Portuguese Government, were declared to be the civil servants of the Government of India, by virtue of the Goa, Daman and Diu (Absorbed Employees) Act, 1965. Accordingly, with the provisions of the GDD (Administration) Act,1962 and the GDD

After the liberation of Goa, the Government of India appointed an Administrative Officer to manage the harbour and the railway in Goa territory. Major General K.P. Candeth, the Military Governor of Goa Daman and Diu, by his order dated 21st April, 1962 published in the Gazette dated 10th May, 1962, notified that persons who were already in service would continue to get the rates of pay and allowances admissible under the then existing rules. Under the provisions of Section 5(1) of the Goa, Daman & Diu (Administration) Act, 1962, all Portuguese laws which were in force in the territories of Goa, Daman & Diu, prior to 20th December, 1961 were continued to be in force. 'Goa Sangh' held that one of such laws that continued to be in force, was the Portuguese Decree Law 43,517. And therefore felt that the 'Goa Sangh' members and Goa Railway workers who were employees of **Junta** continued to be governed by the same old terms and conditions which were existing prior to the liberation of the Goa territory.

The Government of the Union of India decided that from 1st May 1963, the SR should take over from the Marmagoa Port Railway Administration, the Section of the railways in Goa from Collem to Vasco da Gama. Accordingly, the SR by its letter dated 27th April 1963, assured that the aforesaid railway staff taken over for the working of Collem-Vasco section would be under the control of the SR from 1st May, 1963, and that the staff thus taken over would continue to be governed by their existing terms and conditions of service until further notice. But the Railway Board issued new orders by its letter No.E(G)63TR4-2 dated 23rd August 1965. These new orders of the Railway Board offered new conditions to the Goa

Railway Staff taken over by SR. 'Goa Sangh' found the new service conditions to be detrimental to its members with reference to the re-equation of posts, fixation of pay and other areas. So 'Goa Sangh' protested against the imposition of the new service conditions with respect to fixation of pay, compensatory allowance, leave, provident fund and pension, travelling allowance and medical benefits, retirement and superannuation, rent free accommodation, seniority, transfer and disciplinary cases. Despite the protests, the new service conditions were directed to be implemented by the SR Administration with retrospective effect from 1st May, 1963. Imposition of the new service conditions on the Sangh members, made Shri. Andre Victor Fernandes, a Sangh member, and an employee of the Goa Sector of the SR, to file Writ petition No.2221/65 in the High Court of Mysore at Bangalore. In this Writ Petition, Shri A.V. Fernandes, prayed for the issuance of an order to quash the aforesaid new service conditions dated 23rd August, 1965. In the Court, the Counsel for the Railway Board filed a Memo dated 18th January, 1966, undertaking not to implement the aforesaid new service conditions dated 23rd August, 1965. Accordingly, the High Court of Mysore by its order dated 18th September, 1966, dismissed the Writ Petition No.2221/65 as not pressed.

The Railway Board, without consulting the Sangh and without any consideration of the demands put forth by the workers, issued new orders by its letter No.E(G)63TR4-2 dated 7th September, 1966, prescribing new service rules and conditions framed under the

provisions of Section 3 and 4 of the Goa Daman & Diu (Absorbed Employees) Act, 1965. The Sangh held the view that the General Manager of SR ordered implementation of the new terms and conditions from 1st October, 1966, without complying with the provisions of Section 9-A of the Industrial Dispute Act of 1947. And Section 9-A of the Industrial Dispute Act (I.D. Act) lays down that any employer who proposes to effect any change in terms and conditions of service in respect of matters falling under fourth schedule of the I.D. Act, shall give 21 days notice to the workmen or to the registered Trade Union Organisation. The Vice-President of Southern Railway Employees' Sangh (Central), Hubli, by his letter dated 22nd September, 1966, pointed out to the Divisional Suptd. of SR at Hubli, that they had failed to comply with the provisions of Section 9A of the I.D. Act and further pointed out that the new terms and conditions were adversely affecting the workmen in the Goa Sector and requested that till such time the anomalies pointed out in the said letter were not settled and an agreed decision arrived at, the implementation of new terms and conditions should be kept pending. The intervention of the Vice President of the Sangh (Central) had no effect on the Railway Administration - it was like water on ducks back. The Railway Administration, ignoring all requests by the Sangh, ordered the implementation of the Board's September, 1966, order from 1st October, 1966.²⁴

Faced with the implementation of the Board's 7th September 1966 order, Goa Railway Workers led by the Sangh elected the following five representatives from among themselves:

- 1) Shri K.Shaik, Station Master, Margao;
- 2) Shri D.V.S. Talaulikar, Station Master, Cansaulim;
- 3) Shri B.D'Costa, Train Examiner, Vasco da Gama;
- 4) Shri Edison Carvalho, Engine Cleaner, Vasco da Gama,
- 5) Shri Victor Fernandes, Fuel Maestry, Vasco da Gama.

The five representatives of the Goa Railway workers served a strike notice on 29th September, 1966, under sub-section (1) of Section 22 of the I.D. Act, 1947, on the Chairman of the Railway Board - New Delhi, The General Manager of SR - Madras, and the Division Superintendent of SR at Hubli. Copies of the strike notice were served to the Assistant Labour Commissioner (Central), Vasco da Gama, the Regional Labour Commissioner (Central), Bombay, the Chief Labour Commissioner (Central), New Delhi. And since the SCR-Secunderabad, was to take over the Goa Sector Railway from 2nd October, 1966, the strike notice copy was also served on the General Manager of the SCR. The Asst. Labour Commissioner (Central), admitted the dispute in conciliation and initiated the conciliation proceedings. He issued notices only to the General Managers of SR and SCR besides the five representatives of the Railway Workers. The notice dated 1st October, 1966, directed the workers and the Railway authorities to maintain the status quo during the period of the conciliation proceedings as per the provisions of section 33 of the I.D. Act. But instead of maintaining the status quo, the Railway Administration tried to implement the new terms from 1-11-1966 and retired ten employees who had completed 58 years of age in accordance with the new terms and conditions, though these employees were to continue to be in

service up to 65 years in accordance to the Portuguese pension scheme. The first conciliation proceedings were held on 10th October, 1966. But during the second conciliation proceedings on 25th November, 1966, the representative of the General Manager of SCR expressed the view that SCR was not the competent authority to accept or reject the demands of the Goa Railway Workers. The Workers contended with the Asst. Labour Commissioner that the Railway Board was the competent authority and that notice of summons should be sent to the Railway Board, before submission of the Failure Report. But the Asst. Labour Commissioner Shri K. Shanmugavel disagreed with the Railway workers and submitted his Failure Report on 23rd January, 1967. The Failure Report stated that the General Manager, South Central Railway, was the only competent authority to deal with the dispute and as no co-operation was forthcoming from that source in spite of the best efforts made by the Asst. Labour Commissioner, Central, Vasco da Gama, failure of conciliation report was submitted.

Even before the failure report was submitted, the November, 1966, pay of the Goa Railway workers was calculated according to the new terms and the pay was offered to the workers in December. But the Goa workers went on pay satyagraha and unitedly refused to collect their wages of November 1966, amounting to about Rs. 78,000/-. On the pay bills they stated the remark that they were not collecting their wages as a protest since the same were drawn on the new terms and conditions in violation to Sections 9A and 33 of the I.D. Act. The pay satyagraha too was like water on ducks back and it had no effect on the Railway Administration.

After the failure of conciliation proceedings, the Goa Railway workers, led by the Sangh, approached the Ministry of Labour and Employment, Government of India, to refer the dispute to an Industrial Tribunal and to take appropriate action against SCR for violating the provisions of Section 9A and 33 of the I.D.Act. The five elected workers even gave legal notice to the Labour Ministry that if the dispute was not referred to Industrial Tribunal or give their decision in the matter by 25th July, 1967, the matter would be placed before the High Court. All communications with the Labour Ministry had no desired effect. And meanwhile SCR was implementing the new terms.

Before approaching the Labour Ministry, Central, the Sangh had made an attempt through the NFIR to make the Railway Board change the new terms of 7th September 1966. NFIR tried to plead on 4 specific areas with the Railway Board regarding the working conditions of the Railwaymen in Goa - NFIR pleaded that

- (i) The fixation of pay of the absorbed employees should be made as was done in the case of the Marmagao Port Trust employees.
- (ii) The terms and conditions which were given effect from 1-11-1966 should be given retrospective effect from 15-4-1964.
- (iii) Principles of fixation of seniority of the absorbed staff should be altered. And
- (iv) In point 4, NFIR pointed out that under the Portuguese administration some of the essential staff were getting

the concession of rent free accommodation. According to the decision taken by Government only such of the absorbed employees as were appointed before 31.12.1945 and who held substantive posts in the entitled categories on that date, were eligible to the concession. NFIR held that the crucial date in this case should be 1.5.1963. i.e the date on which the Goa Sector was taken over and not 31-12-1945.

But the railway board remained firm and unyielding on all issues. The Railway Board considered the points raised by NFIR, and pointed out to NFIR in seriatim that:

- (i) The question of fixation of pay of the employees of the Goa Sector had been fully examined taking into account all the various aspects of the matter and it had been decided that no change in the decision already taken, was called for.
- (ii) The fact that the Indian Railway Act, 1890 was extended to the ex-Goa Sector from 15-4-1964 could not be the deciding factor in fixing the appointed day for the absorption of railway employees of the Union Territory of Goa, and the appointed day as 1.11.66 was been fixed after due consideration in the light of various factors that had a bearing on this issue. Therefore the demand made by the Federation could not be acceded to.
- (iii) The question of fixation of seniority of the railway staff in Goa sector had been decided and instructions issued on 15-10-1967 and a copy of these orders were also endorsed to the Federation.

(iv) Under the rules in matters of grant of pension fixation of pay in authorised scales and carry forward leave, the absorbed employees were being treated as if they had continued to serve the Indian Railways even during the period spent in the service of the Portuguese administration. In the matter of eligibility to the concession of rent free accommodation also the staff of the ex-Goa Sector were given what would have been admissible to them had they continued in the service of the Southern Railway, and had been placed on par with the other staff of the Southern Railway.

The Railway Board pointed out to NFIR that further discussions on the above issues was not necessary. Thus finding all the doors of the Indian Railway Administration and the Indian Government closed, the Sangh went to knock the door of the Andhra High Court around 28th December, 1967.²⁵

In Writ Petition No.4006 of 1967 filed under Article 226 of the Constitution, the Petitioners Shri P. Sreeramamurthy, General Secretary of Sangh (Central) and Shri S.N.N. Karmali challenged the Railway Ministry's Notification No.E(G)63 T.R.4-2 dated 7.9.66. The three respondents - the General Manager of SCR-Secunderabad, the Divisional Superintendent of SCR-Hubli, and Ministry of Railway's (Railway Board), opposed the Writ Petition. The fourth respondent - Marmagaoa Port Trust did not file any affidavit against the Writ Petition. Justice Krishna Rao dismissed the Writ Petition on 29th August, 1969, with costs.²⁶

Feeling aggrieved, the Petitioners went on appeal. The Writ Appeal No. 398 of 1969 was heard by a Division Bench of the Andhra High Court consisting of Justice Gopal Rao Ekbote and Justice Ramchandra Raju.²⁷

The Appellants of Writ Appeal No. 398 of 1969 fought against Notification No.E(G) 63 T.R.4-2 dated 7-9-66 on four points:

- 1) Before the impugned notification was issued to the employees, Section 9-A of I.D. Act requiring 21 days notice was not complied with by the Railway Administration and so the notification could not be implemented.
- 2) The Appellants held that under the new rules they were getting less emoluments and under previous rules they would have got more emoluments. Further the Appellants felt that the notification placed the railway workers in a less advantageous position than the Marmagoa Harbour Employees though both were under the same management until 1st May 1963. Thus the new rules were discriminative and violative of Articles 16 or 14 of the Constitution of India.
- 3) The Railway Administration is prevented from issuing the new terms of 7-9-66 because the Petition No. 2221 of 1965 filed in High Court of Mysore was withdrawn as not pressed, on the undertaking by the Railway Administration not to implement any new conditions of service.
- 4) The new terms cannot be made to operate retrospectively beyond 20th December 1961 in accordance with section 3 of

the Goa, Daman and Diu (Absorbed Employees) Act, 1965. But regarding seniority and rent free accommodation the new terms sought to give retrospective effect from a date even earlier to 28th December 1961.²⁸

As to the first point, the finding of Justice Krishna Rao, was that the Railway Authorities had served the 21 day notices to the workers as required by law. The notices were in fact issued on 10-10-1966 which left a margin of 21 days before the date of implementation of the 7-9-66 notification. The notices were served on the representatives of the Union and also individually on all 612 employees²⁹. The Andhra High Court Divisional Bench upheld the findings of Justice Krishna Rao regarding the notices served to the Appellants.³⁰

Further, Justice Krishna Rao, also came to the conclusion that in the present case no notice was needed to be issued to the petitioners under Section 9-A of the I.D. Act 1947.³¹ And the Divisional Bench maintained the line of thinking of Justice Krishna Rao. The learned Judge found that the provision contained in Section 9-A of the Industrial Disputes Act was not applicable to the facts of this case. He came to this conclusion on the basis of the ruling of the Supreme Court in AMAR SINGH V/S STATE OF RAJASTHAN (A.I.R. 1953, S.C., pg.228). In that case, the Supreme Court had held that when one state is absorbed in another, either by way of accession, conquest, merger or integration, all contracts of service between the prior Government and its servants

automatically terminated and thereafter those who elected to serve in the new state, and were taken on by it, served on such terms and conditions as the new State imposed. The Supreme Court held that this was nothing more than an application of the principle that underlined the law of master and servant when there is a change of masters. Therefore, when the territory of Goa was liberated, the Government of India became the new master of the Railways in Goa. Therefore, when the appellants continued to work thereafter, they have been working under new masters. After the liberation of Goa when the services of the appellants were continued they came to be continued under the then existing laws and rules as the laws and rules governing their new services, yet to be made by the new master, namely, the Government of India. The Judge showed that from the provisions of the Goa Daman & Diu (Administration) Act, 1962 and the Goa, Daman & Diu (Absorbed Employees) Act, 1965, the old Rules and conditions of service obtained prior to the Liberation of Goa on 20th December, 1961, were continued as a purely provisional and transitory arrangement till new service rules were framed. It could not be said, the Judge pointed out, that the employees under the erstwhile Goa Administration acquired any vested rights as against the Government of India. The rights were only those which were recognized by the Government of India. As already mentioned above, their services were continued by the Government of India under the existing old laws and rules of the Goa territory as a provisional and transitory measure because in the very nature of things it would not have been possible for the Government of India immediately to make it known to the employees of the erstwhile

Portuguese Government, the conditions of service under which they were prepared to continue their services. It was only under the Goa, Daman & Diu (Absorbed Employees) Act, 1965, power was given to the Central Government to make rules with regard to the employees of the former Portuguese administration in the territory of Goa, Daman & Diu and in pursuance of those powers the new rules were, for the first time, framed regulating the conditions of service of the employees of the Railways taken over from the Goa Territory. In this situation, the impugned rules regulating the service conditions had to be regarded as those for the first time framed to govern the service conditions of the Goa Railway staff. The conditions of service were laid down for the first time under the impugned notification between the new masters and new servants. Under these circumstances, the Judge stated that it cannot be said that section 9 A of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, can be said to be attracted to the facts of this case.³²

As to the **second point about emoluments**, the Goa Railway workers explained that the former WIPR employees now under MPT, were better paid than the Goa Railway employees, though they too were workers of the parent company WIPR. The pay structure of all the Goa Railway men consisted of pay, dearness allowance, Adhoc allowance I (i.e. 30% of pay plus dearness pay) and Adhoc allowance II (i.e. 30% of dearness allowance plus dearness pay plus the first Adhoc allowance) in addition to family allowance at the rate of Rs.11.67 paise per child or dependent member of the family, was being paid. The WIPR Company which had taken over charge of the Goa Sector Railway from 1956 were keeping in close

touch with the day to day market in Goa, and after considering the increased cost of living index used to increase the salaries of Goa railwaymen to commensurate with the increased cost of living. The WIPR Company had nothing like pay commission or the Wage Board in the Indian Railways. But they had their own yard-stick and accordingly they sanctioned the first Adhoc allowance, somewhere in the year 1956. This Adhoc allowance was further enhanced in the year 1958 and was called the second Adhoc allowance. The Goa Railway workers held that these two Adhoc allowances were nothing other than part of the salary. They went on to explain that the Port Administration, which retained about 1200 employees from among the 1800 employees were administered by a common management and governed by similar service conditions and pay scales of the WIPR Co., had reckoned both Adhoc Allowance I and Adhoc Allowance II also for the purpose of fixation of substantive pay of each employee while fixing their pay in the Port Trust scales of pay. This decision of MPT Administration was concurred to by the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Transport, Government of India, New Delhi. The Railway workers therefore submitted that there was no reason why the Railway Administration should reckon only D.A., and D.P. for the purpose of fixation of substantive pay and exclude Adhoc I and Adhoc II, thereby the Administration was depriving the employees of fixation of their basic pay at a higher stage in the authorized scales. The Railway workers, therefore, submitted that the Railway Administration should have also followed the same corollary in respect of Goa Railwaymen for the purpose of fixation of substantive pay. And in cases where an employee exceeded the

maximum of the scale, he could be blocked and the remaining treated as personal pay as per the provisions of the Absorbed Employees Act, 1965."³³

Regarding the position of the workers that they would have better emoluments under the previous Portuguese-time service conditions, the Divisional Bench came to the conclusion that if the Appellants desired to continue with the previous service conditions, they could not continue to be in the service of the Government of India - the new Masters of the Appellants.³⁴

Further, the Divisional Bench held the view that Adhoc Allowances are by their nature special allowances and transitory and cannot be made part of basic pay. And the Judges did not see eye to eye with the Appellants how the new conditions of service would work out to their disadvantage. The Judges pointed out that under sub-rule (1) of Rule 14 of the impugned notification provided that an absorbed employee shall have the option to draw either the family allowance and the two Adhoc allowances in accordance with the rules in force immediately before the appointed day (20-12-1961) or to draw the allowances and concession specified in sub-rule (3). It was also provided under sub-rule (3) that an absorbed employee who did not opt for the family allowance and the two Adhoc allowances under sub-rule (1) should draw Dearness Allowance, children educational assistance and reimbursement of tuition fees in accordance with the Indian Railway Rules. Under these circumstances the Judges held that it was not possible to find out with some definiteness that there was any truth or force in the grievance of the appellants with regard to the quantum of

emoluments which they would have got under the new Rules."³⁵

The Divisional Bench also set aside the complaint of the appellants that the new rules were discriminatory. While accepting the point that the Management of Marmagoa Harbour and the Railway was the same upto 1st May, 1963, the Judges pointed out that for purposes of working, the two units were treated as separate units; the staff of the two units were not interchangeable. And so it could not be said that the employees of the two separate units of Marmagoa Harbour and Goa Railway were similarly situated regarding the service conditions, since the nature of work of the employees of the two separate units differed. The Marmagoa Harbour employees and the Goa Railway employees were two different classes of employees. Just because the two different classes of servants were under the same Government or management did not guarantee equality of service conditions to the two different classes of servants. On this point too, the divisional Bench upheld the judgement of the single bench.³⁶

Did the undertaking by the Railway Administration, given during the time of the Writ Petition No. 2221 of 1965 filed in High Court of Mysore, not to implement any new conditions of service (cf. p. 224), have any effect on the implementation of the notification of 7-9-66? Yes, was the answer of the railway workers in **point three.**³⁷ But the Judges of Andhra High Court pointed out that the W.P. No. 2221 of 1965 filed in Mysore High Court was not filed to question the notification of 7-9-66. That the Mysore Writ Petition was filed only to quash the order dated 23-8-1965. The

Judges pointed out that in that Writ Petition the Railway Board had filed a memo to the effect that the instructions contained in that order may be treated as having been withdrawn and the staff in question would continue to remain under the previous terms and conditions until further orders. On filing of this memo the writ petition was dismissed as not pressed. But the Railway Board did not give an undertaking that no other rules would be framed with regard to the conditions of service of the Goa Railway staff and that they would have continued for all time in future under the same old conditions of service which were continued temporarily. The memo filed by the Railway Board had stated that the previous conditions of service would be continued only until further orders. It was as a result of further orders that the impugned notification was issued. Therefore, the appellants had no merit in this point also.³⁸

Could the notification dated 7-9-66 be implemented with retrospective effect, in matters of seniority and rent free accommodations, beyond 20th December, 1961, as envisaged in Section 3 of the Goa, Daman & Diu (Absorbed Employees) Act 1965 ? No, said the Sangh in point four. **The Sangh maintained that the rules providing for fixation of seniority as from 31.12.1955 and for rent free quarters only in respect of those employees who were appointed before 31.12.1945, was void.**³⁹ What was the ruling of the Andhra High Court ? The Courts held that

"....it is certainly permissible for the authorities to fix the basis for settling the seniority list or determining the class of persons who alone are entitled to rent free quarters."⁴⁰

On the point of seniority and rent free quarters, the Courts upheld the reasoning of the Railway Administration. The Railway Authorities fixed the dates of seniority purely on historical reasons:

"With regard to the provision relating to seniority it is the case of the respondents that at the time of handing over of the Goa sector railway to the West India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway Co., the Southern Railway in their notification dated 17-12-1955 made it clear to all its employees that such of those who wanted to come over to the Indian Railways could do so. In response to this notification, 776 employees came over to India and 413 employees chose to stay back. Most of the employees who had come over to Indian Union have been absorbed in the Hubli Division, the seniority of the absorbed staff has rightly been reckoned as it existed on 31-12-1955 so that such of the employees who came away in 1955 may not be put to disadvantage when compared to their erstwhile juniors. (stress added)"⁴¹

Did the Andhra High Court accept as rational the historical reasons given by the Railway Authorities to fix the seniority for the Goa railway workers?

"From the above it is clear that the provisions relating to....seniority were made on some rational basis. When two sectors of the railway are brought under the same unit and management some basis has to be adopted as regards inter se seniority between the two groups of the employees, in the circumstances stated, is quite rational and reasonable" (stress added).⁴²

With regard to the provision relating to rent free accomodation the Railway authorities held that prior to the handing over the portion of the Goa Sector of the railway to the West of India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway Co., on 1.1.1956, the rules of the Madras and Southern Maratta Railway Co., were followed. According to those rules only such of the staff who were appointed prior to 1-1-1944 and who held a substantive status in the entitled category on 31-12-1945, were made eligible for the benefit of rent free quarter concession. Since the Goa sector was under the management of the West India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway Co., only from 1-1-1956 to 28-12-1961 and as no eligible staff could have been transfered to that Railway during that period, to maintain status quo as on 1-1-1956 the rule with regard to rent free quarters was so framed. The judges accepted the basis on which the rent free accomodation rules were made by the Railway Authorities.⁴³

Thus, the appellants did not succeed on any of the four points on which they fought the Notification No.E (G) 63 T.R.4-2 dated 7.9.66. The divisional Bench of Andhra High Court did not find any merits in Writ Appeal No.398 of 1969 and so on 17th Decemebr 1970, the Writ Appealtoo was dismissed with costs.⁴⁴

The Sangh was not happy with the judgments of the Andhra High Court and decided to go to the Supreme Court. On 4th January, 1971, the Sangh filed an Application under Article 133, in the Andhra High Court, to grant a Certificate of Fitness to appeal to the Supreme Court. On merits, this certificate was refused to the

Sangh on 22nd January, 1971.⁴⁵ But that did not prevent the Sangh and Shri S.N.N. Karmali from approaching the Supreme Court under Article 136 of the Constitution of India. The Sangh had to swallow the bitter pill administered by the Andhra High Court, when the Supreme Court dismissed its Petition for Special Leave to Appeal (civil) No. 1404 of 1971, at the admission stage itself.⁴⁶ The seniority of the Goa Mazdoor Union members was to be implemented after the Sangh lost its last legal battle in January 1971. But was this done ?

D. Goa Mazdoor Union

The branch of Mazdoor Union established in Goa in April, 1964 (cf. p. 216), could not function for long as an independent unit. From 1968, there was no branch of the Union in Goa. Goa members of the Union came under the Belgaum branch of the Union. Since 1968, Goa members of the Union used to go to Belgaum for Union meetings. Shri V.N. Deshpande was the Secretary of the Belgaum Union in 1970, and S.A. Azeem - then ASM of Dudhsagar, Goa, was the Asst. Secretary of the Belgaum Union.⁴⁷ In 1971, Shri Custodio J.A. Peters was posted in Collem, Goa. Before he came to Collem, he was Treasurer of the Miraj Branch of the Mazdoor Union.⁴⁸ When he came to Collem, he was made the Asst. Secretary of the Belgaum Union and was asked to activate a branch of the Mazdoor Union in Goa. In 1972, Shri Custodio Peters was transferred to Vasco da Gama as ASM and he became Controller in Vasco in 1973. At this time Shri V.N. Karmali, the elder brother of Shri S.N.N. Karmali the Secretary of the Goa Sangh, was the Hubli

Divisional President of the Mazdoor Union. Shri V.N.Karmali was not very interested to open up a Mazdoor Union Branch in Goa. But at the 1973 Pandarpur Convention of the Mazdoor Union, Shri V.N.Karmali was defeated in the Divisional elections for the Presidentship of the Hubli division of the Union. After the Pandarpur Convention, Shri Peter Alvares too was defeated by Shri George Fernandes in the elections for the office of the President of the AIRF. After the Pandarpur Convention there was a wind of change in the Mazdoor Union too. Shri Custodio Peters, late Shri Somnath Desai who was Travelling Ticket Examiner and others, did not agree with the policy of Shri V.N.Karmali of not having an Union Branch in Goa. By all means they wanted to have a Mazdoor Union Branch in Goa, and they started to collect membership for the Union Branch in Goa. Gradually Shri Custodio Peters and Shri Somnath Desai were able to get the minimum of 250 members registered in the Union. They worked more among the class IV employees like Gangmen, Pointsmen and Helpers to join the Goa Union. Most of the Goa Union members were formerly members of the Goa Sangh. With the required 250 members in the Goa Union, the Branch of the Mazdoor Union was officially established in Goa during the most critical time in Indian democracy - 1976, during the time of Emergency ! When several HMS branches were collapsing and Trade Union Rights curtailed, the Goa branch of the Mazdoor Union affiliated to the HMS had asserted all Trade Union Rights and come into birth in the Goa Sector of South Central Railway⁴⁹

The first purpose, aim and target of the Goa Union, was to bring justice to the railway workers who had opted for India in 1955 and who had returned to Goa from 1963 onwards; the seniority

of these 'option for India' railway workers was a burning issue. There was resistance at all levels to implement the seniority orders of the Railway Board though the Goa Sangh had lost their case in courts. Political force came to the aid of the Goa Union when the Janata Party came to Power in the Centre in 1977 and George Fernandes and Madhu Dandavate were in the Cabinet of the Moraji Desai Government. Presence of George Fernandes and Dandavate in the Moraji Desai's Cabinet, broke down lots of resistance towards the implementation of the seniority orders.⁵⁰ That there were pressures from Goa Sangh not to implement the seniority orders is evident from a letter of Shri M.R.Dalvi, the Secretary of Goa Sangh in 1977. The letter was addressed to the General Secretary, SCRE Sangh, Secunderabad:

".....I am given to understand that the Divisional Office is preparing to issue some transfer orders. The administration is intending to shift our working Chairman, Shri A.F.Fizardo, the present Station Master/ Sanvordem to Tinai Ghatt as SM. This arrangements are with the intention to facilitate Shri V.S.Naik, Station Master/ Collem to come to Sanvordem as SM. This is owing to pressure from Mazdoor Union, who are longing to bring him to SVN. This is a prestige issue and some how we must succeed in changing the administration's intention.... Kindly speak to the Sr. DOS and DSO in this regards and see that the administration dessert from such an attempt. Please deal with these important cases urgently and advise this branch as all are worried (stress added)"⁵¹

Inspite of the counter pressures and pulls by the Goa Sangh, the Goa Union, in the changed political climate, was able to bring Shri V.S.Naik - Chairman of the Goa Union when it was first established in April 1964, from Collem to Sanvordem which was an important and major station in Goa Sector.⁵²

In the settlement of the seniority issue, many of the Goa Sangh members lost six years of their seniority. For example, Shri Baptist Fernandes of Goa Sangh, had joined WIPGR on 1st January, 1956. In 1957 he became ASM, and in 1977 he was SM in Chandor, Goa. In Chandor, Shri. S.G. Nadkarni was working as ASM under Shri Baptist Fernandes, SM, though Nadkarni had joined MSMR in October 1958. (cf.p.218). But with the implementation of the seniority orders, in 1977 itself Nadkarni became SM in Chandor and Baptist was transferred to Collem as ASM. Thus the seniority problem of the 'option for India' railway workers was solved after prolonged battles since 1963, under the leadership of the Mazdoor Union.⁵³

E. 1974 Railway Strike

There was no Mazdoor Union Branch, affiliated to AIRF and HMS, in the Goa Sector of Railways, during the time of the May, 1974 All India Railway Strike. The Goa Sangh, the only and majority Union in the Goa Sector being affiliated to NFIR and INTUC, did not participate in the 1974 Railway strike. Goa Sangh remained, on the whole, very loyal to the Railway Administration. The Communists of Goa, though they had no following in the Goa Sector Railway, came out strongly to consciously and actively spell out the cause of the Railwaymen and mobilise the rest of the Goa workers in support of the national strike of the Railway workers. The All India Trade Unions Co-ordinating Committee for Railwaymen's Struggles (AITUCCRS) had called all its affiliates to go in for a nation wide general strike on 15th May, 1974, in

support of the railway workers national struggle. This call swung the Goa State Committee of CITU into action. Gerald Pereira, the General Secretary of Goa CITU, sent out an urgent circular dated 10th May, 1974, and called for an emergency meeting on 12th May, 1974, of the Working Committee of the Goa State Committee of CITU and representatives of various Unions of CITU and other allied unions. The agenda of the emergency meeting was the one day token strike on 15th May, 1974, in support of the railway workers' strike, as per the decision of the AITUCCRS.⁵⁴

On the copy of the urgent circular sent to George Vaz, Gerald Pereira scribbled a personal note asking him

- (1) to send instructions to all the Units of G.M.L.U. and G.T.C.W.U. to observe 15th May as token strike.
- (2) to send letters /notices to all Managements. And,
- (3) To try and attend the Sunday meeting together (with) some activists.⁵⁵

On 11th May, 1974, George Vaz, General Secretary of the G.M.L.W.U. and President of the CITU - Goa State Committee, gave out a press release condemning the Indian Government for creating the grave crisis in the Railways and in the Nation.⁵⁶ On 11th May, 1974 itself, he sent out strike notices to all the Trade Union Units in his control.⁵⁷

The emergency meeting of the Working Committee of the Goa State Committee of CITU as well as their representatives of

various CITU Unions and non-CITU Unions, was held on 12th May, 1974, in the CITU hall at Vasco da Gama. This emergency meeting was presided over by Gerald Pereira. The meeting bitterly criticized the Central Government for misusing the D.I.R. and M.I.S.A. and for provoking the strike by arresting the leaders and active union workers of the Railway. The meeting unanimously resolved to observe the one day general strike on 15th May, 1974, in support and solidarity with the striking Railway Employees.⁵⁸ All the workers were asked to hold gate and factory meetings on 15th May, 1974, and pass the following resolutions:

- "1. Condemning the attitude of the Government of India at its attempt to suppress the railwamen's strike with the use of D.I.R. and the brutal suppression and unprecedented repression against the working class and denial of fundamental Trade Union rights.
2. Demand the release of all arrested Trade Union Leaders and immediate starting of negotiations."⁵⁹

In preparation for the 15th May, 1974, protest general strike, CITU quickly got an All Goa permission for the use of loud speakers. And the Goa police were dutifully informed about the public meetings to be held on 15th May 1974.⁶⁰ Though short of preparation time, the Communist in Goa wanted to have an effective but peaceful protest general strike in Goa in support of the National Railwaymen's Strike. The role to spell out the background of the Railwaymen's strike and their demands to the rest of the Goan workers, was played by Shri Prasanna Utagi, President of the Goa State Co-operative Bank Employees' Union and the Goa Urban Co-operative Bank Employees' Union.⁶¹ The demands of the Railwaymen were:

- "1. Decasualisation of 3.34 lakhs casual workers.....
2. Parity with other public sector workers....
3. Bonus for all..... at 8.33%
4. Eight hour working day.....
5. Supply of food grains and other essential commodities through fair price shops...."⁶²

The Goa Bank workers led by Shri P. Utagi brought a leaflet on the Railway Workers' demands (cf. Appendix p.509-510). The leaflet asked the Goan workers, to **"Stand by the Railway workers and defeat anti-working class conspiracy."**⁶³

To stand by the Railway workers, Gerald Pereira made an open appeal on 13th May, 1974, to all the working class, the middle class and other sections of the people in Goa to voluntarily and conscientiously join the general strike on 15th May, 1974.⁶⁴ To get popular support to the cause of the Railway workers, George Vaz printed and distributed a handbill in Marathi and English calling all workers to join the general strike on 15th May, in protest against the suppression of Railwaymen's struggle.⁶⁵

Though the Goan communist leaders were galvanizing the Goan workers to strike work on 15th May in support of the Railway workers, the Goan Industrialists did not want the workers to go in for any sympathy or token strike and put the Nation into economic crisis.⁶⁶ The Sangh leaders too had their reasons for not joining the 1974 Railway Strike. Though they agreed that the demands of the workers were genuine, they found that the General Strike was politically motivated:

"In the General Council Meeting of the NFIR held on 20th Nov. 1972 it was decided to take a strike ballot on the question of Bonus to railwaymen. Accordingly the Sangh took the Strike ballot all over the Sangh branches and the decision was advised. 90 percent of the workers are for the strike. The parleys between both the Federations continued from November 1972 onwards and it was decided to have a joint action council by both the Federations to fight the issue of Bonus sponsored by NFIR and the 'Need Based Minimum Wages' suggested by A.I.R.F.. The joint efforts were in progress but suddenly due to change in leadership, the A.I.R.F. changed its attitude and decided to go ahead on the General Strike on 3rd May, 1974. The NFIR after analysing the pros and cons of the attitude shown by the AIFR, decided not to participate in the General Strike in the interest of the Nation and the General Strike was viewed as politically motivated."⁶⁷

In spite of various oppositions, 15th May 1974, was observed as a General Strike day in Goa, as planned by the Goa Communists. Given the opposition to the sympathy strike of 15th May, 1974, from various quarters, and the short time at the hands of the Goan Labour Leaders, Gerald Pereira, expressed satisfaction at the response of the Workers in Goa to the token strike of 15th May.⁶⁸

No sooner, after the observation of the General Strike on 15th May, 1974, was over, the National Coordination Committee of Central Trade Unions gave a call to its affiliate Unions to observe 21st May 1974, as "anti repression day" to condemn the increased repression of the Railway workers.⁶⁹ CITU-Goa, under the leadership of Gerald Pereira, again took the lead to mobilise the Goan working class and observe the 'anti repression day'. To highlight the repression of the Railway workers, the Goan working class observed 21st May, 1974 as "Anti Repression Day" with gate

meetings, rallies and other demonstrations. The main rally was held at Vasco da Gama and was presided over by Gerald Pereira.⁷⁰

Even before the Goa Communists went out of their way to express solidarity with the cause of the striking railway workers, a few of the Goa Sector Railway workers were actively participating in the 20 day All India Railway strike of May 1974. The Vasco da Gama Control Office was closed by all four of the HMS and AIRF affiliated Controllers going underground. Warrants of arrest were issued against the four Controllers, i.e. Custodio Peters, S.Ratnoji, B.Y.Patil and M.S. Marshallin - all of the Belgaum Mazdoor Union Branch. S.Ratnoji was Secretary of the Belgaum Union Branch. He was dismissed from service during the strike, but he was readmitted into the Railways after a year and temporarily he got his former job as a Controller. Later he was sent back to Miraj as Guard.⁷¹

During the strike period the Goa Sangh members were managing the Vasco Control Office. And though Goa Sangh did not participate in the National Strike, some of the Goa Sangh members from the loco staff went on one day token strike. And from Goa, only one railway worker was arrested for striking work and he was driver Shri F.X. Silva from Colva. He was kept in Vasco da Gama lockup for three days. F.X.Silva was arrested at midnight at 00.30 hours on 13th May, 1974 on his wedding anniversary day. Shri F.X. Silva was a Goa Sangh member.⁷²

II. Commercial Clerk Benefits

Railway employees of Goa Sector, who were recruited by the British MSMR as Junior Commercial Clerks, and who after promotion, were working as Station Masters and Assistant Station Masters in the Southern Railway and the South Central Railway of Independent India, fought a prolonged battle of about 12 years with the Railway Administration to get the economic benefits known as "Commercial Clerk Benefits" (CCB). To get the CCB, Goa Sector SM's and ASM's along with their companions in the Hubli Division, rung the bells of justice up to the Supreme Court (SC) of India. The former MSMR employees were led by HMS leader Shri Vasudeo Neelkanth Deshpande of Sulebhavi village near Belgaum city of Karnataka. V.N. Deshpande was affectionately called "VN" by his colleagues. When the SM's and ASM's of Goa along with their companions in the Hubli Division, started to fight for CCB in the Court of Andhra in 1970, there was no Mazdoor Union unit in Goa. Goan workers affiliated to the Mazdoor Union came under the Belgaum Union Branch. And VN was the Secretary of the Belgaum Union Branch. VN was SM in SCR at Ghataprabha of Belgaum district, when he began to fight for CCB for himself and his colleagues. VN was the type of dedicated leader who desired that an increasing number of his colleagues should enjoy the CCB.⁷³ VN retired himself early to work fulltime on the case. He did not desire that his personal job should be a hinderance to the interests of his colleagues.⁷⁴ It was not only his job that he put aside, VN was even ready to lay down his life to see to it that the fruits of the long struggle for CCB were enjoyed by his colleagues.⁷⁵ While

moving ahead towards the goal of his mission, VN had not only to struggle with the railway administration but equally endure the pain administered to him by some of his own colleagues, even then he kept going on with the support of others.⁷⁶ VN was so much saturated by the cause that he had undertaken as leader of the SCR workers that even on his death bed he was enquiring of the progress of CCB.⁷⁷

What were the ex-MSMR workers, led by VN, disturbed about to approach the Indian Courts? As stated earlier, VN took up the cause of those who were absorbed in the MSMR as Commercial Clerks (CCs). Prior to 1st July 1956, when the Railway Board (R.B) introduced 'the New Deal' the CCs of former MSMR were promoted to SMs and ASMs. Before 1st July, 1956, the avenue of promotion for CCs was ASMs and SMs. Besides the CCs, the Signallers and Train Clerks were also eligible to the avenue of promotion of ASM and SM. By circular NO.HPB/OP/127/CON dated the 31st March, 1956, the SR revised the avenue of promotion to the category of ASM and SM. From 1st July 1956, CCs ceased to be eligible for promotion as ASM and SM; only Signallers were to be now promoted to ASM and SM.

Ministry of Railways worked out a New Deal for the Indian Railway workers by its Letter No.E(S)1-47CPC 40 dated 7th March, 1957, addressed to all the General Managers of all Indian Railways. By the New Deal, the Ministry of Railways created four grades with various scales and decided to upgrade the post of workers in the Indian Railways. The grades and total percentage of posts in each grade were as follows:

Grade starting with	Rs.200-300	
and ending with	Rs.350-500,	5% of total posts;
Grade of	Rs.150-225,	5% of total posts;
Grade of	Rs.100-185,	30% of total posts;
Grade of	Rs. 80-170,	60% of total posts.

Paragraphs 5 and 10 of the New Deal letter dealt with CCs, ASMs and SMs. 30% of the total number of posts of CCs of all categories were placed at the grade of Rs.100-185 and higher. In effect, 70% of the total number of posts of CCs were retained in the lowest grade of Rs.80-170. Under the New Deal about 150 persons working in category I of CCs cadre were elevated to category II of that cadre. At this time the pay scale of the cadre of SMs and ASMs were also revised. But when the New Deal was introduced the workers led by VN, and others of the former MSMR, were not given option either to continue in the SMs cadre or to claim the benefits of the CCs cadre as per the provisions of the New Deal. Further, the Second Pay Commission revised the scales of pay in several grades of the CCs and the SMs cum ASMs. Though the cadre of SMs cum ASMs was a superior cadre, the workers led by VN and others similarly placed, were receiving less pay than those in the lower CCs cadre who were their juniors as CCs, and also not qualified for promotion to the superior cadre of SMs-cum-ASMs. By virtue of the New Deal and also the revision of scales of pay, a peculiar and anomalous position had arisen, workers who were promoted from the category of CCs to the higher posts of ASMs cum SMs were receiving lesser pay than the CCs who were junior to the ASMs and SMs and had remained as CCs because they were not qualified to be promoted as SMs or ASMs.

The SMS and ASMs of SCR led by VN were not the first to approach the Indian Court to rectify the anomalies created by the New Deal and the Second Pay Commission. In 1963, twelve SMS and ASMs of Vijayawada Division filed a Writ Petition in Andhra High Court to rectify the above anomalies. This Writ Petition was No.1153 of 1963, and was decided upon by Justice Narasimham on 6th February, 1968. Justice Narasimham's findings in Writ Petition No.1153 of 1963 was that the continuation of ASMs cum SMS on a lower pay and the grant of a higher pay to commercial clerks, who were junior to the petitioners and also who were not found competent to be promoted as SMS cum ASMs, amounted to discrimination.⁷⁸ Consequence to his findings, Justice Narasimham allowed the Writ Petition No.1153 of 1963 and gave directions to the respondents to rectify the anomalies and

"....fix the pay of the petitioners in their present cadre so as not to be less than the pay they would have drawn if they had been in the cadre of Commercial Clerks from which they were promoted."⁷⁹

Distressed by the verdict in W.P.No.1153 of 1963, the Union of India filed the Writ Appeal No.226 of 1968. At the admission stage itself, the Writ Appeal No.226 of 1968 was dismissed on 21st August, 1968. The Union of India then approached the Supreme Court, and the Union of India's Leave to Appeal Petition No.228 of 1968 in the Supreme Court, was also dismissed on 13th December, 1968. Thus the verdict of Justice Narasimham in W.P.No.1153 of 1963 became final.⁸⁰

After the favourable judgement in W.P.1153 of 1963, the next group of 61 SMs and ASMs to approach the Andhra High Court for CCB were led by Shri S.Dayanandhan - Retired SM from Dronachellam, and Shri A.Lakshmipatty SM from Kariganurro.⁸¹ Then, 461 SMs and ASMs of Bezwada Division approached the Andhra High Court for CCB. All these Petitioners took the stand in Court that W.P. No.1153 of 1963 was a representative Writ Petition filed on behalf of all the SMs and ASMs who had reached that position by promotion from MSMR cadre of CCs.⁸² The common judgement given on 16-3-1971, on the writs of these petitioners i.e. in Writ Petition Nos.2958, 3298, 3633, 4047, 4212, 4722, 4730, 4860 and 5134 of 1970 and 104,105 and 106 of 1971 was in confirmation with the verdict of Justice Narasimham:

"In the result, the Writ Petitions are allowed and the respondents are directed to fix the pay of the petitioners in their present cadre as not to be less than the pay they would have drawn if they had been in the cadre of the Commercial Clerks from which they were promoted, to be effective from the date of the implementation of the New Deal..."⁸³

The SMs and ASMs of the Hubli Division too held the view that W.P.No.1153 of 1963, was a representative Writ Petition. Accordingly, the SMs and ASMs of the Hubli Division approached the Railway authorities to grant them the CCB. e.g. Shri S.A. Azeem, ASM from Dudhasagar,Goa, wrote on 12th Novemebr,1971, to the DS and the GM of SCR to grant to him the CCB. He had joined as a junior clerk (Commercial Clerk) on 18-12-1947 and was promoted to ASMs cadre on 13-2-1958. His pay in scale of Rs.205-208 was

Rs.240/- whereas the pay of Shri M.A. Zama, Chief Parcel Clerk, Hubli, was Rs.280/- in grade 205/280, and was appointed on 20-4-1948.⁸⁴

Letters and representations to the Railway Administration of SCR had no effect, and the CCB was not granted to the SMS and ASMs of the Hubli Division of SCR. To make things worse, the Railway Board in 1973 decided, that the CCB should be granted only to the Petitioners. Granting of the CCB on the basis of Petitioners and non-Petitioners was considered by VN and others similarly placed, that further injustice and discrimination was done to them. At this stage, VN decided to lead his colleagues to fight for justice and get the CCB.⁸⁵ VN sent a circular to his colleagues on 15th July, 1973, to organise his fellow workers. Following the circular many of the colleagues of VN met at Ghataprabha as planned, at about 16.30 hrs on Sunday 29-7-1973, to discuss about the Writ. During this meeting VN took note of those who were absent, and those who were eligible for the CCB from his Division and made extra efforts to reach them and include them in the Writ so that they could hopefully enjoy their rightful benefits with little expenditure. e.g. VN wrote to Shri. R.B. Nagvenkar of Margao, Goa on 29-7-73:

"You may be aware of the commercial benefits which were due to you from 1956 and were deprived of by the Rly. Administration. Now the case was going on in A.P. High Court at Hyderabad and decided in favour of SMS and ASMs. I am aware that you are not a party in previous writs. Today many friends had a meeting at this place and you were remembered as missing, amongst the gathered retired SMS. So I am writing this letter with hope that you may join the writ

now being instituted in the second week of August '73.

You are requested to contact Shri Naik SM/CLM or Shri Azeem ASM/CLM who will do the needful for you in giving you detailed information

Kindly let me have your reply early. There (are) some 8 or 10 members from GOA Sector who are to join this writ, you may also join the same. I am coming over to GOA on 8/8/73...."⁸⁶

Encouraged by VN, about ten railway workers from Goa decided to join him and others and filed a suit in Andhra High Court to get the CCB.

Since the railways declined to extend the CCB to similarly placed SMS/ASMs, during 1973 and 1974, Writ Petitions - W.P.5084 of 1973 (V.N.Deshpande and others) and 6739 of 1974 and 3563 of 1974 (organized by VN) were filed and allowed on 27.8.1975 by the Bench Judgements of A.P.High Court. The petitioners in all these writ petitions were granted relief as was done in W.P.1153 of 1963.⁸⁷ But the Union of India and the Railways appealed to the Supreme Court in Civil Appeal Nos. 416, 419 and 420 of 1977 against the above Writ Petitions. These Civil Appeals were decided by the Supreme Court along with other Civil Appeals and Special Leave Petitions No. 4029 of 1977 on 4.4.79. In the Supreme Court Judgement the respected Judges S/Shri **V.K.Krishna Iyer and V.D.Tulzapurkar** disagreed with the reasoning and the interpretation of law by A.P.High Court Judgements⁸⁸, but gave directives to the Union of India and the Railways to implement the directions of the A.P.High Court:

"Pragmatism here again dictates the ultimate relief we propose to give. Assuming the clarification by the Andhra Pradesh High Court to be wrong - and it is in the light of what we have stated above - an intricate calculation will have to be made about things of long ago and a restructuring of the little benefits each one draws would have worked out. We do not think that it is worth the candle especially after having regards to the fact that the employees belonging to the lower category and their emoluments are far from enviable.

