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Extreme Sharpening of the Situation.

Japan's Advance on the Soviet Frontiers.—

Karachan's Conversation with Hirota.—Words No Longer Suffice!

By S. U. Lin (Shanghai).

Comrade Karachan, the Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, has been compelled, in the name of the Soviet Government, to submit a number of formulated questions to the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Hirota. The questions relate to the request by the Japanese Command in Harbin to the Administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway in that town that a number of trains should be placed at the disposal of the Japanese troops for the transport of men to Pogranitchnaya (on the Soviet frontier); to the activity of white-guardist bands in Manchuria; to the negotiations of the Japanese Command in Harbin with the representatives of the white-guardist bands in Manchuria; and to the character and the role of the new State which the Japanese imperialists intend to set up in Manchuria, and for which purpose they have bought a number of persons of Chinese nationality, including the former emperor Pu Yi.

The Soviet Government has up to now displayed unexampled restraint in face of the events in Manchuria. It has laid down its unalterable standpoint with regard to the military occupation of Manchuria, and has never concealed the fact that it stands for the independence, equality and

right of self-determination of the Chinese people. It has pursued a peaceful policy the like of which is not to be found in the history of bourgeois diplomacy. "If there was a nationalist government in Russia", writes the Czech war-inciter Kramarz, "it would have been at war with Japan long ago". This "reproach" on the part of Herr Kramarz against the Soviet government is, in reality, the greatest praise for the peace policy of the Soviet Union. Even a more cunning enemy of the Soviet Union, the Menshevik Rosenfeld, was compelled to admit in the "Populaire" that the policy of the Soviet Union is the policy of peace. Even the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung" is compelled to admit that it is thanks to the attitude of the Soviet Union that the Japanese provocations have not led to a war between Japan and the Soviet Union.

The fact that the Soviet government was compelled to put these questions to the Japanese government, the fact that the Soviet government was compelled, in the form of questions, to call attention to the open intervention preparations of the Japanese imperialists, shows the tremendous seriousness of the situation. It shows that the Japanese generals are sending their troops to the frontiers of the Soviet

Union; it shows that these bloodthirsty generals, who have converted Chapei into a mass of ruins, who have piled up mountains of corpses of women, children and old folk in Shanghai, and who have had their own soldiers shot down wholesale, intend to supplement their world-historical crime by the greatest of all crimes, the most counter-revolutionary of all wars—war on the Soviet Union. That the uniformed monsters of Japanese imperialism wish to use the white guardist terrorist bandits for this purpose only shows that they are worthy of one another.

The replies of the Japanese government to these questions are non-committal, evasive and of a purely technical nature. On the other hand, Comrade Karachan was compelled to call attention to the concentration of Japanese troops on the Korean frontier, and to demand an explanation of this. All these questions come within the scope of the existing treaties.

that Japanese imperialism is methodically seeking to realise the programme laid down by Tanaka. Even the movement of the troops are in accordance with the line of march proposed by Tanaka to the Mikado in the year 1927.

Tanaka's memorandum sets forth the aims and perspectives of Japanese imperialism:

"If the Chinese-Eastern Railway, belonging to Soviet Russia, develops in this district (North Manchuria), then our new continental policy will receive a blow which will inevitably bring about conflict with Soviet Russia in the near future. In this case we shall again be obliged to play the role we played in the Russo-Japanese war. The Chinese Eastern railway will become ours just as the South Manchurian railway became ours, and we shall seize Kirin as we seized Dairen. It seems that the inevitability of crossing swords with Russia on the fields of Mongolia in order

Base Social-Democratic War Incitement against the Soviet Union.

A part of the bourgeois and the whole of the social democratic press are trying to conceal the tremendous intensification of the danger of anti-Soviet intervention by bringing most contemptible slanders against the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union in connection with Comrade Karachan's conversation with the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Hirota. The parties of the II. International thereby behave as open war-inciters against the land of the proletarian dictatorship. The Berlin "Vorwärts" publishes a garbled report of Comrade Karachan's conversation with the Japanese ambassador under the heading "Russia permits the transport of Japanese troops." In this report the statements of Comrade Karachan are deliberately twisted so as to convey the exact opposite meaning to what he actually said.

The Japanese militarists demanded that Japanese troops should be transported in the direction of Imanpo and Hailin,

that is, in the direction of Vladivostok. In this demand there is clearly seen the intention to provoke a conflict and, as a result, a war against the Soviet Union. In order to avert this provocation Comrade Karachan made his declarations to the Japanese Ambassador.

It is therefore a question of averting a war provocation. This is precisely the reason why the social democratic press is flinging mud at the Soviet Union in its fight for peace. It is nothing less than open participation in war provocation when the social democracy attempt to discredit in the eyes of the masses the persistent peace-policy of the Soviet Power, which is based on the principle: "We do not want an inch of foreign territory, but we will not yield up an inch of Soviet territory." The social democrats eagerly desire to provoke a war between the Soviet Union and Japan which would convert the whole world into a sea of flames.

The question concerning the use of Manchurian railways for strategic purposes, the question regarding the formation of white-guardist associations, the question regarding the concentration of Japanese troops on the frontier of the Soviet Union, clearly show whether the path pursued by Japanese imperialism leads.

The questions submitted by Karachan, however, serve to show the world proletariat, all workers, that Japanese imperialism and its allies, that world imperialism, is making its final preparations to attack the land of Socialism, the fatherland of all workers, the land of the proletarian dictatorship.

It is not by chance that Comrade Blücher, Commander of the Soviet Far-Eastern Army, on the occasion of the celebration of the 14th anniversary of the founding of the Red Army, declared:

"The Red Army will give a fitting answer to all attempts of the imperialists to disturb the Soviet Union in the work of socialist construction. The Far Eastern Red Army stands on guard at the frontiers of the country."

The Chinese workers and soldiers in Shanghai have shown that the army of the Japanese trust magnates and big landowners can be defeated. And if the Japanese imperialists, in alliance with the other imperialists, seek to attack the socialist fatherland of the world proletariat, they will find that they have bitten off more than they can chew.

Comrade Karachan's questions and Comrade Blücher's speech are a signal to the world proletariat.

What aims are the Japanese imperialists pursuing in Manchuria? On July 25, 1927, the then Prime Minister and President of the Sejukai, Tanaka, submitted to the Mikado of Japan a Memorandum of Positive Policy in Manchuria. In this memorandum Japanese imperialism plainly sets forth its robber plans. Coal, iron-ore, timber, oil, railways, wool, rice, possibilities of cattle-breeding, surplus profits,—these are the "sacred aims" of the Japanese imperialists in Manchuria. The further plans are: domination of China, domination of the South-Sea islands, and the conversion of the Japanese Sea into a closed sea in case of a war with the U.S.A. And if one reads these documents now, one sees

to gain possession of the wealth of North Manchuria is part of our programme of national development."

"... If we look into the future of Japan we have to admit the inevitability of a war with Russia on the fields of North Manchuria."

"Having built this line, we can convert Dalai into a base for our advance upon Siberia upon three roads: by Taonan, Anchan and Tsitsikar. The wealth of North Manchuria will fall into our hands."

"Manchuria and Mongolia are the Eastern countries which are absolutely undeveloped. Sooner or later we shall have to fight against Soviet Russia. The fight will take place in Kirin."

Regarding the movement of troops, Tanaka, who was himself a general, writes:

"The army division at present in Hokaido and Sendai must be despatched by sea from Aomori and Hokodato to Vladivostock, and from there by the Siberian railway to Harbin."

Thus we see, that the Japanese imperialists would like to convert Vladivostock into another Chapei.

And when Tanaka comes to speak of Korea, the problem of the Soviet Union crops up again:

"In that case Soviet Russia would be the most dangerous factor. If the Chinese use the "Reds" to influence the Koreans, then the outlook of our people will change and a great danger will threaten us. The present Cabinet, in view of this, is taking all the precautionary measures against this possibility."

And it is repeated again and again:

"Sooner or later we shall here have to wage war against the Soviet Union."

What General Tanaka planned in 1927, General Honjo is now trying to carry out. Tanaka's Memorandum is the best

comment on Comrade Karachan's questions and Comrade Blücher's speech.

The battle at Shanghai is still raging. Japanese troops are proceeding to Pograditchnaya. The frontier of the Soviet Union is threatened. And the Japanese imperialists have allies in Europe who are impatiently waiting for the signal. It is true that the antagonisms in the camp of the imperialists are becoming more and more acute. The negotiations for an alliance between France and England, the appointment of **Mellon** as U.S.A. Ambassador in London, **Stimson's** letter to **Borah**, the declarations of **Debuchi**, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington on the threatening boycott movement in the United States against Japan, the "disarmament" conference

at Geneva, the passing of the new navy bill in the United States—all these are only a few signs of this increasing acuteness. But the accentuation of the antagonisms among the imperialists drives them to seek a temporary solution of these antagonisms in intervention against the Soviet Union. The war, the intervention in the Far East, is already here. And Japan has allies among the European governments. **The "allies" of the Soviet Union in Europe are the revolutionary workers.**

There has been much talk of the necessity of defending the Soviet Union. Now, however, words are no longer sufficient. The present moment is of world-historical importance.

On the Road to Inflation in the United States.

By Harry Gannes (New York).

A powerful impetus to inflation, growing out of the deep-going and extending creditary crisis in the United States, intensified by the unabated and increasing sharpness of the economic crisis, has been given by the latest steps of the Hoover government.

In a desperate move to stop the continued growth in the number of bank crashes, averaging 10 to 20 a day, and totalling over 400 in 1932; in order to save the railroads, the leading insurance companies, and many other financial institutions from bankruptcy, two measures have been adopted by the Hoover government with the full support of both the Democratic and Republican Party leading to a wave of inflation, and opening the way for a further intensification of the crisis.

The two measures are: 1. The creation of the Emergency Finance Reconstruction Corporation, modelled on the War Finance Corporation of the last World War, and empowered to issue \$2,500,000,000 in loans without any gold backing, supported by government "securities", and 2. Amendments to the Federal Reserve Bank Act, known as the Glass-Steagall Bill, providing for a mass inflation of credit, and the cutting down sharply of the gold backing of the dollar.

The new measure of amending the Federal Reserve Bank Act is especially important as it was taken as an additional inflationary measure when the Emergency Finance Reconstruction Corporation failed to stop the rise in the number of bank failures. Senator **Glass**, the author of the new inflationary measure, which has the support of the leading Wall Street banks, and nearly the entire capitalist press, in a statement to the press, attempted to cover the real inflationary nature of his proposals. "The bill, as perfected and introduced", he declared, "is not intended nor will it be used for excessive inflation of the currency."

