

Speech of the Chairman OF THE Reception Committee

COMRADE S. H. JHABVALA

Comrades,

In welcoming you to this important session of our Congress, I would like to indicate in brief the problems that are facing us. On the one hand, we are faced with a monstrous and inhuman offensive against the standard of living of the working-class. From the Imperialist Railway bosses to the Nationalist Textile owners there is only one cry—reduce the working-class wage to the lowest standard possible. And then there is that big and specious word “rationalisation” which simply means unemployment for thousands and intensification of work for those on the job. Rationalisation means only the most brutal exploitation of the physical powers of the Indian worker who is to compete with workers of other countries working on machines the like of which or not even seen in India. A continued offensive on the starvation wages, unemployment of thousands and thousands of workers thrown on the street like so much waste-material, and the physical exploitation of the employed workers to an unheard-of degree—this is what Capitalism and Imperialism have to offer.

This situation imposes heavy tasks upon the Trade Unions. The Trade Unions have so far failed in their role as the organs of the class struggle of the Indian working-class. The masses have fought desperately, despite police-terror, despite starvation. What was required was a national offensive of the workers against the offensive of the capitalist-class as a whole. The possibility of isolated strikes, local strikes, succeeding in their demands has already become very distant. Capitalism in the death grip of its crisis would not come to terms on the basis of isolated strikes, however heroically they might be fought. In short, the General Strike of all industries has become the practical question of the day in the defence of the working-class interests.

We failed to adapt ourselves to the new situation and to tackle as a question of practice, the nationwide organization of the General Strikes as the one weapon of effective action against the capitalist offensive. And in doing so our Trade Union Congress failed to play the role of the national organ of class-struggle.

At one time it was thought very difficult to satisfy the extreme wing of the Trade Union Movement—the Communists. Comrades were also suspicious about the bona-fide of the Communists regarding unity in the Trade Union Movement. But all these fears have proved groundless, and from my personal experience, I can easily say without fear of exaggeration, that it has been a pleasure for me to work with the "Reds" in whom I have found some of the most persistent

defenders of unity and the day-to-day interest of the working class.

But if we could heal up the breach between the two radical sections in the working-class so easily, matters are different with the gentlemen on the right—the leaders of the National Federation of Trade Unions.

At a time when nothing but a nation-wide offensive of the working class can save the situation, at a time when united centralised leadership of the Trade Union Movement can beat off the offensive of the capitalist vultures, the leaders of the N.F.T.U. continue to divide the ranks of the workers, in spite of our repeated offers for a united working-class movement. What do these people fear from us? We are prepared to meet them in every way if they agree to two conditions: (1) Acceptance of class-struggle; (2) Internal Trade Union democracy. But it is just these two conditions that they seem to fear. Class-struggle implies direct action—and the fear of direct action in the minds of these leaders surpasses even the orthodox Bramins' fear of the untouchable. Internal Trade Union democracy means the active participation of the rank & file workers in the Trade Union activity—a thing which they dread most. Is it possible to bridge this gulf and persuade these leaders to join hands with us? In my opinion, if we pursue to stake everything on the consent of these leaders to an agreed formula for unity, we will never achieve our end. In my opinion, the time is already come to appeal to the rank and file workers of the N.F.T.U.

for bringing pressure on their leaders to bring about unity on the above-mentioned basis.

In appealing for this unity, I cannot but denounce the reactionary role which they are playing on the Railways. The Railway Board has announced a new programme of mass-retrenchment. What was the reply of the Railway Federation to this fresh attack? The Federation devoted all its time to a discussion regarding the method of effecting the retrenchment menace. Thus thousands of workers are once more being betrayed to satisfy the profiteering appetite of the Railway Board. This ought to make us furiously think whether by appealing to such leaders only we have discharged our responsibility towards the working-class of India.

Our Congress also must shed off its old skin and start on a new path. Since its inception, the Trade Union Congress has simply been a deliberative body practically making no efforts to co-ordinate the working-class struggle in India.

The Trade Union Congress must transform itself into a genuinely national organ of the class-struggle of the Indian workers, in live contact with the day-to-day problems of the workers, co-ordinating and centralising their struggle, introducing unity of action in the ranks of the workers. It must stand before the workers as the personification of their class-interests and class solidarity. The most important steps towards this end will be an all-India and provincial Secretariat which will maintain itself in live-contact with the workers of different industries, will take initiative in organizing the unorganized workers, in leading the strike-struggle

etc. Another important step towards transforming the Trade Union Congress into a live organization for the workers will be to elect delegates to the Trade Union Congress Executive and T.U.C. Session in mass meetings the worker-members of the affiliated unions. Such a procedure will democratise the T.U.C. and go a long way in infusing the workers with a correct approach towards the T.U.C. as their class-organisation.

THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

The organisation of the working-class for the defence of its economic interest does not finish our tasks as revolutionary trade unions. As Lenin has pointed out: Revolutionary trade unions are cradles of Socialism, and the first steps towards the liberation of the working-masses of India from bond of capitalism is the national independence of our country. Our specific tasks concerning the national struggle raises many problems: 1) the role of the working-class in the national struggle; 2) our relations with various parties and organizations striving for national liberation. History has imposed a special task on the working-class of this country in its fight for national struggle against Imperialism. Only the working-class, fighting under the banner of the revolutionary Marxism, will be able to give the most determined lead to the masses of India in the struggle against Imperialism. The organizer and leader of the national revolution, not simply the joint participant, that is the role of the working-class in the Independence struggle. This

Leadership of the working-class is a specific type of alliance between the working-class and other anti-imperialist forces—an alliance under which the non-working-class elements accept the guidance of the working-class because in the latter they perceive the most courageous and determined defenders of their economic and political interests. This specific type of alliance will take time to evolve itself: it will depend on how rapidly the working-class will be able to inspire the other sections with confidence itself as the embodiment of revolutionary theory and action in this struggle against Imperialism. This new type of alliance, therefore, will evolve only in the course of the ordinary united-front action of the working-class, under which the other anti-imperialist sections look upon the working-class only as a comrade in the struggle and not yet as their leader. Our task as revolutionary trade unions is to prepare the foundations for this leadership of the working-class by united-front action with the other anti-imperialist forces and political organizations in India.

The immediate problem before us is then how best to forge a powerful united-front against Imperialism. This can only be done by co-operation with other organizations—especially mass-organizations. Politically, the biggest mass organization in the country is the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress to-day counts among its members hundreds of anti-imperialist elements. Besides, it wields a powerful influence over hundreds of others. Under present circumstances when there is no other political mass-

organization, our efforts at rapidly building up a powerful anti-imperialist front will succeed only in so far as we are able to establish a firm united front with the Indian National Congress. And therefore, while not relaxing our independent efforts to approach the vast sections which remain outside the Indian National Congress, we must bend our efforts to see that this powerful mass organisation—its mass-strength and political prestige—become for us a huge lever for the irresistible united-front of anti-imperialist elements.

However, the unique position of the I.N.C. as the premier political organisation of the country, surpassing by far any other organization, requires a totally distinct form for our united front with that body. Considering what a powerful lever the I.N.C. can be in forging the all powerful front, considering the national prestige it has acquired as an organisation, it is easy to see that our task of building up an all-powerful front will not be effectively carried out unless we are considered by the people at large as an integral part of the I.N.C. machine. The ordinary frame-work of united front where two distinct organizations agree to come on a common platform and yet remain more or less strangers to each other, is too narrow and restricted a frame-work for the task in hand. We have thus a two-fold task to perform. We have to maintain our class-identity and class outlook without which we will not be able to fulfil our role as the leader of the struggle and secondly we have to become an integral part of the I.N.C. machine. This two-fold task can only be achieved by the method of

collective affiliation, i.e., by affiliating our trade unions or class organisations to the I.N.C. The method of collective affiliation will lessen the danger of losing our class-identity and merging ourselves ideologically with other sections. For under this method we go to the I.N.C. as representatives of the class-organizations of the workers, conscious of our special role and tasks. It will enable us to maintain a disciplined class-outlook and class-solidarity and at the same time on account of our being an integral part of the I.N.C., will remove every barrier of strangers in the minds of other sections. Finally, it will enable us to shape the policy of the I.N.C., to influence it from time to time without fear of losing our identity. The danger of losing our identity, however, does not completely vanish. But it is lessened to the narrowest possible extent. On the other hand if we were to advise the workers to join the I.N.C. individually, this will lead to nothing but disaster. Our experience in the past is sufficiently rich with this disaster. It will lead to a complete identification of the working-class with the other elements, i.e. to a lack of conscious outlook and class-policy. It will defeat our whole purpose, because without such class-outlook, not only will we not be able to fulfil our role in the national struggle, but instead of rescuing the other elements from the hands of reaction, we ourselves will be bound hand and foot to it. Comrades, the urgent need for this anti-imperialist front is dictated by the existing political situation. Imperialism is ruling this country with ruthless terror. Hundreds of political prisoners, brave fighters for national liberty are languishing in imperialist jails. The whole of

Bengal is one wild camp for curbing the revolutionary zeal of the people. Several militant trade union leaders from Bombay and other parts lie interned in various places. Mass-struggles of the workers and peasants are invariably broken by the Imperialist batons and lathi charges. Black Acts, like the Criminal Law Amendment Act continue to strengthen the hands of an all-powerful bureaucracy, which is every day being pampered by fresh privileges and offerings from the Indian Revenue. The voice of the democratic press is completely muzzled. The workers' press is practically non-existent. Freedom of speech, press, and organisation is smashed to the winds. Militant organizations, militant trade-unions—all are crushed under the high heel of bureaucratic repression. A number of affiliated unions in Bombay and Calcutta were declared illegal because they did not satisfy the delicate and refined tastes of the Imperialists. And on the top of this we have the spectacle of the positive side of repression--the appointment of special Labour Officers to deal with working-class struggles.

In the midst of this situation created by unparalleled repression, the spectre of the New Slave Constitution is rearing its ugly head. The New Constitution is most ably conceived in the spirit of the founder of the British Empire in India--Robert Clive. A forgery on a small document--that was how the founder of the British Empire secured for himself a place in the annals of Imperialist History. His descendants, who to-day operate the Imperialist machine, have developed forgery into a gigantic

diplomatic art. From top to bottom the Constitution is nothing but the most dangerous device of Imperialism to attack the integrity of the Indian Nation. While seemingly widening the electorate, it divides the electorate into the most reactionary communal camps, thereby seeking to paralyse united action. While making a show of enfranchising workers, it openly takes the most effective steps against any genuine representation of the working class. While seeking to transfer power to the Provincial legislatures, it concentrates all power in the hands of the Governors. The so called Provincial autonomy is nothing but the freest possible autonomy for bureaucratic repression. At the same time the New Slave Constitution is not meaningless, so far as Imperialism is concerned. In creating the puppet legislatures on an extended franchise, Imperialism seeks to create a sort of buffer state between the popular forces and the bureaucratic masters at the head of the state-machine. By enabling reactionary groups and parties to secure representation on the basis of communal electorate, Imperialism seeks to carry on its dirty work of attacking the Indian struggle through legislatures and thus seeks to blunt the attack of the democratic forces against the bureaucracy.

As working-class organizations, therefore, as organizations pledged to fight for Indian Independence, we cannot but look upon with grave concern the recent resolution of the Lucknow Congress on this issue. The National Congress decided to postpone this issue and thereby it left the door open for an

acceptance of the Constitution. If the reactionary leadership today succeeds in pinning the National Congress to an acceptance of the Constitution, it will be the most serious political disaster for the country at large. Under these circumstances, the responsibility of the T.U.C, becomes all the more serious. The T.U.C. if it has to fulfil its role as a national organ of class-struggle, must give an unhesitating lead to all other sections on this question of supreme importance. Our fight is for a new type of state—a state which will embody the democracy of the oppressed millions. The fight for the new state is the essence of revolution, and a revolutionary movement marches forward only in so far as it is able to centralise the energies of the masses on the fight for the new state. In my opinion, the situation in India to-day demands that we come forward with a concrete formula of the new state, especially before the working-class. I think the only formula that can be a concrete one to-day is that of a democratic state, based on the armed nation—no standing army, no police, no bureaucracy standing over the people; but a people's militia, elected officials, judges, etc.,—this is the type of the state that will correctly summarise in the eyes of the working-class the democracy that they want, the democracy that we require. Our efforts at mobilising the workers for an anti-constitution fight will succeed only to the extent that we are able to popularise the slogan of the democratic state and prepare them to fight for it.

Comrades, the economic degradation of the

masses, the pauperisation of the peasantry and the working-class, the growing unemployment among the educated lower middle-class—all these are adding ever fresh material to the powder magazine of the Indian Revolution.

Yet the struggle against Imperialism continues were it was. It has failed to strike a new path up till now. The political backwardness of the masses still ties them to reactionary leadership. What has created this political backwardness of the working class? It is the failure on the part of the trade unions to understand the specific methods of the political education of the working-class, the specific method of the working-class action, the specific method of the political protest of the working class—the mighty weapon of **POLITICAL PROTEST STRIKES**. We shut our eyes to it, contenting ourselves with tirades against Imperialism. We must now make up our minds to repudiate this reformist past, these last traces of reformist ideology, this fear of proletarian action. Let it be clearly understood that all talk about the working-class “participating in the national struggle”, leading the “national struggle” is pure-moonshine unless we as trade unions take upon ourselves the task of organizing the political protests of the working class on a notional and local scale. Every measure of repression, every act of bureaucratic high-handedness must be not only brought home to the workers by means of meetings, etc., but the working-class must be taught to register their protest in action. Every political protest strike, however small, will

draw the backward workers in the political arena, steel the revolutionary consciousness of the workers as a class fighting for political liberation and will be a step towards laying the foundations in the proletarian leadership of the struggle. Political protest strikes of the workers on a large scale will be the strongest radicalising element for the other anti-imperialist sections.

