

To the All-India Trade Union Congress

From the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat

Shanghai, 12 November, 1929.

To the Delegates Assembled at the
All-India Trade Union Congress,
Nagpur.

DEAR Comrades,
I am directed by the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat to extend to the delegates of the All-India Trade Union Congress assembled at Nagpur the most hearty and fraternal greetings on behalf of our affiliated membership. It is with deep interest our Secretariat and constituent organizations, which now embrace a membership of 15 millions in fourteen different countries, have followed the tenacious and gallant struggles of the Indian workers, especially the textile workers. Our Secretariat is fully aware that the Indian workers are not only subjected to all the worst forms of rationalization of industry, but to every form of violence—from communal warfare deliberately fostered and organized by British usurpers, to wholesale murder of protesting demonstrators and strikers by British forces and their hirelings.

The workers of India suffer from exactly the same form of oppression as do the workers of other colonial and semi-colonial countries, most of which are in or around the Pacific. Their lives are full of misery, not because they are "backward" but because of the terrible exploitation by British and other oppressors. They are ill-fed, work exhaustively long hours; exist in terrible dwellings; denied an elementary education; all rights of citizenship; their meagre homes subject to invasion by foreign tyrants or their lackeys; are prevented from exercising the unhampered right to organize trade unions and political organizations of their own choice; free speech, assembly and press are denied them at the will of the foreign invader; wholesale arrests of their leaders upon framed-up

charges based upon extracts from irrelevant documents, which are torn from their contents, while many are sent for years of rigorous punishment solely upon evidence given by agents of government provocateurs, and strikers are shot down indiscriminately. The Indian peasantry, like the peasantry of other oppressed countries also suffer from exorbitant rents, usurers' extortions, oppressive taxation, evictions from their land to make room for capitalist ownership, arrest, banishment or imprisonment at the least sign of protest against these unbearable impositions—all these and many other brutal and tortuous methods are practiced against the toiling workers and peasants of India and other colonial countries in the Pacific.

Faced with all the forms of oppression as outlined above and the resultant situation, with the anti-Trade Union Act and the Public Safety Bill, together with "Bengal Ordinances" and other similar measures that are all designed to perpetuate the systematic offensive of the British imperialists against the organized workers and peasants, the decisions of the All-India Trade Union Congress will have far-reaching effects. The policy of the P.P.T.U. movement is to assist in developing national unity for united national struggles in each country. Our policy is to support demands for higher standards of living: by raising wages, shortening hours, fighting the effects of rationalization and against victimization, for the right to form factory committees, by demanding social insurance relief, including maternity benefits, etc. But these can only be obtained by an uncompromising fight with imperialism. Therefore the P.P.T.U.S. connects the struggle for immediate economic demands with the demands for political rights, such as free speech, assembly and press, the unhampered right to organize trade unions and workers' political parties, the right to strike

and picket, free and compulsory education for children, the enfranchisement of all workers and peasants, irrespective of sex, abolition of the illegal and oppressive taxation and usurers' extortions, monetary assistance to be given by the government for cooperative farming, repeal of all anti-working class laws, against all discriminating immigration laws as well as employers' schemes for mass emigration to bring down wages with complete freedom of all workers, irrespective of race, color or nationality, to go from one country to another, with complete national independence for all oppressed peoples, the struggle against the imperialist war danger and defense of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, etc.

The positive program and policy of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat therefore constitutes a direct challenge to all imperialist oppressors. The British imperialists try by developing a high degree of rationalization at home and by deepening their colonial exploitation to stop the decline of British capitalism. This decline is indicated by the enormous deficit in Britain's trade balance, the huge foreign and internal debts, the inability of British industry to maintain its position in the world markets against the efficiency and mass production of other competing capitalist nations. This not only results in a sharpening of the conflict between the various groups of imperialists, but the attempts of British and other financiers to prolong capitalism by intensifying the exploitation of the workers and peasants results in a sharpening of the class struggle both at home as well as in India. Therefore, to be able to effectively meet the offensive, it is the aim of the P.P.T.U.S. to help develop unity of the organized labor of India with all other workers and peasants of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the Pacific area; and to further develop unity between the workers of the imperialist countries with those of the oppressed nations.

