

Immediate Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of India.

(Resolution Adopted by the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council.)

The colonial regime in India, leaning on the feudal relations in the country and having the support of the national bourgeoisie, has led to the extreme impoverishment of the national masses. The deepening crisis makes still more acute the slave-like exploitation of the working class and the toiling masses. Searching for a way out of the crisis, the imperialists, landlords and bourgeoisie, are transferring the entire burden onto the working class and the peasantry. The capitalist offensive on the miserable living standards of the workers is assuming incredible forms and dimensions. The semi-starvation wages are being cut as much as half; the abolition of the gold standard automatically still further lowers real wages; the intensification of labour is being increased incredibly; hundreds of thousands of workers are being thrown out onto the streets, particularly in the railway industry. The growing unemployed army is left without any means of subsistence. The sharpening agrarian crisis and the closing down of plantations dooms to debt-enslavement and starvation vast masses of agricultural labourers. Epidemics are increasing as the result of the starvation and exhausting work; the already high death rate among the workers is increasing still further; suicides of whole families, the sale of children, etc., are becoming more and more frequent. Exhaustive labour from sun-up to sun-down, miserable wages semi-starvation subsistence, and frequently even starvation—such is the fate of the Indian worker under the yoke of the British imperialists and Indian exploiters. The universal offensive against the working class is accompanied by the raging White Terror in the country. Mass arrests and shooting of striking workers, peasants who have been goaded beyond submission, of revolutionary youth and city poor, have become an everyday feature (Bengaluru, new Special Ordinances and repressions); the Meerut prisoners have now been languishing in jail nearly three years; workers' meetings and demonstrations are broken up; revolutionary labour organisations are persecuted; the evidence of the armed hirelings of the imperialists is sanctioned by the new punitive and anti-labour laws. The offspring of merchants and the hirelings of the National Congress, under the cloak of volunteers, compete with the hangmen of imperialism, and stage organised beatings-up of revolutionary workers (Bombay). By their suppression of the Indian labour and revolutionary movement MacDonald and the Labourites have prepared the way for a new imperialist offensive on India. This new offensive is the result of the failure of the Round Table Conference and the impossibility of putting down the growing revolutionary wave, despite the alliance between British imperialism and treacherous and counter-revolutionary Indian national-reformism. Bourgeois national-reformism, which sold out the textile workers' general strike in 1929 and called for the suppression of the peasant uprising in K'shorigandje ("Liberty", Bose's organ), systematically and planfully undermines the strike struggle and organisation of the working class, forces its arbitration and its trade union leadership on the working class in order to ensure the success of the joint attack of the imperialists, landlords, and capitalists, on the workers and toiling masses of India.

New Wave of Economic Struggles.

The wage cuts, capitalist rationalisation and mass dismissals, call forth active resistance among the broad masses of the workers, which assumes the character of counter-offensive struggles (Bombay, Sholapur, Nagpur, Kalol, etc.). The strike struggle, spreading throughout the country, is becoming more and more sharp in the key industries (textiles, transport) and in the chief working class centres (Bombay, Calcutta, Sholapur, etc.). Simultaneously, new sections of workers from various industries and far-flung districts are being drawn into the struggle, where the strike, as a weapon of the struggle, is being applied for the first time (leather workers in Bombay, food and drink workers in Madras, etc.). A remarkable and new feature are the agricultural labourers' strikes in Tirpur, South India, and the heading of the peasant movements in Berar by agricultural labourers. The strike wave, however, does not develop uniformly: the miners

and metal workers up to the present have been drawn into the struggle very weakly, and the vast masses of plantation workers have not been drawn in at all. The striking workers display great militancy and determination. The overwhelming majority of strikes are declared spontaneously, despite the calls of the T.U. bureaucracy "to make sacrifices in the difficult situation which the country is passing through". Despite the selling out of strikes by the National Congress and the reformist leaders through arbitration, and likewise by open and concealed strikebreaking, out of 110 strikes in the first half of 1931, under the pressure of the masses 27 ended in complete or partial victory for the workers. The strikers, despite the reformists' appeals for "no violence", enter upon street battles with the police (Calcutta, Bombay), confiscate provisions (Calcutta), and in Bengaluru it was only the mass shooting down of workers by police detachments (6 killed and 20 wounded) that compelled the strikers to leave the factories. Several strikes developed into political movements against imperialism, against the National Congress (Sholapur), assuming a revolutionary, national character. The entire strike struggle of the Indian working class in the present conditions is of a profoundly political character.

Fighting for independent leadership in the strike struggle, the revolutionary wing is beginning to apply the experience and methods of the revolutionary trade union movement. Independently leading the 20,000 strike in Sholapur and the two strikes of Bombay textile workers in the "Madhovi Dharamsi" factory, the revolutionary wing during these strikes carried out widespread mass work, elected strike committees and factory committees, carried out mass picketing, called mass meetings, organised mass demonstrations, and got the struggle transferred to a higher level.

However, despite a certain enlivening and activity of the revolutionary wing of the Indian T.U. Movement in independently leading economic struggles (Bombay, Sholapur), the overwhelming majority of even the largest spontaneous strikes passes by the revolutionary wing. The Revolutionary Wing lags behind the rate of growth of the militancy of the masses and the development of the economic struggles. This was revealed particularly clearly in the spontaneous strike of 100,000 Calcutta jute workers (1931) and in the strike on the G.I.P. railroad (1930). The revolutionary wing frequently does not expose the undermining work and the treachery of the reformist T.U. bureaucracy, fights insufficiently against the "Conciliation Boards", the nomination of which is demanded by the "left" national-reformists (Kandalkar, Bose, Ruikar), does not heed the masses who are clamouring for the struggle, etc.

The chief lessons arising from the recent strike struggle are as follows:

1. The new widespread wave of the strike struggle, the new broad sections of the proletariat that are being drawn into the strikes, the stubbornness of the struggle, and the intertwining of economic strikes with political movements of the workers (revolutionary mass demonstrations), the demands of the working masses for a general strike on the railroads, etc., prove definitely that the "left" national-reformists of Roy, Kandalkar & Co., and other "socialist" lackeys of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, in calling upon the workers to apply "purely defensive measures and for reconciliation with the capitalists, acting under the screen of the National Congress, persuading the workers against preparing for the general strike and the independent revolutionary struggle, are carrying out the counter-revolutionary policy of the Indian bourgeoisie.