Comrades, before I close, I cannot but turn to the international situation which is full of danger. Imperialism is preparing a huge war on a world-scale. All the energies of Imperialist statesmen are bent towards this one end. Independent Abyssinia has already fallen a victim to the rapacity and greed of Imperialist Italy. The European powers are only waiting for a small signal to send hundreds to suffer the agonies of poison gas and dum-dum bullets--these proud inventions of Imperialist science. The unquenching rapacity of the Japanese Imperialism is mowing down hundreds of Chinese for the sacred cause of the Japanese profiteers, Emboldened by its position, this same rapacious power is casting its greedy eyes on the U.S.S.R.--the first Socialist State of the world, the hope and inspiration of the oppressed millions.

This Imperialist War is no longer a distant possibility. The fight against Imperialist War is an integral part of our fight for Indian Independence; for the essence of the new war is once more the conquest of colonies. To defeat the efforts of the war-mongers, to prepare the working-class for effective

action against the developing war-danger, to set up active anti-war committees in live contact with the workers, to explain to the workers that the Imperialist war is war for colonial slavery, a war for the preservation of the capitalist society--these constitute our important tasks in connection with the anti-war agitation. The coming war will be a first-rate crisis of the Imperialist social system

The T.U.C., therefore, must take effective steps to draw in the peasant organizations in the work of anti-war agitation and through them attack the very base of Imperialist war-mongers in India.

Comrades, the tasks before us are stupendous. As defenders of the day-to-day interests of the working class, let us close our ranks, let us strain every nerve to develop an all-powerful national offensive against the incessant wage-reductions and mass retrenchments, despite the unity-breakers who divide our ranks to satisfy the interests of the bosses. As revolutionary trade unions, let us make a beginning towards discharging our political responsibility by educating the working-class politically, by bringing into action on political issues; by forging a powerful united front with the other anti-imperialist forces inside and outside the I.N.C. and thus take a most decisive step forward towards the cherished goal of Independence, and in the process let us lay the foundation of the working class leadership which alone will concretise the dreams of the millions of our countrymen.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

COMRADE MANIBEN KARA.

Comrade?,

When I rise to address you to-day from this august platform I cannot forget the fact that this place does not belong to me. The rightful occupant of this place is lying in a jail in Calcutta serving his term of one year's rigorous imprisonment. The sweet will of the benign government which is ruling over us has deprived us of the services, council and assistance of our president Com. Ruikar. With his vast experience of the political movements in the country, with his intimate knowledge of the problems, facing the working-class, with his keen insight into the workings of the mass mind. Com. Ruikar was best fitted to guide the deliberations of this Congress which is meeting at a very critical time in the history of the Indian trade union movement.

Com. Ruikar is not the only person whom we miss to-day in this vast gathering. We miss here to-day the familiar face of Com. R. S. Nimbkar who was to have welcomed us today as the chairman of the reception committee. This beloved leader of the Bombay Textile workers is serving his term of imprisonment in a far off corner of the Madras Presidency. I have personal knowledge of the great interest that he was taking in this session. It was his ardent desire to make it a memorable session. I am sure that though prevented from being physically present here all his thoughts today will be about us and the work that we shall be doing here.

over the best means of warding off these attacks. Direct action—and direct action alone can save the railway workers from this impending calamity. Immediate steps must therefore be taken for preparing and organising the railway workers for direct action by meetings and conferences and by setting up local, provincial and central committees of action. This Congress will have to pay particular attention to this problem and devise of proper ways of action in cooperation with if possible the All India Railwaymen's Federation.

Driven to the last ditch by the world economic crisis the capitalists all over the world are throwing off the democratic mask which they had worn all these years. The democratic forms of government which they had brought into existence for fooling the masses are in this age of declining capitalism and especially after the havoc wrought by the world economic crisis are proving a great hindrance to them in their attempts to wring the last drop of blood from the starving masses of their respective countries. The democratic forms are therefore being replaced by autocratic authoritarian forms of government. Democratic rights, personal liberties and representative governments are being pushed off the world stage and the ideal of a country ruled by an all powerful dictator with a select band of advisers and the large mass people blindly obeying the commandments of the dictator is being glorified as the best form of state and the ideal condition of human society. Capitalism is coming out in its naked form as an organisation of human society based on the ruthless exploitation of the toiling millions in the interests of a small minority and on the brutal suppression of all groups and classes which stand in the way of its profit. Fascism has been enthroned in a number of European countries. And even in seemingly democratic countries like England America and France fascist tendencies are growing to an

alarming extent and the governments are more and more resorting to fascist measures for the suppression of the rising discontent and revolt of the working masses. In fascist countries no body's life or liberty is safe. Working class organisations are destroyed. No independent political activity or even thought is tolerated. Everything and everybody is subjected to the dictates of a supreme leader, dictated in his turn by his real masters, the great financiers—and industrialists of the country. Fascism started with alluring promises of economic recovery, of better living conditions for workers, peasants—and the middle classes of suppression of the tyranny of high finance, of return of good old days of progress and prosperity. The history of Italy during the last 15 years and of Germany since the enthronement of Hitler have conclusively proved the lying and demagogic nature of those promises. In Italy and Germany wages have been reduced by more than 50 %, pauperisation of the peasantry and the middle classes has progressed, unemployment has grown, living conditions of the masses have deteriorated and the stranglehold of high finance has tightened. Leaving aside for a moment these economic considerations which to our highsouled middle class intellectual may appear as secondary considerations of bread and butter if we cast a glance at the achievements of fascism in the moral and cultural field we find that its record is no better. Far from assisting the moral and cultural development of the people Fascism puts a ban on all independent moral and cultural activities, places a premium on the worst passions of the human mind and bars all moral and cultural progress. It is taking the world back to the dark middle ages. It is destroying the civilization built up by the labours and sacrifices of countless human beings. The spread of Fascism is therefore a danger not merely to the workers or the peasant's but to all those who stand for freedom, progress and prosperity. It is only by the united efforts of all these elements in the society, by the strength of the peoples' anti-fascist united front

that the plague of fascism can be exterminated from the face of the world.

Dissensions in the working class movements have in every country facilitated the growth of fascism. In Germany it was the treachery of the Social Democratic Party and the ultra-left sectarian line of the Communist Party that contributed to the victory of Hitler. It is pleasant to know that the lessons of the German disaster have not been lost on the world working class movement. There is a greater disposition amongst the Social Democrats to work hand in hand with the Communists. And the Communists have since July 1934 and especially after the 7th world Congress held in Moscow last August have entirely changed their line, have rectified their ultra-left errors and have reverted to for-some-time-abandoned Leninist tactic of united front. The practical application of this line was seen in France in February 1935 when all the anti-fascist elements combined together and with a supreme effort pushed back the black tide of the Fascist forces in France. We find more magnificent effects of the same line in the results of the last French elections, in the victory of the left forces and in the possible formation of a left-wing people's united anti-fascist government. We have good news also from Spain. The united forces of the socialists, communists, anarchists, syndicalists and the radicals in Spain have defeated the parties of the Right and have instituted a left-radical government under Signor Azana. They have won back the gains of the 1931 revolution. And the workers and peasants of Spain are not going to rest content with that alone. They are going ahead. They are taking possession of lands and factories. The prospect is opened before us of seeing the present unstable conditions in Spain develop into a victorious October revolution of the workers and peasants of Spain. The future is not therefore

as dark as it seemed to some a year before. The onward march of fascism has been definitely checked. The united anti-fascist front is growing in strength in a number of countries. The internal contradictions within fascist states are growing rapidly and are preparing the conditions for their eventual collapse. These factors increase the responsibility on the shoulders of the working class movement in every country of building up by the adoption of proper tactics and slogans the widest possible united front for the defeat of fascism and for the defence of democratic rights and the gains of human civilisation.

It may be objected by some that talk about Fascism in India is irrelevant. True, there is no Fascist movement in India. Equally true that the Fascists in India will not have an easy way to victory as their compeers in Italy and Germany. But one must be blind indeed if one fails to notice the various fascist tendencies that are manifesting themselves in the national movement. There is ample potential material for fascism in India. If the working class movement does not by the adoption of proper tactics and strategy win over these elements to its side, Hitlers and Mussolinis will not be wanting in India to utilise them as cannon fodder for the vested interests in the country. One cannot moreover forget the fact that the imperialist Govt. is getting more and more fascist in outlook and methods. A united front movement therefore for the defence of civil liberties is not less called for in India than in any other country. I am glad to note that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the president of the Indian National Congress has taken the initiative in the formation of a broad based Civil Liberties Union. I am sure this Congress will offer him all co-operation and support in that task.

Fascism naturally leads to war. One fascist power

has already grabbed Abyssinia in defiance of world opinion, solemn-covenants and League sanctions and in spite of the brave resistance put up by the Abyssinian people. Another fascist power repudiated the solemn obligations of the Versailles Treaty, Locarno Pact and various other diplomatic undertakings. With a cynic contempt for world public opinion it has started rearmament on an unprecedented scale. And war is not peculiar to fascism alone. It is the inseparable accident of capitalism. The profit motive which is at the root of the capitalist structure leads the capitalists to wars of aggression on weaker nations in their search for raw materials and markets for finished products and finally to a war amongst themselves for a repartition of their spoils. The capitalist nations of the world are today preparing as never before for a new gigantic war for the redivision of the world. It is a struggle between the satisfied and unsatisfied groups of big capitalist powers to be waged at the expense of the colonial countries of Asia, Africa and South America and the weaker capitalist nations. In war they also find a solution for the many pressing problems which the world economic crisis has created for them. Feverish preparations are therefore going on in every capitalist country for the new imperialist war which everybody knows to be just beyond the corner. They have no money for the relief of unemployment or for other social services. Every nation is intent on increasing its war preparedness for every nation has either its possessions to defend or new lands to grab. In this welter of capitalist nations arming themselves to the teeth and just waiting for an excuse and a favourable moment to begin the war, Soviet Union stands out as the only power which is and has been consistently striving for the maintenance of peace. She has no imperialist possessions to defend. She has no imperialist ambitions to indulge in. She does not stand in need

of a foreign war to divert the attention of the people from the growing distress at home. She has set her eyes on the reconstruction of her economy on a socialist basis on the building up of a new human civilization. But she is not allowed to go on with her nation building activities in peace. The capitalist nations of the world are threatening her very existence. Hitler Germany is casting her longing glance at Ukraine and other Western parts of Russia. Japan is threatening her from the East, Poland has let eyes on Georgia. Other capitalist nations will be extremely pleased if they can win back the vast territories and material resources of Russia for capitalist exploitation and would be only too glad to help Germany and Japan in dismembering Soviet Russia. It is not unlikely that a solution of the internal contradictions between rival imperialist powers may be found in a united endeavour for the destruction of the Soviet Union and the re-establishment of capitalism in those vast domains. The task before the world working class movement is therefore clear. It must rally for the defence of the Soviet Union, the father land of the workers of the world. I am sure we, the toiling millions of India will not fail to shoulder our proper responsibility in the glorious and important task of defending the Soviet Union against all Aggression.

The war danger is not merely an academic issue. It is a live issue and a vital question for the millions of workers and peasants of India who may at any moment be called upon by British imperialism to lay down their lives in thousands for the defence of the ill-gotten gains of the British imperialists. We are not against war in principle. We would support and actively participate in a just war for the defence of national independence, in a war such as the Abyssinians

waged against the black hords of Fascist Italy. But we are not prepared to lay down our lives to fight England's battles against Germany or to hold down the China or the African peoples in bondage for the sake of English capitalists. 'Not a man not a farthing for the next imperialist war, must be our slogan and our determination. And we must start right now our propaganda and agitation to prevent the exploitation of Indian men, money and resources for the impending imperialist war. I am glad to find that under Pandit Jawaharlal's leadership the Indian National Congress has taken up this question sincerely and that it proposes to organise a countrywide antiwar movement. This Congress will gladly cooperate with the National Congress in developing such a movement.

One of the most Important questions that face the Indian working class to day is the new constitution which is being foisted on India by British imperialism. This Congress has at its previous sessions declared its attitude towards it. Nothing has happened during the last year which would lead the congress to modify that attitude. If at all the reactionary character of the New Reforms has become more manifest I have nothing to add to what my illustrious predecessors have spoken from this chair with regard to the reactionary, undemocratic and oppressive character of the New scheme of Reforms or to what this congress has declared by its resolutions in that behalf. I desire to invite your attention to the paramount task of discussing proper measure for the effective rejection of the New Reforms, this New Charter of Slavery and

to urge upon you the immediate necessity of accomplishing that task.