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But in order to develop national and international trade union unity we must know and overcome all the forces that make for disintegration. We must divide these into the positive and negative forces of the class strug-

gle. Unfortunately for the working class of India and other countries there are those who (some consciously and other unconsciously) assist the imperialist enemies of organized labor. During disputes they aid the employers by sowing dissension in the ranks of strikers by advocating a return to work and dependence upon arbitration of disputes, when it is known that the employers suggest "arbitration" and "conciliation" as an offensive weapon to achieve their ends (the peaceful submission of the workers to wage-cuts, victimization, longer hours, intensified labor, etc.), and without any losses involved in struggles. The P.P.T.U.S. recognizes the need for able tactical maneuvers which will strengthen the workers' offensive, but rejects all forms of compulsory arbitration and fights strenuously against "industrial peace" policy of the General Council of the British Trade Union Congress and other capitulators, which is the policy of the "Amsterdam" International, whose bureaucrats work hand in hand with the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, the instrument of the European imperialist powers who are the brutal oppressors and exploiters of the workers and peasants of the colonies and semi-colonies. The theory accepted by the P.P.T.U. Secretariat is that organized labor will succeed in improving the conditions of the workers and peasants to the same extent it is able to develop organization, strength and ability to inflict losses upon the employers. To the same degree labor will have achieved power to go further to the struggle for complete national independence, and thence towards the realization of the objective resolutions 9 and 37 passed by the last All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharia, i.e., towards the realization of a "Socialistic Republican Government" and "with the object of establishing at the earliest opportunity a Workers' Cooperative Commonwealth of India..."

Our Secretariat desires the Nagpur assembly of the All-India Trade Union Congress to realize that to achieve any progress in the removal of the colonial leg-irons still firmly rivetted upon Indians and other oppressed peoples in the Pacific area, the labor movement must rid itself of all imperialist prote-

ges and celebrities of the "Amsterdam" International and the I.L.O. You are perfectly aware that neither the trade union bureaucrats of Great Britain nor their colleagues of "Amsterdam" showed any desire for serious contact with Indian organized labor previous to the advent of the P.P.T.U.S. The "Amsterdam" International flatly refused recognition of the All-China Federation of Labor when a personal appeal was made for assistance during the struggle against imperialism in 1926-27, and the British Labor Party and General Council of the T.U.C. supported Baldwin's policy of occupying Shanghai and other important centers in China with British armed forces and battle-ships. These forces still remain in China today under a so-called Labor government, and will be used to uphold British exploitation as they are used in India, Arabia, Africa, etc. The organized workers are justly suspicious of those labor imperialists who preferred to complacently occupy a parasitic position on the backs of the Indian workers and peasants, to that of directly assisting them in their struggle against a common oppressor of both British and Indian workers.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat would be negligent in its duty to its own membership if it did not point out that the call for an Asiatic Labor Conference is primarily a manoeuvre of the British and other imperialists supported by their agents within the labor movement. Suzuki Bunji, who is openly acting as the agent of the Japanese government within the labor movement, has made many abortive attempts to create such an Asiatic movement. But now the Western as well as the Eastern imperialists have become alarmed at the development of the P.P.T.U.S. and the militancy of the Indian and other Oriental workers. It is necessary to get control of these workers and therefore what they failed to do in India and other Eastern countries through their British and Amsterdam agents, they now hope to achieve by their "alluring" instrument an "Asiatic Labor Conference." The real reason for the visit of Albert Thomas, director of the I.L.C., to the Far East, was to find a basis for controlling the unrest

among the working class of colonial and semi-colonial countries. He endorsed the disruptive proposals of Suzuki, and during the recent Geneva Conference, plans were evolved to carry the project a step further, although the promoters are finding it very difficult to realize. All was made perfectly clear in Albert Thomas' report of his tour of investigation in the Orient given to the governing body of the I. L. C. and published widely in the capitalist press. Quoting Mr. Thomas' report, the British-owned "North China Daily News" says: "There is a movement in favor of 'Pan-Asiatic' understanding. Such understandings are not aimed against Europe (imperialism) or against more general understanding, but to some minds they are more attractive, and appear to hold out a promise of more tangible and immediate results than the Geneva (and Amsterdam) institutions." Then he went on to show what results he had in mind. He said: "To the nationalist movements (of the oppressed peoples) . . . Western civilization opposes its organizing capacity, its systematic methods, its technical progress, etc."

Our Secretariat submits to the delegates assembled at the Nagpur Congress that there is positive proof of an understanding between Suzuki, Jeshi & Co. with the imperialists of the I.L.C. and their agents in control of "Amsterdam," whose real object is to split the P.P.T.U. movement. Mr. Thomas has in plain language told his imperialist audience that the "Asiatic Labor Conference" was not aimed to attack bloodthirsty European exploiters, and further: that Western civilization oppose the struggle for national independence with its superior systematic organizing ability and technical progress, which, we must know, and is now clearly indicated, includes the organization of the "Asiatic Labor Conference." Technical progress, of course, includes also mechanized armies, bombing planes and modern cruisers for the purpose of subjecting colonial and semi-colonial peoples to a foreign rule as was so recently demonstrated in Arabia (Palestine).

