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All-India Trade Union Congress.

REPORT OF THE EIGHTH SESSION.

In accordance with the decision of the Delhi session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Mazdoor Sabha, the only Affiliated Union at Cawnpore, was requested in May 1927 to make the necessary arrangements for holding the eighth Session of the Congress in November. The Sabha complied with this request and formed a Reception Committee in June and in September appointed the following office-bearers of the Reception Committee:—

Chairman:—Babu Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi,
M. L. C.

Vice-Chairman:—Dr. Rajbahadur Gupta, M.A.,
Ph. D.

(2) Mr. B. Bhawani Singh.

(3) Pandit Mohan Chand Vaidya.

Secretary:—Mr. Harihar Nath Shastri.

Joint Secretaries:—Mr. B. Madangopal, B.A., LL.B.

(2) Prof. Kalka Prasad Bhatnagar.

(3) Pandit Ram Prasad.

The Sabha suggested the 26th, 27th and 28th November as the dates for holding the Session. The approval of the Executive Council was obtained by a circular letter, dated the 23rd September 1927 and communicated to the Reception Committee by wire. The Affiliated Unions were informed of the dates fixed and requested to send their delegates to the Cawnpore Congress.

Invitations were sent by the Reception Committee as well as by the General Secretary to some labour organisations outside India to send fraternal delegates to the Congress. The British T. U. C. decided to send Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M. P., and Ben Tillett, M. P., as its fraternal Delegation to India; but owing to his illness Mr. Ben Tillett had to cancel his visit and the General Council of the T. U. C. selected Mr. J. Hallsworth to take his place. The Delegation left England on November 10 and arrived in Bombay on the 25th. They were received on the mole by Messrs. F. J. Ginwala and R. R. Bakhale, Treasurer and Assistant Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress and by the officials of some of the Bombay Unions, such as Mr. S. C. Joshi, M.L.C., Mr. P. S. Bakhle and Mr. Syed Munawar, M.L.C. The Delegation, accompanied by Messrs. R. R. Bakhale, Philip Spratt and S. S. Mirajkar, left for Cawnpore the same noon and arrived there in the evening of the 28th November. The Reception Committee, the office-bearers of the Congress and many of the delegates who had gone to Cawnpore for the Congress were present on the Station and gave the Delegation a rousing reception.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Congress opened its first day's proceedings in the spacious and tastefully decorated *Shamiana* in the evening of Saturday, the 26th November 1927 under the presidency of Diwan Chaman Lall, M.L.A. Messrs. A. A. Purcell, M.P., and J. Hallsworth, the British Fraternal Delegation, and Mr. Mardy Jones, M.P., Fraternal Delegate of the Workers' Welfare League of India, London, were present. From amongst the ex-presidents

of the Congress, Messrs. Dhoondi Raj Thengdi, C. F. Andrews, V. V. Giri, and Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasad, and all the office-bearers of the Congress for 1927 except Messrs. Mrinal Kanti Bose and F. J. Ginwala, attended the Congress Session. The following twenty-seven Affiliated Unions were represented at the Congress by their delegates numbering about 100 :—

Bengal.—(1) Bengal Jute Workers' Association, Bhatpara, (2) Bengal Mariners' Union, Calcutta; (3) Howrah Labour Union, Howrah; (4) Indian Quarter Masters' Union, Calcutta; (5) Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta; (6) Kankinara Labour Union; (7) Labour Association, Santipur; (8) Press Employees' Association, Calcutta; (9) Railway Porters' Association, Chandranagore; (10) B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union, Kharagpur.

Bihar and Orissa :—(11) Indian Colliery Employees' Association, Jharia; (12) Labour Association, Jamshedpur; (13) E. I. Railway Union, Patna.

Bombay :—(14) B. B. & C. I. Railway Employees' Union; (15) Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union; (16) Bombay Press Workers' Union; (17) Bombay Textile Labour Union; (18) G. I. P. Railway Workmen's Union; (19) Girni Kamgar Mahamandal; (20) Wadi Bunder (G. I. P.) Railway Union.

Madras :—(21) Cordite Factory Labour Union, Aruvanakadu; (22) M. & S. M. Railway Employees' Union, Madras; (23) S. I. Railway Labour Union, Madura.

Punjab :—(24) All-India Telegraph Workmen's Union, Lahore; (25) Punjab Press Workers' Association, Lahore.

United Provinces :—(26) B. & N. W. Railwaymen's Association, Gorakhpur ; and (27) Mazdoor Sabha, Cawnpore.

A few other unions, not yet affiliated to the Congress, such as Dharival Mill Workers' Union, Lahore, the Labour Union, Jhansi, had also sent some representatives to witness the proceedings of the Congress. Besides, there was a fairly large number of local workers and other people who were present as visitors.

THE CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

Mr. Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, M.L.C., Chairman of the Reception Committee, offered a warm welcome to the delegates of the Congress. In doing so he said that though the greatness of the city of Cawnpore was due to the workers, their condition was extremely unsatisfactory. He invited the distinguished visitors to pay visits to the homes of the labourers which, he said, would not, in Europe, be considered fit for animals to live in. The rate of child mortality from Tuberculosis was very high in the province. The Municipal Board took little interest in Labour questions. Labour representation on the Board was nominal, as the representative was nominated and not elected, and was practically indifferent to the welfare of the workers. Neither had they any labour representation in the provincial Legislative Council. The Government had expressed inability to make an estimate of the extent of unemployment. A request for better housing conditions for labourers met with the answer that unless a scheme was put forward, nothing could be said. The Improvement Trust was also not as sympathetic as it should be.

The Government, he alleged, was disposed to be antagonistic towards the labour movement, and the workers were the object of the special attention of the police. He asserted that the proposed military police in the Province was aimed at the Workers and Peasants Organisation. (Cheers).

FRATERNAL GREETINGS.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, General Secretary, then read out the messages of the fraternal greetings and wishing success for the Congress. The text of some of these messages is given below :—

Foreign Messages.

1. *The British Trades Union Congress, London :—*

Mr. W. M. Citrine, General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, sent the following letter, dated, London, 10th November, through Messrs. A. A. Purcell and J. Hallsworth :—

“ I am sending you this letter by hand in order to introduce to you, and through you to the All-India Trade Union Congress, the two members whom our General Council have decided to send as a delegation to India.

You will be aware, from a perusal of our Congress reports which have been sent to you each year, of the sustained interest and the sincere regard with which the British Trades Union Congress has viewed the development of the Trade Union Movement in India.

The General Council, through our International Department, has endeavoured to keep as thoroughly informed as possible, without actually having a representative in India, as to the conditions of the Workers

of India. The reports which we have published in our annual Congress Reports, and the contact which we have established with the British Delegations which have gone to India at different times, such as, for example, the Jute Workers' Delegation, and the Textile Delegation of last year all testify to the anxiety of the British Trade Union Movement to do something practicable to help in the establishment of a powerful Trade Union Movement in India.

At the Edinburgh Congress, held in September 1927, it was decided that a delegation should be sent as early as possible to India. The purpose of the delegation is, firstly, to convey the fraternal greetings of the British Trades Union Congress to your Congress, and secondly, it is to afford such assistance as may be possible in the actual work of the Indian Trade Union Movement in organising the workers.

The Council has selected as its delegates Mr. A. A. Purcell, M.P., one of its Vice-Presidents, and ex-President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and Mr. Joseph Hallsworth, a member of our General Council, and General Secretary of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers.

They are two of the most experienced and able officials in the Trade Union Movement of Great Britain. They will, I am sure, be only too ready to give such help, advice and encouragement as your Congress may feel desirable.

They are leaving Great Britain in time to be able to attend your Congress, and they alone will be the only official delegates sent by the Trade Union Movement of Great Britain to India.

* I desire to make this point perfectly clear, as it may happen that there may be other visitors connected with the British Labour Movement present in India, so that I wish it to be clearly understood that Mr. Purcell and Mr. Hallsworth are entitled to speak for the British Trade Union Movement at your Congress.

I would conclude by expressing, on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress, their most sincere and comradely greetings to the members of your Congress. "The British Trade Union Movement is animated with the single desire of helping in every way it can, to elevate the standard of the workers of India."

2. *The International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam*:—(a) The following letter, dated, Amsterdam, 20th October 1927, was received by the Congress:—

"We have received yours of the 30th September, and also your cable of the 16th October, inviting us to attend your Trade Union Congress, to be held at Cawnpore on November 26th. We thank you very sincerely for the invitation, and regret that we are not in a position to accept it. The distance between Amsterdam and India is so great that our representative could hardly arrive in time; then there are the heavy costs of the journey and the fact that we are in the midst of the reorganisation decided upon at the Paris Congress.

We attach great importance, however, to the growth of the Trade Union Movement in India, so that we are extremely sorry not to be able to be present. We hope the time may not be far distant when we shall really be able to undertake to send a delegation, not to India alone, but also to the other countries of Asia which are

becoming industrialised ; for we feel sure that it would greatly facilitate the rapprochement of the working classes of Europe and Asia.

Needless to say, we hope the time will soon come when the Indian National Trade Union centre will affiliate with the I. F. T. U., so that we may have the pleasure of welcoming the Indian Workers among our ranks.

In the name of our affiliated organisations, we extend to you our most cordial wishes for the success of your Congress, and the future advance and prosperity of the Indian Trade Union Movement."

(b) The following cable was also received from the Federation during the Congress Session :—

" Executive International Federation Trade Unions sends Congress heartiest greetings. "

3. *The Independent Labour Party, London* :—
Mr. Fenner Brockway, Political Secretary of the Independent Labour Party, sent the following letter under date, October 17, 1927 :—

" I want, on behalf of the Independent Labour Party, to send the most cordial fraternal greetings to the All-India Trade Union Congress. The future well-being of India depends upon the building up of a strong industrial and political working-class movement. Without this, even self-Government may not result in any substantial improvement of the conditions of the people. We know the difficult task which faces you and the courage and devotion which you are applying to it. We wish you the greatest success in your efforts.

I very much regret that I shall not arrive in India in time to attend your Congress, but I hope very much

to meet you and your colleagues when I arrive in December. With all good wishes”.

4. *The Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, Dublin*:—The Assistant Secretary wrote as follows on 8th November :—

“I am directed by the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to express their regret that considerations of finance and time make it impossible for them to accept your fraternal invitation of the 20th ultimo to send representatives to attend the Eighth All-India Trade Union Congress.

The Executive trust that the Congress will be successful and will assist materially in advancing the cause of Trade Union Organisation in India. While the Irish Movement cannot claim that it has been able to keep itself fully informed of the details of the progress of the Trade Union Movement in India, we feel that the conditions and history of our respective countries create a natural bond of sympathy and union. Our experience has been that the political situation of the country has in very many ways hampered the development of fully effective Trade Union Organisation and we have realised firstly that the solution of the political problem was a condition precedent to the solution of labour problems and, secondly, that political freedom of itself cannot mean true freedom for the workers. We do not doubt that these facts, which might be deduced in theory, and have with us been confirmed in practice, will be actively present in the minds of the delegates to your Congress.

We look forward with hope, both to the advancement of India towards political freedom and to the progress of Indian workers towards social and economic freedom.”

5. *Workers' Welfare League of India, London* :—
 “Workers' Welfare League sends greetings and wishes success your efforts. League is fortunate (in sending) Mardy Jones (as) its representative—Potter Wilson.”

6. *Communist Party of Great Britain, London* :—
 “Communist Party sends fraternal greetings and best wishes (for) successful organising all Indian Workers in the struggle against Capitalism and foreign Imperialism. Congratulates Congress for its opposition to (Simon) Commission and assures Indian Workers our support as shown (by) Saklatwala's efforts in Parliament.”

7. *League Against Imperialism, Berlin* :—“League against Imperialism sends cordial (and) fraternal greetings. Hopes organised Indian Labour will take leading part in National and social emancipation movements. Victory only possible by uncompromising struggle against Capitalism and intimate co-operation of Trade Union Congress with the League against Imperialism. Condemns compromise regarding Reform Commission and attitude (of the) British Labour Party. Supports decision (of) Indian Parties (to) boycott Commission. Long live India's Working Class.—Fimmen, Vizepraesident, Gibarti, Liau, Hansin, Secretary. Cable Address—Ankolina, Berlin.”

8. *Social Democratic Party, Berlin* :—“Wish greatest success (for) your Congress. Social Democracy, Germany, Wells.”

Indian Messages.

9. *E. I. Railway Union, Dinapur* :—“Lilloah situation threatening. Regret absence. Wish Congress success.—Mitra, E. I. Union.”

10. *G. I. P. Railway Employees General Union, Igatpuri* :—“Secretary and Managing Committee (of the) Igatpuri Centre (of the) G. I. P. Railway Employees General Union send you and all brother delegates assembled in (Congress) sessions felicitations and success.—Secretary, Igatpuri Centre.”

11. *Dr. Annie Besant, Madras* :—“Wish Congress fullest success.”

12. *Mr. T. C. Goswami, M.L.A., Calcutta* :—“Extremely sorry owing to indifferent health and especially bad cold, (I am) unable to attend (the) Trade Union Congress. Wish it all success under your distinguished presidentship. (Convey) my greetings to Indian Labour. May its just cause prosper.”

13. *Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, Vice-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Calcutta* :—Mr. Bose sent a letter to the General Secretary regretting his inability to attend the Cawnpore Session and wishing it every success.

14. *Mr. F. J. Ginwala, M.L.C., Treasurer of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Bombay* :—“Regret can't attend Congress (owing to) unavoidable circumstances. Wish Congress every success.”

15. *Mr. E. L. Iyer, Ex-Vice-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Madras* :—“Wish Congress every success. Sorry, cannot attend.”

16. *Mr. B. Shiv Rao, President, Madras Labour Union, Madras* :—“Regret political engagements prevent (my) coming. Wish Congress all success.”

17. *Mr. Kanji Dwarakdas, Ex-Treasurer of the All-India Trade Union Congress, Bombay* :—“Regret

inability to attend. Wish Congress success.. Earnestly urge upon (the) Congress to condemn strongly and boycott Statutory Commission."

18. *Mr. R. S. Ruikar, Secretary, Labour League, Nagpur* :—"Regret inability (to) attend. Support boycott (of the) Royal Commission. Wish Congress Success."

19. *Dr. H. W. B. Moreno, President, Calcutta Port Trust Employee's Association, Calcutta* :—"I regret my inability to attend the eighth Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, to be held in November 1927. Please convey my sense of regret to Mr. Diwan Chamanlal, M.L.A., and to the other members of the Congress. I trust that in all the deliberations of the Congress, the cause of the Anglo-Indians, who are "sons of the soil" and are one of the labouring classes of India, will not be overlooked. In all the great struggles of labour in India, they as a minority are often left in the background. Your sympathy for them should always combat any such attempt

Wishing the Congress every success."

20. *Mr. S. D. Hasan, Lahore* :—"Regret unavoidable absence. Kindly convey fraternal greetings to (the) delegates. My heart and sympathies are with proletarians. Wish you every success. My services are at your disposal."

On the eve of the Congress, a cablegram was published in the Indian press that the Russian Trade Union Movement had decided to send its fraternal delegates to the Congress; but no official intimation was received by the Congress. Neither did the delegation arrive in India during or after the Congress Session.

Before resuming his seat, Mr. Joshi offered, on behalf of the Congress, a most hearty welcome to the British Trades Union Congress Delegation and to Mr. Mordy Jones and assured them that the Affiliated Unions would accord them the same cordial reception wherever they went and give them all facilities in investigating the conditions of Indian Workers.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

After the messages were read, Diwan Chaman Lall, the President, who was given a loud ovation, rose to deliver his presidential address. He said :—

COMRADES !

My first duty is to welcome on behalf of the workers of India, Comrades Purcell and Hallsworth. This is the first occasion on which the British Trade Union Congress have done us the honour of sending fraternal delegates. I also welcome Mr. Mardy Jones and Mr. Philip Spratt.

The Origins.

I wish I were in a position to tell the world that like our Russian Comrades who recently celebrated the tenth anniversary of their Republic and held a demonstration of a million human beings, we too could boast of similar enthusiasm. However, splendid as this gathering is, we know that in hundreds of thousands of homes the Trade Union Congress is looked forward to as the symbol of your desire for freedom and as a guarantee that the future is yours. The millions are with you in your struggle for freedom from economic and political thralldom.

The Indian Labour Movement, nevertheless, as an organised movement is of recent growth. Attempts no

Economic Discontent.

The year 1920 was a period of great Labour unrest, which, it must be remembered, in India accompanies often not only a period of trade depressions, but also a period of trade booms. The reason for this curious fact is obvious. In a country where Labour is well organised, Labour can demand better pay and better conditions from employers whose business is prospering; and the adjustments take place often without friction, as the employer is easily willing to hand out a portion of the enormous profits that he is making, in order that there should be no discontent and no dislocation of business. But in a country where Labour is generally unorganised or illiterate or ignorant (since it is the policy in India to keep Labour illiterate and ignorant) it is only with the threat of a stoppage of work that an adjustment can be brought about. Sometimes the employers are recalcitrant, and there is a strike. The more intelligent of them yield, and give, in the shape of bonuses or increased pay, a portion of their profits to the workers, as indeed was the case with the mill industry in Bombay. Unfortunately in the State Railways and other industries conditions were different. The cost of living had gone up, between the year 1897 and the year 1920, so enormously that there was a great disparity between the increase in wages and the rise in prices. For instance, in the district of Purnea, in the Coal Province of Bihar and Orissa, the retail price of wheat was Rs. 2·787 per maund in 1898. It had risen to Rs. 6·299 in 1921, that is a rise of a little less than 250 per cent. Reckoned on the basis of average daily earnings per ton, the earnings of a miner ranged between Rs. ·54 in 1897,

and Rs. .59 in 1920, that is, the earnings were practically stationary. at about 8 annas per day, whereas the price of wheat had risen by nearly 250 per cent. In almost all industries conditions were similarly disastrous and the disparity between wages and prices was acutely felt. We were faced with a series of strikes on the Railways, as well as in various industries throughout the country from the year 1920 onwards.

The First Session.

Whenever there is industrial unrest in India it is easier to organise Labour affected by such unrest particularly where one has to deal with practically virgin soil; and so in the year 1920, after the great North-Western Railway strike which lasted several weeks but which succeeded completely, an opportunity arose in Bombay to co-ordinate the activities of Labour organisations throughout the country. The opportunity arose as the result of the nomination by the Government of delegates to the International Labour Conference, without consultation with Labour organisations such as they were. A meeting was held in Bombay to record the protest of Bombay Labour against these nominations, and it was decided to hold a meeting of Labour Organisations in Bombay under the name of the Trade Union Congress. The following resolution was passed at that meeting on the 16th July 1920.

“That this meeting resolves to hold an All-India Trade Union Congress in Bombay.....”

A Reception Committee of 500 members was formed. Some of the most important Political Leaders were taken on this committee and ultimately the Congress met on

October 31st at the Empire Theatre in Bombay. The amazing success of this Congress is to be seen from the fact that 801 delegates from all parts of India attended it and that the opening session was attended by many important persons in the political movement of India. The report of that Congress has been published, and it is not necessary for me to dwell at length on its history, except to draw the conclusion that the Movement was now beginning to take a forward step in the political life of the country. It must be noticed that at this stage the middle classes were taking a keen interest in the movement. They were represented by trades people and merchants and intellectuals with humanitarian sympathies, not necessarily Labour. But the idea which moved those of us who brought about the holding of this Congress is amply and clearly stated in the manifesto which was published by me soon after the holding of that session and from which I quote a few extracts.

Manifesto to the Workers of India.

“Workers of India! The time has come for you to assert your right as arbiters of your country's destiny. You cannot stand aloof from the stream of national life. You cannot refuse to face the events that are making history to-day for India. You are the mass of the population. Every movement on the political chess-board, every step in the financial or economical arrangements of your country affects you more than it affects any other class. You must become conscious of your responsibilities. You must understand your rights. You must prepare yourselves to realise your destiny.

Workers of India! Your lot is a hard one. How will you better it? Look at the slaves of the Assam Tea

Plantations, now become desperate. Their real daily wages are less than three annas a day prescribed under Government Acts. They are often the victims of brutal treatment working under the lash for unlimited hours, while some of these plantations pay 20 to 40 per cent. dividends. They are death and starvation dividends and it is you, your wives, your children who are the innocent, unoffending victims.

Workers of India! The earth is your common heritage. It is not specially reserved for professional politicians or the Simla bureaucrats, or the Mill owning plutocrats. When your nation's leaders ask for SWARAJ you must not let them leave you out of the reckoning. Political freedom to you is of no worth without economic freedom. You cannot therefore afford to neglect the movement for national freedom. You are part and parcel of that movement. You will neglect it only at the peril of your liberty.

Workers of India! There is only one thing for you to do. You must realise your unity. You must solidify your organisations. Do not look for salvation to the Factory Act. The law cannot give you unity. The law cannot create in you the spirit of brotherhood. That must be your own work. Spoliation of the worker is the cry of the capitalists in field and factory. Let unity and brotherhood of man be your watch-words. Your salvation lies in the strength of your organisations. Cling fast to them. Cast all weakness from you and you will surely tread the path to power and freedom."

Difficulties.

At that very time, after the North Western Railway strike, came the East Indian Railway strike and the

great Assam Tea Garden strike. Unfortunately, none of these strikes was taken advantage of as they should have been, for the purpose of stabilizing Labour Organisations in those industries which were affected by these strikes. And here I would like to add my reasons why it was not possible to take the fullest advantage of the economic situation, in order to set going a mass movement throughout the country.