The Constitution can be rejected only by mass action. It cannot be rejected by creating constitutional deadlocks and much less by accepting ministerial offices as advocated by persons like Mr. Satyamurti. We can reject it only by developing a most broadbased country wide mass movement against it. A united front of all elements in the country opposed to the New Constitution must be immediately built up. Such a united front can be built up only on the basis of the rejection of the New constitution and its replacement by a constitution prepared by the National Constituent Assembly of the Indian people. The demand for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly will set the masses in motion. It will give a concrete shape to our denial of the right of the British Parliament to frame India's constitution and to our assertion of the right of self determination. I am glad to find that the National Congress has taken up this demand. I am glad to find that communist leaders like Comrades Dutt and Bradley have after years of opposition now supported that demand. This action of Com. Dutt and Bradley will, I trust, have its effect on the Policies of our communist friends in India. I hope to be excused if at this stage I take this opportunity of paying my tribute of respect and admiration to the political genius and clear foresight of the man who more than nine years back diagnosed the Indian situation correctly and advocated the adoption of the slogan of Constituent Assembly, I mean Com. M. N.

Róy. If as suggested by him we had adopted it in 1927 in opposition to the Simon Commission our movement would have by now reached a far higher stage. Things would have been radically different today even if in 1930-31 the challenge of the Round Table Conferences had been met with a demand for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly. He was then regarded as an impracticable dreamer by a large majority of the people. Today he stands vindicated for history has justified the line he was fighting for since 1925.

There is a good deal of misunderstanding about the slogan of Constituent Assembly. People like Mr. Satyamurthi propose to convey it with the sanction of the British Government. There are others who regard it as impracticable dream. There are some who have accepted it in name and have ceased to bother about it as it is to be convoked after the victorious capture of power. There are still others who regard it as a counter-revolutionary slogan, as an advocacy of a bourgeois system of Government as an antithesis of Soviet power. It is not possible here to enter into a detailed discussion of all these misconceptions and to show how they flow either from a misunderstanding of the basic concept of the Constituent Assembly or from a mechanistic anti-dialectical approach to the whole situation. Constituent Assembly cannot meet with the sanction of British Imperialism as it comes into existence to give a concrete shape to the challenge of the right of British imperialism to rule over India. It rises as the organised power of the Indian people determined to be free, to be the

masters in their own country. The demand for the convocation of Constituent Assembly gives a definite form and a concrete shape to the conscious and unconscious desire of the masses to be free from bondage of colonial exploitation. It is only those people and classes which are opposed to the continuance of foreign domination that can participate in the agitation for a Constituent Assembly. The upper classes, the capitalists, the princes and the land-lords whose very existence depends on the continuance of foreign domination can hardly be expected to sympathise with the rise of a rival power representing the over-whelming majority of the Indian people. The demand for a Constituent Assembly brings to the forefront the vital question of power. The fundamental question of Indian Politics today is the question of power—who is to possess and wield the state power in the country—a handful of foreigners supported by the native upper classes and the army, police and bureaucracy, or the teeming millions of the country thirsting for land, bread and freedom? The teeming millions who have learnt by actual experience that even their most minimum demands cannot be satisfied within the frame work of British imperialism feel compelled to wage a determined struggle against it and to bring into existence a new state founded upon the free and universal consent of the masses and pledged to their well being. They can be mobilised for action only with the slogan of Constituent Assembly. We know that under Indian conditions the Constituent Assembly will consist only of the representatives of oppressed masses. The other classes the top layers of the Indian society are opposed to

national freedom and can therefore have no voice in the Constituent Assembly which will meet as the expression of that freedom. We also know that in order to withstand the might of British imperialism the Constituent Assembly must have the living and the direct support of the masses which can be secured to it only if it is based on the local organs of struggle created by the oppressed masses. Without in any way losing sight of this perspective of the Indian situation to-day it is necessary for us to advocate a Constituent Assembly elected by universal franchise in order to draw in the largest possible masses in an immediate struggle against the new constitution. The slogan of Constituent Assembly is not a thing to be just put on the shelf and to be reverentially repeated half a dozen times in a year. It is a lever to be used for the immediate development of a mass movement, for the mobilisation of the vast masses of the country for the building up of a broad people's united front against British Imperialism.

Everybody including the moderates are agreed about the reactionary character of the New Reforms. The Indian National Congress has gone a step further and decided to reject them. It passes my understanding therefore how any Congressman can advocate the acceptance of offices. But it has been done and not by one or two irresponsible Congressmen but by a group of influential and high placed Congress leaders. Fortunately they have not so far succeeded in imposing their policy upon the Indian National Congress. This Congress has already decided against acceptance of

offices and it is not necessary to argue here the case against office acceptance. What I desire to point out is only this that we must not rest content with that, but must organise a movement against acceptance of offices and must foil the attempts of the reactionary elements within the Congress to get it committed to a policy which runs counter to its professed goal and cherished ideals

Rejection of reforms does not mean boycott of legislatures. Boycott of councils and elections was a futile Gandhian tactic which has been now rejected by the Indian National Congress. Parliamentary and electoral activities are helpful when coupled with extra parliamentary activities for broad-casting the national aspirations, for exposing the reactionary character of the state and the other parties in the country and for agitation, propaganda and organisation. Under the New Reforms some provisions are made for the election of labour representatives to the various legislative bodies. Apart from the fact that the representation granted is extremely meagre, even the few seats that are granted can hardly be captured by the genuine and militant representatives of the working class

The conditions that are imposed about the keeping of registers, preparation of rolls etc, are such as can be hardly complied with except by Company unions. Moreover the arbitrary power given to the Governor in his descretion of granting or withholding certificates make it very doubtful if the fighting unions of the workers will at all be recognised by the Government. I must at this stage here raise our strong voice

of protest against the action of the Government in conferring the right of electing one workers' representative to the Federal Assembly on the National Trades Union Federation. This is a deliberate passing over of the Trade Union Congress the most representative organisation of the Indian working class. I can understand the government's motive in thus deliberately ignoring the Trade Union Congress. But I must say with all the emphasis at my command that this is neither the correct nor the democratic way of granting representation to workers. In spite of all these handicaps we shall contest as many seats as possible and capture them for raising the voice of labour inside the legislatures.

Regarding the elections in the general constituencies I would recommend the formation of a National Democratic Block consisting of all the elements in the country that are opposed to the New Reforms. If such a block is formed the working class will have no hesitation in joining it. The electoral platform of this National Democratic Block should incorporate the immediate and vital economic and political demands of the masses and the parliamentary activities should be confined to endeavours for the enforcement of that programme through the legislatures. If no such block is formed the working class will support the Congress candidates provided they accept a programme embodying the minimum demands of the workers. Here I would like to make a suggestion to the Indian National Congress and to the Parliamentary committee appointed by it. In the interests of the united struggle for

freedom and with the object of cementing the united anti-imperialist front it will be eminently desirable if in predominantly working class areas the Congress allows the working class to set up its own candidates to render them all the support of the Congress. The setting up of an independent working class candidate will tremendously advance the political education of the workers. Precautions will certainly have to be taken for keeping the united front intact and against the splitting of votes and the return of a reactionary candidate.

These parliamentary activities howsoever important will have any significance only if they are the reflection of a far more rigorous mass movement outside. And the immediate task in India today is the building up of the most broad based militant mass action for the termination of foreign domination. The decisive struggle against imperialism can no longer be postponed to a later date. The stronghold of imperialism is sucking the last drops of the lifeblood of our country. If we desire to exist as a nation we must begin an immediate struggle against foreign domination which is hanging like a mill stone round our necks and drowning us in the unfathomable depths of poverty, starvation and ruin. The objective conditions in the country are so ripe for a decisive struggle that if we begin the struggle with such electrifying slogans as land to the peasants, bread to the workers and freedom to all the masses will flock to the struggle in their millions and lead it to victory.

When we decide to build up a broad people's

united front against imperialism and for independence and cast our look round the country in search of the best available organ of such a united front, it is the Indian National Congress which arrests our eyes. It is the only political organisation in the country which possesses an all India and a broad mass basis. A large measure of a broad mobilisation of national forces has been already effected on that platform, no doubt in a most unsatisfactory manner, without a clear programme and under a reactionary leadership. The Indian National Congress has been during the last 50 years and more especially since 1919 the organ of the Indian people in their struggles against British Imperialism. And the Congress is not a hide-bound inflexible organisation. During the last 50 years it has undergone a number of transformations. From a small body of handful of rich lawyers, merchants and doctors agitating for a few crumbs off the table of British imperialism it has become a mighty organisation of the masses standing and fighting, though hesitatingly and half-heartedly, for national independence. Even today it is in a flux. A struggle is going on inside the Congress between two tendencies—one which desires to keep the Congress a harmless body under the effective domination of landlord and bourgeois elements, tied down to the reactionary cult of Khadi, Charka and non-violence; and the other which wants the Congress to break from its old moorings and develop as a militant organisation of the masses intent on the attainment of national independence. It is too early to predict which tendency will win in the end. But our task is clear, which is to support the latter tendency and to rescue the Congress from the hands

of the reactionary classes and to transform it into a real united platform of all the anti-imperialist elements in the country. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has given a bold lead at Lucknow and if all the radical forces in the country work together at this time with an agreed programme, Lucknow Congress can be made to mark the beginning of a new era in the history of the Congress. The All India Trade Union Congress the central organisation of the militant working class movement in the country, must establish relations of close cooperation with the National Congress. We shall evolve the best forms and methods of establishing those relations and call upon the National Congress to make appropriate changes in its programme and structure—in the programme with the object of linking up the national struggle for independence with the daily struggles of the oppressed masses and in the structure for allowing us to participate in the Congress through our class organisations. Let us have no illusions that we shall get these things merely for the asking. It will involve a bitter and strenuous struggle against the leadership and the ideology which have dominated the Congress all these years. In this struggle we can certainly count upon the support and sympathy of the Congress Socialist Party and other radical elements in the Congress and also upon the weighty support of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is here today in our midst to identify himself with us and our struggles. Our struggle for these alterations in the Congress programme and structure will succeed only if we create a movement from below by appropriate work inside the lower congress organisations

through our affiliated unions and otherwise. I am glad to note that complete unanimity prevails in our ranks today over the question of these relations with the Indian National Congress. There was a time when there was bitter division in our ranks over this issue. Experience of the last six years has convinced our misguided friends of the harmful effects of the line they were pursuing and of the necessity of working inside and with the Congress, a policy advocated by Com. Roy all these years. We have outlived those differences and today we stand united in our demand for a closer and organisational contact with the Indian National Congress and for the intensification of our work inside it.

There will be no dispute about the necessity of entering into a united front with all the anti-imperialist elements in the country. But this enthusiasm for and the insistence upon the building of a united front should not lead to the neglect of the far more important and decisive task of building up our own independent organisations. We shall be able to lend the united front weight and strength and shall be in a position to influence it only if our class organisations the trade unions and the political party are strong and functioning. The attempts of the Indian working class to form a party of its own have met with fierce resistance at the hands of the government. Com. M. N. Roy, the pioneer in this line was hunted from place to place and when he came back to his country was arrested and jailed. The Cawnpore Conspiracy Case, the Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case and the scores

of such cases in Punjab and other places were the attempts on the part of the government to nip in the bud the formation of an independent political party of the working class. Today in the city of Bombay three of our comrades are being prosecuted for being members of and for having assisted in the operations of an illegal organisation viz. the Communist Party of India, which was declared illegal by the government in 1934. I have referred to these facts only with the intention of drawing your pointed attention to the enormous difficulties standing in our way when we embark on the task of building up our own political party. But undeterred by these difficulties we must go ahead with our task of building up a party of the working class, for then alone shall we be able to play our proper part in the general national struggle and develop it into a social struggle against all forms of bondage and exploitation

We meet with equally great difficulties in our endeavours to build up mass trade unions. Trade unions are legal organisations under the law and the government have declared times without number that they are not opposed to trade union movement. But their actions belie their professions. In 1934 and 1935 not less than a dozen trade unions, some of them registered under the law, were declared illegal by the government. The treatment meted out to the trade union leaders, scores of whom are jailed, interned or gagged is hardly such as would help the trade union movement. Add to this the active intervention of the government in industrial disputes in the

name of 'law and order' and the enactment of such laws as the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act and the appointment of Labour Officer which strike at the root of the trade union movement. The attitude of the employers is equally hostile. The employers are in the habit of pointing to us the great English, American or French trade unions and of advising us to adopt the sane, sober and responsible methods followed by the trade union leaders in those countries. But they conveniently forget the fact that the trade unions in those countries are recognised by the employers and enjoy a number of legal rights and economic advantages. In India you will hardly come across an employer who is prepared to recognise his workers' union and to discuss with it the workers' conditions of life and work. We are not surprised at this attitude of the employers. Employers can hardly be expected to sympathise with trade unions which as organs of class struggle stand for the defence and the advancement of the workers' interests. But let them not quote to us English, American or French examples. The conditions in India are most uncongenial for the growth of large mass trade unions. Large mass trade unions are to a large extent the by-product of capitalist prosperity. In the declining period of capitalism and in a colonial country like India capitalist prosperity is a futile dream. Faced with a great crisis which makes it well-nigh impossible to extort any concessions from the capitalists, faced with a most violent opposition from the employers and faced with a whole armoury of repressive laws and measures set in motion against him by the government, the trade union worker finds it impossible to build up mass

trade unions. I request all those, who twit us for not being able to show a large paying membership to bear these facts in mind before they hurl ridicule and abuse on us. And I may tell these well meaning gentlemen that though the regular paying membership of our unions may not be large, the unions affiliated to this Congress are the trusted fighting organs of the Indian workers and it is to them alone that they turn in any case of difficulty and trouble. When I say this I do not underrate the importance of increasing the effective membership of our unions and of putting them on a strong and stable basis. I am sure this Congress will emphasise upon the minds of our trade union workers the immediate necessity of creating a strong mass basis for their unions.