These frank and unvarnished statements positively and unmistakably prove a conspiracy exists to destroy not only the P.P.T.U.

movement and to isolate the Asiatic workers from their fellow workers around the Pacific, but also the effectiveness of the trade unions of India, China, Indonesia, Philippines, Malay, Korea, etc. Those who favor this movement of the imperialist and native exploiters are helping to continue the enslavement of the Indian people. By attacking and weakening the organizations of workers and peasants, which alone form the very basis of the struggle for complete independence, means to prolong the starvation, misery and torture of the Indian workers and peasants in order to maintain the parasitic position of the British capitalist class. Therefore our Secretariat, in view of the above statements which have been made since the Jharia Congress, does not hesitate in asking the delegates assembled at Nagpur to pass a resolution rescinding the Jharia Congress decision and decisively repudiate all attempts to call an Asiatic Labor Conference. The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat is now the only organized trade union center embodying the trade unions in and around the Pacific Ocean. Upon your decision on this question rests not only the future of the All-India T.U.C., but also the decision will have far-reaching and immediate political effects upon all the organized Oriental workers and peasants, and affect, favorably or unfavorably, according to your decision, the lives of the hundreds of millions of Eastern toilers.

There is still another reason why we draw the attention of the delegates to the motives of the British imperialists. The majority of the Indian bourgeoisie have also abandoned the struggle for national independence by the acceptance of a Dominion Status for India. This throws the leadership of the struggle for independence upon the leaders of the workers' and peasants' organizations, with the perspective before them to create a Workers' and Peasants' Government. If the organized labor movement pledges itself to this task all the honest elements among the lower stratum of the bourgeoisie will join in the struggle, under proletarian leadership. By accepting a Dominion Status—an India exploited by the British—the Indian bourgeoisie have politically landed themselves into almost the same

position as the counter-revolutionary Kuomintang in China. But what will the British Labor government give them as the price of their capitulations? Their retreat and guarantees for the continued British exploitation of India will be answered, and even Dominion Status may now be withheld for years to come. It is useless to try to involve the masses for such a mess of pottage, for even if it was achieved, the enslavement of India still continues. Therefore the delegates of the All-India T.U.C. are confronted with the momentous but simple task of deciding for or against the continued enslavement of India, and preparing a leadership capable of and willing to fight and drive out all foreign usurpers and oppressors.

The Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat also draws the attention of the Indian workers to the imperialist war danger. Every imperialist nation is strenuously adopting itself for the next imperialist war which will find its center chiefly in the Pacific area. Therefore it is the duty of all organized labor in the Pacific area to prepare the workers and peasants to resist with all their force, being drawn into another world war. Our Secretariat views the present and past manoeuvres of the imperialist states and the recent "statements" and "agreements" of Mr. MacDonald and president Hoover, as nothing but political acts designed for two purposes: 1) to deceive the masses of the population, particularly the working masses by inferring that peaceful settlements of all the conflicts between the hostile capitalist groupings are possible; and 2) as definite political manoeuvres, each imperialist group trying to obtain favorable positions to strengthen themselves in preparation for further belligerent acts. Of course these manoeuvres are dictated by the existing economic or other difficulties and therefore it is a satisfactory gesture for British capitalists to suspend construction of an odd ship or two. But these gestures do not affect the general tendency of each nation to develop the power of its naval, military and air forces. Each prepares to engage definitely in a world struggle for a redistribution of the earth—a fight for the power to exploit more of the world's workers

and peasants. Lest any delegate to the All-India T.U.C. at Nagpur is misled by the pacifist phrases of members of Mr. MacDonald's government, let him reflect upon the repeated statements since they took office, regarding British colonial policy. In reference to Egypt, Palestine and India they have declared: "*That no fundamental change of policy is contemplated.*" This, together with Mr. Snowden's fierce fight for the interests of British imperialism at The Hague indicates: 1) the preparedness of MacDonald's government—the so-called "Labor government"—to defend British imperial interests at any cost; and 2) the maintenance of British tyranny and its bloodthirsty rule in India and elsewhere.