The first difficulty was the lack of trained organisers;

The second difficulty was the lack of money; and

The third difficulty was (it might be stated quite frankly) the unreliability of some of the paid workers.

Employers' Tactics.

In a poor country like India, the generality of the people is considered by the employers to have its price, and it has been my experience in almost every strike in India with which I have had personal dealings, that the employers have invariably tried to buy up the best organisers, and tried to sow the seed of dissension in the ranks of the workers themselves. This has seemed an easy task, in view of the fact that the system of Labour recruitment in India generally places the destiny of the workers in the hands of jobbers who are primarily responsible for the recruitment and the control of groups of workers under them. Employers usually resort to the bribing of these jobbers, and very often they succeed, but when the Labour organisers do not happen to belong to the industry but are outsiders, the proposition becomes slightly more difficult. Nevertheless, employers do not hesitate to offer inducements even to these outsiders, the great majority of whom are absolutely unselfish workers

engaged in this propaganda, for the love of humanity. A recent case occurred only a few weeks ago which illustrates this point. One of the organisers was nearly bought over by the employers but on the news becoming known to the workers, he had almost to flee from the place to save himself. The conclusion is that ignorant and illiterate as the workers may be, they are not so ignorant as not to realise the significance of their economic struggle.

The present position.

Nevertheless, no movement of this nature, which has to deal not with a few thousand workers or within reasonably restricted areas, but with nearly twenty million industrial workers and with a vast continent in which the distance from one industrial point in the north to another in the south is no less than 3 thousand miles, cannot succeed without money and without trade union organisers; and the handicaps we have suffered from in this movement are the handicaps which necessarily arise in every such movement when it is in its initial stages. Even as it is, the movement to-day, from the organisation point of view, is second to none in the country. The political movement is represented either by the National Congress, or by the Liberal Federation, or by the European Association, or finally by the Chambers of Commerce; but even with all the resources at the command of all these various organisations, they are dust in the balance compared with the Labour Movement in the country. The difference between the other organisations and ours lies in the fact that our organisation is in reality an organisation with a definite body of members numbering at the

lowest estimate nearly half a million whereas the others cannot compare with us either in the matter of numbers or in the matter of potential power, except perhaps the National Movement, which showed its strength in 1921 and 1922. We have nothing to be ashamed of, and everything to be proud of, in what we have achieved in the matter of organisation in the country.

Wanted—A strong centralist movement.

Let me not be understood to mean that all has been well with the Labour Movement. We have yet to put into force some of the original ideas with which we started. One of these ideas, which certainly was at the back of my mind in 1920 was that we should start with the One Big Union programme, and in this it was up to us to take a leaf out of the book of our masters. Every intelligent ruler in India has set as his aim before him the idea of a strong central government, from Asoka, Chandra Gupta, Babar, Akbar, down to our times. And a Labour Movement, if it is to succeed in India, must start with the idea of a strong powerful central Executive spreading out its tentacles into the Provinces, and gathering in the organised forces of Labour under a unified control; otherwise we shall learn from history nothing but its mistakes. We have the example of the British Labour Movement before us. After more than one hundred years of Labour organisation in that country, the British Movement was forced to call for a Triple Alliance. Sectional unions, with sectional politics, can never succeed in modern industrial conditions in view of the fact that Capital is marching towards a complete synthesis not only National, but International.

And a Central Fund.

It is for this reason that I desire to advocate the setting-up of two departments in our Movement; one purely administrative, and the other organisational, and it is for this reason also that I advocate the collection of a large central fund of ten lakhs to be controlled by the central Executive and to be spent on the work of organisation. Let us not make of the Trades Union Congress an organisation which meets only for the purpose of passing pious resolutions. Let us create a sanction for our demands. What is required, if we are to justify our existence and if we are to do the right thing by the Workers of India, is to set going under the aegis of the Executive Committee a strong Council of Action which will be responsible for organising every man, woman and child of the working classes; of conducting disputes; of publishing statistics; of succouring, sustaining, and educating the workers in every part of India as to their rightful position as the inheritors of the wealth which they produce.

The Second Session.

There is only one other Session of the Trades Union Congress which is of any historical importance in the destiny of the workers. This was the second Session held at Jharia in the coal-fields. The employers became frantic when they heard that we meant business in the coal-area. Their organisations, both Indian and European, sent telegrams and representations to the Government of India demanding that the Trades Union Congress should be prohibited from holding the Session within 200 miles of the coal area. Machine guns were asked for and I think the Military were in full force. But inspite

of all obstacles we held the Session and asked that delegates be allowed to attend the Congress from every mine. The employers arrogantly refused our request. Instantaneous action was taken by the workers. Every mine was emptied of its workers. Even the pump-men downed tools with the result that the employers were at once on their knees and in open Session of the Congress attended by 60,000 men, women and children, apologised and made a donation towards the expenses of the Congress.

The second Session was to me an eye-opener. The masses, it revealed, were ready for action for the purpose of building up their organisations. But the masses were leaderless. It was necessary that they should discover their own leaders and it was necessary that the leaders must know how to lead and whither.

A radical change necessary.

The next question that will necessarily arise is the question of the ideas with which we should set about our work. We cannot, in regard to this matter, cut ourselves entirely adrift from the International Movements of the world. If it is the aim of the Labour Movement merely to demand, periodically, more wages, or to hold periodical conferences, or to fight periodically stray strikes, then the sooner the Congress puts up its shutters, the better. Neither the Workers nor those intimately connected with the Labour Movement, should be hoodwinked with hypocritical phrases of caution, or of cowardice. The aim of the Movement must be as detailed in the manifesto I have referred to above; must be to make the Worker realise, and the country realise, that

civilisation can only advance if it guarantees to the Worker the fullest results of his labour for the benefit not of the few but of all. Wages, it must be understood, can never keep pace with Prices. Not only in India, but in every country in the world, has the same story been repeated. We have but to look at the condition of the Workers in various industries to realise the abject misery of the masses, which cannot be put an end to by simple strike adjustments, but which can be put an end to only by a radical change in the system. I have briefly detailed in the Appendix the actual condition of the working classes in various industries, and he would be a bold man who could assert that methods which are purely defensive or submissive can ever bring Peace, or Happiness, or Comfort to the Workers of India.

Indian Conditions and others.

In this connection the cry has been raised that conditions in India are peculiar to this country, and that, therefore, we must not imitate the methods adopted by foreign countries. One such attempt was recently made by the Indian Employers Delegate to the International Labour Conference at Geneva, when he, for reasons best known to himself, opposed the promulgation of Social Insurance Laws for India. Conditions in India from the human point of view are no different to those prevailing in other countries. And I thought Shakespeare had settled that question 300 years ago. Hate and Love and Desire, the Need for Decent Housing, the Advantages of Education, Better Clothing, Better Food, Social Pleasures and Domestic Conveniences, are not peculiarly Indian or Russian or English or Dashi-Bazonk. Better wages for Indian Workers will mean a better standard of life. If

similar industries in Europe and America pay ten to twenty times the wages paid to Indian Workers and yet can compete favourably with Indian industries—then why, in the name of all that is intelligent, should Indian Workers be prevented from following in the footsteps of European and American Workers, in building up a powerful organisation which should extricate them from their present position? The only thing peculiar to India seems to me to be the desire of the Owing Class for cheap Labour and cheap raw material in order that it should be in a position to declare enormous dividends which have ranged upto 350 per cent. and more. We have found that the Labour Movement on the lines that I have chalked out has been of some use to the Workers. The test of the method surely lies in its success, and who will deny that the method has been successful, or that it holds within its grasp tremendous potentialities for the momentous future?

In fact the transparent trickery of the suggestion that Indian Labour conditions are peculiar to our country cannot be expected to deceive an intelligent donkey. Employers must seek some excuse for their opposition to the onslaughts of Labour. The easiest, the one that requires the least amount of expenditure of thought and intelligence, is this colour-line argument.

Efficiency.

And in this connection the cry has been raised that Indian Labour is inefficient. Let any class of workers in the west be made to work 11 hours a day on the pittance paid to Indian workers, let it live in crowded one-room tenements, let it be burdened with debt, let it be denied social pleasures and domestic comforts—and then let it

show half the efficiency of the Indian Worker. Industrial conditions which prevail in India would, with European Workers, have resulted in a Social revolution. Indian Workers have not merely been told as were the French peasants on an historic occasion to eat grass for the want of bread. They often actually have to eat grass to appease their hunger. Here is but one of many reports made public about the conditions in the Kangra Valley.

“They take a seer or two of wheat or maize, mix it with about the same quantity of mango stones and husk of rice, and get the three powdered together, and eat. Cholera, which is the natural concomitant of famine, has re-appeared. The power of resistance has gone and the people have been obliged to have resort to unnatural diet—many families have been seen living on leaves of various vegetables mixed with some sort of grain.”

In any case the inefficiency (which indeed is the silliest of myths) of Indian Workers has not prevented Indian and European employers from becoming millionaires and multimillionaires.

A case in Point.

Let me take the case of the Bombay and Ahmedabad mill industry. In Bombay the workers won a signal victory. We must thank the splendid band of leaders and European and Russian organisations for the financial help which they gave to the workers during the prolonged lock-out. After that victory, attempts were made to make the millhands work more looms than they were accustomed to. There was a strike of nearly twenty thousand mill-hands working in a group of mills owned

by the Sassoon Syndicate. Sir Victor Sassoon, as he declared in the Legislative Assembly, is anxious that the workers in India must become more efficient. The Government of India; according to the Tariff Board's report, seem anxious that the mill-owners of Bombay should become more efficient. Nobody seems to be concerned about the wellbeing of the workers, which is the *sine qua non* of their efficiency, nor with the fact that there is no incentive to the worker to be efficient when the industry is being run purely for individual profit. The Mill Industry, which it was stated was in a parlous condition, distributed in the shape of dividends between 1917 and 1922, 178 per cent. of the total capital invested in that industry; and all that the Workers got was that their War Bonus was stopped. And to-day in spite of the enormous profits made by that industry during the boom period, and lavishly distributed to its shareholders, the workers are economically worse off than before the boom. The mill-owners obtained their duty on imported yarn at the expense of the poorer consumer of cloth, which it is expected will add to the industry's profits; but so far as the workers are concerned, it is obvious that a difficult period is ahead for them, and steps should be taken to safe-guard their future. Efficiency—yes in the public interest and the public interest demands that a civilised existence must be guaranteed to the workers of India.

Another case.

But then what are the measures we are taking to obtain a civilised existence for our workers? For instance we have had a serious lock-out on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.

The facts have been before the public sufficiently long, for the public to judge that the Workers have the right on their side, and that the Bengal-Nagpur Railway has no justification for dismissing nearly 4,000 men. The actual figures given by the chief mechanical engineer himself showed that less than 608 men should have been brought under reduction. The documents which I quoted in the Assembly clearly showed a desire on the part of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway authorities to become "independent of the Labour force." This policy, it was suggested in confidential documents, should be carried out by placing contracts for work with private firms. Now the Raven Committee has asserted in paragraph 380 of its report that the cheapest among tenders received in certain cases from local engineering firms, was much higher than the cost of manufacture in the shops, and that railway rates are cheaper than those quoted in the last tender by 11.8 per cent. to 34.2 per cent. It is obvious that these reductions are in pursuance of a definite policy of victimization pursued by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway as part of the vengeance to be wreaked on the men for their having gone on strike. It was the clear duty of the Government to have intervened, and even at extra cost to have kept the men at work. When gazetted officers of the superior service wished to retire because they did not accept the reform scheme, the Government gave them proportionate pensions but so far as 4,000 families of Indian workers are concerned, they have not even the solace of the unemployment dole to fall back upon. Every credit is due to Comrade Giri and those who have been leading the railway workers for the fight that they have put up

on behalf of those brought under retrenchment. But the question that arises is, whether we are to await catastrophes of this nature before we set up a really powerful federation of railway workers, or whether it would be better not merely to content ourselves with paper organisations, but to adopt the scheme which I shall presently outline in regard to the organisation of Workers and Peasants in India. Let me here remark that I broached this very subject of organisation as long ago as 1921, at the Ahmedabad Congress to no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi. He was good enough to ask me to draw up a scheme which, with the assistance of Mr. Joseph Baptista, was presented to him in Bombay. It was a scheme for the organisation of the key industries. Unfortunately, it was turned down as it chalked out a programme for a period of two years, and Mahatma Gandhi felt that he could not be a party to a programme which could not be completed within a period of six months; which period at that time was laid down for the attainment of Swaraj. The scheme that I intend to place before the Congress is a simple one.

The Scheme.

The first item in that scheme is the collection of funds. We must build up a fund of at least ten lakhs.

The second item is the provision of tried and trusted paid organisers.

The third item is the division of the country on parallel lines, one division to include Industrial areas, and the second division to include the Agricultural areas.

The fourth item in the programme is the division of each area into districts, with District Head Quarters;

District Organisers, and a competent staff. The district officers must have under them competent propagandists and organisers, who are to link up organisations, both agricultural and industrial, in their particular areas.

✓ The fifth item in the programme is a Publicity Bureau, which must be manned by paid officials, under whom there must be a staff of competent linguists with a central press. From the head quarters of this bureau must be sent out literature in the shape of posters, handbills and pamphlets to each District Head Quarters. There must be a branch of the publicity bureau engaged in disseminating propaganda through lantern slides and travelling cinemas. Finally, each District Head Quarters must be controlled by a Provincial Executive, and each Provincial Executive in its turn controlled by the Central Executive, which must be manned by whole-time workers who are in a position to travel throughout the country, to take charge of every strike, and to re-enforce local propaganda. Nor must it be forgotten that every Provincial Head Quarters must possess a paid organisation of its own for the purpose of propaganda not only amongst workers, but also among the intelligentsia. It will be noticed that the success of this scheme depends entirely upon the success achieved by us in the collection of funds. The Trades Union Congress for the ensuing year must become a beggar's association, and, bowl in hand, every worker must undertake to collect money from every quarter.

We have had an apprenticeship of seven years. It is time now that the Trades Union Congress of India became an exemplary organisation in the East, rivalling

and excelling, as indeed it can, every similar movement in the world.

In this connection it is useless to make complaints regarding our condition against either the Employers or the Government. We know that the complaint undoubtedly has arisen that the Government of India, although they are most anxious to help Indian industry, in their own way, when it shows signs of distress, have not realised their responsibility towards the workers. We have asked for Old Age Pensions, for Maternity Benefits, for Health Insurance, for Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance for improvements in the Factory Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act, for a Truck Act, and for various other ameliorative measures. But the mills of the Simla Gods grind none too surely, and all too slowly. The only lever we can employ is the lever of a strong organisation, and it is for that reason that no reliance should be placed upon any outside agency, and all reliance should be placed upon our own inherent strength.

Take the case of the Steel Protection Bill. A special session of the Central Legislature was convened for the purpose of expeditiously passing that measure. On the other hand take the question of female labour in the mines or of the expeditious payment of wages to the workers. Years pass by in vain endeavour and all that we can get out of the Government is that they are still enquiring. Thus act the self-appointed trustees of the "dumb millions" and thus woefully do they betray their self imposed trust!

Politics and Labour.

And when the workers desire to impress their views upon the Government or upon the public they are

promptly told that they must not dabble in politics. The wise-acres who preach this absurd doctrine give no thought to it themselves, for who are the preachers? First the Government, which is a political organisation, dictating to 98 per cent. of the population of India, that it should have no politics of its own. Secondly, the Industrialists, Indian and European, who never fail to cry for more representation in the political life of India, and who never fail to make use of political pressure in order to obtain their own economic advantages. Thirdly, some misguided public men, who not having given a single moment's consideration to the subject, suggest that every human being should have his own politics, but that the Workers and Peasants, who, more than anyone else, are affected by political moves and changes, should place their destiny in the hands of the 2 per cent. of the owning classes. Labour must have its own politics. If Labour in India neglects this aspect of its liberty, it will do so at its peril.

The Commission.

For instance we have to deal with the announcement of the Statutory Commission. Leaders of various shades of political complexion were invited by the Viceroy and confidentially informed of the composition of the Commission. Your organisation was not considered important enough to be consulted by the Viceroy. But if it had been consulted it could have returned but the same answer which had been given to the British Government by practically the unanimous voice of India. We shall have nothing to do with it.

India has proclaimed the right of self-determination. We are now told that that right applies to the small

European nationalities, not to India. The people who say this never dared to advance this view during the great War. But the War is won and the problem now is to find ways and means to keep India under subjection by yielding here, by fashioning new fetters there, by practising the art of cajolery or dissension, of distributing favours and large but strictly circumspect promises. No British statesman is to be found who is capable of facing the problem in a straightforward manner for the simple reason that it is not possible for any British statesman to guarantee Indian freedom which might, he fears, mean the disintegration of the Empire and the possibility of the loss of tremendous economic advantages and potential man power. Those of our politicians who believe that they can get their freedom as a gift from a Conservative Government are ignorant of the world factors of the situation. Hence from the practical point of view any co-operation with the Commission would mean that we have no realistic sense of the existence of these factors. I base my objections to the Commission on other grounds than those of a purely European personnel. It would have served the purposes of Great Britain better to have appointed a few Indians of the safe variety. Great Britain in this committed a tactical blunder. As it is, no self-respecting Indian can have anything to do with the Statutory Commission. To co-operate with it would merely show that we still live in the era which puts a premium upon flunkeydom and human debasement. It is to the credit of the average politician that he has openly indicated his dissociation from the work of the Commission.

As for the personnel I have grave suspicions as to the reason for the appointment of such amiable mediocrities with two Labour men both of whom belonged to the War Office. The main problem that will face the Commission is not that of self-government. That is of secondary importance. What is of primary importance for British Imperialistic purposes is the problem of Imperial defence and organisation for future military necessities equally with the necessity of finding markets for British manufactures. Great activity is being displayed by the British War Office in regard to our military organisation and in regard to the two frontiers. Rumours are afloat regarding what newspapers call the North Eastern Frontier Province.

In this connection I cannot too strongly emphasise the grave danger of war which threatens the world as a result of the secret diplomacy and the predatory policy pursued by the Conservative Government. India, it must be remembered, is reckoned by these great statesmen as a mere pawn in the game. Day by day we have seen our expenditure increase to an enormous extent. We have noted that the revenue obtained by the gigantic increase in taxation during the last 20 years has been utilised, not for nation building purposes, but, for the purposes of keeping an army in occupation in India, which army, it was admitted by no less an authority than the Government of India themselves, is here in a great measure for Imperial purposes. And the manner in which that army is occupied is this :—

Our Frontier line is being gradually pushed up to what is known as the Durand line, the purpose of which is to eliminate the independent tribes, and make India

contiguous with Afghanistan. The dangers of a war with Russia are not entirely unreal. They have been voiced on more occasions than one by the Commander-in-Chief. Are we going to be parties to a quarrel not of our seeking but a quarrel imposed upon us by imperially minded statesmen? I do not know of any country in the world which spends more than 50 per cent. of its total revenue on defensive measures.

And all this for what purpose? Be it noted, the precursor of the Statutory Commission is the Secretary of State for War; and British labour is to be represented not by our friends Purcell or Lansbury but by two minor labour War-lords. What is the portent of this? I leave it to you to draw your own conclusions.

From this platform I call upon the British Labour Party to withdraw the two labour members from the Commission. As self-respecting men they should tender their resignations voluntarily. India does not want them and their own principles should prevent them from acting as common hangmen of a nation in distress.

British labour and India.

I must indeed warn the British Labour Party that in the eyes of intelligent Indians to-day that party stands thoroughly discredited. We have many friends of our cause in that party. But from my position as your President I wish to say to those friends that their party as a whole betrayed the confidence we had placed in it. We have more right than the Russians to criticise them. They are part and parcel of the Government which governs us. And I say that no Indian can forget the indignity of the Bengal Ordinance. I wonder how Mr. Ramsay

MacDonald would relish the hospitality of an Indian prison for an indefinite period without trial or charge with almost the certainty that, when (if ever he does) he comes out of prison, he will be a physical and mental wreck for the rest of his days. And it is Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his Government who have been responsible for reviving Star Chamber methods and have acted worse than the Bourbons in giving to the Indian Government a *carte blanche* for the issue of *lettres de cachet* at its sweet will against "undesirable" opponents

Here are our friends who pass a resolution (my resolution and the only one that was passed) at the British Commonwealth Labour Conference which says:—

"The delegates at this Conference having heard the views of the Indian delegates, recommend their constituent bodies to support the demand of India for the immediate grant of self-government."

And at Backpool recently they repeated that assurance. But when the touchstone of reality is brought into use we find not the genuine assurance we anticipated but—a Parliamentary Commission condemned by every self-respecting Indian. Let me say to them, for we are fellow-way-farers in distress.

If you have resiled from your original principles, let the world know it. Do not indulge in the folly of treating an ancient nation as if it were an excited electorate to be deluded with Zinovieff letters or scrap of paper resolutions about self-determination. It is our duty to tell you so, for we have wished you well in the past and have looked forward to your emergence into power.

National and International.

We must not overlook the problem, that while we criticise our comrades of the labouring classes of Great Britain, we must not neglect the wider international brotherhood of the working classes upon which our eyes must dwell if we are to realise the dream of the brotherhood of man. We have been approached by Moscow and by Amsterdam for the purposes of affiliation. We have refused both offers for the present for the simple reason that we must choose the proper moment which must be such as would result in the furtherance of the cause of humanity. Labour cannot afford to confine itself merely to national questions. Capital knows no national boundaries. It is becoming more and more international. Labour must develop an international outlook. I regret that attempts that were being made towards Anglo-Russian unity have been inopportunately frustrated. Whatever differences Great Britain might have had with the Russian Movement, unity in international matters of great import to the well being of the Working classes should have been the first consideration. I do not despair of the chance of unity in the international movement. It is obviously to the interest of the Workers of the world that such unity for the purposes of international action should be achieved at the earliest possible moment.