We, therefore, uphold the law as contented for by the Union of India, but decline to interfere with the cash results and emoluments that the employees/respondents have been held entitled to under the decisions of the Andhra Pradesh High Court and the Madras High Court. We dispose of the appeals and the special leave petitions as above. No costs. The Union of India will implement the directions given by the High Court concerned within six months from today."⁸⁵ (stress added)

The Railway workers rejoiced cautiously at the outcome from the Supreme Court. Their leader tempered their joy with realism when he said to them,

"You should know we have won the case, but you should also know the Union of India has not lost the case."⁸⁶

Every stage of the case needed conscious efforts on the part of the workers to keep it moving and not allow it to get stuck too much in some rut. Even to get the Railway Board to pass instructions as early as possible, to implement the Supreme Court directives, needed alertness, sweat and labour of the workers:

"...At one stage Railway Board wanted to dispatch the judgement copy without any instructions as 'copy for information and disposal', so that the railways could do something for themselves. You know the Railways would not have acted on such matter, but would have referred back to the Board for detailed instructions. To avoid that I was successful to get the diversion of the Judgement to 'LAW CELL' of the Board for proper instruction.

I hope you will realise the step taken is in the right way. I have neither gone to Secundrabad or to Delhi. I have been able to manage the whole thing sitting at my table and the telephone bill is only Rs.825/00."⁸⁷

After further sweating by the Railway Workers, in March 1980, the Hubli Division of SCR tried to implement the directives of the Supreme Court, and pay the involved workers the CCB. During the March 1980 implementation of CCB, Shri S.A.Azeem of Cansaulim,Goa, received a payment of only Rs.6993.90.⁸⁸ Azeem had expected CCB to the tune of about Rs.16000/-. Disappointed with the March 1980 implementation of CCB by the Hubli Division of SCR, Azeem tried to get a refixation of his payment, but he was plainly told by the Divisional Railway Administration that the payment was in order, that there was no infringement whatever in his case and that the matter was closed.⁸⁹ Shri S.A.Azeem was only one of the 172 disappointed petitioners with the March 1980 implementation of CCB by the Hubli Division of SCR.⁹⁰

During the court proceedings, the Union of India had contended that the over all expenditure on account of the petitioners involved would be Rs.1.4 crores. By conservative calculations, the workers projected the claims of the 172 petitioners to be around Rs. 32 to 34 lakhs. But the Hubli

Division of SCR ended the March 1980 implementation of CCB for these 172 petitioners with only Rs.8.5 lakhs.⁹¹ VN and his colleagues considered the 'March 1980 implementation' of CCB as not only MOCK and HAPHAZARD but also DECEITFUL.⁹² Why did the railway workers view the 'March 1980' implementation so critically?

While settling the claims of Petitioners in WP 1153/63 in 1971 by SR and of the Petitioners of 1970/71 Writ Petitions in 1974 by Hubli Division of SCR, a free hand was given to choose the Junior Personnel of Commercial Branch who had better emoluments irrespective of his status. The petitioners in W.P 1153/63 or 4860/70 Batch were compared with Commercial Inspector with better emoluments and better retirement benefits. Even the refixation made by the Guntakal Division vide circular letter No.GP 524/1/9/Vol III dated 19-2-74 compared number of Petitioners with Commercial Inspectors while dealing with petitioners of WP 4730/70, 5134/70 and 105/71. There was no difficulty to compare the Inspector of Commercial Branch since he was born on one and the same seniority list as the Commercial Clerk, with identical scales of pay and the posts were interchangeable. These precedences were given a go-by by the Railway Administration in the March 1980 implementation. And benefits which were anticipated by the

VN-led workers to be Rs.4 to 5 thousands were reduced to mere Rs.25 to Rs 75. And were benefits were anticipated to be Rs. 10 to 25 thousands were brought down to Rs.3 to 10 thousands.⁹³

In the March 1980 implementation, the Railways, instead of comparing the emoluments of any junior with worthy and best suited emoluments, confined the comparison to IMMEDIATE JUNIOR whose emoluments were more than the SM/ASM but lesser than another junior personnel of Commercial Branch. The Railways ignored the proper junior personnel with better and advantageous emoluments. Further, the comparison was confined to the clerical tenure of the compared junior personnel and his progress as Inspector was not taken into consideration to afford better benefits. The moment the compared personnel changed his designation from clerk to something else the refixation snapped. The benefits were withdrawn the moment the compared personnel of Commercial cadre actually ceased to be a "Clerk" even by mere change of designation - his premature death - his resignation - or his change over to higher cadre as Inspector. By this application nearly 100 petitioners were deprived of the benefits with effect from 11-6-1972. By this application each of the nearly 100 petitioners lost more than Rupees 10 to 15 thousands. By such implementation, benefits which

were anticipated to be Rs.4 to 5 thousands were reduced to Rs.25 to Rs.75. And where benefits were anticipated to be Rs.10 to 25 thousands were brought down to Rs.3 to 10 thousands.

In most of the cases of SM/ASM , in the March 1980 implementation , the person compared to was their junior Shri M.A. Zama. He was absorbed into the Railways on 20-4-1948. He was Commercial Clerk upto 11-6-72. From 12-6-72 to 18-8-73 he was Commercial Controller i.e. for one year two months and twenty two days. After 18-8-73 he continued to work as a Commercial Clerk. His entire service in the Railways was as commercial clerk except for the small period of one year two months and twenty two days. But the petitioners compared to Shri.M.A. Zama were fixed and paid only upto 11-6-1972. Further fixations were not drawn, on the plea that he attained the cadre of Inspectors. After 11-6-1972, the petitioners were deprived of not only the arrears of benefits but also of post retirement benefits such as revised DCRG and other pensionary benefits. And petitioners who were not compared to Shri. Zama were deprived of their benefits in various other ways.⁹⁴

The March 1980 implementation brought about a crisis among the 1973/74 petitioners led by VN. After the March 1980 implementation, many of the petitioners lost heart to fight for justice and further take on the mighty nationalised Railways and the Union of India. Some lost faith in the leadership of VN. VN too was depressed. But workers like Shri. S.H.Varahamurty of Hubli and Shri L.G.Marathe of Miraj considered the March 1980 payments as "Part Payment"⁹⁵ - "as a milestone in the right direction"⁹⁶, and they decided to take the issue to the Supreme Court again. For this purpose they formed a **WRIT PETITIONERS FORUM** based in Belgaum with the membership of the more disciplined Petitioners,⁹⁷ and they took upon themselves to coax VN to lead them further. Most of the Goa petitioners took protection under the umbrella of the forum and signed vakalats and further empowered VN to represent them in the Court.⁹⁸ VN accepted to lead the forum members.⁹⁹ He gave full credit to the two conveners for mobilising the Forum¹⁰⁰

Due to VN's tact, timely actions and herculean efforts, the Railway Board issued de novo instructions to SCR by its letter No.E.(P&A) II-70/CPC/PA-3 dated 19-9-1980. The Board now instructed the Railways to implement the Supreme Court directives in accordance with their original orders dated 28-5-1978.¹⁰¹

The orders of the Railway Board to GM of SCR in letter No. E(P&A)II-70/CPC/PA/3 dated 28-5-1970, had the sanction of the President :

"Sub:W.P.No.1153/63; Shri. Mrutyunjaya and 11 others.

.....

The Board have, after full consideration decided as under:

1. The twelve employees concerned may be given the benefits of pay fixation and payment of arrears in the ASMs/SMS scale with effect from 1-4-56 on the basis of the pay they would have got had they continued to remain as Commercial Clerks rather than changed to ASM/SMS Cadre.
2. They may also be granted Promotions to higher posts in the Commercial Clerks Cadre from the date (1-4-56) any of their juniors were promoted to such higher scale posts from time to time till any of them finally demit service, if these promotions are more favourable to them....

This has the sanction of the President."¹⁰²

Though out of the woods with the new directives, the forum leadership was not very optimistic about the outcome of the new directives from the Board:

"Anyway, with due consideration to our experiences of March '80 affair, let us not be very optimistic. Though we have crossed the 'WOODS' and there should be no hitch to solve at least 85% of the issue in a very justified manner, yet some chronic and cancer cases may still lift their heads..."¹⁰³

Various and repeated requests to the SCR by the Forum to review the March 1980 implementation in accordance with the new directives of the Railway Board, remained barren. VN requested the Chairman of the Railway Board and others on 9-3-1981, to persuade the SCR to carry out the revised implementation before 31-3-1981.¹⁰⁴ In the telegram dated 9-3-1981 to the Board members, the

Forum begged the Board members to help them not to approach the Supreme Court again or to go in for Hunger Strike to get the Boards 19-9-1980 directives implemented.¹⁰⁵ Still the SCR did not implement the new directives by 31-3-81 as expressed by VN to the Railway Board Chairman. Though SCR remained stubborn in not implementing the new directives of the Railway Board, VN at this stage was hesitant to jump into the Supreme Court room again, he did not want to loose the sympathy of the Railway Board and he conveyed his views to the Forum members on 8th August, 1981.¹⁰⁶ But the Writ Petitioners Forum members decided to approach the Supreme Court. And in respect to the wishes of the Forum members, VN submitted an informal layman's petition to the Supreme Court-CMP No.24210 of 1981. Only in April 1983, the Supreme Court gave interim directives to the petitioners to approach the Railway Board again.¹⁰⁷ :

"The Supreme Court in our CMP No.24210 has issued an 'Interim' directive on 22-4-83 and provided an opportunity to all petitioners who have a grievance to make a final REPRESENTATION to the Railway Board and in the event of Board not responding to the same, our issue should be moved before Supreme Court for further disposal."¹⁰⁸

Following the Interim directive by the Supreme Court, VN, as Attorney for the Forum members, made a representation to the Railway Board on 4-9-83. The Railways now wanted to draw the final curtain on the issue of 1973/74 petitioners led by VN. And the

Railway Board passed new orders regarding these petitioners, by letter NO.E(PNA)II-81/CBC/PA-2, dated 28-4-84.¹⁰⁹ But the Board's orders of 28-4-84 were only in relation to the petitioners who were compared with M.A. Zama. The grievances of the other petitioners were not considered by the Board. VN was not happy with the outcome.¹¹⁰ Even for the petitioners favourably considered by order 28-4-84, VN had to struggle:

"...We had to choose the bad out of the worst and request other cases be considered on humanitarian and compassionate grounds. We have struggled in the Rly. Board to restore the benefits beyond 11-6-72 till retirement or last working day as ASM/SM whose identified junior is Shri.M.A.Zama..."¹¹¹

With the implementation of the 28-4-84 orders of the Board, Shri S.A. Azeem, SM of Cansaulim, Goa, was further paid Rs.15,281.35 in arrears.¹¹² His revised pay was of Rs.750.00, revised pension was Rs.531.00 and difference of DCRG was Rs.1645.00.¹¹³ Thus, after strenuous extended battles with the Railway Administration, S.A. Azeem, altogether received in arrears Rs.23213.25. His differences of salary¹¹⁴ were as follows:

	Old Salary at Retirement on 31-3-83	Revised Salary after 31-3-83
Basic Pay	Rs. 680.00	750.00
Dearness Allowance	Rs. 285.60	315.00
Adhoc D.A.	Rs. 350.20	453.75

VN was happy with the petitioners who benefitted. He wrote to them on 11-6-84:

"At this stage I go happy with the PINRS who have been benefitted after prolonged struggle..."¹¹⁵

Regarding the other petitioners who did not benefit, VN was optimistic and willing to struggle further on their behalf:

"....and still OPTIMISTIC in case of others, who are longing for benefits, who stand deprived at present juncture but my efforts will confine to my limitations..."¹¹⁶

Death was the limitation that stopped VN from continuing to fight for justice for others, his colleagues. VN was in the hands of Lord Yama at 4 p.m. on 31st August, 1985.¹¹⁷

Some of the Goa Petitioners i.e. S/Shri S.A. Azeem, S.M. Shirodkar, H.M.Raikar, U.M. Sanvordekar, V.S. Naik and G.J. Bandothkar gathered at Margao Railway Station at 5.30 p.m. on 20-10-1985 to pay official and collective respects to their beloved leader VN and to condole with his family.¹¹⁸ In gratitude of VN's efforts for piloting the CCB case successfully, the Goa Petitioners individually contributed Rs.500 to Rs.300 and handed over the amount to the bereaved widow of VN.¹¹⁹

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CHAPTER FIVE WAVES OF HARBOUR TENSIONS

I MORMUGAO DOCK LABOUR BOARD

A. Dock Labour Boards in Bombay-Calcutta-Madras

During the regime of the East India Company, the ports of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras came into existence and they were under the Local Administration. With the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms in 1921, the three ports were declared as major ports and were taken over by the Central Government, but the Local Governments continued to administer the ports as Agents of the Central Government. With the coming into force of the Government of India Act, 1935, the three ports came under the direct control of the Central Government of British India from 1st April 1937¹, and after 1947, under the Central Authority of Independent India. Mormugao port was under W.I.P.G.R. until it was taken over by the Portuguese Junta Administration in 1961. After the liberation of Goa, Mormugao port came under the administration of the Central Government of Independent India. The Major Ports Act was extended to Mormugao port in 1964.

In the ports of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, the cargo-handling work was originally done exclusively by port administration with the help of casual workers employed by private contractors. In 1931, the Royal Commission on Labour submitted its report to the Government of India. In the report, the Royal Commission on Labour pleaded for decasualisation of dock workers.

so that regular employment could be provided to the dock workers in the ports². Action on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour was taken only after the workers went on strike in 1947, in Bombay port. Shri Placid D'Mello a follower of Shri M.N. Roy, in 1940, was a member of the Bombay Port Trust Dock Staff Union. During this time, Bombay Port Trust Workers were having four department-wise Unions and all of them were very weak. During the Second World War period, the British rulers had appointed an English military officer as the General Manager of the Bombay port with all powers above the Chairman of the Port Trust. During the war period, the workers were seething with discontent about the ruthlessness in which the English General Manager was conducting the port affairs. After the war, in 1945, Shri P. D'Mello and Shri C.H. Kale called a conference of all the Bombay Port Trust Workers, over the heads of all unions. The workers responded with great enthusiasm and made the first ever joint conference a glorious success. The conference worked out a charter of demands and elected a Council of Action to agitate for the demands. Strike notice was served to the port authorities. The unity and determination of the Bombay port workers compelled the Labour Ministry to ask the Bombay Port Trust Chairman to negotiate with the elected workers' Council of Action. A settlement was reached and most of the demands met. This success made Shri P. D'Mello and Shri C.H. Kale very popular with the Bombay port workers. And most important, the Bombay port workers got united and came under one banner.³

Once the Bombay port workers were united in the Royist Camp, they worked towards implementation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour. After the Independence of India, S/Shri P. D'Mello, C.H. Kale and Shri S.R. Kulkarni, in 1947, organised a struggle against the **toliwalla system** in the Bombay port. The **toliwalla system** was the practice of getting loading and unloading work done at the port through labour contractors. A demand was made for decasualisation of dock workers as recommended by the Royal Commission of Labour of 1931, i.e. to abolish the contract system and absorb all such labourers in the port as permanent employees.⁴ During the time of the struggle, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the Labour Minister and he was supportive of the demand of the Bombay port workers to abolish the contract system. Under workers pressure, the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948, was passed. The Act provided for registration of dock workers under schemes framed thereunder and also contemplated the constitution of advisory committees to implement the schemes. On 1st January 1949, the shore side workers were absorbed as direct employees of the Bombay port. Based on the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948, schemes were framed for Bombay port in 1951, for Calcutta in 1952 and for Madras port in 1954. These schemes set up tripartite advisory committees which came to be called Dock Labour Boards. In 1962, the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948, was amended and provision was made for establishing Dock Labour Boards by the Act itself instead of by schemes made under the Act. Dock Labour Board at Mormugao (MDLB) was formed in 1965.⁵

The Dock Labour Boards register workers and supply them to the registered employers for handling cargo. Among other things the schemes formulated under the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948, guarantees wages to the workers for a specified minimum number of days, provides for payment of attendance money and disappointment money to the workers. Dock Labour Boards also extend to the workers, benefits of leave with wages, weekly-off, provident fund, gratuity, housing, medical and other welfare amenities. The funds required for meeting the expenditure of these welfare items are collected through a levy imposed on the employers.⁶

B. Pool

Let us have a glance at how the labour was distributed in the different loading and unloading operations in 1963 at Mormugao harbour. The harbour operations were handled by three groups of employers:

1. By the Stevedoring Firms
2. By the Mechanised plant for ore-handling, owned and run by Chowgules and
3. By the Mormugao Port Trust

About 70% of the loading operations were carried out in the mid-stream of the Mormugao port, where ocean going liners were anchored and loaded with ore by barges coming from inland-mine jetties. As soon as the barges arrived by the side of the anchored vessels, the ore was taken out by a category of workers called **GANG-WORKERS**. The Gang-Workers put the ore in net-slings,

which were lifted and dropped in the holds of the Vessels by Winches. The winches were driven by a category of workers called **WINCHMEN**. The barge-workers formed another distinct category called **BARGEMEN**. The Mechanised Plant of M/s Chowgule mechanically unloaded the barges and then mechanically put the ore in the holds of the vessels through a mechanism of conveyor-belts, Grab-cranes and other devices. The Company running the mechanised plant employed mostly technical and skilled workers. The supervision was carried out by **SUPERVISORY STAFF** like Tally-clerks, Supervisors, Foremen and others. The other type of workmen engaged were **SAMPLING-BOYS** who picked up samples of ore required for determining the ferrous contents of the ore exported. All these workers were called **DOCK-WORKERS**. The strength of Dock-Workers in 1963 was roughly as follows: **GANG-WORKERS** - 1400 registered and 700 un-registered in the Pool. **WINCHMEN** - 700 permanent and 400 casual, **BARGEMEN** - 1700 permanent. **SUPERVISORY STAFF** - 300. **SAMPLE-BOYS** - 300. **MECHANICAL PLANT** - 300 employees. All these workers were employed by private employers. Besides the Dock-Workers, there were the Port-Trust workers or **PORT-WORKERS** whose number was over 1000. The imports were handled by the Port Trust Shore-Workers and Crane Drivers. The ore brought by railway wagons from the interior was also handled by the Port-Workers, the Shore Workers and the Crane Drivers⁷.

The Gang-Workers were all engaged to work through the mukadams (cf.p.76 ff). After the liberation of Goa, the mukadam system in Mormugao harbour was got rid off by the formation of the Pool. How

was the mukadam system brought to an end and the Pool shaped into existence? All the Unions functioning in the Mormugao harbour, by the end of 1962, put up demands to the Government and Goa Stevedors, to bring the contract system or the mukadam system to an end in Mormugao harbour. By 26th September 1962, The INTUC sponsored National Dock and Transport Workers Union (Goa), through its General Secretary Shri Anthony D'Souza and the Secretary Shri Shivram Ajgaonkar, requested the Governor of Goa to create a scheme like the Dock Labour Board and bring the contract system to an end. Smt. Dr. Meitriya Bose, the President of all India INTUC and President of the National Port and Dock Workers Federation, along with Shri G.D. Ambekar, on 23 December 1962, at a public meeting of dock and port workers in Vasco, supported the demand of the local INTUC leadership to bring the contract system in the Mormugao harbour to an end.⁸

The Mormugao Port Dock & Transport Workers Union (MPDTWU) led by Gerald Pereira, in its October 1962 General Council meeting had given a call to end the semi-slavery conditions of Uttar Bharatiya labourers by abolishing the contract system (mukadamy) in Mormugao harbour with the establishment of Dock Labour Board and Employment Regulation Scheme.⁹

Regarding the mukadam system, the Union was more specific in its Charter of demands dated 15th October, 1962, presented to the Secretary of Mormugao Shipping Agents and Stevedores Association:

"....the MPDTWU strongly feels the necessity of introducing the scheme of Employment of the Dock Labour Board more or less on the pattern set up in the Bombay Docks. Such a step will not only help to regularise and nationalise the

service conditions of the Mormugao dock workers but also help the Companies to pool their resources together to overcome certain inherent defects in the present system.. We strongly feel that if we sit over a table and discuss all the issues in a dispassionate manner, we shall definitely come to a reasonable and workable solution. Using methods and ways , which are not helpful by some of the companies, have only led to the deterioration of the situation and worsening of the relations between the employers and employees..."¹⁰

The third Union functioning in Mormugao harbour, the HMS backed Transport and Dock Workers Union (Goa) -(TDWU), on its demands day of 16th September, 1962, in the name of the late Shri P.D'Mello, gave a call to finish the mukadam system in Mormugao harbour. The Charter of demands submitted to the Lieutenant Governor, Shri T.Shivshankar, on the Demands day, by the HMS leadership, asked for application of decasualisation scheme as in force in various ports such as Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and establishment of Dock Labour Board with representation for labour¹¹.

The General Secretary of TDWU, Shri Rameshchandra Waman Desai, in short called Ramesh Desai, openly declared in Vasco-da-Gama, that he was specifically sent to Goa to work among the U.P. workers in Mormugao harbour, by the Bombay based HMS leadership¹². The TDWU concentrated its organisational efforts amidst the Dock workers under the control of the mukadams. On 17th September, 1962 the leadership of TDWU made three moves that helped the dock workers have that initiating confidence in the capability of the HMS backed TDWU. Five Dempo workers were dismissed from work, these five workers were reinstated on work through the efforts of TDWU on 17th September, 1962. On the same day at Berth No.6, before

a public meeting of Dock workers, the TDWU leadership was able to get rid of the long practice of Dock workers paying Rs.12/- for a shovel lost or broken. On this day mukadam Shamraj on behalf of all the mukadams stated that henceforth the Rs.12/- of lost or broken shovels will be paid by the mukadams themselves, and not cut the amount from the individual wages of the workers as before. The third important move of the TDWU, was the eight hour shift demand. The TDWU pressed upon the Lt.Governor to reduce the 12 hour shift to an eight hour shift. The Lt.Governor promised the TDWU leadership to study the issue and come to a decision.¹³

As some of the U.P. dock workers were getting organised in TDWU, there were reports of harassment by mukadams. To give courage to the dock workers, TDWU printed and distributed leaflets among the U.P. workers and warned the mukadams to stop harassing and being violent against the workers. One leaflet of October 1962 stated:

"TDWU is moving ahead. Sensing danger to their Mukadam System the Mukadams have started new violence against the workers. Some Mukadams have threatened the union workers. Mukadam Shiri has removed Parsanath from work. Because Hiralal joined the Union he is removed from work by Mukadam Nabi. Mukadam Sukdev removed Saduram from work. Mukadam Shukla has warned Jangilal that he will be beaten up if he joined the Union..."¹⁴

For the first time, the TDWU announced to the public on 1st November, 1962, that they had worked out a plan to bring the mukadam system to an end and that they had placed the plan before the Lt.Governor. According to the plan presented by TDWU, the

Government should immediately stop the mukadam system, introduce an eight hour shift, make the gang-workers permanent, stop giving the mukadams the commission of Rs.12.50, per gang per shift, which the Government should ultimately give to the gang-workers¹⁵. In December of 1962 TDWU organised a signature campaign among the U.P. dock workers to pressurize the Stevedores Association to bring the mukadam system to an end¹⁶. As a result of the signature campaign the Stevedores Association started talks with TDWU. According to TDWU the talks were fruitful and the Association had agreed to implement the following five demands:

- Before 31st January, the mukadams were to be removed.
- The Board was to be formed before 31st January after finishing the Mukadam System.
- On the Register of the Board the names of the members of the union were to be registered.
- After 31st January the workers were to become the workers of the Board, and
- After removing the Mukadams, the amount that a gang got was to be equally divided among the workers¹⁷.

The mukadams, coming under the pressure of organised labour, now promised all the gang-workers to fix them as company gang workers.¹⁸ But the TDWU warned the gang-workers not to be pulled in by the promises of the mukadams and that the real call of the gang-workers was to be fixed in the Board¹⁹. The TDWU made the public aware of the exploitation that the mukadams were engaged in:

"According to the Contract, the Mukadams were getting from the Stevedores Rs.42.50 for unloading/loading (80) tons. This money of Rs.42.50 was to be divided thus, Rs.3/- per

worker, therefore for 12 workers (a gang was of 12 workers) Rs.36/-. Food Ration for workers Rs.3. For Mukadam Rs.3.50. But for the last eight years the Mukadams reduced the number of workers in a gang from 12 to 10 and instead of taking a commission of only Rs.3.50, the Mukadams started taking a commission of Rs.12.50 per Gang by squeezing the workers and increasing the work load. Not happy with the commission of one Gang, some Mukadams kept 100/100 Gang Workers on a waiting list and were earning from Rs.200 to Rs.700 per day for the last 8 years..."²⁰

Not perturbed by counter moves by the mukadams, and lack of real support by the Stevedores, TDWU kept up the pressure of the workers to put an end to the mukadam system. When there was fear that the mukadams would reject all the former workers and employ new labour, TDWU, on 21 January 1963, led a huge demonstration of gang-workers and gave the names of about 1600 gang-workers to the Mormugao Stevedores Association (MSA) and the Government, demanding an end to the mukadam system. On this occasion, the MSA promised the TDWU that they would bring the mukadam system to an end and form a "Pool and Board" of the workers²¹.

The gang workers and the TDWU, so far made to live on empty promises by the Stevedores, and confronted by increasing violence by the mukadams, gave a warning on the 2nd March, 1963, to the mukadams, that the peaceful way in which the workers and the Union were conducting their agitation, should not be taken as a sign of weakness by the mukadams. The mukadams were warned that the workers were capable of taking revenge for every act of violence by the mukadams. And if the peaceful workers got out of control in self-defence, the responsibility of all breach of peace would be

squarely on the shoulders of the Stevedores and the Government for not contending the violence of the mukadams²². On 2nd March 1963, at 12.00 midnight, Ramesh Desai the General Secretary and eleven other leaders of TDWU were arrested by the Goa Police on complains made by the mukadams that the mukadams were physically attacked and assaulted by Ramesh Desai and his workers. Ramesh Desai and his companions were kept under police custody without grant of surety. All the TDWU workers with their leaders were released only by 16th March, 1963. The complains of the mukadams were not sustainable²³. The March 1963 arrests and crisis, increased the confidence of the workers. They felt all the more that the victory would be theirs and that the final stage of the mukadam system was fast approaching.²⁴

After the March 1963 arrests and crisis, the organisational strength of TDWU dramatically increased; Anthony D'Souza the General Secretary and Sivram Aijaoncar the Secretary of the INTUC sponsored NDTWU (Goa), joined lock stock and barrel the HMS led TDWU (Goa). The dock workers who were with INTUC, now joined HMS controlled TDWU²⁵. The gang workers sang of the unity between Ramesh Desai and Anthony D'Souza in the following verse:

"Duhniya ko prakash dene ke liye
mumbathi jala gaie!
Mukadami ko khatam karne ke liye
Ramesh D'souza ki khaphan bann gaie!!"²⁶

Which freely translated means

To give light to the world
candles were lighted !
To end the Mukadam System
Ramesh D'Souza were united !!

27th April, 1963, was an important date for TDWU and its goal of freeing the Mormugao gang workers from the clutches of the mukadam system. On this date at Palace Hotel at Vasco-da-Gama, Ramesh Desai of TDWU and T.K. Unny the President of MSA signed the first official memorandum of settlement to officially bring the mukadam system to an end in Mormugao harbour. This memorandum was brought about through the intervention of Shri S.M. Dikhale, Regional Labour Commissioner - Bombay:

"The representatives of Mormugao Stevadores' Association and the representatives of the Transport and Dock Workers' Union, Vasco-da-Gama, met at Palace Hotel on Saturday the 27th of April, 1963 at 14.30 hours, in the presence of Mr. S.M. Dikhale, Regional Labour Commissioner, Bombay, and discussed the proposed Marmagoa Stevadores Gang Labour Scheme.

"The Scheme as drafted with a few modifications was accepted by the Labour representatives as a working model to start with..."²⁷

The Mormugao Stevadores Gang Labour Scheme was popularly known as the "Pool Scheme" or just called the "Pool". What was the "Pool" ?

"Pool shall mean a collective term referring to all the registered gang workers." ²⁸

The objective of the "Pool" was to get rid of the mukadam system by giving "direct" employment to the gang workers:

Objects: The objects of this scheme are to regulate the employment of Stevadore Gang Workers at Marmagoa Port, to promote direct and better employer-employee relationship and to secure that an adequate number of such workers is available for the efficient performance of such work."²⁹

The signing of "Pool Scheme" settlement between MSA and TDWU made the TDWU constantly work for the registration of gang workers against increasing resistance by the mukadamas and the communist

led MPDTWU. In the first week of May 1963, Anthony D'Souza and Ramesh Desai, on behalf of TDWU, published four leaflets to persuade the gang workers to register their names in the "Pool". TDWU warned all the gang workers that only the registered gang workers would be employed by the "Pool".³⁰ The efforts of TDWU resulted in 900 gang workers registering their names in the "Pool" under the leadership of TDWU,³¹ which celebrated 22nd May 1963, as Victory Day. On this day the 900 gang workers under the leadership of TDWU, celebrated their freedom from the mukadam system. In the evening of 22nd May 1963, the gang workers held victory demonstrations and public rallies in Vasco-da-Gama to celebrate their victory over the mukadam system. The workers were addressed by national leaders like S.R.Kulkarni, Dr. Shanti Patel and others.³² While bringing down the mukadam system the workers had coined a variety of slogans which frequently echoed in the social atmosphere in and around the Vasco-da-Gama harbour town:

"Lal Jhanda jitega - Vasco Mukadam bhagega"³³

(Vasco mukadams will be on the run
When the Red Flag is up swung)

"Muzdoor jagga - Mukadam bhagga"³⁴

(When workers awoke - mukadams ran broke)

"Uncha rahega sevala - Mukadamo ka diwala"³⁵

(Shovels will remain high, - mukadams will run dry)

"Nahi rahenge aab gulam - dhani dete hum ko kam"³⁶

(Mukadams' slaves no more - employed workers ever more)

"Aaram hai aaj haram - Mukadamo ka nahi kuch kam"³⁷

(Living in leisure giving us less
Mukadams have grown so useless)

"Galli galli mein ek avaz - Mukadam log chale jao"³⁸

(One voice in lanes and byway - mukadams go away go away)

"Jhor jullum se chali tumhari aaj magar hai apni bhari apni bhari"³⁹

(With authority you ruled us today
But time will swing our way our way)

"Mukadamo ki tanashahi nahi chalegi nahi chalegi"⁴⁰

(Dictatorship of mukadam - will grow dumb)

"Na rahenge Mukadamo ke gulam - hame chaiye malik se kam"⁴¹

(Employer-employee relationship to beget
Mukadam-slavery we reject)

"Ye tooti footi Mukadami ko - aakhri dhakka aaj do"⁴²

(The mukadamy gone rotten in every brick
Come let us give the sublime last kick)

The victorious gang workers considered 22nd May 1963, also as a "death day"⁴³ - death to the mukadam system. 23rd May 1963 was "the Golden Day"⁴⁴ in the lives of these workers, as from this day no worker would be employed by the Stevedores as workers of the mukadams but as workers from the "Pool". S.R.Kulkarni had announced to the press in Bombay that the "Pool scheme" was to be inaugurated in Goa on 23rd May 1963 to mark the visit of the late Prime Minister Nehru to Goa after its liberation from the Portuguese rule. S.R.Kulkarni had even hoped that the "Pool" would be inaugurated by the Prime Minister.⁴⁵ But on 23rd May, Communist led MPDTWU declared a general strike in Mormugao harbour and paralysed all loading and unloading operations at the harbour.

S.A.Dange, the communist leader and then General Secretary of AITUC, during the first May Day rally in liberated Goa, referred to the "pool system" in his 1963 May Day address in Vasco, in the following words, "If a single labourer is rendered jobless on account of the pool system then I reject it outright!"⁴⁶ The spirit and depth of the opposition of the communist led MPDTWU, to the pool system is best explained in a letter of Gajanan Patil, the Secretary of MPDTWU, to George Vaz and others. The letter is dated 17th May 1963:

"You are aware that our union has given a strike notice to the Marmagoa Stevedores Association on the issue of the **POOL SYSTEM**, which is a trick the said Association is trying to use to retrench the gang workers (Uttar Bhartiya) and deprive them of the existing facilities. The said Association wants to boost up the rival union of the HMS and INTUC. We are fighting tooth and nail to prevent the introduction of the said Pool-System and we have sufficiently mobilised all the sections of the workers in the harbour. Our strike, if forced on us by the Association, will take place from 1st June 1963, the day when the said Association is trying to establish the Pool System.

.....tried their all best to see that the Prime Minister also makes the inauguration of Pool System. We opposed the said programme the said inauguration programme by the Prime Minister is dropped."⁴⁷

Gerald Pereira, the General Secretary was so antagonistic to the "Pool System" as conceived, shaped and enforced by the MSA, Port Authorities and the Government, that he was not ready to listen even to the advice of his comrade in arms, and his former leader

in the struggle for the Liberation of Goa - Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali. She personally tried to solve the dispute of the "Pool System" and avoid the strike while she was in Goa since 22nd May, 1963.⁴⁸ She left Goa on 24th May, 1963 with the following appeal:

"The people of Goa were atlast given the opportunity to welcome their Prime Minister on the free soil of their Motherland. It was real fulfilment of our aspirations to see them with him and the hope his inspiring words raised for a better future.

May I also take this opportunity to request both the members of the Marmagoa Port Dock and Transport Workers Union and the Marmagao Stevedores Association to come to an amicable settlement and end the stoppage of work. The country cannot afford to loose a single naya paise in foreign exchange and they owe it to themselves as free Goans to settle the dispute without further delay.

I hope the Prime Minister's appeal for solidarity and hard work will inspire everyone in Goa to minimise all sectional differences for the cause of a new India."⁴⁹

What were some of the causes that shaped the powerful stormy counter social current against the "Pool Scheme" ?

Except for putting an end to the mukadam system, the "Pool Scheme" brought no immediate financial advantages to the gang workers. In the Pool Scheme, as proposed by MSA and accepted by TDWU, there was no article incorporated in the Scheme, regarding the sharing of the gang wage of Rs.42.50 among the ten workers which constituted a gang. If gang wage of Rs.42.50, which was so far given in the hands of mukadams, was divided equally between the ten gang workers - each gang worker would have got Rs.4.25 per hazri. But as before, a gang worker was to get only Rs.3/- per shift on peice rate basis. Article 12 of the Pool Scheme stated:

"12. Employment of workers : Registered gang workers shall be employed in shifts as existing at present in th Port of Mormugao, as under:

(a) While handling ore cargo in barges they shall be employed in gangs of ten men each on peice-rate basis as existing at present..."⁵⁰ - i.e. Rs.3/-per hazri per worker (cf.p.280).

MPDTWU also objected to the reduction of attendance money from Rs.1.50 to Rs.1.00 with the introduction of the Pool. MPDTWU viewed the Pool as a scheme to retrench gang workers. MPDTWU further resented that though it was constantly demanding for the introduction of the Dock Labour Board in Mormugao, the MSA had not even consulted the union before the introduction of the Pool, even though MPDTWU had the largest following in the harbour. On 30th May 1963, S.A.Dange advised MPDTWU to call off the strike, but not to be misunderstood by any party, he gave out a detailed Press Statement in New Delhi upholding the thinking of Gerald Pereira who led the strike in Mormugao harbour since 23rd May 1963.⁵¹

The Goa Mineral Ore Exporters' Association requested the Central Government to declare the MPDTWU led strike as illegal.⁵² On 31st May, 1963, the strike was declared unlawful under Rule 122 of the Defence of India Rules - 1962.⁵³ Gerald Pereira, Gajanan Patil, Sarvajit Singh, and other leaders were arrested⁵⁴. In spite of declaring the strike unlawful under the Defence of India Rule, and the Goa police going around Vasco and Mormugao in vans telling the workers to resume work and that they were liable for punishment up to three years of imprisonment if they did not resume duty,⁵⁵ the workers led by MPDTWU defied the Defence of India Rule and abstained from work. On June 2nd about 1000 workers

marched through Vasco and demonstrated before the Vasco Police Station demanding the release of Gerald Pereira and other arrested leaders. The Goa police dispersed the demonstrating workers and more arrests were made.⁵⁶ According to Government sources about 204 workers were arrested during the strike;⁵⁷ The number was 350 according to Union sources (cf.p.292). The Government could not make the workers resume duty inspite of the mass arrests of the workers and their leaders.

The NAVHIND TIMES, of the House of Dempos, on 1st June 1963, spoke of the introduction of DIR at the harbour as "RIGHT, THOUGH BELATED", the paper also put before the public the Stevedores' view of the pool-strike:

"...The (Pool) scheme regularises the employment of labour and secures to them their existing working conditions and wage rates without any scope of exploitation of middle-men. An assurance has been given that the payments so far made to the mukadams, will in future, be utilised for the payment of wages to the workers direct, for giving even to the casual workers registered with the Pool an attendance allowance of Rs.1/- for the first time, for payment to them of their existing house rent and for the extension to them of reasonable medical benefits. A further assurance has been given that the balance remaining with the Stevedores Association, after these payments are secured, will be utilised wholly for securing to them additional benefits and amenities in accordance with the priority decided upon in consultation with the interests concerned.

..... If merely because the initiative for such a beneficial scheme came from the employers' Association, it is no cause for a workers' Union to feel sore about it and to mislead the workers by a misdirected agitation against the scheme. It reveals a wrong thinking on the part of the striking Union that everything that the employers do must be wrong....."⁵⁸

The Portuguese paper 'LUTA' stressed the lack of responsibility on the part of the MSA for not consulting the largest and recognised union in Mormugao Harbour, before imposing the Pool Scheme on the dock workers and thus creating the strike situation in the Goa Harbour⁵⁹.

Shri George Vaz the leader of the Mine workers pointed out the role of Shri T.S. Parasuraman in handling the Mormugao harbour labour relations:

"It appears that Mr. T.S. Parasuraman the Port Administrator at Mormugao who is also the Chairman of the Tripartite Labour Board has mishandled the situation at the port and had given his approval to a one sided Labour Pool which was agreed to by the MSA and certain PSP led Unions without discussing the issue of the pool with the largest and most representative Union at Mormugao led by Gerald Pereira..."⁶⁰

In the midst of the Pool strike the Central Government removed Mr. T.S.Parasuraman as Port Administrator at Marmagoa and was appointed Government Director on the Board of Directors of Indian Shipping Corporation, Bombay. Mr.L.M.Nadkarni I.C.S., had taken charge as Administrative Officer of the Port of Mormugao from Mr.T.S.Parasuraman. Mr Nadkarni was Joint Secretary in the Union Ministry of Home Affairs New Delhi."⁶¹

S.A. Dange sent his emissary K.G.Srivastava, the General Secretary of AITUC, to Goa on 2nd June to dissolve the Pool strike situation in Mormugao harbour. K.G.Srivastava met Gerald Pereira and Sarvajit Singh in Margao Jail. From midnight to 3 a.m. of 3rd June, Srivastava and the Chief Secretary of Goa, Mr.P.J.Fernandes sat in conference with the detained MPDTWU leaders, hammered out

an agreement and the strike was called off by 10.30 a.m. of 3rd June, 1963.⁶² The eleven day strike ended with MPDTWU and the Government signing an eleven point agreement. The main features of the Agreement were:

- The MPDTWU had accepted the dock labour pool scheme in principle as a step towards the formation of a Dock Labour Board.
- However, the Union was of the view that the pool scheme required modification which could be done by mutual discussions between the Union and the MSA with the help of the Administration.
- It was agreed that there was to be no retrenchment as a result of the implementation of the pool scheme for those who had been working for three months prior to March 31, 1963.
- All the strikers were to be taken back to work. Those gangmen who had not enlisted in the pool up till then, and had put in atleast three months services prior to March 31, 1963, were to be given an opportunity of registering themselves up to June 15, 1963. Any worker, if he so desired, could enter the pool in the additional list with a conditional clause that he accepted the pool subject to modification which were to be arrived at as a result of negotiations. During the period of negotiations and until final settlement the pool was to be under the supervision and control of an officer who had to be designated by the Government.
- It was also agreed that there was to be no victimisation for participation in the strike. All the workers who were arrested for breach of the Defence of India Order making the strike

unlawful were to be released, except those who had been arrested for acts of violence and breach of public order. They were to be released on bail.

- The MPDTWU deplored any lawlessness which may have occurred during the strike period.⁶³

George Vaz congratulated MPDTWU for having successfully brought to an end the eleven day old strike in Mormugao harbour with a complete victory for the workers in their minimum demands. He also congratulated the Government of India for having withdrawn the Defence of India Rules and released the 350 workers and Trade Union Leaders who were arrested after the DIR was enforced.⁶⁴ In his yearly report to the Goa State Council of CPI, George Vaz spoke of the defiance of DIR by MPDWU workers as an important historical moment in the Goan working class struggle:

"The Centre backed by the local Government has time after time taken recourse to the DIR to suppress the democratic struggles of the working class in Goa. The MPDTWU created history in 1963 by defying the DIR and forcing the Government to come down and concede to the majority of the demands of the organised working class in the docks. For the first time in India the Goan working class through their unity and solidarity defeated the unpopular DIR used in the name of emergency."⁶⁵

Apparently, in the post MPDTWU-led-Pool-Strike situation, the HMS-TDWU was not at ease with its Pool Scheme Agreement with MSA on 27th April 1963 at the Vasco Palace Hotel (cf.p.283). Vide letter No.STA/10/151/ dated 13th June 1963, TDWU submitted a new Charter of Demands on behalf of the gang workers to MSA and requested the Vasco based Concillation Officer to admit the

Charter of Demands for settlement of dispute as there was no possibility for the demands to be settled by mutual negotiations.⁶⁶

The MPDTWU submitted the Charter of Demands of the gang workers and the Pool Scheme to the MSA on 26th June, 1963. The Charter of Demands was admitted for conciliation by the Conciliation Officer (Central) Vasco-da-Gama, on 27th June 1963.⁶⁷

In the midst of the conciliation proceedings between MSA, MPDTWU, TDWU and the Central Government, 7 out of 12 of the most important Stevedores entered into a 3 years truce Agreement on 27th October 1963 **ONLY** with HMS leaders Ramesh Desai of TDWU and S.R.Kulkarni, the President of All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation. The Agreement was signed by S.M. Dikhale the Regional Labour Commissioner of Bombay. The seven Stevedoring Companies which signed the Agreement with HMS led TDWU were:

- 1) M/s Shantilal Khulshadas & Bros.,
- 2) M/s Chowgule Brothers.,
- 3) M/s V.S.Dempo & Co. Ltd.,
- 4) M/s V.M.Salgaocar e Irmao Ltda.,
- 5) M/s Damodar Mangalji & Co.(India) Ltd.,
- 6) M/s Agencia Ultramarina Ltd., and
- 7) M/s Froilana Machado.⁶⁸

According to Ramesh Desai, the above 27th October, 1963, 3 year truce Agreement was brought about through the intervention of the Minister of State for Labour Shri Malviya when he was in Goa from 24th to 27th October 1963.⁶⁹

Just thirteen days after signing the three year truce Agreement of 27th October 1963 ONLY with TDWU, the above mentioned seven Stevedoring Companies, along with five more companies i.e.

- 1) M/s Marmagoa Navegadores Ltd.,
- 2) M/s Lima Leitao & Co.Ltd.,
- 3) M/s Elisbao Pereira & Sons Ltd.,
- 4) M/s V.N.S. Bandekar,
- 5) M/s Agencia Maritima Comercial,

signed a 3 year truce Settlement with MPDTWU and TDWU, on 9th November 1963. The collective settlement of 9th November regarding Marmagoa gang workers, was signed before Shri N.K.Chaddha, the Concillation Officer (Central) of Vasco-da-Gama.⁷⁰ The November 9th truce Settlement was in its core and all important essentials, word for word the same 14 terms of the truce Agreement signed by the seven most important Stevedoring Companies with only TDWU just 13 days before - on 27th October 1963, except for the C.L.I. rise by "10 points" in General Term 4. Let us place the two truce Agreements side by side and taste their marrow:

Terms of 27-10-63 3 year Truce Agreement signed ONLY
with TDWU: (all stress below is added)

"GANGMEN

1) It is agreed that the working hours for the Gang labour will be 8 hours per shift with effect from 1st January, 1964, an additional time of half an hour before and subsequent to the shift will be allowed for the purpose of movement of workers from shore to ship.

2) The following rates of wages are agreed to:-

(i) For the first hajeri Rs.3.32 .

(ii) For the second hajeri Rs.3.50.

(iii) Third and subsequent hajeris Rs.3.70.

Any work done beyond 8 hours shift will have to be paid for on overtime basis, i.e. at double the rate of the average wages with effect from 1st January, 1964.

3) It is agreed that for the purpose of this agreement a standard of 80 tons will constitute a hajeri.

4) It is agreed that the minimum number of calls per month shall be 15 days.

5) The rate of Attendance Allowance shall be at Rs.1.25.

6) If on any day a worker is booked and not provided work within two hours of the commencement of shift, he will be entitled to a wage of Rs. 1.66 after 1st January 1964.

7) Annual leave with pay shall be given to all Gang workers at the rate of one day for every 20 working days.

Terms of 9-11-63 3 year Truce Settlement signed with
MPDTWU AND TDWU: (all stress below added)

"GANGMEN

1) It is agreed that the working hours for the Gang labour will be 8 hours per shift with effect from 1st January, 1964, subject to the Port Authority arranging timely transport facility. The Port Authority will be approached immediately by the parties. An additional half an hour time before and subsequent to the shift will be allowed for the purpose of movement of workers from shore to ship and vice versa.

(II) The following rates of wages are agreed to:-

(i) For the first hajeri Rs.3.32 .

(ii) For the second hajeri Rs.3.50.

(iii) Third and subsequent hajeris Rs.3.70.

The basis for the computation of wages, as above, will be the actual work done per gang, fraction prorata. Any work done beyond 8 hours shift will have to be paid for on overtime basis, i.e. at double the rate of the average wages with effect from 1st January, 1964.

(III)...It is agreed that a fixation of a fair and reasonable hajeri based on a study of averages of the existing barge tonnages will be fixed by an Arbitrator subject to a maximum of 80 tonnes....

IV) In respect of the number of wagons to be unloaded per gang per hajeri, the same will be mutually agreed to by 20th November, 1963.

V) It is agreed that the minimum number of calls per month shall be 15 days provided the workers attend regularly except in case of authorised absence.

VI) The rate of Attendance Allowance shall be at Rs.1.25 N.P.