The splits that took place in the T. U. C. since 1929, impaired its strength to a large extent. It is not necessary here to discuss the causes of those splits and to apportion blame. What we are concerned with today is the best means of effecting unity. We repaired one split at Calcutta last year and that has led to an accession of strength to the the T. U. C. Now another and a more serious split has to be repaired. The National Trades Union Federation still refuses to unite with the T. U. C. As it was not prepared for unity last year a Joint Labour Board was formed in August last with the object of developing closer relations and joint action on a number of specific issues. The Joint Labour Board does not seem to have functioned at all. The Trade Union Congress therefore went a step further at its executive

committee meeting held at Nagpur in December last. It agreed to send delegates to Geneva and also to accept the Federation constitution if the Federation were prepared for immediate structural unity. This offer was not accepted by the Federation and as a counter offer we got two alternative proposals from the Federation,

It is regrettable that the leaders of the Federation are not prepared for unity even now. All these years the question of international affiliation and of sending delegates to Geneva were the two main points of difference between the T. U. C. and the Federation. Those points of difference do not exist any longer. What is it then that keeps back the Federation from amalgamating with the Trade Union Congress? One reason possibly is the Federation leaders' distrust about the T. U. C. leaders. Prejudices die hard and one would not blame the Federation leaders if they harboured some misgivings about T. U. C. leaders. But what they fail to see is that the T. U. C. is not a social club where you can be exclusive in the choice of your companions. It is the central organisation of the Indian workers and must be open to all those who stand for the workers' interests. The other and the more fundamental reason may be the radical difference in the political outlook of the Federation and the Congress. The politics of the Federation is mainly that of the Liberal Federation, while the All India Trade Union Congress stands firmly on an anti-imperialist platform. There is a wide divergence between these two views and persons holding them can hardly be

expected to work together. But if that is so, let the workers know that the Federation cannot unite with the Congress only because of the anti-imperialist character of the political platform of the T. U. C. We can then leave it to the workers to draw their own conclusions.

It is regrettable that we cannot have immediate structural unity. As the next best thing therefore I suggest that the Trade Union Congress should accept Mr. Giri's proposals as between the two proposals offered by the Federation. The acceptance of Mr. Giri's proposal imposes a number of restrictions on our activities, the most important being the provision that no political decisions can be taken without a threefourth's majority. This will reduce the central organisation to a position of political inaction. And political inaction is the last thing to be desired especially in the coming years of fiercer and more decisive conflicts with the capitalists and the Government. Efforts must therefore be made for the relaxation of the rigour of this condition by providing for a $2/3$ rds. as against $3/4$ the majority. Provision will also have to be made to impose the same condition on the Federation leaving the constituent unions of both the groups freedom of political propaganda and action. The provision in the constitution of the Federation about elections to the executive committee by trade groups narrows the scope of internal democracy. In this connection the T. U. C. constitution is more democratic as it allows every single union to have a place on the executive committee and thus to participate in the formulation of poli-

cies. These are modifications which should be easily acceptable to the Federation. With such modifications I suggest that Mr. Girdi's scheme may be accepted by the Congress as the penultimate step towards structural unity. I am guided in arriving at this conclusion by the supreme necessity of closing our ranks and of giving a united resistance to the growing capitalist offensive. I would in this connection invite the attention of all trade union workers to what is happening in other countries more particularly in France. The working class movements in those countries are sinking their major and minor differences, and closing their ranks in the face of the growing danger of Fascism. The same if not a much worse situation faces us here and imposes upon us the task of forgetting our differences and of uniting in a common struggle against capitalism and imperialism. I am sure, comrades, we shall rise equal to the task and not allow our enemies to take advantage of our internal dissensions.

There are some unions in the country which are neither attached to the Congress nor to the Federation. I appeal to those unions to abandon their policy of isolation and to stand united under one common banner. In particular I appeal to the great Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad to join the common stream of the all India working class movement. The struggle of the Ahmedabad workers is the struggle of the Indian working class as a whole. I appeal to the leaders of the Majur Mahajan not to keep the Ahmadabad workers divided from the rest of their comrades. Many of us do not approve of the methods

and policies followed by the Majur Mahajan. But none of us can deny its great hold over the textile workers of Ahmedabad and lose sight of the strength that will accrue to this Congress if it decides to join us in the common struggle against the capitalists and the government.

The All India Trade Union Congress has now completed 16 years of its existence. It began as a small body of a handful of the benefactors of the working class, proposing to strive for the amelioration of the workers' lot. To-day it is not merely striving for the defence and the advancement of the workers' interests but is also a fighting organisation of the workers. When it started on its career it had no clearcut programme of action and no basic principles to guide its policy. To-day it stands firmly on the basic principles of class struggle with a programme of clearly formulated immediate and ultimate demands of the working class and committed to a policy of direct action for the realisation of those demands. This classification of the aims and policies of the Trade Union Congress led to its desertion by a number of valued friends, whose sacrifices and labour had contributed much to its foundation and growth. We deeply regret their loss, but have to reconcile ourselves to it as we cannot subordinate the fundamental principles of our movement to the susceptibilities of a few individuals, however valuable they may be. The doors of the Trade Union Congress are however open to all who accept those principles which have been recognised all over the world as the basic principles of the Trade Union movement.

As a result of 16 years' labour we can be said to have laid a strong and stable foundation. And on this foundation we have now to rear the structure of a vast working class movement, conscious of its goal, determined in its action and confident of its strength. A new era of more decisive struggles is opening before us. Capitalist and imperialist exploitation is reaching new levels, driving us to starvation and death. We cannot afford to sit silent or remain indifferent. Either forward to the goal of socialism through national independence or back to the dark ages of misery and slavery. There is no third alternative. The road to socialism, the only aim of the working class movement, is not paved with roses. We shall have to traverse a difficult and dangerous road, with many a pitfall and many an obstacle placed on the way by capitalism and imperialism. On this road the example and the achievements of the Russian workers stand as a guiding star. We shall draw inspiration from their heroic achievements of the overthrow of Czardom, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of a new social order based on the foundation of the collective ownership of all means of production, distribution and exchange. We shall draw lessons from their varied experiences in the course of their long and bitter struggle against the forces of Czardom and capitalism and of reformism and opportunism in their own ranks. We shall seek inspiration also from the rich history of the world working class movement, from the heroic struggles waged by our comrades in other lands for the defence of their rights and liberties.

We shall join hands with them across the seas and mountains and across the artificial national frontiers set up by the capitalists of each country and march together towards our common goal, the establishment of socialism.

In India the way to socialism lies through national independence. Our struggle in this first stage of our movement will succeed only if we are able to take with us and mobilise in common action all our allies, the vast peasant and petty bourgeois masses of our country. Standing by itself the working class, small in numbers, politically immature, and organisationally weak, will not be able to achieve any thing. It can succeed in achieving national independence and in paving the way for socialism only by appearing on the scene as the leader of the vast democratic masses of India. It can break its chains only by breaking the chains of all other oppressed masses. It must enter the political arena not merely as the defender of its own class interests but as the defender of the general interests of the Indian people. Then alone will the peasants and other oppressed strata of the Indian Society flock to its banner and stand shoulder to shoulder with it in the common struggle for national independence. From this platform of the All India Trade Union Congress and in the name of the Indian working class I desire to say to the peasants "your struggles against landlords and moneylenders and your daily increasing exploitation is a part of the general struggle against capitalism and imperialism". To the petty shopkeepers, small traders, artisans etc. I desire

to say "your daily deepening poverty and the ruin of your business is the result of the capitalist and imperialist exploitation". To the students, clerks, and middle class intellectuals I have to say the same thing and to point out to them that the root cause of their unemployment, misery and starvation lies in the existing social order which is based on the enrichment of the few at the expense of the vast majority. I appeal to them therefore to join their forces with those of the working class and fight under its leadership but for the total destruction of the socio-economic order which is keeping them in bondage and misery.

I shall be accused of having devoted the larger part of my address to politics. I plead guilty to the charge. In justification I have merely to refer to the objective condition in the country, where every small fight for an economic concession turns into a political fight, where even the most minimum demands of the working class cannot be obtained without a radical alteration in the politico-economic structure of the country. That is my only justification for having paid more attention to the political aspect of our struggle. I do not underrate economic struggles. I do not lose sight of the steadily deteriorating economic condition of the workers. I stand for and do urge immediate struggles against these worsening conditions of life and work. For it is out of those struggles alone that a real broad based political movement will develop.

I need not speak about the growing unemployment, about the declining wages or about the steady progress

of rationalisation and speeding up. These are facts known to every worker by his own experience. The material point is how best to organise the workers' resistance to these capitalist offensive. At this Congress we shall have to devise measures for developing immediate struggles for such vital economic demands of the working class as (1) unemployment benefits, (2) restoration of wage cuts, (3) stoppage of rationalisation and speeding up (4) eight hour's day (5) minimum wage (6) recognition of trade-unions (7) right to strike and to picket etc. After devising these measures the Trade Union Congress will also have to set up some machinery for co-ordinating all these struggles through publicity, propaganda and organisation. For without such a machinery conferences and resolutions have no meaning and the struggle cannot be effective.

During the year we waged a number of small and big struggles. In some we succeeded, in a large number of them we failed. But the success as well as the failure have taught us a number of lessons. They have taught us the necessity of stronger organisations, of better and more numerous cadres to take the place of arrested or otherwise incapacitated comrades, of a more capable and determined leadership. Let us during the year that lies before us endeavour to remove these shortcomings, make our unions strong,

train up cadres of workers and evolve a better and more militant leadership. We have yet to cover a very long distance. A large mass of workers is yet to be organised. Even amongst the organised workers, discipline, consciousness, and strength are yet to be created. Let us set our hearts to the achievement of these tasks — tasks which are equally necessary for the small skirmishes, for petty economic advantages and for the decisive final struggle against capitalism, and imperialism.

Comrades, I have already detained you for a long time, I do not wish to detain you any longer. I thank you most cordially for the high honour you have done me by electing me to this post and for the patience with which you have heard me.

END.

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Speech

AT THE 15TH SESSION OF THE All India Trade Union Congress

In the course of his speech, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that though he had been in the City for the last three days and had been addressing several meetings, the primary engagement to fulfil which he came to the city was to take part in the deliberations of the Trade Union Congress session. He felt that he was one of them. He was chosen as President of the T. U. C. a few years ago. Though he did not do much work for workers' organisation, yet he had always been thinking about it. He could not do anything because he did not have an opportunity to do so, having been mostly in jail for the last several years. In the province from which he came the acutest problem was the Kisan problem. The United Provinces did not have many factories, but the agrarian problem was very acute there. Though primarily the two problems might look different, ultimately both of them were the same.

Continuing, Pandit Jawaharlal said that he had come to the T. U. C. session as President of the Indian National Congress to convey the sympathy and greetings of the Congress to the workers. During the last few years, the Congress had been putting up a fight against a powerful Imperialism. The biggest and the largest organisation in the country today was the Indian National Congress.

Hitherto the working class organizations had not taken their due share in the fight for political freedom which the Congress had been carrying on. That was deplorable. The Congress was fighting the battle of the workers.

Hence, the workers should make it a point to join the Congress and strengthen its hands. It was essential that they should think out ways and means of keeping contact between the two

Panditji referred to the resolution on war passed by the Lucknow session, and said that the people in the country should be prepared through organisation and propaganda not to have anything to do with it when an imperialist war broke out. It was essential that the strength of the Congress should be increased. Mutual abuse would take one neither here nor there. The goal aimed at could be reached earlier if there was mutual co-operation and constant contact. Unless there was unity between the two, success was very far off.

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**MESSAGES RECEIVED BY THE 15th SESSION
OF THE T. U. C.**

The 15th session of the All India Trade Union Congress received numerous messages from Trade Unions, Congress Committees and other organisations and from their leaders. Below are given the names of a few of the important persons and organisations which sent messages:-

- (1) League against Imperialism and for National Independence.
- (2) Sir Stafford Cripps.
- (3) Jamnadas Mehta, the Mayor of Bombay and the President, All India Railwaymen's Federation.
- (4) All India Press Workers' Federation.
- (5) A. N. Sheti, Karnatak Congress Socialist Party.
- (6) Dr. D'Silva, Jubbulpore.
- (7) Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.
- (8) "A" Ward, District Congress Committee, Bombay.
- (9) J. B. Kriplani, General Secretary, Indian National Congress.
- (10) V. V. Giri, Bar-at-Law, M. L. A. and General Secretary, All India Railwaymen's Federation.
- (11) J. N. Mitra, Ex-President, A. T. T. U. C.
- (12) Jessudasan, President, Madras Port Trust Workers' Union.
- (13) Madras Aluminium Labour Union.
- (14) G. P. Khare, Secretary, Young Socialist League, Poona.
- (15) M. S. Kotishwaran, Madras.
- (16) Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya.
- (17) 'B' Ward, District Congress Committee, Bombay.
- (18) L. B. Bhopatkar, Poona.
- (19) J. S. Karandikar, Editor, Kesari.
- (20) Raosaheb R. W. Fulay, L. C., Nagpur.
- (21) Brijlal Biyani, President, Berar Provincial Congress Committee.
- (22) Mrinal Kanti Bose, Ex-President, National Trades Union Federation, President, Press Employees' Association and Indian Journalists' Association.