Every Nation is but a point in a wide circle of internationalism. We have to draw our inspiration from the struggle of the working classes throughout the world. Only then will the country realise that as a result of your activities, tremendous changes are in store as regards the constitutional future of the nation. We have seen

almost in a night the workers of China rising to take charge of the political destiny of their country—China, proverbially considered to be the symbol of the slumbering East. We have seen the workers of Russia almost in a night destroy the age long dynasty, upsetting all values, creating new ones, and moulding the nation in a manner in which no one could have predicted a year earlier it could have been moulded. We have seen the same thing in Mexico where Morones and Calles have defied American and European Imperialism and turned a nation of peasants into a nation of owners, a nation of bandits into a nation of disciplined soldiers. What was supposed possible for all these countries, working in their own way, with principles peculiar to their own circumstances, is undoubtedly possible for the workers in India, desirous not of aping any method but desirous of assimilating the best that they can find in other nations in order that they too should enter into the heritage of their destiny. This must be a warning both to our politicians and to our officials that political settlements with their elimination of Labour can but take on the appearance of political opera bouffe.

Adult Franchise.

For what is the position to-day? Labour is denied all recognition. Labour has not even the right to choose, under the present system, its own representatives to the various legislative bodies.

One of the most essential things in this connection which, under the present system, Labour must demand, is Adult Franchise. It will be noticed that in the Round Table Conference resolutions tabled in the Legislative Assembly, one of the main clauses related to the grant of Adult Franchise to both sexes, "as wide as possible". The most progressive party in the country, therefore, is pledged to support your demand for Adult Suffrage. Without that, even as the system stands, what is it that we find? Representation of Labour and Capital in the Councils is as follow :—

[A]

Legislative Body.	Number of seats provided by nomination.	Remarks.
<i>Central.</i>		
1 Legislative Assembly.	1	It is not obligatory upon the Government of India to make this nomination.
<i>Provincial.</i>		
1 Assam ...	1	} Nomination provided for by Rules made under Section 72-A of the Government of India Act.
2 Bengal ...	2	
3 Bihar and Orissa ...	1	
4 Bombay ...	3	
5 C. P. and Berar ...	1	
6 Punjab ...	1	

[B]

(Employers' Representation in the Assembly).

Province.	Number of seats provided.			
	Europeans.	Land-Holders.	Indian Commerce.	Total number of seats.
1. Bengal ...	3	1	...	4
2. Bombay ...	2	...	1	3
3. Madras ...	1	1	1	3
4. Bihar and Orissa ...	...	1	...	1
5. United Provinces ...	1	1	...	2
6. The Punjab ...	...	1	...	1
7. Central Provinces ...	...	1	...	1
8. Assam ...	1	...	...	1
9. Burma ...	1	...	...	1
Total ...	9	6	2	17

[C]

Besides these constituencies which send their representatives regularly, the following have also been given "representation by rotation" :—

(Employers' Representation by Rotation in the Assembly).

Province.	Constituencies.	Number of seats by rotation.
Bombay ...	(1) Land-holders in Sind ...	} 1
	(2) Land-holders in the Bombay Presidency except Sind.	
Bombay ...	(1) The Bombay Mill-owners' Association.	} 1
	(2) The Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association.	
Bombay ...	(1) The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.	} 1
	(2) The Marwari Association ...	
	(3) The Bengal Mahajan Sabha .	
Total ...		3

[D]

(Employers' Representation in the Provinces).

Province.	Number of seats provided.					Total No. of seats.
	Europeans.	Land holders	Commerce and Industry.	Planting.	Mining.	
1. Bengal	5	5	15	...	...	25
2. Bombay	2	3	7	...	...	12
3. Madras	1	6	5	1	...	13
4. Bihar and Orisa .	1	5	...	1	2	9
5. United Provinces.	1	5	3	...	...	9
6. The Punjab ... ..	...	4	2	...	1	7
7. Central Provinces.	...	2	1	...	...	3
8. Assam ... ..	...	...	1	5	...	6
Total	10	30	34	7	3	84

Labour Representation.

Not only is this disparity an amazingly absurd one but the Franchise is practically now limited either to the higher or to the middle classes. It is rare for a Worker to possess a vote in India. This must indeed be obvious to every one that all desire for political advancement so long as it confines itself to these two classes, will be of no avail to the workers in India. Even as it is, those of us who have succeeded in getting elected to the Assembly and other councils and who have been fighting consistently for the Workers, are there on sufferance. And

here I would like to pay a tribute to the large number of our friends throughout India, who have fought with vigour for the preservation of your rights. Many of them do not belong to your class, nor did Tolstoy nor Lenin belong to the class for which they fought; and after all the intelligensia leads every where provided the intelligensia is intelligent enough, honest enough, to understand the real factors of this great world-wide struggle, and intelligent enough and honest enough to work with singleness of purpose. My recommendation to you is to draw up your representation in the form of a manifesto—a manifesto which I hope will be reckoned as an historical document in the years to come and place your case not before the Statutory Commission but before the World.

Education.

Along with this deprivation is the deprivation of the right to education which should have been made free and compulsory throughout India.

Negotiations have been carried on with the British Trades Union Congress for the setting up of a Labour College in India and for the grant, of a few Scholarships to *bona-fide* Trade Unionists in India. On your behalf I desire to thank the British Labour Movement for having initiated these negotiations. But the question is one of compulsory and free education. Although education has now become a transferred subject, whatever changes the future may have in store for us, I am but voicing your sentiments when I say that we desire that immediate steps should be taken by the Central Government in conjunction with Provincial Governments, to legislate immediately for free and compulsory education throughout India.

This demand must be in the forefront of our programme, and the agitation we create must know no relaxation.

Let the workers and the peasants of India learn to read and write not commercially run, communalistic or capitalistic newspapers but their own literature of freedom and the battle is half won. I think Miss Mayo should draw solace from the fact that the standard of literacy among the Russian peasantry has gone up from 30 to 70 per cent. during the ten years of the Soviet regime whereas in India after 150 years of British rule the standard has gone to barely 7 per cent. of the population. I make a present of this fact to Miss Katherine Mayo that it might bring some comfort to her wounded heart bleeding for India's woes which are not all of her own making.

Miss Mayo.

Such attempts as those of Miss Mayo to tell half truths about your condition are part and parcel of Imperialistic propaganda for the continued suppression of your rights. In a dozen places a cursory reader can mark the deliberate suppressions and false suggestions with which Miss Mayo's book abounds. It is upon the ignorance, poverty, illiteracy of the workers that the capitalistic system thrives. Our social sores are but the natural and inevitable concomitants of the fact that we are looked upon and treated as a nation of half-starved coolies. There is a hierarchy of oppression which holds us in its grip from the politico-military dictatorship to religious and social inhibitions.

Communalism.

And in this connection we will no doubt be told that communalism plays a great part in our life, and that

political advance would be detrimental to the interests of the people. It must be remembered that the Reform Scheme, such as it is, is one of the primary factors in the creation of bitterness between the two communities. How is it possible to have peace with citizenship divided by religion as it is, when every Hindu candidate is made to realise that his chances of success at the polls can be improved only by consistent vilification of the opponent, or when the Mohammedan candidate feels his success certain if he can only preach a crusade against the Hindus? We have known of cases in which, in order to get a job, men have changed their religion. Religion has become as much a market commodity as potatoes and cabbages. But it will be argued, and correctly, that this is not religion but the negation of it. Every man must have his own religion. It is a purely personal factor; the test of his intelligence lies in the quality of that religion. The highest and the only religion which to me means nothing more than faith, is the religion which is being preached to you, namely, the Brotherhood of Man, minus his Bible, his Quran, and his Gita, and minus his oilfields, his zamindaries, his estates, his mills, his factories, his mines. It is the religion of Equality, it is the religion of a living faith in man's destiny and his will to power and achievement. In spite of the attempts that have been made as recently as in the case of the Bengal Nagpur Railway trouble to sow the seed of communal dissension in the Labour Movement, these attempts have not succeeded, and are never likely to succeed, for we are dealing with the economic man imbued with a faith, not with a predatory man robbed of a faith, except the faith which lingers on the ledgers of his bank balances.

Recently at Dhariwal there was a fear of communal trouble, but as soon as a live Trade Union was formed in that town, all such fears vanished. No doubt a great deal of the blame must be shared by those leaders who make a political living out of our sorrows, who know in their heart of hearts that here is tremendous and unfathomable economic distress amongst the mass of the people, but who, instead of mobilising such distress, and grievances that arise therefrom, against the system, mobilise the distress and grievances of one community as against another. It is often said in India that the only solution under these circumstances is a benevolent dictatorship. The trouble with dictatorship is that history has never been able to find a successor. The question of dictatorship is too vast for this address, and I must leave it to our theorists, contenting myself merely with the observation that every Government in the World known to history has been, and is likely to continue to be, a dictatorship.

We have had enough of the dictatorship of the Mill-Owners and Steel Magnates and Dundee Jute Merchants and Scottish Tea Planters backed by machine-guns and political devices meant to divide the middle-classes in order to keep flying the flag of ruthless Imperialism.

Day by day as the socialist movement of the working-classes advances, such spurious communal divisions will be demolished. For in our movement we realise that the divisions are not religious, not social, not political, the divisions are economic. We know that our masters get 11 hours labour a day from us and pay us not because we are Hindus and Mohamedans but because we are

slaves ready to do their will. We know that denominational divisions are no concern of the working classes, that the clutches of conventional religions must be discarded by us, that Mohamed Din and Ram Swarup use the same road, the same water, the same electric power, the same coins, consume the same vegetables, purchase the produce of the same factories, pay the same rent to the same landlord—in short their lives are common to such a degree that their deliverance can come only by common concerted action, against the common united enemy—the persons who control the means of production. It is you who must be the real voice of the nation. It is your weakness that lends strength to the mushroom growth leader who to-day is against the Government because it is popular to be so and to-morrow with the Government because it would be unpopular not to be, who preaches religious unity or religious hate according to the readings of his political barometer. The middle-classes in India are being hood-winked by charlatans. It is for the working-classes to expose this charlatany and give the lead in raising the real issue: Shall we be Slaves or Masters in our own home?

The Prince and the Pauper.

And, Comrades, our masters are many. We have seen the spectacle of European Industrialists shifting their activities from Dundee to Calcutta because there is cheap labour and cheap raw material in Calcutta. We have seen the spectacle of our industrialists shifting their activities from British India to the India of autocratic States to escape the Factory Laws, inadequate as they are. We have to make a colossal attempt to rid ourselves of autocracy and despotism. The era of such

autocracy is over. Our Indian Princes are notorious in this that they grind the poor peasantry and live themselves in the lap of luxury. Hardly one of them could earn his living as a street-hawker—that is the standard of ability which they possess. No man's life or liberty is safe within their frontiers. Their exactions from the peasantry are extremely cruel. Forced labour is exacted from the inhabitants in many States. There is no legislative protection for the workers. How is it possible for you not to demand for your own protection that these Princes should turn their despotism into the channel of republicanism? What was needed was not a Protection Act for the Princes but a Protection Act for the subjects against the Princes. In the future constitution of India there is no room for the Indian Prince, for we cannot neglect one-third of India and leave it alone as a danger zone threatening your liberties. Princely India must line up with the India of the Pauper.

Poverty.

And what Paupers!

The average wage of an Indian is variously reckoned from 1 anna to five annas a day. When such facts were mentioned by me in public, the 'Pioneer' of Allahabad charged me with being an agent of Moscow drawing my inspiration from Lenin. When I replied that my inspiration was drawn from the share-columns of the 'Pioneer,' that it was that paper which had published the fact that millions in India live barely on one meal a day, that millions have died of hunger, that millions have perished of preventible disease, I heard no more of Moscow. But I would advise our friends like the 'Pioneer' to copy : the principles which according to

them originate in Moscow where the condition of the workers compared with the days of the Czarist regime is astonishingly prosperous and happy. A great many lies are told about Russia. That is inevitable. Men who return from Russia are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for no discoverable crime. That too is inevitable for truth is dangerous. But let me assure our frightened militarists and imperialists that we in India have no desire to copy the methods employed by any country to achieve its freedom. We know that the only reliance to be placed by us is upon ourselves alone. If we are not fit by the power and strength of our organisations and the truth and justice of our claims to achieve our freedom, we shall never be fit to be called free men. We have in this to contend against the mentality of some of those who are nearest to us in our movement. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi preaches to the workers at Jamshedpur submission to the masters. Mahatma Gandhi was unwilling to join the Labour movement for the fear of violence. No great mass movement in this country has been as free from violence as your movement. No man has wielded greater power in our times than Mahatma Gandhi. We have to convert Mahatma Gandhi. We have to convert the great body of intellectuals who would be with us but for the lack of our propaganda. We have to marshal every power, utilise every opportunity, display every resource. With circumspection we have to keep steadily before us the aim that the producers of wealth shall be the inheritors thereof. Let me from this platform pay my tribute to comrades like T. C. Goswami, N. M. Joshi, V. V. Giri, S. H. Jhabwalla and hundreds of others who have stood by the workers throughout the

year. And let me hope that we shall find among the intelligentsia hundreds and thousands who are ready to follow their example. And let me also pay my tribute to the British and Russian movements for the assistance they have given us from time to time; and let me ask you, Comrades, to send your greetings to the Workers in China, in Britain and in Russia.

To all workers in the Movement, my message is that they should prepare themselves, with "discipline" as their motto, for the struggle which in the nature of things must be a ceaseless one until their goal is attained, and one sixth of the population of the world arrives at the stage which will ensure for it not hunger and starvation as a reward for their labour, not preventible disease and pestilence, not ignorance, dirt and misery but all that modern civilisation can place before them for the betterment of their economic well being, bearing in mind always the words of Deshbandhu Das, "that freedom to be desired, economic and political, is freedom for the 98 per cent. of the dispossessed and not for the 2 per cent. of the expropriators."

I call upon you, comrades, to raise the banner of your ideals demanding nationalisation of land and industry, a civilised existence, a government of the workers, an economic system for the benefit of Humanity—and Peace. The road is long but your ideal is worth the travail. May you prosper upon your arduous journeyings! (Loud Cheers).

Appendixes to the Presidential Speech.

APPENDIX I.

Labour on the Railways.

The first question that we have to deal with is that of racialism. There are admittedly certain racial inequalities which must be done away with.

Further, there must be a guarantee given by the State that there will be equal pay for equal work.

The differentiation in the service of the subordinate and inferior staff must be radically amended and a minimum wage must be guaranteed to the workers. Next a definite advance must be made in the scale of wages paid to workers. So far as the administrative side of the Railways is concerned, there must be set up not merely a Wages Board, but a Council on which there must be equal number of representatives of the workers. And all matters affecting the living and wages and terms of service of the workers must be referred to this Council. It is the workers in reality who are the real owners of the Railways, and they seem, under the present conditions, to be the last concern of the Railway Administration. Lastly, the Railway Board must be "Popularised." At present it is about the closest bureaucracy in the World.

NOTE.—Details of Gazetted Officers speak for themselves—Europeans 26.6 per cent. Indians 73.4 per cent.

Total Numbers employed—Europeans 4,986 ; Indians 736,874.

NOTE.—Salaries of Higher Officials in India compared with every other country in the World, are the highest. On the other hand large numbers of Indian Railway employees are getting Rs. 9 to Rs. 15 a month.

APPENDIX II.**Seamen.**

The recruitment of Indian Seamen by brokers and ghat serangs should be abolished, owing to the exorbitant and unreasonable demands of the brokers. The Draft Convention of the Washington International Labour Conference should be immediately given effect to.

APPENDIX III**Coal.**

I have already referred to the conditions of the wages between 1897 and 1921 of the coal miners in Bihar. In real wages the miner gets in 1920 in reality about 3-1/5th annas per day.

2. Reckoned at the average pit price actually (Rs. 6-11-9 per ton), the miner, whose average raisings amount to 103.5 tons a year, earns for his employer nearly Rs. 900 per annum. He gets in return barely Rs. 120 per annum for a full working month throughout the year. The average is very much less than this, as the miner works not 6 days on an average but 4 a week. At this rate he obtains barely 80 Rs. per annum.

3. Prostitution as a result of this poverty is rife in the coal fields. As a contrast look at the profits earned by some Coal Companies :—

The Adjar Coal Co., Ltd., earned the following dividends :—

			per cent.
1922	...	...	... 50
1923	...	...	... 50
1924	...	...	... 42.5
1925	...	...	... 21.5

The Badsdeopur Coal Co., Ltd., earned the following dividends :—

			per cent.
1922	...	...	... 30
1923	...	...	... 37½
1924	...	...	... 45
1925	...	...	... 38½

The Bengal Nagpur Coal Co., Ltd., earned the following dividends :—

			per cent.
1922	...	...	... 65
1923	...	...	... 85
1924	...	...	... 90
1925	...	...	... 90

The Katras Jharria Co., Ltd., earned the following dividends :—

			per cent.
1922	...	...	... 150
1923	...	...	... 150
1924	...	...	... 135
1925	...	...	... 100
1926	...	...	... 72½

The Khas Jharria Co., Ltd., earned the following dividends :—

			per cent.
1922	...	...	... 65½
1923	...	...	... 60
1924	...	...	... 60
1925	...	...	... 60
1926	...	...	... 60

These are a few typical instances of the high dividends earned by these Companies. As a result of the holding

of a Trades Union Congress in Jharia in 1921, we obtained an increase of 25% in the wages of the miners generally. This shows the efficacy of mass organisation. The recalcitrant attitude of the coal owners forced the workers to declare a general strike and brought the owners to their knees.

APPENDIX IV.

Infant Mortality.

In Bombay the average Infant Mortality during 1918 and 1922 was 572 deaths per 1000 births and in 1921, 667 per 1,000 births. In Industrial Towns in Great Britain the death rate per 1000 between 1911 and 1914 was 172 deaths. "One out of every two infants born has to die before reaching the age of 12 months", says the Executive Officer of the Bombay Municipality. The main causes are poverty and the low standard of life, compelling married women to seek industrial employment in order to support the family.

APPENDIX V.

Housing.

There are four classes of huts in which dwell the workers of India; the fifth is probably the best, namely, the broad highway and the open canopy of heaven. It is reckoned that in the city of Bombay there are nearly 35 to 50 thousand people who sleep on pavements for want of a shelter. The first type is that of the mud hut—a single room shared both by the workers, family and his cattle.

The second type of shelter is of open bamboo fret-work with a thatched roof made of cocconut palms.

The third type is the Chawl—one room tenements like orange boxes, dark, dingy, and soot-laden. More than 90 per cent. of the workers in Bombay dwell in these one-room tenements. "Frequently", says one authority, "on rounds of inspection, premises have been entered, but the filth and smell have been so repulsive as to compel a hurried exit"....."here was a room with a floor space of 6 feet by 9 feet; part of this space being occupied by the fireplace. The sole window of the room was occupied by two adults, a boy of 3 years, and an infant. The rent of this palatial dwelling was raised in 1918 from Rs. 2 per month to Rs. 3-8 per month, the increase being 75 per cent".

APPENDIX VI.

Truck Act.

It is Prof. Tilliard who said "it is obvious that in the hands of an unscrupulous employer, an unrestrained power of levying fines and making reductions might lead to abuses." This is a general practice in India. In Cotton Mills the worker has to pay for the spoilt cloth. In the Railways and other industries, fines are levied in the most reckless and arbitrary manner. The worker has no remedy except to leave his employment and face starvation. Instances are known where practically the whole month's wages have gone in fines and sometimes the Fine Fund is administered in secret, and payments are made out of it to loyal workers.

APPENDIX VII.

Prompt payment of wages.

The system in Bombay is that wages are paid on the 15th of each month. That is a man obtaining employment on the 1st of a month is made to wait six weeks before payment is made to him. The Weekly Payments

Bill was designed to put a stop to this practice. The Government of India promised an enquiry two years ago. The enquiry is still being conducted. Compare the expedition with which the Mill-Owners obtained their duty, and the Steel owners their bounty.

APPENDIX VIII.

Indian Labour Abroad.

A very serious situation faces the workers in British Guiana. It is apparent from recent events that British Guiana, where the majority of inhabitants are Indian Workers, is going to be brought down to the level of a Crown Colony. From the position of free men they are likely henceforth to be brought down to the level of helots. I suggest a deputation to British Guiana, the moment our funds permit us to send one. The position in South Africa in spite of hosannas sounded in praise of the agreement between India and South Africa is still extremely grave. It is regrettable that the Government of India have not thought fit to send to that country a representative of the Trades Union Congress along with the Delegation. In Malay, in Ceylon, and in Fiji the condition of Indian Workers is none too cheerful. As soon as the Trade Union Congress has definitely stabilised itself, it will be necessary to call an Eastern Workers Conference such as the one which was suggested in 1925 when Mr. Suzuki, the Japanese Labour Representative, was elected as General Secretary of the proposed conference. Strict measures of economic boycotts can only be adopted when once the movement in India is strong enough to take that step. Meanwhile, it is futile to talk about such boycotts, and to generate exuberance in

regard to matters over which we have no control, and can in the nature of things, have no control, until we are powerful enough to control our own destiny.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT.