VII) If on any day a worker is booked and not provided work within two hours of the commencement of shift, he will be entitled to a wage of Rs. 1.66 n.p. after 1st January 1964.

VIII) Annual leave with pay shall be given to all Gang workers at the rate of one day for every 20 reported days (which come to about 18 days)

IX) ...the present medical assistance and other existing facility to the gang workers shall continue to be in operation.

X) ...the gang workers shall be entitled to four paid holidays....

XI).....an Implementation Committee consisting of two representatives of (MSA) and one representative of each of the Unions should be constituted to supervise the Administrative arrangements of the Gang Workers' Pool...

XII)...rain coats or other similar rain protection should be provided to all gang workers.

XIII) In consideration of the truce agreement being signed for three years, (the unions have to ensure discipline of the workers at the working places).

GENERAL

1) This settlement shall come into force for a period of three years from 1st October, 1963.

2) During the period of this agreement no demands involving financial liability shall be made. However, any statutory obligation placed on the employers by law shall be put into effect even if it involves financial liability.

3) It is agreed that if during the period of the truce agreement, the Government appoints a Wage Board for going into the question of rationalisation of working conditions of Port and Dock Labour and if its recommendations are accepted by the Government they shall be implemented, not withstanding this agreement.

4) If during the period of this settlement the Government fixes cost of living index and if the cost of living index rises by 10 points over the base, the Union would be entitled to raise the question of compensating the workers for such a rise. The employers shall consider this question if raised.

GENERAL TERMS OF SETTLEMENT

XIV) This settlement shall remain in force for a period of three years with effect from 1st October, 1963.

XV) During the period of this agreement no demands involving financial liability shall be made except those specifically permitted under this agreement. However, any statutory obligation placed on the employers by law shall be put into effect even if it involves financial liability.

XVI) It is agreed that if during the period of the truce agreement, the Government appoints a Wage Board for going into the question of rationalisation of working conditions of Port and Dock Labour and if its recommendations are accepted by the Government they shall be implemented in respect of Dock Labour not withstanding this agreement.

XVII) If during the period of this settlement the Government fixes cost of living index and if the cost of living index rises by 5 points over the base, the Union would be entitled to raise the question of compensating the workers for such a rise. The employers shall consider this question, if raised.

5) Any dispute between the parties in respect of Safety Regulations or technical matters shall be referred for decision to the appropriate Technical Authorities whose decision shall be final.

6) The Employers and the Workers' Union agrees that they will jointly approach the Central Government immediately for expeditious arrangement for the Constitution of decasualisation scheme in the Port of Mormugao in accordance with the provisions of Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948 and the schemes framed thereunder at other major ports.

7) This agreement does not surrender the right of the Gang workers to raise a dispute regarding bonus.

8) The terms mentioned above are agreeable subject to their being approved by the Directors of the respective Companies and the Executive Committees of the Union. Such approval would be obtained by the respective parties within 48 hours and intimated to the Conciliation Officer (Central) Vasco-da-Gama accordingly."⁷¹

XVIII) Any dispute between the parties in respect of Safety Regulations or technical matters shall be referred for decision to the appropriate Technical Authorities whose decision shall be final.

XIX) The Employers and the Unions agree that they will jointly approach the Central Government immediately for expeditious arrangement for the constitution of Marmagao Dock Labour Board for the administration of decasualisation scheme in the Port of Mormugao in accordance with the provisions of Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948 and the schemes framed thereunder at other major ports.

XX) This agreement does not surrender the right of the Gang workers to raise a dispute regarding bonus.

XXI) ...the cases of disciplinary action taken against the workmen shall be decided in accordance with the Standing Orders that are pending certification...

XXII) ...grievance procedure...A Committee consisting of two representatives of the Association and one representative of each of the Unions shall be constituted. Whenever any grievances are experienced by the workmen they shall first of all, approach, through the Unions. Failing satisfactory solution of the grievances so raised the matter shall be submitted to this Committee whose unanimous decision shall be final and binding on all the parties, failing which the matter shall be referred to the Conciliation Officer (Central) Vasco-da-Gama acting as Arbitrator and his decisions shall be final and binding.

XXIII) ...during the operation of the settlement there shall be no strike, no go-slow and no lock-out.

XXIV) In view of the settlement arrived at, the Unions agree to withdraw all other demands which are not specifically covered by this settlement."⁷²

Having comparatively gone through the two truce settlements, a question can be validly raised in the back ground of the tense and contraversial eleven day pool-strike led by communist MPDTWU. Why did the seven leading Stevedoring Companies, most of which were

owned by leading mine owners and ore exporters of Goa, enter into a three year truce agreement **SOLELY** with HMS leaders S.R.Kulkarni and Ramesh Desai on 27th October 1963, if 14 out of the 15 terms of the 27th October, 1963 truce agreement were to be in any case word to word agreed upon **COLLECTIVELY** with the communist led MPDTWU and the HMS-led TDWU - just 13 days later i.e. on 9th November 1963 ? Similar and related questions can possibly be raised but probable answers cannot be scrutinised.

Ramesh Desai spoke of the 27th October, 1963 truce agreement as having "**surely destroyed the chance of the communists**"⁷³ (stress added).

The MPDTWU considered the signing of the 9th November 1963 truce Agreement as a land-mark in the history of the trade union movement in Goa and a step forward towards the improvement in the conditions of DOCK WORKERS of Marmagao Harbour and the creation of better employer-employee relations.⁷⁴

The 9th November 1963 - three year truce Agreement had three parts. The part regarding the **Gang Workers** was signed by the employers collectively with the HMS-led TDWU and the communist-led MPDTWU. The parts about the **Bargemen** and the **Winchmen** was signed only with MPDTWU.⁷⁵

As far as the gang workers were concerned, the promises and hopes of equally sharing the gang-wage of Rs.42.50 which the mukadams were getting per hazri, were neither fulfilled by the 27th April 1963 Pool-Scheme Agreement nor by the 27th October 1963 truce Agreement, nor by the 9th November 1963 truce Settlement. If the gang wage was equally shared among the ten gang-workers after the abolition of the mukadam system, each gang-worker would have got Rs.4.25 per hazri of 80 tons. The Communist were fully aware that inspite of the November 1963 Settlement, the Stevedores kept the financial advantage of abolishing the mukadam system with themselves. Gajanan Patil explained:

" Before June 1963 i.e. before the abolition of the Contract System, a Gang of Gang-Workers was paid Rs.42.50 for the first hajeri (Hajeri is equal to 80 tons of Ore) the second and the third hajeris etc.were also paid at the same rate. Out of these Rs.42.50, Rs.30.00 were divided between the Gang (i.e.Rs.30 X 1/10 =Rs.3/-per head). The remaining Rs.12.50 became the gross commission of the contractors. With the abolition of the Contract- System, the Stevedores began paying Rs.3.00 per head for the hajeri earned to the Gang workers and the sum of Rs.12.50 became the 'LEVY' to be charged against the Stevedores and payable to the said POOL....."⁷⁶

"The Levy...of Rs.12.50 ...went towards the maintenance of the Office, Staff, Medical Treatment and other expenses of the POOL. In short, the Stevedores had to bear nothing in financial liabilities with the creation of the POOL so much so that they signed an Agreement in November 1963, increasing the wages in the following manners:

IN THE POOL

Prior to the Agreement

After the Agreement

Rs.3.00 uniformly
for every
hajeri.

Rs.3.32 for 1st hajeri.
Rs.3.50 for 2nd hajeri.
Rs.3.70 for 3rd & subs. hajeri

.....

The Gang-Workers with the said Agreement, got 15 days guarantee and Attendance Wage of Rs.1.25 (when no work is provided). Naturally these facilities were for registered workers and the employers had to bear no extra financial burden to grant the above concessions as the financial liabilities were borne out of the LEVY so paid."⁷⁷

C) WINCHMEN STRIKE

Before MDLB could get established, as envisaged in No.XIX of November 1963 Agreement (cf.p.297) Mormugao Dock workers went into the 70 day bloody strike which is generally referred to as the Winchmen Strike though grievances of other workers were also involved. Trade Union Movement started in Mormugao Harbour with the **Winchmen** when M/s Damodar Mangaljee & Co. Ltd. retrenched with immediate effect without giving any due notice or compensation, all the Company's 54 Permanent Winchmen (cf.p.173)⁷⁸. General discontent among the Winchmen in the docks was continuous in 1962, because of the retrenchment/dismissal policy carried out by M/s Lima Leitao & Co., M/s Elisbao e Filhos Ltd. and M/s Damodar Mangalji & Co. To add fuel to the fire, **Messrs Shantilal Kushaldas e Irmaos Ltd.**, started the trend setting practice of **putting a set of four winchmen instead of the normal five per set.**⁷⁹ To ease the discontent, Gerald Pereira had put up demands with the Lt. Governor on 13th October, 1962, he had demanded

immediate re-instatement, with continuity of service with their wages paid, of the following workers:-

- (a) M/s Shantilal Kushaldas e Irmaos: All the fifty-one winchmen dismissed from 18th May 1962, should be reinstated...
- (d) M/s Lima Leitao & Co: Re-instatement of 29 workers (winchmen) who were dismissed from 15th August 1962.
- (e) M/s Elisbao Pereira e Filhos Ltd: Re-instatement of 25 workers (winchmen) of this company.
- (f) M/s Damodar Mangaljee & Co: This company should withdraw the so-called termination of service notices served on 53 winchmen." (all stress added)

Due to the Chinese Agression and the declaration of Emergency, the demands could not be persued and the discontent remained.⁸¹ In the overall deteriorating situation of the workers of the Mormugao Harbour, the employer-employee relationship between the winchmen and their employers, particularly with M/s Shantilal Kushaldas, were further strained in March 1963 to the point of MPDTWU serving a General Strike notice to all the companies in April 1963. Since the Emergency, MPDTWU had felt that the Shippers and the Stevedores in the Mormugao Harbour, had let loose a reign of retrenchment, wage cut and denial of other previleges. And since the Government of Goa was practically doing nothing, the workers had to act. 24 winchmen of MORMUGAO NAVEGADORA Stevedores for M/s Madhu Timblo & Co. (Shippers) had struck work on 27th March and had demanded the withdrawal of the retrenchment notices served on them. The work in the half loaded iron-ore-carrier "CLEO" was completely paralysed. The Company had made attempts to recruit black-legs but failed. Finally, an Agreement was signed by the company with the MPDTWU and the period of the notices served, was extended for 3 months, i.e up to 18th June, 1963. Only then the work was resumed in "CLEO" for the night-shift on 28th March.

Similarly, 60 temporary winchmen had stopped work on 27th March on the half-loaded iron ore carrier "MIYAJIMA MARU" at Betul Harbour, some 35 miles south of Mormugao Harbour. The immediate cause was the apparant violation of the Agreement by the Shantilal Kushaldas Company. Even though these winchmen were engaged as temporary, they always were earning subsistence allowance whenever there was no work. The Company now treated them as casual workers and had refused to pay them the subsistence allowance. The Company also had stated that they would be removed from service by the end of April when the loading at Betul Harbour would stop because of the rainy season, even though it was expressly agreed that they would be brought to Mormugao Harbour and given work till October 15th, 1963. The Company had allegedly refused to put the Agreement in writing.

The 60 temporary winchmen were supported by all the workers of the Company. The Uttar-Bharatiya gang-labourers, the permanent winchmen and even the sampler-boys had refused to work on the ship.

The Shantilal Kulshadas Co. then agreed for talks and an agreement was drafted. The Administrator of Goa had used his good influence and had tried to bring an amicable settlement. In fact, the company had signed the agreement and despatched the same to the Administrator of Goa who in turn had sent a copy to the union.

The strike was withdrawn at 11 p.m. on 30th March. But the company backed out of the agreement and tried to recruit black-legs. The steamer however could not be loaded with the help

of black-legs. The striking workers resumed work on 2nd April morning. But on 3rd April morning some goondas assaulted with bamboos the temporary winchmen. In such a tense situation, the General Council of the MPDTWU had met on 4th April and had served a notice of General Strike. The notice stated that if the companies failed to redress the grievances of the Dock and Transport workers by 25th April 1963, the General Strike would commence.⁸²

The introduction of the Pool Scheme by the Stevedores, sparked off the General Strike from 23rd May - 3rd July 1963. This eleven day General strike led by MPDTWU was followed by the 9th November 1963 Agreement in three parts (cf.p.298), one part dealing with winchmen. Three months after signing the 9th November Agreement, MPDTWU felt that the Dock Employers were not co-operating and that the 9th November 1963 Truce Agreement was violated by the Dock Employers. The long strained relationship, insecurity in job, price rise, lack of Dearness Allowance and other issues resulted in the **Winchmen led 70 days bloody strike**. The epicentre of the strike was the situation in the Shantilal Company.

In the overall economically deteriorating situation of the Harbour labourers, the strained employer-employee relations in M/s Shantilal Khusaldas & Co. were constantly breaking down leading to strikes. After the March-April 1963 strikes, On 28th August 1964, the winchmen of M/s Shantilal went again on a lightning strike

from the second shift stopping work on three ships. The MPDTWU controlled winchmen of Shantilal were demanding idle wages due to the late arrival of barges by three hours.⁸³ Labour unrest was gathering momentum in 1964. On 30th October 1964, two hundred and fifty winchmen controlled by MPDTWU, went on strike from 3 p.m. following failure of conciliation proceedings. Winchmen were mainly demanding confirmation of 33 temporary winchmen, dearness allowance, free transport and bonus⁸⁴. The Winchmen strike that led to the General Strike of 1964 began in M/s Shantilal Kushaldas Co. with demands for proper pay-scales, dearness allowance, house rent, bonus and other issues. The strike by about 150 winchmen in M/s Shantilal Kushaldas Co. began on 9th November 1964, after MPDTWU had served a strike notice on 25th September, 1964, and again on 6th October, 1964, and after failure of conciliation proceedings.⁸⁵ The company maintained that some demands were granted to the winchmen on 7th September but that the union had made more demands there after. The company held that the strike was illegal and warned the winchmen of legal action⁸⁶.

The strike wave started spreading to other companies. On 12th November 1964, the Chowgule workers of the MOHP and the bargemen joined the strike. Before the Winchmen Strike of 9th November, 1964, could turn out to be a General Strike, MPDTWU had held its Central Committee meeting. During this Central Committee meeting of MPDTWU, Gerald Pereira and Gajanan Patil had opposed the decision of converting the individual company strike into General Strike involving all Companies. At this stage both Gerald

Pereira and Gajanan Patil had sensed that the MPDTWU was not so strong to face the combined strength and opposition of all the companies. These two all important leaders of MPDTWU wanted to confine the strike situation to the individual company of Shantilal. But since this company was not yielding, the House Winchmen led by Shivaji wanted the strike to be turned into a general strike. The combined opposition of Pereira/Patil to spread the individual company strike into a general strike was clear, sharp and deep to the point of nearly splitting the MPDTWU. But Pereira /Patil allowed the democratic vote to have the upper hand inspite of their understanding of the strike situation. During the voting, Gerald Pereira and Gajanan Patil had told the committee members that they were ever ready to go to prison along with them but that they were against the general strike and they had voted against the decision of the general strike. But the majority of the committee (about 13) voted for the general strike. In a democratic spirit Gerald Pereira and Gajanan Patil accepted the decision of the majority of the workers and led the workers into a general strike."⁸⁷

The Winchmen General Strike commenced on 19th November 1964. With the general strike, the winchmen increasingly focussed their attention and protest against the reported decision of MSA to form a POOL OF WINCHMEN. Since 16th September 1963, the newly formed INTUC affiliated Goa Dock Labour Union (GDLU) was pressing the MSA to form a Pool for temporary and casual winchmen⁸⁸. But the MSA wanted also the permanent winchmen of different Companies to join

the Pool, though MSA spoke another language when the Gangman Pool was formed:

"The Scheme as drafted today applies to Stevedores Gang Labourers only. Its extension later to casual winchmen can be considered and would be possible. A very large number of the permanent winchmen being regular employees of the Stevedoring firms, will still be able to continue their existing privileges because a Pool System is necessary for casual workers only and not for workers of a permanent status with regular service conditions."⁸⁹

From 19th November, 1964 the HMS-led-TDWU also went on strike in sympathy with the striking winchmen, in protest of M/s Shantilal employing non-qualified winchmen, and other issues⁹⁰. On 21st November, 1964, Ramesh Desai explicitly spoke of INTUC affiliated Goa Dock Labour Union as involved in employment of non-qualified winchmen:

"The strike is in protest against the employers secret Agreement with INTUC affiliate Goa Dock Labour Union to facilitate INTUC to employ non qualified winchmen..."⁹¹

The HMS affiliated TDWU, also made it known to the public that

"they stayed away from work in sympathy with the striking winchmen who are on strike to protest against the MSA's reported decision to form a pool for the winchmen"⁹²
(stress added)

HMS led TDWU, withdrew the solidarity strike action on 30th November, 1964.⁹³

From 23-11-64 Shri Arvind Sarmalkar, Shri Bernad D'Souza, Peter Fernandes and Kadar Khan of MPDTWU⁹⁴ went on a hunger strike in support of the demands of the workers who had gone on a General

Strike since 19th November, 1964. Peter Fernandes fell sick after three days and withdrew from the strike. On 1st December '64 Arvind Sarmalkar withdrew the hunger strike due to a directive from CPI.⁹⁵

As the General Strike progressed, arrests of leaders and workers were made, workers became militant even to the point of violence. Peter Fernandes reports about his own acts and those of other workers:

"Once the decision for the General Strike was taken, I took an active part in the strike. When a Japanese delegation came to the harbour to see the MOHP, I went in front of the car and blocked the Japanese delegation. In the car Shri V.D. Chowgule was seated along with the Japanese.

C.R.P. which was stationed in Vasco and Jetty started harassing and arresting workers and women and children of the workers on strike; even at night, C.R.P. used to come and arrest the workers, while eating food the workers were lifted off by C.R.P.....

The workers were very militant at this stage. They pulled down the main wire lines at Bogda thus cutting the power supply to the Harbour. And entire Vasco city was in total darkness. Gerald Pereira and Gajanan Patil and all the Committee members and other workers were arrested. Some workers went underground and were staying in close by forests.

The underground workers used to come out at night and harrash the black-legs....."⁹⁶

The Chowgule Company appealed to their workers to report to work. On 24th November 1964, I.C. Salway, Engineer-in-charge of the MOHD, advised his striking workers to come for duty and not to make the lives of loyal workers impossible.⁹⁷ Appeals and arrests

did not stop the general strike. Threats to loyal workers continued. Protests, tensions, and demonstrations reached their peak on December 28th 1964. In the morning, demonstrations were held in Vasco in which women in large numbers took part. All traffic from Vasco to Mormugao harbour was stopped by demonstrators. According to the police even children supporters of the strikers stoned cars that passed by, and strikers armed with sodawater bottles and brickbats, stormed the houses of mine owners, attacked police patrols, and smashed cars and a bus. By evening, when the police could not control the masses of strikers and their supporters with lathi charge and teargas, **they opened gun fire killing two persons.**⁹⁸

The Chowgule Employee, Peter Fernandes gave worker's view of the police shooting and events thereafter. The striking workers and their supporters had put road blocks near St. Andrew's Church and Desterro Chapel and had thus blocked all incoming and outgoing road traffic of Vasco, as they sensed that the police were taking the arrested workers to Reis Magos jail. On the night in December 1964 when the police were trying to take the arrested workers out of Vasco, the striking workers, their families and supporters resisted the police near St. Andrew's Church. The police fired and killed (1) Consesao D'Costa (Shantilal's worker from Goa) and (2) Thomas Fernandes from Kerala (cf. ph. Nos. 65, 66, p. 309). This was on 28th December, 1964. According to Peter Fernandes it was only after the killing of the two workers, that the striking workers went wild with anger. On the next day the car of Y.D. Chowgule was coming towards Vasco. Y.D. Chowgule and his wife



Photo No.65: Concesao D'Costa



Photo No.66: Thomas Fernandes

were in the car. The angry workers stopped the car near the Desterro Chapel and assaulted Y.D.Chowgule and his wife. Y.D.Chowgule was badly hammered by the workers to the point of dislocating his jaw. But the workers found that Y.D.Chowgule was a tough man. He was assaulted about 10 O'Clock in the morning but the next day morning he was in office as if nothing had happened to his jaw or person. 99

The workers could not cut through the strength of the employers. The workers were broken and got divided. Among the MOHP workers there was a split. A group of workers broke the strike and started the MOHP. During the strike period MSA started the **POOL SYSTEM for Winchmen**. The Stevedores dismissed 700 permanent house winchmen and wanted them to join the Winchmen Pool. The winchmen under the control of MPDTWU refused to join the Winchmen Pool and considered themselves as permanent winchmen of different stevedoring companies. When the striking winchmen refused to join the Pool, others registered themselves in the Winchmen Pool. At this stage when the striking winchmen were leaderless, unwilling to join the Winchmen Pool, hunted by law and lying underground, George Vaz came on the Vasco/Marmagoa scene and started to meet the striking workers. Presence of George Vaz brought some calm and direction among the striking workers. The Government too was moving and consulting the jailed leaders. On 29-12-64, Gajanan Patil wrote a post card from Bicholim jail to Arvind Sarmalkar in Reis Magos jail and informed him and others including the womenfolk that things were moving towards solving of the crisis. 100

Moving among the workers, George Vaz was able to get the workers together and gradually a decision was taken to join the Pool of the Stevedores. The strike was called off on 26th January 1965, Republic Day, in response to the appeal of the Lt. Governor of Goa. On 26-1-65, Gajanan Patil, from Bicholim jail, advised the winchmen to join the Pool and to work even in the set of 4.¹⁰¹

In the midst of the 70 days strike, the Central Government had decided to have a Court of Inquiry into the strike causing situations in Marmagoa. Hon'ble Shri Salim M. Merchant was appointed as sole member of the Inquiry.¹⁰² The following points were to be inquired into:

- "1. The causes of industrial unrest between the employers in relation to Marmagoa Stevedores Association, Marmagoa Harbour and their Workmen, noticeable during the last one year;
2. The Measures to be adopted to improve the relationship between the said employers and the Workmen."¹⁰³

While the Central Government Inquiry was on, the Winchmen joined the Winchmen Pool formed by the MSA. According to Gajanan Patil, the winchmen had retrograde service conditions in the Pool, he explained:

"...With the strike of the Dock workers (winchmen, gang-workers, Plantmen, and Bargemen of Chowgule Ltd. Co.) which

commenced from 19th November, 1964, the individual Stevedores dismissed from services en masse all their 700 permanent winchmen and forced them to join the WINCHMEN POOL, which had retrograde service conditions. There is a change in the wages slab, and the following Chart will give a fair idea about the same.

<u>PRIOR TO STRIKE i.e.</u> <u>19th November '64</u>	<u>IN THE POOL i.e.</u> <u>After the Strike</u>	<u>DIFFERENCES</u>
a) Rs. 3.50 for 1st hajeri	Rs. 4.40 for for 1st hajeri	Rs. 0.90
b) Rs. 3.75 for 2nd hajeri	Rs. 4.70 for for 2nd hajeri	Rs. 0.95
c) Rs. 4.00 for 3rd hajeri	Rs. 5.00 for 3rd & subsequent hajeri	Rs. 1.00

It is quite likely that the employers will argue that they have increased the wages (daily wages) of the winchmen by Rs. 0.90 to Rs. 1.00 as shown in the above difference column, by introducing the POOL SYSTEM. The argument is fallacious. The present Pool requires a set of 4 Winchmen (Set-group of Winchmen per Winch) as against the set of 5 Winchmen prior to 19th November, 1964. For example, if one hajeri was worked, i.e. 80 tons of ore were discharged then a set of five Winchmen previously was getting $Rs. 3.50 \times 5 = Rs. 17.50$. Now with the set of Four in the POOL they will get $Rs. 4.40 \times 4 = 17.60$.

(2nd hajeri. Previous $3.75 \times 5 = Rs. 18.75$

In Pool $4.70 \times 4 = Rs. 18.80$)

(3rd Hajeri. Previous $4.00 \times 5 = Rs. 20.00$

In Pool $5.00 \times 4 = Rs. 20.00$)

In short, the Employers by having a set of Four in the Pool are only distributing the "fifth man's wages" among the four. The set for four has besides increased the workload and has created unemployment in these category of workers viz. the winchmen UNEMPLOYMENT can be explained by the following example:

Prior to November '64, if the 1100 winchmen divided into two

sets of five each, would have given sets of 220 sets (1100 x 1/5 = 220) to work all the three shifts in the Harbour, now (after the POOL) 1100 x 1/4 = 275 sets of 4 each. The sets therefore have increased by 55 (275-220=55) in number. At the optimum point, 55 x 4 = 220 winchmen will be rendered unemployed with the making of a set of four from the previous set of five winchmen each. A set of four has been unilaterally thrust on the workers....¹⁰⁴.

The changed working conditions of the winchmen in the Pool were not the only problems faced by the winchmen. Though they joined the Pool, they were treated as casual winchmen, they were taken to work only after the 500 new winchmen who had registered themselves in the Pool during the strike period, got work. Besides the Permanent winchmen being made casual, about 1500 permanent gang-workers who had gone on strike in support of the winchmen were also made casual, and 35 workers of the Chowgule Company were not taken to work. George Vaz felt hurt that a gentleman's agreement of no victimisation arrived at between him, the Port Authorities and M/s Chowgule Co., while calling off the strike, was not honoured. Vaz voiced his concern about victimisation of the workers to the Chairman of Marmagoa Port. George Vaz had expected that the Marmagoa Harbour tensions would be eased with the formation of the Marmagao Dock Labour Board:

"....I had expected that you would have intervened and not allowed this policy of victimisation to be proceeded with and would have expedited the coming of the Dock Labour Board.

I think you have a moral obligation both towards me and the workmen to see that there is no uncalled for victimisation and vindictiveness shown to the workers.

Marmagoa Harbour was built both by private enterprise as also the workers at the harbour who have worked at this port for the better part of their lives and when the history of these days is written I am sure no one will accuse the workers as being solely responsible for the grave situation that had developed at Mormugao Harbour (stress added)."¹⁰⁵

The reply to George Vaz's letter by Shivakumar Dhindaw, the Secretary of Marmagoa Port Trust, indicated that the Central Government had at last decided to establish the much demanded and struggled for Dock Labour Board for Marmagoa Port:

"I am directed to inform you that the Dock Labour Board is very shortly to be constituted. When it is, all matters concerning the Pool will be dealt with."¹⁰⁶

The Central Government Court of Inquiry which began in the midst of the 70 day winchmen strike, resulted in the formation and establishment of the Marmagoa Dock Labour Board (MDLB) on 21st April 1965. The inauguration of the MDLB was done by Union Labour Minister Shri D. Sanjivayya, at a special function held at "K" shed of Mormugao Harbour. On this occasion the Union Minister appealed to the workmen and the employers to forget the past - even the bitterness of the immediate past.¹⁰⁷ The Chief Minister Bhandarkar who presided over the inaugural function of MDLB, spoke of 21st April 1965,

"as a red letter day because those working in the harbour had now realised one of their long-cherished desires."¹⁰⁸
(stress added)

With the establishment of MDLB, the POOL schemes of MSA for the GANGMEN and WINCHMEN of Marmagoa Harbour were transcended. But

only two major categories of workers - the winchmen and the gangmen - were included in the MDLB. The problems of the third major category of workers - Goa Bargemen, remained unsolved.

II - B A R G E M E N

A - Importance of Bargemen

Marmagaoa port is mainly a one commodity - iron ore - export port. For the purpose of exporting iron ore, the exporters utilise the services of self propelled barges with varying capacities to transport the iron ore from the points of loading near the mines, to Marmagaoa port. The complement of the barge crew on a barge ranges from eight to fourteen or more depending upon the size of the barge. From the loading points in the mining areas, the barges ply mostly in the Mandovi and Zuari rivers, and bring the ore for unloading to Marmagaoa port. The ocean going vessels at the port have to be loaded within specific time. To feed the ocean going vessels, the barges have to transport iron ore day and night. Most of the exporters/mine owners have their own fleet of barges but a few companies are engaged solely in transporting iron ore on hire for others (cf.p.63). For loading of barges near mining areas and unloading of barges at the Marmagaoa port, other workers are engaged. Loading and unloading of barges is not done by the barge crew. The barge crew transport ores from the mining areas to the Marmagaoa port. Thus the bargemen and the barge industry constantly form the vital link and the bridge

between the mining industry of Goa and the export of iron ore from Goa through the Mormagoa port. The vital importance of Goa bargemen further has to be viewed by the role played by the barge-borne ores in the total ore exports handled at the Mormagoa port. Over 90% of the iron ore exported from Mormugao port was brought in by means of barges (cf.p.64).

B - Struggles under the communist leadership

In the background of the importance of bargemen in the economy of Goa, let us try to see the struggles of the bargemen of Goa. After the 11 days strike in May-June 1963, the bargeowners signed the first major settlement about Goa bargemen, on 9th November, 1963 (cf. p.298). This three year truce settlement was signed by bargeowners with MPDTWU and the Port, Dock & Waterfront Workers's Federation of India (PDWWFI). Gajanan Patil represented MPDTWU, and Gerald Pereira represented PDWWFI¹⁰⁹. By clause 15 of this November 1963 Bargecrew Agreement, the bargeowners clearly accepted that bargemen were Dock Workers and that the Wage Board was applicable to the bargemen, in this clause 15, the bargecrew were spoken of as Dock Labour:

"XV - It is agreed that if during the period of the truce agreement the Government appoints a Wage Board for going into the question of rationalisation of working conditions of Port and Dock Labour and if its recommendations are accepted by Government, they shall be implemented, in respect to Dock Labour notwithstanding this agreement."¹¹⁰.

That in 1963, the bargeowners had no problem of accepting the bargemen as Dock Labour similar to gang-workers and winchmen, is shown by the fact that the above clause 15 was word for word the

same as clause XVI of the Gang Workers Agreement (cf.p.296) and clause XX of Winchmen Agreement of 9th November 1963. The signing of 9th November 1963 Agreement in three distinct but interlinked parts, the identical clauses - clause XVI of Gang Workers Agreement, clause XX of Winchmen Agreement and clause XV of Bargecrew Agreement - indicates two points on behalf of the bargeowners - they had accepted the Gangmen, Winchmen and Bargemen as not only interlinked with Port's working, but as three categories of Dock workers with various interlinked distinct dock functions. Further the Goa Mineral Ore Exporters' Association - in its submission to the one man Central Government Court of Inquiry, regarding industrial unrest in Marmagoa Harbour, also held that bargemen were interlinked with the Ports' working.¹¹¹

In the November 1963 Agreement regarding bargemen, important items regarding holidays, weekly offs, number of permanent posts, dismissal according to standing orders, compensation for rise in C.L.I., were included. It was agreed that kitchens and water tanks were to be provided on the barges. If possible latrines too were to be provided. Rain coats, life buoys and other necessities were also to be provided.¹¹² Most important of all the clauses, items in clause III dealing with structure of pay scales, overtime allowance and dearness allowance were to be examined and the settlement was to be in force for a period of 3 years with effect from 1st September, 1963. **Clause III of the 9th November 1963 Bargemen Settlement** read as follows:

"III - It is agreed that at the present moment, no adequate data is available regarding the pay scale, overtime allowance, dearness allowance and various forms of incentive

allowance given by the various barge owners. It is also understood that there is a variation of such conditions between the various barge owners and the nature of payment and structure of pay packets are different. It is agreed that in the long-run, in the interest of the workers in th Port, it would be advisable to arrive at fixation of wages and emoluments to barge workers including basic pay, dearness allowance, overtime allowance and other incentive allowances. It is agreed that Shri K.F.Jijibhoy or Shri M.R.Meher should be approached to undertake a study of the wage structure of the bargemen and to give an award which will be binding on both the parties which will be given effect to from 1st September,1963.

In case Shri Jijibhoy or Shri M.R.Meher is not available, both parties accept a similar study and award by any of the following persons:-

1. Shri Purushottam Kanji
2. Shri Salim Merchant
3. Shri P.D Sawarkar.¹¹³ (stress added)

Seven years after signing the 9th November,1963 Agreement of the Goa Bargemen, on 18th December,1970, Shri D.N. Barua, I.A.S., Secretary, Industries and Labour Department, of the Government of Goa Daman and Diu¹¹⁴, made the following official remark about Clause III of the same 9th November 1963 Bargemen Settlement:

This particular Clause relating to examination of the wage structure was not implemented as stipulated.¹¹⁵ (stress added)

Gerald Pereira gave his interpretation of non-implementation of the Bargemen Settlement of 9th November,1963:

"In order to weaken our Union and to avoid the responsibility under the said Agreement, the majority of the BARGE OWNERS secretly encouraged the INTUC-led GOA DOCK LABOUR UNION. The INTUC leadership got all the support of some of the top Government officers form Bombay, Goa and New Delhi and even launched some strikes of the Bargemen.(stress

added) Shri Dayanand B. Bhandodkar, the Chief Minister of Goa Daman and Diu, in gross violation of the said 9th November, 1963 Agreement, agreed to act as Arbitrator on 19th June, 1964 as per another Agreement, signed by the BARGE OWNERS (excepting Messrs Chowgule & Co. Ltd) with the said INTUC-UNION.....Subsequently,.... all the BARGE OWNERS, barring Messrs Chowgule & Co. Ltd., one after the other signed new agreements with INTUC-led GOA DOCK LABOUR UNION, by violating the 9th November, 1963 Agreement for BARGEMEN, signed with our UNION, even without consulting our UNION, under Section 12(3) of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

Thus the industrial truce at Mormagao Harbour was broken by the employers viz. the BARGE OWNERS."¹¹⁶

The Barge Owners did not agree with Gerald Pereira's interpretation and they blamed him for not being able to keep the bargemen in his own Union:

"A spokesman of the bargeowners said that both the Union and the bargeowners were responsible for the implementation of the truce agreement. **It was the Union's duty, he said, to see that the bargemen, whom it represented did not desert it and join some other union to gain more every time.** (stress added)

He said the policy of the Goa Dock Labour Union was to divide and conquer and in any event the bargeowners would stick to the original truce agreement and explore ways and means of finding a solution to the problem within the framework of the agreement, which is in force at the harbour."¹¹⁷

C) Struggle under INTUC Leadership:

On behalf of the bargemen of Goa, MPDTWU had submitted a charter of demands to the Barge Owners on 26th May, 1963. On 27th June, 1963, the Conciliation Officer (Central) had admitted the disputes for conciliation between MPDTWU and the Barge owners."¹¹⁸

By the end of August 1963, GOA DOCK LABOUR UNION declared that any agreement entered into by the employers with the MPDTWU over the demands of bargemen would not be binding upon it.¹¹⁹ Goa Dock Labour Union (GDLU) stated without mincing words:

" This Union will never accept any settlement of disputes relating to the barge men,...unless Goa Dock Labour Union is a party to it."¹²⁰ (stress added).

In spite of the INTUC-led GDLU protest note, eighteen leading Barge owners had signed the three year truce settlement regarding the bargemen, on 9th November 1963, ONLY with communist led MPDTWU.¹²¹

By May 1964, INTUC-led GDLU served a charter of demands to M/s Sesa Goa and Mingoa on behalf of their Bargemen. The management of Sesa Goa was not ready to entertain any demands of the bargemen. On 4th May, the Management stated that the bargemen were under the obligation of the three-year industrial truce agreement signed on November 9th, 1963. But the Sesa Goa and Mingoa bargemen led by GDLU held the view that they were not a party to the agreement and to vindicate their stand they decided to stage a 24 hours protest token strike from 12.00 hours on May 7, 1964.¹²² But on 7th May, the protest token strike was called off at 14.30 hours with the intervention of the Chief Secretary, Shri P.J.Fernandes. Conciliation proceedings started on the same day.¹²³ Mohan Nair the Secretary of GDLU found the management of Sesa Goa and Mingoa to be very responsive, and stated:

"The attitude of the management was accomodative and...he was hopeful of good outcome from the proceedings..."¹²⁴

GDLU had served charter of demands to other barge owners too in May 1964.

To press their demands for rationalisation of wage structure, payment of bonus, incentive allowance, provision of leave, provident fund, medical facilities, and other matters, the barge crew of Messrs Shantilal Kushaldas and Bros., V.S.Dempo & Company, V.M.Salgaocar & Bros., Damodar Mangalji and other companies under the leadership of GDLU went on strike from 29th May to 6th June 1964. The strike was called off on 6th June and conciliatory proceedings were in progress. But the leaders of GDLU led the barge-workers into strike action from 9th June 1964, since they found that conciliatory proceedings were not making any progress. At this stage the bargemen were prepared to accept an interim wage rise, pending arbitration for the rationalisation of their wage structure.¹²⁵ Now Shri D.B.Bandodkar, the Chief Minister of Goa Daman and Diu intervened in the bargemen strike. Prof. Melicio Fernandes, the President of GDLU, Mohan Nair and Datatraya Despande, the Secretaries of GDLU along with the representatives of the bargeowners agreed to accept the Chief Minister as Arbitrator to solve the dispute. The Chief Minister accepted to be the Arbitrator in the matter of rationalisation of the wage structure of the bargecrew and give his award before August 15th, 1964. It was also agreed that the striking bargemen would be paid two months wages as exgratia advance to be adjusted later when the award would be announced by the Chief Minister. This Agreement was signed on 19th June, 1964 at 11 P.M. at the

Chief Minister's residence at Panjim. The Agreement was signed in the presence of the Labour Minister Tony Fernandes and the Minister for Information and Tourism, Mr.V.S.Karmali. Shri S.M.Dikhale, the Regional Labour Commissioner (Central) Bombay, Shri K.B.Keny, Labour Commissioner of the Government of Goa Daman and Diu, were also present while the 19th June 1964 Agreement was signed. With the signing of the Agreement, the bargemen resumed work from the second shift of 20th June 1964.¹²⁶

INTUC led bargemen went on lighting strike from 17th July to 19th July 1964 demanding wages for the strike period of June 1964. The strike was withdrawn through the intervention of Shri G.D.Ambekar - President of the Maharashtra Branch of INTUC. Shri G.D.Ambekar had over all charge of Goa-INTUC (cf. p.322). Mohan Nair claimed that the Chief Minister took the responsibility on himself to see to it that the bargemen got the strike wages. And since it was a gentleman's agreement the clause of strike wages was not incorporated in the 19-06-64 Agreement.¹²⁷ But on 31st July, 1964, the Chief Minister informed INTUC led GDLU that the bargemen would not get the strike wages for the strike period of June 1964.¹²⁸

Shri D.B.Bandodkar, the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Goa, Daman and Diu, failed to give his award regarding the rationalisation of the wage structure of the Goa Bargecrew, on or before 15th August 1964, in accordance with the Agreement signed between barge owners and GDLU before the Hon'ble Chief Minister on 19th June, 1964. Like Clause III of the November 9th, 1963 Agreement, the 19th June, 1964

Agreement about the rationalisation of the wage structure of Goa bargemen, could not materialise.¹²⁹

After 15th August, 1964, GDLU informed the various barge owners that the bargemen would work for only eight hours from September, 1964, and acted accordingly. The representatives of bargeowners held the view that refusal of work by bargemen beyond 3.00 p.m. on 2nd September, 1964, was tantamount to illegal strike. Conciliation proceedings followed and almost identical agreements were entered into by the bargeowners separately and individually with the bargemen represented by GDLU. These agreements sought to maintain intact the 24 hours working system on the barges. Under these agreements a new consolidated wage structure was introduced which was to be implemented from 1st September, 1963, the same date of implementation as envisaged in Clause III of the November 1963 Agreement (cf. p. 318). These agreements were expected to remain in force upto the 31st December 1967¹³⁰. M/s V.S. Dempo & Co. signed the agreement with GDLU on 5th September 1964. The company and the union agreed to pay the barge crew consolidated wages. These wage scales were to be applicable with retrospective effect from September '63. These revised wage scales represented composite wages inclusive of all allowances had been agreed upon without affecting any changes whatsoever of the system of work which was to remain as in the past and the next increment was to be given on January, 1965. The Consolidated Wage Scales of the various barge workers was as follows:

- I. CAPTAINS:290-12.50-377.50-EB-15-497.50 (Acting Captains)
- II. DRIVERS:258-9.25-322.75-EB-12.25-420.75
- III. Asst.Drivers:
 Or oilman/qualified:172-7.25-222.75-EB-11.25-312.75
- IV. SUKANIS:172-7.25-222.75-EB-11.25-312.75
- V. Asst.Drivers:
 Or oilman/not qualified:151-6.25-194.75-EB-7-250.75
- VI. KHALASIS:113-6-155-EB-8.25-221.

The consequent INCREASE in revision of wage scale for the barge workers worked out as follows in 1964:

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Previous Salary</u>	<u>Consolidated Wages</u>
Tindal	Rs.185.00	Rs.225.00
Driver	200.00	258.00
Oilman	125.00	172.00
Asst.Drive	150.00	172.00
Sukanis	115.00	151.00
Deckhands	100.00	113.00. 131

Shri D.N.Barua found that the "Consolidated Wages" that the Goa bargemen received after liberation, were "an improvement over the past years", and made it a point to make the following remark about the "Consolidated Wages":

"It also must be mentioned that a "Consolidated Wage" takes all the relevant facts into account. It may also be noted that, in Goa there was no practice of separate allowances and separate Basic Pay prior to Liberation. There was not even scale of pay. In the Government service there was fixed pay for each appointment. In such conditions and circumstances, a "Consolidated Wage" in 1964 was an improvement over the past years."¹³²

By Resolution No.WE-21(4)/64, dated the 13th November,1964, the Government of India in the Ministry of Labour and Employment set up a Wage Board to work out a wage structure for port and dock workers at major ports.¹³³ The Wage Board decided that port and dock workers should be given a higher dearness allowance and an interim relief with effect from October,1964.¹³⁴ The consolidated pay scales agreed to in 1964 between Goa barge owners and GDLU did not specify about Dearness Allowance and this led to unrest among the bargemen after the Wage Board declared a higher Dearness Allowance and the first Interim Relief.¹³⁵ Besides, in Clause fifteen of the 1963 November Agreement regarding Bargemen, the Barge owners had accepted to implement the decisions of the Wage Board (cf.p.316). GDLU requested the bargeowners to implement the decisions of the Wage Board regarding Dearness Allowance and Interim Relief for the bargemen. When the request fell on deaf ears for over a year, the GDLU threatened to stage a 24 hour protest stoppage of work any day from midnight of 22nd December 1965.¹³⁶ But by 28th December, GDLU deferred the direct action programme since the dispute was admitted for conciliation.¹³⁷

Only on 31st March,1966, the Action Committee of GDLU decided to go on strike from the midnight of 5th April 1966, if the bargeowners failed to accept the bargemen as dock workers and implement the recommendations of the Central Wage Board. On 5th April midnight, GDLU planned to stop all barges outside the Port area, at Cortalim and Betim. Since the Bargeowners considered the bargemen to be neither dock workers nor port workers, the bargemen

had decided not to enter the Port area.¹³⁸ The bargeowners did not agree to the contention of GDLU that the Wage Board recommendations were applicable to the bargemen. In the midst of this dispute the then Union Minister of Labour, Employment Rehabilitation, explicitly took the view that the bargemen were not connected to a major port and so had to be dealt with by the State Government. The Central Government upheld the bargeowners view that since the barges were inland water transport vehicles, the bargemen were not dock workers.¹³⁹ Justice Salim Merchant, in the Central Government Court of Inquiry (cf.p.311), had held a slightly different view than the Union Minister. He viewed the bargemen as "an integral part of the port operation":

"Justice Salim Merchant, single man member of the Court Inquiry, opined that barge crew of Marmagoa Harbour who are connected with the working of the major port of Marmagoa, are also very much within the complex of the port working. They are an intergral part of the port operations."¹⁴⁰

The stand of the Central Government that the bargemen were not Dock workers was not acceptable to GDLU. The bargeowners, though not accepting the GDLU assertion that the bargemen were Dock workers, conceded that a certain amount of interim relief be granted to the bargemen in the light of the Central Wage Board recommendations. In the October-November 1966 settlement the bargemen got additional payments ranging from Rs.40/- to Rs.60/-. This settlement provided that if either party was aggrieved by the decision of the Wage Board, the question would be referred to the Industrial Tribunal for adjudication by the aggrieved party or jointly if the Board failed to give the clarification.