In this manner, the American capitalists hope to cover up their drastic steps to wholesale inflation. The Republican Senator **Vandenberg**, commenting on the Glass-Steagall Bill, was more direct, saying:

"This bill means, in plain terms, more money Its effect will be to bring the price of the dollar down and bring the commodity price index up."

The capitalist press recognises the latest move of the Hoover government as a direct step to inflation which may move on with dangerous speed.

The "**New York Evening Post**" on February 11, declared:

"We dislike very much to see the United States come to it (inflation). But we do not on that account shut our minds to the knowledge that even a poison, discreetly applied, is sometimes a relief if not a remedy."

The direct inflationary measures began early in January when the Federal Reserve authorities cut the buying rate of bankers bills. When this step was taken rumors sprang up in European financial centres that a period of inflation was beginning actively in the United States. This led to heavy withdrawals of gold from the United States. The Bank of France announced its intention of withdrawing \$125,000,000 of earmarked gold. In the face of this large loss of gold, the Federal Reserve Bank temporarily delayed its inflationary measures.

However, in the meantime, despite the much-heralded passage of the Emergency Finance Reconstruction Corporation bill, the financial crisis continued its devastating spread. The number of bank failures rose sharply, involving larger and

larger banks. The government deficit continued to rise, reaching a figure well over \$4,000,000,000. All bonds and stocks reached lower levels.

In the basic industries the crisis was beginning to show new signs of further sharpening. The *Annalist Business Index* for January, 1932, reached its lowest level. Steel production which clung around 28 per cent of capacity in the first month of the year, began to slip lower. Automobile production for which some promise had been made for the early part of the year proved to be a great disappointment to the capitalists. The railroads entered sharper phases of crisis, verging on financial collapse in many leading branches. Even the wage cut on the railroads, put over by joint action of the leading railroad bosses and the leaders of the 21 railroad unions, netting the railroad treasuries over \$220,000,000 a year, had no effect in stemming the financial crash impending on the leading railroads. Unemployment had increased at an extremely rapid pace, the New York Commissioner of Labour reporting early in February that less than 60 per cent of the workers in New York State were employed full time.

In this situation the Hoover government continued its policy of stimulating inflation in spite of the consequences. The secret inflationary measures of the Federal Reserve Bank, through cutting the buying rate for bankers' bills was not sufficient. The creation of the Emergency Finance Reconstruction Corporation hardly made a ripple in the tidal wave of the creditary crisis. Hence, after consultation with the leading bankers, after the "retirement" of **Andrew Mellon** as treasurer of the United States, and the installation of **Ogden Mills**, a direct office boy of Morgan & Co., it was decided to plunge into the first stages of direct inflation.

The Hoover government attempted by all means to cover up its inflationary move by reassuring propaganda of "maintaining" the gold standard; "controlling" the process; insuring a 40 per cent "legal" backing for the dollar, etc. But in the stock exchange, where on the day the announcement was made that the Glass-Steagall Bill would soon go into effect, the move was correctly interpreted as a vast currency and credit inflation. The **New York Times**, which expresses directly the views of Hoover and the Wall Street banking interests, deprecated what they termed the "loose talk" about unbridled inflation.

"Wall Street of the Stock Exchange", they said (Feb. 12, 1932), "appeared to take its cue entirely from the loose talk of certain Washington oracles concerning '\$2,500,000 currency expansion' and 'bringing down the price of the dollar'. These somewhat foolish observations of impulsive statesmen naturally started the stock market fraternity to talking jubilantly of 'inflation'."

But this hypocritical attempt to hide before the masses the new step of American capitalism is failing. The pro-Hoover **New York Evening Post** favours calling a spade a spade, and declares:

"When the matter reaches its present point of formulated legislative action, it seems to us not only absurd but harmful to continue the Government's present 'shush-shush' attitude toward it."

The inflationary move once started in its present form will grow far beyond the bounds visioned by the desperate capitalists. The growing crisis which is plunging many more millions of American workers into starvation is now more firmly gripping and undermining American capitalism.

POLITICS

The Class Fronts in the German Presidential Election Campaign.

The Exposure of the "Lesser Evil".

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

With a bare majority of 25, Reichs-Chancellor Brüning has once again escaped the vote of no-confidence brought in by the **Communist Party** of Germany, thanks to the aid the **social fascists** who voted for him in a body and thanks to the support of the **Economic Party**, which the Chancellor had bought by granting them a number of demands, and above all by granting the sum of 200 million marks for the bankrupt banks in which the Economic Party is interested.

But the votes of the parties in the Reichstag in no way correspond to the actual relations of power in the country. A number of smaller parties of the Brüning bloc, such as the "democratic" **State party**, the **People's Conservatives** and the **Young Germans** have already fallen to pieces. The Economic Party is rapidly breaking up and the **German People's Party**, which represents heavy industry, has already split up into three fractions.

The confusion in the camp of the German bourgeoisie, which is expressed in the disintegration of these parties, is even deeper. After the negotiations between **Hugenberg** and **Hitler** regarding the putting forward of a common candidate came to nothing, the national socialists declared the "Harzburger front" to be dead, and their Reichstag deputy **Count Reventlow** stated: "It would have been better if the 'Harzburger' business had never taken place." The Hugenberg press criticised the attitude of the Hitler party in the Reichstag by saying: "It is madness, but there is method in the madness." And the **Stahlhelm** accused the national socialists of "unbridled demagogy".

That Hitler has in the meantime become a government councillor in Brunswick and has taken the oath of fidelity to the Weimar Constitution, will, it is true, not weaken the "enthusiasm" of his supporters. But on the other hand, the fact that the national socialist Reichstag fraction voted against the Communist motion for the cancellation of the Young Plan and the cessation of foreign tributes, will probably astound many of Hitler's followers. It was obviously embarrassing for the "bold warriors" when leaving the Reichstag, to hear the shouts of the Communist deputies: "The Hitler party is for the Young Plan slavery!" In addition, there come the new pacifist declarations of Hitler in his last speech to the representatives of the foreign press and in his open letter to Hindenburg, in which he seeks to reassure foreign public opinion by saying, if the national socialists come into power there will be no need to fear foreign political complications; that is to say, they will follow the same policy in regard to the payment of tributes and debts as the other parties of the bourgeoisie.

Still greater, however, is the confusion in the "Iron Front" of the Brüning "socialists". They have at last come out with an appeal for Hindenburg, every line of which shows the state of embarrassment its authors are in. The social-democratic workers are called upon to vote for Hindenburg "because he was and will remain impartial". How so? ask the social-democratic workers, Was Hindenburg, who signed all the emergency orders against the working people, impartial in the war of the well-fed against the starving? Hindenburg is declared to be the guardian of the Constitution and would "have nothing to do with a coup d'état"—but has he not, by means of article 48, long since done away with the Weimar Constitution?

The social democracy, as Comrade Ernst Thälmann said at the mass meeting in Dortmund, has come from Bebel to Hindenburg. After the speeches of Brüning and Groener in the Reichstag, the social-democratic workers can no longer have any doubts regarding the political character of this government, which lives thanks only to the help of the social democratic party of Germany. The "Vorwärts" described the speech of the Reichs-Chancellor as "moderately conservative", and declared it to be the most interesting fact of the present situation that there could nevertheless arise between the

Brüning government and the social democratic party of Germany something like a "political alliance due to necessity". But if we examine the speech of Brüning a little closer, we see what character this "political alliance" bears.

In reply to an interjection by the national socialists, Brüning passionately repudiated having had anything to do with the "system of 9th of November", i. e. with the political system of post-war Germany, and pathetically declared:

"The Right opposition always speaks of the system, and means thereby sometimes the system of Brüning and sometimes the system of the 9th of November. Do not connect me with the system of 9th of November. Do you know where I was then? On November 9th, 1918. I was in the main body of troops which General von Winterfeldt had formed for the purpose of overthrowing the revolution."

The social-democratic Reichstag fraction were absolutely dumbfounded when they heard this declaration of their Chancellor. They had expected that Brüning would render it easier for them to reject the vote of no-confidence against his Cabinet. Instead of this, there was this brutal disavowal of the November Republic, this open acknowledgment of allegiance to the counter-revolution. The social-democratic workers will regard this statement of the Chancellor not as a "moderately conservative" speech but as an exposure of the true political character of the man who, with the aid of the social fascist leaders, has led Germany ever farther along the path of reaction and fascism.

Brüning indignantly repudiated the charge brought by the national socialists that he had treated them badly:

"You cannot charge it against me that I acted sharply towards you."

As proof of this he mentioned how many prohibitions of national socialist newspapers he had cancelled. Brüning also stood by the Reichswehr decree issued by General Gröner, which permits the Nazis to enter the army.

"Against Hitler! That is the slogan of 13th of March", declares the appeal of the social democratic party central committee. But has not Brüning himself openly declared that he was in fact ready to hand the government over to Hitler?

"I have several times offered my resignation to the Reichs President in order to leave the road clear.... Innumerable attempts have been made in the last few years to govern together with the Right parties."

That these attempts failed was not owing to the resistance of the Chancellor, but to the lack of unity of the national opposition, and before all to the demands of the national socialists, who wished to have the whole State apparatus in their hands.

Brüning, the "lesser evil", was therefore prepared and without consulting his social democratic "supporters!—to hand over the government to the "greater evil", Hitler. So much for "the bulwark against fascism"!

But the social fascist betrayers of the working class still possess the brazenness to state in their appeal: "Every vote which is given against Hindenburg is a vote for Hitler. Every vote which is wrested from Thälmann and cast for Hindenburg is a blow against Hitler!" For the working masses who have read the speech of Brüning, nothing could more drastically expose the whole rottenness of the social fascist leaders than these lying slogans.

It is really not hard to make clear to the masses why the Communist Party of Germany must direct its main blow against the social democratic party of Germany, which still forms the most important buttress of bankrupt German capitalism and its military caste in the carrying out of the fascist dictatorship and the preparation for the approaching new world war.

Against Hindenburg, Duesterberg and Hitler, against the whole reaction from Severing to Hitler, against fascism in all its varieties as the shock troops of bankrupt German capitalism, the **red united front**, under the leadership of the C.P. of Germany, with Ernst Thälmann at the head, is marching to the fight of **class against class**. That is the great importance for the German proletariat of this election campaign, which is linked up with the fight against imperialist war and intervention, against the partition of China among the imperialist robbers, and in the first place against the delivery of arms and war material from Germany for the Japanese robber campaign.

The Attempted Fascist Putsch in Japan.

By Sen Katayama.