After the Presidential address was over, Mr. N. M. Joshi, General Secretary, presented the report of work done on behalf of the Congress from the 14th of March to the 25th of November 1927, together with an audited statement of accounts, the printed copies of which were circulated amongst the delegates. The report as approved by the Executive Council runs as follows :—

“ I have the honour to submit to the All-India Trade Union Congress the following report of work done on its behalf from 14th March 1927 to 25th November 1927 :—

1. *Strength of the Congress*:—At a meeting of the Executive Council held at Delhi during the last session of the Congress two Unions, *viz.*, the Clerks' Union, Calcutta, and the Bombay Press Workers' Union, Bombay, were newly affiliated to the Congress thereby bringing the number of the Affiliated Unions to 59 at the beginning of the period under report. During this period two applications for affiliation with the affiliation fees came, through Mr. Panjakshram of Madras, from the Madras Government Press Labour Union and the Madras Printers Labour Union. The Hariyana Scavengers' Union, Rewari, Punjab, has also applied for affiliation. These applications will be placed for consideration before the Executive Council in Cawnpore. Mr. Chaman Lall has received a copy of a resolution for affiliation passed by the newly formed Dhariwal Mill Workers' Union and

has asked the General Secretary to affiliate it. Dr. H. W. B. Moreno of Calcutta has sent a copy of the minutes of the East Indian Railway Peons' Association, Calcutta, containing a resolution of its general meeting to affiliate the Association to the Congress. These letters will also be placed before the Executive Council. Although a fairly large number of new Trade Unions has come into existence in the year 1927 in different parts of India, particularly in the Bombay Presidency, the number of Affiliated Unions could not be increased in the same proportion on account of the operation of the new rule of the Congress Constitution that no Union could be affiliated to the Congress which had not been in existence for at least one year and which had not been first affiliated to its Provincial Committee. Of the 59 Affiliated Unions, the Bombay Presidency Postmen's Union, Bombay, and the R. M. S. Association, Nagpur, withdrew their affiliation under Government orders and it is feared that one or two more Unions such as the Bombay Presidency Telegraph Workmen's Union may follow suit and withdraw their affiliation. The Government of India seem to have made up their mind to force the Trade Unions of Government employees to keep themselves aloof from the general Trade Union Movement of the country. But in their zeal to weaken the Movement in this way, they seem to be going beyond the ordinary limit of the Government Service Conduct Rules. For instance, they have written, it is learnt, to the Cordite Factory Labour Union, Aruvankadu, that it should withdraw its affiliation from the Congress, if it wants recognition. Now the workers of the Cordite Factory at Aruvankadu are not governed by the Government

Service Conduct Rules in as much as they do not get leave and pension according to the Civil Service Rules, such as are given to other Government employees. If, therefore, the Cordite Factory workers are not given the privileges of Civil Service Rules, they cannot be called Government servants and their Union cannot be asked to disaffiliate itself from the Congress. The General Secretary of the Congress is in correspondence with the Government of India on this subject and the Congress or the Executive Council may take the necessary steps in this matter.

2. At the end of the period under report, the number of the Affiliated Unions stood at 57—the same as that of the last year—and their total membership is estimated at 1,25,000. The Trade Union Congress, therefore, represents over a lac and quarter workers in India. The territorial classification of the Union shows that 21 Unions come from Bengal, 15 from Bombay, 8 from Madras, 3 each from the Central Provinces and Berar, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab and United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and 1 from Burma. If classified according to industries, it is seen that 13 Unions represent railways, 11 textiles, 10 general labour, 7 transport other than railways, 4 seamen, 3 each clerical labour and press employees, 2 Telegraph workers, and 1 each mines, iron and steel, engineering and chemicals.

3. *Provincial Committees and Provincial Secretaries:*—No new Provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress was formed during the period under report. There are at present four Provincial Committees formed in the Provinces of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and C. P. and Berar. It is understood that the

trouble brewing in the Bengal Provincial Committee is now over and it is functioning well. In April last most of the Bengal Unions met in conference to meet Mr. Chaman Lal, Chairman of the Congress, in which the future programme of work of organisation and holding a Provincial Labour Conference was discussed and chalked out. The Madras Provincial Committee has recently been reorganised and it held the Madras Provincial Labour Conference under its auspices in last July. The Bombay Provincial Committee has organised the third session of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Conference which will be held in December. It gave send-offs to Messrs. Giri and Sethi on their departure to Geneva as the Indian workers' representatives and gave them receptions on their return. The Committee also arranged receptions for the International Textile Workers' Delegation and Mr. Mardy Jones, M.P., on their arrival in India. It published its first report of work during the last year and half.

4. At the last Delhi Session of the Congress, Provincial Organisers were appointed for each province for the purpose of pushing forth the work of labour organisation. In the absence of any financial help either from the Congress or the Provincial Committees, the work of these organisers seems to have been considerably hampered. Mention may, however, be made of the work of Messrs. Kishorilal Ghosh, B. Shiv Rao, R. S. Ruikar and S. H. Jhabwala, Organisers for the provinces of Bengal, Madras, Central Provinces and Berar and Bombay respectively. Mr. Ghosh besides putting the Bengal Provincial Committee on a sound footing, organised, with the help of his other

colleagues, an All-India Press Employees Conference in Calcutta. Mr. Shiv Rao and Mr. Kirk, Vice-President of the Congress, reorganised the Madras Provincial Committee and framed a constitution for it which will be submitted to the Executive Council for approval. Mr. Ruikar conducted a strike of the workers of the Pulgaon Mills Union and saved the latter from being ruined. Credit is due to Mr. Jhabwala for having organised the G. I. P. Railway workers on the lines at Kalyan, Bhusaval and Manmad, the Municipal Workers' Union, the Gold Thread Workers' Union, the B. I. S. N. Steam Navigation Company Staff Union, the Kasbi Karagirs' Union, and the Shop Assistants' Union. He also helped considerably in the formation of the Bombay Press Workers' Union. Most of these Unions may become affiliated to the Congress under the new rule in the Congress Constitution after their completing one year's existence.

5. *Executive Council Meetings*:—No meeting of the Executive Council was held during the period under report; but some important business which required the sanction of the Executive Council was transacted by means of circulars. During the period under report, 18 circulars were issued, 16 of which were issued by the General Secretary and 2 by the Administrative Secretary. One of the latter's circulars was addressed to the Provincial Organisers inquiring of them whether any of the Trade Unionists from their province were willing to go to Canton in China at their own expense to attend the Pacific Trade Union Conference and the second exhorted the Affiliated Unions to send their full quota of delegates to the Cawnpore Session. Of his 16 circulars, the General

Secretary issued 6 jointly to the members of the Executive Council and the Secretaries of the Affiliated Unions, 3 to the members of the Executive Council and 7 to the Secretaries of the Affiliated Unions.

6. By means of circulars, sanction was obtained and given to the nomination of (1) Messrs. D. R. Thengdi and S. V. Ghate, Administrative and Assistant Secretaries of the Congress respectively, as delegates to the Pacific Trade Union Conference held in Canton in May last; (2) Mr. V. V. Giri, and failing him, Mr. G. Sethi, as a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress held at Edinburgh in September last; and (3) Messrs. D. Chaman Lall, Giri and Sethi as the A. I. T. U. Congress fraternal delegation to the International Trade Union Congress held in Paris in August last under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam. Messrs. Thengdi and Ghate could not go to Canton owing to the refusal of the Government of India to give them passports. Mr. Giri could not stay in Europe long enough to attend the British and International Trade Union Congresses; but Mr. Sethi attended both and took part in their proceedings. Sanction was also obtained, by means of a joint circular to the Executive Council and the Affiliated Unions, from the former to hold the Congress Session at Cawnpore on the 26th, 27th and 28th of this month.

7. *Other Business*:—It may be remembered that at the last Delhi Session of the Congress a resolution was passed deprecating the tendency of creating small and overlapping unions in the same industry or at the same place, recommending the development of the Trade Unions on industrial lines and appointing a Committee to formulate

a scheme for the amalgamation of local or sectional Unions and thereby carry out the terms of this resolution. Unfortunately the personnel of this Committee was not fixed by the Congress through oversight and, therefore, the Committee could not function. However, the General Secretary, by means of a circular, brought these facts to the notice of the Executive Council, Affiliated Unions, Provincial Committees and Provincial Organisers and requested them to endeavour to carry out the spirit of the resolution. The Scheme of Mr. Tarini Prasad Sinha, a member of the Independent Labour Party of England, about the training of a few Indian students in the work of labour organisation in the Ruskin College and the General Secretary's reply to it, were circulated to the Executive Council and the Affiliated Unions which were requested to consider the Scheme and formulate their views so as to enable the Cawnpore Session to consider them and arrive at a decision. Similarly, a joint letter from Mr. Henderson and Mr. Citrine, Secretaries of the British Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, about the Session of the Labour and Socialist International and the second Session of the British Commonwealth Labour Conference to be commenced in London on the 30th and 23rd July 1928 respectively, together with the agenda of the latter Conference and the questionnaire on it were circulated to the Affiliated Unions and the Executive Council and they were requested to formulate their views on the questionnaire and the agenda so as to enable the General Secretary to place them before the Cawnpore Congress. Mr. Shiv Rao's amendments to the Congress Constitution were circulated to the Affiliated Unions and the Executive Council and opinions invited

thereon. The other two joint circulars related to the fixation of dates of the Cawnpore Session of the Congress and the delegates and resolutions to be sent by the Affiliated Unions.

8. The General Secretary issued seven circulars to the Secretaries of the Affiliated Unions, three of which were in the nature of reminders to the original three circular letters on the same subject. The Affiliated Unions were requested to send their affiliation fees together with arrears, if any, and the names of their representatives on the Executive Council. It is a matter of great regret that the response to the circulars was not as satisfactory as it should be. Out of the 57 Affiliated Unions, only 16 Unions sent the names of their representatives on the Executive Council although some of the remaining 41 Unions used to send replies to the circulars through their office-bearers. As regards the affiliation fees, 2 Unions are in arrears for the year 1925, 13 Unions for 1926, and 29 Unions for 1927. One Union has made a part payment for this year while another one has paid in advance its fees for 1928. The total arrears to be recovered for all the three years amount to Rs. 570. The last circular urged on the Affiliated Unions to send a full quota of their delegates to the Cawnpore Congress.

9. *Information regarding the Affiliated Unions:—* Two circulars were issued to the Affiliated Unions requesting them to send copies of their Constitutions, information regarding their present strength, their latest annual reports and a summary of their activities so as to enable the Congress Office to be in possession of accurate, reliable and upto-date information about the progress of

the Trade Union Movement in India. A printed form for the supply of such information was sent to the Unions for being filled in and returned. The Unions will realise how necessary it is for the Congress to be in possession of full information about the activities of its component parts and how much handicapped it must have been when such information is not supplied to it from time to time. It is indeed a matter of regret that only 33 out of 58 Affiliated Unions returned the forms duly filled in. The information thus received was summarised and published in the latest issue of the All-India Trade Union Bulletin. It is hoped that the Affiliated Unions will be more prompt hereafter in sending the information to the Congress Office.

10. *Strikes and Lock-outs*:—During the period under report no strike was authorised by the Executive Council; but owing to very acute industrial conditions obtaining in different trades and in different parts of India, there occurred some strikes and lock-outs in which the officials of the Congress had to interest themselves. The most important of such lock-outs was that in the Kharagpur workshops of the B. N. Railway. Since the termination of the general strike on that railway in March last, the railway authorities have pursued a systematic policy of victimisation, under the garb of retrenchment, which has resulted in the present discontent amongst the workers. In June last some 200 workers were discharged on the plea of retrenchment. This act was followed by an announcement of further retrenching 2000 out of about 10,000 workers in the Kharagpur workshops as a measure of economy and on the plea that there was not enough

work for all the workers. The B. N. Ry. Indian Labour Union bitterly complained that that was a move for victimization, that the plea of retrenchment was lame in that new men were still being employed and that certain kinds of work which used to be done hitherto by the workshop men had been given to the private contractors thereby reducing the work in the workshops. On the 7th September, notices of retrenchment were served on about 1,300 men. The workers refused to submit to this injustice and to work unless the authorities changed their policy. The Agent, instead of attempting to meet the workers even half way, closed the workshops and thus declared a lock-out on the 12th September which is continuing to this day. By moving and carrying a motion of adjournment in the same month, the Legislative Assembly passed a vote of censure on the Government of India for their policy of retrenchment. During the course of the debate on that motion, it was pointed out that the giving of railway work to private and foreign contractors was inconsistent with the declared policy of Government of State Management and of giving discriminating protection to the Indian industries and that the retrenchment could be carried out when vacancies occurred in ordinary course. The Government of India and the Agent of the B. N. Ry. subsequently appointed one officer each to enquire into the cases of those on whom the notices of retrenchment had been served. Although this move did not and could not satisfy the workers, the Agent should have at least withdrawn the notices of discharge, pending the result of the enquiry of these officers. They did nothing of the kind and have become themselves responsible for the

misery and hardship of 10,000 men by keeping them out of employment. The President of the Union and the General Secretary of the Congress interviewed the Agent, of the Railway and afterwards went to Delhi along with the Chairman of the Congress to interview the Hon. Sir George Rainy, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, and Sir Clement Hindley, the Chief Commissioner for Railways. It may be stated that the Government of India have advised the Agent of the Railway to settle the dispute on certain conditions; but no settlement has yet been arrived at. The latest information available shows that the Agent is awaiting the instructions of the Company's Board of Directors in England. It is a matter of pity and resentment that when 10,000 workers have been out of employment for over two months, the Railway Company should adopt dilatory methods.

11. A strike of about 800 petroleum workers of Madras, resulting out of the dismissals without notice of about 100 men, took a serious turn after its continuance for over three weeks in May and June. In the alleged affray between the workers and the company's officers, the latter took the law in their own hand and fired on the former in spite of the fact that the police were on the spot and were attempting to restore order. The Presidency Magistrate, who conducted an enquiry into the shooting affair, stated in his report to Government that the police arrangements were sufficient and that there was no necessity for employers to fire. The strike came to an end on the 18th July. Another strike of 800 men of the P. W. Department in Madras ended in a victory for the workers.

12. The third strike of importance that took place in the Madras Presidency was that of the textile workers of Coimbatore. It involved about 5,000 workers and ended in a compromise after three weeks. The employers' refusal to negotiate with Mr. N. S. Iyengar, President of the local Union, the latter's consequent arrest and the order prohibiting him, after his release on bail, from making any speeches or issuing any notices or pamphlets, aggravated the already tense situation. On the request of the General Secretary of the Congress, Messrs. Kirk and Shiv Rao went to Coimbatore and opened negotiations with the employers. During these negotiations the employers climbed down considerably and agreed to bring down the number of men to be dismissed for bad behaviour during the strike from 80 to 15 and left the drafting of a contract bond to Mr. Shiv Rao and two others. This did not satisfy the workers; but after one or two days, they resumed work, presumably on the basis of this compromise.

13. Among the other strikes of some importance, reference may be made to two, viz., those of the Pulgaon mill workers in the C. P. and Berar and of the Apollo Mill workers in Bombay. The reduction in wages was the cause of the former and the management's insistence to give three instead of two looms to each weaver was the cause of the latter. The first was conducted by the Pulgaon Mills Labour Union for over two months and ended in victory for the workers. The Bombay strike conducted by the Girni Kamgar Mahamandal also continued for a little over a month and ended also in a victory for the workers in that the workers were given the option to work either two or three looms. Besides

these strikes there took place small local strikes in some individual mills in Bombay and other mofussil centres and also in the Jute mills in Bengal ; but they were short lived.

14. *Labour Legislation*:—On the 1st of June 1927, the Indian Trade Unions Act came into operation and the Unions have begun to register themselves under the Act. As the old Constitutions of the Unions have to be altered so as to fit in with the provisions of the Act; the progress of registration is necessarily slow. Information is not yet available as to which of the Affiliated Unions have registered themselves under the Act.

15. During the period under report, the Government of India introduced and circulated for eliciting public opinion only one piece of labour legislation, viz., a bill to amend the Indian Mines Act. The chief object of this Bill is to impose a limitation, which does not exist to-day, on the daily hours of work in mines and to introduce a system of shifts and to regularise it where it already exists. While admitting that the amending bill is an improvement upon the existing law on the working of mines, it is a pity that the Government of India have proposed the maximum limit of twelve hours for daily work. We can only hope that during the passage of the Bill through the legislature the limit will be brought down. It must also be stated with regret that the Government of India have not yet made rules prohibiting the employment of women from working underground in the mines. In spite of the resolutions passed by the Congress and several other labour conferences and in spite of the serious strikes and lock-outs taking place everywhere in India, they have not yet introduced an

Arbitration and Conciliation Bill, a draft of which was published by them some four years ago. It is also high time that they introduced legislation regarding the prompt payment of wages. They are already in possession of the views of the Local Governments, the employers' and labour organisations. The Government of India may have also received by this time the replies of the Local Governments, the employers' and labour organisations and the other interests concerned, to their circular letter of July 1926 about the deductions from wages or payments in respect of fines. The Bombay Labour Office conducted an elaborate enquiry into the question of fines and it can be gathered from the summary of its results that the system of inflicting fines on industrial workers constitutes an evil of such proportion as to require penal legislation to deal with it. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the Government of India will soon introduce legislation on this subject also. The Government of Bengal propose to introduce legislation to amend and consolidate the law relating to the control and sanitation of Mining Settlements in Bengal and to make provision for preventing outbreaks of epidemic diseases.

16. In the last Session of the Legislative Assembly the Government of India moved a resolution accepting the Convention of the International Labour Conference about the simplification of the inspection of emigrants and the protection of women and girls on boardships and stated that they would soon introduce the necessary legislation. But it is unfortunate that they decided to defer the consideration of the Geneva Conventions and Recommendations passed at the ninth session of the I. L.

Conference on the Seamen's Articles of Agreement, the repatriation of Seamen and of Masters and Apprentices and general principles for inspection of the conditions of work of seamen. Mr. N. M. Joshi moved amendments to the Government resolutions seeking for the ratification and acceptance of these Conventions and Recommendations but they were defeated.

17. Mr. Joshi has given notice of a bill, which he proposes to introduce in the Legislative Assembly, to so amend the Indian Penal Code as to give protection to the unregistered Trade Unions and to any two or more persons acting together to do an act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute or in restraint of trade from criminal liability under Section 12C-B of the Indian Penal Code. Under the Indian Trade Unions Act, the registered Trade Unions have been given some immunity from criminal liability under Section 120-B of the Indian Penal Code; but in the infant stage of the Trade Union Movement in India, it is desirable and even necessary that the same immunity should be extended to the unregistered trade unions and to two or more persons acting together in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute. Mr. R. S. Asavale, a Vice-President of the Bombay Textile Labour Union and Messrs. S. K. Bole and Syed Munawar, Labour Members of the Bombay Legislative Council, introduced bills to amend the Bombay Municipal Act so as to lower the franchise in order to enable the working classes to become voters in the municipal elections in larger numbers than now. But, unfortunately, Mr. Asavale's Bill was defeated and with it the similar provisions of the other two Bills were ruled out of order. The consideration of that portion of

Mr. Munawar's Bill which relates to four seats being given to labour on the Corporation has been postponed to the 1928 Session. Mr. F. J. Ginwala, Treasurer of the Congress and Leader of the Labour Party in the Bombay Legislative Council, and Mr. Asavale moved amendments to the Bombay University Bill so as to secure labour representation on the Senate; but the amendments were defeated. However, the Government spokesman stated in his speech that the claims of labour would be considered while making nominations to that body.

18. *All-India Trade Union Bulletin*:—This journal completed three years of its existence and entered upon its fourth year's career in July last. It has been trying to chronicle the activities of the Trade Unions in India and other events affecting the Trade Union Movement. The financial assistance that the Affiliated Unions have so far given to it, being not very encouraging, its Committee of Management has to find money for its continuance from other sources. We hope that the Affiliated Unions will find it convenient to give adequate financial help to the Bulletin.

19. *Indian Labour Journals*.—We also welcome the appearance of the Indian Labour Review, a monthly periodical and the weekly vernacular periodicals "Kranti" in Marathi, "Mahnatkash" in Urdu, "Ganavaui" in Bengali and "Kriti" in Punjabi. We hope the trade unions and trade unionists in India will give their generous support to these new undertakings.

20. *May Day Celebrations*:—May Day celebrations were organised on a large scale this year in Bombay and some other places and thousands of workers took part in

them. Processions were organised and lectures delivered by prominent men. We hope these celebrations will become an annual feature of the Trade Union Movement at all important labour centres.