2. The defeat of most strikes is to be explained not only by the terror of the imperialists and the employers, but chiefly by the sell-out of the strikes by the National Congress, through forcing its arbitration on the workers, by the heading and betrayal of strikes by reformist leaders, especially by "left" national reformists: by the weakness and smallness of the class trade unions; the absence of centralised revolutionary leadership; and the lagging behind of the revolutionary wing in the growing revolutionary struggles of the working class.

3. The chief shortcoming of the revolutionary wing in the leadership of the economic struggle is its passive attitude to the wave of spontaneous strikes (with the exception of Bombay). In addition to this, the passive attitude of the revolutionary wing to strikes headed by reformists, its inability to apply the united front from below, and to win the leadership of strikes from the reformists, the insufficient activity of the supporters of the revolutionary wing in the factories, and the weak development of the solidarity movement, the failure to link up the economic struggle with the anti-imperialist struggle of the national masses, retard the unification of the scattered but militant strikes, hinder the extension of the strike struggle and prevent its transfer to a higher level.

4. The revolutionary wing practically does not take advantage of the militancy of the masses in the strike struggle in order to extend the revolutionary unions, to set up new mass unions and revolutionary T.U. Oppositions. The experience gained in setting up the Girni Kamgar Union shows us that it is possible and necessary at the height of the strike struggle to set up new revolutionary unions and factory committees. The absence of mass class unions, the absence of rank and file revolutionary T. U. organisations and factory committees, retard the independent leadership of economic struggles and their revolutionisation. This circumstance greatly helps the reformists, particularly the "left" national-reformists, to develop their treacherous activities. In view of this, despite the rapid and powerful growth of the strike movement, we observe partially a stagnation and partially a drop in T.U. organisation. Breaking away from the bureaucratic reformist unions, the workers find no support and prop in the revolutionary T.U. organisations.

5. The Sholapur strike has shown the great importance of manifesting timely initiative in heading the workers' struggle, of the widespread application of mass methods in the leadership and conduct of strikes, etc. These methods must be popularised in all possible ways. The representatives of the revolutionary wing, in directing this strike, maintained the correct principle that the strikers should wage the struggle for the streets. Mass demonstrative processions, meetings, etc., have tremendous influence on the fighting workers, on the development and extension of the struggle.

6. The insufficiently determined struggle of the revolutionary T.U. Opposition in the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union against the "Left" National-Reformists, Ruikar & Co., their belated exposure, the absence of an organisationally crystallised revolutionary T.U. Opposition in the union, considerably retard the preparations for and declaration of a strike on the railroad over the heads of the T.U. bureaucrats, and at the same time disorganise and undermine the declaration of the maturing general railwaymen's strike in India. The further intensification of the struggle against the "left" reformists (Kandalkar, Ruikar & Co.), the extension of the positions won in the union (winning rank and file links), the strengthening of the press of the revolutionary wing, and its popularisation among the masses, constitute the prerequisite for developing the mass struggles of the railwaymen and strengthening the revolutionary wing.

A thorough study of the strike struggle as a whole, of each individual strike, and a careful consideration of the experience of strikes constitute the necessary condition for successful independent leadership of the working class struggles, for correct and concrete leadership in each separate strike.

The Struggle of the Masses.

The upsurge in the strike movement takes place against the background of the broad masses of peasantry and city poor being drawn into the struggle for their vital demands. We see the growing disappointment and open dissatisfaction with the treacherous policy of the National Congress. The growing readiness for the struggle, which in some parts of the country breaks out spontaneously (Cashmere, Cawnpore, United Provinces, Sholapur, etc.), is accompanied by the growing desire to organise and come forward in a united front against imperialism and the native exploiters. Everywhere conferences, meetings, etc., are being called, local organisations and groups are formed seeking for a way out of the position of slavery and poverty in which the national masses of the country are kept. This is becoming more and more characteristic for an appreciation of the present situation in India.

In these conditions the national bourgeoisie, through their organisations (the National Congress, etc.) and their "left"

detachments (Bose, Nehru, Roy group), endeavour by all means in their power to retain their influence over the workers and peasants and to keep the leadership in their hands, to prevent, and retard the establishment of mass revolutionary trade unions. In the new situation the bourgeoisie use new methods in their endeavours to prevent the working class from freeing itself of the influence of national-reformism and coming forward with an independent class platform at the head of the workers and peasants in the struggle for its vital needs, for the independence of the country, and for the abolition of all feudal survivals.

The struggle between national reformism on the one hand and the proletarian vanguard and the revolutionary T.U. movement on the other hand, the splits in the T.U. Movement (Girni Kamgar Union, Calcutta Session of the Trade Union Congress), the entire struggle of the last two years, sharply characterise the struggle of the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the camps of revolution and counter-revolution, between the fighters for independence of the country and the bourgeois betrayers of national freedom.

A careful study of the experience of this struggle shows that the revolutionary T.U. Movement still has a number of serious weaknesses. Without the overcoming of these weaknesses the working class will not only be unable to take the leadership of the struggle of the toiling masses, but will be unable even to successfully organise the defence of its own day-to-day interests.

The revolutionary T.U. Movement is still unorganised in the chief districts of the country. The local groups and red trade unions are not connected with each other, they do not possess a clear-cut programme, do not support the strike movements of the workers outside of their own towns. The red trade unions are for the most part top organisations, not connected with the working masses; they do not put forward worker-militants, do not carry on work in the factories, and frequently, in practice pursue organisational-bureaucratic methods in their work, borrowed from the reformists. In actual fact there is no all-India revolutionary trade union movement as such. The Bombay organisations of the revolutionary T.U. movement, being the foremost as regards connections with the masses, the most class-consistent in their policy and accumulated experience of the class struggle, are in no way characteristic for the whole country. In such centres, so important for the fate of the Indian proletariat, as Calcutta, and others, the revolutionary T.U. Movement is only taking its first steps. Such big strikes as the strike of 100,000 jute workers, occur without the participation of the revolutionary elements of the T.U. Movement. The Bombay organisations of the revolutionary T.U. Movement have not once succeeded in undertaking real assistance to the other districts of the country, in giving assistance to the jute workers' strikes in Calcutta, and heading the movement for the establishment of an All-India class trade union movement, and taking in their hands the leadership of the class struggles which are of a national character (for instance, the railwaymen's struggle). This indicates the weakness and provincialism, even of the most advanced groups of the revolutionary trade union movement.