A bloody coup d'état was to have taken place in Japan on November 3rd 1931 and a fascist dictatorship of the ruling class set up. Had this coup d'état been carried out, it would undoubtedly have meant the advent of a white terror regime more ruthless than that of to-day and the massacre of thousands of revolutionary fighters, commencing with those who are at present in prison. This plan, however, was not realised owing to the conflict in the camp of the ruling class. There was set up, however, the Inukai Cabinet, which should pursue a "stronger", more "aggressive" home and foreign policy.

Japanese imperialism is at present endeavouring to extricate itself from the unprecedentedly severe economic crisis at the expense of the toiling masses and at the expense of the colonies and of the U.S.S.R.

Thus Japanese imperialism commenced its robber-attack on China in order further to exploit and oppress the Chinese masses, and is also threatening to provoke a new world war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R. Japanese imperialism is at the same time endeavouring to exploit still more ruthlessly the toiling masses in Japan itself. The number of unemployed in Japan amounts at present to over 2 million, and including their dependents over 7 million. They are roaming the streets, starving, without any means of existence or relief whatever. Tens of thousands of poor peasants in the famine-stricken districts of Japan (North-East) are actually dying of starvation. The situation of the workers in employment is no better; their work is intensified while their wages are reduced; their brothers and sons are sent to Manchuria and Shanghai or to Korea and Formosa to serve as cannon-fodder in the interests of the ruling class.

Discontent and unrest prevail among the toiling population.

The **Wakatsuki Cabinet** which succeeded the Hamagu Minseito Cabinet and continued the policy of its predecessor, failed to carry out the task with which the ruling class is confronted, namely to find a more open counter-revolutionary way out of the crisis and to pursue a straight-forward interventionist policy against China and the U.S.S.R.

The present war situation rendered it necessary and possible for the military clique to come more to the front. In the planned coup d'état, it was intended that this military clique should play the leading role with the active support of the reserve soldiers' organisation, the support of such fascist bodies as the **Kokosuikai** (the Kanto branch of this organisation alone has 100,000 members), and the social democratic party (**Shakai Minshuto**). The plan fell through owing to disputes in the camp of the ruling class.

It appears that news of the proposed coup d'état was immediately suppressed and nothing appeared in the bourgeois press except a few articles containing some vague allusions to the events. The **Maiyu Shimbun**, published in Tokyo, stated at the end of the October: "Unfounded rumours have been circulated of late to the effect that certain circles in connection with the army have been carrying on intrigues." The **Tokyo Asahi**, in its editorial of November 15th, spoke of the powerlessness of the party government and argued that present conditions might lead to a danger of repudiation of the government. It finally stated: "Repudiation of Parliament, be it either from the Left or the Right, would be accompanied by violent upheavals, thus increasing the social unrest." In October last all the bourgeois papers printed reports that the Minister of Home affairs, **Adachi**, accompanied by **Takahashi**, the Tokyo head of the police, visited the Foreign Minister **Shidehara** and the Prime Minister **Wakatsuki** and "discussed important matters regarding the defence of the capital".

The **Communist Party of Japan**, which is conducting a heroic struggle against the white terror, against the war and for the defence of the Chinese Soviets and the Soviet Union, through its legal and illegal organs, is fully exposing the bloody plot, which aimed at the establishment of an open dictatorship of the ruling class and the extermination of the Communist movement in Japan, and calls for a united counter-offensive against the ruling classes.

The main facts regarding the coup d'état are as follows: The chief participants were: the military and monarchist police represented by **Minami**, the then war Minister, **Suzuki**, present Minister of Justice, notorious for his persecutions of Communists, **Kanaya**, then the chief of the general army staff, Prince **Kanin**, present chief of the general staff, Prince

Nashimoto, two of the leading members of the royal family. **Araki**, present War Minister, **Koiso**, head of the bureau of military affairs, and others.

The national federation of young officers of which Prince **Higashi-kuze** is president, was to play the chief part in the carrying out of this plot. This federation was founded in August last as a result of the amalgamation of the **Seiokai** (society of lieutenants and general officers, with a membership of about 23,000) and the **Jikyoku Kenkyukai** (society for the study of current problems). In addition, the national reserve officers' association, the **Saisanto**, the **Kokosuikai** and other fascist and monarchist organisations and also the **Shakai Minshuto** (**Social democratic party**) were to have played an active part in this plot.

According to the programme, a meeting of reservists, numbering about 50,000, was to have been held on November 3rd (the birth-day of the late emperor Maiji) in front of the **Shokoku jinja** (shrine commemorating departed warriors) in order to pray for national peace. The reservists were to be harangued regarding the perilous situation of the Japanese Empire. They were then to march in front of the imperial palace. At the same time, in accordance with an agreement secretly arrived at between the chief conspirators and **Akamatsu**, the general secretary of the social democratic party, the social democratic party was to mobilise and incite the workers still under its influence to attack the bourgeois newspapers, in particular the **Tokyo Asahi**. The **Azabu** regiment and three companies of the Mikado's bodyguard were to be dispatched to the spot in order, allegedly, to suppress the workers' riots' but in reality to join with them and seize these bourgeois newspapers offices, after which they were to join forces with the reservists gathered in front of the imperial palace and led by general **Shiowten**. They were then to obtain the imperial sanction for a coup d'état by presenting a petition to the Mikado asking him to declare martial law in Tokyo. At the same time, they were to occupy the Ministries, the headquarters of the **Seiyukai** and **Minsotai** parties, the Bank of Japan, and all other financial institutions throughout the country, and also the State apparatus. The dictatorship of the Mikado would then be established. All known revolutionary fighters were to be massacred and the revolutionary movement stamped out. Only two newspapers, the **Nippon**, organ of the monarchists, and **Tsuwamono**, organ of the militarists were to remain.

The plot failed, however, before its execution owing to inner difficulties. At 2.30 a. m. on October 23rd, 300 gendarmes were sent to guard the residences of the Cabinet Ministers **Wakatsuki**, **Shidehara**, and **Adachi** and also the private residence of **Makino**, the keeper of the Privy Seal.

The conspiracy failed, but the coming into power of the Inukai Cabinet marks a step towards the realisation of the plans of the conspirators. **Nemoto**, one of the conspirators, was sent to the Manchurian front, while others were given leave of absence. There was no question of arresting any of the conspirators, in fact many of them have been appointed to prominent positions. For instance, **Araki** has been appointed Minister for War, Prince **Kanin** head of the General Staff, and the notorious **Suzuki** Minister of Justice. These facts show that they have not abandoned their designs but are still pursuing them.

It is significant to note that since the predatory attack on China, the tone of the bourgeois press has entirely changed. So-called "independent" and "liberal" papers, such as the **Asahi**, which were formerly somewhat outspoken in their criticism of Japanese imperialism, are now wholeheartedly backing the robber-campaign of Japanese imperialism in China. So-called "liberal" magazines such as **Kaizo** and **Chuo-Koron**, which formerly freely criticised Japanese imperialism in China and Manchuria, now refrain from making any mention of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and parts of China.

Another noteworthy fact is the rapid process of fascisation which the social fascists in Japan are undergoing at the present time. It is a well-known fact that representatives of the **Shakai Minshu-to** (Right social democrats) and of the **Zenkoku Rono Taishuto** (Left social democrats) who were sent to Manchuria to "investigate the situation", were financed by the fascist conspirators. They brought back reports to the effect that Japan is not waging a war in Manchuria, but is merely protecting its citizens and its rights, and therefore the toiling masses of Japan must support this action. The Left group and the liquidators, in spite of their empty revo-

lutionary phrases, are in the same counter-revolutionary camp with the other fascists. We have already referred above to the definite role which the Shakai Minshu-to was to have played in connection with the coup d'etat, and there is not the slightest doubt that there also existed secret agreements with the other socialist groups, the Rono Taishuto group and the liquidators.

In the light of the frustrated coup d'etat we can more easily understand the circumstances under which **Akamatsu** boldly came forward with a programme of State socialism in connection with the Japanese invasion of China, which he describes as an important step to defend the rights of the Japanese people. He advocates "socialist" Japan and "nationalism" as opposed to internationalism, and at the same time sneers at our slogan: "Proletarians of the world unite!" as a Communist dream.

In spite of the treachery of the social fascists and the white terror on the part of the ruling class, the influence of the **Communist Party of Japan** is steadily increasing. Under its heroic leadership, the masses are mobilised for strikes, for demonstrations against wage cuts and unemployment, against the war on China, against the second world war and for the defence of the Chinese Soviets and the U.S.S.R. The Communist Party of Japan is also devoting great attention to exposing the treacherous role of the social fascists—both the Left and Right variety—and is fast gaining influence among the social democratic workers.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Miners in Poland.

By I. Najda (Warsaw).

On February 18, immediately after the strike struggle in the coal fields of **Polish Upper Silesia**, there commenced a **general strike** of the miners in the coal fields of **Dombrova** and **Cracow**.

In connection with the sharpening of the general crisis, the collapse of the British Pound and the shrinkage of Polish exports, the crisis in the coal mining industry in Poland assumed disastrous proportions. The coal barons considered this moment appropriate for going over to a general attack against the workers. Mass dismissals commenced. It is estimated that by the end of March, 30,000 workers will be dismissed in the coal mines of Poland. In addition, the coal barons announced a wage reduction of 21 to 25 per cent. This wage reduction is to be the prelude to a fresh general attack on wages in all branches of production. The "Pravda", the organ of big capital in Lodz, writes that the general level of wages in Poland must be reduced by 25 per cent.

The immediate results of this challenge on the part of the coal barons was a great upsurge of revolutionary feeling among the miners. When the fascist government perceived this, it decided to come forward as "mediator" and proposed that the wage cut should be limited to 8 per cent. As usual, the role of the social fascist trade union leaders consisted in concentrating the whole campaign against the wage reductions in the hands of the trade union bureaucracy and to sidetracking it by prolonged bargaining and negotiations with the capitalists.

The heads of the mineowners' associations took advantage of the government's arbitration proposal, and at a conference with representatives of the trade unions which took place on January 29, declared their readiness to "limit" the wage cut to 8 per cent. On the evening of the same day, notices were posted at all pits that on February 1st, wages would be reduced by 8 per cent.

This provocative attitude of the mineowners did not prevent the social fascists from attempting, for two weeks, every possible manoeuvre in order to prevent a strike. All their manoeuvres, however, finally proved a complete failure. The daily demonstrations organised by the Communist Party showed ever more clearly the determined fighting spirit of the workers. In the face of these demonstrations and under the pressure of the revolutionary opposition in the trade unions, the Central Union of the miners was compelled to proclaim a strike. The strike at present embraces 40,000 workers.