The Central Wage Board granted a second interim relief to Port and Dock workers in 1967. GDLU issued notices to the barge owners on October 16th 1967, threatening to detain all the barges at the entrance of the harbour after 1st November, 1967, if the second interim relief was not granted to the bargemen. The bargeowners refused to grant the second interim relief to the bargecrew. The Assistant Labour Commissioner, Vasco da Gama, took up the dispute for conciliation only on 31st October, 1967, and after discussions with both the parties adjourned the meeting to November 6th, 1967. GDLU was not pleased with the adjournment. During the third shift on October 31st, the bargecrew took the barges from the harbour area and shifted them to Cortalim and Betim, outside the harbour area.¹⁴¹ According to the bargeowners the bargecrew had gone on strike while the conciliation proceedings were in progress. But according to the General Secretary of GDLU, Mohan Nair, the bargemen were not on strike. He stated:

"The employers had refused to recognise us as port and dock workers for implementing the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for dock workers, until this was done the bargemen would be willing to come from the loading point at the mine up to the entrance of the harbour. Further operation should be carried on by the employers with the help of port and dock workers if they had any."¹⁴²

Regarding the appropriate authority to deal with the bargemen dispute, Mohan Nair again held the view that the Central Government was the appropriate authority and he stated:

"We demand that the Central Government is the appropriate Government under the Industrial Dispute Act to deal with this issue and the managements should implement in full the recommendations of the Wage Board. We do not recognise the State Government in this respect."¹⁴³

Notwithstanding the view of Mohan Nair, that the State Government was not the appropriate authority to deal with the Goa bargemen dispute, the State Government of Goa Daman & Diu referred the dispute relating to the applicability of the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Port and Dock Workers to the barge crew of Goa, for adjudication by the State Industrial Tribunal of Shri K.R.Powar, vide the Notification No.LC/1(0/(IT-3)/67 issued on 3rd November, 1967. The same State Government issued another Notification No.LC/1/140/67 dated 3rd November 1967 and prohibited the continuance of the bargemen strike any further.¹⁴⁴ GDLU defied the Notifications and continued to anchor the barges outside the Port area; in the midst of the dispute, the barges from Cortalim and Betim were shifted to Old Goa,¹⁴⁵ On 7th November 1967 the Chief Minister Bandodkar and the Goa's Labour and Industries Minister Anthony D'Souza took initiative to break the deadlock between bargeowners and bargemen. The initiative failed.¹⁴⁶ And on behalf of the bargeowners, the Goa police, on 9th November took possession of the barges anchored in Old Goa. By 4.30 p.m. all the bargecrew from Old Goa were brought to the Panjim Police Station. At about 5 p.m. the Chief Minister Bandodkar, along with the Collector Dhumak, came to the Panjim Police Station and tried to appeal to the bargecrew to resume work as before 1st November, but the bargemen showed no inclination to lend their ears to their Chief Minister. The Chief Minister's move to appeal to the bargecrew above the heads of their leaders, was abortive too. After the Chief Minister left the Panjim Police Station, the

police took into custody the ring leaders from among the bargecrew and asked the rest of the bargemen to disperse. But the bargeworkers would not burge from the Police Station without their arrested leaders. The Police then lathi charged the bargecrew and dispersed them.¹⁴⁷ After the combined efforts of the Chief Minister and Anthony D'Souza failed to break the deadlock between the bargeowners and the bargeworkers, the Opposition Leader Dr. Jack Sequeira and his son Shri Erasmo Sequeira - a Member of Parliament, intervened in the dispute and left the stage without success.¹⁴⁸

To pressurise the bargeowners further in the present dispute, the Communist led MPDTWU, forgetting their differences with INTUC led GDLU, came out in support of the GDLU led bargemen. Over 350 bargemen controlled by MPDTWU served a 14 day strike notice to their bargeowners on 13th November, but before the strike, they decided to go on a one-day fraternal solidarity strike on November 17th, 1967, in support of the GDLU bargemen. Gerald Pereira too held the view that the bargemen were port and dock workers and accused the bargeowners of depriving the bargemen of the benefits granted to them by the Central Wage Board.¹⁴⁹ At this stage the mine workers too, led by the Communist GMLWU, gave their support to the GDLU bargemen. GMLWU's resolution in support of the INTUC-GDLU bargemen was coupled with their own demand for implementation of the Central Wage Board Award for Mine workers. On 13th November, 1967, GMLWU threatened to go in for a general strike in the mining areas from 28th November, 1967, in sympathy

with GDLU bargemen and to press their own Wage Board Demands. George Vaz of GMLWU addressed the meeting of GDLU bargemen in Vasco on November 13th and spoke in full support of the demands of the bargemen.¹⁵⁰ A.P.Andrade, the President of Marmagoa Port and Railway workers, came out in support of the Goa bargemen. He asked the Government and the bargeowners to be more realistic and extend the recommendations of the Wage Board to the Goa barge crew.¹⁵¹ On 14th November, the HMS leader and President of the All India Port and Dock Workers Federaton, Shri S.R.Kulkarni, arrived in Goa to intervene in the bargeworkers' dispute. He was received at the Dabolim airport by Mohan Nair, Shri Dada Badkamakar of TDWU and Shri A.P.Andrade of MPRWU. Shri S.R.Kulkarni was brought into Vasco from Dabolim in a motor car procession. Before he plunged into reconciliation talks, Shri S.R.Kulkarni met the Chief Minister, Anthony D'Souza and the Chairman of Marmagoa Port Trust Shri E.H.Simoes.¹⁵² In the evening, the HMS leader made the following remark while addressing the INTUC led GDLU bargeworkers:

"We are not concerned to which union you belong. We are mainly concerned with the welfare of the working class."¹⁵³

Shri S.R.Kulkarni had a series of meetings with representatives of the bargeowners and the bargeworkers, at the residence of the Labour and Industries Minister Anthony D'Souza. A settlement was worked out and the strike was withdrawn on 16th November 1967.¹⁵⁴ Mohan Nair spoke of the settlement as "neither a success nor a defeat to either of the two parties".¹⁵⁵ In the new settlement the dearness allowance of the barge crew was raised to the level of

the port and dock workers, to be adjusted on the basis of the Award of the State Tribunal. By the new agreement the highest paid bargeworker was to get a rise of nearly Rs. 50.00 in his emolument and the lowest paid worker was to get a rise of Rs.20.00 per month. The employers also agreed not to take any disciplinary action against the strikers. The new settlement also provided that the management would not go in appeal against the Award of the State Industrial Tribunal even if it went against them.¹⁵⁶ The Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association adjudged the settlement to be fair and just to both sides.¹⁵⁷

Until February 1969, the State Industrial Tribunal was not able to give an award regarding the bargemen in relation to the Goa State Government Notification No.LC/1(O/IT-3)/67 issued on 3rd November 1967, which was to decide on the issue of the applicability of the Central Wage Board recommendations to the bargemen. While the bargemen issue was in the Industrial Tribunal, its presiding Officer Shri K.R.Powar, resigned from his post in the Goa Industrial Tribunal. And the Goa State Government did not appoint a new presiding Officer for the Industrial Tribunal.¹⁵⁸ In this situation GDLU directed its bargemen to work from sunrise to sunset. The barge crew accordingly resorted to 11 hours of work from 16th February 1969 and demanded that their work beyond 11 hours should be paid as overtime.¹⁵⁹ The employers asserted that there was a contract between themselves and the bargecrew regarding 24 hours working (cf.p.323) and as the conditions of service of the barge crew had been referred to the Industrial

Tribunal for adjudication, the stoppage of work by the bargecrew between 6p.m. and 7a.m. was tantamount to illegal strike under sections 23(b) and 23(c) of the Industrial Disputes Act.¹⁶⁰ Thus the bargeowners did not concede to the demand of the workers for overtime and threatened to deduct a portion of the bargeworkers' wages for not attending to work round the clock. At this stage Mohan Nair stated:

"Every strike is illegal according to the employers. We have yet to come across an employer appreciating a strike.In our case, the barge crew are not on strike. They are doing their work from sunrise to sunset. 11 hours a day, hence we are not much concerned about their statement.

When the barge crew stop work, the whole harbour is paralysed. Even then these employers who admitted in 1963 that the barge crew are port and dock workers have now taken a stand they are not port and dock workers. Injustice cannot be tolerated any longer when the patience is exhausted (stress added)."¹⁶¹

True to their word, the employers deducted a portion of the bargecrew's wages for not attending to the work round the clock. Consequently from 9th March, 1969, the bargecrew resorted to 8 hours work, i.e from 10 hours to 18 hours. Bang came the main whip of the employers and they dismissed about 43 bargecrew, all of whom were members of the Action Committee. In prompt protest to the dismissals, the bargeworkers led by GDLU, went in for total strike from 14th May 1969. GDLU wanted a comprehensive solution to the bargeworkers problems as envisaged in the 9th November 1963 Settlement and not be treated with piecemeal solutions and settlements as resorted to by the employers whenever the bargecrew agitated.¹⁶² Only after GDLU led the bargecrew into strike, Mr.V.A.Naik - President of the Industrial Court, Bombay, was

appointed as the presiding Officer of the Industrial Tribunal of Goa.¹⁶³ But the refunctioning of the Goa Industrial Tribunal could not now put a stop to the momentum of the strike events.

Tensions mounted in Goa as the bargeworkers held on to their guns and as the bargeowners would not yield to the workers demands. During this prolonged bargeworkers strike, "Goa Sena" a new organisation came into existence on the Goa scene. "Goa Sena" was led by the Freedom Fighter Shri Shabu Desai, of Cuncolim, Salcette, Goa:

"Mr Shabu Desai, Chief of the Goa Sena a new organisation formed to protect Goa's interest has called upon the striking bargemen to resume duty forthwith.

In a printed Statement circulated here (Panjim), Mr. Desai condemned the leaders who had organised the strike which would lead to unemployment of Goan workers and economic stagnation in the territory and urged the workers not to be misled by the leaders.

He assured the workers that the Goa Sena was prepared to fight for the bargemen through constitutional methods."¹⁶⁴

Gerald Pereira viewed the Goa Sena as "anti-social elements" formed to terrorise the working class of Goa,¹⁶⁵ and he further said:

"Trade Unions have come to stay and it is in the interest of all the parties concerned, not to induct anti-social elements in the Trade Union Movement."¹⁶⁶

From 14th May, 1969, GDLU had decided to go in for total strike since the bargeowners had dismissed some bargeworkers. And on 19th May, 1969, the Goa police took charge of 101 barges anchored

at Cortalim and dispersed the bargeworkers by the use of force.¹⁶⁷ Later, Mohan Nair, Gaundalkar R.V. and 52 others were arrested and jailed.¹⁶⁸ When the barges were in the hands of the owners, the Labour Minister Anthony D'souza stated that:

"The bargemen are now on strike but the barges are not."¹⁶⁹ The bargeowners had planned to ply the barges in a couple of days after they had taken charge of their barges.¹⁷⁰

Though the barges were not on strike and the bargeowners had planned to ply the barges since 19th May 1969, till 17th June, 1969 the bargeowners were not able to ply the barges and normalize the situation. At this stage Freedom Fighter George Vaz, thought of a **permanent** solution to the bargeworkers problems. On 17th July, 1969 he made a serious proposal to Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi - Minister for Labour, Employment & Rehabilitation, to nationalize the barge transport industry and rationalize the services of the bargeworkers, as was done in the case of the gang-workers and the winchmen by the creation of the Marmagaoa Dock Labour Board.¹⁷¹ George Vaz was not the only one to propose nationalisation of the barge transport industry in Goa. Shri H.N.Trivedi, President of the Indian National Port and Dock Workers Federation, after his talks in Panjim with the representatives of the bargeowners, also wanted nationalisation of the barge transport industry:

"...the employers' representatives appeared to be adamant and unhelpful...If the employers (are) not cooperative I appeal to the Prime Minister to nationalise this trade and run it under the public sector as the last resort."¹⁷²

The late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi called for a meeting of the Goa barge owners and GDLU leadership, on 19th July, 1969, in New Delhi. The Labour Minister Shri Jaisukhlal Hathi, and the Minister of State, Shri Bhagat J. Azad, presided over the New Delhi Meeting. After extended discussions which absorbed about 18 hours, a settlement was worked out on the same day.¹⁷³ The July 1969 New Delhi Settlement made another reference to the Goa Industrial Tribunal to determine the wage structure and general working conditions of the Goa bargemen. All workers except those who were dismissed, were to be taken back in service. Dismissal of the 49 workers and wages from 16-02-69 to 15-05-69 were referred for arbitration. Both the parties were to maintain industrial peace for three years.¹⁷⁴

The Central Wage Board for Port and Dock Workers at major ports, submitted its final report to the Government on 29th November, 1969. The Central Government held a tripartite conference on the Wage Board Report on 3rd February, 1970. And by the Resolution No. WB-21(7)/69, dated 28th March, 1970, the Central Government accepted the recommendations of the Wage Board. The Wage Board, by a majority decision, had decided that the recommendations should remain in force for a period of five years with effect from the first of October 1969. But the Central Government resolved that the recommendations be implemented with effect from 1st January, 1969, and the recommendations were to remain in operation for five years.¹⁷⁵ According to Clause fifteen of the Bargemen Settlement of 9th November 1963 (cf. p. 316) the

bargeowners had to implement the final recommendations of the Wage Board. Further, the Wage Board explicitly brought the Goa bargecrew into focus in its final report:

"The Board has also considered it desirable to apply these recommendations to the barge crew transporting Iron ore from loading points on the rivers to Marmagaoa Port...unloading movement, over-storage of cargo."¹⁷⁶

The final recommendations of the Wage Board created disturbances in the social sea at Marmagaoa harbour. Waves of strikes were expected to hit the harbour and paralyse the Port operations.¹⁷⁷ Entering the final struggle with the aim of resolving the problems once and for all, on 15th September, 1970, GDLU served strike notices to the Bargeowners demanding that the bargecrew should be given the benefits of the final recommendations of the Wage Board for Port and Dock Workers. If the owners failed to do so as the strike notice demanded, the barge workers were to strike work from 15th October, 1970, for three days and then continue to work to rule till the matter was settled. On 13th October, 1970, the barge owners and the bargemen agreed to refer their disputes for Arbitration by withdrawing the reference from the Goa Industrial Tribunal. Now ad hoc payment was made to the following categories of bargemen: Master/Captain - Rs.300/-; Driver - Rs.300/-; Sukhani Oilman - Rs.200/-; and Khalasi - Rs.100/-. The ad hoc payment was made under the conditional clause of the 13th October 1970 agreement that the advances which were given under all previous settlements since 1965 to date, were to be adjusted against the main award by the Arbitrator. With the

Agreement of 13th October, 1970, the strike as conceived in the strike notice of 15th September, 1970, was withdrawn by GDLU.

In the Settlement of 13th October, 1970, the barge owners and GDLU had agreed to refer their long standing disputes to Shri D.N.Barua, I.A.S., then Secretary in the Industries and Labour Department of the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu. Shri D.N.Barua started the arbitration proceedings on 19th November, 1970 and submitted his Award to the Government of Goa on 18th December, 1970. The "Barua Award" was published in the Goa Government Extraordinary Gazette No.41, Series II, dated 11-01-1971.¹⁷⁸ The national leadership of INTUC was happy with the 'Barua Award'. Shri H.N.Trivedi the President of INPDWF termed the 'Barua Award' as worthy award; Dr.(Mrs) Maitreyee Bose, President of INTUC (Central) and Shri H.N.Trivedi came to Goa "to celebrate this great victory"¹⁷⁹ and present the 'Barua Award' to the Goa Bargemen on the Republic Day - 26th day of January 1971.¹⁸⁰ While presenting the 'Barua Award' to the barge workers through the hands of Dr(Mrs) Maitreyee Bose, Mohan Nair - the General Secretary of GDLU, spoke of having won the battle after seven years of struggle.¹⁸¹

What actually did the Arbitrator Shri D.N.Barua present to the barge workers and to the barge owners in his award ? Besides GDLU, the parties involved in the dispute were:

1. M/s V.M.Salgaonkar & Brothers Pvt. Ltd., Vasco.
2. M/s V.S.Dempo and Co.Pvt.Ltd., Panaji.

3. M/s Emco Goa Pvt.Ltd.,Margao.
4. M/s S.Kantilal Pvt. Ltd., Margao.
5. M/s Shantilal Khushaldas & Bros. Pvt.Ltd.,Margao.
6. M/s V.N.Bandekar & Co.,Panaji.
7. M/s Agencia Commercial Maritima Pvt. Ltd.,Vasco da Gama.
8. M/s Timblo Pvt. Ltd.,Margao.
9. M/s Agencia Ultramarina Pvt.Ltd.,Vasco da Gama.
10. M/s Parkot Bandekar Pvt. Ltd., Vasco.
11. M/s Panduranga Timblo Industries, Margao.
12. M/s Pioneer Shipping Co. Ltd.
13. M/s Saraswat Industries Ltd.
14. M/s India Shipping Co.Ltd
15. M/s Goa Shipping Pvt. Ltd
16. M/s Eastern Navigation & Co. Pvt.Ltd.,Vasco
17. M/s Tolani & Co. Pvt. Ltd.,Vasco
18. M/s Salgaonkar Mining Industries (P) Ltd.,Vasco and
19. M/s G.N.Agarwal, Margao.

The Arbitrator had to arbitrate about :-

1. The wages and allowance of different categories of barge crew considering the previous settlements signed with the different unions from 1963 onwards.
2. The complement of barge crew on each barge.
3. The working conditions of the barge crew.
4. The normal working hours of the barge crew and if overtime wages were payable, decide the rate of the overtime wages. And
5. Decide the date from which the award of the arbitration had to be made applicable.

It has to be pointed out that even before entering the arena, INTUC led GDLU had given up the main battle of demanding and granting the status of Dock Workers to the Goa bargemen, for none of the five matters referred to the Arbitrator dealt about the consideration of the barge crew as Dock Workers or about the applicability of the recommendations of the Central Wage Board to the bargemen. All the same, Shri Mohan Nair hoped to get a large number of the recommendations of the Wage Board for the barge crew, and with this hope he submitted his statement of claims and entered the arbitration arena.¹⁸²

During the arbitration proceedings, did clause XV of the 9th November 1963 Bargemen Agreement (cf.p.316) and the 1963 Agreement itself, hold any water? The HMS leader, Shri Ramesh Desai - to use his own words - had **"withdrawn from the trade union activities for good..."**¹⁸³ (stress added) and as advisor and representative of the employers in the matters before Shri D.N.Barua, he argued that the 9th November 1963 Bargemen Agreement and the Clause XV of the same agreement was of no relevance to the present dispute and had to be relegated to the realm of history. The arbtrator was inclined to agree with these views of the representative of the employers that the 1963 settlement had only a historical importance rather than any legal implication on the specific issues involved in the present dispute of arbitration. Even then, Mohan Nair proposed that the Wage Board pay scales for eight hours work be applied to the bargemen. Ramesh Desai felt that the proposal was out of proportion. He showed to the Arbitrator that with Nair's pay scales proposal, the cost of

iron ore per ton would be Rs.5.45 if 180 trips were plied by the 250 tonnes barges. If 180 trips were plied by 350 tonnes barges, the cost per ton would be Rs.4.20 and the cost per ton would be Rs.3.66 if 180 trips were plied by 500 tonnes barges.¹⁸⁴

According to MPT sources the average market rate for transportation of barge-borne ore was Rs.6.50 per ton:

"At this Port, one can compare the situation of the Goan Barge-borne ore vis-a-vis the rail-borne ore. The transportation cost of the barge-borne ore on an average is placed at Rs.6.50 per tonne (this is open market rate, actually for owners it will be still less), (stress added), whereas in case of Bellary/Hospet ore, the rail freight upto Marmagoa harbour at the current freight rate is Rs.24/- per tonne. Ever since the I.R.C.A. Tariff has been made applicable to the Goa sector with effect from 14/09/1970, the (freight) cost of rail-borne iron ore from the Goan iron ore mines located near the railway sidings, compare unfavourably with the barge-borne costs (freight) of the iron ore. Taking Sanvordem as the loading point, the cost of rail-borne ore at the current rate is Rs.8.50 per tonne."¹⁸⁵

From the barge-borne transport costs as shown by MPT it could be said that GDLU proposed pay scales which would have raised the transport cost to much less than the average cost of Rs. 6.50 per tonne. But according to the Arbitrator the proposed pay scales by GDLU would have pushed the cost of transportation to an unreasonable height. So bearing in mind that the bargemen were needed to be present for 24 hours on the barges, the Arbitrator had no doubt that the revised pay scale for the bargemen had to be worked out by splitting the 1964 consolidated wage scale into two parts: 1) A basic wage and 2) Dearness Allowance.

We could now glance through the basic pay scales awarded by the Arbitrator, in comparison with the pay scales proposed by GDLU and the wage scales existing prior to the Award:

Category of Bargemen	GDLU proposed pay scales for 8 hrs work	Prior Award Existing wage scales	BARUA AWARD PAY SCALES
Captain/ Master I	500-25-625-35-800	290-12.50-377.50-15-497.50	Captain/Master/Ist Class Drivers 275-10-305-15-470
Captain/Master II	450-20-550-30-700	283-12-367-15-487	265-10-295-14-449
Captain/Master III	350-15-425-20-525	270-11-347-14-459	250-10-280-12-412 (Ist class master will get 50/- per month in addition to his emoluments as qualification allowance. No D.A. etc. will be admissible. For the purpose of Bonus and Provident Fund, it will be counted).
			DRIVER II CLASS
Drivers I	500-25-625-35-800	250-9.25-322.75-EB-12.25-420.75	245-8-269-10-379
Drivers II	450-25-625-35-800	250-9-315-EB-12-411	235-8-259-10-369
Drivers III	350-15-425-20-525	240-8-296-EB-11-384	220-8-244-10-354
			Sukhani/Asst.Driver/Oilman
Suk/Ast.Dri. I		172-7.25-222.75-EB-11.25-312.75	162-4-182-6-248
Suk/Ast.Dri. II		168-7-217-EB-11-305	158-4-178-5-288
Suk/Ast.Dri. III		160-6-202-EB-10-282	150-4-170-5-220 (Qualified Sukhani/Asstt.Driver/oilman - will get Rs.25/-per month as qualification allowance. No D.A. or other allowances will be added except for the purpose of Provident Fund and Bonus).
			Khalasi(Also greaser if any existing with the company)
Khalasi/Sailor I		113-6-155-EB-8-219	110-4-150-5-175
Khalasi/Sailor II		110-6-155-EB-8-219	110-3-140-5-165
Khalasi/Sailor III		105-5-140-EB-7-196	110-2.50-120-4-164
Greasers	300-15-375-20-475		(A literate Khalasi performing the duties of a clerk on board the barge shall be entitled to qualification allowance of Rs.15/- per month. No T.A. or H.R.A. will be added. But will be counted for the purpose of Bonus and Provident Fund).
Sailor/Clerks	300-15-375-20-475		
Sailors/Deckhands/ Khalasis(Deck)	250-10-300-15-375		
Sailors/Deckhands/ Khalasis(engine room)	275-10-325-15-400		
Cook/Bhandari	200-10-250-15-325		

As to the **Dearness Allowance**, the Arbitrator opined that it had come to stay in the Indian developing economy consequent to the price rise factor. And to safeguard the interest of the wage earners the price rise had to be neutralised with Dearness Allowance. Shri D.N.Barua accepted the demand for dearness allowance as proposed by GDLU. The GDLU's proposal for Dearness Allowance was to have retrospective effect from 1963 as recommended by the Central Wage Board for Port and Dock Workers, and was as follows:

Basic pay range	Amount of D.A.p.m.
Upto Rs. 139	72
140 to 179	99
180 to 239	123
240 to 429	147
430 to 479	161
480 to 529	165
530 to 572	-

Amount by which actual basic pay plus DA falls short of Rs. 694/-

Dearness Allowance below CPI No.215 was payable at the rates applicable to Central Government employees.

Additional Dearness Allowance above CPI No. 250(1949-100) was granted at the following rates:

Basic Pay	Add. DA per point p.m.
100-109	0.72 percent of pay
110-119	0.70 percent of pay subject to a minimum of 78-48 paise
120-159	0.60 percent of pay subject to a minimum of 83-30 paise
160-249	0.50 percent of pay subject to a minimum of Rs.95.40
250-349	0.40 percent of pay subject to a minimum of Rs. 1245/-
350-499	0.30 percent of pay subject to a minimum of Rs.1396/-
500 and above	Rs. 1.50

House Rent Allowance was granted to all categories of bargemen at 8% of the basic pay, subject to a minimum of Rs. 10/- and the maximum of Rs.35/-. Demand for **City Compensatory Allowance** at 8% of basic pay, was rejected. **Mid-stream allowance** (halting of barges in mid-stream), **Dust Allowance**, and **Subsistence allowance**, were all rejected. Reimbursement of school fees of two children from IX to X was granted as **Education allowance**. As **washing allowance** the bargemen got Rs.2.50 per month; but those who received uniforms received Rs.3.50 per month. For **Travelling allowance**, the companies were directed to pay the actual cost in lowest class accomodation in public transport. And where there was no public transport service above the distance of 8 kms., the actual expense by cheapest means of transport was to be paid by the companies. Regarding **Trip allowances** the Arbitrator worked two seperate schemes - for barges of 350 tons and above and for barges below 350 tons. The trip allowances were calculated from the 10th trip onwards.

Table "A" was applicable for barges 350 tons and above:

Table "A" (Barges 350 tons and above)

	Master	Driver	Oilman Sukhani Greaser	Khalasi
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
10th	3.00	2.50	1.50	1.00
11th	4.00	2.50	1.55	1.50
12th	5.00	3.00	2.00	1.75
13th	6.75	3.25	2.50	2.00
14th	8.00	4.50	3.50	2.50
15th	10.00	7.00	4.00	3.50
16th	11.00	8.00	5.00	4.50
17th	13.00	8.50	5.25	4.50
18th	15.00	10.00	7.50	5.00
19th	16.00	11.00	8.50	6.00
20th	20.00	12.00	10.00	7.50
21st	25.00	14.75	11.50	8.50
22nd	26.00	17.00	12.00	9.00
23rd	28.00	18.00	15.00	10.50

Onwards per month.

Table "B" was applicable for barges below 350 tons:

Table "B" (Barges below 350 tons)

10th	Nil
11th	Nil
12th	Same as for 10th trip for 350 tons.
13th	Same as for 11th trip for 350 tons.
14th	Same as for 12th trip for 350 tons.
15th	Same as for 13th trip for 350 tons.
16th	Same as for 14th trip for 350 tons.
17th	same as for 15th trip for 350 tons.
18th	Same as for 16th trip for 350 tons.
19th	Same as for 17th trip for 350 tons.
20th	Same as for 19th trip for 350 tons (Nineteen).
21st	Same as for 20th trip for 350 tons.
22nd	Same as for 21st trip for 350 tons.
23rd	Same as for 22nd trip for 350 tons.

Onwards per month.

Part II of the award dealt with complement of the bargecrew. The Arbitrator decided to keep the categories and number of crew the same as prevailing then. But any additional

hand had to be taken after the approval of the Captain of Ports.

In Part III, the working conditions of the barge crew were taken up and decided. This Part dealt with gratuity, hospital and medical facilities, holidays with wages, leave with pay, casual leave, sick leave, weekly off, supply of personal items, supply of crockery and cutlery-bedding-linen, insurance, railway concession, subsidised canteen and supply of free food. The demand for **Gratuity** received the following awards:

- On death or on physical/mental incapacity whilst in service, which rendered the workmen unfit for further service the quantum of Gratuity was 15 days basic wages for each completed year of service, subject to a maximum of 15 months basic wages.

- On superannuation at the age of not less than 58 years and after completion of not less than five year's service the barge workers got the same quantum of Gratuity as in the case of worker who died whilst in service.

-If a bargemen chose voluntary retirement or decided to resign, for the first ten years of service no quantum of Gratuity was calculated. For over 10 years but below 15 years of service the quantum of Gratuity was 10 days basic wages for each completed year of service. And for over 15 years of service the quantum of Gratuity was 15 days basic wages for each completed year of service, subject to a maximum of 15 month's basic wages.

-If a bargeman was terminated from service by the employer, there was no Gratuity for the first 5 years of service. For

service over 5 years, the quantum of Gratuity was fixed at 15 days basic wages for each completed year of service subject to a maximum of 15 month's basic wages.

As to the **Hospital and medical facilities**, treatment through authorised doctors was to continue. And medical bills of the worker's family up to the ceiling of Rs. 125 were to be annually reimbursed.

15 days **Sick leave** per annum was granted with full wages. For **worker suffering from T.B.**, the award was that besides adjusting all his privilege leave and sick leave benefits, he was entitled to additional sick leave for undergoing treatment in a government sanatorium or hospital within the territory limited to a period of maximum 90 days at half pay irrespective of the fact he had earned leave or not.

The Arbitrator rejected the union's demand for **Holidays with wages** i.e. application of all port holidays with wages to the barge crew, and if the bargecrew were made to work on those holidays - additional days wages for work on holidays was to be paid to barge workers.

Annual leave with pay was granted as follows, 15 days each with full wages for each year-for the first two years. After two years the annual leave with pay was for 30 days.

Demand for **Casual leave** of 10 days with wages for permanent employees was rejected because of the system of payment of shorthand money in the barge transport industry.

Regarding **weekly off** the old system of accumulating weekly offs for six months was maintained.

When a worker was absent on the barge the other workers got **shorthand money** for the work done on behalf of the hand short or absent on the barge. And the award was that the daily wages admissible to the person or persons absent, was to be divided by 30 days and granted to the working crew.

Supply of personal items granted to the workers, but which remained the property of the respected company, were as follows:- one plate, one drinking vessel, one mattress, one pillow, two pillow cases, two bed-sheets and one bed-spread. Cleaning of linen was put on the shoulders of the employees. For washing, the workers were granted two cakes of toilet soap and one pound of washing soap per month.¹⁸⁷

The Union's demand for **Insurance** of bargemen brought out the thinking and award of the Arbitrator in the following lines:

"The insurance of ones life is responsibility of the individual concerned and it cannot be the responsibility of the employers. In no case, the employers are bound to insure the lives of the employees (stress added) and under the circumstances, my award is as under:

If however, due to the hazards of the occupation any employee takes an insurance policy, upto a limit of Rs.5000/-, the premium on the accident benefit or additional risk premium will have to be paid by the employer as long as the policy is in force. The usual premium of the policy will have to be paid by the employee."¹⁸⁸

Demands for Railway concession whilst proceeding on leave for up-country barge crew, subsidised canteen, and supply of free food were all rejected.

In Part IV, the Arbitrator worked on the vital issue of the working hours of the barge crew and related question of overtime, the Arbitrator found that the duty of the barge crew was for 24 hours. The Union's position that the bargecrew would remain on the barge for 24 hours but would not work beyond 8 hours was not acceptable. By awarding 31% of basic pay as overtime allowance or boarding allowance, the arbitrator wanted the old system of work on barges to continue.

In the final point of the time applicability of the Award in Part V, Wage Board recommendation was now made applicable. The award was made applicable from 01-01-1969, the date of acceptance of the Wage Board Recommendation. But the gratuity scheme was given applicabilty from 01-12-67.

The advance paid by the employers after the 13th October 1970 Agreement (cf.p.336) was to be deducted from arrears accrued. The allowances granted as interim relief under other agreements were to be treated as dearness allowance given to the workers; six and a half per cent of this amount was awarded to be further granted to the workers as final settlement. With this final settlement the Award of Shri D.N.Barua was completed.¹⁸⁹

From the above discussions about the Barua Award, it could be said that the Barua Award tended to be generous in granting various allowances to the bargeworkers as demanded by the INTUC leadership. But when it came to the crunch of the matter, the hours of work and basic pay scales, the various wage scales were awarded as acceptable to the barge-owners; and the 24 hours duty of the barge workers on the barges was preserved.

D) Advance under HMS leadership

Though the Barua Award had made an important break-threw to somewhat stabilise the employer-employee relations between the barge-owners and their barge workers, the barge crew were not that happy with the Barua Award presented to them under the INTUC leadership. They were very disappointed that eight hours of duty was not made applicable to them. The bargemen, led by Conseciao Sequeira of Curtorim and others deserted the INTUC camp and shifted their alliance to HMS leader S.R.Kulkarni and established the 'United Bargemen Association' on 10th March, 1975. The HMS leaders further built on the achievements of the Communist and the INTUC leaders.

In 1977 the 'United Bargemen Association' made its first attempt to change the pattern of work on the barges and introduce fix working hours for the bargecrew. But the Association was not able to break new grounds in the working pattern of the bargemen, and the 24 hours duty on Goan barges continued.¹⁹⁰ The regulation of working hours was made the chief demand, by the HMS leaders, in the 31-Point-Charter of Demands presented to 36 barge-owning companies, on 24-03-1980. The eight hour working day demand was made by the workers knowing fully well that crores of rupees were invested to modernise the industry and make it competitive at the world level. But the capital owners of the barge industry were persistently not willing to update the working system of the bargecrew in the barge industry - a working system which the workers considered to be virtually a bondage labour system.¹⁹¹ To press home their eight hour work day demand along with other

demands, on 06-12-1980, the Goa barge crew led by the 'United Bargemens Association' gave a strike notice to the 36 companies that they would go on strike from midnight on 22nd/23rd December, 1980, if the 31-point Charter of Demands was not resolved satisfactorily. Conciliation proceedings commenced from 17th December, 1980. But since no progress was made in the proceedings, the HMS leaders led the bargemen into indefinite strike from the midnight of 22nd December, 1980.¹⁹² Chiefly to pressurize the barge owners of Goa to agree "in principle to introduce regulated working hours for the barge crew, i.e. 8 hours working per day",¹⁹³ S.R. Kulkarni had to keep the strike on till the 26th of January 1981. The 35 day bargecrew strike was called off, after the intervention of the then Chief Minister Pratapsing Rane.¹⁹⁴ Besides making the barge owners at last agree in principle to introduce the 8 hour working day for their crew, the 26th January 1981 bargemen settlement gave the following pay scales to the workers:

"It is agreed that the existing classification of barge owners establishments into three groups for the purpose of pay scales of barge-crew shall be abolished and replaced by the following pay scales to be applicable to all the bargecrew in the Barge Industry with effect from 1st March, 1980:

PAY SCALES:

S.No.	Designation	Scale of Pay
1.	Sailor	Rs.385-10-435-12-555-13-685
2.	Assistant	Rs.475-12-535-14-675-16-835
3.	Driver (2nd Class)	Rs.580-15-655-20-855-25-1105
4.	Master & Driver (1st Class)	Rs.740-23-855-26-1115-27-1250-30-1400" ¹⁹⁵

With the above pay scales, the wages of Goa bargemen were now on par with the Dock and Port workers. The then Commissioner of Labour and Employment, Shri V.Sinha, highlighted the advances the Goa Bargecrew had made in the 26th January, 1981, settlement under the HMS leadership:

"..... The wages have been revised on parity with those of the Dock and Port workers. Acceptance of introducing 8 hours regulated working for the bargecrew against the 24 hours and payment of overtime allowance is one of the major agreements. The modalities of the same will be worked out by a 8-member bipartite committee of employers and workmen. (stress added)"¹⁹⁶

The Chief Minister of Goa was not happy that the workers had gone on the agitational path to settle their demands and he expected them to turn to their peace loving nature to solve their problems:

"Chief Minister congratulated the bargecrew for arriving at an amicable settlement to end the 35 day deadlock of the bargecrew paralysing the entire barge industry in the territory. Mr. Rane further stated that Goans who are well known as peace loving people should not resort to strikes to solve their disputes. He advised them to discuss problems across the table instead of resorting to agitational means." (stress added)¹⁹⁷

The "peace-loving" workers of Goa, labouring in the barges to export iron ore chiefly to the richest nation of the twentieth century world - Japan, were granted eight hour working day only from 9th November, 1984, by the Arbitrator Shri P.S.Malvankar.¹⁹⁸ The scheme that P.S.Malvankar worked out for the bargemen of Goa, necessitated twelve hour presence of the workers on the barges and

twelve hours rest, off the barges, with their families.¹⁹⁹ The Malvankar Scheme was to be tried for a period of about six months from 4th December 1984 to the end of May, 1985. The Scheme was implemented from 16-12-1984 and mutually put aside by both the parties from 23-12-1984; the Scheme had resulted in total dislocation of work. And as an interim measure, the bargemen reverted to the original pattern of working from 23-12-1984.²⁰⁰

Giving up of the Malvankar Scheme forced the barge owners and the bargemen to search another pattern of work. From 1-2-85 the working pattern of Goan bargemen was to work continuously for 16 days as before, and then take 14 days off with the full monthly wage.²⁰¹ The '16 days on and 14 days off' working pattern in the Goan barges was settled on 11th January 1985. The great significance of this settlement is indicated by the fact that this settlement was signed not only by all the five officials of 'United Bargemen Association' but also by all the 45 Executive Committee members of the Association.²⁰² The above working pattern of Goan bargemen was confirmed in the settlement dated 26-02-1989, by Govind B. Bhosle, Consecas Sequeira, E.M. Joseph, B. Mohan Rao and S.R. Kulkarni on behalf of the 'United Bargemen Association'. And by J.I. Dialani, L.I. Gandhi and P. Sardesai representing the Goa Barge Owners Association.²⁰³

With the '16 days on and 14 days off' pattern of work in the Goan Barge Industry, the core restlessness of the bargemen lasting for nearly three decades, was set to rest by ongoing assertions of the Trade Union Movement—launched by the bargemen under the Communist, the INTUC and the HMS leadership.

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178. Barua D.N., op. cit. pp.1,3,6,52.
179. Trivedi H.N., Note dated 18-1-71.
180. Nair Mohan, speech dated 26-1-71, para.8.
181. Ibid., para.1,8.
182. Barua D.N., op. cit. p.2.
183. Desai Ramesh, letter dated 21-12-67.
184. Barua D.N., op. cit. pp.16-17,20-21.
185. Role of Self propelled barges in the Goan Iron Ore exports trade - November, 1973, MPT, Planning and Research Department, Marmagao - Goa, p.2.
186. Barua D.N., op. cit., pp.20,27-28.
187. Ibid., p.28.
188. Ibid., p.48.
189. Ibid., pp.16,48-52.
190. Memorandum of Settlement between Goa barge owners and United Bargemen's Association, dated 12-3-77, para.11, p.8.
191. Malvankar F.S. Award, para.22, pp.6-8, in Govt. of Goa Daman & Diu Gazette, Extraordinary No.2., Series II, No.35, dt. 4-12-84.

192. Memorandum of Settlement between Goa Barge owners and United Bargemen's Association, dated 26-1-81, p.1-2; Kulkarni S.R., Statement dated December, 1980, p.1.
193. Memorandum of Settlement between Goa Barge owners and United Bargemen's Association, dated 26-1-81, para.1(a), p.2.
194. Ibid., p.2.; Navhind Times, 28-1-81, "Bargemen strike called off".
195. Ibid., pp.3-4, para.2.
196. Navhind Times, 28-1-91, "Bargemen strike called off", p.1.
197. Ibid., p.1.
198. Malvankar P.S., op. cit. pp.638-639, paras 78-79.
199. Ibid., p.638, para.78.
200. Memorandum of Settlement between Goa Barge owners and United Bargemen's Association, dated 11-1-85, pp.1-2.
201. Ibid., pp.6-7, para.10.
202. Ibid., pp.9-12.
203. Memorandum of Settlement between Goa Bargeowners Association and United Bargemen's Association, dated 26-2-89, p.7; para.10.

CHAPTER SIX - IRON ORE WAGE BOARD STRUGGLES

I INTERIM RELIEF

A. Recommendation of Interim Relief

The Lok Sabha, on 12th April 1965, heard Shri Indrajit Gupta raise queries about the Interim Relief to Iron Ore workers in Goa:

"Will the Minister of Labour and Employment be pleased to state:

- a) whether it is a fact that several leading Iron Ore mine owners of Goa have not yet implemented the recommendations of the Central Wage Board regarding Interim Relief;
- b) whether the mine workers have threatened to go on a general strike as a protest; and
- c) the steps Government propose to take to bring the recalcitrant employers in line ?

ANSWER

Minister of Labour and Employment (Shri D. Sanjivaya)

- a) and b) : Yes
- c) The Government of Goa and the officers of the Central Industrial Relations Machinery are trying to persuade the defaulting employers to implement the Wage Board's recommendations."¹

What was the overall labour situation that led to the above queries about Goa, in the Lok Sabha on 12th April 1965 ?

The directive principles of the Constitution of India guaranteed a living wage to industrial workers, as a measure of implementation of the same, the Second Five Year Plan resolved that the Government should set up Wage Boards to fix fair wages in major industries.² Before 1963, the standardization of wage structure and the protection of Minimum Wage were the basic problems in Non-

Coal mines. There was no fixation of Wage under the Minimum Wage Act even for the miners working in Iron ore, limestone, Dolomite and Manganese mines. Just before the Third Session of the Non-Coal Mines Industrial Committee on the issue of appointing Wage Boards, calls were given by the IMWF and INMWF for a general strike. Confronted with these calls in Non-Coal mines, the government of India by its resolution No.WB-2(1)/62(1) dated 3-5-63 constituted a Wage Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry³. The terms of reference to the Wage Board were as under:

- a) To determine the categories of employees (manual, clerical and others) who should be brought within the scope of the proposed wage fixation.
- b) To work out a wage structure based on the principles of fair wages as set forth in the Report of the Committee on Fair Wages.
- c) To consider the demand for the introduction of a Gratuity scheme on an industry-wise basis.

The Wage Board was constituted with Shri L.P.Dave as its Chairman. Shri M.I.Bakliwal, M.P. and Dr.R.M.Honavar were the independent members of the Board. Members representing employers were S/Shri Suku Sen and X.S.C.Naidu. And members on the Board representing workers were S/Shri M.John and B.Patra.⁴

Once the Wage Board was constituted, INTUC and AITUC submitted memorandums for interim wage increase to be granted to iron ore mine workers.⁵ Demand for interim relief was pressed for by workers' agitations.⁶ After hearing the employers, and feeling satisfied that the demand of the workers for interim wage increase

was justified, the Wage Board made recommendations for interim wage increase to be effected from 1st January 1964.⁷ The interim wage increase was recommended on 22nd Nov. 1963.^{7a} All workmen - time rated and also piece rated - employed by or through contractors in all processes directly connected with the raising and despatching of iron ore, were entitled to the interim wage increase:

"The interim relief award by the Iron Ore Wage Board is as follows:

Where emoluments are upto Rs. 52 p.m. (Rs.2 per day)	-	They should be paid Rs.65 p. m. (Rs.2.50 per day)
Between Rs. 52 to Rs.65 p.m. (Rs. 2 to Rs. 2.50 per day)	-	Rs. 72.80 per month or Rs. 2.80 per day
Between Rs.65 to Rs.100 p.m. (Rs. 2.50 to Rs. 3.85)	-	Rs.7.80 p.m.or 30 ps. per day as interim increase
From Rs.100 to Rs.150 p.m. (Rs.3.85 to Rs.5.77per day)	-	Rs.10.40 p.m. or 40 paise as interim relief
From Rs.151 and above p.m. (Rs.5.77 and more per day)	-	Rs. 13 per month or Rs. 0.50 per day

Note:Emoluments include basic wages, D.A., cash food subsidy and/or value of food concessions in cash or in kind but not bonus.

Employers giving foodgrains at concessional rates to workmen shall work out the value of food concessions as on 1.12.63. The Interim Wage increase is effective from 1.1.64."⁸

By resolution No. W.B.-2(37)/63 dated 5th Feb. 1964, the Government of India - Ministry of Labour and Employment accepted the Interim Relief recommendations of the Wage Board and asked the employers to pay the Interim Wage increase and show it as a separate item or allowance with effect from 1.1.64.⁹

B. Resistance to Interim Relief

The Goan mine owners resisted the Iron Ore Wage Board recommendations right from the time when INTUC and AITUC submitted memoranda to the Chairman of the Wage Board for an Interim Relief for iron ore mine workers. For example, the General Manager of Sesa Goa Limitada in a letter dated 22-10-63, addressed to the Secretary of the Wage Board, stated:

"...Unless the nature of Goa Iron ore Mining Industry and wages and service conditions of its labour are studied scientifically on rational basis to evolve proper wage structure any ad hoc or interim wage increase is unreasonable, unfair and harmful to the industry (stress added)."¹⁰

Once the Central Government accepted the interim wage increase for iron ore workers, Goan mine owners took the stand that since the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu has not Gazetted the recommendations for the territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, the interim wage increase was not applicable to the iron ore industry in Goa. On 27th March 1964, Goan mine workers approached L.P.Dave, the Chairman of the Wage Board to make the Interim Wage increase applicable to the Iron Ore Industry in Goa.¹¹

The Calcutta based Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Industry, asked the Goan workers to approach New Delhi to make the interim wage increase to be made applicable to Goa.¹² While writing to the Central Ministry of Labour and Employment on 5th May 1964, the Goan workers for the first time clearly told the Ministry, of their intention to go on a general strike to get the interim wage increase implemented, though the Goan mine owners were appealing against the application of the interim wage increase.¹³

In answer to the pressing demands by the Goan workers for the implementation of the Interim Relief, more firmly voiced on MAY DAY of 1964, Shri V.S.Karmali - Minister for Information and Tourism, informed the Goan public on 7th May 1964, of the stand the Goa Government had taken about the interim wage increase of mine workers - the Goa Government desired that Goa should be excluded from the recommendations of the Central Wage Board.¹⁴

While making the late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, aware of the non-implementation of Interim Relief by Goa mine owners, the Trade Union leader George Vaz raised the doubt whether the non-implementation was due to the fact that the Chief Minister of Goa, Shri D.B.Bandodkar was a mine owner himself:

"Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to you on behalf of mining labour in Goa employed in the Iron Ore Mining Industry.

..... The Government of Goa, Daman and Diu in an attempt to protect the interests of the mine owners has so far delayed the implementation of the Wage increase which became applicable from 1st Jan. 1964.

I do not know whether Goa's Chief Minister, being a mine owner has any thing to do with this. As labour has demanded implementation please see that action is taken (stress added)."¹⁵

When the Interim Relief was not implemented by August 1964, the Executive Committee of the Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union (GMLWU) openly stated that Shri D.B.Bandodkar's Government was biased against labour.¹⁶

After growing labour pressure, the Secretary of the Industries and Labour Department of the Goa Government, on 9th

Oct. 1964, merely informed the Unions that the interim recommendations made by the Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry, were under consideration of State Government.¹⁷ The State Government of Goa, by the end of February 1965, was still considering about the implementations of the Interim Relief to the mine workers. The workers having waited patiently decided to serve strike notice to the companies which had not implemented the Interim Relief and on 27th February 1965 informed the Secretary of the Department of Industries and Labour of Goa Government, that the strike notices would become effective by 15th March 1965.¹⁸ The Lt.Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu, Shri K.R.Damle was also informed by the labour leaders on 2nd March 1964, that the major mining companies were served strike notices, and was asked to intervene in the Interim Relief matter.¹⁹ The Central Government too was asked to intervene. Shri D. Sanjivayya, Minister for Labour and Employment, Government of India, who was constantly kept informed of the labour situation in Goa, was requested on 10th March 1965 to mediate with the mine owners on his arrival in Goa and persuaded them to implement the wage increase.²⁰

Prior to serving of the strike notices to the companies on 1st March 1963, V.M.Salgaoncar e Irmao Ltd. and Sallito Ores Pvt. Ltd., two of the leading mining companies gave Interim Relief to their permanent staff. But these two companies did not give Interim Relief to their daily wage workers and the contract labour who were also covered by the recommendation for Interim Wage increase. Similarly the Sesa Goa Company implemented the

recommendations but partially. But the two Unions in the mining area, GMLWU(AITUC) and NMWU(INTUC) wanted full and early implementation of the Interim Relief by all the companies. On 20th August 1964 GMLWU had brought out 10,000 mine workers to demonstrate and demanded implementation of the Interim Relief. In February 1965 NMWU had staged a one day strike in the Chief Minister Dayanand B.Bandodkar's mines and in the Timblo Irmaos mines.²¹ George Vaz, General Secretary of the GMLWU congratulated the INTUC leader Shri A.V.Gawas, General Secretary of NMWU for the one day strike and called for a united general strike.²² On 1st March, 1965, the following companies were served the strike notice by the General Secretary of GMLWU:

M/s V.N. Bandekar
M/s V.M. Salgaoncar e Irmao Limitada
M/s Sesa Goa Limitada
M/s Pandurang Timblo Industries Limited
M/s Chowgule & Company Limited
M/s S. Kantilal & Co., Ltd., and
M/s Compania Mineraria Dempo & Souza Limited.²³

M/s V.M. Salgaocar e Irmao Ltda. reacted firmly to the strike notice:

"...we wish to inform you that the interim wage increase, as recommended by the Wage Board, has been implemented by us, in this territory, for the first time, before any of the employers in this territory to all concerned staff in accordance with law.

The workers employed in other establishments are not entitled to any interim wage increase.

Further, we employ only time rated workmen who have been paid interim wage increase since January 1964.

