

Letter Sent EC of AITUC After Obtaining a Full Account of the Nagpur Proceedings

January 14th 1930.

Dear Comrades:

Further to the letter of the 8th inst. sent you by the PPTUS, I am advised to inform you that our Secretariat has since received further materials dealing with the Nagpur session of the All-India TUC. While the contents of our previous letter are entirely germane and still form an appropriate basis for a correct perspective in the leadership of the Indian trade union movement, the further information before us enforces greater responsibilities and new tasks upon the Pan-Pacific TUS, as well as each and every member of the new Executive Council of the AITUC. Regarding your international relations, I am first instructed to congratulate the AITUC through its E. C., for adopting a correct working class policy. This policy is embodied in rejecting the calling of an Asiatic Labor Conference and thereby refusing to associate the All-India TUC with this disruptive ILO—Amsterdam—imperialist manoeuvre; in the decision not to be associated with the Geneva Conferences of the ILO, which consistently carried out, must mean putting an end to all attempts to tie the AITUC to the imperialist charriot, the International Fed. of T. U. The latter decision is in itself, a repudiation of Chamanlal, Joshi and Co., who have consistently striven to attain this end.

Having this correct attitude towards international reformism, the Congress delegates were bound to follow the lead given to it by the majority of the Executive Council on all domestic questions which are of first-class importance to the struggling working class of India. Therefore our Secretariat again congratulates you upon the decisive stand taken by both the EC and the Nagpur session when deciding to boycott the Whit-

ley Commission of Inquiry and renouncing the Nehru Report. Already your decisions upon these points are sustained among the wide masses of India, and if properly utilized, will have a salutary effect upon the political and economic conditions of the workers and peasants.

Further endorsement of your decisions by wide masses of the proletariat is already assured and evidenced by the enthusiasm with which the masses are demanding complete independence at mass meetings and demonstrations. The actions of the workers in supporting your decisions draws attention and rallies support far beyond the ranks of the organized workers of India; and at the same time they show an unmistakable condemnation of Messrs. Chamanlal, Joshi, Shiva Rao and Co. who, as our Secretariat has previously pointed out, are doing the work of the British imperialists within the ranks of organized Indian labor. By their deliberate acts they have split and attempted to destroy the trade union movement of India rather than submit to the wishes of the majority of the rank and file who desire a working class policy as against the policy of their exploiters.

Our Secretariat notes that notwithstanding your excellent decision upon other international relations and domestic questions the resolution to affiliate the All-India TUC to the PPTUS, passed by a majority at the Executive Council, was withdrawn in open Congress. It is clear from the documents before us that this was made necessary only because of the disruptive tactics of the splitting reactionaries. But it would now be a mistake to think these same people who have for two or three years fought for the policy to strangle and stop the logical development of the Indian trade union movement while holding office within the AITUC, will

now cease or even lessen one iota their attacks upon the organized working class now that they are on the outside; or will be influenced in any way by the postponement of affiliation to the PPTUS for another year. It is obvious to our Secretariat that they carefully prepared the split during the whole of last year, both in words and deeds. They have now done exactly what all repudiated right wing reactionaries have done in all cases where they were defeated—formed an opposition movement. The slogan of all reformists and social fascists is: "Wreck what we cannot control."

Lest anyone may make a mistake, our Secretariat desires to warn the organized Indian working class through you, that in addition to attempting the disruptive tactics by forming their Indian Federation of Labor, these agents of European social fascists of London, Amsterdam and Geneva, will get their instructions to get as many as possible back into the All-India TUC and with the least delay. They will have the financial backing of both imperialist and active exploiters and the reformist bureaucracy in Europe; and access to the press as confirmed by the use they are now making of it, to deepen the split they have commenced. And do we not see in the speech of Diwan Chamanlal before the Executive Council the actions of an agent provocateur inciting the police to arrest those honest working class representatives with whom his class disagrees? Pointing his finger towards militant leaders like Deshpandeu, and others accusing them of being "agents of Moscow and communists" and making reports thereto, places Chamanlal in the same position as his Imperial Majesty's prosecutor at Meerut District Court. In identically the same words he emulates those from whom he takes his politics, orders and dictation. He and others are fulfilling the role of spies within the ranks of organized labor in India. But with an unhesitating and fearless application of the policy laid down at the Nagpur Congress, it is impossible for these reactionaries to do greater damage to the AITUC than they have already done.