Right from the first day of the general strike the workers in the Dombrova and Cracow coal fields refused to sit at home and "not allow themselves to be provoked", as advised by

the social fascist trade union leaders. They went on the streets and marched to the pits. The striking miners, together with their wives and children, stood up to the police and gendarmes. Right from the first day this strike assumed the form of stormy mass demonstrations under the leadership of the Communist Party. All fascist newspapers without exception state that the strike, which formally was called by the socialist union of the miners, is in fact led by the Communist Party.

During the whole of the first week of the strike not a single Parliamentary deputy of the Polish socialist party ventured to show his face in the strike districts. Only a former P.P.S. leader, **Moraszevski**, who is now the leader of the openly fascist trade unions "Z.Z.Z." put in an appearance; but in spite of police protection the workers bombarded him with stones.

The first demonstrations of the striking miners took place in **Liwki**, **Pieskov**, **Zagorce**, **Modrejov**, **Klimontovo**. In the two last named places the demonstrations were organised by the women, who beat up the strike breakers. The fascist police received orders not to be sparing with cartridges. Bloody collisions took place. On the 19th of February it came to a bloody fight of the striking miners against the police in **Milovicze**. The fight lasted for some hours and the police fired on the strikers. Similar bloody collisions took place in **Nivka** and **Dandovka**. Two days afterwards, the police attacked a demonstration of workers in **Kasavery**, near **Bendzin**. When the workers offered resistance, the police fired, as a result of which 12 workers were seriously wounded and two workers, **Daniel Kajda** and **Marjan Adamezyk** were killed.

On the same day, during a mass demonstration in **Czeladz**, the police killed two workers, **Stanislav Pac** and **Antoni Bartosik**. Many wounded women had to be conveyed to the hospital. In spite of this bloodbath, the workers an hour after again gathered together and demolished a mechanical bakery in **Czeladz**, from where a telephone message summoning the police against the workers was sent. The burial of the victims assumed the form of a tremendous demonstration, at which representatives of the Communist Party and of the Red Aid delivered speeches.

In spite of all the repressive measures, the strike struggle is assuming ever sharper forms. In some cases the workers have taken possession of the pits and are preventing the safety men from continuing work. The striking miners have now been joined by the workers of the **Strem chemical works** in **Strzemieszyce** who have proclaimed a solidarity strike. The unemployed are also hastening to the aid of the strikers. They held rousing demonstrations in **Poreba** and **Zawiercie**; at the first-named place they demolished the municipal offices. At a mass demonstration held in **Sosnovicze**, the clerical staff of the collieries announced their solidarity with the striking miners and their readiness to render them active support in their fight.

The general strike in the Cracow and Dombrova coalfields is calling forth a fresh wave of militancy in **Upper Silesia**. The workers in the Upper Silesian coal industry and smelting industry are demanding of their trade unions that they also join in the strike. A number of pits in **Chorzov** and **Siemianowice** did not wait so long but have struck work at once. On 24th of February, at the **Friedenshütte** in **Neu-Beuthen**, it came to a bloody collision with the police, who killed a worker named **Anton Kowalski**. The tramway workers' union of Upper Silesia has adopted a decision immediately to join the strike in the event of a general strike in the coal mining and smelting industry.

The strike struggle in the Cracow and Dombrova coal areas is directed not only against the reduction of wages. This fight is at the same time directed against the wholesale dismissals and the closing down of pits; against the whole capitalist system of starvation. And, therefore, this fight is closely linked up with the upsurge of the unemployed movement.

The fight of the Polish miners is a big event in the international movement of the proletariat, the more so as at the same time struggles of miners in all other capitalist States, in the **United States** (Kentucky), in **Scotland**, in **France** etc. are proceeding or pending.

The **European Miners' Congress** convened by the International Miners' Committee of the R.I.L.U. is to take place shortly. The achievements and the experiences of the strike of the miners of Poland will without doubt be exhaustively discussed at this Congress.

The Betrayal of a Million American Railroad Workers.

By Milton Howard.

"Ten percent shall be deducted from each pay-check for a period of one year beginning February 1st, 1932."

This is the agreement signed 31st of January, 1932, by the railroad union chiefs and the railroad executives at **Chicago**. It marks another milestone in the wage-cutting drive of the American ruling class and the government which it controls. It marks another step in the long record of labour betrayal by the reformist "leaders" of the railroad unions.

The wage slash affects directly and immediately 1,500,000 railroad workers now employed on the roads, organised and unorganised. It affects the 700,000 unemployed railroad workers waiting in vain for some assurance of work or unemployment relief.

No such assurances were ever contemplated by the railroad barons. No quarter was given on any of the halfhearted proposals put forward by the Union chiefs in order to make a pretence of resistance to save their faces before the workers. The sell-out was shameless and complete. To summarize the results of the long drawn out and expensive "negotiations", which lasted for over three months.

The roads refused to promise not to cut wages in 1933. They refused to take back 10% of the laid-off workers, i. e. to go back to the 1930 payroll, as proposed by the union chiefs.

They refused to make any provision whatever for the unemployed, either in the form of unemployment insurance, cash relief or a dismissal wage.

They refused to take any measures to liquidate their "yellow" company unions or to negotiate only with A. F. of L. and the railroad Brotherhood unions (not in the A. F. of L.).

They refused to consider the question of spreading work through introducing the 6-hour day, even though this proposal carried with it an actual additional wage-cut as only hourly rates were to be retained, not weekly earnings.

They postponed indefinitely action on retirement pensions and workmen's compensation legislation, by throwing these proposals into a committee for "consideration". This, even though the unions proposed to tax the membership on top of the 10 per cent. cut, for joint financing of such benefits.

The Union chiefs attempted to conceal this open betrayal by adopting the hypocritical arguments of the railroad magnates about "the urgent needs of the railroad industry". They insisted that the workers must contribute from their meagre earnings the sum of \$225,000,000 to the "poor" stock-holders to "improve the health of the industry". The railroads also attempted to justify this attack on the living standards of the workers by flooding the capitalist press with lies about their "poverty", and awful warnings about "bankruptcy".

The truth is that these roads, whining about their "poverty" have distributed since 1923 well over one billion dollars in dividends and bond interest, have added more than two billion dollars to their surplus accounts, and about \$100,000,000 to their depreciation reserves. That is, the handful of railroad bond and stockholders got about three and a half billion out of the roads during this period, one billion in cold cash, in the form of dividends. This is the industry for "whose health the workers must make personal sacrifices", to use the words of the labour chiefs.

As for the "poor" stockholders, they received in 1928, according to the World Almanac, \$510,000,000 in dividends. In 1929 this was increased to \$561,000,000. In 1930, a year of depression, unemployment, and mass misery, there was a further increase to \$603,000,000.

In sharp contrast to this steady rise in profits for the stockholders are the steadily declining earnings of the railroad workers. In 1928, the total amount paid out in railroad wages was \$2,896,150,000. In 1929, these wages were reduced to \$2,550,544,000, a decline of 12 per cent. In 1930, the total wage bill was still further reduced to \$2,000,000,000, a decline of 30 per cent. from 1928. The figures for 1931 will probably be at least 50 per cent. lower than the total wage bill of 1928. That is, since 1928, the ruling-class stockholders got \$93,000,000 more, an increase of 17 per cent. and the workers got \$1,000,000,000 less, a decline of 30 per cent.

To take the railroad arguments point by point:

1. The roads said they needed the \$225,000,000 from the pockets of the workers in order to pay bond interest to the bankers and investors. What are the facts? According to the National City Bank Bulletin of January 1932, the roads that are not earning their bond interest need a total of \$75,000,000 to meet their fixed charges. To meet these charges, the Interstate Commerce Commission has already granted to roads \$162,000,000 in commodity rate increases. On this item alone there is \$87,000,000 more than is needed to avoid "bankruptcy".

2. But, said the "poor" stockholders, we must meet maturing bond obligations during 1932. This is pure camouflage. According to the I.C.C. (in the recent 15-percent.-increase decision) the actual amount due for bond obligations during 1932 will be \$181,000,000. To meet this, the roads have hundreds of millions in reserves and cash accounts, in addition to an estimated income of over one billion dollars in 1932 (the roads showed in 1931 earnings of \$1,234,000,000).

3. The roads claimed that they needed millions of dollars from the wages of the workers in order to buy new cars and more equipment. This is a deliberate misrepresentation. Not only have the roads millions in their cash and surplus accounts for this purpose, but statistics show that they have more equipment than they can actually use. The American Railway Association announced on December 31 1931, that Class I railroads had 750,696 surplus cars in good repairs and immediately available for service. Surplus coal cars totalled 268,669, while surplus box cars totalled 401,332. Reports also showed 33,409 surplus stock cars, while surplus refrigerator cars totalled 15,846. All these figures are substantially larger than last year.

4. The stockholders complained that they were not getting a "fair return"; that is, that they were not getting their legitimate plunder. The capitalist courts have ruled that a "fair return" is a yield of 5% of the "value" of the roads. It must be remembered that this "value" is based on such ruling-class trickery as "replacement value", and on a corporate structure notoriously "watered". Yet even on this tremendously swollen "valuation" the roads "earned" in 1931 \$1,234,000,000, an amount not less than 5% on the net amount of stock and bonds outstanding during the year.

In its fight to maintain profits for the ruling class, the railroads are getting the most energetic assistance from the Hoover government. This government, which received the demands of the Hunger Marchers for Unemployment Insurance with a display of police, soldiers, and machine guns, has already set aside vast sums for the benefit of the railroads. The Interstate Commerce Commission, hailed by the liberals as safeguard for the "rights of the people", is doing everything it can to "protect the stockholders". It has petitioned Congress to repeal the "Recapture Clause" of the Transportation Act of 1920, which provides that the roads return to the government all income over 6% on their "valuations". The roads have never obeyed this provision of the Act, so that now they owe the government over \$400,000,000. This debt the I.C.C. proposes to wipe out. All these measures are receiving the strongest support, and will surely become law.

The two billion dollar Reconstruction Finance Corporation has set aside \$500,000,000 as a special "pork barrel" for the roads. Already the roads have begun a stampede for the prizes. The **Pennsylvania**, one of the most powerful of the roads, has applied for an undivulged sum to finance its electrification programme.

To-day the railroad workers stand at a critical point in their struggles. Their lot is steadily worsening. Since 1928, no less than 511,000 have been thrown out of the industry. Through a vicious system of speed up, part-time work, demotion and rate cutting, those still employed, have had their earnings sharply reduced and the conditions under which they work degraded to worse than pre-war levels. As a result these former "aristocrats of labour" are being thrust back into the ranks of common labour. The locomotive engineer is demoted to the rank of fireman, at a wage cut of \$80 a month; mechanics become helpers at 58 cents an hour, and helpers become common labourers at 42 cents an hour.