- (23) Bengal Labour Party.
- (24) V. M. Ramswamy Mudliar, M.A., B.L., M. L. C.
- (25) W. V. R. Naidu, General Secretary, Metal Workers Union.
- (26) Mubarak Sagar, N. W Railway Union, Lahore.
- (27) Bengal Congress Socialist Party.
- (28) P. P. Pillai, Director, International Labour Office Indian Branch.
- (29) B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union, Kharagpur.
- (30) B. P. T. Railwaymen's Union, Bombay.
- (31) Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee.
- (32) S. I. Rly. Workers' Union, Trichinopoly.
- (33) Employees' Association, Calcutta.
- (34) Free Thinkers' League, Poona.
- (35) Thakoreprasad Pandya, Ahmedabad.

SUMMARY OF REPORT OF COM. KHED- GIKAR, THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ALL INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1935-36.

I have great pleasure in submitting to you this report for the year 1935-36. It extends over a period of 12 months and is a record of steady growth and consolidation of the Trade Union Movement under the leadership of the All India Trade Union Congress. This period has not been characterized by open manifestation of mass struggle on as large a scale as in the previous year, but has undoubtedly carried the class struggle to a higher stage both in widening its basis and developing it in intensity. A year of silent unostentatious work in repairing the central organisation from the ravages of repression and disunity in the past is gradually restoring it to its former strength. The obstacles with which the Trade Union Congress was confronted and which hampered its working, have been eliminated. New forces have been drawn in, giving it new sources of energy and strength and freshness, which has considerably helped in the unification of the whole movement. The determined efforts for unity are bearing fruit and are pregnant with the hopes of success in the near future.

UNITED FRONT.

The United front is not only consolidating the Trade Union Movement but is also making it a formidable factor in the anti-imperialist struggle. The Trade Union Congress with the restoration of its organisational strength is effectively influencing the whole working class movement in readjusting its outlook and policies towards the struggle for national emancipation. This year, therefore, has advanced the Trade Union Congress unostentatiously to an extent which cannot be fully realised at the juncture. The breaking out of struggle in the near future under the leadership of the Trade Union Congress will indicate the importance of the year under review, as well as the present session, which will be a memorable one in the history of our movement.

CALCUTTA SESSION.

The period under review opened after the 14th Session of the Trade Union Congress which was held at Calcutta on 19th and 20th April 1935. The Calcutta Session achieved the amalgamation of the Red Trade Union Congress and the All India Trade Union Congress and the United Trade Union Congress started its work with a Joint Manifesto signed by the leaders of the organisations which had united explaining the necessity of unity as a preliminary step in the preparation for effective struggle. I am glad to report that the working of the united T. U. C. has been quite satisfactory throughout the year. The Session also decided to continue its efforts to further the unity to include the National Trade Union Federation. Side by side with the amalgamation of the Red Trade Union Congress and the All India Trade Union Congress, the Session made a final attempt for the settlement of the internal dispute arising out of the split in the Bombay Girm Kamgar Union which was distracting the whole trade union movement.

The policy of united front with the Indian National Congress initiated earlier took a more definite shape and crystallized in a resolution asking the All India Congress Socialist Party to move for the adoption by the Congress of the demands of the workers and peasants. The attitude towards the new reforms was also defined. Thus the tasks set by the Calcutta Session before the All India Trade Union Congress were:—

- (1) The settlement of Internal disputes;
- (2) Completion of the process of Unity with the Red T. U. C. and the amalgamation of rival trade unions;
- (3) Unity with the National Trade Union Federation;
- (4) The development of united front;
- (5) The extension of organisation to unorganised provinces;
- (6) The opposition to the Reforms and repression; and
- (7) The intensification of the day-to-day struggle for economic demands.

BOMBAY GIRNI KAMGAR UNION ELECTION.

The dispute in the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union was settled by a referendum of the members of both the sections, led by Nimbkar and Kandalkar respectively on August 4, 1935, under the supervision of the President. Nimbkar's section having won the majority of votes, it was declared by the President as the real Union and the section of Kandalkar was eliminated from the A. I. T. U. C.

BOMBAY DOCK WORKERS' UNION.

On the same day a similar election was held in the Bombay Dock Workers' Union when the section led by Ali Bahadur Khan was eliminated and Dr. Shetty was elected president of the Union. Thus ended two big disputes which had dislocated the working of the Trade Union Congress and almost threatened to disrupt it.

AMALGAMATION OF RIVAL UNIONS.

Provincial Sub-Committees were appointed for the purpose of bringing about amalgamation of rival unions. In Bombay the Sub-Committee consisted of:—

- R. A. Khedgikar,
- D. L. Pathak,
- V. B. Karnik,
- K. N. Joglekar.
- R. M. Jambhekar.

The Sub-Committee had to deal with the rival unions on the G. I. P. Railway and of the Press Workers. Due to the efforts of the Sub-Committee the amalgamation of the G. I. P. Unions was successfully brought about and a single mass Union is functioning with added strength.

EFFORTS FOR UNITY WITH N. T. U. F.

The sub-committee appointed for this purpose was authorised to bring about unity on the following basis:—

1. Class struggle;
2. One Union in one Industry;

3. No foreign affiliation;
4. Representation to Geneva to be decided every year;
5. All India Trade Union Congress to be the Central Organisation.

A joint conference of the All India Trade Union Congress and the National Trade Union Federation was held in Bombay on August 4th and 5th. The question of structural unity was discussed. The Trade Union Congress represented by the Unity Sub-Committee pressed for immediate structural unity. The National Trade Union Federation was not prepared for it. It was, therefore, decided that a Joint Labour Board should be established with equal representation from both the organisations in order to develop joint action on specific issues mutually agreed by both and to strive for structural unity.

The Joint Board consisted of

V. V. Giri, President,	
R. S. Ruikar, General Secretary	
R. A. Khedgikar,	} Members.
R. S. Nimbkar,	
Shibnath Banarjee,	
N. M. Joshi,	
Jamnadas Mehta,	
Aftab Ali.	

At its first meeting held in Bombay, the Joint Board discussed some of the burning issues before the Trade Union Movement and adopted resolutions on wage cuts, unemployment and health insurance, 40 hours' week, and appointed a sub-Committee for preparing Labour legislation.

A Joint Conference was held in Nagpur to consider further steps to bring about structural unity. The conference considered the following proposals of the All India Trade Union Congress but could not arrive at any decision. The National Trade Union Federation took up the proposals of the All India Trade Union Congress

for consideration in their general council and have submitted two alternative proposals:—

1. to affiliate the National Trade Union Federation as a unit to the All India Trade Union Congress for one year as a preliminary step towards structural unity. The All India Trade Union Congress to be the Central organisation and adopt the constitution of the National Trade Union Federation.
2. to extend the scope of the Joint Labour Board and strengthen it with plenary powers with mutual consent on issues concerning political matters, election to the Legislatures, strikes and rival unions and absolute plenary powers to be exercised by majority vote on industrial matters excluding strikes.

These proposals were considered at an informal meeting held in Bombay. While preferring the first proposal, the meeting was of the opinion, that the issues of foreign affiliation and political propaganda of the Central organisations required further clarification and, therefore, the General Secretary was requested to elicit opinion from the National Trade Union Federation.

The Joint Labour Board has not functioned effectively as a central organisation nor does it help in coordinating activities. Its existence while not serving any useful purpose has become an obstacle in the way of structural unity.

AFFILIATION OF UNIONS FROM THE RED. T. U. C.

The Credential Committee examined the records of 9 unions and recommended them for affiliation. The Executive Committee has affiliated these unions.

UNITED FRONT WITH THE ALL INDIA CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY.

The agreement between the All India Trade Union Congress and the All India Congress Socialist Party arrived at in Bombay in October 1984 was regarded with apprehension for some time in

some quarters, but the year has cleared all the grounds for misgivings. The C. S. P. has proved to be a source of strength to the Trade Union Congress and is working in perfect harmony. It has accorded its co-operation willingly on all anti-imperialist issues. Several members of the Party are working in the Unions affiliated to the A. I. T. U. C.

In the Congress, the C. S. P. has expressed the political ideology and aspirations of the working class as formulated from time to time by the Trade Union Congress and has pressed for direct representation of organised workers on Congress Committees.

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

While realising the urgent need of the working class participating in the national movement, the T. U. C. decided to lead a deputation to the President of the I. N. C. in Bombay in May 1935. Similar deputation led by our President Com. R. S. Ruikar met the President of the Congress at Wardha. After these talks, the Working Committee of the Congress appointed a Labour Sub-Committee to keep in touch with the Labour Movement. Although the scope of this Committee was inadequate, it opened up the prospect of closer relations in the future. After the appointment of the Labour Sub-Committee, the Executive Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress also appointed a Sub-Committee.

On the establishment of the Joint Labour Board, the Indian National Congress decided to deal directly with the Board. A joint meeting of the Board and the Sub-Committee of the Congress was fixed up at Madras but on the failure of the latter to provide an agenda for the meeting it could not come off.

The relations with the Congress were further clarified by the Executive Committee at its meeting at Nagpur in December, when it authorised its fraction on the Joint Labour Board to deal directly with the Indian National Congress, should it fail in its efforts to do so through the Board.

OUR ACTIVITIES.

Three meetings of the Executive Committee were held during the year. The first meeting was on August 3, 1935, in Bombay in the midst of the excitement of the G. K. U. elections. The decision to form the Joint Board was confirmed by this meeting. The G. K. U. and the D. W. U. disputes were finally settled and it was decided to observe anti-repression day all over India. Comrade Kara was elected to act as President in place of Com. Rukar, anticipating his conviction and incarceration.

The second meeting was held in Nagpur on December 26th and 27th. The meeting considered the question of unity, further clarified its attitude to the Congress and decided to observe Labour Week.

The third meeting brings us to the close of the year under review.

INFORMAL MEETINGS.

Besides the meetings of the Executive Committee, informal meetings were held on three occasions, which were attended by more than 25 representatives, to ascertain the views of different sections of the Trade Union Congress on important problems for the guidance of the office-bearers. The first meeting, held in Bombay in May 35 was in connection with the interview with Babu Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian National Congress and a memorandum was prepared and a small sub-committee was appointed to present it. The second informal meeting was held on the occasion of Comrade Rukar's visit to Bombay in February 36 when the proposal for unity submitted by the N. T. U. F. were discussed. This meeting also considered the proposal of sending Trade Union representatives to the Congress Committees. A sub-committee of Com. R. A. Khedgikar, V. B. Karnik, V. H. Joshi and R. M. Jambhekar was appointed and it has submitted two alternative proposals. As the Executive Committee could not meet immediately, a third informal meeting of the Trade Unionists assembled at Lucknow at the time of the Congress Session was held in April. This meeting discussed the alternative schemes for direct representation

of Trade Unions in the Indian National Congress and also considered the question of the proposed retrenchments on the Railways. A Committee called the Railway Retrenchment Resistance Committee was formed. The committee is to collect statistics about retrenchment, carry on propaganda against it and agitate for an All India Railwaymen's Conference.

OBSERVANCE OF DAYS.

In keeping with the tradition of the Trade Union Congress, we observed throughout the country the following days :

- "May Day"
- "Unemployment Day"
- "Anti-repression Day"
- "Russian Revolution Day"
- "Lenin Day"

In addition to this, the following days were also observed :—

- "Bengal Detenu Day"
- "Jogesh Chatterji Day"
- "Independence Day"
- "Abyssinia Day"
- "Subash Day"
- "Congress Golden Jubilee".

THE LABOUR WEEK.

The Labour Week was observed from Feb. 4 to 11 for an organisational drive and an intensified propaganda on the main issues before the working class movement, such as repression, war, new Reforms, unemployment and immediate demands.

The response to the call of the Trade Union Congress was so remarkable that the Labour Week was observed throughout the country both by affiliated as well as non-affiliated unions. The Congress Socialist Party also accorded its full co-operation on this occasion.

The propaganda against repression and the new constitution has taken a prominent place in our activities during the year. An attempt was also made to link up this agitation with the propaganda against war.

LABOUR LEGISLATIONS.

Two pieces of legislations which were taken up for special agitation by the Trade Union Congress were the Payment of Wages Bill and the Bakhale Bill.

The former was introduced in the Assembly for regulation of the payment of wages. An amendment was moved by Sir Homi Mody for penalising strikes without notice. This amendment was opposed by the workers as an encroachment on their elementary rights.

The latter was a Bill for regulating the hours of work of shop assistants in the Bombay presidency. Agitation to support it was set on foot. A conference of shop assistants and other workers, coming within its purview, was held but the Bill was thrown out due to the opposition of the Government and the representatives of owners in the provincial Council.

STRIKES.

During the course of the year, the attack on the workers' standard has increased. The workers have been offering resistance all over the country. Sporadic strikes have taken place at Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Burhanpur, Karachi, Ahmedabad, Broach, Kurla, Thana, Lalaguda, Nagpur, Calcutta, Ambernath, Jalgaon, Patna and many other places. Prominent among these have been the prolonged struggle of the Burhanpur, and Jalgaon Textile Workers, the Taxi Drivers of Bombay, the Lalaguda Railway Workers, and Inland Steam Company Workers of Bengal which is still going.

REPRESSION.