A great shortcoming of the revolutionary wing is that it frequently does not display sufficient initiative, and does not react in time to most important questions which agitate the workers and the national masses. The revolutionary wing carries on practically no mass work in the factories. In particular, a widespread pre-Congress campaign was not developed inside the factories and the reformist unions in preparation for the Eleventh Session of the Trades Union Congress. With very few exceptions (G.I.P. Railroad) activities in the reformist unions are not conducted. A great defect in the mass work of the revolutionary wing is the weakly developed activities among the unemployed. Again, the revolutionary wing has not penetrated at all, up to the present, into the vast masses of agricultural and plantation workers. There is practically no revolutionary labour press.

Serious mistakes were also made by the revolutionary wing at the Calcutta Session of the Trade Union Congress. The representatives of the revolutionary trade union movement failed to put forward and place in the centre of the Session's attention the fundamental political problems, and likewise questions affecting the day-to-day needs of the working class; they failed to show skilful resistance to the national-reformists, who endeavoured to split the Congress on organisational issues and to lay the formal responsibility on the

revolutionary wing for the split prepared for and carried out by them; they did not display firmness in carrying out their decision to remain in the Congress as long as at all possible, fighting against expulsions and exposing the national reformists.

Finally, the struggle of the revolutionary wing against the "left" national-reformists suffers from tremendous shortcomings. As a general rule the revolutionary wing's struggle against the "left" national-reformists is more defensive than offensive. Moreover, although on the whole the revolutionary wing has recently waged a resolute struggle against "left" national-reformism and its latest edition, the group of the renegade Roy, there are still theories among some representatives of the revolutionary trade union movement that some responsible leaders of Roy's "left" national reformist group are good revolutionary elements, that they have fallen into the counter-revolutionary camp not because of their reformist tendencies and profound political differences with the revolutionary T.U. movement, but owing to purely accidental or personal reasons. The essential condition for the further growth and strengthening of the revolutionary labour movement is a most resolute struggle against such theories, which gloss over the need for a sharp dissociation and relentless struggle against the "left" national-reformists and their most harmful variety, the Roy-Kandalkar group.

The situation in the revolutionary T.U. movement is taken advantage of by the bourgeoisie, in order to disorganise the workers' strike struggle (Nagpur, Ahmedabad, railways, etc.) and to prevent, disorganise, the impending anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in the country. In order to retain their influence over the workers and peasants, the Indian bourgeoisie are applying new methods and manoeuvres, acting through their organisations (the National Congress, etc.), and organising and supporting the "left" detachments in the labour movement.

The National Congress endeavours to win the leadership of the working class and to gain its confidence, coming out as a "fighter" against imperialism, as the "champion" of the interests of the workers and toiling masses. The bourgeoisie skilfully take advantage of the anti-imperialist sentiments of the masses. In words, the National Congress passes loud-sounding resolutions calling for national independence, for the struggle against imperialism, with regard to the "rights of the people", makes itself out to be the friend and defender of the working class ("Labour week", etc.); actually, however, the National Congress shamefully and openly capitulates to British imperialism, at each step betrays the workers' struggle, forces its arbitration on the striking workers, following the example of the blood-thirsty Kuomintang of China, actively participates in the suppression of strikes (Sholapur, Kurla); openly helps imperialism in exploiting the peasantry (National Congress detachments collecting taxes for the government), and wholly justifies and supports the White Terror of the Labour, and later of the Conservative Government.

The National Congress, compromised in the eyes of the broad masses by its anti-labour and anti-national policy, is now putting forward in order to deceive the masses its "left" wing (Bose, Ruikar & Co.), who are endeavouring to win the masses with the help of "left" demagogues (talks about "full-blooded Indian socialism, hypocritical "protests" against the National Congress, etc.). However, the support to the Gandhi-Irwin agreement by the "left" National Congressists, the treachery of Ruikar, Djinwala & Co., in the G.L.P. Railwaymen's the selling out of a number of other strikes, the active part played by Bose ("Liberty") in suppressing the rebelling peasants in Kishorigandje, the sabotage of the struggle for the liberation of the Meerut prisoners, etc., is more and more exposing to the masses the treacherous counter-revolutionary face of the "left" National Congressists.

The national bourgeoisie have recently put into the forefront, in order to assist the "left" wing of the National Congress, a new "left" division, Roy's renegade group, giving it the most responsible task in disorganising the proletarian vanguard and the revolutionary T.U. movement, and likewise in effecting joint leadership of all the work carried on by the national-reformists in the labour movement, under the general supervision of the bourgeoisie. Roy's group is endeavouring to win the working masses with the help of still more refined "left" demagogues than that even of the "left" wing of the National Congress.

Roy, Kandalkar, Sheikh, Kabadi & Co., in words swear

their loyalty to Communism, their sincere support of the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Revolution. Taking into consideration the fallen authority of the National Congress in the eyes of the working masses, Roy & Co. advocate the "proletarianisation" of the National Congress and its conquest "from within", and are setting up a Revolutionary Workers' Party, supposed to be independent of the National Congress. Roy & Co. are displaying great activity in heading spontaneous strikes. In receipt of large sums from the National bourgeoisie, Roy, Kandalkar & Co., under the flag of the unity of the labour movement and the class struggle, are developing widespread agitational-mass and organisational work; they call mass meetings and demonstrations, carry out the "Labour Day", "Labour Week" campaigns, organise trade unions, factory committees, T.U. schools, create T.U. actives, publish a "labour" press and literature, etc.

Thus, cloaking themselves with phrases about communism, the unity of the labour movement, the class struggle, the Roy group endeavours in this manner to win the labour movement and subordinate it to the political leadership of the national bourgeoisie.