Please note that if any of our workers participate in the general strike, we will be free to take whatever action we deem fit for the consequences of which you will be held solely responsible..."^{23a}

M/s V.N Bandekar was very calm about the strike notice and told the General Secretary of GMLWU that since the Interim Relief matter was still under consideration of the Government, the instantaneous implementation of the interim wage increase did not arise.²⁴

To prepare the workers for the general strike to get the Interim Relief implemented, a meeting was called by GMLWU at Bicholim on Friday 26th March, 1965, at 6.p.m.²⁵ The purpose of the meeting was to call upon all sections of mining labour including the contract labour to keep themselves in readiness and prepare themselves for the General Strike so that justice was meted out to the 20,000 and odd mining labour of Goa.^{25a} At this stage the General Secretary of GMLWU tried to get Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the late Prime Minister of India to intervene in the labour crisis in Goa and see that the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry, Interim Wage Increase is enforced and implemented.²⁶ Shri Indrajit Gupta was also requested to raise the question of Interim Relief in Parliament:

"A question should be raised in Parliament as to why the ministry of labour and employment has not been able to have implemented the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for mining industry by mining companies in Goa."²⁷

Under constant prolonged and united pressure of workers, the State Government bent a little and on 3rd April 1965, decided to accept the Interim Relief in principle.²⁸ Since the Shri Dayanand Bandodkar led local Government had accepted in principle to implement the interim wage increase award of the Wage Board, and

since the Central Wage Board was to have a Public sitting on 30th April in Goa, the proposed general strike of mine workers scheduled for April 1965 was deferred.²⁹

C Implementation of Interim Relief

The Conciliation Officer (Central) Vasco-da-Gama, served notices to individual mining companies in Goa to implement the Interim Wage Increase not later than 15th June, 1965.³⁰ Serving notices to companies to implement the Interim Wage Increase was one matter and the workers actually getting the Interim Wage Increase in hand without prolonged struggles with individual companies, was another reality for example the Mines Manager of Pali-Sonshi mines of M/s Pandurang Timblo Industries Ltd., had not made the payment of Interim Wage Increase for 1964, 1965 & 1966, but had notified the workers that the Interim Wage would be paid by 31st October, 1966. The workers had earlier warned the management that they would go on STRIKE after 31st October, 1966. And that the Strike would affect all mines of M/s Pandurang Timblo Industries Ltd.³¹ Actually, on request from the management of M/s Pandurang Timblo Industries Ltd, the GMLWU had granted postponement of the payment from 10th to the 15th to the 21st and again to the 31st October. The Management then asked for further extension until the 7th November, 1966. And the Union had agreed not to call the workers on strike but asked the office of the Labour Commissioner to take appropriate action against the Management for the violation of dates of the agreement. The Union informed the Labour Commissioner that the strike in the company

would become inevitable after the 7th of November '66.³² By December 1966, the Union was on the one hand still pressurizing the company to pay the Interim Relief and on the other hand was taking steps to maintain industrial peace by trying to prevail on the agitated workers not to go on strike. This situational picture is given to us by Divakar Kakodkar, the President of GMLWU, who wrote to the General Secretary of GMLWU on 5th December, 1966:

"Pandurang Timblo's workers of the Garage have not yet been paid Interim Wages...according to the agreement signed by the same with us...Workers are ready to go on strike. This has been informed to Labour Commissioner, Panjim, who has kept conciliation on 9th December at 12 p.m.. He has already directed the Management to pay the Interim Wages.

Please send a telegram to the Company...threatening them that all mines would be closed if the Interim Wages are not paid before that date.

Please do it without fail. It would help to pressurize the Management. I will prevail on workers not to go on strike..."³³ (stress added)

While the workers were struggling for the first Interim Wage Increase, the Wage Board announced the second Interim Wage Increase which was to be paid with effect from 1st April 1966. The second Interim Wage Increase was of 50 paise per day to daily rated workers, and Rs.13/- per month to monthly rated workers.³⁴

The year 1967 passed away and 1968 rolled in. And even in 1968 some of the Goa mine workers were struggling to get their Interim Relief. On 23rd September, 1968, GMLWU asked the Asst. Labour Commissioner (Central) Vasco-da-Gama, to take "early action" and make M/s Timblo Pvt. Ltd. to pay first and second Interim Relief to their workers:

"The following workers have to be paid the I and II Interim Wages....

		<u>Service</u>
Smt. Marceline Dias	- Canteen Helper	8 years
Narayan Gaunco	- Asst. Cook	12 years
Govind Chari	- Blacksmith	7 years
Satyanam Amonkar	- Cleaner	
Ashok Savant	- Cleaner	

Besides the above at DIGNEM MINE all the Daily rated staff at the company loading and unloading points viz., MAINA, RUMOD, CAPSEM, DIGASHI, etc... the I & II Interim Wages has not been paid ...

Early action should kindly be taken in this regard."³⁵

M/s V.M.Salgaoncar e Irmao Ltda., the first company in the territory of Goa to implement the interim wage increase (cf.p.370) deducted the Interim Wages of some of the workers from June 1966. Deduction of Interim Wage Increase of another batch of workers was also done by the same company from March 1966. Both the group of workers filed cases against the company before the Authority appointed under the Payment of Wages Act, 1936. The workers won their case in Civil Misc. No. 2/1966/B against the Company. The Company was fined Rs.2,700/- for deduction of Interim Wage Increase from June 1966.³⁶

In another case involving M/s V.M. Salgaoncar & Bros.Pvt.Ltd., George Vaz, while pleading in Misc. Civil Application No.1/1966, for deduction of Interim Wage Increase from March 1966, prayed,

"It is .. prayed that the maximum penalty be levied considering that this is the second offence of the Opposite Party (stress added)."³⁷

The company was again fined with "5 times the amount of interim wages unpaid"³⁸ to the workers and the company deposited a sum of Rs.8485/-, being the said unpaid wages, compensation and court fee charges in the Court of the Civil Judge, Bicholim, on 15-7-1967.^{38a}

Other workers of M/s V.M. Salgaoncar & Brothers Pvt. Ltd., were demanding implementation of Interim Relief even in 1969. On 4th January, the workers of the company issued the strike notice No.SAL/WB/1/-1969 dated 4th January, 1969, threatening to launch a strike in all the mines of the Company any day after the 17th of January 1969, if the demands were not acceded to:³⁹

"Payment of the I & II Interim Wage to all those who have still to be paid for the period from 1-1-1964 (First Interim Wage) and from 1-4-1966 (second Interim Wage)."^{39a}

By 1970 the Trade Union leadership was feeling "akward" to press the demand for Interim Relief. Writing to the Vice-Chairman of M/s V.M.Salgaoncar & Bros., on 23rd February, 1970, the General Secretary of GMLWU stated:

"I am rather in an akward position to write to you regarding the old payment of Interim Wage to certain of your staff at the Surla Workshop...

You had promised the workmen that you would make the payment at a later stage. The Union had hence not reverted to this as I took it that the issue was settled.

As the staff continues to remind me about this promise you have made them, I trust that you will clear this old amount as a matter of grace."⁴⁰

The "matter of grace" had to be pressed upon at the end of the year on 20-12-1970:

"I am once again reminding you that your staff at the Central Workshop, Surla, is expecting you to take action on paying the residue of the I & II Interim Wage...

To maintain the best employer/employee relations which has always been my policy I think you can agree to make this payment before Christmas 1970."⁴¹

II Iron Ore Wage Board

A) Final Recommendations:

The Central Wage Board for the Iron Ore Mining Industry constituted on 3rd May, 1963, issued its questionnaire, as far as Goa was concerned, to the Goa Government, to the Mining Firms in Goa, to the Mineral Ore Exporters Association, the Goa Mining Association and the Trade Unions in the field. The Goa Government, led by the mine owner Dayanand Balkrishna Bhandodkar, was one of four State Governments which replied to the Board's questionnaire. Out of eighteen Private Sector Institutions which answered the Wage Board's questionnaire, seven were from Goa and they were:

- 1) Goa Mineral Exporters Association
- 2) Goa Mining Association
- 3) M/s.V.M. Salgaonkar e Irmao Ltda.
- 4) M/s.Shantilal Khushaldas & Bros
- 5) M/s.Chowgule & Co. Pvt. Ltd.
- 6) M/s.V.S. Dempo & Co. Ltd.
- 7) M/s.Sesa Goa Ltd

And out of the fifteen Workers Organisations from all over India, two unions from Goa replied to the Board's Questionnaire i.e. Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union and National Mine Workers Union.⁴²

To further get in touch with local questions, the Central Wage Board had its sitting in Goa on 30th April, 1965. The Board

conducted its public hearings in Panjim in the premises of the Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association.⁴³ Out of the fifteen persons who met the Board in Panjim, only three persons represented the workers, i.e George Vaz and Divakar Kakodkar of Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union (AITUC) and A.V. Gawas of National Mine Workers Union (INTUC). The persons representing the

Mine owners were:

- 1) Shri M.S.Talaulikar - Goa Mining Association
- 2) Shri A.V.S.Salgaoncar - M/s Sesa Goa Pvt. Ltd.
- 3) Shri A.Q.Belgaoncar - M/s Chowgule and Co. Pvt.Ltd.
- 4) Shri A.D.Samant - M/s Chowgule and Co. Pvt.Ltd.
- 5) Shri G.V.Kerkar - M/s Shantilal Khushaldas & Bros.
- 6) Shri G.L.Joshi - M/s Damodar Mangalji & Co. Ltda.
- 7) Shri P.K.Lal - M/s V.M.Salgaoncar e Irmao Ltda.
- 8) Shri J.A.Kamath - M/s V.M.Salgaoncar e Irmao Ltda.
- 9) Shri M.T.Shanbag - Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association
- 10) Shri A.S.Devastali - Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association
- 11) Shri G.L.Joshi - Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association⁴⁴
- 12) Shri S.Sardessai - Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association⁴⁴

Besides the public meetings in Panjim on 30th April, the Board had also visited the Iron Ore mines in Goa on 29th April, 1965.⁴⁵

The Central Iron Ore Wage Board after recording, examining and considering the financial possibilities of the Iron Ore Mining Industry in the country, made its recommendations unanimously and submitted its report to the Government of India on 21st February 1967. The Central Government of India in the Ministry of Labour Employment and Rehabilitation by its Resolutions No.WB-2(3)/67 dated 3rd June, 1967, accepted the unanimous recommendations of the Board and requested the parties to implement the recommendations expeditiously.⁴⁶ The Board created twelve wage scales both for the daily-rated and monthly-rated workmen and suitable scales for the clerical staff (cf.p.462). It recommended a scheme of dearness allowance and also suggested a minimum wage and new rates of

payment for the piece-rated workers, working through contractors and proposed a fitment formula besides a gratuity scheme. The Board advised that the said recommendations should come into effect from 1st January 1967, and should remain in force for five years until 31st December 1971.⁴⁷

The unanimous final recommendations of the Board as accepted by the Central Government of India and approved by its Resolution WB-2(3)/67 dated 3rd June, 1967, were published in the Gazette of India (Extraordinary) Part I Section I dated 7th June, 1967 for implementation.⁴⁸

When the final recommendations of the Wage Board were published in the Gazette of India, for implementation, the local Goa Government was headed by the mine owner, Shri D.B. Bandodkar. On 17th October 1967, a delegation of the Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association and Goa Mining Association called on the local Industries and Labour Minister, Anthony D'Souza and apprised him of the difficulties experienced by the local mine owners following the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry. The Minister promised the delegation to convey their views to the Central Government.⁴⁹ Subsequently a delegation on behalf of the Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association (GMDEA) and the Goa Mining Association (GMA) flew to Delhi to meet the Minister of Labour and Employment, Shri J. Hathi. The Union Labour Ministry turned down the plea of the Iron Ore Industry in Goa to exempt it from the obligations of implementing the recommendations

of the Wage Board.⁵⁰ Thus the Central Government after considering the pleas and arguments of the GMDEA, GMA and the Goa Government, thought it advisable to turn down the pleas that the Goa Iron Ore Industry be granted exemption from implementing the final recommendations of the Wage Board. The Central Government also thought that the recommendations could be implemented by the Iron Ore Industry in Goa without adversely affecting the industry.

B. November 3rd

While the Goa Mine Owners were busy trying to get exemption from implementing the final recommendations of the Wage Board, the Union leaders in Goa were busy in getting the workers organised and united to pressurize the local Government and the mine owners to implement the final recommendations of the Wage Board. The city of Vasco da Gama on 18th Oct. 1967, witnessed two important meetings in relation to the implementation of the final recommendations of the Wage Board. One meeting was called by the Asst. Labour Comm. (Central). Because of this meeting all strikes in all mining companies were kept in suspense until further notice.⁵¹ The other meeting, held on the same day at 4. p.m., was of the Working Committee of the Goa State Trade Union Council (GSTUC). The main point of the GSTUC meeting was the refusal by the Mine Owners to implement the final recommendations of the Wage Board and the related strikes in the mines.⁵² After the 18th Oct. meetings at Vasco, GMLWU, an affiliate of GSTUC, held a very important meeting of its Executive Committee and its activists, on 22nd Oct. 1967, at 10 a.m. at Assonora, North Goa. This meeting was called to consider the implementation of the Central Wage

Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry and extension of all support to the G.N.Agrawal workers who were on strike for the last one month.⁵³ This meeting was largely attended by the representatives of the workers of the following mining companies:

M/s G.N.Agrawal
M/s Timblo Pvt.Ltd.
M/s Sesa Goa Pvt.Ltd.
M/s Emco Goa Pvt.Ltd.
M/s Chowgule & Co.Pvt.Ltd.
M/s V.S.Dempo & Co.Pvt.Ltd.
M/s Pandurang Timblo Industrial
M/s V.M.Salgaoncar & Bro.Pvt.Ltd.
M/s Sociedade De Fomento Industrial
M/s Compania Min.Dempo & Souza Ltd., and other smaller companies.⁵⁴

During this meeting, the mine workers geared up for struggle as the decisions taken during the meeting indicate:

- "1. That NOVEMBER 3, 1967 be observed as General Strike Day for all Mine Workers in Goa Mines with the demand for early implementation of the Wage Board Recommendation.
2. That a COMMITTEE OF ACTION representative of workmen in the Mining Industry be set up - Company wise.
3. That a suitable leaflet be issued with the main demands: background of the Wage Board, Attempt of Mine Owners in Goa on false pretexts to delay or deny the implementation. The attempt of G.N.Agrawal through Male Fide Action to retrench his workmen to defeat the implementation of the wage Board.

The Leaflet should give the call for a General Strike on November 3, 1967, and warning to Government that if the recommendations are not implemented by 15th November 1967, then workers would stage mass demonstrations in Panjim City and demand full implementation.

4. That a STRIKE FUND be started with immediate effect and workers contribute a day's wages to the Strike Fund as a first step.

5. That a campaign be organised with public meetings of workers at Bicholim, Velquem and Curchorem (in North, Central and South Goa)."⁵⁵

During the same meeting, a 30 Member Action Committee was elected. Shri. J.B.X.D'Cruz and Shri George Vaz were elected the Chairman and the General Secretary respectively of the Action Committee. The Meeting terminated with J.B.X. D'Cruz making a passionate plea for solidarity with the general strike on November 3rd, and for complete success of the Wage Board demands.⁵⁶

Gerald Pereira, the General Secretary of GSTUC informed Shri Anthony D'Souza, the Minister of Labour and Industries, on 27th October, 1967, about the general strike on 3rd November, 1967. Gerald Pereira made it clear to the Labour Minister, that the strike was forced on the workers, as personal approaches, letters, and negotiations with the mine owners for over three months did not yield any results. In the same letter Gerald Pereira requested the Minister to intervene, persuade and even compel the employers to implement the recommendations of the Board since justice was on the side of the workers. Gerald Pereira also informed the Minister that they had information that some mine owners had collected goondas and anti-social elements to attack the workers on 3rd November and that some of the mine owners had asked for extra police. A plea was made to the Minister to see to it that the police remained strictly neutral in the employer-employee dispute and were not used against peaceful workers.⁵⁷

Under prior information of the police, public meetings were organised in Bicholim, Velquem and Curchorem, from 28th to 30th

October, 1967. The public meetings were held under the auspices of GSTUC and GMLWU. The main speakers of the public meetings were Gerald Pereira and George Vaz. The public meetings were conducted to propagate the recommendations of the Wage Board among the mining workers of the Northern, Central and Southern regions of Goa.⁵⁸ During these huge rallies at Bicholim, Velguem and Curchorem and at over fifty and more gate meetings, the resolution of the protest strike of 3rd November was endorsed.⁵⁹

To make the strike a success, detailed region wise action programmes were drawn out by the Action Committee for the November 3rd protest strike. The programme for Collem-Savordem, Southern Region of Goa, was one such:

"Propaganda Van of the Union will move in Savordem Region with '3rd NOVEMBER LEAFLET' on 31st October 1967 from morning to evening.
Comrades to move with Propaganda Van - Comrades Rao, D'Cruz, Xavier and others.

On 3rd November 1967:

EMCO WORKERS will close mine and march in procession from BIMOL MINES to the Collem Town. Here J.B.X.D'Cruz and Rao will address the meeting in Konkani and Kannada.

Workers can then catch the Train for CURCHOREM and go there for the meeting at Curchorem-Savordem at 4 p.m. to be addressed by Com. Gerald Pereira, Com. Ibrahim Suleiman, Com. Rao and Com. J.B.X.D'Cruz.

All other mine workers at the Dharbandar Road will march in procession to Curchorem Bridge, in the morning and participate in the evening meeting. Workers of CACORA GARAGE (Timblo Pvt. Ltd. and Pandurang Timblo) will collect at the gate and then march in procession to other mines and garages and in the evening at 4 p.m. attend the Meeting.

Workers who are already on strike, of G.N.Agrawal - will also accompany the Timblo workers.

Workers at Borga, and other mines at Quepem will also march in procession to Curchorem for the evening meeting.

All roads will be closed to truck traffic which will be brought to a dead stop.

Passengers buses will be allowed to proceed provided they carry for their safety a red flag on their bonnet or vehicle.

DETAILS OF THIS PROGRAMME must be discussed by members of the Action Committee in the Curchorem-Collem Region."⁶⁰

Besides drawing up the detailed programmes for the November 3rd, 1967 Strike, the police were kept informed of the place, timing and of the persons who would speak during the public meetings.⁶¹

The protest strike call of November 3rd, 1967, was given by GMLWU. The well-propagated prepared and planned Protest Strike was claimed to be a success by GMLWU. This was the first time that the mine workers had an All-Goa-Strike. At the various gate meetings and at the three major rallies at Bicholim, Velguem and Savordem (Curchorem) a uniform resolution was passed demanding implementation of the Wage Board Recommendations.⁶² The 3rd November, 1967 strike, was generally peaceful. But at Sonshi, Pale and Curchorem the police lathi charged the workers. During the lathi charge, over twelve mining workers were injured and admitted for treatment to the Bicholim Hospital. Mine Worker Jerome Fernandes had his head broken which had to be stitched and Ramnath Desai had his shoulder blade dislocated. Prabhakar Sinari, the Dy.S.P. of Panjim, who had ordered a lathi charge at Sonshi, was

gheroaed by the mine workers for three hours and his jeep was not allowed to proceed further until he was later released by a Union Leader. Gerald Pereira condemned the lathi charge and called upon the Government of Goa to conduct an inquiry and punish the guilty workers.⁶³

In support of the mine workers, on 3rd Novemebr, 1967, about 500 workers of the Mazagoan Goa Ship Yard at Vasco shouted slogans at the gate. S/Shri Ibrahim Suleiman and S.V. Rao, the Secretary of the Marmagao Port Dock and Transport Workers Union moved in the Mining areas to express fraternal solidarity of Port and Dock workers with the mine workers.⁶⁴ Agricultural labourers and munddkars (labourers in plantations like coconuts) also supported the Mine Workers Protest Strike of Novemeber 3rd, 1967. A.K. Gopalan M.P., the then President of the All India Kisan Sabha was happy that the Goa Agricultural labourers and munddkars were supporting the mine workers.⁶⁵

The General Secretary of GMLWU informed the Additional Secretary Government of India, Ministry of Labour, Employment & Rehabilitation, about the protest strike of Novemeber 3rd, 1967. In the same letter the Additional Secretary was told that the Union had served a strike notice on most of the major companies. And that a prolonged indefinite strike would become inevitable if the conciliation proceedings initiated by the A.L.C.(C) Vaso-da-Gama ended in failure.⁶⁶ At this stage, Shri S.Y.Kolhatkar - Maharashtra State Committee member of CPI (M), reminded the General Secretary that the Central Government had no legal

machinery to enforce the Wage Board Awards. He cautioned the General Secretary of GMLWU about going on an indefinite strike and advised him to exhaust all other democratic means before launching an indefinite strike. Shri S.Y.Kolhatkar directed the General Secretary of GMLWU, to try to raise the Wage Board Award Issue in the Goa Assembly and if possible to lead a Morcha there. To make a representation to the Central Government Labour Ministry - And to send a copy of the representation to Com. A.K.Gopalan and to request him to meet the Labour Minister and if possible to raise the issue in the Loksabha.⁶⁷

In the Uniform Resolution of 3rd November, the workers had given 15th November, 1967, as the date line for implementation of the Wage Board recommendations. But 15th November came and went and even by 20th November 1967,⁶⁸ not a single mining firm in Goa had agreed to implement the recommendations. The mining firms in Goa held the view that the Wage Board recommendations were not statutory and so they were not binding.⁶⁹ When Dr.Chenna Reddy, Union Minister for Steel, Mines and Metals was in Goa, the Action Committee presented a Memorandum to him on 20th November, 1967. The Action Committee requested Dr. Chenna Reddy to press upon the mine owners to take an early decision to implement the Wage Board's final recommendations.⁷⁰

It was only on 23rd Nov.1967, in the office of the A.L.C. (C) Vasco, that the Goa Mine owners agreed, in principle, to the implementation of the final recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Industry. At the same meeting, the Goa mine owners officially agreed to go through the copy of the complete

report of the Central Wage Board, handed over to them by the A.L.C. (C).⁷¹

The mine owners at last agreeing, in principle, to implement the final recommendations of the Wage Board, injected the atmosphere with happiness and good news to the mine workers. The workers were gaining ground and confidence, and pressure was kept on the mine owners⁷². The General Secretary of the GMLWU wrote to Shri S.Y. Kolhatkar on 4th Dec. 1967 to that effect:

"I received your letter of the 13th Nov. and have acted accordingly. Com. A.K. Gopalan has raised the issue of implementation of the Wage Board for Iron Ore Industry in the Lok Sabha. The Ministry has also turned down the plea of the MINE OWNERS in Goa for exemption to implement the WB. Refer to TIMES OF INDIA dated 1.12.1967 under the caption GOA ORE INDUSTRIES PLEA REJECTED. This is good news.

Mine owners are coming round to agree to implement (the W.B.)...

The pressure continues and we are planning a Morcha to Panjim..."⁷³

Gerald Pereira was fully with the mine workers to increase the collective workers pressure on the mine owners. He wrote to the General Secretary of GMLWU:

"I read the minutes of your conciliations. Well, I think 'Panjim Chalo'..... will further strengthen your case. The mine owners will be compelled to pay the final recommendations."⁷⁴

The 'Panjim Chalo' agitation was organised on 14th Dec. 1967.⁷⁵ National Mine Workers Union led by V.A. Gawas also pressurised the mine owners to implement the Wage Board recommendations.⁷⁶

The conciliation proceedings on 18th Dec. 1967, at Vasco, were crucial. The mine owners came with compromised proposals:

- "1. To implement the recommendation in so far as the WAGE STRUCTURE is concerned with effect from 1.8.1968 i.e. with the wages for the month of January 1968 payable in Feb. 1968.
2. On payment of arrears- from the date of implementation as recommended the C.W.B. the companies are not ready to implement from 1.1.1967. They are only prepared to discuss imlementation as from 1.7.1967.
3. About the other points of the Wage Board recommendations the company representatives are, at this stage, not ready to accept the other points like Gratuity Scheme, Leave etc. This should be discussed at a future date."⁷⁷

Based on the mine owners proposals, the ALC (C) worked out the following draft terms of settlement for the approval of the Action Committee of the mine workers:

- "1. It is agreed that the managements will implement the final recommendations of the Central WAge Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry with regard to wage structure with effect from 1-1-68.
2. It is agreed that the question of implementation of recommendations for the period 1-7-67 to 31-12-67 is left to the parties for mutual discussion and settlement.
3. It is agreed that all other matters are left open for future discussions."⁷⁸

After the conciliation proceedings on 18th December, 1967, the Action Committee of Mine workers met on Sunday, the 7th of January, 1968, at Assonora and approved the above terms of settlement as proposed by the A.L.C. (C) on 18-12-1967.⁷⁹

Subsequently, in the course of the conciliation proceedings, the majority of the Mining Firms and Members of the Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association signed Agreements under Section 12(3) of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, agreeing to implement the final recommendations of the C.W.B. for Iron ore Mining Industry in two parts. To start with, seventeen Mining Firms signed agreements with GMLWU and NMWU to implement the recommendations from 1-1-1968 and the period from 1-1-1967 to 31-12-1967 was kept open for negotiations and subsequent settlement or adjudication by reference to the A.L.C. (C), Vasco-da-Gama. This arrangement proved to be wise, because it immediately put a stop to the industrial unrest in the mining belt, and the workers in subsequent discussions with their employers did succeed in arriving at amicable settlements with them, who in turn agreed to implement the Wage Board Recommendations by extending the date from 1.1.1968 to 1.7.1967. Out of 17 Iron Ore Exporting Firms, the following firms implemented the recommendations of the Wage Board from 1.7.1967, though the C.W.B. recommendations were for implementation from 1.1.1967:

M/s Sesa Goa Ltd.
M/s V.N. Bandekar
M/s Min Goa Pvt.Ltd.
M/s Chowgule & Co.Ltd.
M/s Emco Goa Pvt. Ltd.
M/s Salitho Ores Pvt.Ltd.
M/s S. Kantilal & Co., Ltd.
M/s V.S.Dempo & Co. Pvt Ltd.
M/s Sociedade de Fomento Pvt.Ltd.
M/s V.M. Salgaoncar & Bros.Pvt.Ltd.
M/s Compania Mineraria Dempo & Souza Ltd. 88
M/s Shantilal Khulshadas & Bros Pvt.Ltd.

The signing of these agreements and implementation of the Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Industry was a major victory for the

united struggle waged by the mine workers in Goa in this major Industry, exporting nearly 50% of India's Iron Ore. But this major victory was not won without shedding human blood and life.

C. WAGE BOARD DEATH

M/s Pandurang Timblo Industries Pvt. Ltd. and M/s Timblo Pvt. Ltd., members of the Goa Mineral Ore Exporters Association, implemented the CWB recommendations from 1.1.68 keeping open for negotiations the earlier period from 1.1.1967. After prolonged negotiations, on 14th Feb. 1969, workers of M/s Pandurang Timblo went on strike demanding implementation of the CWB from 1.1.1967. The company's management had turned down the compromise formula made by GMLWU which was agreeable to accept the Wage Board from 1.7.1967. By this compromise the company was expected to pay the workers only about Rs.34,000/-. The strike lasted for two months. The Government of India intervened after two months of strike and referred the dispute to adjudication. After the dispute was referred for adjudication, M/s Pandurang Timblo dismissed over 55 workers for having participated in the two-months strike, and applied for approval of the dismissals of the workers. By the judgement dated 5th Oct. 1970, Shri N.K. Vani who constituted the Central Government Industrial Tribunal No.2 at Bombay, rejected the dismissal of 15 workers, reinstating them with full arrears. Subsequently other dismissals were also rejected and the workers reinstated with full arrears and continuity of service.⁸¹

Like M/s Pandurang Timblo Industries Pvt.Ltd., M/s Timblo Pvt.Ltd. too tried to swim against the current and the new found determination of organised and united workers of liberated Goa. The workers of M/s Timblo after having started negotiations on 10th Feb. 1968, for implementation of CWB from 1.1.1967, went on strike from 21st Jan. 1969 on the same demand. 83 workers were dismissed by the company for going on strike. The Government of India referred the dispute for adjudication. In Ref.Case No. CGIT-23 of 1969, Employers in relation to the management of M/s Timblo Pvt.Ltd. and their workmen, Shri N.K.Vani gave his award on 19th August, 1972.⁸² The Advocate of the Firm had stated during the proceedings that the burden of implementation of the CWB would be in the vicinity of Rs.81,500 for 6 months w.e.f. 1.7.1967 or so. And that the company had no capacity to bear this burden.⁸³ As to the paying capacity of M/s Timblo Pvt.Ltd., the Judge had pointed out that there were only two directors of the company and that very large amounts were paid to the said directors by way of lease, rent, salaries, travelling expenses and motor car maintenance as follows:

Lease Rent to Director.....	1966	Rs.1,55,000.00
	1967	Rs.3,10,000.00
	1968	Rs.1,00,000.00
	1969	Rs.1,60,000.00
Salaries to Director ..	1967	Rs. 63,750.00
Motor car maintenance	1967	Rs. 99,629.82
Travelling expenses to Director	1967	Rs. 38,228.51
Salaries to Director ..	1968	Rs. 60,000.00
Motor car maintenance	1968	Rs. 93,262.29
Travelling expenses to Director	1968	Rs. 60,133.17
Salaries to Director ..	1969	Rs. 60,800.00
Motor car maintenance	1969	Rs.1,06,105.97
Travelling expenses to Director	1969	Rs. 39,600.50

The Judge did not grudge the Directors taking what they were taking from the industry. But asked a contextual question whether the workers had to give up the slender benefits that the implementations of the Wage Board has given them for the first time since starting the Iron Ore industry? The Judge had found that the exact burden that the company was facing with the Wage Board Implementation Programme was not more than Rs.50,000.⁸⁴ The Judge went on to stress the fact that the company could easily meet the burden if the company practiced greater economy and did not resort to generous contributions for political funds:

".....In the notes to the profit and loss statement for 1967 it is documented that the establishment expenses for the said year include the following donations to two political parties.

1. Congress	Rs.50,667.00
2. S.S.Party	Rs. 7,000.00

	Rs.57,677.00

Here is a company which pleads their inability to meet the extra cost entailed by the implementation of the recommendations of the Central Wage Board to their staff for the year 1967 making a contribution of Rs.57,667.00 to political parties in the same year 1967 (stress added)."⁸⁵

After his findings the Judge ordered and declared that action of the management of Messrs.Timblo (Private) Limited, Margao, in implementing the final recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry in respect of the workmen employed in their Iron Ore Mines with effect from 1.1.68 was not justified and that the same should be implemented with effect from 1.7.67.⁸⁶ The company's application under Articles 132(1) and 133(1) (c) of the Constitution, for a certificate that the case was fit for appeal to the Supreme Court, was withdrawn by the company.⁸⁷

While struggling to make the Goa mining companies implement the CWB recommendations, the Chairman of the Mine Workers Action Committee, Shri J.B.X.D'Cruz (cf.Ph.No.67 p.401) had to lay down his life. The management of M/s Timblo had a high opinion of the Union Leader J.B.X.D'Cruz. The management had officially praised the leader for preaching to the workers to maintain discipline in and out of their service.⁸⁸ S.V.Cuncoiencar of M/s Timblo Pvt.Ltd., wrote to the General Secretary of GMLWU:

"We take the opportunity of thanking you very much for your most valuable co-operation and understanding for reaching to an amicable settlement in respect of our Cacora Garage workers. We also thank your Mr. D'Cruz for his commendable service in preaching to the workers how to maintain discipline in and out of their service..."⁸⁹
(stress added)

How did the death of the Union Leader J.B.X. D'Cruz, who preached discipline to the workers, come about? As stated above, the workers of M/s Timblo Pvt. Ltd. had gone on strike from 21-1-69, and from 14th February the workers of M/s Pandurang also had gone on strike on the same demand of C.W. B. - implementation from 1-1-67. Reporting about the strike in M/s Timblo Pvt. Ltd. on 1st February 1969, to the HMS, INTUC and AITUC Marmugao Harbour Unions, the General Secretary of GMLWU spoke of the very tense situation in the mines due to the involvement of police:

"...The Manager, R.L. Naik, with the aid of the Bicholim Police and Sub-Inspector Rane ejected the workers from their quarters on the 28th January afternoon at the point of the gun. Armed police being posted at the quarters. The union took up the matter with the Labour Minister, Shri

Anthony D'Souza and the I.G.P. Panjim, and demanded that the police be immediately withdrawn and the workers restored to their quarters as the action of the police was illegal and unjustified. After two days the police were withdrawn and the workers are back in their quarters.

The Manager, G.L. Naik, with the aid of the police has also snatched away the flags of the striking workers as a provocation, and there is great tension on the mines, the situation may not be so peaceful."⁹⁰

A month later, just on 6th March, 1969, Shamrao Modkoikar, the President of Rashtriya Sangram Samiti (Goa) had written to the Chief Minister of Goa about the Police and the strike at the Timblo companies:

"We are surprised at the attitude of your Government in suppressing a legal strike with the help of your police...The Central Government has accepted these recommendations, and it is your duty to compel the mine owners in Goa to implement the same...The Timblo Companies are unreasonable and their argument that they have no money holds no water. They are banking on the absolute police protection given by your Government...We protest against your Government's pro-employer attitude and call upon you to forthwith remove your police which is breaking the lawful strike of the workers."⁹¹

On 5th March 1969, the Goa State Trade Union Council, had organised a Public Meeting of Mine workers and others at Velguem - not far from Dignem - Central mining area of Goa, in support of the striking workers of the Timblo Companies.⁹² The meeting condemned the adamant attitude of the Directors of the two companies for defying public opinion and refusing to pay the Wage Board differences. The Port and Dock Workers and all units in the mining industry condemned the attempt of the company managements to break the strike - with the introduction of Black legs, Police repression and mass dismissals. A threat of a general strike in the

whole mining industry of Goa was given in support of the workers of the two Timblo companies. This public meeting was addressed by J.B.X.D'Cruz and other leaders.⁹³ According to the police Inspector, Visvanath Giridar Dessai,⁹⁴ during the Velguem meeting, the communist leaders called upon the strikers to indulge in violent actions:

"....Shri Gerald Pereira told openly to cut the ears of police and not to hesitate to break their heads. For cutting one ear he will give a reward of Rs.100/- from his own pocket but for two ears they will be getting only a reward of Rs.150/- and not two hundred rupees. He told them to start violent activities forthwith without any further delay as thier success depends (on) the creation of terrorism, and fear in the minds of the mine owners, loyal workers and the policemen on duty. ..Shri George Vaz also spoke in the same tone...."⁹⁵

The police guarding the garage of M/s Timblo Pvt. Ltd. at Dignem, during the midnight of 5th March, 1969, stated how the striking workers while returning from the meeting, insulted the police:

".....They were uttering: "Hi suni anga kiteak assat he dande ani arma gueun kitem cortolem. Amca jai police pulisachem kan kator pac uprant garagic uzo gal pac. (Why are these dogs here? With these sticks and guns? What will they do? First we want to cut the ears of the police, then we want to put fire to the garage)"⁹⁶

The Police described the tussle between the police and the workers at Dinguem thus:

"...about 60 to 70 strike workers collected there and started to pelt stones and sticks and the accused D'Cruz was instigating the striking workers for violence and he was running here and there in a zig-zag manner to assault the police. Meantime PSI Bicholim returned from Maina. No sooner the PSI came to the spot, almost all the striking workers

started to pelt stones and some were throwing lathis upon the policemen. PSI Bicholim requested the striking workers (not to) resort to violence. Meantime PSI and the HC. Vaman and HC. P.N. Naik, PCs received injuries due to stone throwing. At that time there was a commotion and scuffle....hand to hand (between) the police party and the striking members. At that time PSI ordered the police party to arrest the leader D'Cruz and others, upon which the police party succeeded to arrest the accused on the spot. No sooner were the accused persons arrested, the remaining persons ran away towards the jungle..."⁹⁷

At about 00:15 hours of 6th March, 1969, Shri Prabakar S. Rane, PSI of Bicholim, recorded complaints against J.B.X.D'Cruz and nine other workers under sections 147, 149, 353, 323 I.P.C.⁹⁸ On 6th March itself Shri Prabakar S. Rane made a statement about the death of accused No.1,

"J.B.X.D'Cruz was arrested on 6-3-69 at 03:00 hours and was remanded to 4 days J.C. on 6-3-69. As per the order of J.M.F.C. he was sent to medical treatment at Bicholim Hospital. Then he was removed to Panaji Civil Hospital where he succumbed to the injuries on 6-3-69 at 23:05 hours."⁹⁹
(stress added)

Writing to the Member of Parliament, Shri Erasmo Sequeira, the General Secretary of GMLWU gave his view of the death of J.B.X.D'Cruz, which was as follows. After the public meeting on 5th March, 1969 J.B.X.D'Cruz was in Police Custody. He was produced in an unconscious state at the Bicholim Tribunal at 4:30 p.m. the next day. D'Cruz was produced in a half singlet and short pants, his body covered with mud - his back was bleeding and he had obviously been dragged along the ground by holding his legs. There was one eye swollen and he was unconscious. No stretcher was produced to bring him in this state to the Bicholim Court, and he was carried by one policeman holding him at the wrists of the

hands and another two policemen holding one leg each at the ankle. His head was dangling. He was kept in this condition in the outer corridor of the Bicholim Tribunal. No one was allowed to approach, and even soda offered by the General Secretary of the Union was refused. D'Cruz was however not produced with the ten others before the Magistrate, The condition of D'Cruz on being brought to the Bicholim Court was so grave that George Vaz made a written application with a Court fee stamp to the Magistrate to say that one of the prisoners was unconscious and should be removed to a hospital. And only on reading the application of Mr. George Vaz did he ask for the prisoner J.B.X.D'Cruz. The Magistrate was so moved in seeing the half dead condition of the prisoner D'Cruz, that he actually covered his eyes with his hand after seeing the prisoner and was visibly moved. The Magistrate, Mr. Varela reprimanded the police and ordered his immediate removal to a hospital.

Even after the Magistrate had ordered that J.B.X.D'Cruz be removed IMMEDIATELY to a hospital - the order being given at 5 p.m., only at 7 p.m. was he removed to the Bicholim Hospital and for all this time he was kept in a police jeep. The Doctor at Bicholim who was interviewed by George Vaz had said that D'Cruz had multiple injuries and had a skull fracture, that he was having him removed to the Panjim Hospital. He had also complained that the hospital ambulance was not in condition to take D'Cruz to Panjim.

The police after sometime came with the police jeep in which the 10 prisoners were fully packed with armed policemen. In this

crowd, D'Cruz was bundled in a sitting position on the floor of the jeep although completely unconscious. This jeep was first taken to the Mapusa jail where the ten prisoners were kept. And only after fulfilling the prison formalities was D'Cruz taken to Panjim Hospital at about 8 p.m. and was reported dead according to Dy.S.P.Sinari's report by 11 p.m. on 6th March 1969. J.B.X.D'Cruz was in police custody when he died and was in the police ward which is guarded by armed police in the Panjim Medical College.¹⁰⁰

Shri P.V.Sinari, Dy.S.P.Panaji, stated that J.B.X.D'Cruz died in judicial custody.¹⁰¹ What did the Post-mortem Report of J.B.X.D'Cruz say about his death ?

"In para 8: it is stated that the deceased was brought to the Civil Hospital Panaji in an unconscious state on 6-3-69 at about 18:30 hours. He died on 6-3-69 at 23:30 hours. A post-mortem examination was requested by Sub-Divisional Magistrate North Goa to ascertain the exact cause of death.

Further in para 13: Right eye half opened, left eye closed, oozing of blood from left ear.

Further in para 17: Bruise of the left shoulder oval in shape, two and a half inches x 3 inches (2) Bruise of right shoulder blade, oval in shape 1 inch x one and a half inches (3) small abrasion on the left shoulder (4) abrasion above the left elbow half inch x 3 inches.

Further, para 19 gives descriptions of other injuries on the body - a linear fracture running antero-posteriorly about 8 cms long over the left parietal bone underneath the bruise of the scalp. Portion of left parietal lobe and left temporal lobe lacerated. There were blood clots over the lacerated portion. There was also fluid, blood in the intracranial cavity about 100 mls.

According to the Post mortem - opinion as to the cause or probable cause of death:

THE DEATH IN MY OPINION IS DUE TO CEREBRAL HAEMORRHAGE CAUSED BY LACERATION OF BRAIN. "¹⁰²

The Union leader J.B.X.D'Cruz born on 12th December, 1914, was declared dead on 6th March, 1969. He was survived by his wife and eleven children. D'Cruz was buried in Revora cemetery in Bardez Goa. Workers from all over Goa attended the funeral of the Union leader on 8th March, 1969.¹⁰³

In Savordem-Curchorem, during a largely attended public meeting held on 12th March at 6:30 p.m., a resolution was passed demanding a Judicial Inquiry to investigate the causes that led to the death of J.B.X.D'Cruz.¹⁰⁴ During the public meeting in Panjim on 23rd April, 1969, the demand for the Judicial Inquiry was repeated and the meeting further resolved to urge the Goa Government to pay full compensation to the bereaved family of J.B.X.D'Cruz. The resolutions were handed over to the Chief Minister of Goa.¹⁰⁵

Seeing that Shri Dayanand Balkrishna Bandodkar, the Chief Minister of Goa, was not yielding to the demand of the workers in Goa to appoint a Judicial Inquiry to go into the death of D'Cruz, about 300 mine workers with their families were sitting in DHARNA before the house of the Chief Minister and the Minister for Industries and Labour, Shri Anthony D'Souza from 14th April, 1969. The workers sitting in Dharna were demanding for the Judicial Inquiry. Members of Parliament, like A.K. Gopalan, Joaquim Alva, George Fernandes and others pursued the demand of the Inquiry in the Lok Sabha and in the Raj Sabha. Workers' organisations from

all over India sent letters to the Chief Minister of Goa to institute the desired Inquiry. Under the workers' pressure of the DHARNA, and the political pressure in the Lok Sabha and the Raj Sabha, a Judicial Inquiry was constituted by the Goa Government by mid May.¹⁰⁶ Shri Tito Menezes, the Judicial Commissioner of Goa Daman and Diu was appointed as a One-Man-Commission of Inquiry. Shri. Tito Menezes submitted his Inquiry Report to the Goa Government on 11-9-1969. But the Report was not made public.¹⁰⁷ Nearly seven months after the Judicial Inquiry Report was submitted, Shri George Fernandes M.P. again raised the issue of the Inquiry into the Death of Shri J.B.X.D'Cruz in the Lok Sabha. And the nation was told in Parliament on 3rd April 1970, by Shri Vidhya Charan Shukla - then Minister of Home Affairs, that the Commission came out with the findings that the death of Shri D'Cruz was caused, though not deliberately, by the driver of the jeep, who had knocked him down. There was negligence, though minor, on the part of the Medical Officer who had attended to Shri.J.B.X.D'Cruz after he was injured and the policemen who were entrusted with his custody. The report of the Commission was accepted by the Government of Goa, Daman & Diu and action was taken against the Medical Officer and the policemen concerned. A case under section 304-A of the Indian Penal Code was also filed against the driver. The Government of the Union Territory had also placed a copy of the Report of the Commission on the table of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory on 13th March, 1970.¹⁰⁸

After the verdict of Shri Tito Menezes, PSI Prabhakar S.Rane was suspended.¹⁰⁹ And a criminal case was filed against the Driver Minguel Fernandes. The criminal case was filed before the Judicial Magistrate F.C. Bicholim, Gustavo Filipe Couto. In the criminal case No.993 of 1970 filed by the police against Minguel Fernandes U/Section 304-A of the Indian Penal Code, the Prosecution held that in the intervening night of 5th to 6th March, 1969, and at Dignem, accused drove a jeep and thereby knocked down the late J.B.X.D'Cruz, causing him a head injury as a result of which he died. On the other hand Minguel Fernandes denied the charge and pleaded not guilty. He held that he did not at all drive the said jeep and that he was sleeping in his quarters, situated by the side of the Timblo Office, at Dignem. On 16th December, 1971, Dr.Gustavo Filipe Couto passed orders wherein the the accused Minguel Fernandes was acquitted of the offence under section 304-A of the Indian Penal Code.¹¹⁰

In the Judgement of Criminal case No.993 of 1970, the Honourable Judge came to the conclusion that J.B.X.D'Cruz (cf.ph.No.67,68, p.401) died due to the head injury caused to D'Cruz in police custody in the Bicholim Police Station of which Prabhakar S. Rane was in charge. How did the Judge arrive at such a devastating conclusion ?



Photo No.67: J.B.X.D'Cruz when alive



जन्म : १२ डिसेंबर, १९१४
मृत्यु : ७ मार्च, १९६९

Photo No.68: J.B.X.D'Cruz, after death

The first doctor to examine D'Cruz was Dr. Umakant Singbal who told the Court that, in the small hours of the 6th March, 1969, he had examined the late D'Cruz in the Sanquelim Hospital with the help of a nurse and had found that D'Cruz had only slight injuries and was drunk; that D'Cruz had a small wound in the internal angle of the left eye, which was bleeding, contusion of the right and left side with equimosis on the scalpular region and over both knees. Dr. Singbal explicitly mentioned that D'Cruz was not admitted in the hospital, that D'Cruz had no head injury; that he had examined D'Cruz for the purpose of finding out whether he had or not a head injury and that he did such examination purposely because he had seen dried blood in one of the ears and he found, that the blood found in the ear had come from the injury noticed in the internal angle of the eye. Dr. Singbal stated that D'Cruz had no head injury when he examined him. And Dr. Singbal did not find any injury in the abdominal region of D'Cruz. The Judge found that this statement of Dr. Singbal was confirmed by the post-mortem report in which no external or internal injury was found by Dr. Borkar when he performed the post-mortem on the dead body of D'Cruz in the abdominal region. The judge pointed out that if the jeep hit hard D'Cruz on the abdomen and if D'Cruz fell over the bonnet of the jeep, it was only to be expected that, at least a slight injury should have been found by the doctors. Based on the evidence of Dr. Singbal who had stated that D'Cruz was drunk, in a semi-conscious state, shouting and abusing, the judge set aside the allegation of the witnesses Antonio Mascarenhas and others, that D'Cruz was unconscious when he was brought to Sanquelim hospital.

The statement of Dr.Singbal that D'Cruz was not unconcious when brought to Sanquelim hospital was fully corroborated by P.I.Prabakar Rane who stated that he had taken in his jeep D'Cruz, some workers and police personnel and that he was returning to Bicholim, when on the way Head Constable, Vaman Naik complained of severe pain in the chest and, therefore, he had decided to go to Sanquelim Hospital and that Dr.Singbal had not found any serious injury on D'Cruz. After examination by Dr.Singbal, D'Cruz was brought by P.I.Rane in the jeep, to the Bicholim Police station. In cross questioning, P.I. Rane had stated that, when he had reached Dignem, a fight was going on between the police and the workers and that he had taken D'Cruz in his jeep, because he was a leader and that D'Cruz was, at that time of arrest, sound. Analysing the Statement of Rane, the Judge pointed out, that it had become clear that D'Cruz was sound when arrested by Rane near the Timblo garage and was not unconscious. This fact was confirmed by the fact that Rane had not sent him in the first batch to Bicholim, for otherwise, the P.I.Rane obviously should have sent him immediately to the Hospital. Further corroboration was given by the fact that Rane was returning to Bicholim with D'Cruz and others and diverted his route and went to Sanquelim only because Head Constable Vaman Naik was complaining of severe pain in the chest and not because D'Cruz was unconscious. These facts stated by Rane confirmed that D'Cruz was sound when examined by Dr.Singbal. Rane further confirmed by implication the statement of Dr.Singbal, when he stated that he had brought D'Cruz from the Sanquelim Hospital after the examination and put him in the police Lock Up at the Bicholim Police Station. So, by implication Rane

stated that D'Cruz was sound when he was in the Police Lock Up for, otherwise, he (Rane) would have taken him to the Bicholim Hospital. The above statements of P.I.Rane helped the Court to believe in the statements of Dr.Singbal that D'Cruz was not unconscious when he was brought to the Sanquelim hospital.