This situation provides the objective basis for a militant mass movement in the railroad industry. It is here that the immediate and urgent task of the National Railroad Industrial League lies. The only left-wing railroad organisation in the field, it aims at transforming the present disillusionment and resentment of the railroad workers into effective mass struggles. Its immediate task is to build groups of militant workers at every point, among the train crews, in shops and

roundhouses, in the yards and on the track; to unite the organised and unorganised, employed and unemployed into a unified fighting mass organisation.

The immediate programme of League groups at every point should centre around the following partial demands:

The return of the wage cut and the repudiation of the union "leadership", which engineered the Chicago sell out.

Jobs or immediate cash relief for all unemployed railroad workers. Government unemployment insurance, old age pensions, workmen's compensation and health insurance.

Special provisions for unemployed union members, such as exemption from dues payments, cash relief from union treasuries, funds to be obtained through drastic reductions in salaries of union officials to the level of the average worker's earnings.

It must be borne in mind that the achievement of these partial demands and the building of the League membership can only be carried through by educating the railroad workers, exposing the bankrupt bureaucracy of the A.F. of L. and Brotherhood union leadership, and protecting every worker against the highly-organised spy system maintained by the roads. In addition to issuing leaflets, bulletins and shop papers at every point, the immediate establishment of a Left Wing railroad paper as the national organ of the League is imperative.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The Struggle of the Workless in Great Britain.

By R. Bishop (London).

On February 23 the unemployed of Britain demonstrated against the National Government of Starvation and War in greater numbers and in finer spirit than at any time since the fall of the Labour Government. February 23 was a **National Fighting Day** against unemployment in more than name, in actual fact. So vast were the demonstrations, so militant their spirit that the bourgeois press was compelled to treat them with the utmost seriousness.

At **Bristol** 15,000 marched through the streets; in **London** 10,000; in **Manchester** 15,000; in **Liverpool** 7,000; in **Glasgow** 3,000; in the **Vale of Leven** 3,000; over 2,000 in **West Bromwich**—these were only some of the great musters of workers that marched through the streets everywhere under the slogan of "Down With The Government of Starvation and War". These workers, under-clad and ill-fed as they were, were not daunted by the attacks of the police who, in London at any rate, conducted their onslaught on the lines of a planned military offensive, the signal to surround the demonstrators being given by discharging Very lights from a central observation post.

In **Bristol** so well did the workers fight back that, despite the fact that every available policeman was mobilised, for two full hours the battle raged. Despite the fact that six policemen were so seriously injured that they had to be taken to hospital, the solidarity of the workers was such that the police were unable to effect a single arrest.

In **Bootle**, adjacent to **Liverpool**, six hundred demonstrators turned the demonstration to immediate practical effect by marching to the house of an unemployed worker who was being evicted. They put his furniture back into the house and barricaded themselves in the street, hoisting a Red Flag. When the police arrived, a pitched battle took place and eventually 21 of the unemployed were arrested. But the whole of that working class neighbourhood was roused and a number of other evictions that were due have not been operated.

These demonstrations show by their character that the workers are not demoralised by the success so far won by the capitalists in imposing the cuts, the Means Test, the Anomalies Act etc., nor by the dimensions of the electoral victory of the National Government. They clearly show that a new wave of militancy is developing and developing fast.

The **Fighting Day** organised by the **Communist Party** and the **National Unemployed Workers Movement** has given the answer to the reformist bureaucrats of the Trade Unions Congress and the treacherous "lefts" of the I.L.P., who only last week in **Bristol** were responsible for the convening of a conference to set up a new unemployed organisation to conduct a "constitutional agitation" under their sheltering wing,

far from Communist influence. It is fitting that **Bristol**, the home of this movement, should have responded so resoundingly on February 23. February 23 has brought the question of unemployment right to the forefront once more. The demonstrations were also a powerful demonstration of **solidarity with the Chinese masses in their struggle against the Imperialist Powers.**

A startling contrast was presented to the militancy of the workless by the behaviour of the Labour and I.L.P. members of Parliament. Accompanying the London demonstration was a deputation of unemployed men and women elected from all parts of Britain to put their case before the Ministry of Labour. On the morning of February 23 a letter was received from the Minister saying the deputation would not be received.

The deputation led the demonstration to the House of Commons. They were allowed in after some parleying with the police and saw **Lansbury**, the leader of the Labour Party, and **George Buchanan**, of the I.L.P., who now constitute a separate small Parliamentary group. These individuals were told that the workless wanted the refusal of the Minister to meet them raised on the floor of the House. Lansbury justified the action of the Government and of the police, in trying to refuse the deputation admission, and eventually ran away from the deputation, declaring that he was being insulted when they told him a few home truths. Buchanan declared his sympathy for the unemployed and expressed regret that he could not raise the matter in the House as it was "against the rules" to do so without giving notice on the Order Paper. When the deputation reported back to the demonstrators the fruitless outcome of their errand, the workers were not slow to realise the full implications of the refusal of the Parliamentarians to assist their struggle.

The N.U.W.M. are now preparing to cement the loose movement into a strong organised force capable of defeating the Means Test, the Anomalies Act and the other attacks upon the workless. To do this it is necessary to win the active support of as large a number of the employed workers as possible. To-day, with the employed workers themselves being compelled under the Means Test to bear the brunt of unemployment by maintaining those of their relatives who have been deprived of benefit, it should not be an insuperable task to rally the overwhelming mass of the employed workers in active support of the workless.

To that end the N.U.W.M. are calling a **National Conference** to be held at the earliest possible date, where delegates will be invited from trade union branches, trades councils, unemployed organisations and direct from the factories. As part of the preparation for this, arrangements have been started to keep March 20 as **National Unemployment Sunday**. Already a number of trade union branches have announced their intention of being officially represented with their banners, it is evident that the stirring demonstrations of February 23 have awakened a tremendous response throughout the working class.

The unemployed will not quietly accept the refusal of the Minister of Labour to hear them. The agitation for the restoration of the cuts in benefit, the abolition of the Means Test and the Anomalies Act will be pressed forward on an ever greater scale, drawing in ever more employed workers and linking it up with their struggle against the wages offensive and higher prices, and with the struggle against the Imperialist war that is being waged for the purpose of partitioning China.

Anti-War Conference meets in New York.

New York, 26th February 1932.

An anti-war conference has just taken place here to discuss the methods of the struggle against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union and to co-ordinate working class anti-imperialist activity. 123 delegates were present at the conference representing 93 working class organisations with many tens of thousands of members. A telegram from Madam Sun Yat-sen, the widow of the great Chinese national-revolutionary, was read to the conference and was welcomed with tremendous enthusiasm.

THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

Exposure of the War Mongers.

Full Text of Speech delivered by Comrade Litvinov at the Geneva "Disarmament" Conference on February 25, 1932.

I did not think that I should be called upon to be the first to speak at the Commission in connection with the resolution for general and total disarmament. I should have supposed this resolution was introduced and moved by my statement at the Plenary Session of the Conference on 11th February and that all I would have to do would be to reply to possible criticism from other delegates. I am glad, however, to respond to the invitation made yesterday in the Commission to speak again in favour of total disarmament and I am particularly gratified that this invitation came from **Mr. Tardieu**, the Prime Minister of France. I do not, however, intend to abuse this invitation and occupy the time of the Commission by a detailed repetition of all those arguments for total disarmament which I have already expounded at the Conference. All I would do now is merely to make a brief summary of them.

Our main arguments amount to this: the threat of a new war is now more actual than it has ever been (if it is permissible to speak of a threat when war is already going on); this new war threatens humanity with more appalling disasters than it has ever before experienced; it threatens most of all, in the present acute conditions and crisis, to bring disaster upon the workers; the task of the day is to create the utmost security against war; this security can be realised in no other way but by the total abolition of arms and all sorts of other military factors.

The Soviet proposal, it is true, has before this been rejected by the Preparatory Commission, in which representatives of the principal and other important states took part. In spite of this I venture to submit this proposal once more, this time to the Conference itself, since some delegates at the Commission referred among other things to their limited powers, insufficient instructions and other formal points, to which the Conference, which consists of representatives of almost all states of the world, whether or not members of the League, and moreover representatives with the utmost authority and fully qualified to take the most serious decisions, is scarcely likely to refer.

Our proposal was, moreover, made 5 years ago, and it seems to me that much might have been learned from the events which have taken place since then. Five years ago the capitalist world was going through an epoch of what is known as pacifism, and many people believed that with the lessons of the Great War fresh in the minds of all the likelihood of another war was growing less and less, that conscience, public opinion, would not allow a new war, that all that was required for war to be completely eliminated from international practice was a still greater development of the network of international treaties and pacts. When the country I represent, having in view the relations existing, and still more those not existing between itself and other countries, expressed fears of attack by capitalist states, this was described almost as a kind of persecution mania. While as for war between non-Soviet states, that was regarded as quite out of the question. The possibility of a new war has, however, been clearly enough demonstrated now by the simple fact of its occurrence, and the probability of its further spread or repetition on a bigger scale cannot be denied when the ever-growing differences between states are taken into consideration.

The question of war is now being discussed in the capitalist press as a problem of actual-policy, as a way-out of the present economic crisis. Modern economists are telling us, for instance (I am quoting) that "So far no government has ever put an end to a crisis in any other way but the war. Such a way-out of a crisis may have its dangers, but there are also dangers in not trying to do this". This was spoken before a select audience of economists in Washington on the 29th December last. I should like also to make a few quotations from recent periodicals: "From the point of view

of the sober economist", says one writer, "war is an economic undertaking on a big scale ... Paraphrasing Clausewitz's well known aphorism it might be said: war is the continuation of business management by other means ..." "Every country would gain nothing but advantage from a war." "During war business always improves in some countries. The majority of countries are at present so dissatisfied with existing conditions of business that it would be worth their risking the prospect of war." Further: "We have spent millions of dollars on first class armaments and it is extremely disagreeable to see these investments lying idle without bringing in any dividends." The writer of these words considers over-population, which he invites us to overcome by cannibalism in the form of war, as the principal cause of the present crisis. (I will not advertise these authors nor the journals in which they write, by naming them here, but I can do so if anybody wants them.)

Such articles could not have seen the light 5 years ago. They are a sign of the times and the symptom of that spirit which is born of increasing international differences.

Given this spirit it is no wonder that at a time when the Council of the League of Nations is sending appeals to states making war in the Far East asking them to put a stop to hostilities, when delegates at the Disarmament Conference are expressing their sorrow with regard to the bloodshed in the East, it is, I repeat, no wonder that shipment after shipment of military supplies for the continuation and increase of this bloodshed are being freely and openly sent to the belligerent states from other countries with the consent of their governments. Does not this show that international differences and the vested interests behind armaments and war industry are stronger than all the desires and resolutions of pacifists, of groups and circles and even of parties? Is it not obvious that such a state of affairs cannot possibly be ended except by the total abolition and destruction of armaments, general and total disarmament?