The anti-labour, anti-national, and counter-revolutionary policy of Roy, Kandalkar & Co. is also seen in their sell-out and undermining of the workers' strike struggle (Bombay tramwaymen, textile workers in Bombay, Nagpur, etc.) and government "Conciliation Boards" and "Courts of Inquiry" (B. B. & C. India Railway and the G.L.P. Railway); in their furious struggle against the preparations for and declaring of a general strike and undermining of the maturing railwaymen's strike; in their campaign for the treacherous National Congress and subjugation of the working class to it ("The working class is the hands and feet of the National Congress"); in their condemnation of the Nagpur Trade Union Congress, i. e., repudiation of the struggle for independence and of the participation of the proletariat in the anti-imperialist struggle; in the establishment of a united counter-revolutionary front with the agents of imperialism (Joshi group) and the splitting of the Indian trade union movement. Kandalkar, Roy, Sheikh & Co., split the Bombay Girni Kamgar textile worker's union. Jointly with Ruikar, Bose & Co., on the directions of the "Revolutionary Workers' Party" (Manifesto to the Eleventh Session of the Trades Union Congress), they split the All India Trades Union Congress at the Calcutta Session. Both the "left" national reformists of the National Congress (Ruikar, Bose & Co.), and the "left" national reformists of the "Revolutionary Workers' Party" (Roy, Kandalkar & Co.), as well as the agents of imperialism in the labour movement (Joshi, Shiva Rao, Giri & Co.) unite together on the basis of Kandalkar's "unity" platform for joint intensified struggle against the revolutionary trade union movement, to undermine the workers' strike struggle, to undermine the united fighting front of the Indian working class, to delay the masses from going over to the side of the revolutionary wing, to subjugate the labour movement to the National Congress and the national bourgeoisie. All these "lefts", Boses, Ruikars, Kandalkars, Roys, Sheikhs, etc., and the pseudo-revolutionary organisations ("Revolutionary Workers' Party", etc.), are but various feelers, with the help of which the Indian bourgeoisie endeavour to seize, disarm, and strangle the labour movement of India.

In the struggle for the masses, however, the "left" national reformists from day to day continually meet with more determined resistance from the masses themselves, more determined opposition and exposure by the revolutionary T.U. Movement and the Communist Party. Already during the "Labour Week" campaign organised by the National Congress (1930), the revolutionary wing opposed national reformism, the policy of Kandalkar to subject the Girni Kamgar Union to the National Congress, and exposed the counter-revolutionary character of the non-violence advocated by the National Congress and Gandhi.

The struggle for the masses between the revolutionary T.U. Movement and "left" national reformism has become particularly sharp since the open capitulation of the national bourgeoisie to British imperialism. The Revolutionary wing, in connection with the Gandhi-Irwin agreement and Gandhi's departure for the Round Table Conference, intensified its campaign to win over the masses and to expose the National Congress and its "left" agents. The revolutionary wing organises political demonstrations and meetings in Bombay against imperialism, against the national bourgeoisie and reformism of all shades. The revolutionary wing and the

revolutionary vanguard of the working class, in opposition to the demonstrations of the National Congress and the national reformist trade unions, organise their own revolutionary counter-demonstrations. The struggle for the masses, the struggle for the streets, leads to open collisions between the revolutionary workers and the supporters of the National Congress (Gandhi's departure for London). Under the leadership of the revolutionary wing the strike of 20,000 workers in Sholapur developed into a militant political movement against the National Congress, against Gandhi-ism. The revolutionary trade unions in Bombay organise movements of the working masses in support of the developing peasant struggle (Burma peasant day).

The struggle between the revolutionary wing and the "left" national reformists for the masses is also intensified in the process of the development of the strike struggle. During the last few months the revolutionary wing has successfully directed the strikes of the Bombay textile workers (in the Madjevji Dharamsi factory). The revolutionary wing successfully wrested the leadership of the strikes in Sholapur and Kurla from the reformists. Characteristic features of the strikes led by the revolutionary wing are mass meetings and demonstrations, picketing, the election of strike committees, factory committees, house-to-house agitation (Sholapur), the organisation of solidarity meetings and strikes (during the strike in Kurla), the open collisions between the supporters of the Revolutionary Wing and the national reformists for the leadership of the strikes (in the "Atlas", "Toio Podar" factories in Bombay), the struggle for working class unity. By independently leading the textile workers' strikes in Sholapur, Bombay and Kurla, and exposing the T.U. bureaucrats, particularly the reformist leaders of all shades at the "unity" conference in Bombay, the revolutionary wing has greatly raised its prestige among the working masses. Recently, in its struggle for the masses the revolutionary wing has also strengthened its organisational work on the basis of the growing militancy of the masses. The revolutionary wing has carried out energetic work to organise the textile workers' conference in Bombay, for the calling of the young workers' conference in Bombay, for the organisation of local unions in Sholapur (textile) and in Bihar and Oris (metal workers). It is precisely the intensification of the struggle for the masses and the growth of the revolutionary wing that led to the break-away of the national-reformists headed by Bose, Kandalkar and Ruikar, at the session of the Trades Union Congress in Calcutta.

The split in the trade union movement in Calcutta and the establishment of a new revolutionary T.U. centre—the Revolutionary Trades Union Congress—constitutes one of the most important events in the Indian trade union movement during the past year. The Calcutta Session of the Trades Union Congress was the culminating point of a furious struggle waged by the reformists to expel the revolutionary elements from the Indian trade union movement. Shirking the struggle on political questions, the national-reformists pursued the line to expel the revolutionary elements for formal reasons (authority of mandates, etc.). The entire responsibility for the new split in the T.U. movement lies with the national-reformists, and it is the task of the revolutionary trade union movement to explain to the broad masses of the working class the national reformists' responsibility for this split in the light of the entire struggle waged by reformism against the revolutionary T.U. movement.

All this indicates that the revolutionary T.U. movement of India has recently sharply dissociated itself from the "left" national-reformists, that under the leadership of the revolutionary wing and the revolutionary vanguard the working class is waging an ever-sharper struggle against the bourgeoisie to win the leadership in the growing revolution. The central task at the present time is precisely, on the basis of participating in the economic and political working class struggle, on the basis of organising this struggle, seriously and systematically to start establishing mass, class, trade unions, leaning on factory committees, to set up an all-India revolutionary T.U. Movement, and likewise to take the initiative not only in the struggle for the masses, but also to come forward on the all-India area, to wage the struggle for the leadership of the Indian proletariat. Only by following this line, determinedly fighting the scattered character, and provincialism of the revolutionary T.U. organisations, will it be possible to establish a powerful class trade union movement,

to consolidate the united fighting front of the working class, to smash, under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard, the national reformists, and to effect the hegemony of the proletariat in the national struggle.