But the fact remains that D'CRUZ sustained a linear fracture on the parietal bone and died due to cerebral hemorrhage. Now, the question is how he sustained such an injury? On this crucial question the Judge was in the dark. But the Judge was absolutely clear as to where and when D'Cruz sustained the injury that caused D'Cruz's death. Such finding was that the unlucky D'Cruz sustained the linear fracture, which ultimately caused his death, while he was in the Police Custody. The findings of the Judge were that Dr. Singbal who had examined D'Cruz after the incident occurred at Dignem, which led to the arrest of D'Cruz by P.I. Rane, had found no head injury. P.I.Rane had told the Court, that he had left the Sanquelim Hospital at about 2.30 a.m., and that he had brought D'Cruz his jeep to the Bicholim Police Station; that he had not met with any accident on his way back from the Sanquelim Hospital to the Bicholim Police station and that on the next day, at about 4:15 p.m., D'Cruz was brought in a police jeep from the Police Station to the Court and that the jeep had not met with any accident on the way to the Court. But that D'Cruz was unconscious when he was brought before the Judge and was sent immediately to the Bicholim Hospital for treatment and from this Hospital D'Cruz was taken to the Panjim Hospital, where he expired in the same night.¹¹¹ Now the Judge was insistent on his findings and stressed:

"Once again, I cannot but stress the fact that the statement of Dr.Singbal cannot be brushed aside and disbelieved. The same is corroborated by P.I. Rane himself, as I have shown above. So, if D'Cruz had no head injury when examined by Dr.Singbal, if the police jeep did not meet with any accident, the only explanation for the unconsciousness of D'Cruz when brought to this Court on the next day at 4:15 p.m., is that he sustained the injury which ultimately caused his death while he was in the Police Custody in the Bicholim Police Station (stress added). This is a very clear, specific and definite finding and there is no way out from it. Perhaps, for this reason, Dy.S.P. Anthony D'Souza stated carefully that D'Cruz was in the Judicial Custody when he died. Technically, it is true. D'Cruz was remanded to the Judicial Custody when produced in the Court, but the fact remains that he never entered in the Judicial Lock-up. He was sent straight from the Court to the Bicholim Hospital, and from this hospital to the Panaji Hospital where he died".¹¹²

The Judicial Magistrate F.C.Bicholim, Gustavo Filipe Couto was aware of the social seriousness of his findings and he stated that his specific and definite findings in the death of D'Cruz, opened grounds to many thoughts that would create in the mind of the public untrust in the police force. For these reasons the Court gave an opportunity to P.I.Rane to explain how it happened that D'Cruz sustained the injury which caused his death while he was in Police Custody. Though P.I. Rane was in-charge of the Bicholim Police Station at that time, he was not able to give any explanation. The Judge found it a very serious matter that P.I.Rane, though in charge of the Bicholim Police Station where D'Cruz sustained the head injury that caused his death, could not explain how D'Cruz came to have the head injury. The Judge now wanted the matter to be thoroughly investigated and the person responsible for the head injury be brought to book and be punished. Therefore, the Judge sent copies of the Judgement of the

Criminal Case No. 993 of 1970 to the Chief Secretary for the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu and to the Hon'ble Sessions Judge for the purpose they deem fit.¹¹³

Did the Chief Secretary and the Hon'ble Sessions Judge, take any action on the directives of the Magistrate of the Bicholim Court ? Shri S.S. Mirajkar, Ex-President of AITUC and Ex-Mayor of Bombay, on 12-1-76 wrote to the Chief Minister of Goa, Smt. Shashikala Kakodkar - daughter of Shri Dayanand Balkrishna Bandodkar, asking for assistance to the family of J.B.X.D'Cruz:

"I have had the occasion while in Goa to meet the widow of the late Mr. J.B.X. D'Cruz, working class martyr...After all J.B.X.D'Cruz died in police custody and Government is fully responsible morally to come to the assistance of the widow and her children..."¹¹⁴

Shri S.S. Mirajkar got a reply from the Home Department of the Governemnt of Goa Daman & Diu saying that the Department inquiry did not prove the Bicholim Police officer and others guilty:

"I am directed to refer to your lettter dated 12-1-1976 on the subject noted above and to state that as per the directives of the Judicial Magistrate, First Class, at Bicholim, Government initiated Departmental inquiry against police officer and others. In the said Departmental inquiry it has been found that the charges framed against them were not proved and accordingly the Departmental inquiries were dropped.

In view of this, Government decided that there was no case for payment of compensation to the family of late Shri D'Cruz."¹¹⁵

After receiving the Goa Government's above reply, Shri S.S. Mirajkar thoughtfully stated:

"To the Govt. of Goa, the departmental inquiry is more reliable than the Judicial pronouncement of their own Judicial Magistrate. However, we shall gain nothing by pursuing the matter any further."¹¹⁶

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CHAPTER SEVEN

TRADE UNION EXPANSION - RIVALRY - CO-ORDINATION

I EXPANSION

While the Trade Union Movement got rooted and established in Goa Railway, Marmagosa Harbour and the Mines of Goa, through various struggles, efforts were simultaneously made, especially by the mine and harbour Trade Union Leaders, to spread the Trade Union Movement all over Goa.

A. INTUC EXPANSION

Shri V.A.Gawas first came to Goa along with one Shri Laxman Arolkar of Vengurla Taluka, taking permission of the Government of India to enter Goa territory soon after 19th December 1961, for surveying the possibilities of starting the Trade Union Movement in Goa. He stayed in Goa for about one week and having studied the position of Mining Industries and that of Marmagosa Harbour industry, he prepared an exhaustive report of and submitted the same to Shri G.D.Ambekar and other top leaders of Central INTUC. After five months time, having gone through the report, the INTUC leaders deputed Gawas to Goa giving him free hand leadership to start work in both the above industries and to form an INTUC Goa Branch. Till such a period Gawas was designated as Secretary INTUC, Goa Branch. In June 1962, Gawas again came to Goa along with Shri Laxman Arolkar as his assistant to work in the mining area as he (Laxman Arolkar) was working as a supervisor in

M/s Chowgule Mines at Shirigao Gawas stayed for about one month with Shri Bandekar of Colvale, Goa, uncle of Shri Laxman and then he began to contact the active Congress men and Freedom Fighters of Goa¹

Coming into Goa for the second time with delegated powers (cf.p.185 ff) to unionize the workers in Goa, Shri V.A.Gawas pitched his camp and planted himself among the mine workers in Curchorem/Sanvordem, Goa. The mine workers union was the first union established by Shri Gawas - 'The National Mine Workers Union', Goa (NMWU,Goa). Branches of NMWU-Goa were opened in Collem, Velguem, Sanquelim, and Bicholim² with the help of eleven paid union workers.³ Only after the establishment of NMWU-Goa, the first INTUC-Goa Committee was organised by Shri V.A.Gawas on 9th August 1962, (cf.p.447). Efforts of Shri V.A.Gawas to have the INTUC Flag flying in Marmagoa area, got initially eroded (cf.p.282). But Shri V.A.Gawas never gave up hopes of seeing the INTUC Flag planted in Vasco and Harbour area of Goa. When Shri Melicio Fernandes of Baina, Vasco, had organised the 'Goa Dock Labour Union', Shri V.A.Gawas persuaded Shri Melicio to affiliate his Union with INTUC and for this affiliation, Shri Melicio was made President of INTUC (Goa).⁴

From the mining area, V.A.Gawas also took the INTUC Flag and the Trade Union Movement into other areas of Goa and formed the following Unions - The National Commercial Employees Sangh, Hotel and Cinema Workers Union, General Transport Workers Union, Tile Factory Workers Union.⁵ GOA MUNICIPAL WORKERS UNION, HOSPITAL EMPLOYEES UNION, ALL GOA NURSES ASSOCIATION and NATIONAL DEFENCE EMPLOYEES UNION,GOA.

The Goa Government Employees Association led by Shri A.F.G.Mascarenhas was also brought under the fold of INTUC.⁶ Through the INTUC-Goa Branch, Shri V.A.Gawas wanted to spread the Gandhian approach to Employer-Employee relations, he firmly states:

"..... I am of the firm opinion that Gandhian philosophy always helps to maintain good employer and employees relation which helps both the workers and establishments whether Private or Public..."⁷

The Gandhian approach to employer-employee relations as propagated by Shri V.A.Gawas was not fully accepted in INTUC-Goa, and conflicts were bound to arise in the INTUC camp. Based in the Harbour area, when Shri Mohan Nair came to a powerful position in INTUC-Goa, he tended not to accept the official Gandhian approach in industrial relations but tended to follow the communist camp:

"the various activities of Shri Nair right from the beginning and his repeated wild cat strikes in all industries without any sanction or consent of the Goa Pradesh Branch would clearly show that he has been acting contrary to accepted principles of INTUC and thus fall in line with communist Trade Unions."⁸

Mohan Nair also began more INTUC unions in Goa e.g. 'National Union of General Employees', 'National Union of MES Employees' and the 'National Mineral And Metal Workers Union'.⁹

Another INTUC-Goa leader who helped to spread the INTUC Flag in Goa, was Shri S.N.N.Karmali - the Goa Railway workers' leader. Besides establishing the INTUC Flag among the Goa Railway workers, he expanded the INTUC influence in other areas and also helped to maintain INTUC influence where it was established:

"After I left the Railways, I was General Secretary of Marmagao Port and Dock Workers Union,...President of Goa Shipyard Labour Union, Voice of Zuari Marine workers, Voice of Mining Workers (Sailitho Ores), Voice of Sugar Workers (Sanjivany Sugar Factory) during the period from 1974 to 1983. Prior to that, while I was in Railways I was handling the affairs of Goa Municipal Workers Union, All Goa Defence (Civilian) Employees Union, All Goa Nurses Association-Goa, State & Central Government Employees Co-ordination Committee and several other unions headed by Mr. Shivram Ajgaonkar."¹⁰

B) HMS - EXPANSION

Unlike Shri S.N.N.Karmali - the INTUC worker-leader of Goa Railway, the HMS worker-leaders of Goa Railway functioned within the Railway institution as far as the Trade Union activities were concerned. The worker-leaders of MPRWU and MPDEU also remained within the limits of their union activities at the Marmagao Harbour. Efforts of the HMS leaders to flank out into the Goa mining areas and get rooted there remained fruitless (cf.p.195). The Goa HMS camp also lost the leadership of Shri Ramesh Desai when he decided to be the Labour Advisor of the employers (cf.p.339). Shri S.R.Kulkarni was able to plant and keep the HMS Flag in Goa Shipyard flying for nearly a decade, but he was ousted from the Goa shipyard by workers led by Shri Cyril Fernandes, Vincent Dias and others on 5-1-88.¹¹ Efforts of Shri Ferdinand Rebello to guide the Goa MRF¹² and CIBA-GEIGY¹³ workers as their legal adviser, were more in his personal capacity than as HMS leader. But Shri Ferdinand Rebello represented the opinion of HMS leader Shri S.R.Kulkarni as far as Goa Trade Union matters were concerned (cf.p.480). Without grave error in judgement, it could

be said that sustained HMS trade union influence in Goa remained and remains mainly in Goa Railway, in Marmagosa Harbour and amidst the Goa bargemen.

C) COMMUNIST EXPANSION

Shri Gerald Pereira who anchored himself among the Marmagosa Harbour workers did pioneering work to extend the Trade Union Movement in Goa quite vigorously. He unionized the Mazagon Dock Workers (Goa), Dilmen of Vasco, Goa Hotel workers, Bus and Taximen, Govt. Faileries Dept. men, Coco-cola workers, workers of Goa Paints, Hume pipes, Finex Tiles, various Barge workshops like Vipul, Agrawal, Tolani and others workers. From the Harbour, Shri Pereira also entered the mining industry through Chowgule workers (cf.p.460). From MPDTWU at the Harbour, Shri Pereira expanded the Trade Union Movement in Goa through Unions like 'The Oil Workers Union'¹⁵, 'Mazgon Dock Workers Union'¹⁶, 'All Goa General Employees Union'¹⁷, 'Goa Bus and Taximen's Federation'¹⁸, 'Goa Engineering Workers Union'¹⁹, 'Chowgule Employees Union'²⁰ and 'Goa Mine Workers Union'.

Of all the Unions which sprouted out of the Trade Union Movement in Goa Railway, Marmagosa Harbour and Goa Mines, the most successful Union to take the Trade Union Movement to diverse corners of Goa, was the 'Goa Trade and Commercial Workers Union' (GT&CWU). GT&CWU was founded by the Head Office Workers of the leading Mine Owners²¹ and the workers of other Commercial Firms of Goa, on 14th July 1964.²² The main initiative to form GT&CWU was

taken by the Head Office workers of M/s V.M.Salgaoncar and Bro. Pvt.Ltd.. The first President of GT&CWU was Dr.Emerciano Leonardo Dias of M/s Chowgule & Co. Ltd.. Shri J.N.Pinto of M/s V.M.Salgaoncar was the first General Secretary of GT&CWU and Shri Aloysius D'Souza was the Treasurer.²³ GT&CWU was registered in 1964, under Trade Union Act,1926, with Register No.29(Goa). The Union was first housed in Rua Mons, Thomas Aquino Barreto - Vasco da Gama.²⁴ During the special General Body meeting of GT&CWU held in Vasco on 31st March 1965, at 6.15 p.m., Shri George Vaz was both confirmed as an Honorary Member and as the General Secretary of GT&CWU. Shri J.N.Pinto was now elected to the post of Treasurer and Shri Aloysius D'Souza was made Asst. Secretary.²⁵ Unionisation brought about a new spirit of assertion even among the clerical staff of the Mineowners. One senses this assertion very early in GT&CWU - for example in the report of Aloysius D'Souza to George Vaz on 2-3-1965:

"V.M.S. (V.M. Salgaoncar) have also written asking us when the change in office bearers took place - very politely telling us that we did not inform them of the change. I am replying that there is no change in the names or the number of 'protected workmen', and just as politely will tell them that changes in our Union is none of their business."²⁶

The spirit of determination among the members of GT&CWU to fight for their rights brought about an important constitutional change in GT&CWU, a change that would make GT&CWU flower into a near Federation of Goa Trade Unions. On 23rd February,1965, GT&CWU drew up a Charter of Demands and served it to M/s V.S.Dempo & Co. Limited.This Charter of Demands was served on behalf of the following sections of M/s V.S.Dempo & Co. Limited, i.e.

- I. (a) Shipping Department - Marmagoa Harbour,
- (b) River Fleet Section Office - Vasco da Gama,
- (c) Laboratory - Vasco da Gama

II - Barge Repair Section - Vasco da Gama.

During preliminary discussions, in the office of the Labour Commissioner of the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, the representative of GT&CWU was told that the Constitution of GT&CWU did not qualify GT&CWU to represent the above sections of M/s V.S.Dempo & Co. Ltd.²⁷ To rectify the situation, on March 31, 1965, during the special General Body Meeting of GT&CWU, amendments were made in the Constitution of GT&CWU:

"Clause 2 - AIMS & OBJECTS: Section (a) should be amended to read as follows:

- (a) To organize and unite employees of shops, commercial establishments, factories and workers in various trades in Goa and to foster a spirit of **Unity and Comradeship** (stress added)."²⁸

Now any employee of a shop, commercial establishment or Industrial workers and Engineering workers employed in factory establishments and any worker in a trade in Goa was eligible to become a member of the GT&CWU.²⁹ The Registrar of Trade Unions - Goa, accepted the amendments in the Constitution of GT&CWU. And GT&CWU served a Charter of Demands on behalf of the Shipping Department, the River Fleet Section Office, the Laboratory and the Barge Repair Section of M/s V.S.Dempo & Co. Ltd.. Becoming stronger and more purposeful in the face of adversities, the General Secretary of GT&CWU, during the first Annual General Body Meeting of GT&CWU, spoke of GT&CWU becoming a "powerful tree" to protect the interest of the workers and the "corrective" "presence" to the management:

"Friends, our Union is still in its infancy and has still to grow into a powerful tree under which all its members can take shelter. However, it is gratifying to note that we have a membership of not less than 450.... we have to go from strength to strength so that our very presence will act as a corrective to the Managements of Industrial and Commercial firms in Goa."³⁰

Before we go any further in the growth of GT&CWU, one basic point has to be asserted. **And the point is that the Head Office workers of Goa Mining Firms were MINE WORKERS.** The fact that these head office workers were mine workers is proved by the decision of the Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry to extend its recommendations to Head Office workers of Goa Mining Concerns; the Board's mind on this point was made clear in para 6.13 of Chapter VI of the recommendations. Based on the decision of the Board to officially recognize the Goa Head Office workers of mining firms, as Mine Workers and to extend to them the recommendations of the Board, C.N.Bopaiah, the Labour Commissioner of the Goa Government wrote to the Goa Mining Association on November 18, 1968, to instruct its constituent members to implement the Boards recommendations in relation to the Head office workers:

"The Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Mining Industry in its recommendations have directed that all workmen employed in the Offices of Mines though they are not situated in the mining area shall be considered as coming within the purview of its recommendations. In this connection I have to invite your reference to the full report on the said wage Board in paragraph 6.13 under chapter VI of the recommendations.

2. I have to request you that the recommendations of the Central Wage Board for Iron ore Mining Industry may be implemented in respect of the staff employed in the offices of the mines including those employed in the head offices even though they are not situated in the mining area."³¹

M.S.Talaulikar, the President of the Goa Mining Association circulated the letter of the Goa Government among its members to implement the Board's recommendations regarding the Mine Head Office workers.³²

The above documentation clearly shows that the Central Wage Board and the Goa Government recognized the Goa Mining Head Office workers as Mine Workers.

Having sufficiently proved that the Goa Head Office workers of Mining Companies were recognised as Mine Workers by the Indian Union, through its legally constituted Central Wage Board for Iron Ore Workers and by the Local Government of Goa Daman & Diu (GDD), let us delve a little into **the growth of GT&CWU started by the Head Office Mine Workers of Goa.** During the Third Annual General Body meeting of GT&CWU, the Union urged the Goa Government to improve the service conditions of Commercial workers in Goa by introducing the Shop and Establishments Act to the Union Territory of GDD. The same meeting passed a resolution to request the GDD Government to introduce the Minimum Wages Act and apply the Payment of Wages Act, 1936, to the Commercial Establishments of Goa.³³

Besides working for the various Labour Laws to be extended to Goa, GT&CWU worked to see to it that the Laws were implemented. For example, the bakeries in Bicholim Town employing 10 to 6 workers, were covered under the Shops and Establishments Act, 1973, yet no timing was fixed for these workers and they were made to work from 6 a.m. to 8 p.m. i.e. 14 hours work a day, but the

workers were not given overtime wages for working over the 8 hour day, as was regularised by the Goa Daman & Diu Shops and Establishments Rules, 1975. Workers were not given the weekly off. No attendance registers were maintained and no overtime registers were kept. Payment of Bonus was evaded by the employers showing less employees than were actually working. The Bakeries so evading the regulations were chiefly

1. OM PRASAD BAKERY, under the ownership of Shri Chandrakant Nersu Chanekar.
2. SIXAN BAKERY under the ownership of Shri Chandrakant Nersu Chanekar
3. ASHOK BAKERY under the ownership of Shri Bhau Nout.

Besides the above three larger bakeries there were several other smaller bakeries violating the regulations.

It was not only the cause of the Urban workers that GT&CWU took up. GT&CWU also took up the cause of the workers based in rural areas of Goa like the Cashew seed workers. Because of the pressure brought upon the Goa Commissioner of Labour and Employment, regarding the working hours for Goa Cashew seed factory workers, Senior Inspector of Factories and Boilers - Shri C.V. Dhume instructed the managements of the Cashew factories in Goa to extend to their workers the various provisions of the Indian Factories Act, 1948, including the provision of working hours.³⁵

The process of extending the "corrective" "presence" of GT&CWU, in various socially collective working areas of Goa was continuous. On 4th January, 1985, Shri Christopher Fonseca, the President of GT&CWU wrote to the Managing Director of M/s ACI

Engineering Division, Corlim Industrial Estate, Corlim, Ilhas, Goa
about the unionisation of the establishment's workers:

"Dear Sir,

This is to bring to your kind attention that the workmen of M/s ACI Industries Division have chosen to join as members of the Goa Trade And Commercial Workers Union and abide by its Rules and Regulations, at a General Body meeting held by the workmen on 25th November, 1984...."³⁶

To extend the Trade Union Movement to FARM WORKERS, GT&CWU changed its Constitution further, around the year 1983-84:

"...2.AIMS & OBJECTS:

The aims and objects of the Union shall be:-

- a. To organise and unite employees of shops, commercial establishments, factories and workers in various trades, occupations, hotels, ports and docks, farms and other services in Goa and to foster a spirit of unity and comradeship."³⁷

Though GT&CWU was spreading its wings far and wide over Goa, it could hold its presence in an establishment only by working to uphold the interests of the majority of the workers, if not all the workers in the establishments. In a democratic set up, a factory unit could reject the leadership provided by GT&CWU or elect to stay with GT&CWU, as was done by ARLEM BREWERIES - a part of the Chowgule Industrial Empire in Goa:

"Dearest Comrade George Vaz,

Revolutionary Greetings from the Arlem Breweries Committee and... good news. Our Union has won the election held at Arlem Breweries factory on 10-9-88. The opposite union polled 64 votes and we polled 122 votes. We have won the election by 58 votes.

We thank you Com. for your participation in the 8th Gate meeting and the advice given to us by you..."³⁸

The various units³⁹ which elected to come under the shade of the "powerful tree" of GT&CWU were as follows:

M/s Arlem Breweries Ltd., Margao.
M/s Borker Industries Pvt. Ltd., Margao.
M/s Goa Sintors, Margao.
M/s Goa Carbon, Margao.
M/s Pimenta, Margao.
M/s Super Structures, Margao.
M/s Islami Hotel, Margao.
Novem Goem, Margao.
Panchayat Workers Union, Margao.
Igorjente Kamgarache Igvott (Church Workers Union), Margao.
DCI Pharma, Margao.
Kalanath Tiles, Margao.
Rashtramati, Panchwadi.
M/s Agencia E. Sequeira & M/s Fabril Gasosa, Borim, Ponda.
M/s McDowell & Co. Ltd. & M/s Kesarval Beverages Ltd., Bethora, Ponda
M/s Curti Chemicals Pvt. Ltd., Curti, Ponda.
M/s Mandovi Hatcheries, Murdi, Ponda.
M/s Tip-Top Tiles, Dhavali, Ponda.
M/s Crestel Marketing, Bicholim.
M/s Goa Fruit Pvt. Ltd. Assonora.
M/s Crunet Aerated Waters, Pvt. Ltd., Margao.
M/s Govind Poy Oxygen Ltd., Margao.
M/s Goa Transport, Margao.
Ela Farm & Govt. Extn. Farm, Old Goa.
Caculo Workers Union, Panjim.
N.I.O. Workers Union, Dona Paula, Panjim.
Tarcari's Workers Union, Panjim.
Indo-Swiss Jewels Ltd. Carasswaddo, Mapusa.
Sapphire Machines Pvt. Ltd. Caraswaddo, Mapusa.
M/s Goa Rubbers & Canvas Shoes, Carasswaddo, Mapusa.
Adel Laboratatives Pvt. Ltd., Caraswaddo, Mapusa.
Geno Pharmaceuticals Pvt. Ltd., Caraswaddo, Mapusa.
Goa Pharmaceuticals, Pvt. Ltd., Caraswaddo, Mapusa.
M/s Wellfit, Caraswaddo, Mapusa.
Super Dry Cleaners, Corlim.
London Star Diamond Co. (Pvt) L. Corlim.
ACI Industries, Corlim.
Polytainer Industries, Corlim.
Goa Paints, Corlim.
Goa Filaments Industries, Corlim.
M/s Premier Packaging, Corlim.

M/s Hindustan Ciba Geigy (gardeners & Sweepers), Corlim.
Shivam Engineering, Marcela.
Manerkar Fisheries, Marcela.
M/s Cordel Ice & Cold Storage, Marcela.
Wyeth Farm Laboratories, Valpoi.
M/s Govt. Stud Farm, Valpoi.
Ciba Geigy farm, Valpoi.
New Era handling Agency (Gardeners & Sweepers), ZACL
New Era handling Agency (Bagging), ZACL
New Era handling Agency (Maintenance), ZACL
M/s Laxmi Garage, Zuarinagar.
Office canteen Workmen, ZACL, Zuarinagar .
S.O.M.C., ZACL, Zuarinagar.
Potash Workers, ZACL, Zuarinagar.
Empty-Bags, ZACL, Zuarinagar.
M/s Central Mechanical Workshop, Raia/Zuarinagar.
M/George (plumbers) ZACL, Zuarinagar.
Conveyor Belt Servicing, ZACL, Zuarinagar.
Zuari Agro Drivers, ZACL, Zuarinagar.
Nacon, ZACL, Zuarinagar.
Tranzac, ZACL, Zuarinagar.
Zuari Stainless Steel, Zuarinagar.
Zuari Marine Industries Pvt. Ltd., Zuarinagar.
Zuari Engineering & Agro Chem., Zuarinagar.
M/s Sterling Magnetics Pvt. Ltd., Zuarinagar.
Bandeekar Alloy Steels Pvt. Ltd., Zuarinagar.
Bandeekar Speciality Valves, Zuarinagar.
Aqua - Structures, Vasco.
Salgaonkar Hotel Division Committee - Vasco - Hotel Zuari
Hotel La Paz and Little Chef.
Samant Shipyards, Chicalim.
Vipul Shipping, Chicalim.
Vipul Engineering, Chicalim.
Shore Handling Workers' ,Marmagoa.
Agencia Commercial Maritima, Vasco.
Hotel Silver-Sands, Colva.
Mari Stone (Corlim Ind. Estate, Corlim)
Indian Airlines Porters, Dabolim.
Goa Antibiotics & Pharmaceuticals, Pernem.
Salgaonkar Head office, Vasco.
Bandeekar Head Office, Vasco.
Primavada (Transhipper), Vasco
Swathirani, (Transhipper), Vasco.
Gosalia Transhipper, Vasco.

Cortalim Shipyard, Cortalim.
Salgaonkar Gases, Cortalim.
Timblo Pvt. Ltd. Head Office, Margao.
Salgaonkar Airways, Panaji.
Christine Holden, Cortalim.
PIM - Multivonic, Vasco.
Kamat Cashew Factories, Sanquelim.

Of the above units of GT&CWU the following units⁴⁰ left the Union for various reasons:

M/s Super Structures Pvt. Ltd., Margao.
M/s Tip-Top Tiles., Dhavali, Ponda.
M/s Crestel Marketing, Bicholim.
M/s Goa Transport Ltd., Margao.
M/s Goa Rubbers & Canvas Shoes, Caraswaddo, Mapusa.
M/s Wellfit, Caraswaddo.
M/s Premier Packaging, Corlim.
M/s Cordel Ice & Cold storage, Marcela.
M/s Govt. Stud Farm, Valpoi.
M/s Laxmi Garage, Zuarinagar.
M/s Central Mechanical Workshop, Raia/Zuarinagar.
M/s Zuari Stainless Steels Pvt. Ltd. Zuarinagar.
Aqua Structures, Vasco.
Shore Handling Workers.
Goa Filament Industries, Corlim, Goa.
PIM - Multivonic, Vasco.
Kamat Cashew Factories.

Basing himself among the mine workers, Shri George Vaz was guiding the activities of GT&CWU and through GT&CWU, the Trade Union Movement was spread in all the corners of Goa. Shri. Vaz, besides unionising the workers of the above mentioned units of GT&CWU, he also unionised electricity workers in "Goa Electricity Workers' Union"⁴¹ and also the newspaper employees in "News Paper and Press Employees Union."⁴²

From what we have witnessed above about the expansion activities of the Communists, HMS, and INTUC leaders of Goa, it could be stated that the Trade Union Movement in Goa tended to flow out from the Goa Mines, Marmugao Harbour and Goa Railway Unions, to other workers all over Goa.

II. RIVALRY

The process of expansion of the activities of the various Unions, entailed the element of RIVALRY and change of loyalties by the workers from one union to another. Rivalry was not the monopoly of the Communists nor of the INTUC nor of the HMS camp in Goa; every camp had to drink of the bitter "rival" cup and yet be a social force and a "corrective" "presence" in the process of the Industrial Development of Goa.

A) - Rivalry in HMS Camp

The seeds of rivalry amidst the HMS camp at Marmugao Port Trust were to some extent a carry over from the Portuguese colonial days. The Portuguese Junta Administration of WIPGR had approved Bonus for the employees of WIPGR. This Bonus was to be paid to the WIPGR workers for Christmas of 1961. But before the Bonus could be paid, Goa was liberated. After the liberation of Goa, the Bonus was not paid though the pay sheets were all ready. In March 1962, Shri Thomas D'Silva, of Baina Railway Workshop had led all the workers into a three days strike in demand of the Bonus. There was no union of these workers during the time of the

lightning strike. And only the workshop workers had gone on strike (cf.p.191). The demand for Bonus ultimately led to the formation of the 'Marmugao Port and Railway Workers' Union' (MPRWU) in February 1964, and Shri Andrade was elected the first President of MPRWU.⁴³ In about the month of October, 1964, MPRWU demanded from the MPT Administration, payment of the Bonus, and change in Wage Structure. The Chairman Shri.Nadkarni had agreed to change the wage structure but had refused to grant the Bonus. On the issue of the unpaid Bonus, MPRWU took the workers into confidence and asked their opinion in a **Secret Ballot** whether the Union should go in for strike Action to press the Bonus issue. Ninety five percent of the members of MPRWU voted in favour of the strike action.⁴⁴ The absolute majority vote for strike action electrified the atmosphere in MPT and raised the hopes of MPT workers in getting the Bonus. Andrade and S.R.Kulkarni were called to Delhi, by Raj Bahadur the then Transport Minister. In Delhi, Andrade was told by Raj Bahadur not to go on strike and that the Bonus issue would be considered and the decision would be made known to Andrade by December, 1964. Andrade promised the Transport Minister that he would not lead the Marmagao Port Trust workers into a strike and would wait for the decision till December.⁴⁵ The importance of the events that followed after the return of Andrade from Delhi, would to a great extent, shape the future of MPRWU.

When Andrade had gone to Delhi, he had gone with one suitcase. He had bought a new suitcase in Delhi and thus had returned to Goa with two suitcases. In the evening, when he had returned from Delhi, he met the workers and told them not to go on strike, for the Bonus issue was taken for consideration by Raj

Bahadur, the Transport Minister. The workers listened to Andrade. But Thomas D'Silva of the Railway Workshop told the workers that the new brief case contained money given by the Government and so, because money was given to Andrade, he was telling the workers not to go on strike. And Thomas told the workers that they should go on strike the next day.

Two faithful workers of Andrade, namely -

(1) Sardessai (Now Accounts Officer in MPT) and
(2) Silva of Velim (Now working in Bank of Baroda) came to meet Andrade in Cansaulim at about 9.00 p.m. and told him that Thomas had incited the workers to go on strike the next day. That very night, Sardessai, Silva and Andrade went to the Harbour and met all the possible workers, and told them not to go on strike. The next day the MPT workers did not go on strike except the workers at the workshop at Baina. These workers too were met by Andrade and just ordered them to get in and do the work. But by twelve noon, Thomas D'Silva incited the workers again and so in the afternoon session some went to work and some did not. After the work was over in the workshop, in the evening, those who had gone to work were stoned by Thomas' men, very badly. The wounded workers came to meet Andrade who filed a police complaint and gave the names of the guilty culprits including that of Thomas. Thomas' group of workers were put in police lock-up in Vasco. Next day morning these workers asked for pardon from Andrade and he himself bailed these workers out.⁴⁶

The above mentioned 1964 Bonus Strike events as given by Andrade himself, were viewed differently by Thomas D'Silva and others while throwing more light on the same events:

"Let us not forget that it was Shri. Andrade, the President of our So-called Union, who handed over Thomas D'Silva and 14 other workers to the police for having gone on strike for legitimate demands of workers. These 15 workers were kept in suspension for periods ranging from 8 to 11 months by Shri. Andrade in collusion with the M.P.T. Authorities and Vasco Police..."⁴⁷

Though the MPT workers ultimately got the Bonus, in the form of "ex-gratia",⁴⁸ the struggle for the Bonus issue had internally divided the MPRWU -unyielding Andrade and the fire-brand Thomas D'Silva, were constantly at logger heads.⁴⁹

Union accounts was another issue that took Andrade and Thomas D'Silva further apart and tore the MPRWU deeper. On 24th August, 1966, Andrade as President of MPRWU, notified Thomas D'Silva to pay a sum of Rs.274.50 which was allegedly collected by him from the workers as Union fees but was not given to the Union Treasurer. Andrade warned Thomas D'Silva of drastic measures if the amount was not returned to MPRWU.⁵⁰ Thomas D'Silva considered Andrade's warning as attempts to black-mail him and damage his reputation, and he gave a nine point reply to Andrade.⁵¹ In quick reply to Thomas D'Silva's letter, on 8th September, 1966, Andrade asserted his determination to collect the balanced amount of Rs.274.50 from Thomas D'Silva. Andrade promised to produce documentary evidence in a Court of Law. And he further raised an underlying current that Thomas D'Silva was trying to dethrone Andrade from the leadership of MPRWU:

".... No one denies you the right to take up the leadership which I have repeatedly requested you to take over.... but your intention, as it seems to me, is that since you shout that you made me President and you want to show off that you could dethrone me....."⁵²

The Union Accounts issue between MPRWU and Thomas D'Silva dragged on into 1970. And the supporters of Thomas D'Silva asked the following questions to MPRWU:

"2) Sri. Macedonio Braganza (the successor of Andrade to the Presidentship of MPRWU) states that Sri. Thomas D'Silva is facing prosecution from his Union for alleged defalcation of Union fees. Really Wonderful! If this statement is true, then we are tempted to ask three questions.

- a) If there was defalcation in the Union funds in the years 1965, 1966 or 1967, then why this was not placed before the General Body ?
- b) Who submitted (and why) the Statement of Accounts & Balance Sheet i.e. the defalcated accounts to the Registrar of Trade Unions in the years 1965, 1966 and 1967 ?
- c) Why didn't Sri. Andrade Pereira or Sri. Macedonio Braganza report the matter to the police for criminal breach of trust?"⁵³

As the wounds in the unity of MPRWU were festering, attempts were made by Mohan Nair to cut into the ranks of MPRWU. But in August, 1968, MPRWU could still say with confidence that they would not allow others to take over their Union.⁵⁴ While the attempts of resisting the taking over of MPRWU were successful, preserving the UNITY of MPRWU was a difficult task for the leaders of MPRWU. Besides controversial issues and strained relationships remaining unresolved and unsettled, the chosen leaders of MPRWU were not able to hear the voice of a large section of MPT workers who said that their voice was not heard in the MPT Board. This section of MPT employees were not at all happy that the Central Wage Board had made them "B" class workers while the Bombay workers were considered "A" class workers; and this down-gradation of Marmagao

workers was squarely placed on the shoulders of S.R.Kulkarni who was a member of the Wage Board for full five years. By February 1970, Thomas D'Silva, **Filomeno Rego** and others led this section of MPT workers into the Communist Camp of Gerald Pereira and they appealed to their fellow MPT employees to join the Red camp in more numbers without any fear of MPT officers and thus assert their sacred right to join the trade union of their choice⁵⁵. Following Thomas D'Silva into the Communist camp, another group of MPT workers led by Shri.E.Sheik Mohamed came out of MPRWU and gathered around the Red Flag. Thus workers from the Marine section, flotilla, firemen, crane-drivers, watch & ward, gangmen, Bains workshop, joined the Marmagao Waterfront Workers' Union (MWWU).^{56*} The breakaway group of MPRWU wanted to dethrone the former leadership of MPRWU but maintain unity between workers and clerical staff. During the November 1970 Conference and Election time of MPRWU, the rival group nearly succeeded in electing a new leadership with loyalty to the communists:

"The Annual General Meeting of Marmagao Port & Railway Workers Union was held as scheduled on 27th November 1970 in Dharma-Shalla even though during the course of the meeting some of the old office bearers disappeared with the files.

The Annual General Meeting elected a fifteen member Executive Committee with the following as office bearers: **Filomeno Rego - President;** R.B.Sardessai - Vice President; Mario Menezes - General Secretary; Remedio Rodrigues - Secretary and Francis X.Fernandes -Treasurer."⁵⁷

Gerald Pereira was also elected as member of the above Executive Committee which had supposedly ousted the HMS linked leaders of MPRWU.⁵⁸

HMS loyalist, Macedonio Braganza, objected to the Editor of

the Navhind Times for publishing the names of the above new MPRWU office bearers:

"Dear Sir,

A meeting of the General Body of the Marmagoa Fort & Railway Workers Union was convened on 27-11-70, at which the new Executive Committee was to be elected but due to disorderly behaviour of some unsocial elements the same had to be postponed.

In view of this, the report publishing the names of new office bearers is wrong and misleading, particularly as it comes from your own reporter.

Hoping that you will endeavour to set right the injustice done to this Union."⁵⁹

On 28-11-70, the Chairman of MPT was promptly informed by M.Braganza that due to some unfortunate incident created by some unsocial elements the elections of the new Executive Committee which was scheduled to be held on 27-11-1970 was postponed.⁶⁰ The HMS led MPRWU decided to have the postponed meeting on 11th January 1970. The HMS - MPRWU leadership decided to have the elections only with police protection, and the Police protection charges were promised to be paid to the Police by the Union. Shri Lorenzo Dourado, the General Secretary of MPRWU wrote to the Dy. Superintendent of Police, Vasco da Gama on 28th December 1970:

"Dear Sir,

You must be aware that when this Union had its Annual General Body Meeting on 27th November, '70, at Dharmshala, some unsocial elements created disorder by their unruly behaviour of assaulting office bearers of this Union.

It has now been decided to hold the postponed meeting on 11th January, 1971, at Natraj Theatre in Vasco da Gama. In order to avoid repetition of trouble, we wish to keep tight security by supervision of police. Therefore we requisition the services of 20 policemen on 11-1-1971 from 9.00 a.m. to 9.00 p.m.. The service charges of policemen will be paid by this Union."⁶¹

For the new election day, besides police protection, MPRWU issued identity cards to admit its members in the Natraj theatre.⁶² After the elections, the Dy. Sp. of Vasco police station was duly thanked by Shri L.Dourado:

"We take this opportunity to thank you and your personnel for extending kind co-operation which made it possible for us to conduct our Annual General Body Meeting and the election of the new office bearers in a peaceful manner. The excellent police arrangements made by you at the venue of the meeting were appreciated by one and all. We request you to convey on our behalf our gratitude to Shri Raikar, PSI, Shri Madhu, PSI, Shri Tony Fernandes, PSI and all the personnel concerned."⁶³

In the letter dated 28th December 1970, addressed to the Dy. Sp. of Police, Vasco da Gama, Lorenzo Dourado spoke of MPRWU office bearers been assaulted by unsocial elements during the Annual General Body Meeting of 27th November, 1970. In criminal case No.136 of 1970, Lorenzo Dourado accused rival leaders Thomas D'Silva, Filomeno Rego, Anand Lawande and Mahabaleshwar Xettigar for assaulting him inside the Dharmashala Hall on 27th November 1970 during the Annual Meeting of MPRWU. The case No. 136 of 1970 was filed under sections 323(hurt), 341(wrongful restraint), 352(assault) 451 (house-trespass) and 506 (criminal intimidation) read with section 34 (acts of common intention) of Indian Penal Code. Ten prosecution witnesses were cited in the case but only two witnesses were produced in the court. Gerald Pereira appeared for all the four accused. The four leaders, on 1st September 1971, were acquitted by Shri Bhowani Rege, the learned First Class Magistrate in the Judicial Court at Vasco da Gama.⁶⁴

Unlike the MPT workers led by Thomas D'Silva who wanted to maintain complete unity of workers and the clerical staff of MPT but under non HMS and AIPDWF linked leaders, there was a group within MPRWU who wanted to remain loyal to All India Port and Dock Workers Federation but desired that the **Non-Ministerial or Outdoor workers of MPT to hold key posts of MPDWU.** During the 1971 MPDWU elections this group anonymously made propaganda and asked the **Outdoor workers to come in numbers and vote for Outdoor Candidates.**⁶⁵ It was not possible for the **Non-Ministerial or Outdoor workers**, at this stage to come together and hold the key posts of MPRWU and thus make their voice heard in the MPT Board. The Non-Ministerial workers were divided and distributed in three camps, most were in the MPRWU camp linked to HMS, some were under the communist flag, and some had joined Mohan Nair's INTUC group.

Besides trying to save MPRWU from being taken over by INTUC and the Communist forces, another area of great concern for MPRWU, were the two labour seats in the MPT Board of Trustees. In August, 1968, other Union Leaders made conscious efforts to cut into the MPRWU's area of the Board of Trustees.⁶⁶

Constant concern and action of MPRWU and of S.R. Kulkarni⁶⁷ to safeguard their hold on the two labour seats in the MPT Board of Trustees,⁶⁸ could not prevent the Central Government from appointing Mohan Nair on 22nd May, 1974, to occupy one of the Labour seats upto the 31st March 1976, in the MPT Board of Trustees,⁶⁹ based on the verification of Union membership of the year 1972.⁷⁰

The appointment of Mohan Nair as one of the Labour Trustees for the period 1974-76, sent shock waves in the camp of MPRWU, and their allies. MPRWU decided to go in for an indefinite strike with effect from 3rd June 1974 and pressurize the Central Government to withdraw the name of Mohan Nair as Labour Trustee. The strike notice was served to the Chairman of MPT on 28th May 1974, by the President of MPRWU, Shri Miguel Afonso.⁷¹ The Asst. Labour Commissioner (Central) pointed out to the President of MPRWU that the subject matter of the strike notice was not an Industrial Dispute. But at this hour of shock, MPRWU did not want to be advised on the legality or illegality of the strike, the Union only wanted Mohan Nair to be removed as Labour Trustee representing the MPT workers.⁷²

In opposition to MPRWU, Shri J.N.C.Vierra, President of the Action Committee of the Marmagao Port Trust Employees who were members of the Mohan Nair led Goa Dock Labour Union (GDLU) came out in defence of Mohan Nair as Labour Trustee and pointed out that MPRWU had lost one seat due to erosion of membership.⁷³

An announced, MPRWU led the MPT workers into strike action from 3rd June 1974. On 5th June 1974, 'Voice of Goa'-an organization headed by Vithal Navelkar, came out in strong support of MPRWU and on 5th June 1974 organised Vasco Bandh to further pressurize the Central and Local Government to remove Mohan Nair from the Labour seat of the MPT Board of Trustees.⁷⁴ Except for loading operations in mid-stream, work on shore establishments at Marmagao Harbour were paralyzed during the MPRWU led strike. Even the barge workers who were once with Mohan Nair, came out in

support of MPRWU. Thus, by strike action, MPRWU could effectively show that most of the MPT workers were with MPRWU. The Chief Minister of Goa, Smt. Shashikala Kakodkar appealed with MPRWU to withdraw the strike; on the C.M.'s assurance that she would do her best to dissolve the tension at Marmagoa Harbour, the strike was withdrawn from midnight of 6th/7th June 1974.⁷⁵

After the 3rd to 6th June 1974 strike action, the MPRWU led "the workers of MPT and Railway are determined not to allow Shri Mohan Nair to attend the Scheduled meeting on 21st June 1974"⁷⁶ In contrast to the desires of MPRWU to prevent him to attend the Board meeting on 21st June 1974, Mohan Nair wanted to attend the scheduled meeting by all means. MPT workers led by MPRWU came in popular demonstration, Mohan Nair came with stately protection. Advocate Macedonio Braganza - the former MPT employee and union leader, narrates how the MPT workers prevented Mohan Nair from attending the 21st June Board meeting:

"...The workers were determined not to allow Mohan Nair to sit on the Board as their representative. All the MPT workers therefore lined up right from old Accounts Office of MPT, and somewhere near the Marmagoa Police Station erected a barricade with the help of one or two dead trees. In spite of the large number of workers assembled on the road, Mohan Nair tried to force his way through the barricade and, in fact, the taxi had crossed the two logs, when some MPT workers - prominent among them Santan (George) and Caitan Fernandes lay prostrate on the road and the courageous taxi driver did not dare to drive his vehicle over them. From this point Mohan Nair was escorted by police to the Administration Building of MPT. But he found the lift out of order, and the staircase blocked by lady workers of MPT who were sitting on the staircase from the ground floor to the first floor. Faced with this opposition Shri Mohan Nair had no option but to return without attending the Board meeting."^{76a}

Between the appearance of Mohan Nair on the MPT premises and leaving the MPT locality on 21st June 1974, there were arrests, lathicharge and bursting of teargas to disperse the demonstrating MPT workers.⁷⁷ Gerald Pereira came out in support of the MPRWU led MPT workers and he condemned the Police Action and he further stated that the INTUC nominee, Mr. Mohan Nair, had no membership in the MPT.⁷⁸

In the face of growing opposition, Mohan Nair tried to popularize a view that his nomination to the Board was resented because he was a non-Goan.⁷⁹ But 'Voice of Goa' pointed out that the Goan workers had chosen Mr.K.A.Khan as their representative on the Board and Mr. Khan was a non-Goan.⁸⁰ To keep pressurizing the Central Government, over fifty MPT workers, came out before the Asst. Labour Commissioner (Central) at Vasco, with a signature campaign that they were loyal members of MPRWU but were falsely claimed to be members of Goa Dock Labour Union to create an impression that Goa Dock Labour Union has some hold on the Port Trust Employees.⁸¹ Though Mohan Nair claimed that during 1972, Goa Dock Labour Union had 436 members from MPT, MPRWU asserted that Mohan Nair did not at all represent or for that matter take up any issue of MPT workers with the Port Administration in 1972. On this issue, the President of MPRWU got a positive reply from MPT Secretary's office:

"This has Ref.to your letter dated the 27th June,1974 and in reply thereto, you are hereby informed **that the Goa Dock Labour Union did not take up any dispute demand on behalf of the Port Trust employees during the year 1972,as far as it could be ascertained from our records.**"⁸² (stress added)

With the support from various quarters, including support from a group within INTUC (Goa),⁸³ MPRWU built up a sustained movement in Marmagao Harbour and the Vasco da Gama town, to prevent Mohan Nair from attending any of the Board meetings. Thus, Nair's term of trusteeship ended without his attending any Board meetings as MPT Labour representative.⁸⁴ Besides getting Mohan Nair out of the way, MPRWU was able to reconcile with the Non-Ministerial and Out-Door MPT leader Thomas D'Silva.⁸⁵

Though MPRWU could reconcile with the Non-Ministerial and Out-Door leader Thomas D'Silva, the Union was not able to solve a number of grievances of the Out-Door and Non-Ministerial workers of MPT. During the 1970 union elections, an anonymous Non-Ministerial group within MPRWU was hoping to take up the leadership of MPRWU without deserting the Union. But these workers were divided at that time (cf.p.436). By 1976, the Non-Ministerial workers of MPT were trying to assert their separate identity and thus fight for their neglected rights. During the internal emergency days of India, the HMS leader Shri S.R.Kulkarni had joined the Congress Party and had publicly proclaimed his faith in the late Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, in solving the workers diverse problems.⁸⁶ In Goa, in the emergency atmosphere, new hopes rose high among some of the MPT workers in the leadership of the Congressman Mohan Nair, who was not just a Congressman but a member of the AICC. The Non-Ministerial group in Mohan Nair's camp, perhaps felt that their days of separate identity had at last come. The Action Committee of the MPT Unit in

Nair's camp, S/Shri J.N.C. Viera, V.K.Redkar, T.Almeida, A.Rodrigues and B.Dias, on 27-3-1976, appealed to the MPT Non-Ministerial and Out-Door workers to join the Congress led and INTUC affiliated Goa Dock Labour Union.⁸⁷

Whether Mohan Nair was able to provide the leadership or not, by 1976, the group of Out-Door or Non-Ministerial workers of MPT in Nair's camp, clearly thought of functioning as a union outside the MPRWU's fold and taking up the grievances of the Out-Door workers of MPT. When Mohan Nair could not deliver the goods, the MPT Non-Ministerial group decided to go their own way and attempted to unify the Non-Ministerial workers dispersed in the three camps, i.e. MPRWU, GDLU and MWWU, into one Non-Ministerial workers' Union:

"Whilst, the country was passing through changes, our Goa was not (lagging) behind in any manner. The Trade Union Movement in Port & Dock Workers at Goa Port was taking a new face, and for the first time in the history of Trade Union Movement at Goa Port, the most hard core Trade Unionists from three different Federations came together and they have taken a most revolutionary step by forming a separate Union called MARMAGOA PORT & DOCK (NON-MINISTERIAL) WORKER'S UNION thus separating Administrative staff from shift-wise workers....."⁸⁸

The foundation of the new union in Marmagoa Port was the **Out-Door Workers of Marmagoa Port Trust:**

"As most of you have been aware that to build an Organisation you require a strong foundation without which you cannot build any Organisation. And, as any other ordinary organisation, we have selected the 'Out-door Workmen' of MPT who were most deprived and most downtrodden as a source of our inspiration and foundation for forming our well-esteemed 'Organisation' and which thereafter came to be known as MARMAGOA PORT & DOCK (NON-MINISTERIAL) WORKERS' UNION."⁸⁹

Shri V.K.Redkar opined that different working conditions and constant lack of unity among the MPT workers led to the formation of the new union:

"...the shiftwise categories, those who were working in shifts and out-door field, were having different working conditions than those working in Administrative Office, and because of the above difference in conditions there has never been uniformity of opinion and real unity in Port & Dock Workers at Marmagoa Port...."⁹⁰

With "hardly fifty"⁹¹ "bold activists"⁹² The MARMAGOA PORT & DOCK (NON-MINISTERIAL) WORKERS' UNION came into existence, on 5th December, 1977⁹³.