Since the amalgamation of the Red Trade Union Congress and the All India Trade Union Congress, the government has intensified the repression on the Trade Union movement. Comrades Ruikar, Sahikh Nimbkar and Bhayyaji Kulkarni were arrested for sedition immediately after the Calcutta Session and three of them have been convicted. Com. Shibnath Banarjee also has been the victim of repression. He has been sentenced to one year's I. and is now enlarged on bail pending the decision of the High Court. Besides, a number of active

trade union workers have been deported, interned and restrictions have been placed on many of them including Com. Jogalekar and Patkar. The ban on several Trade Union organisations in Bengal, Bombay, Punjab, U. P. and the States still continues. Sixty house raids were carried out simultaneously in U P. and a case is proceeding in Bombay against three alleged communists. The application of extraordinary powers with which the Executive is armed to-day is making genuine trade union activities difficult

NON-RECOGNITION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Besides the repression, the refusal to recognise unions by the employers and the enforcement of slave agreements on the workers when strikes are called off leaves no other alternative before the workers except direct action even for trifling grievances.

The arbitrary powers vested in the Governors to recognise unions for Labour Constituencies without laying down any criterion, will also introduce a vicious discrimination which will be extremely dangerous to the militant organisations.

PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES.

At present Provincial Committees are functioning in Bombay, U. P., C. P. and Bengal. The U. P. Committee organised a Provincial Conference during the year. The Bengal Committee organised a Press Workers' Conference. The Bombay Committee has been carrying on a ceaseless propaganda on all important economic as well as political issues. A provisional committee is functioning in Madras and will develop in the near future into a full-fledged provincial unit. It is endeavouring to draw into the fold of the Trade Union Congress several new unions. The inclusion of Karachi unions in the Trade Union Congress calls for the organisation of a separate Provincial Committee for Sind. Attempts have been made to establish contacts with Punjab and Bihar and it could be expected that in the near future committees will be established in these Provinces.

NEW UNIONS.

Several new unions have been formed during the course of the year, in Bombay, Gujarat, Kerala, Delhi, Punjab, and Bihar.

These unions cannot be affiliated as they are not yet a year old. They are therefore, seeking associate membership of the Trade Union Congress.

AFFILIATION OF NEW UNIONS.

Besides 5 unions of the Red Trade Union Congress, 21 unions have been affiliated bringing the total strength of the the Trade Union Congress to 71 affiliated unions.

FUNDS.

Although the Trade Union Congress is regaining strength in the number of affiliated unions, co-ordination of activities and intensification and centralization of the movement, it is very much handicapped for lack of funds. The need for a permanent secretariat to deal with the increasing activity is urgently felt and is long overdue. The need for a Trade Union Congress Bulletin was recognised at an earlier session of the Congress but could not be given effect to for the only reason of lack of funds. This difficulty is primarily due to the failure of the affiliated unions in the prompt payment of their affiliation fees.

CONCLUSION.

Before concluding I must express a genuine feeling of gratitude to all my colleagues in the Trade Union Congress for the splendid co-operation against all odds, which they have been giving on every occasion. The Trade Union Congress working with this team spirit has grown stronger organisationally, better equipped ideologically and is working more harmoniously than before.

In handing over charge of my offices, I can proudly look back to a period of intense activity, which will remain fresh in our memories and form an important chapter in the history of the Trade Union Movement and the anti-imperialist struggle.

R. A. KHEDGIKAR,

Gen. Secretary,

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SESSION.

Resolutions passed at the 15th session of the All India Trade Union Congress held in Bombay on the 17th and 18th of May 1936.

(In all 33 resolutions were passed. The text of 20 resolutions is given below in full. The rest have been summarised).

TRADE UNION UNITY.

The T. U. C. has repeatedly emphasized the indispensable necessity of complete structural unity in the T. U. Movement if Indian workers are to launch in the present situation country-wide offensive for their economic and political demands. The T. U. C. deeply regrets that the leadership of the N. F. T. U. has not shown that whole-hearted and earnest response to the appeals of the T. U. C. in this regard as the condition of the workers demanded. In view of the fact that the necessity of drawing up of immediate programme of action for the vital demands of the workers and the recognition of the principle of class struggle and Trade Union democracy is accepted by all sections of the T. U. Movement, the T. U. C. holds that no fundamental obstacle in the path of structural unity any longer exists. Under the circumstances any delay in uniting the A. I. T. U. C. and the N. T. U. F. arising from undue emphasis on secondary issues is bound to be disastrous from the point of view of working class. The T. U. C. declares its unqualified preparedness to accommodate in a genuine spirit of conciliation the demands of the N. T. U. F. on all such issues so as not to hamper the growth of the struggle which is to-day the fundamental responsibility of the Trade Union Movement as a whole.

The T. U. C. accepts the Giri proposals in general as a basis of unity, subject to the following modifications:—

1. Re: Foreign affiliation, the N. T. U. F. will have no voice on the question of the affiliation of the A. I. T. U. C.

2. The constitution of the N. T. U. F. will be accepted with such modifications as may be found necessary by the E. C. of the T. U. C.

8. Later on, provided where it would not be possible to take any decisions on a political issue or a strike for want of three fourths majority the T. U. C. will be free to act according to its bare majority opinion in case the Federation insists on taking independent action in connection with such political questions and strikes.

REPRESSION.

1. This Congress condemns the Government for its brutal suppression of Civil and Political Liberties in India and particularly the imprisonment, internment, externment and detention of scores of fighters in the cause of freedom, the suppression of working class, peasant, youth and national organisations, the proscription and the prevention of the entry of radical literature, the enactment of barbarous laws, the subjection of peasants to harassment for inability to meet the demands of the state, landlords, money-lenders and other middle men, etc.

This Congress also condemns the repressive regime in the Indian States where civil rights and public liberties are suppressed even more ruthlessly.

This Congress sends its warm greetings to the thousands that are silently and bravely suffering for the noble cause of freedom through imprisonment and exile and supports the legitimate demands of the political prisoners for decent treatment and sympathises with those who are on hunger strike including Profulla Narayan Mullick in Krishanagar Jail (Bengal).

This Congress demands the immediate release or open trial of Com. Subhas Bose, Dr. Charu Banerjee, Mazaffar Ahmed, Halm, Amir Hyder Khan and all labour workers and about 3000 Bengal detenus detained without trial.

This Congress demands the release of Coms. R. S. Ruikar, R. S. Nimbkar, M. N. Roy, Mukunda Lal Sircar and all other labour workers convicted under different sections.

This Congress welcomes and supports the move of the President of the I. N. C. for the formation of a Civil Liberties Union.

2. Abolition of landlordism and other forms of intermediaries between the state and the cultivators; provision of necessary facilities for grazing the cattle, marketing etc.

3. A substantial portion of revenue from rural area to be spent on rural areas.

4. Liquidation of debts of workers and peasants and provision by the state of cheap credit facilities for productive purposes.

5. Provision for a minimum wage of at least Rs. 30 per month, 40 hours' week, adequate housing, healthy conditions of work, unemployment and other forms of social insurance, a month's leave with full pay.

6. Abolition of feudal levies and the freedom of peasants from conditions bordering on serfdom.

7. No protection to industries without guaranteeing the minimum demands of workers and producers of raw materials concerned.

8. Free primary education and adequate facilities for other types of education.

9. Freedom of press, speech, association and organisation.

(4) **WAR.**

3. This Congress condemns the deliberate war preparations of the dominant Imperialist powers which are more and more openly declaring their faith in another imperialist war as the only way out of the world crisis. The grabbing of Manchuria and the whole of North China by Japan and its use as a war base against the Soviet Union, the murderous aggression by fascist Italy on Abyssinia, the flagrant repudiation by Nazi Germany of all international agreements and its rapid armament with the connivance of British Imperialism as a definite preparation for attacking Soviet Russia in alliance with Japan, the rapid establishment and strengthening by British Imperialism of military bases at strategic points all over the Empire and especially in India, the sudden interest evinced by it in the Indian peasantry which is so much cannon fodder for the coming war, the failure of the League of Nations to maintain the system of Collective Security, as a result of the domination of Imperialist

Powers—all these are indubitable indications of the imminent danger of another Imperialist War slaughter for a redivision of the world at the cost of weaker powers and colonies and also, the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all oppressed masses of the world.

This Congress, therefore, calls upon all organisations of workers and peasants, I. N. O. and other anti-imperialist organisations immediately to set up local joint committees for agitation against Imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union so as to prevent the exploitation of Indian money and resources by British Imperialism in such a crisis and to utilise it for intensifying the struggle for National Independence.

This Congress sends its respectful greetings to the people of Abyssinia, to the workers and peasants of China and to all other peoples who have been and are heroically fighting the brutal attempts of the various imperialist powers to enslave them.

GREETINGS TO ABYSSINIA.

The Trade Union Congress greets the heroic people of Abyssinia, the revolutionary martyrs in the cause of colonial freedom. The powerful resistance organised by technically undeveloped Abyssinia to blood-thirsty savagery of an Imperialist and Fascist power armed to the teeth with most modern instruments of warfare not only demonstrated what weaker nations can achieve against the capitalist giant through sheer force of an undying will to be free, not only exposed the cynical and brazen greediness underlying the eloquent expressions of pacifism indulged in by every Imperialist Power without exception, but has also been a call to all subject nations of the world to declare unflinching resistance against tyrants that grind them under the iron heel of repression. The Trade Union Congress, therefore, calls upon the exploited people of India to realise the full implications and the lessons of the glorious martyrdom of Abyssinia.

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Whereas complete national independence implying severance from the British Empire and the transfer of all political power to the oppressed masses is the basic political demand of the Indian working class,

and whereas even the most minimum demands of the working class cannot be secured without the attainment of Independence.

This Congress emphatically is of opinion that the working class must actively participate and play its due role in the national movement and whereas the I. N. C. is today the best available means of effecting a united front of the Indian People against imperialism and its native allies, this Congress decides to establish relations of close cooperation with the Indian National Congress with the object of broadening and deepening the national struggle for independence.

This Congress is emphatically of opinion that such cooperation can be established on a sure foundation only if the Indian National Congress supports the immediate economic and political demands of the working class and its struggle for those demands and makes suitable provisions for the participation of the workers in the Congress through their class organisations.

This Congress appeals to the radical elements in the Congress in general and to the Congress Socialist Party in particular to exert themselves for effecting the aforesaid changes in the Congress programme and structure with the intention of bringing about closer contact and cooperation between the working class and the National Movement.

This Congress requests the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress to devise—pending changes in the constitution—a machinery of joint all-India, provincial, district and local committees for developing joint action and for establishing a closer contact between the workers and the Indian National Congress and assures the Working Committee of its full cooperation in the working of these joint committees.

While laying stress on the necessity of closer co-operation with the I. N. C. this Congress emphasizes the urgent necessity of independent effort on the part of the working class and other radical parties to carry forward the task of building up a People's United Front.

This Congress urges upon its affiliated unions to develop common action with the local Congress Organisations on various specific questions as they may arise from time to time and in particular:—

1. For the rejection of New Reforms.
2. For opposing the impending imperialist war.
3. For the Defence of the Soviet Union.
4. For the Defence of Civil Liberties.
5. For safeguarding and advancing the interests of the working class.
6. For contesting the elections under the new reforms.

This Congress appoints a sub committee consisting of the following to take steps for the implementing of this resolution.

1. President.
2. General Secretary.
3. Hariharnath Shastri.
4. Meharally.
5. Dr. Shetty.
6. R. M. Jambekar.

COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATION.

The A. I. T. U. C. welcomes the resolution passed by the I. N. C. at Lucknow, proposing to bring the Congress into closer relation with workers', peasants', and other mass anti-imperialist organisations in the country, and greets all left wing elements in the Indian National Congress for firmly insisting on the democratisation of the I. N. C. and on its acceptance of the vital demands of the toiling masses for the purpose of raising the anti-imperialist struggle to a higher level. The A. I. T. U. C. declares its keen desire to cooperate whole-heartedly with every radical group and section in the fight for national Independence. The creation of a genuine anti-imperialist front is today the most pressing organisational need of India's struggle for Independence. Considering the present stage of the development of the anti-imperialist forces in India, the most effective method of forging such a front is through collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organisations to the I. N. C. Moreover, in order that the

working class may play its due role in the national movement of India it is necessary that together with its independent political activity, should also work through the Indian National Congress, which can only be done by its class organisations being affiliated to the Indian National Congress.

The A. I. T. U. C. therefore, resolves that the I. N. C. be asked to provide for the representation of organised workers on the following lines:—

SCHEME OF REPRESENTATION.

1. Trade Unions recognised by the A. I. C. C. office or Trade Union Branches in a district to apply for representation to the District Congress Committee. Bombay City to be deemed a District for this purpose.

Applications to be by a resolution of the Union or its Executive endorsing the Congress Creed.

2. A fee of Rs. 10/- to be paid for every 1000 members for whom representation is desired, provided that in no case is representation to be claimed or granted in excess of the total paying membership of the Union as ascertained by the office of the A. I. C. C.

D. C. C. Executive.

3. Workers' representation on the District Congress Committee Executive to bear a fourth of the ratio to the representatives from the talukas or tahsils that the number of trade union members for whom the quota is paid bears to the number of members individually enrolled by the D. C. C.

P. C. C. and Annual Session.

4. Workers' representation on the Provincial Congress Committee and in the Open Session of the Congress to be on the basis of one delegate for every 1000 members for whom the quota has been paid to the District Committee.