21. *International Labour Conference.*—Messrs. Giri and Sethi attended the tenth Session of the International Labour Conference as Indian Workers' Delegate and Adviser respectively. The minimum wage fixing machinery, sickness insurance and freedom of association were the three questions on the agenda. Messrs. Giri and Sethi were members of the Committees on the first two subjects. Mr. Giri in his speech on the Director's report drew pointed attention of the Conference to the necessity of the Labour Office giving more time and attention to the labour conditions in the mandated territories and India, to the practice of summary dismissals of workers, to the excessive hours of work on Indian railways and in factories in Indian States. He and Mr. Sethi spoke in the open Conference about the necessity of introducing a minimum wage fixing machinery and legislation on unemployment insurance. Mr. Sethi also spoke in the Committee on the question of sickness insurance. The Indian Workers' delegate supported the Workers' delegates from other countries in throwing out the draft questionnaire on the Freedom of Association in as much as it was whittled down in its phraseology to such an extent that if, adopted, it would have retarded the freedom of the workers in every way. Mr. Giri suggests in his report submitted to the General Secretary that the Congress should send replies to the questionnaire on the minimum wage machinery and that it should frame a suitable

measure on the sickness insurance after going through the Conventions and Recommendations that may be passed by the Conference. Mr. Giri also moved, and the Conference accepted, two resolutions, one of them requesting the Governing Body to place the question of forced and indentured labour on the agenda of the Conference at an early date, drawing the attention of the Committee of Experts on Native Labour to the question of criminal penalties for breaches of contract of service and the protection of the workers against unjust and improper dismissals. The Governing Body of the International Labour office has now placed the question of forced labour on the Agenda of the Conference to be held in 1929. The other resolution drew the attention of the Conference to the necessity of including the workers' delegates in the Delegations of the countries which are under the administration of Colonial or mandated territories and to the desirability of including the representatives of native or coloured workers in the delegations from countries in which they form a substantial proportion of the population but which are governed by the white people. It is learnt that the office of the National Correspondent of the International Labour Office will be opened in India from the beginning of the next year.

22. *Indian Fraternal Delegates.*—After the International Labour Conference was over, both Mr. Giri and Mr. Sethi toured on the Continent to acquaint themselves with the industrial conditions in Europe. Mr. Sethi attended the Paris Session of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Edinburgh Session of the British Trades Unions Congress and spoke in both the

Conferences. In his Edinburgh speech, Mr. Sethi, after extending the Indian workers' greetings to the British workers and referring to the Scarborough resolution about the freedom of India and China, deplored the happenings in the latter country and appealed to the British workers to take more stringent measures to stop the British Imperialistic exploitation in China. He also made an appeal to them to bring about unity between the British workers and Russian workers who helped the British miners and Bombay textile workers so magnificently in their hour of trial. He then drew the attention of the Congress to the labour conditions in India, such as appalling illiteracy, grinding poverty, miserable working conditions, horrible housing conditions and infant mortality and appealed to the British workers to extend to their Indian brethren their hand of fellowship and help them with their men, money and advice.

23. *Labour Delegations from Abroad.*—The delegation of the International Textile Workers' Association, headed by the Right Hon'ble Thomas Shaw, M. P., left India in March last after investigating the conditions of the textile workers in different parts of the country. Mr. Shaw has now submitted his report to his Association. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Shaw and his daughter fell seriously ill in the middle of the tour and the latter died of small-pox at Gibraltar on her way home. Great sympathy is felt for the sad and premature death of Miss Shaw.

24. Mr. T. Mardy Jones, M.P., arrived in India in October and is now touring the country studying the labour conditions. He proposes to make detailed

investigations into the conditions of the Indian miners. He is attending the Cawnpore Session of the Congress.

25. It is a matter of great satisfaction and joy that the British Trades Union Congress has sent, for the first time, its fraternal delegates in the person of Mr. A. A. Purcell, M. P., and Mr. J. Hallsworth, to the All-India Trade Union Congress. Their presence amongst us will considerably help the Congress in the difficult task that lies before it and will strengthen the hands of the trade unionists in India in the work of labour organisation. It is to be hoped that the British Trades Union Congress will continue to send its fraternal delegates every year to the All-India Trade Union Congress and thereby give us the benefit of their mature experience and knowledge. On behalf of the workers of India, the Congress offers Mr. Purcell, Mr. Hallsworth and Mr. Mardy Jones a hearty welcome and assures them of cordial reception and hearty co-operation wherever they go.

26. *General Labour Conditions in India*:—We are sorry to state that during the year under report Mr. Fazl Hia was convicted under Section 121-A in August last. Fortunately Mr. Phillip Spratt who was, doing some labour research work in India for some time and who was prosecuted under Section 124-A in Bombay, has been acquitted.

27. During the period under report, the general labour conditions in India were such that they have begun to cause serious anxiety to the workers. The Government of India have publicly announced the policy of retrenchment in all the Railway Workshops. The operation of this policy has begun to swell the ranks of

the unemployed. In the Textile Industry, there is a marked tendency of wages gradually going down. In spite of the recommendations of the Textile Tariff Board, the Government have not yet done anything to give effect to them in so far as the improvement of labour conditions and recruitment of labour are concerned. We specially draw the attention of the Government of India to the Board's suggestion that the problem of the illiteracy of the workers and other problems relating to labour "call for a more comprehensive enquiry than the limits of our terms of reference permit." We are very sorry, the Government of India should not yet have given effect to the resolution of the Legislative Assembly recommending an enquiry into the grievances of the Railwaymen in India. No effect has yet been given to the Clow Committee's report on the recruitment of seamen either in Calcutta or in Bombay. Unemployment in the ranks of seamen as also of other workers is increasing. And yet the Government do not think it necessary to enquire into this problem and adopt measures to deal with it. The Bombay Labour Office recently conducted an enquiry into the middle class unemployment and published its report. A similar enquiry of an all-India character into the question of unemployment of the industrial workers is urgently required. In other industries the workers' grievances are very nearly the same. The questions of pensions, provident fund, leave, etc., in respect of Government subordinate employees and menials and railway workers have not yet been solved by Government. The result is that serious discontent has become the main feature of industrial conditions in India. But we are glad to mention that the Bengal Mariners' Union has succeeded in securing

for the mariners a general increase in wages amounting in total to Rs. 3½ lacs a year.

29. *Financial Position of the Congress.*—An audited statement of Income and Expenditure of the Congress for the period ending 10th November 1927 is enclosed to this report. (*Vide* Appendix C). It will be seen therefrom that the financial position of the Congress continues to be poor. The statement shows that in the period covered by it affiliation fees amounting to Rs. 770 were received by the General Secretary; Rs. 160 received last year by Mr. Mukund Lall Sircar, late Secretary of the Congress, and Rs. 20 shown in the last year's statement under suspense account as received from the Kankinara Labour Union, have been shown in the statement under the affiliation fees. Rs. 100 were received on the 19th of November from the B. N. Ry. Indian Labour Union and, therefore, could not be shown in the statement. Although there is a perceptible improvement in the receipts of the affiliation fees over the previous year, Rs. 570 are still in arrears on that account as will be seen from another statement (*Vide* Appendix B), enclosed to this report, showing the affiliation fees received and fees due from the Unions during the period under report. The Unions will realise how difficult it is to carry on the Congress work if all the affiliation fees, small as they are, are not received by it. It is the Congress hoped that it will take some steps to urge on the Affiliated Unions the necessity of sending their fees promptly.

30. On the 18th October instructions were received from the National City Bank of New York, Bombay,

that they had received cable instructions from Deutsche Bank, Berlin, to pay the Congress an amount equivalent to 5,000 dollars on account of the Central Committee of Trade Unions, U. S. S. R. After the amount (Rs. 13,625-0-0) was received, two cablegrams were sent to Moscow enquiring what this amount was intended for; but no reply has yet been received. During his recent visit to Kharagpur, the General Secretary found that the B. N. Ry. Indian Labour Union was in great financial difficulties. He, therefore, sent Rs. 2,000 out of the above amount to the Union in anticipation of the sanction of the Chairman and the Executive Council, and he hopes that they will approve of his action. A cable remittance of £50 (Rs. 667-13-3) was received from the International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam, for the Kharagpur workers and the amount has been sent to the B. N. Ry. Indian Labour Union. As this amount was received on the 19th November, it could not be shown in the audited statement. Mention may also be made of the receipt of £. 10 (Rs. 132-8-0) from the Communist Party of Great Britain for the Flood Relief Fund. The amount was paid to the Gujerat and Kathiawar Flood Relief Fund of the Servants of India Society."

A resolution adopting the above report together with the audited statement of accounts was passed by the Congress and the Session was adjourned to 12-0 noon, on Sunday, the 27th November.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Congress met for its second day's Session at 12 noon on Sunday, the 27th November with

Mr. Chaman Lall in the Chair. There was a very large attendance of visitors. The first resolution that was moved was as regards the lock-out situation at Kharagpur. After it was passed, the President requested Messrs. Purcell, Hallsworth and Mardy Jones to deliver their messages to the workers of India.

Mr. PURCELL'S SPEECH.

Mr Purcell who was greeted with enthusiastic ovation, spoke as follows:—

Comrades and Fellow Workers,

On behalf of the British Trades Union Congress I bring you comradely fraternal greetings from the Trade Unions and the millions of organised workers of Britain. I can assure you that those organised workers are watching the development of Trade Unionism in India with the keenest interest and the closest attention, and they wish you the greatest success in your endeavours to improve the position of the workers and to build up a powerful Trade Union Movement in this great Empire of India.

Coming from the country which saw the birth of Trade Unionism, where it experienced its first growing pains and where, in spite of a century of trial and difficulties, it developed into one of the most powerful organised and disciplined movements in the world—and as one who has had life-time's experience in the Trade Union Movement, I naturally have some idea of the problems and difficulties which beset you.

I am well aware of the trials you must undergo and the difficulties you must meet with, in the course of your Trade Union Work.

I know what dogged patience, courage and exceptional organising ability are required in the exceptional circumstances under which you must work in behalf of Trade Unionism.

I want to tell you that what you have done and are doing is greatly appreciated and is being increasingly appreciated, by the active men and women in the British Trade Union Movement, and that the presence here at this Congress of myself and my old colleague, Mr Hallsworth, is at the express desire of the delegates of the Edinburgh Trade Union Congress who were anxious that we should give you all the encouragement we could.

The workers of Britain desire to effect the closest fraternal relationships with the workers of India. They sent us to voice their sympathy with the Indian workers in their struggles. They want us to establish the closest possible organisational contacts.

Within recent years there has been developing in the British movement, a deeper knowledge of Indian affairs, and part of our task is to acquire all the information concerning the Indian Workers and of Indian Trade Unionism. We can, so that we can make it known on our return.

The workers of Britain feel that they have much in common with the workers here. It is the business of our Delegation, it is our duty—a duty we are highly honoured and deeply grateful to perform to do whatever is possible to relate, to link up, to co-ordinate this Trade Union Movement with the British Trade Union Movement. We ought to be one great united movement. The employing class of Britain is to a large extent the employing class in India. It is regrettable that the older

Trade Union Movement of Britain has not appreciated that long ago. We, no doubt, would have been much more successful, in our negotiations and dealings with the employers, particularly in those industries which ramify into Britain and India, such as the textile and jute industries, had we done so. Many British firms have industrial undertakings here. British interests exercise a large share of control over Indian iron and steel works, factories, workshops, mines and so on. British financial interests are tremendously strong here. And the British Government, the leading organ at this moment for expressing the will of the employing class, exercises Imperial dominion over this vast country. By a thousand economic and political threads the destinies of the workers of Britain are linked together with the destinies of the workers of India. Your Trade Union Movement has to meet and deal, very largely, with the same factors as the Trade Unions in Britain.

Our opponents, during periods of open industrial struggle, are the same to a large extent—though I am not unmindful of the fact that you have also rapidly growing Indian employing class occupied in Indian industry. Our fight is the same. Our work in many respects lies along the same paths.

The more we examine the position, the more we understand the state of affairs not only in Britain, or in India, but in the world generally, the more we are compelled to realise the paramount need for unity, in both aim and purpose, on the part of the British Trade Union Congress and the Indian Trade Union Congress. Not only so—but unity with the whole International Trade Union Movement.

To most British workers India is a land of strangeness, mystery and romance. In our elementary schools, where they receive such education as they do receive, and in the newspapers and magazines which they read subsequently, the workers of Great Britain are sadly misinformed as to the real state of affairs in India.

In a general way they know that the climate is very hot here. That you have elephants and tigers and other strange animals here, that you are ruled by be-jewelled and turbaned princes, that you have many religious customs and rights which seem peculiar to them, and that your cities are famous for their mighty temples and marble palaces. Unless they seek specially for the information and, as I have indicated, many are doing that now—they cannot possibly know much about how the people of India live and have their being. Soldiers, drawn from the ranks of the workers, who are sent here for service, return to tell stories all too incomplete. In our shops we sometimes see Cashmere Shawls, Indian Textile and Brass and Copper wares. But the fine work of your skilled craft men serve nearly as a stimulant to the imagination. India is still, for the major portion of the inhabitants of Britain, a country as remote and fantastic as any tale of the Arabian Nights.

In your dealings with the British workers you should make allowances for that kind of mental attitude which is specially engendered by the governing class.

It is our desire to dispel some of the illusions about India when we return.

Just as we in Britain need and desire all the information about Industrial conditions in India and the Indian

Trade Union Movement, so I would urge the Leaders of the Indian Trade Union Movement to carefully gather together all the information about the Trade Union Movements in Britain, Germany, U. S. A., Russia, particularly, and the world generally. I am sure much valuable knowledge could be obtained even from Mexico and China and to see in what manner it can be applied to Indian conditions.

It is, I think, imperative that you should profit by the experiences our movement has had in all parts of the world.

You do not want to repeat the mistakes made abroad. We must guide Trade Unionism in the light of the world experience, beginning, as it were, at the highest point world trade unionism has reached as a result of hard trials and painfully acquired knowledge. The vivid and fascinating history of Trade Unionism is available to you. The vast literature of Trade Unionism is at your disposal.

I am confident that the greatest immediate service of those taking a leading part in building trade unionism in India and fashioning its policy, is to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with world Trade Unionism in all its aspects and phases and world working class organisation generally, industrial, political and co-operative, and to give practical effect to the conclusions arrived at.

The acquisition of such knowledge would open up a magnificent vista of wonderful possibilities. Young Indians, desirous of serving their people, of devoting their lives to the public welfare, or remedying the tragic conditions now prevailing in Indian Industry, would not find a greater or more promising field for their activities.

with knowledge as a back ground than the Indian Trade Union Movement.

The workers of the Western world are just beginning, as I have indicated, to learn something of the working and living conditions and peasants of India. I want to tell you that those conditions are such as to menace civilisation. A grave and terrible responsibility rests upon you and the Indian Trade Union Movement generally. In Britain a miner works eight hours a day. We think that is far too many hours for a man to work at that exhausting and hazardous occupation. One of the factors that has made the British Tory Government the most hated government we have had for generations, is that it abolished the seven hour working day in the mines. Yet here in India legislation to enforce even twelve hours shifts, as a protective measure, in the mines, meets with opposition of the mine owners. The cotton mills of Lancashire work thirty-two hours per week. The cotton mills of India work sixty hours a week. In every industry in India we find the workers working almost twice as long as their fellow workers in similar industries in Britain, Europe and America.

When we come to the question of wages, the difference is more amazing.

It is possible to employ from six to twelve Indian women in the mills of India, for the wages paid to every single working woman in the mills of Lancashire.

The British miner gets as much for one working shift as ten Indian miners receive—and yet from every coal-field in Britain there is the cry for a living wage.

We say that the wages a British miner receives is not a living wage; we say that it is impossible for the miner and his family to properly live on such a wretched

rate of pay. (Indeed it is not possible. But if that is truthfully said about the British miner—what ought we to be saying about the Indian Miners?)

It is said by the capitalist employers, both foreign and Indian, in defence of this frightful exploitation of the Indian Workers, that their working capacity and skill is far below that of the British and American workers. They tell us that when India has been famed for its skilled craftsmen for centuries, and when many of the arts and crafts known to the world were derived from India. They tell us that when we know that such is the development of machinery, technique, and mechanical efficiency, standardisation, business organisation and so on—that infinitely less skill, and in many cases, much less physical capacity, is called for in the productive processes than formerly. They tell us that, when their balance sheets and their profits give them the lie direct.

I know, and you know, and all acquainted in the slightest degree with industry know, that such is the position in the world today, that invention can be universally applied. A new machine built in the engineering shops of Manchester, or Pittsburg, or Essen, can be transported in a few days to India, China or Africa.

A new idea born in the workshops of America, Britain, or Germany, or anywhere else, can be applied in a few weeks in the workshops of the world. In spite of patent Laws and other restrictive measures it does not take very long before capitalists the world over become acquainted with improved methods and processes.

Indian wages are abysmally below European and American standards, but the technique and machinery of

Indian industry are, if anything, on a higher plane, more modern, than much in Europe and America.

The visitor to the Textile Mills of India has told us the machinery is in several respects better, because, more modern, than that in the mills of Britain.

Industry which is of a later growth, such as that of India, as compared with that of the older countries, must necessarily be more efficient and productive.

What fools the capitalists would be if they began a new plant with old machinery, and capitalists greedy for profits are not fools.

And we will know also, that such is the simplification of the productive processes that the working life of the worker has been immeasurably extended.

It used to be said of the British worker that he was too old at forty—modern methods are rapidly enabling him to serve in a profit making capacity up till the day of his death.

When the workers of India are a little more industrially disciplined, their capacity, man for man, woman for woman, should be the same as that of the workers of the great capitalist countries,

You, assembled here at this congress, should be well aware of that.

It is the primary task to take the initiative, to take the lead, in establishing that Trade Union Organisation, in calling those forces into play which will alter the deplorable state of affairs; it is your glorious duty to use any and every means to raise the wages, shorten the working hours, improve the working conditions, of the toiling

millions of India, and to bring them up to the highest standards of Europe and America.

A bigger, greatly extended, infinitely more powerful Trade Union Movement is a vital necessity for the salvaging of humanity.

You must rescue with every means you have at your disposal, without let or scruple, by organising the Indian masses, by negotiation wherever possible, by co-operation on every conceivable occasion, and, in the last resort, by brave and determined withdrawal of labour, by the utmost use of every weapon in labour's armoury, the Indian people from the black pit of misery and degradation which the rapidly growing capitalist industrialisation of India is creating.

You must do that not for the sake of the workers of India only, but for the workers of the world.

I read the other day that Bombay possesses the highest infant death rate in the world, the Executive Health Officer reporting in 1921, a death rate of infants of 637 per 1,000.

I have also been informed that 98 per cent. of the children born to women industrial workers have opium administered to them.

I have read the description of the terrible overcrowding in the working class quarters particularly in Bombay, where in the poorer quarters of the city no sewers are laid, and where cess pits frequently overflow into the spaces which separate the chawls or tenements.

All this demands attention and must be fought, openly, boldly, courageously, against the hideous

consequences of the capitalist industrialism which is crowding upon you.

India is being rapidly transformed into a great industrial country. This modern industrialism must be made to synchronise with modern life by ensuring that modern conditions are applied to every aspect of life. As the workers are being compelled to operate modern machinery, so they should be given the opportunities of dwelling in modern houses, under sanitary and healthy conditions.

Do not let the industrial progress carry in its train all the horrors of capitalism, without even its economic and social organisation, as far as the workers are concerned.

Don't let your peasants, used to the open country life, and your village craftsmen now being crushed out by capitalist massed production, who are being drawn by their tens of thousands into industry, become degraded helots and half starved wage slaves, the robots of new industrial infernos, in which they will dwell worse than animals.

The employers, both Indian and foreign, are merely concerned about profits.

Their greed will drive them into all manner of social excesses, the cruel herding of people together, the ruthless exploitation of men, women and children, the neglect of the most elementary precautions for the safeguarding of health and the conservation of life.

In Britain, and in other capitalist countries, we have learned from dreadful experience, what an unbridled capitalism can do to degrade, stultify, and undermine the health of working people. We have over three million

people living in slums in the great industrial centres of Britain where they breathe a polluted atmosphere, amidst squalor, dirt and disease.

Do not have in India, under worse conditions, a wide spread repetition of British slumdom and physical, mental and moral degradation.

You will have it, if you do not speedily build up a great, all-embracing Trade Union Movement, and become firmly resolved to dare everything to avoid it.

What is now the position of the working class districts of Bombay and Calcutta? It indicates what is likely to grow and intensify and become infinitely worse unless you and those you represent take drastic action to prevent it.

It is necessary to find out everything that is being done elsewhere to combat the evils of industrialism, all that is being done along the lines of social development in the way of city building, town planning, and municipal organisation and administration in Britain, Germany, Russia, and the United States and so on.

Do not submit to modern capitalism, aim at obtaining the best for your people, the best of every thing the world can give in modern life.

The knowledge is there. It is get-at-table. You must obtain it, and fashion your agitational and educational programme upon it.

You can be pioneers in a very real sense. You do not want your people to undergo all the chronic evils, engender this system—unemployment, sweating, food adulteration, prostitution and so on.

At this stage of world progress the evils can be avoided. It is not inevitable that India should pass through a period such as Britain has passed through during the past century, which has played such havoc with the happiness and well being of the toiling millions of Great Britain.

A proper understanding of the economic position of world, economy, of what science and invention have given us—of industrial progress—can enable you to take the lead in securing for the myriad peoples of India the benefits of capitalist progress without the evils which have accompanied that progress in the older countries.

You must go all out for the conservation of your natural resources—for the establishment of a vast industrial fabric—for the modernisation of your agriculture—for the conservation of life.

I have read that millions of your agricultural workers, peasants, ryots, pass through life without even having their hunger adequately satisfied. Ever so many times we hear echoes on Britain of the disastrous famines which decimate your agrarian population.

I think that such things in the light of what we know to-day about agriculture, about husbandry, about food production and preservations ought not to be. It is all wrong. It is a crime against the human race to permit such things to happen.

With our modern means of transport there ought never to be people suffering from a famine, in any part of the world.

I have read something of the problems besetting Indian agriculture and I dare say that closer acquaintance with the subject will emphasise the importance of

those problems. Yet I am certain that most of those problems could be solved, were there a big organised Trade Union Movement, and a great organised peasants movement, in this country, determined upon finding and applying a solution.