Summing up the general results, it must be recorded that while "the year 1930 marked a turning point in the history of the movement; a further development of the revolutionary upsurge took place, based on the experience of the previous struggles of the working class, the general growth of the political militancy of the workers, the wide masses of the petty bourgeoisie in the towns and, in part, the peasantry" (resolution of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress), 1931 is characterised by the rapid differentiation in the national-emancipatory movement in view of the open alliance between the national bourgeoisie and imperialism, the break-away of considerable sections of the workers and toiling masses from the National Congress, the consolidation of the working class as an independent political force. A characteristic feature is that a new powerful wave of economic struggles is growing, that new sections of the working class are being drawn into the strike movement, including the agricultural labourers, that the economic strikes develop into the political struggle of the working class against imperialism and the National Congress and intertwine with the purely political movements of the proletariat, that the peasant movement is extending and deepening, going over to open forms of the revolutionary struggle (the uprisings in Burma, Berar, Bengalee). All the prerequisites for the general strike are maturing. The revolutionary crisis in the country is deepening.

Immediate Tasks of the Indian T.U. Movement.

On the basis of the above appraisal of the situation in India the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council considers that the basis of the policy for the Indian T.U. movement should be the organisation of the proletariat for the offensive against the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie, for the determined struggle for the majority of the working class, for proletarian leadership in the growing anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in India.

1. The All Indian united working class front to fight for the interests of the working class and the toiling masses— such is the militant watchword of the revolutionary T.U. Movement. The insolent offensive of the imperialists and Indian exploiters must be answered by organised working class resistance on a national scale. The development of the economic struggles for the day-to-day demands of the working masses, particularly on the railroads; independent leadership of these struggles; the conquest of the leadership in the numerous spontaneous strikes; the revolutionisation of economic struggles; the establishment of mass class trade unions—this is the only way to mobilise the working class, to consolidate it and prepare it for the determined offensive, for the general strike, for the struggle for their vital demands and the leadership of the movement of the masses.

The revolutionary wing must place in the centre of its attention the greatest possible defence of the workers' day-to-day needs, on the basis taking into consideration their concrete demands and the concrete situation. Independent leadership of the economic struggles, first of all heading the spontaneous strikes that break out universally, constitute the link that must be grasped by the revolutionary wing at the present time in order to extend its influence over the masses. The revolutionary wing must wage most determined and consistent struggle against the seizure of leadership in the spontaneous strikes by the reformist T.U. bureaucracy (by the "left" national reformists, etc.), against interference in the strikes by the National Congress, or its arbitration, against the government "Conciliation Boards" and "Courts of Inquiry", etc.

The revolutionary wing, heading the spontaneous strike movement, must at the same time intensify its work to thoroughly prepare for independent conduct of strikes. Timely drawing up and widespread discussion of the demands at workers' meetings, the election of Fighting Committees (strike-preparations committees, strike committees, etc.), and the non-admission in these of the reformist leaders, the organisation of mass picketing, formation of self-defence corps, mass meetings and demonstrations, the stubborn fight for the streets, relentless exposure of the National Congress and the reformists of all shades, must be carried out by the revolutionary wing, as a general rule, in the course of the strike struggle.

The revolutionary wing must not take up a passive at-

titude to the strikes headed by the reformist leaders. On the basis of the united front from below (sending workers' delegations, collections, etc.), it must penetrate into the masses of strikers and develop a widespread campaign among them for the leadership of the strikes being effected by the workers themselves through their elected strike committees, for driving out the reformist leaders of all shades. Simultaneously, a resolute struggle must be waged against arbitration and behind-the-scenes negotiations between the reformist leaders and the employers. On the basis of concrete facts it is necessary to expose the treachery of the reformists and develop a systematic struggle to free the masses from the influence of the reformists, and to bring them over to the side of the revolutionary T.U. movement.

The revolutionary wing must pay particular attention to the railwaymen. On the basis of the concrete demands it must develop a widespread and energetic campaign against all kinds of "Courts of Inquiry", or "Conciliation Boards", and intensify its campaign to expose the treacherous policy and tactics of Giri, Mehta, Ruikar, etc. The revolutionary wing must set up strike-preparations committees on all railways. Must call strike conferences of representatives from the strike-preparations committees and delegates from workers' meetings, and prepare for, and declare over the heads of the reformist leaders and the government "Court of Inquiry", the railwaymen's general strike. Determined measures must be taken for these purposes to set up contact and the united front from below between the railwaymen of all Indian railways. First and foremost work must be concentrated on the G.I.P. and the Bengal-Nagpur railroads, where the workers, despite the efforts of the reformists, took a resolution in November 1931 for the general strike.

If it restricts itself to the defensive struggle only, and simply to defending the economic interests of the workers, the revolutionary T.U. Movement will fail to carry out its tasks. The revolutionary wing must adopt the firm line to develop the offensive character of the struggle, to revolutionise it. To revolutionise strikes means the ability to link up the day-to-day demands of the workers with the general class demands of the working class and the ability to link up the economic working class struggle with the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle of the national masses. And only that political slogan will be most useful which is closely linked up with the course and the situation of the economic disputes going on, which extends the struggle and imparts a national character to it, i. e., the character of a struggle of the broad masses of workers, peasants, and city poor. It is precisely in this way that the revolutionary wing will be able to mobilise the masses for the struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis.

2. The revolutionary wing must develop a determined struggle of the unemployed jointly with the employed for immediate relief to the unemployed and their families on the basis of the following demands: confiscate the rice stocks from the government and the profiteers, distribution of rice, free housing, free transportation and municipal services, special sick benefits in case of accidents, etc. These immediate practical partial demands must be linked up with the general slogans and demands of the unemployed: 1. Obligatory non-contributory social insurance; 2. Part time workers to receive full pay; 3. Unemployment benefits to be paid to all unemployed, and to amount to full wages; 4. Free the political prisoners; 5. Active support to the peasants in the non-payment of rents and taxes.