A. I. C. C.

5. Where there are more than 8000 primary members in the T. U. Constituencies in any province the delegates elected by those constitu-

encies shall elect to the A. I. C. C. one representative for every 8000 members.

T. U. Constituencies.

6. Election of the representatives to the D. C. C. Executives and P. C. Cs. and of delegates to the Congress Session to be by District T. U. Constituencies composed of all the members of all the unions joining the scheme of representation. Where there are less than 1000 members in the T. U. Constituency in a District, but more than 250, the Constituency will be still entitled to one delegate and one representative on the P. C. C.

Method of Election.

7. The election of all representatives shall be directly by the members of the T. U. Constituency by the method of the cumulative vote and by secret ballot.

8. Only members or honorary members of Trade Unions joining the Scheme to be eligible for election as representatives.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The Trade Union Congress resolves that the development of the Political consciousness of the workers and their active participation in the political struggles is an integral part of the Trade Union Movement and calls upon all Trade Union workers to utilise all opportunities to this end. In this connection the T. U. C. particularly stresses the value of mass protest-strikes of workers on political issues.

LABOUR CONSTITUENCIES.

This session of the I. T. U. C. condemns the vesting of absolute power in the hands of the Provincial Governors to grant or withhold certificate of recognition to labour unions for the purpose of Labour Constituencies under new reforms at their personal discretion. It also protests against the proposal of the Franchise Committee to grant one seat in the Federal Assembly to the N. T. U. F. to the exclusion of the A. I. T. U. C.

PAYMENT OF WAGES BILL.

This Congress condemns the Government for penalising lightning strikes as suggested in the Payment of Wages Bill in as much as this proviso is against the fundamental idea underlying this legislation and urges upon the Indian workers to carry on intensive propaganda against the proviso and compel the Government to annul the same.

FACTORIES' ACT.

This Congress urges upon the Government to so amend the Indian Factories' Act as to provide imprisonment besides imposition of fines for breach of the Act. It draws the attention of the Government to the undue delay made in the disposal of Workmen's Compensation cases and recommends that suitable arrangements be made to expedite such cases so as to finish them within few months after the applications are made.

PRESS WORKERS.

This Congress calls upon for the P. T. U. Congress Committees to take up the work of agitation so as to compel the Govt. to provide for the timely payment of wages, regulation of working hours and the provision for holidays for all the Presses, including those which do not come under the present Factory Act. It is further of opinion that the Govt. should provide for the compulsory recognition of the Unions by the owners.

JAMSHEDPUR METAL WORKERS' UNION.

This Session of the A. I. T. U. C. strongly condemns the loyalist-pro-capitalist and anti-united front activities of the Jamshedpur Metal Workers' Union, a rival body of the Jamshedpur Labour Association, and urges upon the Jamshedpur workers to close up their ranks and to build up a united working class organisation of Jamshedpur iron and steel workers on accepted principles of militant Trade Unionism in order to carry forward their struggle against the Capitalist offensive.

This Congress appoints the following Sub-Committee with powers to coopt in order to give effect to the above resolution of building up a united organisation of J. Steel Workers.

- (1) B. P. Singh. (2) M. Abdul Bari. (3) J. N. Mitra.
(4) S. K. Pramanik. (5) Hari Harnath Shastri. (6) Maniben Kara.

PEASANTRY.

This Congress greets the exploited peasantry of India who despite every handicap of organisation, resources and cultural backwardness and in spite of every measure of repression and terrorism practised by the Government and landlords have been carrying on heroic struggles against the Government, the landlords and the Princes. Hopelessly sunk in debt, their lands grabbed by their creditors, crushed under an intolerable burden of taxes, cesses, rents, interest charges etc. made still heavier by the catastrophic fall in prices, reduced to serfdom, with utter starvation facing them, their wives and children, tied down to most primitive and unremunerative modes of production, with all avenues of progress and prosperity closed to them by the impossibility of industrialisation taking place within the framework of imperialism, the Indian peasants constitute the biggest contingent in the army of national independence, and of all the elements participating in that struggle have made the largest sacrifices and suffered the greatest hardships.

This Congress offers them full comradely support in their struggles for land and bread against the the landlords, the native princess and the Government and welcomes the establishment of Kisan organisations. It invites them to join the common fight of workers and other oppressed elements for the overthrow of foreign domination and for the emancipation of all oppressed masses from every form of social bondage.

MAJOUR MAHAJAN: AHMEDABAD.

The T. U. C. urges upon the leaders of the Majoor Mahajan of Ahmedabad and its affiliate mahajans elsewhere to give up their policy of keeping workers isolated from the struggle and organisational solidarity of the Indian working class by working in alliance with the employers and invites them to join the A. I. T. U. C.

Meanwhile, the T. U. C. recognises the Mill Kamdar Union and congratulates the Ahmedabad Textile Workers for having set up the

Mill Kamdar Union which must act as a lever to bring about Union of the Ahmedabad workers with the Indian working class.

RAILWAY RETRENCHMENT.

In view of the recent threat of another block retrenchment of Indian Railways which is likely to throw thousands of Railway workers out of employment and simultaneous reduction of wages and privileges of workers in employment, lowering their standard of life this Congress endorses the formation of the Railway Retrenchment Resistance Committee and calls upon all Railway Unions not represented there to send their representatives and help it in carrying out its programme of action, including vigorous country-wide agitation observance of an all India anti-retrenchment day and preparation for All India Railwaymen's Conference.

This Congress further requests the Indian National Congress, the All India Congress Socialist Party and the Kisan Sanghs to cooperate with this committee in its work.

Whereas, since 1931, the Indian Railway Workers have been subjected to a most brutal offensive by the Railway administration such as retrenchment, demotions, wage reductions, compulsory leave, short time, restrictions on facilities regarding passes, blocking of promotions, contract system, job analysis as an instrument for intensifying work, new leave rules, new scales of wages etc. and whereas the latest announcement made by the Railway Board proposes to axe many more thousand workers in addition to 2 lacs already retrenched and whereas the Niemeyer Report increases the burden on the Railways and therefore on the workers by proposing to make them pay for the additional burden of the new Constitution,

And whereas it has long since become too clear to Railway workers that the only effective weapon in their hands to beat off this monstrous offensive is an All India Railway Strike,

This Session, therefore, declares that the most pressing need of the moment is to carry on vigorous and country-wide agitation to

fight the offensive with direct action as the only alternative left open before the workers.

This Session further endorses the formation of the Railway Retrenchment Resistance Committee.

This Session further emphasises the need for an All India Railway Workers' Conference to prepare the workers to beat off the offensive of the Railway Board, and calls upon the Railway Unions to bring pressure to bear upon the A. I. R. Federation to hold such a Conference at an early date.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

This Congress views with great alarm the increasing unemployment among the working masses brought about by the sharpening of world economic crisis and the fall of agricultural prices and thus accentuating the political crises in the country. This Congress, therefore, realises the necessity for alleviating the sufferings of the unemployed and proposes the following immediate line of action for conducting their struggle on the basis of their demands.

(a) The setting up of Unemployed Workers' Councils in the Working Class area under the centralised leadership of the A. I. T. U. C. composed of delegates elected by the District or Provincial Unemployed Workers' Councils.

(b) This council to draw up the demands and link them up with the demands of the employed workers.

Further, this Congress draws the attention of the constituent elements of the Trade Union Congress to the dire necessity of propagating amongst the unemployed masses the reasons of this unemployment and that the entire wiping out of unemployment will not take place so long as there is no radical reconstruction of the Indian Social Structure.

IMMEDIATE TASKS.

The T. U. C. holds that considering the magnitude of the offensive launched against the workers by capitalists and the imperialist Govt. since the beginning of the world economic crisis and particularly during the last few years, Indian working class has not been

able to organise sufficiently powerful, much less an effective resistance to this joint onslaught. The terroristic policy of the Govt. directed towards suppressing every form of militant working class activity has greatly hampered the resort to direct action by the workers. At the same time, however, the T. U. C. recognises that certain organisational mistakes of policy have also been responsible for this failure. In particular the T. U. C. notes that:—

1. The acute divisions in the T. U. Movement and the consequent lack of coordination between its various sections,

2. The extremely defeatist and submissive attitude taken by the right wing leaders of the Trade Union movement towards the capitalistic attacks on the workers,

3. Certain sectarian deviations on the part of the left wing leadership,

4. Lack of extensive mass membership characteristic of the T. U. movement as a whole and consequent absence of vital and effective contact between the trade unions and their executives on the one hand and the workers represented by them on the other,

5. The neglect by the Trade Unions of their duty to draw the working class in practical political activity and

6. Failure of the T. U. Leadership to devise ways and means for carrying on work under conditions of severe repression, mainly explain the present plight of the Indian working class.

The task of mobilising the workers for direct struggle should, in the immediate future, mainly be given the following concrete shape.

- (a) Popularising the general demands already accepted by the T. U. C.
- (b) Preparations for convening conferences of workers of each industry and particularly the textile, railway, shipping, dock, mining and metal groups for formulating their immediate technical demands and preparing for direct action.
- (c) A most vigorous drive for enrolling new members. If the existing Trade unions are to be vitilised, to become fully

responsible to the needs, temper and aspirations of the workers, to become powerful enough in their turn to shape and guide working class opinion and action, and to be democratised, it is indispensable that a far larger section of the workers be drawn inside the trade union organisations and made to participate actively in their normal work.

- (d) A far greater emphasis than in the past to be laid on political propaganda and action. Every opportunity must be utilised for carrying on political agitation among the workers both on immediate and wider political issues. These issues, moreover, must relate to every section of population, and not merely to the exclusive class demands of the proletariat. In particular the working class must become thoroughly familiarised with the political strike and learn the tremendous power and importance of the strike as a vital part of the general anti-imperialist struggle.
- (e) Theoretical and practical training of reliable and capable cadres for conducting the trade union struggles even under most severe conditions of victimisation and repression.

T. U. C. therefore decides that the immediate programme of action to be chalked out must suggest means for:—

1. Bringing about structural unity in the T. U. movement.
2. Mobilising and preparing the workers for direct struggle on the basis of their vital political and economic demands.
3. Giving Trade Unions a live mass basis.
4. Training organisers and ensuring the continuance of the trade union activities even under conditions of ruthless suppression.

NEW OFFICE-BEARERS.

This Congress elects the following as its office-bearers for the next year.

President:—Com. Shibban Bannerjee.

Vice-Presidents:—1. Com. R. A. Khedgikar.
2. Com. Sudhin Pramanik.

3. Com. R. S. Ruikar.
4. Com. Narayandas Bechar.
5. Com. Rajaram Shastri.

Com. R. A. Khedgikar to act as president in case Com. Shibu Bannerji is imprisoned.

General Secretary:—Com. Maniben Kara.

Treasurer:—Com. V. B. Karnik.

It is resolved that the elections of the Provincial and Organising Secretaries be made by the respective Provincial Trade Union Congress Committees.

In the thirteen other resolutions that were passed, the T. U.

- (1) welcomed the growth of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces within the Indian National Congress and appreciated the services of Pt. J. Nehru and C. S. P. towards developing the anti-imperialist forces and the opposition to the right wing,
- (2) congratulated the steamer workers of Calcutta, Digha, Sent chara and Barisal, the Broach sweepers, the Bengal Jute workers and the Bangalore tobacco strikers for their brave struggles against the capitalist offensive, and also the Ahmedabad textile workers for the successful conference they held
- (3) voiced the specific demands of the workers in various industries viz. Docks, Hawkers, Municipalities, textile mills, and transport,
- (4) supported the struggle of the untouchables for social, economic and political emancipation,
- (5) warned the workers against the communal propaganda carried on by interested parties,
- (6) emphasised the need of training cadres for trade union activities,
- (7) mourned the deaths of Com. Saklatwalla and Dr. Ansari, and
- (8) sent greetings to the toilers of the world.

List of affiliated Unions, for the year 1936-1937.