I might limit my arguments in favour of **the resolution for total disarmament** to what I have just said and leave it to other delegates to point out what they believe to be the obstacles in the way of carrying out this proposal. I am afraid, however, that we shall once again hear those same objections which were raised at the Preparatory Commission and think I may save the General Commission some time by recalling these objections and my replies to them at the time.

I have already mentioned objections of a formal character. Among these should be included references to article 8 of the League of Nations Covenant, said to impose upon members of the League the obligation of only reducing their armaments to a level compatible with security. We are, however, not basing our proposal for total disarmament on the obligations of any states taking part in the Conference and are making no demands whatsoever upon them, we are asking them not what they are obliged to do, but what they are ready to do. We are asking them if they are ready, together with the Soviet Union, to disarm completely, in order to banish war from international practice and give up the idea of war as a business proposition. We by no means ignore the factor of security, but we do say that this security, and security for all countries, can only be attained through total disarmament.

But we have heard serious as well as merely formal objections at the Preparatory Commission.

We were told for example that even should permanent armies and navies be abolished, frontier guards would have to be kept to keep down contrabandism, as well as a police force, fire brigades, forest guards, convoy troops and the like, and that such armed forces will suffice for the attack of countries on each other. Undoubtedly, should total disarmament be adopted states cannot be allowed to maintain at their own sweet will and without any limitation any sort of potential armed forces in the form of police, frontier, or other guards, and an international convention would have to be drawn up for the regulation of this question. Such a convention would probably entitle two neighbouring states to maintain an equal number of guards on either side of the frontier. As for the police these might represent a potential army if it is considered necessary to arm them with machine-guns, tanks, artillery, poison gas, bomb-carriers and so on. We do not, however, admit such a necessity. Besides it is hard to believe that any state could mobilise all its police, collect them from all its towns and villages at its frontiers, in order to hurl them at a neighbouring country. We know that it is precisely for war and the conduct of war

that states strengthen their forces for the maintenance of internal order and they never venture to withdraw police forces from their everyday duties. The same applies to the mobilisation of convoy troops, while the idea of the mobilisation of fire brigades may safely be dismissed.

We were next told that even if armies and modern armaments were destroyed human nature is constitutionally unable to refrain from fighting and nations will attack each other with the most primitive weapons and even resort to fisticuffs. It seems to me, however, that even admitting this (which I do not), a very small frontier guard would suffice to ward off such attacks. Anyhow I do not think civilisation would suffer much if in the Far East for example nothing but fighting with bare fists was going on, instead of the exchange of shells from heavy artillery and the dropping of bombs from the air, involving the destruction of human life by the thousand and incalculable loss of property.

What would appear to be a more serious objection was also made. It was pointed out that even after total disarmament the more industrially developed countries would be able to manufacture themselves new armaments and fall upon their unarmed neighbours. But the possibility of infringement of international convention could be used as an argument against any convention, whether for the limitation or reduction of armaments or anything else. If it is to be supposed that some states will stick loyally to the convention and others will infringe it by secretly increasing the armed forces laid down for them in the convention, undoubtedly the security of loyal states will be jeopardised. If we fear that, it will be useless to conclude any sort of international agreements. As I have already pointed out at the Plenary Session of the Conference, it would be much easier to maintain effective control of the observation of the convention for total disarmament than in the case of reduction. The setting up all over again of war industries once they have been destroyed, the mobilisation of considerable troops, after mobilisation records have been destroyed, and their arming and equipment would take too long to pass unnoticed. You cannot build a dreadnought or even equip a submarine, or make long-range guns or gas-throwers without people finding out. There may be first-class metal and chemical industries in a country, with a huge and dense population, but complicated and prolonged processes must be gone through, before these potential forces are converted into armed force. Military units must be formed and trained and a long time spent to get the elaborate mechanism of war to function. In the present state of military technique only systematically and regularly trained reserves are of any value for the army. Technique is taking such strides that the rank and file, non-commissioned officers and even officers require thorough retraining every few years. The abolition of conscription, the complete destruction of mobilisation records would, therefore, remove altogether any possibility of using organised masses for military purposes at short notice. Finally, modern potential forces are as it is not the same in all states. From this point of view there is no such thing as equality of security. Are not industrially developed states able, now, at the outbreak of war, to gain by the mobilisation of industry enormous superiority over the forces of less industrially developed countries, not to mention agrarian countries? Is it not obvious that the development and expansion of existing war industry, of existing military units, is much more easily realised than the creation all over again of destroyed war industry, or the creation of an army from untrained masses? And is the mobilisation of these masses for military purposes conceivable if they do not see before them an armed opponent and if they do not fear attack from such an enemy. Even now the creation of armies and the mobilisation for war are only possible by means of working on the imagination of a nation through fictitious or actual threats of attacks on their country. Under total disarmament it would be impossible to create these fictions and this alone would make preparations for war impossible. It seems to me that for this reason alone it would be impossible to mobilise even those reserves who had received military training before total disarmament.

We are profoundly convinced that the only guarantee of security for all nations would be equality in disarmament, in the reduction to zero, and that the feeling of security would be so strong that no government would be able, even if it wanted to, to mobilise its people for attack on another.

I think I have passed in review the most important criticisms of total disarmament made in the Preparatory Commission. I am ready to admit the possibility of new criticisms not

expressed there. We shall lend an attentive ear to any that may be made here. We are, however, convinced that the advantages in the scheme we have drawn up completely outweigh any defects that may be found in it. There is no alternative, we can see no other guarantee against war. No such guarantee is offered by reduction of armaments, let alone their limitation and the abolition of certain types of armaments.

The state which I have the honour to represent values its independence not less, and in all probability more than other states, it needs security not less but more than other states. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who have won for themselves true freedom by means of heroic efforts, were forced, after a devastating world war, to protect this freedom with arms in their hands for another three years against attacks upon it from within and from without, and after this they have been working for twelve years with unbounded enthusiasm, laying the foundations of a new life. They have carried out vast economic plans described only a few years ago outside the Soviet Union as utopian. They know that foreign invasion, the infringement of the security of their state might threaten to overthrow the foundations they have already laid, and mean the destruction of their hopes for the speedy realisation of the new life. Nevertheless they would not feel the slightest threat to themselves in the abolition of armed forces in the Soviet Union, provided that the same were done in other countries also. On the contrary their feeling of security would be increased and they would not feel the slightest fear of attack by unarmed masses of other countries, even though the Soviet Union has at its borders countries so superior to it numerically as China and India. **Total and general disarmament constitutes no threat to the security of other nations either.**

Whatever the attitude of other states to its proposal for total disarmament, however, the Soviet Government feels bound to use the opportunity afforded by a world conference to raise the problem of total disarmament. Where is this problem to be raised if not at this Conference? Whatever its outcome the voting on this question will be of the deepest historical significance and cannot fail to leave traces on international relations. It is for this reason that I venture to commend to your notice the resolution that I now move.

Draft Resolution submitted by Comrade Litvinoff.

Animated by the firm desire for an effective and solidly organised peace; Actuated by the determination to create genuine security for all States and all peoples by preventing the possibility of future wars;

Convinced that the very existence of armaments and the tendency they show constantly to increase inevitably lead to armed international conflicts which tear the workers from their peaceful occupations and bring innumerable calamities in their train;

Considering that military expenditure, which imposes an intolerable burden upon the masses of the people, fosters and enhances the economic crisis with all its consequences;

Noting that the States which it represents have renounced war as an instrument of national policy;

Believing that the only effective means of contributing to the organisation of peace and the establishment of security against war is the general, complete and rapid abolition of all armed forces, setting out from the principle of equality for all;

Convinced that the idea of general and complete disarmament answers to the sincere aspirations of the masses towards peace;

The Conference decides to base its work on the principle of general and complete disarmament.

Scottsboro Negro Boys for Execution.

Berlin, 26th February 1932.

The German section of the **International Red Aid** announces that it has received a telegram from New York according to which the execution of the Scottsboro young Negro workers has been fixed to take place on the 6th April. A big international protest campaign must save these innocent boys from the electric chair and secure their release.

International Women's Day

The Situation of Working Women in Indian Industry.

By F. Gaichenko.

The working woman is becoming more and more the active factor in the Indian revolution. The development of local industry, in spite of the efforts of imperialism to check the course of its development, is drawing in women and child labour, which is more defenceless and cheaper under capitalist conditions and therefore more profitable from the point of view of unlimited possibilities of exploitation.

Capitalist rationalisation of industry has led to a considerably higher percentage of women workers in the industrial enterprises of India. The percentage of adult women employed in all branches of industry is over 30%, excluding the great numbers of adolescents and little girls who are employed in industry and on the plantations. On the plantations, the percentage of women workers reaches 50%.

General data on the distribution of woman labour according to branches of industry, taken from the Indian Year Book for 1931 gives the following picture. The proportion of adult women workers (unskilled) is 508 for every thousand adult men. The majority of women work on the plantations, where the proportion is as high as 50% of all the adult labour. The proportion of women employed in the coal industry is higher than 30% and the same is true of the textile industry.

The Indian Year Book shows the further growth of women labour on the plantations and in the textile industry. Women work also in the mines, where they are employed for underground work. According to the material of the Whitley Commission, the figures for women employed in the mines for various occupations in 1928 were as follows:

	Women	Men
Working Underground	28,408	68,727
In open pits	8,019	9,442
Above ground	13,455	36,097
Total:	49,882	114,266

Even according to these figures woman labour in the mines amounts to 32.2% of all adult labour power. These figures deliberately under-estimate the number of women. The governmental commission did not submit any proposal whatsoever to improve the conditions of women in the mines, under the pretext of the small number of women employed. Actually, however, in 1928 there were nearly 80,000 women employed in the mines, 31,000 of whom were employed in underground work.

Other branches of industry where the percentage of women is fairly large are the following: The building industry, where women make up 28% of all adult labour, and glass manufacture and food products.

The chief source from which woman labour is drawn is from the peasant farms which are being ruined. In the towns of India the proportion of women to men is considerably lower.

The woman comes into industry from the country, where in addition to the hardships resulting from the breakdown of peasant economy she has to bear the burden of social and legal subjection and family cares. The woman moving to town is an exile. She has no right to return to the village or to her family.