India has always been the fabled land of riches—yet here are millions and millions of the poorest people in the world. India has immense forests, has wheat fields, and rice fields; fruits and vegetables can be grown in large quantities. India is rich in coal, and iron, and gold and minerals. Are not the famous mines of Golconda in this country? India possesses great rivers and waterways invaluable from the standpoint of agriculture, transport, communication and also as sources of electrical energy.

The inhabitants of the country—the many peoples of this country—are intelligent, capable and industrious. India has many fine ports and many large cities.

May we see all this with a bolder vision?

I want to look at the possibilities. I ask you to do so, to look at the vast potentialities of India, developed industrially as the United States are developed, and socially and politically as many other countries are developing, even including Russia. Do not be afraid of progress. Economic progress will come, it will penetrate the most obstructive barriers of apathy and prejudice, of class, caste and belief.

Just think of the industrial progress that has taken place during and since the war, the factories and workshops that have been built, the mines sunk, the development of railways, and so on and the increasing momentum with which the transformation is continuing.

India is in and of the world. It is deeply involved in the world economy. Indian manufactures are competing for a place in the world markets. Indian textiles are driving the textiles of Lancashire out of the Eastern markets. Indian coal is now being consumed where British coal was consumed formerly. The products of your mills and factories are now to be found in all the principle cities of the world. I want all to grasp the full significance of that. We must all become aware of world industrial development.

Britain was the cradle of modern capitalism. Britain was the first country to develop the capitalist system. As I said in my Presidential speech to the I. F. T. U. at Paris: NOT only did Britain manufacture goods to sell, but it proceeded to assist every country to follow along the path it led. It not only exported goods, but it exported machinery for making goods, it supplied mechanics and technicians. It was not long before other countries entered into the race for trade and commercial supremacy. The United States of America built up its industrial fabric. Germany built up its industrial fabric. The capitalist system bounded ahead, industrialisation took place not only in those countries, but everywhere where a footing was obtained. Japan, France, Canada, Australia, South Africa, China, and the whole world presents the picture of the various lands engaged in a frantic race towards intensive industrialisation.

India is well in that race, and is inevitably destined to act upon and feel the reactions of world economic conditions. The Trade Union leaders of every country.

are now compelled to think internationally, and to regard matters from a world standpoint.

The capitalist classes of the various countries are in open conflict with each other. Britain aspires to obtain the world market for her goods.

Germany aspires to obtain the world market for her goods. So does Japan, France, and the other countries. So does India. The industrial fabrics of each country are busily engaged in a contest as to which shall crowd the greatest quantity, and the cheapest kind of commodities on the world market.

And the world market is becoming woefully circumscribed, restricted. It is one of the tragic anomalies of this system that those who produce the goods—the wealth—cannot consume to the same extent. The economy of the world is becoming so highly developed, so technically efficient, so all-embracing, that infinitely more can be produced than consumed under capitalism.

A few weeks ago, the Hon. J. J. Davis, Secretary of Labour in the United States Administration, a man who has all the information regarding industry at his finger tips, who is in the best position to obtain that information above everybody else in the U. S. A., in the course of a speech to the A. F. of L. said: "You can make all the steel that is needed in America in about seven and a half months. You can make all the boots and shoes with modern improved methods, in about six months, and you can make all the textiles that are needed in six months. You can blow all the glass needed in America in seventeen weeks. You can dig all the coal with the men now in the industry in six months. As I said a few moments ago, you have 300 thousand more men in the industry than are needed."

A somewhat similar picture could be presented of British Industry. We have in Britain over a quarter of a million miners unemployed, and if the coal mines were modernised, and electrical power transmission was applied, the coal industry, so our experts tell us, could dispense with another 250,000.

The same story could be told, in degree, of each industry in turn. Much of the productive machinery is falling into disuse, or is only being used to a part of its capacity.

The same with Germany.

The rationalisation of Industry, the elimination of wasteful methods, scientific management, specialisation, standardisation, while mobilising and concentrating enormously powerful productive means in the hands of gigantic trusts and combines, at the same time, putting out of business an infinite amount of the means of production and creating, on an ever increasing scale, an enormous army of un-employed.

At the same time there is a definite shifting of industry from America and Europe to India, and China and Africa, where there are large reserves of cheap labour, and where the raw materials are immediately available.

I have dealt at length on these matters to show how closely linked is Indian industrialism with world industrialism and how necessarily, Indian Trade Unionism must ally itself with the World Trade Unionism. Your future problems are going to be the same problems that concern the organised workers everywhere.

Wherever workers are drawn into industry in India, they should be organised into trade unions, and brought within the Trade Union Movement. Indian T. U. C. should not limit itself to the higher grades of workers, or the specialised crafts. In view of the present circumstances, the Indian Trade Union Congress—if I may, most respectfully be permitted to express a considered opinion upon the matter—should consciously aim, in its policy, to bring every worker skilled and unskilled, of either sex, into the organised movement.

Every single organised worker will add his or her quota of strength.

You have made substantial progress, so I understand in the organisation of the Railwaymen, public administrative workers, textile and engineering workers.

There is a vital necessity to develop organisation among ALL SECTIONS OF WORKERS in order to give the correct balance to the movement everywhere. Similarly with the peasants.

ORGANISATION IS IMPERATIVE.

Power is derived from organisation. The power to do things, to enforce demands, to bring pressure on the employers, to establish wage and working standards, to build up educational and cultural movements, and to effect serious economic and political changes.

In all industrial countries Trade Unionism is the basis of the working class social and political movements.

Through the medium of the Trade Unions the workers can receive training and discipline, and be made conscious of the part they have to play in their struggle for emancipation.

I am confident that the ultimate freedom of the Indian people, from foreign political domination, and from economic oppression, will be won, and only be won, by the development, the organisation and building up, of a great Indian Trade Union Movement.

I desire, on behalf of the British Workers to extend to you their pledge of comradeship. We want to give you hope and courage. We will help you all we can, in the formidable tasks which now confront you. The British workers say to the workers of India; UP BROTHERS, STAND UPON YOUR FEET, and fight for life truly worth living. Solidify your trade union forces with ours, and those of the International working class. GOOD LUCK., and long life to the Indian Trades Union Congress and Indian Trade Unionism. (Loud Applause).

Mr. HALLSWORTH'S SPEECH.

Mr. J. Hallsworth who followed Mr. Purcell, also received a rousing reception when he rose to address the gathering as follows:—

Fellow Trade Unionists,

I have the greatest pleasure in joining with my colleague, Mr. Purcell, in bringing to you the fraternal greetings of British Trade Unionists.

He has covered a great deal of ground in his speech, surveying, as he has done, the work of the trade union movement in many parts of the world.

What he has said is the result of a first-hand personal touch with a great many of those responsible

for the direction of trade unionism in the varying conditions under which it has to develop.

My own acquaintance with international trade unionism is less extensive than his. Nevertheless I *have* had something to do with the International movement in Europe, more particularly regarding the organisation of very difficult types of persons to organise, namely, the supervisors, the clerical employees, the shop assistants and warehouse workers and others closely allied to such employees.

It says a good deal for the persistence with which that difficult work has been carried, on that to-day the International Federation of these organised bodies numbers nearly a million members. At the same time, we have to confess that this section of International trade unionism ought to number *many* millions instead of *one*, and that instead of being representative of only part of Europe (including Great Britain and Ireland), it should embrace, as indeed the general trade union International should include, the trade union forces of the The Whole World.

At your Congress, however, my colleague and I represent no particular section of workers. WE REPRESENT THE WHOLE BRITISH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, which regards with special interest the beginning and early growth of trade unionism in this great country of yours.

Our British movement *is* and MUST BE vitally concerned by what happens in the organisation of labour everywhere, because it realises that NO COUNTRY, and certainly *Labour in no country*, can live to itself.

alone. That is true also of each individual trade union in every separate country.

Have we not seen in our country that when any particular body of organised workers has gained some increase of wages or some improvement in the conditions of work, that a great incentive is given to other bodies of workers to make an effort to obtain similar advantages?

And, on the other hand, is it not our experience that when a section of workers is beaten in a struggle that the task of other sections is made more difficult and that only too often the same fate is shared?

It has been said very truly that "we are all slaves in the slavery of our 'fellows.'" Slavery cannot be properly and narrowly defined. Broadly speaking, slavery exists wherever mankind is prevented from freely and fully exercising its physical and mental faculties and is thus shut out from the means of a full life in all the aspects that stamp it as human.

Under the national and international organisation of capitalism, aided and buttressed frequently by all the forces of Government, slavery in greater or less degree is inevitable, and will be until the workers of every type—manual and non-manual, become sufficiently educated and conscious of their rights and responsibilities to ensure that industry and services shall be democratically owned and controlled and the beneficent results enjoyed by all those who have contributed to them.

As my colleague has indicated, we have come to this Congress to try and make you feel that there is a great feeling of satisfaction and delight in Britain that within the last ten years you have set about the

enormously difficult task of organising the Indian workers. It may appear that you have begun this task rather late. But, as we say in our country, "better late than never."

We feel that the experience of the British movement may be of some assistance to you in what you have set out to do. We feel there is some responsibility resting upon our shoulders in the sense that during our stay in India we ought to tell you—in so far as the story may be applicable—how the path to progress may most profitably be trod.

The growth of trade unionism in our country, though the immediate result of capitalism has been largely coincident with the growth of the capitalist system itself—and, therefore, our experience has been obtained in a hard school. It ought to be of some use to you as a young movement faced with an experienced and highly organised movement of the employers in India.

On the other hand, we hope to learn something of value from your experiences, short though they may be in actual point of time. *We desire*, as far as possible, to see for ourselves the position of your movement in relation to the task you have to perform. *We want* to establish real and lasting connections between your movement and our own. *We wish* to know as much about your movement and its constituent parts as will enable our Congress and its General Council to grasp readily the significance of every important happening that takes place in the world of Indian Labour. *And we desire* to give you all the help we can to enable you to understand as readily the trade union movement of Britain and the aims and purposes of that movement.

We have had the advantage of reading several reports on Indian labour and its conditions. The reports are excellent so far as they go. Our Congress, however, would like to know more about the subject.

We have read the reports of your most recent Congresses and observed your deliberations and resolutions. Some of the worst evils against which you are directing your energies were prevalent in the beginnings of the industrial system in Britain. In certain respects we have abolished or mitigated great evils. In regard to several other matters we have yet to register real progress.

Our aims in a general sense, however, are the same. *The cause of labour, the needs of Labour*, are the same in principle and in fact the world over.

We all claim, we all need, a sufficiency of the elementary necessities of life. High wages wherewith to obtain wholesome and enough food; proper clothing; real homes in which to live clean and healthy lives and to bring up our rising generations; decent places in which to work; reasonable hours of work; effective sanitary and health provisions; paid holidays, adequate financial cover for times of disablement from accident, sickness or disease.

What we all want are the good things of life, the things that make for happiness.

We want a Happy India, a Happy Britain, a Happy World of Humanity.

There is no cause greater than the Cause of Humanity. Trade Unionism in its best sense serves that cause.

Men and Women standing together shoulder to shoulder, remembering their common humanity struggling together often against great odds, to realise its great aspirations, is one of the grandest things the eye can behold and the mind contemplate.

The aims of capitalism are mean and paltry by comparison. The mere amassing of wealth for wealth's sake is a poor thing indeed. As John Ruskin, a great writer of his day in our country, declared :—

“There is no wealth but life. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy and admiration. That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings. That man is richest who having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the greatest and widest helpful influence over the lives of others.”

There is fundamental truth in those words. But the *means* of securing this wealth which is life, have to be won. They can be won only by the *industrial solidarity* of the workers, by their banding themselves together in their trade unions, and by those trade unions in turn building up strong national and international federations, so that the demands of Labour may *be heard*, may be *pressed* upon employers and upon Governments, and, if necessary, contended for by such other means as circumstances may require and the power of trade unionism may allow.

It is our earnest desire that your movement may grow rapidly and that you will be able in consequence to grapple in determined fashion with the unjust and

inhuman conditions under which so many workers at present exist. There is no easy way of organisation. You will know the best ways. But the power of numbers must obtain before you can make any real impression upon the employers. And you must have a real spirit of comradeship amongst your great numbers. Employers everywhere look for *their* continued power to the existence of religious and other differences among the workers. The workers must not allow such differences to have the effect of destroying trade union organisation and solidarity, for if you do the one and the only hope of economic progress will have gone.

We wish you every success in your gigantic work, both inside and outside this Congress, and assure you that our movement at home will watch your endeavours with the greatest interest and hope to share with you the joy which the realisation of your aims will bring. (Loud applause).

Mr. MARDY JONES' SPEECH.

Mr. Mardy Jones who was loudly cheered when he rose to speak conveyed greetings from British miners who he said were the finest body of fighters, Labour had ever produced. One did not need to be months and months in India to be able to say that the greatest need of the masses was free education in the lower stages. The second need was an organised labour and the third was the unification of educative effort with Trade Union organisation to win political freedom for India. "You are going through the same experiences that we went through 50 years ago when we were unorganised and slaves and trade unionism was illegal."

The speaker added that the masses here were more literate and helpful than were Britons at that time. They were, however, better off in one respect. They had one race, one religion, one language prevailing. If the devil incarnate had designed to divide and exploit the masses, he could not have succeeded. The Government of India had done very little to remove the obstacle in the way of the masses.

Continuing, Mr. Mardy Jones said that the Government of India had made a fundamental mistake in giving education from the top and to-day they were reaping the reward as the educated naturally resented the foreign yoke and wanted them to clear out. If the masses had been educated, they would have had to clear out long ago. "Your need is education to all until you have trained workers to assume the leadership of Labour," said he. He asked them to press Government to recognise Trade Unionism in State industries. Every argument that was now used against the improvement of labour conditions had been used in Britain 50 years ago. "I tell you, if you are worthy of the name of Indians, if you are worthy of Swaraj, unite against the Government and force legislation, not ten years hence, but here and now, to clear woman labour out of mines. Mine labour ought to be man labour and women ought to be at home rearing children. The day is coming when Capitalism will give way to Socialism. You have got to work and to see that religion and caste never divide you."

Next he related the story of a warder in a lunatic asylum who, when asked how he was able to control so many single-handed, said that the lunatics never combined. "You should not trust so much even the Labour

Party in England; you must help yourselves and have trust in yourselves and the Labour Party will help you. The visit to India of Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth is a landmark in the history of the International Labour Movement. Unite and you will get Swaraj and when you get Swaraj, remember you have to watch the rich ruling class as we watch them there," said Mr. Jones in conclusion.

After the speeches of these Fraternal Delegates were over, the resolutions as approved by the Executive Council on the boycott of the Statutory Commission on Reforms, the revision of the Workmen's Compensation Act, and fixing the hours of work at eight a day and forty-four a week were moved. When the resolution on the boycott of the Statutory Commission was being discussed, an amendment was moved to part (a) adding at the end the words "and requests the Parliamentary Labour Party to withdraw its two labour representatives from the Commission." The amendment was opposed by some delegates, but was declared carried by majority. The poll was demanded and the President promised to take the poll the next day.

The Congress adjourned to 12-0 noon on Monday, the 28th November.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Congress began its third day's Session on Monday, the 28th November at 12 noon with Mr. Chaman Lall in the chair.

The resolutions, as approved by the Executive Council in its sittings of the 27th and 28th November, were placed before the Congress by various delegates and carried unanimously. The full text of the resolutions passed by the Congress is given in Appendix A.

The President announced amid cheers that the delegates who had demanded the pole the previous day on the resolution on the Statutory Commission, had withdrawn their demand and declared that resolution also carried.

British Delegation's Concluding Speech.

In responding to the resolution thanking the British Trades Union Congress Delegation and Mr. Mardy Jones and offering fraternal greetings to them, Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth made short but spirited speeches exhorting the Indian Trade Union Movement to increase its strength. Mr. Purcell urged them to bring their wives and daughters to the Trade Union Congress. In England, he said, Labour gets the greatest support from women, the most militant fighters were to be found among the wives and daughters of the miners. He added:—"In a land like India, no famine ought to be conceivable and cholera, plague and typhoid ought to be at their minima. All these things were present in England fifty years ago and have disappeared in the face of the sanitary measures. Poverty is a problem which trade unionism has to eradicate, Poverty is the worst menace to civilisation. What we want is a cordon of decent sanitary conditions. The standard of life is to be the first charge on all undertakings." He concluded by saying;—"DOWN WITH CAPITALISM. DOWN

WITH IMPERIALISM AND UP WITH THE INTERNATIONALISM OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD." (Loud cheers).

Mr. Hallsworth, who followed Mr. Purcell, said that the Conference had exceeded his highest expectations. Whatever might have divided them in the past, there was one question on which they could not afford to be divided, and that was the intense love of their fellows as against the capitalist system."

Mr. Philip Spratt who was acquitted recently in a case for sedition against him, thanked the Congress for the reception given him and for passing a resolution congratulating him on his acquittal.

A vote of thanks to the President, the Reception Committee and the volunteers was moved and passed amid cheers.

In bringing the session to a close, the President said that they were in the midst of tremendous battle against poverty and they could only succeed by united energy.

The Congress Session was then declared dissolved.

APPENDIX A.

Full Text of the Resolutions.

Greetings to the British Fraternal Delegation.

1. This Congress extends its most cordial fraternal greetings to the British Trades Union Delegation and welcomes in its midst Comrades Purcell and Hallsworth as fraternal delegates.

(b) The Congress requests all the workers' organisations in the country to extend a warm welcome to the

Delegation and give them every assistance in their Indian tour.

Greetings to Mr. Mardy Jones.

2. This Congress extends its fraternal greetings, to and welcomes Mr. T. Mardy Jones, M. P. in its midst as a Fraternal Delegate from the Workers' Welfare League of India, London, and requests all the workers' organisations in the country to give him every assistance in his Indian tour.

Royal Commission on Reforms.

3. (a) This Congress realising that in as much as the appointment of the Statutory Commission on Reforms violates the principle of self-determination for India and in as much as the Commission as at present constituted is, in its opinion, but an attempt to find ways and means to perpetuate the imperialistic domination of Great Britain over India, declares that the Statutory Commission should be boycotted and requests the Parliamentary Labour Party to withdraw its two Labour representatives from the Commission.

(b) Further, the Congress declares that meanwhile a sub-committee consisting of Messrs. Chaman Lall, N. M. Joshi, P. Spratt, S. H. Jhabwalla, Kishorilal Ghose, S. A. Dange, D. R. Thengdi, M. Daud and G. Sethi should draw up a Labour Constitution for the future Government of India which should be presented to the Executive Council and to the working classes in the country and that Mr. P. Spratt should be the convener of this Committee,

Miss Mayo's "Mother India".

4. (a) This Congress emphatically protests against the slanderous and libellous accusations made against the

whole Indian Nation by Miss Mayo in her book, "Mother India" and *requests all the labour Movements in the world not to be misled by that book.*

(b) Further, this Congress requests Mr. C. F. Andrews to write a brief reply on behalf of the All-India Trade Union Congress which should be printed after its being submitted to and approved of by the Executive Council.

Political Prisoners.

5. While thanking individual members of the British Labour Party for their strong support to the agitation in India for the release of people incarcerated indefinitely without trial, this Congress notes with regret that the policy of detaining people without trial sanctioned in 1924 by Lord Oliver as Secretary of State for India under the Labour Government and continued since then by the Conservative Government, has not been repudiated by the Party and that no demand has been made by the Party in and outside the Parliament for the wholesale release of these unfortunate men and trusts that effective steps would be taken by British organised Labour to compel the Government of India and the Government of Bengal either to release them or to bring them to trial in an ordinary court of law.

Passport to Messrs. Saklatwala, Thengdi and Ghate. X

6. (a) This Congress condemns the action of the Government of India in refusing to issue a passport to Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala, M. P. for coming to India to organise the Workers and Peasants in the country.

(b) This Congress also condemns the action of the Government of India in refusing passports to Messrs. D.

R. Thengdi and S. V. Ghate to go to China to attend the Pan Pacific Labour Conference.

Protest Against Imperialism.

7. This Congress reaffirms that it looks upon Imperialism as a form of capitalist class Government, intended to facilitate and perpetuate the exploitation and slavery of all workers, both white and coloured, in the interests of the capitalist class, and declares that the only safeguard against exploitation lies in the creation by the working-class of a corresponding measure of class unity, solidarity and consciousness.

(b) This Congress therefore expresses its willingness and desire to bring about the greatest possible solidarity and co-ordinated activity on the part of the Trade Unions throughout the world and oppose Imperialism.

Soviet Anniversary.

8. This Congress congratulates the U. S. S. R. on having attained the 10th anniversary of the first Workers' Republic in spite of Imperialist intervention to break it.

China.

9. (a) This Congress re-affirms its whole hearted approval of the magnificent advance made by the people of China towards the attainment of national freedom and in pursuit of the principle of self-determination. The Congress warmly appreciates the valuable work that has been done by the Trade Unions and the Peasants Organisations which, under the leadership of Kuomintang, have frustrated the aggressive designs of the United Imperialistic powers. The Congress while pledging its full support to the movement of liberation in China, expresses

its firm conviction that the cause of Indian Nationalism and the struggle of the working classes against exploitation should profit from the example of solidarity of the Nationalist movement and the workers' and peasants' organisations, as set by China.

(b) This Congress vehemently protests against the action of the Indian Government in furthering the aims of Imperialism by sending Indian troops to China and calls upon the Government of India to recall all such troops.

Anglo-Russian Unity.

