

Tasks of the Left Wing in India

(Continued)

II. The British Imperialists, alarmed by the rapid revolutionization process of the Indian proletariat, the slow but sure awakening of the peasantry, resulting in a new rising wave of the national movement of India, have launched a campaign of white terror against the labor movement all over the country. The streets of the industrial centres, especially in Bombay are deeply drenched with workers' blood. Hundreds of millions and Left Wing trade unionists are thrown into prisons. The labor press has been suppressed. The officers of the Left Wing trade unions and the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party have been ransacked. The strikes are being crushed by military force and hundreds of strikers killed. Compulsory arbitration is being forced upon the workers. Strikes of transport workers are outlawed. Likewise solidarity and political strikes are forbidden. Financial assistance to Indian striking workers by the proletariat of other countries is not permitted. Foreign-born revolutionaries are deported. This is the practical meaning of the recently promulgated "Public Safety Bill" and the "Trade Disputes Act."

Further, armed clashes between the Moslems and the Hindoos or the massacres of one native group of people by another on religious grounds, are being systematically instigated and provoked by the British spies and police. At the same time, the British imperialist agents are trying to bribe and organize the Moslem workers as strikebreakers and play them against the Hindu workers in the class struggle. All this is aimed at splitting the labor movement and stemming the revolutionary tide in India. The same bloody policies and massacres will continue to prevail during the present-so-called Labor Government. Ramsay MacDonald, Tom Shaw, Henderson & Co., being lackeys of British Imperialism, will be just as ruthless in crushing strikes, smashing revolutionary labor organizations and arresting militant workers as were the Tories with Baldwin and Chamberlain at the head.

Native Capitalist Betrayal.

The nationalist bourgeoisie menaced by the "red spectre" of the national revolutionary independence movement, by the rapidly approaching wave of the Indian national revolution under the hegemony of the proletariat, are deserting and betraying the struggles for national independence. The nationalist bourgeoisie have accepted the treacherous scheme of the "Dominion Status for India," and are compromising most shamelessly with the British imperialists at every turn and occasion.

Furthermore, the national bourgeoisie, if they are not officially and openly calling for the white terror of British Imperialism, yet are not fighting against it. In fact, the native bourgeoisie in supporting the enactment of the "Trade Disputes Bill" practically have helped to pave the way for the reign of British imperialist terror. Likewise, its luke-warm attitude and passivity in the face of the present offensive of British Imperialism is nothing but additional link in the long chain of treacherous actions which points to the passing over of the national bourgeoisie to a position of counter-revolution.

III. The brutal oppression of the toiling masses by British imperialism, the rationalization drive of British and Indian capital, the throwing out of work of hundreds of thousands of proletarians, and the rising of revolutionary spirit and fighting endurance among the toiling masses has resulted in a general sharpening of the class struggle. This in its turn, has brought about an intensified vacillating policies and half-measure activities within the ranks of the "Left" nationalists, J. Nehru, Bose, Chairman Lal, etc., the agents of the nationalist bourgeoisie in the labor movement, and to a whole line of class collaboration and social-imperialist actions by the trade union bureaucracies of M. Joshi, Bakhale & Co. the agents of British Imperialism.

Thus M. Joshi, Bakhale & Co., are sparing no efforts to prevent strikes against the British as well as against the native exploiters. They are sabotaging the strikes and trying to persuade the workers to en-

ter upon the road of compulsory arbitration and class collaboration. In addition to this M. Joshi, Kirk, Shiva, Rao, etc., are campaigning for the expulsion of the Left Wingers from "their" trade unions consciously splitting and weakening the fighting forces of the Indian proletariat. They in unison with British imperialists, and their agency—the General Council of the British TU Congress—are striving for annihilation of the Indian Left Wing trade unions and revolutionary political organizations. Moreover, M. Joshi, & Co. are not only "working hard" to smash the militant labor and peasant organizations in India, but are even making an attempt to disrupt the united front of the trade unions in the whole of the Far East.

In close co-operation with Bunji Suzuki (social-imperialist in Japan), Albert Thomas, and other lackeys of imperialism, they are scheming to undermine the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat. They are calling in opposition to the P. P. T. U. S. an "Asiatic Labor Conference" in Bombay next year. The Indian reformists, the Japanese social-imperialists, the Chinese counter-revolutionists, etc., are feeling keenly the spreading influence of the P.P.T.U.S. and the R. I. L. U. in the trade union movement in their respective countries.

The reformists of all shades know well that an affiliation to the P. P. T. U. S. means the intensification of the class struggle, the co-ordination and strengthening of the trade unions on the Pacific, the tremendous advancement of the national revolutionary movement. Consequently, this means a counter-attack against imperialism, capitalist exploitation, and the throwing into oblivion of the reformists. Hence, the calling of an "Asiatic Labor Conference" for the establishment of a social-reformist or counter-revolutionary "Labor" Centre in the Far East. Hence, the welcome of the British imperialists to such a "labor" Conference in India. Hence, the blessings of the Geneva "Labor Office," the General Council of the British Trade Union Conference, the Amsterdam International, and other agencies of the bourgeoisie. This also explains why the General Council of British Trade Union dares to attack and slander so viciously the striking and suffering textile workers of Bombay.