But also in industry, under conditions of factory labour, the social and legal subjection of women is reflected. It is expressed in the labour conditions, wages and qualifications and in the absence of special legislation for the protection of woman labour and maternity. The situation of the Indian proletariat is considerably worse than that of the workers of Western Europe, because of the colonial position of India, and this is reflected even more clearly in the situation of the proletarian women.

What are the labour conditions of working women?

For the most part women perform unskilled and heavy labour. In the transport and building industries they carry bricks and other building material for long distances. In the mines they pull loads and carry baskets of coal. The working day is not less than 11 hours officially, and as a matter of

fact it amounts to considerably more owing to the complicated system of shifts.

The inferior position of women workers is brought out most sharply in wage payments. If the pay of an Indian worker in 1929 was on the average one-tenth of the pay of a British worker, the pay of a woman worker for the same labour was half as much. In Bombay the average monthly wage for men in the cotton industry in 1929 was 37 rupees, while the women got an average of 17 rupees, i. e. less than half the men's wage. In the seasonal enterprises of Madras, the daily wage of a man working at a cotton press during that same year amounted to Re. 0-9-6 (a little over half a rupee), while the daily wage of women average Re. 0-5-10, that is about half. A man coolie gets: Re.0-10-0 a day while a woman coolie gets 0-6-0 rupees a day.

But these figures do not show the real wages of the working women, for apart from the many deductions and fines taken out of her wages by the employer, a great part of it goes into the hands of the foremen, or forelady, known as the "Mistri". The working woman gets paid by the "mistri", who receives the money and distributes it among the women. This "mistri" gets the money for the women working under her from the overseer, who in turn keeps part of it for himself.

The many statements of women workers before the Whitley Commission, throw a light on the actual state of affairs. Here is a statement from a woman employed in carrying coal to the harbour:

"I work for the contractor Rambab. I am a widow with two children. **One of my daughters works here with me. She is not yet 12 years old.** The other is 7 years old. She is at home and there is no one to look after her. I get 6 annas a day and my daughter gets the same. I came from Malkapur, which is three miles from here" (Whitley Evidence, Vol. VII, Part 2, page 47).

The Indian working woman has absolutely no maternity protection or assistance of any sort during child birth. Moreover, she is fired from her job if she does not come to work because of child-birth. The working woman has the choice: either to be thrown out into the streets, or to give the foreman a bribe amounting to one-month's salary, or to give birth in the shop and go on working. In this connection the statement of the special government commission for the investigation of woman labour in industry in Bengal in 1924 is most illuminating: according to the data of this commission, out of the 132 working women who were questioned, 102 of them had given birth to 338 children, 139 of which, i. e. over 41%, were born in the shop.

The working woman keeps her new born baby with her while she tends her machine. She often attaches the basket with the child in it to the machine, which leads to terrible accidents. The drugging of children with opium is very extensive. Obliging manufacturers were found who prepared special opium pills for babies, "baby opium".

Consequently, the extremely high infantile death rate in India is not surprising. For every three children born, scarcely two reach the age of one year. The general death rate for infants in Bombay in 1931 according to minimized estimates, was 556 out of a thousand, while there is an average death rate of 660 per thousand for the first year of life. Those of them who do live have only the contractor to look forward to, with prospects of the most brutal exploitation from 5 years of age on.

The Whitley Commission, which recently published the results of its work, did everything possible to conceal the actual situation of women in industry. Its conclusions with regard to women workers are a model for the legitimisation by imperialism of the most frightful exploitation, treated by the commission as a virtue.

The Whitley Commission denied the possibility of introducing an 8-hour working day and upheld a formal 10-hour working day, which in actual practice amounts to much more. In seasonal undertakings or plantations, which for the

most part belong to British capital and employ the highest percentage of women, the working day for women, according to the findings of the same commission, is no less than 13½ hours. Basing itself on the argument that in seasonal occupations the workers do not work the year round and have the possibility of returning to "the healthy conditions of nature in the rural districts", the commission concludes that "it would be inexpedient to reduce the working day in these undertakings (i. e. to 10 hours)."

The commission appears to be taking up the defence of women working in non-seasonal undertakings. But this "defence" is only apparent. Here is an example which illustrates the situation. The time during which the commission recommends the utilisation of women labour amounts to 17 hours, while the length of time for the utilisation of one unit of woman labour, including rest periods, amounts to 13 hours, i. e., in all, half an hour less than at the present time.

The working men and women of India can convince themselves once more of the true character of bourgeois and imperialist legislation and of the falseness of all statements about the improvement of the position of the working class under the existing system. No imperialist commission can solve this problem. The working woman can improve her economic and legal situation only by joining the general struggle of the proletariat under the leadership of the **Communist Party**.

The working woman of India is even more oppressed and deprived of rights than her brother workers. The working women make up more than one-third of the India proletariat. With this large proportion of women in the great mass of the

Indian proletariat, it is impossible to develop a real revolutionary struggle without drawing in the women workers. The fact the working women have no rights is bound to drive them into the struggle. The stormy growth of the labour movement in India during the past year is marked by the increased militancy of the working women. In a number of strikes and conflicts they were models of heroism and bravery, and in many cases they were the most persistent elements in supporting the continuation of strikes, and active opponents of the offensive of capital.

As a result of the social, family and legal subjection of women, the feminist movement in India is growing. But this movement does not go further than economic demands within the limits of the existing order.

This bourgeois feminist movement is not for the working women. The working woman must realise that the liberation of women in India must come through the overthrow of imperialism and the native treacherous bourgeoisie and landlords, and the establishment of a workers' and peasants' Soviet Government. The proletariat of India, under the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions and the Communist Party, must include in its demands the demand for improving the material situation of working women, labour protection for women, organisation of day nurseries and maternity hospitals and the raising of wages for women to the same level as wages for men, at the same time explaining that all these partial demands can only be obtained in full after throwing off the yoke of the imperialist and native bourgeoisie.

It is by tenaciously struggling, together with the whole proletariat, that the Indian working woman will gain her freedom.

Care for Children in the Soviet Union.

(Letter from a Woman Worker of the "1st of May" Factory.)

We are astonished at the false rumours which are spread about our children. I will write in detail to tell how I and the other women workers and children use their rights.

I have been working in industry since 1924. At the Calico factory I was first an apprentice turner and then began to work independently. In 1928 I had an attack of influenza and this produced complications of my heart. The doctors would not allow me to work any more, considering me to be incapable, and put me in the invalid category for a year. The insurance office paid me a pension equal to half my wages. At the end of the year, I was medically examined again and classed as an invalid for a further year. All this time I was under the observation of the "Mothers and Children's Protection" consultation, like all the wives of workers and women workers. I am now perfectly well.

A pregnant woman in industry receives 2 months holiday before childbirth and 2 months afterwards, and gets full wages all the time.

The insurance office gives 30 roubles for every new-born baby. Recently this payment has been replaced by the provision of all the necessary articles for a child at the breast. In addition, the mother receives a payment for the feeding of the child (milk, butter, meat, etc.) till it is 9 months old. When my child was 6 months old, I again went to work at the 1st of May Factory. Until the baby was 9 months old, I received

half an hour pause every 3½ hours to feed it, and my wages were paid at full rates. Our children are in nurseries, where our comrades and friends work, and where the children are carefully looked after.

From the age of 3 till school age, the children are in kindergartens. All the children of school age are at school, where they get hot food and constant medical attention.

All those rumours which are spread about our children are not true. The training and support of the children is one of our main tasks. In the first days of the revolution, when enemies were surrounding us and invading the country, when there was economic collapse and insufficient food, even then, the training of the children was one of the chief tasks. At that time, comrade **Lenin** raised the question of providing hot food in the schools for the children. I am astonished that the social democrats say nothing about the death rate among children before the revolution, in the time of the Tsar, when 26% of children less than one year old died. Nowadays, owing to Soviet supervision and care, the proportion of deaths has fallen from 26 to 1%.

I will say no more in this letter. Write and tell us what rights you have and how your children are looked after.

With Communist greetings.

Olga Glazer.

Finnish Fascists New Drive.

Helsingfors, 1st March 1932.

On the 27th February the Lappo fascists in Finland began a concentrated action all over the country. The action began with an attack on the headquarters of the workers organisations in Mantselo (50 kilometres to the north of Helsingfors). Fire was opened on the building with rifles and machine-guns. The police took no action.

Mantselo has now become the centre point of the fascist concentration. The fascists have established a sort of martial law in the town and their detachments and posts are to be seen everywhere. At the moment about 3,000 armed fascists are in the town. The fascist detachments are armed with rifles and machine-guns. Armed fascist detachments are being sent to

Mantselo from all parts of the country. The fascists expect to draw in about 40,000 armed men. The movement is under the leadership of General Valenius. There are rumours that the Lappo fascists intend to march on the capital and establish their own government. One of the leaders of the fascists, Kosola declared to press representatives that the movement aimed at "abolishing the state order which has now existed for 13 years and carrying out the Lappo programme completely".

The government in Helsingfors has declared martial law and declares that it will submit under no circumstances. This assurance however, need not be taken too seriously. A strict censorship has been introduced and a military cordon has been drawn round Helsingfors.

In the R. I. L. U.**The Revolutionary Trade Unions of Japan Stick to their Fighting Posts.**

Unbridled Japanese militarism is continually flinging fresh forces into the fight for the seizure of Chinese provinces. The blood of the toiling masses of China is flowing in torrents. Japanese imperialism, having seized Manchuria, desires to get a firm grip of the Yangtse Valley in order to find a way out of the ever-sharpening crisis over the bodies of the many millions of Chinese people. The murder and strangling of the Chinese people is taking place simultaneously with the savage persecution of the workers and peasants in Japan itself. Japanese imperialism is establishing in China a place d'armes for launching its attack against the U.S.S.R. In this predatory and murderous war, Japanese imperialism has the support of international imperialism—first and foremost of France and England. American imperialism, which follows with alarm the robber-moves of its rivals in China, is waiting for a suitable opportunity to strike a blow at its rival and to secure a part of the loot. The prospects for the extension of the war have already led to a boom in the shares of munition factories. International imperialism is feverishly preparing for a fresh redivision of the world and to strike a blow against the land of the proletarian dictatorship.

The unheard-of brigandage of Japanese imperialism, the insolent support given it by the French and English bourgeoisie, have aroused the indignation of the broad masses throughout the world. Only the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, these true lackeys of the imperialist governments, remain silent, mumbling manifestly hypocritical phrases taken from the arsenal of the predatory League of Nations. The toiling masses of all countries are against predatory Japanese imperialism; they are for the toiling masses of China; they are for the independence of China from world imperialism.

The wave of protest grows; but this wave is not yet strong enough. Every worker, every toiler must bear in mind that the war in the Far East is the commencement of war against himself, and that the preparations for war against the U.S.S.R. likewise imply the preparations for war against the working class of the whole world.