10. This Congress deploras the failure of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee and urges that further efforts be made to bring about unity between the I. F. T. U. and R. I. L. U.

Prosecution of Mr. P. Spratt.

11. This Congress condemns the action of the Government of Bombay in prosecuting Mr. P. Spratt when he was engaged in the peaceful activity of organising labour and congratulates him on his acquittal.

General Labour Demands.

12. This Congress reaffirms its opinion that legislation should immediately be passed providing for all workers working in factories, mines, tea, coffee and rubber plantations and in all other organised trades and industries:—

1. Adult Franchise.

2. An eight hours' day or 44 hours' week.

3. Machinery for fixing minimum wage—in view of the fact that the wages in India are

- extremely low and that it is the right of the workers to get a minimum living wage.
4. **Sickness and unemployment insurance.**
 5. **Old age pensions and pensions for widows and orphans.**
 6. **Maternity benefits.**
 7. **Weekly payment of wages.**

Unemployment.

13. This Congress invites the attention of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to the serious problem of unemployment of the Indian workers and peasants and urges upon them to take immediate steps for a satisfactory solution thereof.

Workmen's Compensation Act.

14. This congress urges upon the Government of India to appoint a Committee to revise the Workmen's Compensation Act and insists that the All-India Trade Union Congress should be given adequate representation thereon.

Policy of Protection and Workers' Interests.

15. Whereas it is advisable that, when the Government of India are pursuing a policy of giving State Aid in the form of bounty or protective tariff to steel and various other industries, it should at the same time see that the interests of the workers employed therein are also properly safeguarded; and in the light of the bitter experiences in the past that the axe of retrenchment every time falls upon the poorly paid workers, while the top-heavy management of most of those industries often remains quite unaffected, this Congress urges upon

Government that necessary steps be taken for giving proper effect to the recommendations of the Tariff Board about the reduction of the running cost of the said industries; not by the reduction of the low paid workers, but, by adequate retrenchment of the supervising staff and speedy Indianisation of the same.

(b) This Congress is further of opinion that before any retrenchment in the personnel is made in any of the industries, a mixed enquiry committee consisting of equal number of representatives of both the employers and employees should be appointed to enquire into the matter and report its recommendations to the management before any final action is taken.

Industrial Housing Conditions.

16. (a) This Congress views with alarm the high mortality rate amongst the labouring population in most of the industrial towns in India and the growing deterioration of its physical, moral and material condition and considers that these are largely due to the disgraceful conditions of housing and sanitation which prevail in the working class quarters in every industrial city.

(b) This Congress also considers that the time has come when Government should undertake comprehensive legislation for the destruction of the slum areas and that they should offer liberal subsidies and loans for the building of sanitary houses in industrial areas.

Legislation against imposition of Fines.

17. (a) This Congress strongly urges upon the Government of India to pass at an early date legislation prohibiting deductions from wages or payments in respect

of fines and forfeitures in all industrial and commercial concerns.

(b) This Congress strongly recommends to the Government of India to pass legislation providing that all deductions from wages in respect of fines, and other purpose, so long as they are permitted, and all amounts of unclaimed and forfeited wages be credited to a workers' *Welfare Fund* to be managed jointly by the representatives of Labour and Employers.

Amendment of the Indian Factories Act.

18. (a) This Congress strongly urges upon the Government of India and the Local Governments to amend the Indian Factories Act so as to provide *adequate* facilities for maintenance of sanitation and bearable temperature in factories and their closer inspection so as to sufficiently safeguard the health of industrial workers in the country; and that with this end in view the administrative machinery under the Act be sufficiently provided and instructed to seek the assistance of the representatives of the labour unions connected with respective factories so that the inconveniences of workers may thereby be duly brought to the notice of the authorities concerned.

(b) Whereas it is found in certain cases that the interpretation of the clauses of the Indian Factories Act regarding compulsory off days had been prejudicial to the interest of the workers, this Congress recommends to the Government of India to take steps to so amend the said Act as to make it obligatory on the employers to pay the wages of such off days.

Seamen's Grievances.

19. This Congress condemns the action of the Government of India in not ratifying immediately the draft Conventions and Recommendations of the ninth (Maritime) Session of the Geneva International Labour Conference of 1922 and postponing their consideration practically for an indefinite period.

20. (a) This Congress strongly urges upon the Government of India to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act so as to do away with the pernicious system of recruitment of seamen through the licensed brokers as per recommendations of the Seamen's Recruitment Committee and strongly recommends the establishment of a State Employment Bureau at all the ports of India.

(b) This Congress strongly recommends to maritime local Governments their strict adherence to the time-honoured custom of giving changes of employment to seamen according to their registered turns, as this system alone will effectively tackle the problem of unemployment among seamen and reduce the evil to minimum.

(c) This Congress requests the Government of India to take early steps for the preparation of Registers of seamen of each rating separately and establishment of an Employment Bureau with an advisory Committee.

21. (a) This Congress, while disapproving of the action of the Government of India in not enforcing the recommendations of the Seamen's Recruitment Committee of 1922 by introducing a bill for amending the Indian Merchant Shipping Act in the Legislative

Assembly, strongly urges upon the Government of India to introduce the same in the next session of the Indian Legislative Assembly without any further delay.

(b) This Congress strongly urges upon the Government of India the necessity of setting up an Advisory Committee along with the establishment of the Seamen's Recruitment Bureau as recommended by the majority members of the Seamen's Recruitment Committee on the lines of the Geneva International Labour Conference.

22. (a) This Congress strongly urges upon the Government and the Shipping Companies concerned to enforce eight hours a day or 44 hours a week as the working hours of the Indian Seamen employed in foreign-going ships and engaged under Indian Merchant Shipping Act and also of mariners employed in inland navigable rivers.

(b) This congress urges on the International labour Office to bring on the agenda of 1929 Conference the question of eight hours' work for mariners employed in inland navigable rivers along with the working hours of the Seamen in foreign-going vessels.

23. This Congress urges on the Government to instruct the Shipping Masters of all the ports in India the necessity of getting the Seamen's Articles of Agreement signed in the Shipping offices and not on boardships in accordance with the wishes of the ship-owners which is calculated to be detrimental to the best interests of the seamen.

24. (a) This Congress urges on the authorities to take early steps for the removal of the Seamen's Boarding masters who are petty *dalals*, from all the shipping

offices in India in order to save the seamen from being exploited by them during recruitment and discharge.

(b) This Congress urges on the Police authorities the necessity of cancelling Police license to those Seamen's Boarding-Masters and petty *dalals*, who are "crimps" and also to strictly observe the good housing of seamen, regard being had to better sanitation in accordance with the Municipal laws and bye-laws.

25. This Congress emphatically urges upon the Government of India to delete forthwith from the Seamen's Articles of Agreement Columns regarding the Report as to the quality of Seamen's work, as recommended by the Convention of Geneva International Labour Conference, 1926, as this column has been widely misused by shipping authorities against seamen and has afforded undue opportunities to ship's officers to harass and victimize seamen.

26. This Congress strongly urges upon the Government of India to insert at an early date in the Seamen's Articles of Agreement a provision to limit the maximum working hours of seamen on board the ships, as absence of this provision has subjected seamen to considerable strain of overwork without any additional remuneration.

27. This Congress requests the Ship—Owners to take necessary action at an early date for the removal of grievances of the Indian Quarter Masters relating the Wheel-houses and Cabin in view of the fact that they are required to work in almost all the ships under the open sky at the cost of their health, in the hot sun or in shivering cold.

28. This Congress urges on the shipping authorities to make a division of work among all the seamen and specially to fix the work of the Indian Quarter Masters in order to put a stop to the troubles arising from the absence of such division.

29. This Congress urges upon the I. G. N. & Ry. and the R. S. N. Companies (a) to make proper accommodation on board their steamers for deck and engine-crews including masters and engine-drivers; (b) to make sufficient arrangement for medical help for injured or sick mariners on board steamers; (c) to make necessary arrangements for direct appointment of and payment to their deck and engine-hands; and (d) to grant "Commission" on freight to their employees or officers responsible for loading and unloading of cargo.

30. This Congress urges on Messrs. I. G. N. and R. S. N. Companies to give at an early date a general increment of 25 per cent. in wages of their employees working on their steamers, launches, flats and barges.

31. This Congress urges on the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta to give a 10 per cent. increment in wages of the men working in the Calcutta Port Commissioners' docks, heaving-up boats, hesser-boats, anchor-vessels etc., and that their working hours be limited upto 8 hours a day and they be given good accommodation in the docks as well as in the boats.

Textile Workers Grievances.

32. This Congress deplures the inaction of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments in not taking any action on the recommendations of the Indian Textile Tariff Board in so far as they relate to

the improvement of the conditions of life and service of the textile workers and urges upon them to take immediate steps to carry out those recommendations.

33. This Congress brings to the notice of Government authorities the fact that in textile mills the workers are summarily discharged without notice and therefore urges upon Government to enact an all-India legislation preventing discharges or dismissals of workers in organised industries without notice and without adequate reason and ensure stability of their employment.

34. This Congress strongly emphasises the importance of providing regulations for provision of one month's leave with pay to workers in the textile as well as in other organised industries in this country so that the workers might take some rest every year after a continuous strain of eleven months in order that their health and stamina for work may be maintained in the interests of the workers and the industry itself, as is the case in all Government and semi-Government Departments.

35. This Congress strongly urges upon the owners of Jute Mills to revise without delay the scandalously low wages of the Jute workers and to fix the minimum pay at Rs. 30 per month in the Jute Industry which has been making an average profit of 90% for the last ten years while the workers whose exploitation piles up the profit live lives of semi-starvation.

36. This Congress reaffirms its last Session's resolution that it urges upon the Indian Jute Mills Association or the Municipal Boards in the areas to acquire the Bustees in the Jute Mill area described by Mr. Thomas Johnstone, M. E., as 'vile, filthy, disease-hidden hovels

and heaps of pestilence" and build sanitary dwellings for housing the workers in the industry, and deeply deplores the cruel inactivity of the owners of Jute Mills in not building sanitary dwelling places for the Jute workers who are thus compelled to live in filthy hovels which are hardly fit even for the cattle to be stabled in.

37. This Congress while approving of the abolition of multiple shifts and introduction of a single shift in most of the Jute Mills in Bengal, calls upon the Indian Jute Mills Association to adjust wages (including the so-called "Khoraki" or Bonus) in proportion to the increase in the working hours and to reinstate men discharged under the new arrangement.

38. This Congress calls upon the Indian Jute Mills Association (a) to provide, out of surplus profits, an amount to build a Provident Fund or to provide small premiums for old age endowment insurance; (b) to establish co-operative credit societies in every Jute mill with a view to rescue the workers from the clutches of "Kabuli" money lenders who infect the Mill area and exact a minimum interest of 150 per cent. per annum on loans; (c) to provide workmen's institute on the lines of Spalding Institute in the Railway Colony at Kancharapara, and games and healthy amusements for their employees; (d) to provide primary instruction for half timers and the children of mill-hands; (e) to provide creches and baby clinics for the infants of women and employees.

Railwaymen's Grievances.

39. *B. N. Railway Lock-out*:—(a) This Congress fully supports the Central Council of the B. N. Ry. Indian Labour Union in the attitude they have taken up

in their fight with the Railway Administration and offers its whole-hearted co-operation in whatever action they may hereafter take.

(b) This Congress emphatically protests against the tone of the Communique issued by the Agent of the B. N. Ry. on the 23rd November and considers it entirely humiliating and calculated to hamper the progress of negotiations for an honourable settlement.

40. (a) *Leave Privileges*:—This Congress earnestly requests the Railway Board to grant privileges as regards leave, etc., to workers and other staff on daily and monthly rate of pay in the railway workshops as are allowed to other staff of the Railways such as drivers, firemen, station masters, clerks, chargemen, guards, etc., and that payment for gazetted holidays should be on the same scale as is allowed to other staff; the plea that the workmen in workshops get overtime, being only an excuse for not allowing equal leave and other privileges.

(b) *Time Scale increase*:—The Congress is of opinion that due increment under time scale be sanctioned to all the Railway workers unless otherwise it be stopped for inefficiency or misconduct.

(c) *Victimisation and wrongful dismissal*:—This Congress emphatically demands that Government should introduce legislation to make it obligatory on Railway administrations not to dismiss an employee without an impartial enquiry and on fit and proper grounds.

(d) *Passes*:—This Congress earnestly requests Government to ask the railways to issue free complimentary passes to its employees when attending the sessions

of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, All India Trade Union Congress, the meetings of their General or Executive Council, or similar other meetings in connection with the Trade Union Movement.

41. *B. N. W. Railwaymen's Wages*:—This Congress learns with regret that the condition of the subordinate staff employed on the B. N. W. Ry. is so deplorable that it has caused great unrest amongst the workers owing to their low and insufficient salaries and wages, while the B. N. W. Ry. Company is year by year making its own pile of profits which, according to its latest annual report for the period ending December 1926, amounted to £. 913,000 as against £. 755,000 in the year reported in the annual report published in 1925 and when the percentage of working expenses to gross receipts has fallen from 46.60 to 39.36 in the previous year. This Congress further draws the attention of the Legislative assembly to this situation and requests it to take such steps as may be necessary to improve the same.

42 *Levy on Howrah Railway Porters* :—This Congress, while viewing with satisfaction, the reduction of the Labour Contractors' Levy on Luggage Porters at Howrah Station from Rs. 7 to Rs. 5 a month as the result of three years' ceaseless agitation by the Railway Porters' Association, requests the Agent, East Indian Railway, and the Member-in-charge of Railways, to publish the report of the Indian Railway official, deputed by the Agent, to enquire into the serious allegations against the Contractor and to abolish the iniquitous system of contracting luggage labour at Howrah Station.

pursued for some years with the sole object of providing retired European Railway servant with a fat income at the expense of several hundred oppressed porters.

Press Workers' Grievances.

43. This Congress is deliberately of opinion that the piece system as it obtains in the Government and other presses in India is iniquitous, complex and opposed to principles of humanity and that it should be abolished, or in the alternative, should be brought into line with the system as it obtains in England and in other countries of Europe and America.

44. This Congress urges upon the Government of India to appoint a committee consisting of representatives of itself, of the Railway Board, of the Provincial Governments and of Central and Provincial Legislatures to enquire into the working conditions of the different presses under them and make suitable recommendations for the amelioration of those conditions in regard to working hours, pay, pension, leave, holidays, housing and education of their children.

45. This Congress is of opinion that it is the duty of the Inspector of Factories to keep a careful watch on the breaches of the provisions of the Indian Factories Act, instead of leaving it to the poor, ignorant and aggrieved workers to supply him with evidence for the prosecution of the offending employers who are more resourceful in evading the law successfully than the workers are in finding out evidence for their conviction.

46. That in view of the fact that Linooperators have to work in close proximity to the heated furnace in which type material is constantly melting and in view

of the fact that the vapour constantly arising out of the furnances is gravely injurious to health, this Congress is of opinion that the Linooperators should be allowed to retire on half pension after 15 years' service.

47. This Congress considers that the system of medical examination which the press workers, disabled by lead poisoning, have to undergo before being invalidated is harassing and extremely troublesome to the poor sufferers and invites the attention of the central and provincial Governments, particularly that of Bengal, to the same so that the medical authorities may in future be more considerate to the workers.

Miners' Grievances.

48. This Congress endorses the memorandum submitted to Government by the Indian Colliery Employees' Association about the proposed amendment of the Indian Mines Act, regarding limitation of the working hours under ground and vehemently protests against compulsion of working under-ground for more than 8 hours at a stretch under any circumstances.

49. This Congress reaffirms its previous resolution No. 27 carried in the last session and strongly urges that Sundays be observed as full holidays and rules for granting leave on full pay be made for all mines in India.

Cordite Factory Workers.

50. (a) This Congress views with satisfaction the proposed introduction of the scheme of Provident Fund for the Cordite Factory workers but suggests that retrospective effect be given to the scheme by the Government and the Management of the Cordite Factory by extending the same to workers already in service.

(b) This Congress regrets to find that provision has not been made for paying gratuity to the Cordite factory workers as is made on the State railways and requests Government and the Management of the Cordite Factory to make a similar provision for the Cordite factory workers.

51. This Congress urges upon Government that the workers of the Cordite factory be provided with decent housing accommodation provided with necessary conveniences as at present afforded to the European and clerical staff and suggests that where such quarters may not be provided, the workers should be given 10 per cent. of their respective salaries as house allowance in lieu of housing accommodation.

52. This Congress requests the Government and the Management of the Cordite Factory to grant hill allowance to the workers getting less than Rs. 200 p. m.

Telegraph Peons.

53. This Congress is of opinion that the so-called menials in the Telegraph department be given the same rights and privileges as are given to the subordinate staff in the Postal department and their grade should no longer be considered as "inferior".

Government Employees' Unions.

54. This Congress condemns the policy of the Government of India in placing hindrances in the way of their employees' organisations affiliating themselves to the All-India Trade Union Congress and of their registration under the Trade Unions Act.

Council of Action

55. (a) This Congress, realising the urgency of organising a mass movement of the workers and peasants

of India in order to extricate them from their present condition of abject poverty, hereby resolves to appoint a Council of Action consisting of the following representatives from each province :—

Bengal :—Messrs. Kishorilal Ghose, M. Daud and Kalidas Bhattacharya.

Central Provinces :—Messrs. R. S. Ruikar, V. V. Giri and D. R. Thengdi.

Bihar and Orissa :—Messrs P. C. Bose, G. Sethi and K. C. Mitra.

Bombay :—Messrs. P. Spratt, S. H. Jhabwala and R. R. Bakhale.

Madras :—Messrs. B. Shiv Rao, Panchaksharam and E. Kirk.

Punjab :—Messrs. D. Chamanlall, Kamal Nabh and Majid.

United Provinces :—Messrs. Harihar Nath Shastri, Ramzan Ali, and Dr. B. N. Mukerjee.

N. W. Province :—Mr. Gavar Rahiman.

Assam :—Messrs. Mozam Ali and Aftab Ali.

(b) The Council of Action will from its appointment undertake the work of :—

(1) Organisation of peasants and workers in co-operation with the existing unions.

(2) Propaganda for the assertion of the [rights of workers and peasants.

(3) The setting up of a Publicity Bureau and a Central Press.

(4) The Collection of funds for the above-mentioned objects.

(5) Mr. Chamanlal shall act as President and Mr. S. H. Jhabwala as Secretary of the Council of Action.

(6) The Council will be subject to control by the Executive Council and must present to the Executive Council with a programme of the work to be done, and from time to time, a monthly report of its activities.

Amendment in the Congress Constitution:—

58. This Congress resolves to make the following changes in its present Constitution:—

(a) In rule No. 4:—

(i) In clauses (a) and (b) the words “agree to” be deleted.

(ii) In clause (a) for the words from “on the following basis” to the end of the clause, the words “on the basis of Rs. 10 for every 1,000 members or part thereof” be substituted.

(b) After rule No. 4 the following new rule be added and the consequent changes be made in the numbering of the following rules:—

“That a Union which does not pay its annual affiliation fees before the end of April of each year, shall not be entitled to vote either at the meetings of the Executive Council or at the sessions of the A. I. T. U. Congress or at any of its committees till the fees are paid”.

(c) In rule No. 8:—

For words beginning with “5 delegates” to the end of the rule, the following be substituted:—

“1 delegate for every 200 members”.

(ii) At the end of the rule, the following clauses be added:—

“(b) No Union which has a membership of less than 100 members shall be entitled to representation at any sessions 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 15 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.”

Workers' Delegation to the International Labour Conference.

59. This Congress appoints Mr. D. Chaman Lall, M. L. A., as the Indian Workers' Delegate to the next Session of the International Labour Conference and Messrs. D. R. Thengdi, Mahabub-ul Huq, G. Sethi and P. C. Bose as the Advisers and informs the Government of India that the names of the Advisers are given in the order of votes received by them, and therefore, urges upon them that they should be selected in the same order.

Report and statement of accounts.

60. This Congress adopts the General Secretary's report for 1927 as adopted by the Executive Council and also the audited Annual Statement of Accounts.

Office-bearers.

61. (a) This Congress appoints the following office-bearers for the next year :—

President :—Mr. C. F. Andrews.

Vice-Presidents :—Messrs. D. R. Thengdi, M. Daud, M. A. , LL. B., and Dr. B. N. Mukerjee.

General Secretary :—Mr. N. M. Joshi, M. L. A., J. P.

Assistant Secretaries :—Messrs. R. R. Bakhale and S. A. Dange.

Treasurer :—Mr. F. J. Ginwala, M. L. LL. B., M.L.C.

(b) This Congress appoints Messrs. Gharada Davar & Co. as its Honorary auditors for the next year.

Next Session of the Congress.

62. This Congress resolves to hold the next session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharis or, failing Jharis, at Nagpur.

APPENDIX B.

***Statement showing the Affiliation fees received and due from the Affiliated Unions.**

(For the period ending 25th November 1927).

No.	Name of the Union.	Affiliation fees due for			Affiliation fees paid for			Total amount paid in 1927.	Total amount due.	Remarks.
		1925.	1926.	1927.	1925	1926.	1927.			
	BENGAL.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
1	Bengal Jute Workers' Association, Bhatpara.	...	10	20	...	10	20	30	...	
2	Bengal Mariners' Union, Calcutta.	...	10	10	...	10	10	20	...	
3	Bengal Port Trust Workers' Union, Calcutta.	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	20	For 1926 and 1927.
4	Box - Makers' Association, Calcutta.	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	For 1927.
5	Calcutta Corporation Employees' Association, Calcutta.	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	Do.
6	Calcutta Port Trust Employees' Association, Calcutta.	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	Do.
7	Champdany Labour League, Champdany.	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	Do.
	Carried forward ...	...	30	80	...	20	30	50	60	

* This statement had been originally appended to the General Secretary's Report.