The revolutionary wing must take the initiative to organise the election of Unemployed Committees on the basis of the broadest participation of all the unemployed. Such committees should be elected by the unemployed wherever they are concentrated in large masses. In turn the local Unemployed Committees are to elect committees for the given town or province. Representatives from the workers in jobs should be elected to these committees. The whole of the unemployed struggle must be developed on the basis of the united front with the employed workers. The unemployed struggle must be linked up with the strike movement and with the struggle against imperialism. All efforts must be exerted to get the employed workers to participate actively and support the unemployed struggle, and vice versa, to get the unemployed to participate actively in the struggle of the employed workers. The revolutionary wing must take measures to train the unemployed who are returning to the villages how to carry on activities among the agricultural labourers

and peasants. The revolutionary wing must maintain regular connections with the unemployed who return to the villages. A profoundly important task of the revolutionary wing is the establishment of the closest connections between the revolutionary T.U. movement and the peasant masses, in particular, through the unemployed.

3. The increasing desire of the working masses for militant class unity, like the upsurge of the strike wave, is caused by the desire of the working masses to show determined revolutionary resistance to attacking imperialism and capital. Unity of the class T.U. movement will remain but a wish unless, in accordance with the growth of the struggle in all industries and parts of the country, the need is taken into consideration to wage a most stubborn, resolute, and irreconcilable struggle for the establishment of a **national united front of the working class, from the advanced textile workers of Bombay to the vast masses of agricultural labourers**. In order practically and really to master the tasks of this struggle a strictly differentiated approach to each individual group of the working class which occupies a special position in the sense of its professional-industrial interests, must be used. A special platform of demands for each such group must be drawn up, which should take into consideration the already developed class struggle, the extent of organisation and class consciousness in the given group.

The struggle for trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle programme is the struggle for the majority of the working class, is the application of the united front from below in practice. The struggle commenced by the revolutionary wing for unity from below on the basis of the class struggle should be waged first and foremost in the factories and in the rank and file links of the reformist unions. The revolutionary wing must, now particularly, when the wave of economic struggles is on the upsurge and the activities of the National Congress and reformist T.U. bureaucracy are increasing in undermining and selling out strikes, in disintegrating and splitting the T.U. organisations, carry out, by the determined and undeviating application of the united front from below, the unity of the working masses in action, in the struggle against capital, against the reformist T.U. bureaucracy. The revolutionary wing must develop a widespread campaign among the membership of the reformist unions and the unorganised workers for the united front from below, for T.U. unity on the basis of the militant fighting programme, against the unity of the reformist leaders of all shades, in opposition to the reactionary reformist bureaucratic unity of the imperialist agents Joshi, Shiva Rao & Co. with the agents of the national Congress Mehta, Ruikar and their "left" colleagues, Roy, Kandalkar & Co.

Having suffered a dismal defeat at the Round Table Conference, Indian bourgeois-national reformism is intensifying its disintegrating counter-revolutionary work among the masses. It is having recourse to radical phrases and opposition gestures to paralyse once more the struggle of the masses for the revolutionary way out of the situation. Now more than ever before the revolutionary trade union movement must oppose both to imperialism, and to national-reformism which is assisting the former, systematic and planful preparations for the general strike. The task of the revolutionary T.U. Movement is to take its stand at the head of the proletarian mass preparations for the general strike from below, on the basis of the developing economic struggle and the political movements of the workers. In order to arrive successfully at the general strike, to prevent bourgeois national-reformism from disorganising and demoralising the workers and the toiling masses with the help of new manoeuvres, it is necessary to take the initiative in the practically counter-offensive struggle. At the same time relentlessly resisting the opportunist tendencies shown on the part of some representatives of the revolutionary wing who demand the withdrawal of the general strike slogan as one unable at the present stage to mobilise the working masses.

The fighting programme of the R.I.L.U. supporters should consist of the following demands: 1. Preparations for the general strike to fight for our vital demands, drive the imperialists out and complete independence of India, the eight-hour working day, confiscate the land of the landlords and imperialists, establish the power of the workers and peasants; 2. No dismissals, no wage cuts; reinstatement of all workers dismissed on the railroads, reinstatement of all workers dismissed from the factories; 3. Introduction of the eight-hour working day regardless of official channels, drive all the

jobbers, sirdars, etc., out of the factories, workers to be taken on only through elected factory committees; 4. Non-contributory social insurance and immediate relief to the unemployed; confiscate rice stocks from the government and the profiteers, and distribute the rice to the unemployed; 5. The moneys assigned for the army, police, courts, pensions for English officials, for the "national debt" to English imperialism, and likewise for the purchase of the railways from the private companies, to be converted for unemployment benefits for totally and partially unemployed in industry and agriculture, and likewise for the ruined peasantry and city poor; 6. Organisation of workers' and national-revolutionary self-defence against police violence, and protection of strikes, meetings, demonstrations, and revolutionary organisations; 7. Immediate abolition of all taxes on the toilers, cessation of tax payments, refusal to pay taxes and levies, rent and usurious interest imposed on the workers, peasants, and handicraftsmen. Not a single anna to the government and its allies the parasites and oppressors of the Indian toiling masses! Support, by strikes, demonstrations and collections, for the revolutionary peasant struggle! 8. Complete freedom of strikes, meetings, labour organisations, press and picketing! Down with all police interference in the class struggle! Down with the arbitration of the National Congress and collaboration with the capitalists! 9. Minimum wage of 50 rupees, labour protection; 10. Immediate liberation of all political prisoners, immediate cessation of all arrests by the imperialist violators; 11. Organise an all-India General Strike Fund; 12. Down with the counter-revolutionary agreement between the National Congress and imperialism; 13. Down with the deception perpetrated by the National Congress and its agents!