In 1982, the Executive Committee of the Marmagoa Port and Dock (Non-Ministerial) Workers' Union (MPDNMWU) decided to enroll MPT Ministerial workers into MPDNMWU. Some in the MPDNMWU felt that the very purpose of forming the Non-Ministerial union was sabotaged by the admission of Ministerial workers in MPDNMWU. On this issue, Shri J.R.E.Viegas, one of the "bold activists" who had formed the MPDNMWU, decided to resign from MPDNMWU and sent his resignation letter dated 3rd Sept. 1982 to Shri V.K.Redkar, the General Secretary of the Union. J.R.E.Viegas felt that there was no need to split from the parent body of MPRWU if Ministerial workers were to be admitted in MPDNMWU.⁹⁴

Once the Ministerial workers of MPT were taken as members of MPDNMWU, the name of the Union was subsequently changed to "GOA PORT & DOCK EMPLOYEES UNION (GPDEU). At this change Shri J.R.E.Viegas opined that if the purpose of the existence of "Non-Ministerial" Union was served then the union should have been dissolved or efforts should have been made to be reunified with

the parent body or take over the parent body.⁹⁵ What was the opinion of Shri V.K.Redkar, the General Secretary of GPDEU, regarding the change of the name of MPDNMWU? In the article "Changing with time called living", Shri V.K.Redkar expressed the view that the change was necessary for the very survival and growth of MPDNMWU. And that MPDNMWU continues as GPDEU:

".....Today, some isolated critics may say that we were most undemocratic to change our name and give up our principles, but as General Secretary of the Organisation, I can still go further and say that we were most democratic and life giving, and it was due to our effort that MARMAGOA PORT & DOCK (NON-MINISTERIAL) WORKERS' UNION is still continuing as the GOA PORT & DOCK EMPLOYEES' UNION, with all its pride and glamour. We are for growing and living, and not for dying, and that is why I say that the changing with the time is called living....."⁹⁶

'Goa Port and Dock Employees Union' (GPDEU) was affiliated to HIND MAZDOOR SABHA and the 'All India Port & Dock Workers' Federation' (Workers)' (AIPDWF (Workers)), led by Dr.Shanti Patel⁹⁷, an off-shoot Federation of the 'All India Port & Dock Workers' Federation' led by HMS leader S.R. Kulkarni.

One of the bitter democratic battles that the MPT workers witnessed was between GPDEU and MPRWU in relation to the Labour seat on the MPT Board of Trustees. Based on membership verification of the year 1986, the Ministry of Surface Transport, by Notification No.GSR 430(E) dated 31/03/1990, allotted both the Labour seats on the MPT Board of Trustees to the representatives of MPRWU - to Shri S.R. Kulkarni and to Shri. A.J. Peters, the President of MPRWU⁹⁸; Shri S.K. Shetye - the Secreatry of AIPDWF

(Workers) and representative of GPDEU was dropped as Labour Trustee -his seat was now occupied by Shri A.J. Peters. In allotting both the seats to MPRWU, the Central Ministry followed a formula called the 'Nanda Formula'. Under the 'Nanda Formula' both the seats are allotted to one Union of a Port Trust if that particular Union has more than 60% of the total verified membership of the Unions in the Port Trust, and provided the second largest Union has less than 50% of the total verified membership of the Largest Union. If this is not the case, one seat each is allotted to the first two largest Unions in a Port Trust.⁹⁹ The verified membership figures as on 31-12-1986, in the MPT Unions was 3425. Out of these 3425 members, the verified membership of GPDEU was 759 and that of MPRWU was 2338. Thus in 1986, MPRWU had two thirds of the verified membership of MPT workers.¹⁰⁰ But GPDEU and AIPDWF (WORKERS), had objected to the verification done in 1986 and wanted an inquiry into the matter.¹⁰¹ Further the Central Government itself had found that there was a "large discrepancy"¹⁰² in the verification report with 31-12-1986 as the date of reckoning. And only because the verification reports with 31-12-1988 as the date of reckoning were not ready when the time came to reconstitute the Board for Marmagosa Port Trust, by 31st March, 1990, the Central Ministry decided to rely on the 1986 based "large discrepancy" verification report and decided to give the two labour seats in Marmagosa Port to the representatives of MPRWU.¹⁰³

Shri J.N.C.Vieira, the President of GPDEU, felt that injustice was done to his Union in the allotment of Labour seats

on the MPT Board of Trustees, for the year of 1990 and he appealed for justice with the Judiciary. In Court, it was revealed by the Central Ministry that verified membership of GPDEU as on 31-12-1988 was 1635 and that of MPRWU was 1937.¹⁰⁴ The Panjim Bench of Bombay High Court, on 19th August, 1990, directed the Central Government to appoint Shri S.K. Shetye the representative of GPDEU on the Board of Trustees of MPT instead of Shri A.J. Peters. Accordingly, the Government removed Shri A.J. Peters, a representative of Marmagao Port and Railway Workers Union, Marmagao, from the Board of Trustees for the Port of Marmagao, and in his place Shri S.K. Shetye was appointed.¹⁰⁵

In the background of constant tension, between the different Unions at the Marmagao port, in relation to ONLY TWO SEATS kept aside for labour interests of the port, let us have a glance at the representation of the OWNING-EMPLOYING and MANAGERIAL class on the Board of Trustees at MPT during 1968, 1972 and 1984/85 - years chosen at random:

MPT BOARD Trustees in 1968 ¹⁰⁶	MPT BOARD Trustees in 1972 ¹⁰⁷	MPT BOARD Trustees in 1984/85
1. Sri.V.D. Chowgule (mine owner) Representing Marmugao Municipality	1. Sri.V.M. Salgaoncar (mine owner)	1. Sri.V.M.Salgaoncar (mine owner) and Sri. Prakash R.Hede (from Dec.'84). Rep.of Indian National Ship Owners.
2. Sri. Vasudev V. Dempo (mine owner) Rep.Indian National Steam- ship Owners' Association	2. Sri. Vasantrao S.Dempo (mine owner)	2. Sri.A.Barboni and Sri.A.Dal Negow (from Feb.1985) Rep. of Goa Mineral Exporters' Association
3. Sri. Anil V.Salgaoncar (mine owner) Rep.Goa Minerals Ore Exporters Association.	3. Sri.M.S. Talaulicar (mine owner)	3. Sri.Vasudev V.Dempo. (mine owner) Rep.of Goa Chamber of Commerce. and Industry.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 4. Sri.M.S.Talaulicar
(mine owner)
Rep.Goa Mining Association | 4. Sri.V.D.Chowgule
(mine owner) | 4. Sri.V.S.Manerkar
Rep.Stevedores Association,Goa |
| 5. Sri.Panduronga Timblo
(mine owner)
Rep.Goa Chamber of Commerce
and Industry. | 5. Sri.Anil V.Salgaoncar
(mine owner) | 5. Sri.G.S.Naik
Rep.Mormugao Ships' Agents'
Association. |
| 6. Sri.Vasantrao S.Dempo
(mine owner)
Rep. of Goa Chamber of
Commerce and Industry. | 6. Sri. J.Hiralai Thakker
(mine owner) | 6. General Manager of MMTC,
Vasco,Goa.
Rep. of MMTC |
| 7. Sri.I.G.Desai
Vice-President,Federation
All India Sailing Vessels
Industry - Surat | 7. The Regional Manager,
MMTC | 7. Div. Railway Manager,SCR-Hubli
Rep. of Indian Railway. |
| 8. Regional Manager,
MMTC | 8. Div.Superintendent,
SCR-Hubli | 8. Sri.S.G.C.Madan
Rep.FCI |
| 9. Div.Superintendent,
SCR-Hubli | 9. The Principal/Registrar
of Indian Ships,Mercantile
Marine Department,B'bay-20 | 9. Sri.Rajendra Kumar
Rep.Mercantile Marine
Department. |
| 10. Sri.R.D.Pusaikar
Resident Director,Ruston
& Hornsby (India) Ltd.,
Poona - 19. | 10. Sri.R.D.Pusaikar
Resident Director,Ruston
& Hornsby (India) Ltd.,
Poona - 19. | 10. Sri.S.I.Shetter
Rep.Karnataka Chamber of
Commerce & Industry,Hubli. |
| 11. Sri.M.V.Sirur
Machinery Merchant
& Engineer, Hubli | 11. Sri.I.G.Desai
Vice-President, Federation
of All India Sailing Vessels
Industry, Surat. | 11. Sri.R.M.Basrur
Rep.Indian Oil Corporation Ltd. |
| 12. Sri.N.C.Bharti
Rep.Andhra Chamber of
Commerce. | 12. Sri.M.R.Bhaliga
Engineers & Contractors,
Haulage Contractor for
Caltex,Eso and Indian Oil,
Hubli. | 12. Sri.G.V.Naik
Rep.Customs. |
| 13. Collector of Customs &
Cetral Excise, Panjim. | 13. Sri.Mustafa Khan | 13. Sri.S.Vasudev - Rep. Ministry
of Shipping & Transport. |
| 14. The Naval Offr.-in-Charge,
Goa. Rep.Defence Services | 14. The Naval Offr.-in-Charge,
Goa, Rep.Defence Services. | 14. The Naval Offr.-in-Charge,
Goa, Rep.Defence Services. |
| 15. The Offr.-in-Charge,
Mercantile Marine Dept.Pjm. | 15. The Deputy of Customs and
Central Excise, Panjim. | 15. Secretary, Indus.& Labour Dept.,
Govt. of GDD. |
| 16. Secretary, Indus.& Labour
Dept.,Govt. of GDD. | 16. Secretary of Indus.& Labour
Dept., Govt. of GDD. | 16. Cecil Noronha,
Chairman, MPT. |

17. Shri S.R.Kulkarni
Labour Representative.

17. Shri K.A.Khan
Labour Representative.

17. Shri Lamartine de Rocha,
Dy. Chairman, MPT.

18. Shri G.D.Bhadkamkar,
Labour Representative.

18. Shri G.D.Bhadkamkar,
Labour Representative.

18. Shri S.R.Kulkarni,
Labour representative.

19. Shri S.K.Shetye,
Labour Representative.

108

From the above charts of MPT Board of Trustees, it can be stated that labour class representation on the MPT Board came to only 11.11% in 1968, 11.11% in 1972 and 10.52% in 1984-85. The OWNING - EMPLOYING AND MANAGERIAL class occupied 88.89% in 1968, 88.89% in 1972 and 89.48% in 1984-85 on the MPT Board. Hence it could be stated that under-representation of MPT Labour on the MPT Board was a great underlying contributing factor to the rivalry between Unions on the issue of labour representation on the MPT Board of Trustees.

B) RIVALRY IN INTUC CAMP

Shri V.A. Gawas established the **National Mines Workers Union (Goa)** in July 1962, with its Central Office in Curchorem/Sanvordem (cf.p.415). Only after anchoring himself among the mine workers, Shri Gawas went about the formation of INTUC (GOA) and the establishment of the first INTUC (GOA) Committee was announced by Gawas as follows on 9th August, 1962:

"To avoid any confusion in the minds of the workers, I take this opportunity to clarify that the Indian National Trade Union Congress has deputed me to organise the labour under the above Trade Union Congress.

The meeting of the prominent trade union workers who met today - on the historic day of Quit India, at the Head Office of the I.N.T.U.C., under the Presidentship of Shri V.A. Gawas, took a decision to form the following Committee to represent I.N.T.U.C.:-

1. Shri V.A. Gawas, Secretary
2. Shri Alfred Alfonso
3. Shri Shivram Asgaonkar
4. Shri Anthony D'Souza
5. Shri Madhav Bir
6. Shri Joseph D'Souza....."109

INTUC sponsored National Dock & Transport Workers' Union - Goa (NDTWU), was established to cater to the Marmagoa Harbour workers (cf.p.297). Two of the above INTUC Committee members, i.e. Shri Anthony D'Souza and Shri Shivram Asgaonkar, were looking after NDTWU. Shri Anthony D'Souza was in charge of the Vasco Union. INTUC camp suffered it's first blow in Vasco area when Anthony D'Souza and Shivram Asgaonkar decided to shift their loyalties to the HMS camp. They merged the National Dock & Transport Workers Union with the Dock & Transport Workers Union of H.M.S. Federation.¹¹⁰ While submitting the 1963 yearly accounts to Shri. G.D.Ambekar, Shri V.A.Gawas made the following remark about Shri S.Ajgaonkar:

"...Shri S.Ajgaonkar, Field Inspector. Payment is not made upto date, due to their non-cooperation and finally joined PSP's Union."¹¹¹

The removal of the INTUC flag from Marmagoa Harbour area, led to the encouragement of Mohan Nair to spread out among the Marmagoa Harbour workers. This point was explicitly made by Shri V.A.Gawas as Chairman of the Labour Cell of Goa Pradesh Congress(I) Committee, while reporting to Smt. E.D'Souza the Secretary of INTUC National Head Quarters:

".....behaved against the interest of the INTUC organisation, by selling our National Dock Workers' Union to HMS union, working at Vasco. Therefore I had to encourage Shri Mohan Nair, to build up the Union, in the Dock and Port area... i.e. Goa Dock Labour Union which captured the maximum membership under INTUC flag (stress added)..."¹¹²

Though the founder of INTUC (GOA) was happy with the Flag of INTUC flying high in Vasco/Marmagoa area around 1969, he was not at all happy with the upper hand that Mohan Nair had taken in the Goa Dock Labour Union. The Goa Dock Labour Union was originally founded by Shri Melicio Fernandes, and Shri Mohan Nair was a paid worker of this Union. This Union was affiliated to INTUC at the instance of Gawas and even the affiliation fees of this Union were paid by Gawas for the first time. Immediately after the affiliation, Gawas had inducted Shri Dattatraya Deshpande in this union with the intention that this Union should continue to be under the fold and ideology of INTUC. But Shri Mohan Nair overthrew Shri Melicio Fernandes and took over charge of the Union. Gradually Mohan Nair became the President of INTUC (Goa), while Gawas was the Secretary of INTUC (Goa).¹¹³

As to the various strike actions that Nair initiated, Gawas felt that Nair had fallen in line with the Communist Trade Unions and that he went against the very ideology of INTUC. INTUC (Goa) camp was sharply divided from within when it was led by Mohan Nair. While the President of INTUC (Goa) took the INTUC Branch in one direction, the Secretary of INTUC (Goa) could only lament that INTUC's prestige was brought low before the people - to the point of INTUC's President needing police protection from the people. In these circumstances Gawas the Secretary of INTUC

desired that Mohan Nair resign from INTUC as its President. Gawas tried to press the resignation of Nair through Central INTUC Authorities and the Congress leaders.¹¹⁴

But once Mohan Nair had become powerful, the Founder and General Secretary of INTUC (GOA) found, that Mohan Nair, whom he had encouraged to build up INTUC forces in the Harbour area, was the real force who was directing INTUC (GOA), even regarding elections in INTUC (GOA). Nair wrote to Gawas:

"Dear Friend,

I am replying to you to your above mentioned letters both in my capacity as the General Secretary of Goa Dock Labour Union and the President of the INTUC (Goa Pradesh Branch). I fail to understand as to how you have decided of your own, without consulting me as the President of the Goa Pradesh Branch, to hold elections for the post of the various office-bearers of this Branch. I have made inquiries at the Central Office of the INTUC at New Delhi and also with Shri G.Ramanujam, General Secretary of Central INTUC, and was told that no such instructions are given to our Pradesh Branch to hold elections. (stress added)...

Taking all these factors into consideration, I feel an Annual Meeting of this Pradesh Branch is not presently ~~warranted and the same should be held later on,~~ with due consent of all, in a more congenial atmosphere.

I trust you would therefore, write to all our affiliated unions in Goa that such an Annual Meeting to hold elections etc. will not be held as decided by you on 15th July 1974.

On my own, I am sending a copy of this letter to the various office bearers of our Pradesh Branch and also to the Central leadership of the INTUC (Stress added)..."¹¹⁵.

Mohan Nair who once needed backing of Shri V.A.Gawas to grow in the Harbour area, grew so confident that he decided to venture out from the Marmagoa Harbour area and cut into the mining areas where Shri V.A.Gawas was working since 1962. Mohan Nair & Habalpatty threw out Gawas from M/s Salithos Ores Pvt. Ltd. and formed a new Committee.¹¹⁶ Gawas declared to his higher authorities that he would not tolerate the entry of Nair into the mining area. He wanted Nair to be restrained from dividing workers unity under the banner of INTUC.¹¹⁷ Shri B.Bhagwati, the President of Central INTUC, directed Shri Mohan Nair not to interfere in the mining areas of Goa. All the same, Shri Nair registered a new union for Goa Mine workers with the name of 'NATIONAL MINERAL AND METAL WORKERS UNION' with an office in Ponda.¹¹⁸

The topic of stepping on each others toes had come up very early in the INTUC camp when Shri Melicio Fernandes was the President of INTUC ad hoc Committee in 1964, but at that time the Founder of INTUC (Goa) had felt that his INTUC colleagues would accept the principle of having one union in one trade:

"A meeting of ad hoc committee of the Congress was held on 25th May '64 in the office of Goa Dock Labour Union, at Vasco. Shri Melicio Fernandes was in the Chair. Following members were present in the meeting:

1) Shri Melicio Fernandes, 2) Shri Dattatray Deshpande, 3) Shri V. A. Gawas, 4) Shri Mohan Nair, 5) Shri Shivram Ajgaonkar.....

Then Shri Melicio, while expressing his view points on the organisation, suggested that there should be distribution of areawise field in order to avoid rival union activities in the same field by the same group or organisation. On this Shri Gawas said that this difficulty

will not arise at all if all the unions organised by the INTUC men will have affiliation as soon as such unions are registered. Further, Shri Gawas clarified the position that one union in one trade is the accepted principle and nobody can go against this principle, and hence, there is no need of having a special provision. Shri Gawas also pointed out that areawise distribution is not possible and is also not advisable. After the explanation, all the members present agreed not to start rival unions and that to work in co-operation (stress added)....."¹¹⁹

Shri Mohan Nair was not the only INTUC member who broke the accepted principle of one union in one trade. Shri Shivram Ajgaonkar (who had come back into the INTUC camp after venturing in the HMS fort) (cf.p.282), had formed the 'Goa Bargemen Union' in 1969 when Mohan Nair had a near monopoly in organising the bargemen of Goa.¹²⁰ Though Shri Nair contributed to tensions and rivalries in the INTUC camp, he had his highlights of co-operation with his INTUC colleagues. e.g. during the time of the 53rd General Council Session of INTUC (Central) which was held in Goa, he tried to increase the efficiency of the day-to-day functioning of INTUC (Goa) by trying to get various resident telephone connections to his INTUC colleagues. To get these connections he tried to use his influence with Shri H.N.Bahaguna himself, the then Union Minister of Communication.¹²¹

C) RIVALRY IN COMMUNIST CAMP

At the very early stage of the Trade Union Movement in Goa, the Communist camp as a whole received a set back when prominent leaders like S/Shri George Vaz, Gerald Pereira, Diwakar Kakodkar, Narayan Palekar, Raymond Cardozo, Narayan Desai and others were

arrested during the time of the Chinese aggression and were imprisoned in Mapusa,Goa, for over three months. The Communists viewed this group imprisonment as a move by the Government to break the hold and the tide of the Red Unions in Goa.¹²² Other moves that the Communists considered as attempts to break the influence of the Red Unions in Goa,were the spread of INTUC rival unions:

"Then again, both in the Mines and the Harbour, rival trade unions of the INTUC were started to break the influence of the Red Unions. The INTUC played a notorious role in Marmagoa Harbour in employing black legs to break the glorious three month strike of the Marmagoa winchmen

In the mines, the INTUC started the National Mine Workers Union which worked in close collaboration of the mine owners mainly to stop the spread of the Goa Mining Welfare Union....."¹²³

The coming of INTUC into Goa created disturbances in the Communist camp. This is confirmed by what Shri Diwakar Kakodkar wrote to Shri George Vaz, from Curchorem/Sanvordem as early as 19th June,1962:

"That famous Murlidhar Rane has left us and joined INTUC organisation of Goa Pradesh Congress.It is good that he has left us at this juncture.If he were to leave us at some period ~~in the future it would have created difficulties for us~~ In my area,I have strong opposition from the Congress...They think this area is very important. All of them have concentrated in this area. They have plenty of money at their disposal and also they have paid workers at their disposal. It is a gigantic task. One has to face it boldly."¹²⁴

From the Harbour area,Shri Gerald Pereira wrote to Shri George Vaz on 23-8-1962, that he would deal with the just-arrived INTUC "very nicely". At the same time, he felt the need that the communists should co-ordinate to deal with "Companies' Unions" called INTUC:

"...On 15th August we had a very big programme. The morning procession and the rally were in celebration of the Independence day...We made a very powerful attack on the Congress Party and INTUC Unions. On 15th August morning, INTUC has obtained an office and affixed a Board in the name of "Indian National Transport & Dock Workers' Union (INTUC-Goa)"..... We shall deal with them very nicely here.....

I think we shall have to meet to organise agitations against price increase effectively throughout Goa, and also to co-ordinate our activities against the Companies Unions which they call INTUC."¹²⁵

When The National Mine Workers Union-Goa of INTUC, organised their first mine workers' Conference at Velquem-Pali on 22nd November, 1964,¹²⁶ Shri Diwakar Kakodkar considered it a "big tamasha"; at the same time there was panic in Shri Diwakar. He wanted Shri George Vaz to be present in Goa soon and to work jointly and defeat the INTUC:

"You should try to come as early as possible! We have to organise Mining Labour. Without that we could be nowhere! Recently INTUC organised a conference at Pali. They asked Tony Fernandes to inaugurate it. It was a big Tamasha! Mineowners are supporting them. We have to work jointly to defeat them! As soon as you can land here come and stay with me so that we may chalk out a programme to strengthen GMLWU!"¹²⁷

When the Goa wing of the Communist Party of India (CPI) held its first Conference in 1964, the Secretary of the Goa State Council, in his report expressed his view that Congress and the INTUC would attempt to dislodge them from the leading position in the Goa Trade Unions and that there were indications of the same taking place in Marmagoa Harbour.¹²⁸

Besides the INTUC, the Communists were at war also with the P.S.P. leaders and the HMS camp - whom they considered as "a hard

nut to crack". This view was expressed by Shri Gajanan Patil (when he was a communist) to Shri George Vaz:

"How is your activity at Pali - Velguem? On our part, we have almost smashed all the union-breakers. What is the report about the meeting of 'Steel Mazdoor Sabha', addressed by Peter Alvares, Kulkarni and others. The P.S.P. gang is a hard nut to crack."¹²⁹

Slowly, the INTUC forces and the HMS forces too had managed to displace the Red forces from amidst some important sections of the working class in Goa. On 15th May 1966, Shri George Vaz spoke of the grounds lost to INTUC and HMS:

"Although the Red Flag has come to stay in Goa Our unions have lost ground in some sections. In the Harbour the bulk of the Barge-crews left the Red Flag for the INTUC. Similarly the Gang workers are still being controlled by the rival HMS Ramesh Desai Union...."¹³⁰

With INTUC forces capturing communist areas, Shri Gerald Pereira started speaking of INTUC as the "enemy".¹³¹ And Shri Diwakar Kakodkar was speaking of breaking into the INTUC camp by joining hands with the splinter groups of the INTUC camp:

"My dear George,

I have received your letter & I have already shown the copies to S.Kantilal staff as well as Fimble's staff. They were very pleased with it. They want that you should come here and speak to them concerning our union.

INTUC has decided to organise a general strike of mine workers. Let us see what they can do on that day i.e. on 9th March '65. There are two groups functioning in the INTUC! One of them has decided to break with INTUC! If it materializes we can freely co-operate with them for forming one single Union(stress added)."¹³²

While the Communists were at war with the INTUC and HMS forces on the external front, the Communist camp was also slowly splitting from within. There were forces within the Communist camp who opposed mass action and strike actions to advance the interests of the working class in Goa. Other issues like the attitude towards China and Merger of Goa with Maharashtra, divided the Communist camp in Goa into CPI and CPI(M). On 16th April 1967, AITUC Goa Unions shifted their affiliations to CITU. Let us briefly review the gradual build up of the internal tensions that eventually split the Communist camp in Goa. Six months after the Liberation of Goa, the Goa State Committee of CPI was officially formed under the guidance of G. Adikari and S.G.Sardesai. There were hardly 20 members in the party. George Vaz was elected Secretary of the Unit.

The years 1962, 1963, and 1964 saw huge trade union struggles in Goa mainly of Marmagao Dock Workers, Engineering Workers (Mazagon Dock), and Mine Workers under the leadership of the Red Flag. As the Party started to grow, the internal differences and contradictions also started sharpening. At the time of India-China border conflict in November 1962, 12 communists and pro-communists were arrested. Even in jail the differences were clear though not fully sharp. George Vaz, Diwakar Kakodkar and Gerald Pereira were on one side on the India China border problem, Narayan Desai considered that peoples China had practically ceased to be a communist country and treated her as expansionist. There were differences on class issues also. On the issue of 11 days general strike of Marmagao Harbour (23rd May to 3rd June 1963) when the DIR was openly defied by the Marmagao Dockers, Narayan Desai did

not support the strike and even refused to address the rally on 27th May, even though he was at Vasco da Gama, when the resolution to defy the DIR was adopted by raising both the hands. This strike practically divided the active communists in Goa between those who conducted class struggle and those who opposed class struggle. There were differences among the communists also on the issue of the future status of Goa. Narayan Desai and Diwakar Kakodkar urged merger of Goa with Maharashtra, while George Vaz advocated for Konkan State and Gerald Pereira was more or less for status Quo of Union Territory. At this stage Narayan Desai was member of the National Council of CPI.

During the year 1965 and 1966 basic differences arose and sharpened. During the course of 70 days (10th Nov. 1964 - 26th Jan. 1965) strike of Marmagao Dockers, the group led by Narayan actively worked against the strike. Without consulting the union leadership in Jail, Narayan Desai asked Salmarkar who was on hunger strike to withdraw the same. And according to George Vaz, Narayan Desai even advised the workers to join the INTUC union.

When the party planned food agitation in Goa. Narayan Desai issued a statement to the press declaring that the Bandodkar Government in Goa was a progressive Government. Further, Narayan Desai proposed that the CPI in Goa should be freezed and all the members should join the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party. Even though this line was not accepted to other communists in the CPI, he encouraged active members to join M.G. Party. On the eve of the General Elections, Gajanan Patil, a member of the State Council was made to resign from the CPI and officially join the M.G. Party and he got elected to the Goa Assembly on MG ticket.

Thus the political and ideological differences became sharper and sharper in the CPI Goa Unit. The group led by Gerald Pereira and George Vaz controlled all the 5 trade unions (AITUC) and three coop. societies (viz. Marmagao Waterfront Workers Consumer Cooperative Society Ltd., Marmagao Port, Dock and Transport Workers Credit Society Ltd. and Marmagao Motor Transport Cooperative Society Ltd.) The group led by Narayan Desai controlled a bigger section of the Goa Kisan Sangh and Janata Industrial Coop. Society Ltd. (Society of Goldsmiths manufacturing steel chairs, cupboards and furnitures). The Group led by Narayan Desai called a meeting of the State Council on 16th March 1967 at Mapusa. Out of 11 Council members and 4 regular invitees only 5 Council members were present for the Council meeting. And they adopted a resolution 4 versus 1 (Narayan Palekar opposed) that George Vaz and Gerald Pereira be expelled from the Party for indiscipline. Now the George Gerald group requisitioned an All Goa General Body Meeting of CPI on 23rd March 1967 at Vasco. Invitations were sent to all. And it was resolved to repudiate the expulsions initiated by the Narayan group and on the contrary, Diwakar Kakodkar was expelled and Gajanan Patil was suspended for 6 months. The George Gerald group held a public meeting at Vasco da Gama on 31st March under the auspices of CPI(M). Then the same group called a special General Body Meeting on 16th April at Vasco and in that meeting it was officially resolved to dissociate from the CPI and join C.P.I. (M).¹³³ Shri Prabhakar Sangsiri, Secretary of the Bombay Committee of CPI(M), came out with a Press Statement in favour of the Goa CPI group deciding to join CPI(M).¹³⁴ At the General Council Meeting of CITU (Central) at Coimbatore, in 1971,

the General Secretary of CITU stated that whole of Goa AITUC body had joined the CITU.¹³⁵

After the formation of the CITU unit in Goa, Shri Gerald Pereira made a break into the HMS camp and got the workers of the Chowgule Industrial Empire into the CITU fold. Shri P. Ramamurti, General Secretary of CITU (Central) announced to all his colleagues of the CITU breakthrough in Goa:

"The Chowgule Employees' Union, covering the Head office staff, the Engineering workshop at Borim, the Shirgaum Barge Construction Shipyard and entire mining establishment which was earlier affiliated to HMS has now joined the CITU path of struggle and Com. Gerald Pereira has been elected as the General Secretary of the Union."¹³⁶

Shri Gerald Pereira spoke of the breakthrough into the Chowgule Industrial Empire with more class fire:

"The Management of the House of Chowgules who are No.2 wealth tax-payers in the country, have not yet reconciled to the trade union movement. After suppressing the T.U. activities in the course of the last decade, the Management had sponsored a Union (Chowgule Employees' Union) which was inaugurated by the Director of the company some 2 years back. In due course, the Management was pleased "to accept" the H.M.S. leadership of Shri. S.R. Kulkarni and Shri Manohar Kotwal. Within 8 months, the workers blew off the HMS leadership for their betrayal and welcomed the CITU..."¹³⁷

The breakthrough into the Chowgule Companies was of great importance to Shri Gerald Pereira. He felt that the coming of CITU into the Chowgule Industrial Empire had changed the entire character of the trade Union movement not only in the House of Chowgules but in the whole of Goa.¹³⁸ The Second Conference of the Chowgule

Employees' Union was of great importance to the Chowgule Employees. It was held on a Sunday on 29th October, 1972, at Pale Mining Centre. Besides various changes in the constitution of the Union, this conference decided to disaffiliate the Union from All India Port & Dock Workers Federation led by Shri S.R.Kulkarni. The conference expressed a great moment of unity of white-collar and blue-collar workers, and the unity of the Indian Working Class.¹³⁹

With the breakthrough wave of the "Chowgule Employees' Union", Shri Gerald Pereira had landed and settled himself in the Mining Industry of Goa. Was Shri George Vaz, the other CITU leader who grew out of struggles in the Mining Industry of Goa, happy with the coming of his comrade Gerald Pereira, in the Mining Industry of Goa? The euphoria of the Second Conference of the Chowgule Employees' Union (CEU) was not a very good indicator of the insides of Shri George Vaz who spoke words of encouragement during this time:

"Com. George Vaz in his address congratulated the Chowgule Mining workers for having come out of their lethargy. He called for joint actions by - all - the mining workers irrespective of their trade union affiliations."¹⁴⁰

It was during the time of the Winchmen strike and consequent crisis, that the differences between Gerald Pereira's and George Vaz's approach to Trade Unionism, first emerged. Shri George Vaz had expressed the view that "adventurism"¹⁴¹ had led to the mess at Mormagoa Harbour. But perhaps Shri George Vaz had expressed his

view about Shri Gerald Pereira only to Shri Dange on 4th February, 1965. The view of George Vaz expressed to Shri Dange that Gerald Pereira was engaging in hazardous and ill-considered actions on the trade union front, would remain dormant for years. With the arrival of Shri Gerald Pereira in the Mining Industry, and crisis in the Dempo Unit of the GMLWU Union led by Shri George Vaz, the silent differences that Shri George Vaz had with Shri Gerald Pereira, would rise to the surface.

The crisis among the workers of M/s Dempo Mining Corporation Pvt. Ltd. Bicholim - Goa, started with the 14th December, 1972 Agreement. About 261 workers of the Dempo Unit of GMLWU were not at all happy with the December Agreement signed by Shri George Vaz with the Company. Shri George Vaz viewed the Agreement as beneficial. The Union had signed the Agreement with New Wage Scales and Grades for the Dempo Workers. The Agreement had given a flat increase of Rs.20/- to all workmen. Picking girls, spotters and road labour were to get a flat increase of Rs.15/- and workers completing 5 years of service were to get an ADDITIONAL increment. 182 workers were to be brought on the permanent register on seniority basis and they were to be issued letters of confirmation as from 1st September, 1972. The new grades and scales were to come into force as from 1st September, 1972 and the difference of wages for September, November and December 1972 were to be paid by the 15th January, 1973.¹⁴²

What were the new Wage Scales and Grades agreed to in the December, 1972 Agreement ?

"On the 14th December 1972, Messrs. Dempo Mining Corporation Private Limited have signed an Agreement with the Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union accepting the New Consolidated Grades and Scales as accepted earlier by Messrs. Sesa Goa Private Limited. This New Consolidated Grade and Scale (Basic plus DA) is given below:

New Consolidated Grade & Scale (Basic PLUS DA)		Old Wage Board Basic Grade & Scale	
Grade I	150-5-200	Grade I	75-2-95
Grade II	160-5-185-6-215	Grade II	80-2-90
Grade III	170-5-195-7-230	Grade III	85-2-95-3-120
Grade IV	180-6-210-7-245	Grade IV	95-2-105-3-120
Grade V	205-7-240-8-280	Grade V	110-3-125-4-145
Grade VI	225-8-265-10-315	Grade VI	130-5-180
Grade VII	260-10-310-12-370	Grade VII	155-6-185-7-220
Grade VIII	275-10-325-12-385	Grade VIII	170-8-210-10-260
Grade IX	325-12-385-15-460	Grade IX	215-10-285-15-330
Grade X	365-15-440-20-540	Grade X	255-10-275-15-395
Grade XI	440-20-640	Grade XI	325-15-475
Grade XII	475-20-575-25-700	Grade XII	350-20-450-25-575

New Consolidated Clerical Grades (Basic PLUS DA)		Old Wage Board Clerical Grade (Basic)	
C-I	400-15-475-20-675	C-I	300-15-375-20-575
C-II	280-12-340-15-490	C-II	190-12-250-15-400
C-III	210-10-260-12-380	C-III	120-10-170-12-290
C-IV	175-7-210-10-260	C-IV	100-7-135-10-185

.....Chowgule & Company Private Limited has introduced the Wage Board Grades and Scales to their employees in 1967 giving very low categorisation - the lowest in Goa to their employees, and, whereas, Dempo Mining Corporation had given GRADE IX to Euclid Drivers - Chowgule & Company is known to give GRADE III to their Truck Drivers..."¹⁴³

On the day when the December 1972 Agreement with the above benefits and New Scales was to be first signed on 11th December, 1972, some of the Dempo Workers went on strike. But Shri George Vaz, on 11th December itself, proclaimed that the Union had given no call for the strike and that the strike on 11th December was organised by agent provocateurs.¹⁴⁴ Due to disturbances in the Dempo Union, the Agreement was signed on 14 December instead of 11th December, 1972.¹⁴⁵ Shri George Vaz expressed the view that

the December Agreement was signed after proper consultation with the workers, but some disrupters were out to derail the agreement by going on strike on 11th December 1972.¹⁴⁶ On 22nd December 1972, Shri George Vaz openly spoke that Shri Narvenkar of Chowgule Employees Union was instigating the Dempo workers to form a rival union.¹⁴⁷

The Dempo workers gave another view of the above events in a letter to Shri George Vaz dated 20th December 1972. The letter was signed by 261 workers. The workers expressed the view that they had requested Shri George Vaz not to sign the Agreement unless a copy of the contents were given to the workers which Shri Vaz had failed to do - but still had signed the Agreement. Consequently Shri Gerald Pereira was brought into the picture by the workers to prevent them from going out of the CITU fold.¹⁴⁸ The crisis in the Dempo unit of GMLWU was temporarily overcome with the intervention of Shri S.Y.Kolhatkar under whose guidance the workers endorsed the 14th December 1972 Agreement. By September 1973 there was an atmosphere of unity in the Dempo unit of GMLWU with Gerald Pereira and Sitaram Manjrekar contributing to the healing operation.¹⁴⁹

Over the year, the patched up relations in the Dempo unit of GMLWU completely broke down. Shri Boaventur Almeida, the President of the local Committee of Dempo unit collected 34 signatures and wrote a letter to Shri George Vaz, the General Secretary of GMLWU, on 13th August 1974, that they had decided to join Com. Gerald Pereira. Shri George Vaz informed Boaventur that it is against

CITU directives to have two CITU unions in one industry. Shri George Vaz also felt that Boaventur should have called a meeting of the local committee and thrashed out the points in which they were not happy regarding the functioning of the General Secretary, instead of moving to form a rival CITU Union of Dempo workers. Shri George Vaz clearly saw the hand of Shri Gerald Pereira in the new development. All the same, Shri Vaz advised Boaventur to consult Shri Kolhatkar and Shri B.T. Ranadive before launching a rival CITU Union.¹⁵⁰

Besides the group in Dempo's, a group in Bandekar Company had also expressed their desire to join Gerald Pereira. In the midst of the tense situation developing on the Trade Union front, the Goa State Committee of CPI(M), of which Shri Gerald Pereira was the General Secretary, held a crucial meeting on 19th September 1974, at the Party's Office at Vasco-da-Gama. The meeting was chaired by Shri Gerald Pereira himself. During the meeting a letter signed by about 300 Dempo workers was handed over to Shri Vaz, which stated that the Dempo workers had lost confidence in him. At this meeting a fear was expressed by Shri S. Manjrekar that Dempo and Bandekar CITU workers might go into the enemy camp of INTUC, led by Shri Mohan Nair. Shri Gerald Pereira voiced the opinion in this meeting that Dempo and Bandekar workers had revolted against Shri George Vaz, and that the revolt was due to the wrong political and ideological policies followed by Shri George Vaz. And as the workers had over-whelmingly signed petitions against Shri George Vaz, while at the same time affirmed their loyalty to the Red Flag and CITU, steps should be taken to see to it that the workers were not lost to the enemy. During the

meeting, Shri Peter Fernandes cleared the involvement of S/Shri Narvenkar, Dalvi and Gerald Pereira of Chowgule Employees Union in creating rivalry among the workers by stating that they were not responsible for instigating the workers but on the contrary the workers were pressing them to help them in the situation. With the exception of one, all the Communists who were present, including S/Shri Rohidas Dessai, Vasant Babli, Kaskar, Laximon Godkar and Roque Fernandes the invitees, expressed the view that the Dempo and Bandekar workers should be immediately taken into the ALL GOA GENERAL EMPLOYEES UNION in the interest of CITU. Shri Gerald Pereira clearly felt that it would be better to take the Dempo and Bandekar workers into ALL GOA GENERAL EMPLOYEES UNION in order to prevent them from losing them to the enemy.¹⁵¹ Having thus discussed point five of the agenda of the meeting, Shri Gerald Pereira proposed a resolution:

"The State Committee, after reviewing the entire situation in Dempos and Bandekar Mines, after going through the documents on record and after hearing various reports, proposed:

- (a) that the Dempos and Bandekar workers be immediately admitted to join the All Goa General Employees Union.
- (b) that Comrade Vaz is directed to write to both the Employer's and others concerned that the workers have voluntarily resigned from Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union and have joined the All Goa General Employees Union. That the Employers should accept this decision of the workers.
- (c) That Comrade Vaz should write a short letter to the workers stating that he accepts their decision and he would always support the workers as they were still under CITU and the Red Flag."¹⁵²

This resolution (herein after referred to as 'the resolution') of Shri Gerald Pereira was seconded by Shri Sitaram Manjrekar and

fully supported by S/Shri Peter Feranades and John Pereira the members of the Goa State Committee. The communist invitees present also supported the resolution.¹⁵³

Regarding the Dempo workers letter with 300 signatures, Shri George Vaz stated that the signatures had to be verified. He felt that the position of the Bandekar workers too had to be verified. He was confident that the overwhelming majority of the Dempo workers were with GMLWU. As to the resolution proposed by Gerald Pereira, he stated that if the elected Local Committee took a decision to resign from the GMLWU, he would convey that decision officially to the general body of the Union. He further made it clear that he had no objection if workers who resigned from GMLWU join the All Goa General Employees Union. But that he would do nothing about those who would not like to resign from GMLWU.¹⁵⁴

After hearing the dissenting voice and vote of Shri George Vaz, the Goa State Committee of CPI(M) urged Shri Vaz to accept the decision of the State Committee in the interest of CITU and CPI(M) and that he should not precipitate any conflict. The State Committee kept Shri George Vaz free to appeal to the Central Committee (CC) of CPI(M) if he was grieved by the decision of the Goa State Committee. To avoid any further delay and further confusion among the workers both Shri George Vaz and Shri Gerald Pereira were urged to proceed to Calcutta within a week, as conveyed by Shri B.T.Randive through Shri Gerald Pereira.¹⁵⁵

The Goa State Committee under the leadership of Shri Gerald Pereira, by passing 'the resolution' practically asked Shri George Vaz to disband GMLWU from M/s Dempo Mining Corporation at Bicholim and from the mines of Rajaram Bandekar at Sirigao -Goa. But Shri George Vaz made his mind known to Shri P. Sundarayya the then General Secretary of CPI(M), that he was not prepared to "liquidate"¹⁵⁶ his union to "please"^{156a} Shri Gerald Pereira. Shri George Vaz asked Shri B.T.Randive - the President of CITU, to tell Gerald Pereira to maintain the status quo:

"Kindly ask Com. Gerald Pereira to maintain the staus quo until you have time to consider all aspects. .. I am prepared to give serious consideration to your communication which is awaited. As I have been asked to appeal to the CC regarding the resolution I trust that the matter be discussed in the CC."¹⁵⁷

Shri Gerald Pereira tried to push the implementation of 'the resolution' about Dempo and Bandekar workers and brought the point of implementation on the agenda of the Goa State Committee meetings of CPI(M) during the month of September, 1974, and October 1974. Another related point that Shri Gerald Pereira tried to put up before the State Committee of CPI(M) on 2nd October, 1974, was the bifurcation of the All Goa General Employees Union into Mining and General Employees Union.¹⁵⁸ Shri George Vaz very much resented the urgency of Shri Gerald Pereira in trying to implement the controversial resolution without waiting for directives from Party Headquarters. In the growing crisis within the Communist camp, the Executive Committee of GMLWU gave directives to Shri George Vaz to meet the challenge of disruptive moves. On 27-9-74, besides

objecting to the implementation agenda of 'the resolution', Shri Vaz made it known to Shri Gerald Pereira that he had decided to protect GMLWU.¹⁵⁹

To keep to his word to protect GMLWU, Shri George Vaz went on the offensive on 30th September, 1974. In a press statement, he made it known that he would not hesitate to resign from CPI(M) if the local party unit continued to serve sectarian interests and not of the workers. Now Shri George openly stated that Gerald Pereira's "adventurism" had led the workers losing their jobs. He attacked Pereira as a "left sectarian infantile disorder".¹⁶⁰

On 2nd October, 1974, the Goa State Committee CPI (M) was to discuss the implementation of 'the resolution' about Dempo and Bandekar workers. But on 1st October, 1974, Shri George Vaz informed Shri Gerald Pereira that he would not participate in the deliberations of the State Party Committee and that the decisions of the State Committee were not binding on him.¹⁶¹ Heat was turning to consuming fire in the CITU camp. The Goa State Committee of CPI(M) during its meeting on 2nd October, 1974, suspended Shri George Vaz from the membership of the Party and removed him from the membership of the State Committee.¹⁶²

Reasons for this drastic action ?