The P.P.T.U. Secretariat desires to draw your attention to the attack upon the U.S.S.R. in Manchuria. The imperialists utilize the Chinese militarists to seize the Chinese Eastern Railway preparatory to a military invasion of the U.S.S.R. This is not unconnected with their general attacks upon the labor movement. The Soviet Government gave up all the old rights and privileges exacted by the Czarists from China. They gave 50 per cent control of the C.E.R. to the Chinese with promises to relinquish the railway completely, the latter point being conditioned only by the imperative necessity of safeguarding the Soviet frontiers. Then the Chinese militarists betrayed the Chinese revolution and have now, in agreement with the imperialists, attacked the Workers' and Peasants' State. They see in the Soviet Union a firm supporter of all the oppressed nations and a defender of the international proletariat. Also the Soviet industrialization program proceeds apace and strengthens socialist economy while the decline of capitalism continues. Not only this: already 25 per cent of the Russian workers have obtained the 7-hour day, while the 7-hour day is being introduced as rapidly as possible into other establishments, as well as the new decision of the continuous working week which gives the workers one day's rest in five. These are aspects of Soviet economy which stand as living achievements of the only Workers' and Peasants' Government, and are hated by

all imperialists and their lackeys. Take these points into consideration together with the above facts relating to the policies and intrigues of the I.L.O. and its agents. We sincerely ask the Nagpur Congress to renounce Mr. N. M. Joshi's plea at the Geneva Conference of the I.L.O. "for greater vigor in the task of making the ideal of the international Labor Conference a reality in those (Eastern) countries" in order to combat the "danger of Moscow's catching the imagination of the people" (All-Indian T. U. Bulletin). Instead, the P.P.T.U. Secretariat calls upon the Congress to defend the Soviet Union and repel the attacks of a common foe.

Our Secretariat wishes the Congress to note that the policy of the P.P.T.U. movement is one of progressive militant struggle upon every sector of the workers' front. There can be no compromise with the imperialists or native exploiters or their lackeys. We must prepare on every front to strengthen organized labor nationally and internationally, and for this reason we ask the delegates of the All-India Trade Union Congress assembled at Nagpur to decide to fill the gap left vacant by the decision of the Jharia Congress which resolved "That the consideration of the question of affiliation of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress with the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat be postponed for one year."

We have recently received the affiliation of the Malayan Federation of Labor with headquarters at Singapore. This Federation embodies the trade unions of several Malay States where so many Indians toil in absolute slavery—contract labor. The dynamic force of a struggling India will have enormous repercussions in every colonial and semi-colonial country and all our affiliated national trade union movements are anxious for your cooperation in a common struggle against a common enemy. Therefore we ask you to abandon all indecisiveness regarding your international connections, break off all relations with the imperialist I.L.O. intriguers, both at home and abroad, and take your logical place which the status of India assigns to you and join with the other organized and oppressed workers within the

Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. You are meeting at a most crucial moment in India's history and we hope your Congress will conclude as one of the most successful in the history of the Indian labor movement.

We remain,
With fraternal greetings,
TING-YU-LIN,
Chairman.
J. DAVIES,
Assistant General Secretary.

Developments in India

AS this magazine goes to press, unconfirmed reports from India state that the All-India Trade Union Congress voted to affiliate to the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, and that a leading left-winger, Comrade Bose, was elected to the highest leading body of the Congress.

Should this report prove correct, it must be taken as a sign of rapidly maturing events of historic significance in India. It can only be understood as the result of a tremendous movement of the masses, pressing their will upon a group of resisting, reactionary officials hitherto in control of the All-India T. U. C., headed by Mr. N. M. Joshi, who works hand in hand with the League of Nations and British imperialism. Under no condition should there be any illusions of a change of heart of the right-wing officials surrounding Mr. Joshi.

Among the leaders of the Indian trade union movement there are two camps, one aligned with imperialism and the native bourgeoisie, and the other fighting against imperialism and against the native exploiters. Both sides of this class struggle have their representatives in the All-India Trade Union Congress. Comrade Bose, or any other true left-winger, if elected to the leading committee of the All-India T. U. C. will prob-

ably find himself surrounded by a majority of the old right-wing camp, who will attempt to continue their same old line. It will be the duty of all left-wing representatives to give expression to the will of the masses; while participating in the leadership of the T. U. C., it will be their special duty to guard against this leadership being turned against the mass movement. It will be their special duty to continue the splendid advance of the left-wing unions, of the revolutionization of the masses, of the overthrow of the old right-wing policies which so long have hampered the development of the Indian trade union movement. It will be their duty, from their posts of responsibility, to mobilize the masses for struggle against imperialism and all its agents and against the native bourgeoisie which is suppressing the strike movement and betraying the cause of India's liberation by accepting "Dominion Status" a la MacDonald.

The same elements who betray the cause of independence are also the saboteurs of the strike struggles of the masses. Militant trade unions can only be built through struggle on both fields, which are only two sectors of one battlefield — the masses versus imperialism.

EARL BROWDER.