4. Both the strike struggle and the struggle for T.U. unity must be linked up closely with the organisational reinforcement of the revolutionary wing's political influence. The inability to link up organisational-mass work with the working class struggles going on, and generally the under-estimation by the revolutionary wing of organisational work, make themselves felt at each step. A fundamental improvement must be brought about in the whole of organisational work.

a) The Revolutionary Wing must set up a widespread network of rank and file organs. Revolutionary T.U. groups must be set up in all enterprises, in the transport industry, in the plantations. The factory groups should be recruited from among the unorganised workers and the workers belonging to the reformist unions. The factory group must always take the initiative in formulating the workers' demands, in calling mass meetings, organising and directing Fighting Committees, strike committees, should set up factory committees despite all the obstacles erected by the employers and the police.

b) The most urgent task of the Revolutionary Wing is the establishment of revolutionary mass unions for the jute workers, dockers, and metal workers of Calcutta. The passivity on the part of the revolutionary wing towards the working class of Calcutta must be resolutely overcome. At the same time the revolutionary wing must exert efforts to establish in the near future a union for the metal workers of Jamshedpur, a Djarja miners' union, and to set up revolutionary unions in Madras.

c) The revolutionary wing must take more determined steps to strengthen the revolutionary Girmi Kamgar Union. Stubborn work must be developed not only among the textile workers of Bombay but also in Sholapur, Ahmedabad and Nagpur, setting up in these places branches of the Girmi Kamgar Union, and thus turning it into a powerful revolutionary textile workers' industrial union for the whole of India. Town, regional, etc., conferences of workers' representatives from the factories must be called to discuss and draw up concrete demands for the textile workers and organisational measures. The initiative must be wrested from the reformists for the establishment of an All-India Federation of Textile Workers.

d) The revolutionary wing must pay far more attention than heretofore to activities inside the reformist unions. Work to win the masses from the influence of the reformist leaders of all shades must be carried on insistently and systematically. For this purpose the supporters of the Revolutionary Wing must sharply criticise the T.U. bureaucracy and the National Congress at all workers' meetings, and conferences, called by the reformists, and present in popular language to the workers the revolutionary wing's programme of action. Concrete demands and a concrete plan of work must be drawn up for each union, and the supporters of the revolutionary wing inside the reformist unions must be activated to the

maximum. The revolutionary wing must set up and organisationally crystallise revolutionary T.U. Opposition groups inside all the big reformist unions (railwaymen's unions, textile workers' unions in Bombay, Madras, Nagpur, etc., seamen's and dockers' unions in Bombay and Calcutta). The revolutionary T.U. Opposition must wage the struggle for T.U. democracy, for the proletarianisation of the T.U. apparatus from the top to the bottom, for the election of workers from production to leading posts, to drive the bourgeois lawyers and all agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialism from the trade unions.

e) A most important factor for the strengthening of the revolutionary T.U. Movement is the ideological strengthening and organisational crystallisation of the revolutionary T.U. Opposition inside the railwaymen's unions, particularly in the G.I.P. Railwaymen's union, where there are large sections of revolutionary wing supporters. Ideological strengthening, the drawing up of programmes of action for the railway workers, and the organisational crystallisation of the revolutionary T.U. oppositions, constitute the urgent and primary immediate task of the revolutionary T.U. opposition inside the G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union.

f) The revolutionary wing must take determined steps to develop mass and organisational activities among the agricultural labourers, particularly among the plantation workers. The struggle of the agricultural workers must be developed on the basis of concrete demands. In view of the agricultural workers' strikes and the growing peasant revolutionary movement, the agricultural workers assume extremely great significance, for the organisation of an agricultural workers' union will create a firm basis to strengthen proletarian influence on the peasant movement. The revolutionary wing must likewise give all possible assistance in the organisation of revolutionary peasant committees.

g) The handicrafts workers occupy no unimportant place in India. The revolutionary wing must overcome all the difficulties in the way of organising the handicrafts workers (scattered nature throughout the towns and villages, etc.). A special programme of action must be drawn up for the handicrafts workers, and special organisers, etc., assigned.

5. The Revolutionary All India Trades Union Congress, formed in Calcutta as the result of the splitting policy pursued by the national reformists of all shades, is the first centre of revolutionary elements in the history of the Indian trade union movement (without the participation of the reformists). The Revolutionary All India Trades Union Congress must become the centre for all class trade union organisations in the country. It will only become the centre of the class T.U. Movement if it determinedly takes the initiative and leads the working class struggle, if it gives concrete directions and leadership in the struggle for the day-to-day and general class demands of the workers, in the struggle for T.U. unity, for the consolidation of the disunited forces of the working class in mass unions built on the platform of the class struggle and trade union democracy, and leaning on factory committees. The fundamental immediate tasks of the revolutionary T.U. Movement of India are to develop widespread mass work, to attract and affiliate to itself new trade unions, to set up in the big centres—Bombay, Sholapur, etc.,—inter-union federations (Trades Councils), to strengthen the Trades Council already established in Calcutta, and thoroughly to prepare for the unity congress. The R.I.L.U. supporters must pay profound attention to proletarianising the entire trade union leadership from the top to the bottom, and to carrying out self-criticism in all organisations of the class trade union movement. A special task of the Congress is widespread propaganda among the workers of its programme, its platform of action, and likewise to explain to the workers the circumstances of the Calcutta split and the tactics of the reformists which led to this split.

6. In order successfully to wage the working class struggle against the class enemy in the present conditions in India it is necessary to set up Proletarian Self-Defence Corps. Self-defence corps should be set up in all factories. They should consist of all militant men and women workers, particularly young workers, who have been tried in the class struggle. Systematic educational work must be carried on among the members of the self-defence corps, and strict proletarian discipline maintained. It is necessary to take precautionary measures to prevent provocateurs from finding their way into the self-defence corps. The self-defence corps are to defend

strikes, mass meetings and demonstrations, the class trade unions and other revolutionary working class organisations against the thugs and hired bands of imperialism and the National Congress.

7. An immediate task of the revolutionary wing is the establishment of a labour press, and first and foremost, of a central organ. A Labour press, reflecting the day-to-day needs and requirements of the broad working masses, and shedding light on the working class economic struggles, establishes actual connections between the industrial centres, on the basis of the working class struggle. A Labour press, which takes an active part in the struggle against imperialism, in the preparations for and conduct of strikes, in the campaigns for unity from below, in the struggle against unemployment, against arbitration, exposing systematically and relentlessly, on concrete facts known to the workers, the reformists of all shades, particularly the "left" national-reformists, will constitute not only a collective propagandist and agitator but will also be the collective organiser of the working masses. The labour press must pay attention to self-criticism, particularly self-criticism from below, and must wage the struggle against the reformist press, which blunts the class consciousness of the workers. In view of the great multiplicity of nationalities and dialects in India, the Revolutionary Wing must see to the publication of workers' journals and papers in the various national dialects. A widespread network of worker-correspondents, of committees for the circulation of the press, must be formed, collections organised, etc. Simultaneously with the establishment of labour press, the revolutionary wing must take resolute steps to establish T.U. literature, to publish leaflets and posters, factory and wall newspapers, etc., in large numbers. The labour press must be comprehensible for the working masses and within their reach.