Serial No.	Name of Union.	Membership.
1.	B. N. Railway Employees' Union, 41/2-6. Indian Staff Quaters, B. N. Railway, Garden Reach Calcutta ...	942
2.	Budge Budge Jute Workers' Union, Amrutlal Daw Road Crossing, Budge Budge	500
3.	Bengal Motor Workers' Union, ... 32/1, Mahim Halder Street, Kalighat, Calcutta,	600
4.	Bengal Oil and Petrol Workers' Union, Main Road, Budge Budge ...	1,195
5.	A. B. Railway Indian Employees' Association, Jute Merchants' Block, Mymensingh	250
6.	Jamshedpur Labour Association, 17 K. Road, Jamshedpur, B. N. Rly. ...	1,000
7.	Tata Collieries Labour Association, Jamadoba Coolhery, Jealgora, P. O. Manbhum	975
8.	Bogura District Labour Federation, Bogura, Bengal	
9.	Bowali Sramik Krishak Samati, Bowali, P. O. 34 Puriganas	
10.	Bengal Steel and Iron Workers' Union, 31 Middle Road, Entally, Calcutta ...	300
11.	Bombay Gurni Kamar Union, Indira Building, P. O. Bombay	5,500
12.	Bombay Tramway Men's Union, Indira Building, P. O. Bombay	164
13.	Bombay Dock Workers' Union, Phirozshah Building, Thana Street, Opp. Princess Dock, Bombay	680

14.	Bombay Tailors' Union	300
15.	Bombay Embroidery Workers' Union ...	500
16.	Municipal Workers' Union, Bombay Improvement Trust Chawl, Block No. 8, Room No, 20, Bombay 8. ...	328
17.	Bombay Hawkers' Union, Improvement Trust Chawl, Block 8, Room No. 20, Bombay 8.	500
18.	Bombay Lorry Transport workers Union, Cotton Depot, Shivari	110
19.	G. I. P Railway Workers' Union, Shetye Building, Parel, Bombay 12. ...	10,000
20.	Lalbavta Press Kamgar Union, Contractor Building, Girgaon, Bombay ...	570
21.	Kaju Kamgar Union, Batatawala Mansion, Lalbaug, Parel, Bombay ...	1,200
22.	Dhulia Girni Kamgar Union, Dhulia (Khandesh)	200
23.	Nagpur Textile Union, New Shukrawari, Nagpur City	2,000
24.	Nagpur Scavengers' Union, Nagpur ...	500
25.	C. P. & Berar Textile Labour Union, Nagpur	1,000
26.	Cawnpore Mazdoor Sabha, Gwaltoli, Cawnpore	3,000
27.	E. I. Railwaymen's Union, Charbaug, Lucknow	2,000
28.	B. N. W. Railwaymen' Association, Gorakhpur U. P.	1,000
29.	Press Workers' Union, Cawnpore ...	800
30.	Kisan Mazdoor Sabha, Meerut ...	200
31.	Lucknow Labour Union, Lucknow ...	500
32.	Kapda Karmachari Samiti, Cawnpore ...	900
33.	Municipal Educational Employees' Association, Cawnpore	500
34.	Madras Transport Workers' Union, 297, Mint Street, Madras	

35.	Madras Kerosene Oil Workers' Union, 297, Mint Street, Madras	
36.	Madras Aluminium Factory Labour Union No. 3 Chinnathambu Fudali Street, Triplicane P. O. Madras...	
37.	Massey & Co. Labour Union, 1/59, Swami Naickan Street, Chintadri Pet, Madras...	
38.	Jute Workers' Union, 1/59, Swami Nickan Street, Chintadri Pet, Madras	
39.	Madras Printers' Union, C/o. People's Printing Works, Big Sreet, Triplicane, Madras	
40.	Madras City Scavengers' Union, Madras ...	
41.	All Bengal Press Workers' Union, 6/2, Ramnath Muzumdar Street, Calcutta ...	500
42.	Industrial Workers' Union, Bhatapara, 24 Purganas	350
43.	E. B. Railway Workers' Union, Garden Reach	500
44.	Calcutta Khansama Union, 209, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta	410
45.	Howrah Scavengers Union	200
46.	Chandranager Mazdoor Sabha, Chandra- nager	1048
47.	Marine and Engineers' Union, Rajabagan, 24 Purganas	376
48.	Painting Kamgar Union, Contractor Build- ing, Gurgaon, Bombay	127
49.	Electric Workers' Union, Contractor Build- ing, Gurgaon, Bombay	127
50.	B. B. & C. I. Railway Employees' Union, Ambaji Nivas, Tilak Bridge, Bombay...	610
51.	Labawta Girni Kamgar Union, Bidiwala Chawl, Kurla	225
52.	Labawta Girni Kamgar Union, Sholapur...	100
53.	Girni Kamgar Union, Poona, 390 Sadashiv Peth, Poona	200

54.	Hotel Workers' Union, 683 Budhawar Peth, Poona	139
55.	Press Workers' Union, Opp. Huzur Paga, Poona	128
56.	Karachi Municipal Workers' Union, Opp. Khalidina Hall, Karachi ...	851
57.	Karachi Factory Workers' Union, Opp. Khalidina Hall, Karachi	250
58.	Karachi Port Trust Labour Union, Kiamari, Karachi	985
59.	Karachi Municipal Sweepers' Union, Narayanpur, Sweepers' Quarters, Nabibux Road, Karachi	785
60.	Karachi Dock Workers' Union, Kiamari, Karachi	250
61.	Cotton Mill Workers' Union, Thiruvannpoo Calicut	300
62.	Madras Press Workers' Union, 50 Tata Muthiappan Street, G. T., Madras ...	116
63.	Howrah Sramik Mandal	208
64.	Water and Transport Workers' Union, 11F, Watgunge Street, Kidderpore ...	750
65.	Corporation Workers' Union, 209 Corn- valis Street, Calcutta	750
66.	Shamnagar Textile Workers' Union, P. O. Garulia Bazar, 24 Purganas ...	227
67.	Shrirampur Textile Workers' Union, P. O. Mahesh, Hoogli	265
68.	Shrirampur Jute Workers' Union, P. O. Mahesh, Hoogli	407
69.	Inland Steam Navigation Workers' Union, 209 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta ...	1,250
70.	Delhi Press Workers' Union, Baratuti Sadar Delhi	300
71.	Tramwaymen's and Electric Supply Association, 73-74, Arunachal Naikan Street, Chintadri Peth, Madras ...	551

All-India Trade Union Congress.

CONSTITUTION.

The following is the full text of the constitution of the All India Trade Union Congress as amended up to date.

1. **Name**—The name of the organisation shall be the All India Trade Union Congress.

2. **Object**.—(A) The object of the Congress shall be to co-ordinate the activities of all the labour organisations in all the provinces in India, and generally to further the interests of Indian labour in matters economic, social and political. It may also co-operate and federate with organisations of labour having similar objects in any part of the world.

(B) The T. U. C. stands for the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism and for the attainment of National Independence as a condition precedent for the same.

3. **Constituents**.—The All India Trade Union Congress shall consist of the delegates of the affiliated labour unions in India, the President, one or more Vice-Presidents, the General Secretary, one or more Secretaries, one or more Assistant Secretaries, the Treasurer, the members of the Executive Council and such other officers as the Trade Union Congress thinks it necessary to appoint from time to time.

4. **Affiliation**.—Every organisation of labour, under whatever name it may be known, shall be entitled to be affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress by the Executive Council on the following conditions:—

(a) That the union seeking affiliation shall pay to the All-India Trade Union Congress an annual contribution on the basis of Rs. 5/- below 1000 and Rs. 10/- for every 1,000 members or part thereof.

(b) That the Union seeking affiliation shall pay to the All-India Trade Union Congress the amount of a special levy or a contribution approved of by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council in the same proportion as (a).

(c) That the Union seeking affiliation shall agree not to act in any manner prejudicial to the collective interests of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

(d) That the application for affiliation shall be forwarded through the Provincial Committee to the General Secretary, with the decision arrived at by it; that no application for affiliation shall be withheld by the Provincial Committee.

(e) That no Union shall be affiliated which has not been in existence at least for one year and has not had its accounts and statement of paying members audited by a qualified auditor or an authorised representative of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

✓ **Explanation:**—A Trade Union is an organ of class struggle whose basic task is the organisation of workers in a particular trade or industry for defending and advancing their interests, which precludes any attempt at reconciliation of the interests of Capital and Labour or the foostering of friendly relations between the employers and the employees.

5. A Union which does not pay its annual affiliation fees to the T. U. C. and P. T. U. C. before the end of April each year, shall not be entitled to vote either at the meeting of the Executive Council or at the Sessions of the A. I. T. U. Congress or at any of its Committee till the fees are paid.

6. **Responsibility for Administration:**—The affairs of the All-India Trade Union Congress, when not in session, shall be regulated and administered by the Executive Council which shall not act in any manner inconsistent with the resolution of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

7. **Annual Session:**—The All-India Trade Union Congress shall meet once every year at such place and time as may be fixed at the

previous session and, when not so fixed, at any place fixed by the Executive Council and at such time as may be fixed by the Reception Committee in consultation with and subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

Special Session:—The Executive Council shall have power to call a special session of the Congress besides the ordinary annual session whenever it deems necessary on its own initiative or on a requisition by 1/3rd of the Unions affiliated to the A.I.T.U.C.

9. Delegates:—(a) Each affiliated Union shall be represented at any session of the Congress on the basis of 1 delegate for every 200 members.

(b) No Union which has a membership of less than 100 shall be entitled to representation at any session of the Congress. For unions having membership between 100 and 200, they shall have one representative.

(c) For the purpose of (a) and (b) of this rule, the average membership of the preceding twelve months shall be taken into consideration according to the audited statement of accounts of each union, which shall be submitted to the General Secretary at least fifteen days before the annual session of the Congress.

(d) No person who is neither an office-bearer nor a member of an affiliated Union shall be eligible to represent that Union either at the meetings of the Executive Council or at the sessions of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

10. The affiliated Unions shall send the names and addresses of their delegates to the Secretary of the Reception Committee at least a fortnight before the date of the meeting of the Congress.

11. Business at the Annual Session:—The annual session of the Congress shall, on the recommendation of the Executive Council, elect the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman or Vice-Chairmen of the Executive Council, the Treasurer, the General Secretary, the Secretary or Secretaries, the Assistant Secretary or Secretaries, the auditor and not more than ten additional members of the Executive Council shall receive, discuss and adopt the annual report and

audited statement of accounts and may pass such resolutions as are placed on the agenda.

12. **President and ex-officio Delegates:**—The Chairman of the Executive Council of the past year shall be the President and the Vice-Chairmen shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Congress. The General Secretary, the Secretary or Secretaries, the Assistant Secretary or Secretaries, the Treasurer and all Ex-Presidents of the Congress shall be ex-officio delegates of the Congress.

13. **Resolutions and Agenda:**—Any affiliated Union has the right to send to the Reception Committee not more than five resolutions and the Reception Committee shall place these resolutions before the Executive Council which may place all or any of such resolutions on the agenda. The Executive Council may place on the agenda any resolutions not sent by the unions. The Executive Council shall decide the order in which resolutions shall be placed on the agenda.

14. **Amendments:**—Any delegate shall have the right to move an amendment to the resolutions duly moved and seconded.

15. A delegate shall be allowed to speak once only on any proposition except the mover who shall have the right of reply.

16. **Closure:**—Should the President of the Congress consider that there is no practical difference of opinion among the delegates, he shall have power to stop further discussion and submit the proposition to the vote of the Congress. The President shall have power to accept or refuse a motion for closure if he thinks the matter has not been sufficiently discussed.

17. **Voting:**—On a motion being put to the Congress the President shall call for a show of hands in favour of and against the motion and declare the result. But if any delegate challenges a division the voting shall be by Unions, each Union casting as many votes as the number of delegates is entitled to send in such a manner as to secure proportional representation.

18. **Reception Committee:**—(a) The Provincial Committee for the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to

term's Reception Committee at the place where the session of the Congress is to be held for the purpose of making arrangements for the holding of the Congress. The Reception Committee shall collect a special fund to meet the expenses required for its work.

(b) Out of the surplus money in the hands of the Reception Committee, 50 percent shall be handed over to the Executive Council for the General purposes and 50 percent to the Provincial Labour Organisation.

19. **Executive Council:** The Executive Council of the Congress shall consist of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman or Vice-chairmen, the Treasurer, the General Secretary, the Secretary or Secretaries and Assistant Secretary or Assistant Secretaries as ex-officio members, not more than ten additional members elected at the annual session of the Congress and the representatives elected by the affiliated Unions on the following basis:

1. Representative for Unions with a membership up to 1,000.
2. Representatives for Unions with membership between 1,000 and 3,000.
3. Representatives for Unions with a membership between 3,000 and 5,000.
4. Representatives for Unions with a membership above 5,000.

20. The Executive Council shall have the power to act on behalf of the Congress in so far as its acts are not inconsistent with the resolutions of the Congress.

21. The Executive Council shall meet ordinarily at least once in every six months at such place and time as the Chairman in consultation with the General Secretary may decide.

22. When a meeting of the Executive Council cannot be held, the General Secretary with the permission of the Chairman, may circulate to the members of the Executive Council for opinion such matters as require immediate action and the opinion of the majority of the members shall have the same force as if they were passed at a meeting of the Executive Council.

23. A clear fortnight's notice is necessary for meetings of the Executive Council.

24. **Special Meeting.**—A special meeting of the Executive Council shall be called within one month, on written requisition by ten members stating the business for which the meeting is convened or by the Chairman in consultation with the General Secretary for any urgent business.

25. **Quorum.**—The quorum at ordinary meetings of the Executive Council shall be 11 and at special meetings 21.

25 (a). A meeting of the Executive Council adjourned for want of a quorum may be held after a fortnight's notice. Its decisions shall be valid even though there be no quorum.

26. **Vacancies.**—Should the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman or Vice-Chairmen, the Treasurer, the General Secretary the Secretary or Secretaries, the Assistant Secretary or Secretaries resign or should a vacancy occur otherwise before the end of the period, the Executive Council shall fill the vacancies till the next meeting of the Congress.

27. **Provincial Committee.**—(A) In every province there shall be a Provincial Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress consisting of the representatives of affiliated unions having their quarters in the province elected on the same basis as the representatives on the Executive Council.

(b) Every affiliated Union must affiliate itself to the Provincial Committee, if any, and pay the quota fixed by the Provincial Committee.

28. Every Provincial Committee shall frame its own rules, but they must be approved by the Executive Council.

29. The provincial Committees shall take all necessary steps to further the cause of labour in their respective provinces under the guidance of the Executive Council.

30. **Autonomy for Unions.**—The All India Trade Union Congress recognises the right of each affiliated union to manage its own affairs according to its rules, but in a manner not inconsistent with the resolutions and constitution of the A. I. T. U. C.