"...for violating the democratic norms and functioning in an autocratic manner, for gross breach of discipline, for betraying Party confidence and for his disruptive activities which would only help the enemies of the working class."¹⁶³

Shri Gerald Pereira also made it known that Shri George Vaz was twice earlier reprimanded by the Party:

"...firstly "for openly advocating class collaborationist policies and ushering in of Ram Rajya in the country", in violation of the Party Programme and against the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, in his address at the Rotary Seminar at Panjim on 10th March, 1973; and then again "for openly working against the interests of the working class in contravention of the CITU line.""¹⁶⁴

Suspension of Shri George Vaz from the CPI(M) Party and his removal from the State Committee of CPI(M) ultimately led him to breakaway from the Party. On 14th October, 1974, Shri George Vaz announced his twin decision of joining the parent CPI Party and also resigning from CPI(M) Party. He appealed to genuine communists to follow him and join CPI.¹⁶⁵ Shri George Vaz was surely welcomed in the CPI. For as early as 7th September, 1971, Shri Diwakar Kakodkar had written to Shri George Vaz:

".....I sincerely want you to join usReally speaking, old differences on the local matter have disappeared ! I always felt that your place is with us and not with ...! I don't want to dwell more on it I only say come and join.....(stress added)."¹⁶⁶

Shri Ramnath Dessai, Secretary of the Bicholim-Pale District of CPI(M) along with other members of the Party unit, followed Shri George Vaz into the CPI. The District Committee of Bicholim-Pale unit of the Party expressed full confidence in Shri George Vaz, the General Secretary of the Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union.¹⁶⁷ Consequent to Shri Vaz joining CPI, the Executive Committee of Goa Mining Labour Welfare Union, on 15th October, 1974, decided to dis-affiliate GMLWU from CITU and affiliate the Union with AITUC.¹⁶⁸ This decision of the Executive Committee of GMLWU was confirmed by an emergency conference of GMLWU on 20th October, 1974. This conference was presided over by Shri Ramnath Dessai and addressed

by S/Shri Narayan Palekar, Diwakar Kakodkar of CPI, and others.¹⁶⁹ Besides GMLWU affiliating with AITUC, other unions such as "Goa Trade and Commercial Workers Union"¹⁷⁰, "The Newspaper and Press Employees Union"¹⁷¹ were dis-affiliated from B.T. Ranadive led CITU and affiliated with S.A. Dange led AITUC. On 21st October, 1974, Shri George Vaz who joined the CPI-backed AITUC along with his followers, in a press conference openly equated Shri Gerald Pereira with Shri Mohan Nair and termed their role in Goa Trade Union Movement as "adventurist":

"Mr George Vaz, who recently deserted the CPI-led CITU and joined the CPI-backed AITUC, today announced that he would try to win over the Marmagoa Port labour and "drive out" Mr Gerald Pereira and Mr. Mohan Nair thus putting an end to their "adventurist and disruptive role".

Addressing a news conference, Mr. Vaz alleged that both, ~~Mr. Pereira and Mr. Nair~~ and Mr. Nair were sowing seeds of dissension among the leftist forces in the Territory..."¹⁷²

Though Shri George Vaz had officially jumped off the CPI(M) line, the CPI(M) was initially not ready to let him go. The party would not accept his resignation for he had to answer ten charges.¹⁷³ But by 20th October, 1974, the Party had expelled Shri Vaz and by November end of 1974, the CITU camp announced the "end of the renegade"¹⁷⁴ Shri George Vaz for the mine workers had joined the newly formed "Goa Mine Workers Union (CITU) and thus was the "Goa Traitor Isolated".^{174a} Shri B.T. Ranadive too spoke against Shri George Vaz:

"...Shri Vaz has announced his resignation without informing the Central Leadership either about his grievances or differences.

Only last week, a memorandum was received from him which gave no hint that he disagreed with the policy of the Party. Without allowing the Central Committee sufficient

time to consider his memorandum, he attacked the Party and announced his resignation. Obviously, he was in a hurry to quit the Party, finding that his cup of diviation was full. Sri. Vaz was given ample time to overcome his class collaborationist outlook, his anti-democratic method of functioning and his faith in the essential goodness of Employers. He has chosen the Company of the Right Communists who shamelessly collaborat with the Ruling Congress. That ought to show where his real sympathies lie."¹⁷⁵

Following the split in the CITU camp, AITUC-Goa went about to strengthen the Unions under its banner. Shri S.A. Dange was drafted in to come to Goa.¹⁷⁶ To build up and give a boost to AITUC Unions in Goa, Shri S.A. Dange was in Goa for the second time in mid March, 1975.¹⁷⁷

To enhance the mass base of CPI(M) and Goa CITU, Shri B.T. Randive had come to Goa in Oct. 1974.¹⁷⁸ Shri Jyoti Basu was also in to give long life to CITU - Goa.¹⁷⁹ But Lord Yama drove into the CITU camp and took away the soul of Goa-CITU, Shri Gerald Pereira died prematurely on 4th March, 1976.¹⁸⁰

After the death of Gerald Pereira, on 23rd July, 1978, over 500 workers of the Dempo Mining Corporation, walked back into GMLWU.¹⁸¹ Shri George Vaz informed the Director of M/s Dempo Mining Corporation Limited that he had accepted to take the Dempo workers in his union and that he was looking forward to evolve good employer-employee relations which would serve the interests of the workers and also the management.¹⁸²

III. CO-ORDINATION:

In the turmoil of class tensions and related strains of trade union rivalries, there was amidst the workers of Goa, a constantly felt need of unity - an expressed combined action - a timely welded step - a joining of hands which tried to rise to a permanent co-ordination structure to face the ever rising economico-political-social crisis, while the territory of Goa moved towards industrial development.

At an early stage of the Trade Union Movement in Goa, Goan Trade Union Leaders showed signs that they not only had faith in themselves but that they could generate hope in others to trust their ability to rise above the union rivalries. On 22nd August 1964, Shri K. Shanmughavel, the Conciliation Officer (Central), expressed confidence in the Communist Leader, Shri George Vaz, the General Secretary of GMLWU, to bring about peace between rival groups at Marmagao Harbour:

"My dear Gandhian Comrade,

How is life in Assnora; I am missing your amiable face for a long time...

I am writing this letter for a personal favour. I would be very happy if you met Mr. Machado on 25th inst. at his place at Vasco-da-Gama... **We want you to be an efficient peace maker between rival groups. We have full confidence in your integrity and efficiency; so is our belief about the results of your talks with Mr. Machado (stress added)...** ¹⁸³

Without much ado, Shri George Vaz thanked Shri Shanmughavel for asking him to be a peacemaker and in this context he expressed his own faith in bringing rival unions together:

"Thank you for your letter on the 22nd August asking me to play the role of a peacemaker...Under the circumstances I can only come to Vasco after the 6th when my mind will be free to dabble in the troubled waters of Marmagoa Harbour. Kindly convey my best regards to Mr. Machado. I am sure if there is good will there is nothing impossible ...to bring the rival unions together (stress added)."¹⁸⁴

Besides George Vaz, Union Leaders like Ramesh Desai, Gerald Pereira and others too, could rise above rivalries and come together as the following instances show. For example Ramesh Desai, the HMS leader, had called his workers to strike work in the Harbour in support of the Communist led Winchmen strike (cf.p. 306).¹⁸⁵ On 2nd July 1968, the Communist Leader Shri Gerald Pereira as Secretary of Water Front Workers' Federation of India, and the INTUC leader Shri Mohan Nair as Vice president of Indian National Port and Dock Workers Federation, came out with a joint statement to lead their workers into strike action if the Wage Board for Port & Dock Workers formed four years before, did not come out with the final recommendations by 30th July 1968. The joint statement supported the strike call given by HMS Leader Shri S.R.Kulkarni in relation to an early declaration of the final recommendations of the Wage Board for Port & Dock Workers. The joint statement of the Communist and the INTUC leaders called upon the HMS leader to form an All India Action Committee of the three Federations to achieve their common purpose.¹⁸⁶

In support of the Gerald Pereira-led Coca-Cola workers agitation, in January 1974, the INTUC and CITU Mine and the Harbour workers along with other non-trade union mass organisation formed the 'Action Committee' of Trade Unions and other Mass

Organisations. Shri Mark Fernandes, the then President of Freedom Fighters' Association and the Convenor of the 'Action Committee', on 27th January 1974, announced the formation of the 'Action Committee':

"In a meeting of the representatives of various trade unions and mass organisations held in Panjim in CESIC- HALL today, it has been resolved to organise a three day general strike of all industries and trades in Goa in case the Govt. and the Management do not settle the Coca-Cola dispute within three days....

The Action Committee is constituted of some 31 members which includes Shri Mark Fernandes (Convenor), Adv. V.N.Lawande, Shri George Vaz, Shri Gajanan Patil, Shri V.A.Gawas, Shri Shivram Ajgaonkar, Shri Mohan Nair, Shri C.P.K.Nair, Shri A.F.J.Mascarenhas, Shri Anastacio Almeida, Shri Narayan Naik, Shri Sitaram Manzrekar, Shri Pandurang Dalvi, Shri Melicio Fernandes, Shri N.J.Rebello, Shri Dattaram D.Desai, Smt. Bertha Menezes Braganza, Shri Rohidas Desai, Shri Narayan Palekar and Shri Gerald Pereira."¹⁸⁷

The 'Action Committee' conducted solidarity actions all over Goa in support of the Gerald Pereira-led Coca-Cola workers of Goa.¹⁸⁸

In the 1980's the AITUC and CITU leaders came out in solidarity action with the traditional workers of Goa and supported the mass actions of Goan fisherfolk led by 'Goenchea Ramponkarancha Ekvott' (All Goa Fisherman's Union), demanding a 5 km. protective zone for traditional fishermen in the sea against aggression of capital intensive modern trawlers in the traditional fishing coastal zone.¹⁸⁹

In the Trade Union Movement in Goa, the ever present need to rise above union rivalries, was persistently asserting itself into combined solidarity actions as shown in the above and other

instances of unity (cf.p.339 ff). By March 1981, co-ordination efforts in Goa reached its highest peak with the formation of 'THE GOA TRADE UNIONS AND TRADITIONAL WORKERS' CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE' (GTUTW-COC). In the GTUTW-COC, the industrial workers and the traditional workers of Goa like the fishermen, the toddy tappers and others had come together for united action. The immediate situation that led to the formation of GTUTW-COC, was the 1981 strike in Goa MRF. The workers of the multinational tyre manufacturing factory - Madras Rubber Factory (MRF), had accepted the leadership of George Vaz during the year 1980. 'The Goa MRF and Rubber Industries Workers' Union' had led the MRF workers into strike action in April 1981 to press their Charter of Demands. This strike had brought about cohesion in the rank and file of the workers:

"The MRF workers, normally a run-of-the-mill type of workers cast in a docile mold got really worked up when they were indiscriminately lathi-charged and tear gassed before their factory gate.... This infuriated and united the workers and brought about a cohesion and discipline in the rank and file at the strike period."¹⁹⁸

But cohesion and discipline of workers was not enough to bring the strike to a successful end. By mid-March 1981, the MRF Union leadership saw the probability of the strike fizzling out under counter pressures from the MRF Management and the Goa Government, unless the MRF workers received solidarity support from the rest of the working class community of Goa. To get support of workers from all over Goa, the MRF leaders went around Goa calling for

united action. And the MRF leaders got a very positive response, a response which went to create a permanent apparatus of co-ordination.¹⁹¹

In the well known T.B. Cunha Hall at Panjim, at 4.00 p.m., on 21st March, 1981, fifty five Trade Union Leaders from all over Goa came to decide about the future of the Trade Union Movement in Goa.¹⁹² This meeting at T.B. Cunha hall was a

"MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF TRADE UNIONS IN GOA TO DECIDE ON EVOLVING A COMMON-BASED, UNITED PROGRAMME ACTION AGAINST THE ANTI-LABOUR ATTITUDE OF THE GOA GOVERNMENT AND THE MANAGERMENTS OF THE VARIOUS INDUSTRIAL AND OTHER SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS."¹⁹³

During this historic meeting, Shri George Vaz, the senior AITUC leader called upon Shri Prabhakar Donda of CITU to preside over the meeting, and the veteran leader Shri Prabhakar Donda Chaired the important meeting.¹⁹⁴ Shri K.T.A.Kutty representing the workers of the multinational Birla Company - Zuari Agro Chemicals Limited - came out with the need of creating a lobby for the workers. He urged the gathering to see the reality in Goa.

"Every industrialist in Goa has a lobby. It is only the workers who do not have a lobby. We are trying here to make a lobby of the workers."¹⁹⁵

Menezes Complex workers saw the need of a workers Federation in Goa,

"The Employers...have a Federation. In the same way, the workers should also have a Federation."¹⁹⁶

Shri Anthony Fonseca of MRF,

"...stressed the fact that the entire Governmental set-up was not prepared to work for the interests of the workers in Goa. Hence...was the urgent need for the entire working class in Goa to come together to help each other out of the present impasse (stress added)."¹⁹⁷

Shri Babruvan Gaonkar of BMLWU,

"suggested that each member from each unit gathered here should be represented in a committee and they should meet every month to discuss the common problems."¹⁹⁸

The Trade Union Leaders' meeting on 21st March, 1981 was inconclusive but five clear ideas had emerged on that day and they were:

- 1) Co-ordination Committee has to be formed.
- 2) The traditional workers should be brought together.
- 3) The Government is not doing any work for the benefit of the workers. The Government betrayed the industrial workers and the workers in the traditional sector.

- 4) The MRF workers should be supported.
- 5) The Co-ordination Committee should be formed of all the Secretaries and Presidents who were present at the meeting on 21st March, 1981.¹⁹⁹

Having witnessed the birthpangs of the Co-ordination Committee on 21-2-1981, on 22nd March, 1981, T.B. Cunha Hall mothered the birth and namakarana (naming ceremony) of the Co-ordination Committee.

"The meeting of 21st March, 1981 was an inconclusive one and it was right there decided unanimously that all should meet on 22nd March, 1981, and on the next day everyone had assembled at the T.B.Cunha Hall...exactly at 10 a.m. as notified; and the meeting emerged with an unanimous decision that, we should first begin by "Co-ordinating" the various efforts of the organisations; and appropriately, this organisation which comprised of Trade Unions as well as the Mass organisations such as that of Fishermen and Toddy Tappers and Carpenters, was nomenclatured as the 'Goa Trade Unions & Traditional Workers Co-ordination Committee'."²⁰⁰

The GOA TRADE UNIONS & TRADITIONAL WORKERS CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE (GTUTW-COC) had a 36 member General Council to represent the Mine workers, Dock Workers, Industrial Workers and traditional Workers. Each affiliate Union to GTUTW-COC had two representatives in the General Council of GTUTW-COC. The Unions which went to create 'GTUTW-COC' and the respected representatives²⁰¹ in the General Council of 'GTUTW-COC' were as follows:

Name of Union	General Council Representative of 'GTUTW-COC'
1. Mandovi Pellets Limited Workers' Union (Independent)	1. Godfrey Norton 2. G.V. Gauns
2. M.R.F. & Rubber Industries Workers' Union (Independent)	1. Anthony Fonseca 2. Joaquim Pereira
3. Goenchea Kamdaráncho Ekvott (Independent)	1. Peter Fernandes 2. Santan. D'Cunha
4. Ciba-Geigy of India Ltd. Employees' Union (Goa) (Independent)	1. P.G. Lotlikar 2. S.D. Vengurlekar
5. Zuari Agro Chemicals Ltd. Employees' Union (Independent)	1. M.M. Cardozo 2. K.T.A. Kutty
6. McDowell & Co. Workers' Union (CITU)	1. Jaiwant Sawant 2. Simplex Dias
7. All Goa Toddy Tappers' Association (Independent)	1. Martino Menino Fernandes 2. Damaciano Coelho
8. Menezes Industrial Complex Workers' Union (CITU)	1. Mohan Naik 2. Caitano Fernandes
9. Port & Dock Workers' Union (CITU)	1. Gopinath Waman Rao
10. Menezes Industrial Complex Employees' Assoc. (Independent)	1. Narayan Khandeparkar 2. Manohar Kantak
11. Goenchea Ramponkarach Ekvott. (Independent)	1. Mathani Saldhana 2. Pascoal Dias
12. Government of Goa Daman & Diu Navigation Employees' Union (Independent)	1. Gregorio Mauro 2. Francis Gonsalves
13. GMLWU (AITUC) Mines	1. Babruvan Gaonkar 2. Vasudev Morazkar
14. GMLWU (AITUC) Head Office	1. Constantino Furtado 2. John Carvalho
15. Chowgule Employees' Union (CITU)	1. S.S. Naik 2. Prabhakar Donda
16. Gosalia Employees' Union (AITUC)	1. Madhu Mayekar 2. Nagesh Sinai
17. Electricity Employees' Union (AITUC)	1. Narayan Palekar 2. A.F.G. Mascarenhas
18. Goa Daman & Diu Tourist Guides Union (Independent)	1. Christopher Fonseca
19. AITUC	1. George Vaz
20. CITU	1. Sitaram Manjrekar.

From among the Council of Representatives of 'GTUTW-COC' the following fifteen member Executive Committee was chosen:

S/Shri Anthony Fonseca, S.D.Vengulekar, K.T.A. Kutty, Mathany Saldanha, Martino Menino Fernandes, Mohan Naik, Peter Fernandes, Babruvan Gaonkar, S.S. Naik, Gopinath Waman Rao, G.V. Gauns,

Jaiwant Sawant, and Sitaram Manjrekar. Shri Christopher Fonseca was elected as the Secretary of 'GTUTW-COC', while Shri George Vaz was elected to be the Convenor of 'GTUTW-COC'. Shri Prabhakar Donde played an important role of presiding over all the meetings that created the 'GTUTW-COC'.²⁰²

There was one big birth defect in the 'GTUTW-COC' formed on 21/22 March, 1981; there was no INTUC and HMS representation in 'GTUTW-COC' in whatever form. At a later date, Shri. Ferdinand Rebello attended one of the meetings of 'GTUTW-COC', but he opined that without the directives of the HMS leader Shri S.R. Kulkarni, he could not even participate in the discussions of 'GTUTW-COC'. The Convenor of 'GTUTW-COC' expressed his sorrow to S.R. Kulkarni that the HMS camp was not a part of 'GTUTW-COC':

"Dear Comrade Kulkarni,

I am really sorry that you or your representatives are not a party to the Goa Trade Unions & Traditional Workers Coordination Committee. I have met Ferdinand Rebello but he has taken the stand that without your directives he could not participate in our discussions. He has attended only once.

I feel that it is not proper that you and your group of Unions should not be a part of this United front of like minded unions...."²⁰³

Perhaps the INTUC and HMS wounds were too fresh at that moment of time to join 'GTUTW-COC'. For some of the Zuari Agro Chemical workers and MRF workers had moved away from the leadership of the eminent Congress Leader, Shri Louisinho Faleiro and had come into 'GTUTW-COC' as independent unions.²⁰⁴ The Ciba-Geigy employees led by S/Shri P.G. Lotlikar and S.D. Vengurlekar had also broken away from their legal adviser, Shri Ferdinand Rebello before they came into 'GTUTW-COC'.²⁰⁵

Although INTUC and HMS forces were not bound into allied strength in 'GTUTW-COC', still 'GTUTW-COC' felt that it had imbibed sufficient collective strength to face the challenges of the industrial magnates and at the same time to change the attitude of the Goa Government towards the working class of Goa.²⁰⁶ With new found strength the Goa Trade Union leaders went about their task with vigour and combined spirit. On 23rd March, 1981 itself, Shri P. Donde (of CITU) and Shri G. Vaz (of AITUC) together made an appointment with the Chief Minister of Goa, Daman & Diu, Shri Pratap Singh Rane, to discuss the developments at the MRF factory.²⁰⁷ The urgency of churning up support for the MRF workers was strongly understood by 'GTUTW-COC' and it called out a week-long programme of public meetings and marches to start from 25th March, 1981.²⁰⁸ The public meetings at Ponda, Usgaon, Tisc, Corlim, Margao, Panjim and Zuari Nagar Sancoale, which were mostly presided over by Shri Prabhakar Donde, came out in strong support of the MRF workers.²⁰⁹

After the 'Workers' Solidarity Week', on 19th April 1981, 'GTUTW-COC' gave a call to the Goan working class to come out with financial aid to the MRF striking workers. This meeting was attended by Shri Prasanna Utagi and Subhash Naik George on behalf of the 'Goa Bank Employees Association'. Shri Prasanna too appealed to the Goa Bank Employees to contribute generously to the MRF Workers Relief Fund by buying Rs.5/-Coupons.²¹⁰ The MRF striking workers got monetary support from the working class of Goa, in response to the call given by 'GTUTW-COC'. The unique feature of this monetary help to MRF striking workers was expressed by the Secretary of 'GTUTW-COC':

"The (MRF) 5-month old strike was supported by the General Workers in terms of monetary assistance; for the first time workers from all over Goa contributed a sum of Rs.5/- each towards the MRF strike action."²¹¹

With the support of 'GTUTW-COC', not only did the MRF workers continue the strike action, but by 23-4-81, Ciba-Geigy workers too went into strike action to press home their charter of demands.²¹²

In the midst of two major industrial units in Goa on strike, came the May Day celebration. The May Day of 1981, was the rarest Solidarity gesture among the people of Goa:

"The formation of the 'Co-ordination Committee' led to joint demonstration of strength by the working class in Goa. The MAY DAY RALLIES which were insipid, ritual affairs until now, were seen as an occasion to demonstrate the unity of the working class and other sections of people united under the banner of the 'Co-ordination Committee'. 1st May 1981, saw the workers as well as the traditional fishermen and toddy tappers assemble in Panjim to participate in the Massive May Day Rally ever held in the history of Trade Union Movement in Goa".²¹³

The 1981 massive May Day rally of the Goan people came out with a solidarity resolution and support of the MRF workers:

"The working class in Goa fully support the MRF workers who have waged a relentless and awe-inspiring struggle for the last 70 days... The MRF workers have been justifiably demanding for a 'Rationalisation of their wage structure' and abolishment of 'Piece Rate', for the indirect employees on the formula proposed by the Chief Minister Pratapsing Rane. The entire working class in Goa are solidly behind the MRF workers in their struggle and shall not be silent spectators if the MRF Management tries to hire black legs to break the MRF strike."²¹⁴

Persistent support to the MRF workers by the Goan working class, brought the MRF strike to a successful end on 28th July 1981.²¹⁵ Earlier, on 8th July 1981, though the 5-day week demand was not granted, the 3-months long strike of Ciba-Geigy employees was satisfactorily brought to a settlement.²¹⁶

As the two major struggles in the multi-national companies - Ciba-Geigy and MRF, cooled off, the third struggle of the year 1981, was getting heated up in the Chowgule Industrial Empire. Retrenchment in the Chowgule Pelletization Plants at Pali and Borim was a distinct possibility. Besides the Chowgule workers' struggle for security of jobs, there was a rising demand for revision of wages made by Chowgule Employees Union (CITU). On 26th May 1981, in support of the 'Mandovi Pellets Limited Workers Union', 'GTUTW-COC' organised a workers morcha and marched up to the residence of the Chief Minister (C.M.) Shri P.S. Rane at Altinho, Panjim. The only demand of the demonstrating workers was that the C.M. should intervene with the Chowgules and avert the closure of the 60 crore plant of the Mandovi Pelets Ltd. at Borim Shiroda, Goa. The C.M. had readily agreed to intervene and settle the problems of the Mandovi Pelets workers.²¹⁷ The demonstration on 26th May 1981, was a more personal assurance given by 'GTUTW-COC' to stand by the workers of the most powerful industrial house in Goa - the House of Chowgules. But, was the 'GTUTW-COC', powerful-cohesive and disciplined enough to face the might of Chowgules? Or was it overconfident with success with Ciba-Geigy and MRF Managements?

Retrenchment of workers at the Pali Pelletisation plant led to strike action in the Industrial Empire of the Chowgule House in Goa. This strike was led by 'The Chowgule Employees Union' (CITU). On 9th November 1981, 'GTUTW-COC' gave a call for a General Strike all over Goa to be held from 0.00 hours of 12th November 1981.²¹⁸ The General Strike was in protest against what 'GTUTW-COC' considered to be police excesses at the Chowgule mines at Costi, Xelvona and Sanvordem, to suppress the striking Chowgule workers.²¹⁹ The General Strike on 12th November 1981, was also against the rising prices in Goa and to protest against "the Black Bills" - 'The National Security Act' (NSA) and 'The Maintenance of Essential Services Act' (MESA).²²⁰

From early dawn of cold 12th November 1981 day,
As the sun rose over the tense mining horizons,
And moved slowly into the strike torn clouds of Goan skies,
Workers woke up all over Gomantak,
With growing solidarity warmth rising in their veins,
And moved surely towards the Chowgule strikers at Costi mines.

Were the clouds gathering to disperse in storm?
Were the workers marching to gather dispersed workers
and break in storm?

The clouds moved on in soldiery mind,
Workers marched on in solidarity line.

Were the dense fierce clouds, signs of daily underlying war?
Were the gathering working class a threat to orderly law?

Gathered fierce storm burst,
Eye of storm pierced,
Feared Co-ordination workers stopped,
Charged-gassed-broken-fired,
Shot in the neck,
Ambrosio lay down dead.



Ambrosio Rodrigues

Zolmolo 21 / 9 / 55

Somplo 12 / 11 / 81

Photo No.69: Ambrosio Rodrigues

There is an oral tradition going around in Costi and Sanvordem that the demonstrating workers on the hartal day of 12th November 1981 morning, attacked the Goa police and the police fired in self defence. The version of 'GTUTW-COC' is that the Goa police fired on the peaceful workers without a Magisterial order and without any warning. The police firing on peaceful defenceless workers killed Shri Ambrosio Rodrigues (cf.ph.No.69, p.485), the militant MRF worker. Once the workers saw the dead body of Shri Ambrosio, the workers went beserk in Costi-Sanvordem areas.²²¹ The 13th of November 1981, the day when Shri Ambrosio Rodrigues was laid to eternal rest in the cemetery of his village church at Curtorim, Salcete, Goa witnessed another day of General Strike. On this day the workers of industrial establishments like the 'Goa Shipyard', who were not members of the 'GTUTW-COC', observed a bandh and these workers too came to pay their last respects to the MRF worker who had laid down his young life and blood in the mines of Goa to the cause of Solidarity and Coordination of the working class of Goa. During the funeral of Shri Ambrosio Rodrigues, Citizens of Goa and workers of Goa took a collective resolution calling upon the Rane Government to institute a judicial enquiry into the events that led to the shooting down of Shri Ambrosio Rodrigues with bullet wounds in his neck.²²²

Industrial unrest in Goa on 12th and 13th of November 1981, led the Rane Government to declare section 144 throughout Goa and armed police were brought into Goa from the neighbouring States.

These acts of the Government were interpreted by the Trade Union Leadership as signs of 'GUILTY CONSCIENCE' on the part of the Government:

"The fact that thousands of armed police have been imported into Goa from the neighbouring States and section 144 imposed throughout the Union Territory of Goa, only goes to show a 'GUILTY CONSCIENCE' and a fear of the wrath of the people."²²³

But the Government felt that the guilty leaders who had created disturbances had to be arrested according to the law of the land, and a wave of arrests of the leaders of 'GTUTW-COC' started to take place. S/Shri Christopher Fonseca, Anthony Fonseca, Rogu Gawde, and others were arrested.²²⁴ Advocate Albino Viegas of Ponda, who pleaded the release of Shri Christopher Fonseca and others was also arrested in the premises of the Judicial Magistrate at Panjim.²²⁵ To avoid the police hunt, leaders who were not arrested went underground. The Convenor of 'GTUTW-COC' too had to go into hiding and organise the workers from underground.²²⁶

Chiefly to pressurize the Goa Government to withdraw section 144 and to release the arrested leaders and the workers, the 'GTUTW-COC' organised 'GOA BANDH' programme on 26th Nov. 1981.²²⁷ Besides organizing the Goa Bandh on 26th November 1981, the Leaders of 'GTUTW-COC' appealed to various members of Parliament to raise the issues in Parliament about the shooting on 12th November, the imposition of section 144 throughout Goa, the arrests of Trade Union Leaders, and the Goa Bandh.²²⁸ On 3rd

December 1981, Shri Inderjit Gupta, M.P., sent Shri K.A.Rajan, M.P. to study the situation in Goa.²²⁹ Under constant pressure of the workers, their arrested leaders and workers were released and the section 144 too was lifted. After the release of arrested leaders and the lifting of the section 144, at the public meeting held at Ponda on 5th December, Shri K.A.Rajan, M.P., raised the issue of Judicial Enquiry into the death of Shri Ambrosio Rodrigues. He stated:

"If the Government is so sure of their innocence why are they fighting ...shy of a Judicial Enquiry? The least that the Government of Goa Daman & Diu can do to exonerate their position is to hold an Impartial Enquiry (stress added)"²³⁰

But even seven years after the death of Shri Ambrosio, the Impartial Enquiry into the death was not a reality.²³¹ On the other hand, while constantly asking for an impartial enquiry, Goan workers did what they could within their limitations. Soon after the death of Ambrosio, the workers under the leadership of 'GTUTW-COC' pledged to contribute a days wage and offered the collected amount to Ambrosio's parents. And by 12th November 1982, the Goan workers inaugurated a house built by the workers themselves in Curtorim - a house for the parents of Ambrosio.²³⁴

Though the 'GTUTW-COC' could build a house to the memory of Shri Ambrosio Rodrigues - the Co-ordination martyr, the original house of 'GTUTW-COC' created on 22/23rd March 1981, in T.B.Cunha Hall, started showing visible cracks. By May Day of 1983, the exit of CITU from 'GTUTW-COC' was visible to all:

"During the year 1983, Massive struggles were on, May Day was celebrated with vigour in the city of Vasco da Gama, in which the units of CENTRE OF (INDIAN) TRADE UNIONS (CITU) were conspicuous by their absence; as serious differences of opinion had emerged on the aftermath of the long drawn out strike by the Chowgule Employees Union (CITU), the post 12th November 1981 events... the hush-hush agreement by certain CITU leaders when the prominent activists of the 'Co-ordination Committee' were locked up in Goan prisons, the Unions/ Units forsaking the membership of the CITU banner and forging ties with the Unions under the AITUC etc... went to draw a wedge in the edifice of the 'Co-ordination Committee' (stress added)²³³

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CONCLUSION

Industrialization of Goa began without any risk to the capital invested to build Marmagosa Harbour and the Goa Railway. What Shri Bipin Chandra said about the element of risk regarding the Indian Railways built upto 1905, could be applied to the Industrial ventures undertaken in Goa by the British 'West India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway Company' (WIPGR):

"Real private enterprise 'in the sense of an enterprise willing to take risks of loss' was almost absent in the case of Indian Railways, since their promoters and financiers were unwilling to face the normal hazards of enterprise. Instead, they preferred...to operate through Government guarantees..."¹ (stress added)

In contrast to the Portuguese Government guarantees to the capital invested by WIPGR Company in Goa, the workers involved to construct the Marmagosa Harbour and the Goa Railway, risked their lives by living at the work sites in the open skies and working in the burning sun and pouring rains of Goa. Neither their lives nor their jobs were guaranteed.

The Goa Railway and Marmagosa Harbour could not prominently place Goa on the industrial Map of the world. Combined with the capital power of the mine owners, the heads-the hands-the feet-the blood-the labour power of the mine workers of Goa pushed Goa out of the age old agriculture slumber and economic stagnation and

railed Goa on to the path of industrial development and economic growth. After the Liberation of Goa, industrial development of Goa took greater strides. But iron ore mining remained the backbone of Goan economy. The mine workers of Goa while living in herds like conditions and earning meager wages, jeopardised their lives, risked injury and their very ability to work, risked death and annihilation of their family, and made the mining industry of Goa, a success story. The mine workers along with the mine owners made the mining industry the back bone of Goa and thus pushed Goa on the path of modern economy and permanently placed Goa on the industrial Map of the world.

During the period from 1936 to 1961, the industrial workers of Goa were aware of Trade Union activities across the borders of Goa. This was specially true of the workers of WIPGR Company. Some of them paid Union fees to the representatives of the Union popularised by V.V. Giri all over the MSMR. But, there were no union activities in the Goa Railway, Marmagao Harbour or the mines of Goa during the Portuguese period of the study.

Though there were no trade union activities during the Salazar Regime Period of Portuguese India, spontaneous strike actions was not something that was unheard of in Portuguese Goa.

The workers of WIPGR Company, as well as the mine workers of Goa, went into strike action during the Portuguese dictatorial period (cf.p.165 ff). But the socio-political atmosphere in Goa was not conducive to sustain workers' views or actions. In the mining areas of Goa the atmosphere was so positively oppressive that the main leader - Shri Chick - of the first industrial strike in the mining area, had to permanently leave Goa since he could not face the workers who were dismissed and had lost their jobs after the strike action in 1952. And the second leader in command of the Chowgue strike action - Shri Romald Mendes - in order to stay on in Goa, had to ask workers' forgiveness for telling them to go on strike (cf.p.167).

The workers who invested their labour power and their lives in the mining industry of Goa, started to get a new awareness about the industry and themselves, after the Liberation of Goa in 1961. Only after the Trade Union Movement started to sprout among the workers of Goa, the workers became conscious that like the mine owners, they too risked their lives in the industry. The Trade Union Movement also made the Marmagoa Harbour workers and the Goa Railway Employees aware of their distinct contribution to the respective industries of Goa—a contribution which made the workers assert their Trade Union Rights after the Liberation of Goa.

Though the workers of Goa got a new consciousness through the Trade Union Movement, Trade Union Rights were not a freely bestowed gift of Liberation, to the workers of Goa. The workers of Goa had to struggle, assert themselves and go to prison to get their Trade Union Rights. And only after constant demands, persistent pressure of the workers, Trade Union Laws which were prevalent in Independent India were gradually extended to Goa. For example, "The Indian Trade Unions' Act, 1926", became effective in Goa from 19-12-1962, a year after the Liberation of Goa. And "Goa Daman and Diu Trade Unions' Regulations, 1963" were effective in Goa from 19-3-1964.² This was much after the Trade Union Movement was launched in Marmagao Harbour on 13/14 th January 1962 and in the mines of Goa on 29th April, 1962. (cf.p.172 ff,177 ff).

The Mukadam system of labour employment flourished at the Marmagao Harbour since Portuguese days. The employers made no efforts to get rid of the Mukadam system during the Portuguese times. Only after the Trade Union Movement started to grow in Marmagao Harbour and when the Dock workers engaged by the Mukadams, launched united struggle to get rid of the Makadam system, the employers conceded to the demands of the dock workers - abolished the Mukadam system at the Harbour and established the

controversial Pool (cf.p.75 ff). Soon after the liberation of Goa, the employers and the port administration along with the State and Central Governments, could have blessed all the Marmagoa Dock workers with the establishment of the Marmagoa Dock Labour Board as was in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras Ports. But again, only after intense struggle of the winchmen of Goa and only after the Blood of workers Conceicao D'Costa and Thomas Fernandes had flowed in the streets of Vasco and mixed in the Harbour waters of Goa, came the formation of Marmagoa Dock Labour Board on 21st April 1965. Resistance to the rights of the workers by the industrialists and employers of Goa, is further demonstrated in the implementation of the Iron Ore Wage Board recommendations which were unanimously sanctioned by the Central Government. These recommendations were ultimately granted by the major mine owners of Goa. But not without the workers launching a widespread, well sustained and meticulously organised movement for the implementation of the recommendations. And again, not without the blood of one of the labour leaders of Goa - of Shri J.B.X.D'Cruz - mixing eternally into the red earth of Goa.

Now it could be validly stated that neither the Central Government nor the State Administration nor the employer class of

Goa blessed the Goan workers by offering them their Trade Union rights on a silver platter after the Liberation of Goa. All the Trade Union rights and the welfare measures, the Goan workers achieved by struggling against the employer class and the Government Administration, struggling even to the point of shedding the blood of the workers.

The struggle of the Goan workers to firmly establish their democratic Trade Union rights and shape the social atmosphere of Goa to better serve the interests of Goan workers, was stung with fratricidal tussels. Tussels which led to the break of unions and formation of new unions - e.g., Goa Sangh railway workers left the Sangh membership and formed the HMS affiliated branch of 'Mazdoor Union' of Goa Railway workers. Rivalry also seeped all the unions at the Marmagosa Harbour and the mines of Goa. All the same, on various occasions, the workers, their leaders and the diverse unions could transcend their strife and struggle unitedly to solve issues which confronted the workers of Goa. e.g., Mohan Nair and S.R.Kulkarni joined hands to work out a solution to the problems of the barge crew of Goa (cf.p.330).

It could be further stated that the Trade Union Movement in Goa first came to birth in the Goa mines - Marmagao Harbour and the Goa Railway. From here the Trade Union Movement in Goa flowed out to other industrial workers of Goa, to the Government employees, to the Commercial workers of Goa and even to the traditional labourers of Goa. The period 1936 - 1961 did not evidence Trade Union Movement in Goa on a sustained basis. However, the period 1962 - 1986 saw the birth and spread of the Trade Union Movement in Goa. This period also witnessed the peak of co-ordinative effort among the workers of Goa. In this co-ordinative phase of the Trade Union Movement in Goa, the workers from multinational industries like the Madras Rubber Factory, Zuari Agro Industry, and Ciba-Geigy, along with the traditional fisherfolk, carpenters and others came out in solidarity support of the demands of the mine workers. The MRF worker Ambrosio Rodrigues laid down his life on 12th November 1981 to the solidarity cause of the workers of Goa.

The thesis began with the process of industrialization of Goa and the occupational risk element in industry and the crucial role it plays in the workers lives, and therefore, of the Trade Union Movement. Liberation of Goa was indeed a catalysing factor

for the Movement with its strains, tensions and rivalries, being felt in the Goa Railway, and its reverberations in the Harbour and mines, so typical of a Movement. The study further sketched out the struggles which brought to birth the Trade Union Movement which in turn, secured benefits for the workers. It has been amply proved that Liberation was the atmosphere in which the Trade Union Movement in Goa was born. It developed and sustained its momentum in the Port, Docks, Mines and the Railway in Goa. From this ferment of action, the Movement gradually spread out to other areas of Goa.

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X X X

APPENDIX

The role to spell out the background of the Railwaymen's strike and their demands, to the rest of the Goan workers, was played by Shri Prasanna Utagi, President of the Goa State Co-operative Bank Employees' Union and the Goa Urban Co-operative Bank Employees' Union who wrote the following leaflet:

STAND BY THE RAILWAY WORKERS AND DEFEAT ANTI-WORKING CLASS CONSPIRACY

(Issued by The Goa State Co-operative Bank Employees Union
and
The Goa Urban Co-operative Bank Employees Union, Panjim)

.....Much has been said about the demands of the railwaymen, which have been made to look as something they would give the railway workers privileged class position. But the fact is that, what the railwaymen are asking is already being enjoyed by other sections of organised labour, in both the public as well as private sector; and much more.

There are about 17,30,000 permanent employees in the railways. 57% of these employees fall in a category in which the highest pay is only Rs.270/- P.M. Besides, there are 3,30,000 casual workers who have been serving for a very long time but without any security of service and who are paid Rs.2.50 to 4.50 per day.

Fantastic stories are being circulated that the running staff gets big salary but those in the highest category of Running Staff viz. the drivers, after the third pay commission report wherein Dearness Allowance has been merged with basic - the pay scale is Rs.500 - Rs.700. In fact hardly one per cent drivers can reach the maximum of this scale. Similarly, goods Train Drivers are on a scale of Rs.330/- - Rs.560. first firemen Rs.225/- - Rs.300/-, second firemen Rs.200/- - Rs.250/-. The running allowances of these staff are not commensurate with the time and work-load they are required to put in. Let us examine a few more scales of pay: Gangman Rs.200/- - 250/-, Assistant Station Master Rs.330/- - Rs.500/-, Office Clerks and train clerks, fitters, Ticket collectors Rs.260/- - Rs.400/-. Such are the meagerly emoluments that most of the 742 categories of employees draw. The really highly paid are the big bosses in the railways....

WHAT THE RAILWAY WORKING DEMANDS

Demands of the Railway workers are:

(1) Decasualisation of 3.34 lakhs casual workers which means taking them in the permanent employment of the railways. No person will disagree that this demand is fully justified and should be conceded forthwith.

(2) Parity with other public sector workers - It is really surprising that this demand of the workers could be neglected. How can employees doing the same kind of work under the same employer that is the Government of India can be differentiated in wages only because one is employed in the departmentally run Industries and the other in public sector companies. Take the example of workers doing loading and unloading work. The workers employed by the Railways, Government coal mines, and Government steel plants many times work side by side but the railway workers get anything between Rs.80/- to Rs.100/- p.m. less than his counterpart in the Steel Plant or in the Coal Mines. Much has been said about free quarters, travelling facilities, and other benefits made available to railway workers. But this is no more the privilege of the railway employees only, as HMT, BHEL, S.T., and other companies are giving these facilities to their employees.

(3) Bonus for all: the argument against this demand were used in other industries also, but the Bonus Act makes compulsory payment of Bonus at 8.33% irrespective of the financial conditions of the industries. Supreme Court judgement in payment of minimum wages have remarked that the industry which cannot pay the minimum wages to workers has no right to exist. Besides taking into consideration that the wage bill of the railways which is about Rs.500 crores the minimum bonus will not exceed Rs.40 crores.

(4) 8 hours working day: that the workers have to resort to agitation for 8 hours working in 1974 speaks for itself.

(5) Supply of foodgrains and other essential commodities through fair price shops - It is and can it be overstressed that for keeping the railways running the Government should take upon itself the responsibility of supplying its employees foodgrains specially when these commodities are being scarce and dearer every day thereby eroding the real wages of the employees. Besides the workers have to spend a lot of their time for procuring the same and this becomes many times impossible for the railway workers because many categories of their employees have to put in more than 12 hours of work a day.

When the negotiations were in progress and the differences on some of these demands were narrowed down and others being discussed, the Government suddenly arrested not only the President of the National Coordination Committee for Railwaymen's struggle, Shri George Fernandes but thousands of other leaders and activists of the Railway unions thereby sabotaging the talks. For arresting Mr. George Fernandes the Government has taken shelter behind alleged provocations by Mr. Fernandes, which they could have very well raised at the negotiating table. For arresting thousands of other workers six days before the strike was to begin and during the negotiations, only betrays the dishonest intentions of the Government. And the Railway minister had the audacity to state that some leaders of Co-ordination Committee did not turn up for signing the documents knowing fully well that they had been arrested and thus prevented from attending.

Hence it would be worthwhile to take notice of how even developed capitalist countries deal with such situations. The Railway strikes in Britain, West Germany, Japan, France, Italy and others have not been dealt with such arrests and repressions as in India. We have before us six week strike of the coal miners strike in U.K. during one of the severest winter when there was no electricity, no gas and the industries were running three day week. Even so, repression was not resorted to, though it resulted in a midterm election and change in the Government capacity to pay.

All sorts of figures have been given. It is being told Rs.500 crores, Rs.700 crores etc., would be required to fulfil all the demands of the railwaymen. But according to the Union Leaders not more than Rs.250 crores to Rs.300 crores will be required for fulfilling those demands. And this could be easily found within the railway itself. As against 28% in 1972-73 the railways carried more than 60% of the freight traffic in 1973-1974 below the actual transport cost: losses due to these were Rs.127.06 crores in 1972-1973 and Rs.225.44 crores in 1973-1974 and this benefited not the common man but only monopolists because, freight charges form only a negligible percentage of the cost of the end product. e.g. the impact of increase of freight rates of coal during 1965 to 1973 on the pig iron prices, electricity rates and cement prices was only 0.98%, 3.52% and 1.77% respectively. As increase of about 33% in freight rates of cement during 1962 to 1973 had an impact on the construction costs of the order of 1.2% only.

Besides the average rate charged per tonne kilometre in India is only 5.83 paise (1973-74). This is the lowest rate anywhere in the world. British railway charges are 15.43 paise...French 13.37 paise, German 23.17 paise to cite a few examples. So if only the freight are rationalised and below cost transportation is stopped, the railways could find enough money to concede all the demands of its employees and more. Besides there is ample scope for plugging the enormous waste and expenditure due to top officialdom. The labour productivity during the period from 1950-51 to 1972-73 has increased by 64%. The railway workers are fully justified in demanding better wages and condition of working, on every count.

It is clearer that the shameless and treacherous attack on the working class in this vital sector is not so much for their "Unreasonable demands" or "the speeches of their leaders" but that the anti-working class forces in the Government have got an upper hand & are out to crush the working class movements with heavy hand. If the public and private sector will face the danger of rightist repression. It is therefore, the bounded duty of the entire working class of this country to stand unitedly and defeat this conspiracy.

Sd/-
(Prasanna Utagi)
President

The Goa State Co-operative Bank Employees' Union
and
The Goa Urban Co-operative Bank Employees' Union

GLOSSARY

Glossary of Non English terms connected with the thesis, with their respective translations into English.

1. Ambil -- Semi solid food preparation of raggi.
2. Angar -- Work on self contract basis.
3. Babo -- Elder brother.
4. Bero -- Deaf.
5. Bueir -- Tunnel.
6. Carer -- Mini bus used during Portuguese days.
7. Chan -- Machinery to separate ore by sizes.
8. Congor -- Women with curly hair.
9. Covor (Covoll, roboll) -- top cover.
10. Cristao -- Christian.
11. Dando -- Stick.
12. Davai re -- run away (used in the plural for men).
13. Dhar -- gun powder.
14. Gado -- small stall.
15. Ghanti -- workers from outside Goa or from across the ghats.
16. Ghono -- huge iron hammer.
17. Ghote -- cattle sheds.
18. Ghoto -- cattle shed.
19. Goton -- a family - house without children.
20. Hazri -- workon daily attendance basis.
21. Kail -- gambela, iron basket.
22. Kamilo -- a bent rounded spoon with a long handle made of iron.
23. Manai -- assistant labour.
24. Mangor -- dwellings of workers without walls.
25. Monem -- dumb woman.
26. Mono -- dumb man.
27. Mundkars -- labourers in plantations like coconut trees.
28. Paroi -- huge iron bar speared at one or both the ends.
29. Pej -- Semi solid food preparation of rice.
30. Randpin -- female cook.
31. Soro -- country liquor.
32. Vokol -- young bride.
33. Wodio -- country craft.
34. Xeni -- iron chisel.
35. Zirmir zatona -- early dawn.

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There was no ready source material either in published or unpublished form, in any Library or Institution, on which the Author of the present Thesis could fall on to build up the Thesis. So the Author had to largely fall back on oral tradition for the source material, and built up the source material itself from Trade Union offices, Trade Union leaders, workers themselves and others, by way of informal statements made by the workers, leaders and others, their various letters, settlements, press statements, reports, leaflets and other materials. All this material is with the Author and is grouped in Author's Collection. The source material used in the thesis is arranged as follows:

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