8. The Revolutionary T.U. Movement of India must pay serious attention to the question of cadres. The revolutionary wing must draw its cadres from among the militants in the class struggle, for militants are trained only in the process of the class struggles. The economic struggles, picketing, demonstrations, self-defence corps, draw tens and hundreds of thousands of men, women, and young workers. A skilful approach must be made to them, permanent connections established, and the most active men and women workers drawn from these masses and promoted to all the posts in the revolutionary trade union movement and the strike struggle. Widespread T.U. actives must be formed in all the class T.U. organisations particularly in the factories. Particular attention must be paid to promoting young workers. Short-term courses, circles for the more advanced men, women and young workers, should be formed in the trade unions, etc., to educate the cadres. While taking all measures to train actives, the supporters of the Revolutionary T.U. Movement must resolutely repudiate the harmful principle practised in some places of paying the active workers (participants in red pickets, members of the workers' self-defence corps, etc.).

9. Child labour is widely employed and brutally exploited in India. A most urgent task of the revolutionary T.U. Movement is to defend the interests of the young workers, organise the young workers' struggle for their day-to-day and general demands: 1. complete prohibition of child labour under 14 years of age; 2. compulsory payment for all child labour. Against contract and free child labour; 3. equal pay for equal work; 4. four and six-hour working day for young workers under 18; 5. compulsory elementary education for all children up till 16, at the expense of the State, and for free food, school books, clothes, etc.

The young workers are the most active part of the working class. There are tens and hundreds of thousands of young workers in the factories on the railroads, plantations, etc. The revolutionary T.U. Movement must intensify its activities to the maximum among the young workers, particularly in the chief industries: Textiles, metallurgy, etc., and draw them into the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary T.U. organisations. Youth sections must be formed, both in all the revolutionary as well as in the reformist unions. The Youth sections in the reformist unions should work under the guidance of the revolutionary trade unions. It is also necessary to organise a system of youth delegates in the factories, etc. The task of these youth organisations is, in addition to supporting the struggle of the adult workers and joint movements with them, to organise the struggle of the young workers, to draw up and present the demands of the youth in strikes, demonstrations,

etc. Moreover, it is insistently necessary, through a network of various circles, courses, etc., to train from among the youth leading cadres of T.U. functionaries. For the better consolidation and mobilisation of the young workers for the struggle, both for their specific as well as for the general class interests, it is necessary in all ways to extend the experiment made in Bombay of calling young workers' conferences.

10. Another immediate task facing the revolutionary wing is the untiring struggle to improve the working conditions of all categories of women workers (equal pay for equal work, maternity protection, abolition of night work for women, as well as work in harmful trades, including underground work in the mines, etc.), and to win the confidence of the broad masses of women workers. A women's T.U. active must be trained, and the more militant women promoted to all the organs of the revolutionary trade unions. Women Worker's Committees must be formed as auxiliary organisations, to assist the unions in carrying on activities among the women workers. Women Workers' Committees must be formed in all T.U. organisations, beginning with the factory, and ending with the All India Trade Union Congress. The Committee must draw the women workers into all the workers' movements display initiative in bringing up in the unions questions affecting female labour, etc.

The Indian working class is one of the largest and most active detachments of the international revolutionary labour movement. The successful realisation of the main tasks confronting the international revolutionary T.U. movement requires militant contact and a united revolutionary front between the Indian working class and the world proletariat, particularly with the working class of Britain through the Minority Movement, for the joint struggle against the class enemy. By relentlessly exposing the hypocritical resolution adopted by the "left" national-reformists at the Calcutta Session "Neither to Moscow nor to Amsterdam", explaining to the masses that this resolution in actual fact paves the way to the treacherous General Council of the British T.U.C., to the Amsterdam International and Geneva, developing a determined campaign among the broad working masses, showing them how the R.I.L.U. and the P.P.T.U.S. defend the workers' interests, and how basely they are betrayed by the General Council, Amsterdam and Geneva, the revolutionary T.U. Movement of India will strengthen its connections with the international revolutionary T.U. Movement and strengthen the fighting front against international reformism—the prop of capitalist exploitation and colonial oppression.

In capitalist countries we see the crisis, tremendous unemployment, poverty and starvation, and the great revolutionary unrest of the workers and toiling masses. In the U.S.S.R. there is no crisis; there is and can be no unemployment and poverty, for the working class and the toiling masses in the U.S.S.R. labour not for the capitalists but for their own welfare. This is why the bourgeoisie, the landlords and imperialists of the entire world, are preparing to attack the U.S.S.R., the stronghold and fortress of the world revolutionary T.U. Movement. The English conservatives, headed by MacDonald the national-labourite, are preparing plans for a blockade of and intervention in the U.S.S.R. The Japanese imperialists are warring against the Chinese people, murdering and robbing peaceful inhabitants. The Japanese occupation of Manchuria implies the division of China among the imperialists, implies the establishment of a place-d'armes, by Japanese imperialism, for military operations against the U.S.S.R. and against the Soviet districts in Central China, which unite tens of millions of workers and peasants. It is the international duty of the working class and toilers of India to defend the Chinese Revolution and the Soviet Union with the last breath in their body.

The overthrow of the imperialist yoke in India is the most effective and direct defence of the Chinese Revolution, and will constitute a powerful lever in the international working class struggle. The emancipation of India from the yoke of British imperialism will constitute the greatest victory over world capitalism. The Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council calls upon the class trade union movement, and the entire Indian working class, as well as the working class of Britain, and particularly the Minority Movement, to develop still more boldly and resolutely the struggle for the forcible overthrow of British imperialism, for the establishment of a Soviet Workers' and Peasants Republic of India.