Although J. Nehru, Bose, Chaman Lal, etc., do not sabotage strikes taking place in the British-owned factories and enterprises, they, however, do everything possible to prevent strikes in the textile mills, metal works, etc., controlled by Indian capital. This was particularly evident during the strike of the metal workers at Jamshedpur last year. Therefore, wherever British imperialist domination and foreign capitalist competition to the national bourgeoisie is taking place J. Nehru, Bose, etc., are not in opposition to strikes. Of course, not for the benefit of the workers' interests but that of the national bourgeoisie. But insofar as the national bourgeoisie or Indian capitalist exploitation is concerned, Nehru, Bose, etc., are calling upon the workers to submit and not to strike.

Moreover, time and again the reformists of all shades (from M. Joshi to J. Nehru) have been co-operating against the Left Wing trade unions. This was glaringly demonstrated by the fact that J. Nehru undertook to run for the chairmanship of the All-India Trade Union Congress last year against the Left trade union candidate. And all owing to the support of M. Joshi & Co., J. Nehru was elected by a small majority. Undoubtedly, in the final analysis both types of reformist differ from each other mainly in phraseology but little in deeds.

It is also quite evident that J. Nehru, Bose, Chaman Lal, etc., being the exponents of the interests of the nationalist bourgeoisie within the labor movement, are hindering in every possible way the proletariat in its struggle for the hegemony of the national revolutionary independence movement of India.

Some Mistakes.

IV. Although the Left Wingers proved to be brave fighters in the workers' struggles, have gained wide influence and confidence of the masses, have organized many revolutionary mass unions (Girmi Kamgar, etc.) and factory committees, have led strikes and mass

demonstrations, etc., nevertheless, they have committed mistakes some of which we should mention here.

First of all, the Left Wing fails to draw a sufficiently sharp ideological line between itself and the nationalist reformists of the J. Nehru type, thus failing to prove to the masses: (a) that the nationalist reformists are sacrificing the interests of the workers for the interests of the nationalist bourgeoisie; (b) that they are co-operating with the Right Wingers (M. Joshi & Co.) in order to undermine and disrupt the Left Wing trade unions; (c) that the nationalist reformists should be discarded as labor leaders.

Secondly, owing to this ideological confusion our comrades do not always initiate and lead the mass struggles but rather find themselves at the tail end of developments. Thus the great Indian Railway Strike was postponed time and again though the workers pressed for the strike call. A great Indian Railway Strike at that time, combined with the simultaneously going on strikes of the South Indian Railway and the Bombay Textile Workers, would have been a strike of far-reaching effect and consequences.

Thirdly, the application of the united front tactics by the left wing in India was utterly wrong. For instance, during the Bombay textile strike last year the left wing leaders, even though the striking workers were opposing it, agreed to form a strike committee with the right wing bureaucrats on a fifty-fifty basis, and practically turned over the strike leadership to the labor traitors with the result that the strike was lost. At the same time the left wing leaders signed an agreement jointly with the right wing bureaucrats that the disputed questions shall go to arbitration as proposed by the capitalists. Evidently, our comrades failed to grasp the significance that the united front must not be effected from the top but from below, namely, that real assistance to the striking textile workers can only be rendered by the rank and file of the trade unions, or the working masses in general. Our comrades failed to grasp sufficiently clear that no reformist leaders or bureaucrats should be tolerated in strike committees or agreements should be signed jointly with them. The failure to emphasize that the united front must be effected from below and not from the top is also contained in the Trade Union Resolution adopted by the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party Conference in December, 1923.

Fourthly, a no less serious shortcoming is that the left wing does not always consolidate its ideological influence organizationally. Thus, the left wing had strong influence in the Tata steel strike, the Lillah strike, etc., but failed to entrench itself organizationally with the result that the petty bourgeois politicians and intellectuals are in control of the organization.

Lastly, a still more serious shortcoming is that the left wing trade unions are insufficiently co-ordinated and connected up under centralized leadership, and effective struggle against imperialism and reformism is impossible.

Therefore, in view of the current situation, the most important tasks of the left wing trade unions in India are as follows:

The strikers must be better prepared for, co-ordinated, the wide masses attracted and direct leadership undertaken by the left wing. Under no circumstance vacillating leaders and reformist or right wing bureaucrats should be elected or tolerated in strike committees. The strike demands should be discussed and popularized among the masses. For the success of the strikes it is absolutely necessary that the unorganized masses, the workers in industries not yet or slightly affected by the strike wave, such as transport, mining, plantation workers, etc., should be more and more drawn into the strikes. The strikes must not only be widened in scope but also deepened in content.

(To Be Continued)

STORM IMPERILS SEAMEN.

ST. JOHNS, Nfld., Sept. 2.—The 842-ton Norwegian freighter Ole Aarvold from Oslo grounded off Cape Pine at 2 a. m. today in a dense fog and a heavy south gale. The crew of 16 and two passengers reached land safely through the breaking seas.