Comrades, our Secretariat feels to withhold

from you the benefits of the collective experience of our affiliated membership gained in one or two other cases, embodying similar attacks to those now made against the A.I.T. U.C., we should not be committing a friendly act as well as neglecting our duty to the organized working class around the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, we venture to say that while you are specially favored because social forces are with you and subsequent events will sustain your actions, nevertheless, double and wide responsibilities fall upon your shoulders.

The new Executive Council of the All-India T. U. C. is confronted with a united front composed of the State forces, imperialist and native exploiters, and their agents who now openly form an organized opposition within the labor movement. Under existing conditions the situation was bound to arrive in India as elsewhere. It is the logical development of a sharpening of imperialist contradictions within a declining capitalist system. These contradictions have effected a sharpening of the struggle between the reformist and imperialist agents on the one hand, who seek to use the trade union movement for sustaining capitalist production at the expense of the working class, on the other hand, those representatives of the organized workers who desire to use the power of labor to advance the interests of the working class in a struggle to raise the standard of living. Between these two groups there can be no compromise, and India is no exception. Therefore, in every sphere of trade union life, a decisive struggle must be made with those who have deliberately planned this split in the Indian trade union movement.

Any hesitancy or wavering in the application of the new policy can have nothing but disastrous results for the Indian workers and peasants, and any reverses suffered by Indian labor would find their repercussions immediately upon the struggling workers and peasants of China, Korea, Philippines, Indonesia, etc. This is why our Secretariat is directly concerned and urges an uncompromising struggle with the reactionary right wingers and warns all centrists against building a bridge by which the enemies of organized la-

bor may cross once more into the central apparatus of the A.I.T.U.S. The unity of the Indian trade union movement will now come from below and can be attained with greater rapidity than by entering into any compromise made at the expense of the decisions of principle of the Nagpur Congress.

The collective experience of the P. P. T. U. S. teaches us that to repair the damage done to organized labor by Chamanlal, Joshi, Shiva Rao and company, and to prevent any evil effects from their further attacks, a careful tactical approach must be made in order to bring unity of India's organized labor. It would be a great mistake to underestimate the splitters and their supporters, but it would be a bigger mistake to underestimate the rank and file of the trade unions under their temporary domination. The latter are not in favor of the former's disruptive policy because the working class everywhere instinctively believe in working class unity. Under existing conditions in India the members of the few unions hitched up temporarily to the capitalist-owned Indian Federation of Labor, formed on the one hand to guarantee trips to Geneva, etc. for the bourgeois advocates of imperialism, and, on the other hand, to make an organized center to further attack the development of the All-India T. U. C. can be brought back to the A.I.T.U.C.. The A.I.T.U.C. has adopted a policy which will strengthen the working class movement while the splitters have no working class policy to offer, but carry out a policy of the native and imperialist exploiters.

The first task is to go into the enemy's most vital positions and explain to the workers in speech, cartoons, leaflets, etc. the exact positions and policies, while at the same time not neglecting to strengthen the A.I.T.U.C. by similarly explaining everything that happened at Nagpur and drawing the natural working class conclusions. This will develop the hesitant or backward masses and bring them up to the intellectual level of those who support the Nagpur decisions. In so doing preparations are being made for calling con-

ferences of delegates from the factories and unions to build a united front from the bottom upwards. This method of approach will expose them and achieve a further scattering of these reactionary agents of the bourgeoisie and imperialists and will relatively strengthen these unions adhering to the A.I.T.U.C. The experience of our affiliated unions of China and the Philippines show the careful application of these tactics will cause the masses to leave the reactionary bourgeois leaders, and in this process the latter will further retreat along the road they have never left, connecting with the camp of the imperialist oppressor of India's masses.

Finally, they will ultimately take their logical place as in China and Indonesia, as the fascist executioners of the militant workers and peasants of India. This is the logical conclusion our Secretariat draws from the treacherous speech of Chamanlal before the Executive Council at Nagpur.

Dear Comrades: Our Secretariat feels sure you fully appreciate the enormous tasks before you and that you will carry out all these in conformity with the decisions and the spirit animating the delegates who made them: you will strengthen the bonds between the workers and peasants, fight for their immediate demands and properly connect them with political demands, thereby extending and strengthening the Indian working class movement. If this is done it will be in direct contrast to the past experience, as evidenced in the actions and decisions of the E. C. of the A.I.T.U.C. last year.

Our affiliated membership will be informed of the reasons for postponing affiliation for one more year and I am sure they will look forward confidently that next year will witness the All-India Trade Union Congress taking its logical place within the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Movement.

With best wishes for your success and fraternal greetings.

(Signed.) TinYu Ling, Chairman.

(Signed.) J. Davies, Assistant General Secretary for the P. P. T. U. S.