No.	Name of the Union.	Affiliation fees due for.			Affiliation fees paid for.			Total amount paid in 1927.	Total amount due.	Remarks.
		1925.	1926.	1927.	1925.	1926.	1927.			
		Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
	Brought over ...	...	30	80	...	20	30	50	60	
8	Clerks' Union, Calcutta ...	...	...	20	...	...	20	20	...	Affiliated in 1927.
9	E. B. Railway Indian Employees' Association, Calcutta.	...	50	50	...	50	...	50	50	For 1927.
10	Employees' Association, Calcutta.	...	20	20	...	...	...	...	40	For 1926 and 1927.
11	Henry Williams Workers' Union, Shalimer.	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	For 1927.
12	Hosiery Workmen's Association, Calcutta.	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	20	For 1926 and 1927.
13	Howrah Labour Union, Howrah.	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	For 1927.
14	Indian Quarter Masters' Union, Calcutta.	...	...	20	...	...	20	20	...	
15	Indian Seamen's Union, Calcutta.	...	30	30	...	30	...	30	30	For 1927.
16	Kankinara Labour Union, Kankinara.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	
17	Labour Association, Santipur.	...	10	10	...	10	...	10	10	For 1927.

18	Lapsdowne Jute Mill Workers' Union, Calcutta.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	
19	Nadia Harinarayanpur Rayats' Association, Calcutta.	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	For 1927.
20	Press Employees' Association, Calcutta.	...	...	20	...	...	20	20	...	
21	Railway Porters' Association, Chandranagpre.	...	10	10	...	10	..	10	10	For 1927.
BIHAR AND ORISSA.										
22	B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union, Kharagpur.	...	50	50	...	†50	†50	†100	...	
23	Indian Colliery Employees' Association, Jharia.	...	...	20	...	...	20	20	...	
24	Labour Association, Jamshedpur.	...	...	50	...	...	50	100	...	Rs. 50 more paid for 1928.
BOMBAY.										
	B. & C. I. Railway Employees' Union, Bombay.	...	...	20	...	...	20	20	...	
26	Bombay Port Trust Docks Staff Union, Bombay.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	
27	Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union, Bombay.	...	10	10	...	10	10	20	...	
28	Bombay Port Trust Rly. Employees' Union, Bombay.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	
	Carried forward ..	...	220	490	...	180	200	510	250	

No.	Name of the Union,	Affiliation fees due for			Affiliation fees paid for			Total amount paid in 1927.	Total amount due.	Remarks
		1925.	1926.	1927.	1925.	1926.	1927.			
	Brought over ...	Rs. ...	Rs. 220	Rs. 490	Rs. ...	Rs. 180	Rs. 280	Rs. 510	Rs. 250	
29	*Bombay Presidency Post-Men's Union, Bombay.	...	10	10	...	10	...	10	10	For 1927.
30	Bombay Presidency Telegraph Workmen's Union, Bombay.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	
31	Bombay Press Workers' Union, Bombay.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	Affiliated in 1927.
32	Bombay Textile Labour Union, Bombay.	...	...	50	...	...	50	50	...	
33	Clerks' Union, Bombay	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	20	For 1926 and 1927.
34	G. I. P. Rly. Staff Union, Bombay.	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	20	Do.
35	G. I. P. Rly. Workmen's Union.	...	...	20	...	...	20	20	...	
36	Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal, Bombay.	...	10	10	...	10	...	10	10	For 1927.
37	Government Peons & Menial Service Union, Bombay.	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10	Do.
38	Indian Seamen's Union, Bombay,	...	...	30	...	...	30	30	...	

39	N. W. Railway Union, Karachi.	10	10	10	10	...	...	10	20	For 1925 and 1927.
40	Wadi Bunder (G. I. P.) Union, Bombay.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	
	BURMA.									
41	Burma Labour Association, Rangoon.	...	...	20	...	...	20	20	...	
	C. P. & BERAR.									
42	Labour League, Nagpur ...	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	20	For 1926 and 1927.
43	Mechanical Engineers' Association, Akola.	...	10	10	...	10	10	20	...	
44	Pulgaon Mills Labour Union, Pulgaon.	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	20	For 1926 and 1927.
	M. S. Association, Nagpur.	...	10	10	...	10	...	10	10	For 1927.
	MADRAS.									
46	Coimbatore Labour Union, Coimbatore.	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	20	For 1926 and 1927.
47	Coimbatore Transport Wor- kers' Union, Coimbatore.	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	20	Do.
48	Cordite Factory Labour Union, Aruvankadu.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	
	Carried forward ...	10	330	770	100	220	450	730	430	

135

No.	Name of the Union.	Affiliation fees due for			Affiliation fees paid for			Total amount paid in 1927.	Total amount due.	Remarks.
		1925.	1926.	1927.	1925.	1926.	1927.			
	Brought over	Rs. 10	Rs. 330	Rs. 770	Rs. 10	Rs. 220	Rs. 450	rRs. p 730	Rs. 430	
49	Madras Labour Union, Madras.	...	50	50	...	50	50	100	...	
50	Madras Electric Tramway & Supply Corporation Employees' Union, Madras.	...	20	20	...	20	20	40	...	
51	M. & S M Rly. Employees' Union, Madras	...	30	30	...	30	30	60	...	
52	Madras Corporation Work-shopmen's Union, Madras.	...	10	10	...	10	10	20	...	
53	S. I. Rly. Labour Union, Madura.	...	...	30	...	...	20	20	10	For 1927.
PUNJAB.										
54	All-India Telegraph Workmen's Union, Lahore.	...	...	10	...	...	10	10	...	
55	Punjab Press Workers' Association, Lahore.	10	10	10	10	...	...	10	20	For 1926 and 1927.
56	Tanga Drivers' Union, Lahore.	10	10	10	...	...	...	...	30	For 1925 to 27.

UNITED PROVINCES.										
57	B. N. W. Railwaymen's Association, Gorakhpur.	20	20	20	...	...	...	...	60	Do.
58	E. I. Rly. Union, Dinapur ...	10	10	10	10	10	10	30	...	
59	Mazdoor Sabha, Cawnpore ...	...	...	20	...	...	...	...	20	For 1927.
Total ...		60	490	990	30	340	600	† 1,020	570	50

* Disaffiliated.

† Affiliation fees of Rs. 100 were received from the B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union, Khargpur on 19th November 1927. This amount could not be included in the statement of accounts as it was paid after the Statement was audited.

(a) This amount of Rs. 1,020 is in excess of the amount of Rs. 950 shown in the audited statement, by Rs. 70 and, therefore, needs an explanation. Rs. 100 received from the B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union have not been included in the audited statement for the reason given in the above explanation marked †. (But against this amount, Rs. 10 received by Mr Sircar from the Garden Reach Workers' Union (*vide* his statement on page 28) and Rs. 20 received from the Kankinara Labour Union in the audited statement, are not included in the above statement because the first union is not on the list of affiliated unions and the second is not shown to be in arrears in this statement as it paid its dues last year which were then kept in suspense account. The audited statement shows in respect of this item a mere double entry. If, therefore, Rs. 100 are added to the audited statement and Rs. 30 deducted from the same, the figure of Rs. 1,020 is obtained.

(b) The difference between the total arrears (Rs. 1540) in columns 1, 2 and 3 and the arrears (Rs. 570) due at the end of the period under report in column 8 should have tallied with the figure (Rs. 1,020) of the amount received and shown in column 7. But the latter amount is in excess of the difference by Rs. 50 as one Union has paid its fees in advance for 1923.

APPENDIX
ALL-INDIA TRADE

*Statement showing Receipts and Expenditure of the
1st January 1927 to 10th*

No.

INCOME.	Rs.	s.	p.
Balance as per report of the seventh Session of the Trade Union Congress :—			
	Rs.	s.	p.
Current Account with Bank	1,236	7	3
Less amount earmarked for the organisation of Jute Workers	460	15	0
			775 8 3
Cash in hand			55 12 6
			831 4 9
Affiliation fees :—			
Received by the General Secretary	770	0	0
Through Mr. Mukunda Lall Sirsar, late Secretary of the T. U. C.	160	0	0 (A)
From the Kankinara Labour Union as per Suspense Account of last year	20	0	0
			950 0 0
Sale-proceeds of the Trade Union Directory			19 9 0
Miscellaneous receipts			5 3 0
Interest on Current Account with Bank			17 14 0
Suspense (refunded by Mr. M. L. Sircar)			50 0 0
Donation received from Mr. Shapurjee Saklatwala, M.P.			150 0 0
			2,023 14 9
Total			

(A) The sum of Rs. 160 shown to have been received through Mr. Mukund Lall Sirsar on account of affiliation fees was collected by him as Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, but paid after the submission of the statement of accounts to the seventh Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Delhi. (See copy of his statement of Receipts and Expenditure hereto attached.)

C.
UNION CONGRESS.

*All-India Trade Union Congress for the period from
 November 1927.*

1.

EXPENDITURE.	Rs. a. p.
Telegram and Cablegram charges	242 15 6(B)
Assistance towards organisation of workers (amount sent to the Mazdoor Sabha, Cawnpore, as per resolution of the Executive Council held on 6th April 1926)	100 0 0
Office and Establishment charges	253 0 0(B)
Printing	302 11 0(B)
Stationery	76 10 0
Postage	162 2 9(B)
Conveyance	12 9 0
Honorarium to Auditor	50 0 0
Travelling Expenses	10 2 0(B)
Telephone charges	23 0 9(B)
Furniture	37 0 0
Newspapers	4 0
Miscellaneous	66 8 6(B)
Suspense Account of last year transferred to affiliation fees (per contra)	20 0 0
Chairman's Expenses	62 10 0
Treasurer's Expenses	27 8 0
	1,447 1 6
Balance ...	576 13 3
	Total ... 2,023 14 9

(B) Expenses incurred by Mr. Mukunda Lall Sircar as Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress under several heads have been incorporated in the present statement of accounts as per his statement of accounts—copy attached.)

INCOME.		Rs. a. p.
Surplus of receipts over expenditure as above		576 13 3
Suspense Account (affiliation fees received from Mr. C. Panjacksram of Madras)		30 0 0
Amount received from the U. S. S. R. Council of Trades Union, Moscow		13,625 0 0 (C)
Donation received for the Gujerat and Kathiawar Flood Relief Fund from the British Communist Party, London ...	Rs. a. p.	
	132 8 0	
Less remitted to the Flood Relief Fund ...	132 8 0	.....
Amount earmarked for the organisation of Jute workers	460 15 0	
Less spent during the year	400 0 0	60 15 0
Railwaymen's Organisation and Strike Relief Fund :—		
Balance as per report of the Seventh Session of the T. U. C.	1,485 4 0	
Add Interest	21 10 9	
	1,506 14 9	
X Less spent	1,363 12 0	
	143 2 9	
Add amount due to T. U. C. General Fund	10 4 0	153 6 9
	Total ...	14,446 3 0

(C) A sum of Rs. 13,625 was received from the U S. S. R. Council of Trades Union, Moscow, through the National City Bank of New York, Bombay, equivalent to 5,000 dollars. Although cables were sent to the Union twice for stating the purpose for which the money was sent, no reply has so far been received. The amount has, therefore, been credited to Suspense A/c pending receipt of communication regarding the purpose for which the money is intended.

F. J. GINWALA,

Hon. Treasurer

2.

EXPENDITURE.	Rs. a. p.
Suspense Account (amount paid to Mr. Dhoondi Raj Thengdi, Administrative Secretary of the Trade Union Congress)	50 0 0
Advances recoverable (spent on account of Railwaymen's Organisation and Strike Relief Fund)	10 4 0
Balance in the Savings Bank Account	153 6 9
Balance in the Current Account with Bank (Includes Rs. 13,625 Suspense Account as per contra and Rs. 60-15-0 earmarked for the organisation of Jute workers)	14,132 13 3
Balance with the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress	99 11 0
Total ...	14,446 3 0

Examined and found correct.

GHARDA DHAVAR & Co.
Incorporated Accountants, (London).
 Hon. Auditors.

BOMBAY, 17TH NOV. 1927.

*Copy of the statement of Income and Expenditure from
17th September 1926 to 7th March 1927 submitted to
Mr. V. R. Kalappa, Treasurer, on 8th March 1927.*

INCOME.	Rs. a. p.	EXPENDITURE.	Rs. a. p.
To Affiliation Fees—		By Establishment—	50 0 0
Madras Tramway Employees Union, Madras	20 0 0	Printing & Stationery.	50 11 0
Mechanical Engineers' Association, Akola...	10 0 0	Postage	40 0 9
N. W. Railway Union, Karachi	10 0 0	Telegrams	20 1 0
Corporation Work- shop Employees' Union, Madras ...	10 0 0	Telegraphic Address.	7 8 0
Madras Labour Union Perrambur, Madras.	50 0 0	Travelling	10 2 0
Garden Reach Wor- kers' Union, Calcutta.	10 0 0	Telephone Charges ...	23 0 9
E. B. Railway Indian Employees' Associa- tion, Lalmonirhat ...	50 0 0	General Charges in- cluding meeting hall rent, Conveyances, Durwan's allowances, etc.	43 1 6
Amount received from the General Secre- tary for Central office expenses ...	50 0 0		
Deficit of come ...	34 9 0		
Total ...	244 9 0	Total ...	244 9 0

CALCUTTA, 8TH MARCH 1927.

(Sd.) MIKUNDA LALL SIRCAR,

Secretary,

All-India Trade Union Congress

(Sd.) MUKUNDA LALL SIRCAR.

APPENDIX D.

List of Affiliated Trade Unions.

1. *Bengal* :—(1) Bengal Jute Workers' Association, P. O. Bhatpara, (24 Parganas). (2) Bengal Mariners' Union, 7, Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta. (3) Bengal Port Trust Workers' Union, 72, Canning Street, Room No. 62, Calcutta. (4) B. N. Railway Indian Labour Union, Kharagpur. (5) Box Makers' Association, 138, Mukhtaram Babu's Street, Calcutta. (6) Calcutta Corporation Employees' Association, Municipal Central Office Building, Room No. 97, Corporation Street, Calcutta. (7) Calcutta Port Trust Employees' Association, 2, Wellesley Square, Calcutta. (8) Champdany Labour League, P. O. Baidyabati, Champdany, (District Hoogli). (9) Clerks' Union, 97, Clive Street (Top Flat), Calcutta. (10) E. B. Railway Indian Employees' Association, 130, Bow-bazar Street, Calcutta. (11) Employees' Association, 1, Dalhousie Square, East, Second Floor, P. O. Box No. 2352, Calcutta. (12) Henry Williams Workers' Union, Andal Road, Botanic Gardens P. O., Shalimar, District Howrah. (13) Hosiery Workmen's Association, 138, Mukhtaram Babu's Street, Calcutta. (14) Howrah Labour Union, 25, Motighose Lane, Howrah. (15) Indian Quarter Masters' Union, 5, Dent Mission Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta. (16) Indian Seamen's Union, 7, Ekbalpore Lane, Kidderpore, Calcutta. (17) Kankinara Labour Union, Kankinara, (24 Parganas). (18) Labour Association, Sanhpur, 21, Satunhat Road, Santipur. (19) Lansdowne Jute Mill Workers' Union, 91—I. M. Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. (20) Nadia Harinarayanpur Rayats' Association, 12-B, Nandaram Sen Street,

Calcutta. (21) Press Employees' Association, 1, Kantapukur Lane, Bagh Bazar, Calcutta. (22) Railway Porters' Association, "Kamalalaya," Chandernagore (E. I. Railway).

2. *Bihar and Orissa*:—(23) E. I. Railway Union, Post Khagaul, Patna. (24) Indian Colliery Employees' Association, P. O. Box No. 160, Jharia. (25) Labour Association, Jamshedpur.

3. *Bombay*:—(26) B. B. & C. I. Rly. Employees' Union, opposite B. B. & C. I. Railway Workshop, Delisle Road, Bombay 13. (27) Bombay Port Trust Docks Staff Union, Pherooshaw Building, opposite Clock Tower, Princess Dock, Bombay. (28) Bombay Port Trust Employees' Union, Esuf Building, Nawab Tank Bridge, Mazgaon, Bombay. (29) Bombay Port Trust Railway Employees' Union, Esuf Building, Nawab Tank Bridge, Mazgaon, Bombay. (30) Bombay Textile Labour Union, Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay. (31) Bombay Press Workers' Union, Congress House, Girgaon Back Road, Girgaon, Bombay. (32) Clerks' Union, Post Box No. 664, Bombay. (33) G. I. P. Railway Staff Union, c/o Mr. P. S. Bakhale, B.A., LL.B., near Kennedy Bridge, Bombay. (34) G. I. P. Railway Workmen's Union, Shetye Building, Poibavdi, Parel, Bombay. (35) Girni Kamgar Maha Mandal, Nagoo Sayaji's Wadi, Parbhadevi, Bombay 12. (36) Government Peons' and Menial Service Union, 43 Tadwadi, Sonapur Lane, Marine Lines, Bombay. (37) Indian Seamen's Union 149, Keshavji Building, Carnac Bridge, Bombay. (38) N. W. Railway Union, Karachi. (39) Wadi Bundar Union, (G. I. P. Railway), c/o Mr. S. C. Joshi, M.A., LL.B., M. L. C., Soman Building, Bombay.

4. *Burma* :—(40) Burma Labour Association, No, 1, Strand Road, Rangoon.

5. *Central Provinces and Berar* :—(41) Nagpur Textile Union, the Mohal, Nagpur. (42) Mechanical Engineers' Association, C. P., Berar and Khandesh, Akola. (43) Pulgaon Mills Labour Union, c/o Mr. G. D. Dhavale, Itwari, Nagpur.

6. *Madras* :—(44) Coimbatore Labour Union, Coimbatore. (45) Coimbatore Transport Workers' Union, Coimbatore. (46) Cordite Factory Labour Union, Aruvankadu, the Nilgiris. (47) Madras Government Press Labour Union, Near Mint Post Office, Mint-Street, Madras. (48) Madras Printers' Labour Union, 32, Aiyappa Chetty Street, Mannady, Madras. (49) Madras Labour Union, Perambur Barracks, Madras. (50) Madras Electric Tramway and Supply Corporation Employees' Union, 76, Poonawalla High Road, Perambur, Madras. (51) M. S. M. Railway Employees' Union, Perambur, Madras. (52) Madras Corporation Workshop Men's Union, 367 Mint Street, Sowcarpet, Madras. (53) S. I. Railway Labour Union, Railway Colony, Madras.

7. *Punjab* :—(54) All-India Telegraph Workmens' Union, Palmers' Building, the Mall, Lahore. (55) Hariyana Scavengers' Union, Rewari Hakim, Lodge Khasapure, Rewari, Punjab. (56) Punjab Press Workers' Association, Mochi Gate, Lahore. (57) Tanga Drivers' Union, Lahore, c/o Mr. B. Hussen Mochi Gate, Lahore.

8. *United Provinces* :—(58) B N. W. Railwaymen's Association, Jaffra Bazar, Gorakhpur. (59) Mazdoor Subha, Goaltoli, Cawnpore.

* These Union were affiliated in November 1927 during the Cawnpore Session of the Trade Union Congress.

APPENDIX E.

THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION.

THE following is the full text of the Constitution of the All-India Trade Union Congress as amended by its eighth Session held at Cawnpore in November 1927 :—

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

2. *Object*.—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 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.

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, one or more General Secretaries, 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. 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 of 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 applications for affiliation shall be forwarded through the Provincial Committee to the General Secretary, with the decisions arrived at by it ; that no application for affiliation shall be withheld by the Provincial Committee.

(e) That no Union shall be affiliated to the Congress without being first affiliated to the Provincial Committee. 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.

5. That a Union which does not pay its annual affiliation fees before the end of April of each year, shall not be entitled to vote either at the meetings of the Executive Council or at the Sessions of the A. I. T. U. Congress or at any of its Committees 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 resolutions 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.

8. *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.

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 sessions of the Congress. For Unions having membership between 100 and 200, they shall have one representative.

(c) For the purposes 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 or General Secretaries, 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 or General Secretaries, 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 it is entitled to send.

18. *Reception Committee.*—(a) The Provincial Committee for the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a 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 per cent. shall be handed over to the Executive Council for the general purposes and 50 per cent. 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 or General Secretaries, the Secretary or Secretaries and the Assistant Secretary or Assistant Secretaries as *ex-officio* members and not more than ten additional members, including the *ex*-Presidents of the All-India Trade Union Congress, 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 upto 1,000 ;
- 2 Representatives for unions with a 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. 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 every six months at such place and time as the Chairman in consultation with the General Secretary or General Secretaries may decide.

22. When a meeting of the Executive Council cannot be held, the General Secretary or General

Secretaries 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 all 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 or General Secretaries for any urgent business.

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

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

26. *Vacancies.*—Should the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman or Vice-Chairmen, the Treasurer or the General Secretary or General Secretaries, 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.*—In every province there shall be a Provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress consisting of the representatives of

affiliated unions or branches of affiliated unions having their quarters in the province, elected on the same basis as the representatives on the Executive Council.

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.

31. No affiliated union shall be entitled for any support from the All-India Trade Union Congress during any strike for which the approval of the Executive Council was not previously obtained.