In this difficult and complicated situation a particularly

important and extremely responsible role falls to the revolutionary labour organisations of Japan. The Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions of Japan have raised a resolute voice of protest against plunderous Japanese imperialism.

The R.I.L.U. supporters in Japan occupy a most important and responsible section of the international front. The protests of the revolutionary unions of Japan against war indicate that great indignation against their oppressors is maturing and growing in the midst of the working class of Japan. The task of the international working class is to support the revolutionary workers of Japan, to assist them in their struggle, to show that there are close fraternal connections and firm invincible solidarity between the Japanese and Chinese working class on the one hand, and the workers of all countries on the other hand. The growing protest of the Japanese workers is of immense political significance. These protests go beyond the factories, they spread to the villages, they even embrace some sections of the troops. Japanese imperialism is only at the beginning of its military crimes, but already a protest is growing in the masses, and with the fresh mobilisation, with the drawing of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants into the army, this protest will spread and strengthen.

For the struggle against war to have serious results the supporters of the R.I.L.U. must reorganise their ranks in the shortest possible space of time. The revolutionary trade unions have already gained certain successes in this respect since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. But these successes are far from being sufficient. The line laid down by the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress must be followed more boldly.

This resolution adopted by the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council has as its object to give concrete directions as to how to grasp the most important links. The trade unions of Japan must become mass organisations, they must unite hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. This is the meaning and importance of the decisions taken by the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council; this is the main task of the R.I.L.U. supporters in Japan.

Position, Work, and Immediate Tasks of the R.I.L.U. Supporters in Japan.

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

I. The deepening of the economic crisis, seen in the further curtailment of production, the unprecedented growth of unemployment in Japan, a tremendous majority of the workers being on short time, the intensification of the agrarian crisis, which has brought millions of toiling peasants to the verge of starvation, has led to a still greater intensification of class contradictions. The growing number of strikes, their stubbornness, the growing frequency of collisions with the police and other organs of State authority during economic disputes, the conflicts between the rentiers and the landlords in the villages, reflect, though incompletely, the process of the radicalisation going on among the masses, and their growing revolutionary discontent. The military-police machinery of the Monarchy applies all its forces to prevent the development of the class struggle and the establishment of revolutionary organisations of the working class and the poor and middle peasantry.

The low colonial living standards of the working class and the toilers in the countryside, oppressed by the landlord and semi-feudal exploitation, is leading to an unprecedented contraction of the home market. The ruin and famine in the Japanese colonies gives rise to a further contraction of the foreign markets. The exceptional acuteness of the crisis in Japan confronts both the bourgeoisie and the working class,

in all its importance, with the question as to the way out of the crisis. The rulers of the trusts and banks, the bourgeoisie and the landlords, seek for a way out of the crisis in an attack on the working class (wage reductions of 30—60%, mass dismissals, anti-labour laws, savage persecution of revolutionary workers), in intensifying exploitation of the peasantry, in the expropriation of the petty town bourgeoisie, in increased pressure on the colonies. Finally, the deepening of the crisis and the tenseness of the situation in the country have resulted in Japanese imperialism having recourse to war in the hope of finding, in this manner, a way out of the crisis, and in the hope to carry out its aggressive imperialist programme—to turn China and the Far East into colonies.

The war in Manchuria is an imperialist plunderous war, which is being waged against the Chinese people, against the Chinese Revolution. It is directed simultaneously against the Japanese workers and toiling peasants. The sacrifices, deprivations, and burdens of the war are borne by the workers and peasants; the exploiters get the profit dyed with the workers' blood. The war in Manchuria extends and sharpens all imperialist contradictions. War against the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Soviets has become an immediate danger and simultaneously the danger of a world war. The working class

of Japan is already paying for the criminal war being waged by Japanese imperialism. Despite all the endeavours of the Japanese bourgeoisie to soften the crisis, unemployment has increased tremendously. Taxation has increased, white terror inside the country has become more severe. The embargo on gold, the depreciation of the Yen, the unprecedentedly rapid increase in the cost of living, the lowered real wages, the depreciation of the miserably low income of the peasantry, the ruination of the petty bourgeoisie—these are the direct consequences of the war which has been started by Japanese imperialism.

Japanese imperialism has entered upon a phase of great upheavals. The tenseness of the internal situation is growing. The new government pursues the same policy as the former government, with the difference that it is still more dictatorial, still more relentless in its methods. On the other hand, the impoverishment, the ruin, the starvation of the masses cannot but bring nearer mass revolutionary struggles of the working class and the toiling masses. The whole of the internal and external situation obliges every revolutionary worker, every supporter of the Dzenkyo to increase tenfold his efforts in the struggle against the class enemy.

II. The Japanese reformists of various shades completely support the Japanese capitalists in the struggle for a capitalist way out of the crisis. They sell out strikes, they betray the workers' struggle, serve the police and the employers in disorganising the workers. They wholeheartedly support the plunderous imperialist war against the Chinese people and the preparations for intervention against the U.S.S.R. They compel the workers to have recourse to police arbitration, they assist in enforcing the terrorist anti-labour laws, they collaborate with the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, and in fact are nothing but a department of the Home Ministry for Trade union affairs.

With the establishment of a **Workers' Club** on the initiative of the reactionary Seamen's Union, which in addition to the Seamen's Union was joined by the Sodomei, the Centrists of the Dzenkokz Domei, Sorengo, etc., a united front has been formed of the Japanese reformists against the R.I.L.U. and the Dzenkyo.

This so-called Workers' Club is an attempt to unite all the supporters of the Amsterdam International to fight the revolutionary T.U. movement not only in Japan but also throughout the whole of the Far East. The "Left" reformist T.U. bureaucrats of the Sohyogikai, although they have not joined the Worker's Club formally, have united, under the flag of the united front, with all the members of this club and the so-called Workers' and Peasants' mass Party (Rono Manshuto), which implies that these "left" T.U. bureaucrats have united with the open enemies of the R.I.L.U. Dividing the work and the roles among themselves, the rights, the centrists, and the "left" in united front fight the revolutionary labour movement. The centrists, and particularly the "Lefts", are the most dangerous enemies of the revolutionary movement, for they screen their treachery with left phrases, for they take advantage of the workers' desire for organisation and class unity in order to support and put into practice bourgeois influence over the working class.

While the right wing unions are openly for class collaboration and for the struggle against the revolutionary unions, the so-called "left" and centrists' unions, not infrequently headed by police agents and provocateurs, (Toichu-Kyogikai-Kaitoha), under the screen of revolutionary phraseology, still continue to deceive considerable sections of the working class. They take control of spontaneous economic strikes in order to head the struggle and subsequently to betray it, giving the disputes over to police arbitration, and at the same time helping the police to make arrests among the more active strikers.

III. The increase in the prices of articles of prime necessity, and the sharp drop in real wages which were caused by the introduction of the gold embargo, and likewise the joint and simultaneous attack by the capitalists in a number of industries on the workers' living standards, affects the interests of the broad masses, sharpening the dissatisfaction which finds its expression in the spontaneous strike movement and the actions of the unemployed. The objective conditions in Japan are quite favourable for the Japanese labour movement going over from the scattered and disunited defensive struggle to the counter-offensive struggle. The number of disputes is rapidly increasing, more and more frequently developing into

strikes. The total number of disputes increased from 1,823 in 1930 to 2,014 in 1931. The new sections of the workers (textile workers, railwaymen), are also being drawn into the struggle.

The strikes are becoming more and more prolonged and assume a more stubborn and militant character. The strikers more and more frequently break the bounds of legalism. There are practically no disputes, no strikes that pass without sanguinary collisions with the police, fascist bands and strikebreakers. Cases become more and more frequent when the workers, in order to win their demands, seize the factories and workshops. The strikers on their own initiative organise self-defence corps, elect fighting committees and strike committees, organise protest demonstrations against the arrest of strikers or their leaders, etc. The dissatisfaction of the workers with their leaders has extremely intensified in the reformist unions. The working class struggle against capitalist exploitation and against government oppression meets with growing sympathy and support among the peasantry and the city poor. All this indicates the rapid growth of discontent and unrest among the toiling masses of Japan.

Side by side with the growth of the spontaneous strike struggle we recently observe in Japan inadvisable and even harmful forms of the struggle such as hunger strikes (workers in the Tokyo chemical factories, textile workers in Asakusa), strikes in which the strikers climbed up the factory chimneys (Fudzin gas, Nippon-Seiko-Kobe, Tokyo, Seidezyu and others), in which the strikers refused to sleep (Fukyoko), etc. Such passive forms of the struggle advocated by the reformists are based on ancient prejudices; they introduce non-resistance in the working class struggle, they befog the class consciousness of the workers, weaken their will for the active struggle, leave the initiative with the employers and the reformist leaders.

IV. Since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. the Dzenkyo has achieved certain successes in putting into practice the Congress decisions. We must particularly record the brave and politically correct action of the Dzenkyo against the plunderous attack of Japanese imperialism on China. In this manner the Dzenkyo proved that it is really and truly an R.I.L.U. organisation, while the Sohyogikai and the Toichu Kyogikai Kaitoha, which have averred that they support the decisions of the Congress, had done nothing to put these decisions into practice. On the contrary, the leaders of the so-called "left" unions, under the screen of revolutionary phraseology, at each step hindered the Dzenkyo from carrying out the Congress decisions. Thus, these leaders are the most dangerous reformists and traitors to the working class interests.

We should note as the most important achievement of the Dzenkyo the turn commenced in its work towards extending the workers' movements. This turn is seen in a number of successful strikes (in the Tokyo celluloid factory, in the number 8 railway construction works, in the Kobe rubber factories, the "Ji-ji" printery, etc.). Together with the masses the revolutionary union succeeded in winning the strike leadership and maintaining the initiative to the end. Such facts as the establishment of fighting committees in the rubber factories; the calling of joint delegate conferences to discuss the lessons of the struggle (Tokyo and Osaka); the promotion to leading organs of militant workers from the factories; the measures to organise the unemployed and direct their struggle; the establishment of revolutionary T.U. opposition in the reformist unions; the organisation of workers' meetings and demonstrations on the "Day of Struggle Against Unemployment", and on May 1st; the break up of the rights and "lefts" in Sossin Domei; the organisation of a militant protest against war and the danger of intervention in the Soviet Union; the popularisation of the Fifth Congress decisions among the masses; the publication of factory papers and papers for the industrial unions; the growing circulation and improved contents of the "Rodo Simbun", etc., prove that the revolutionary Dzenkyo is reorganising its work on the basis of the decisions laid down by the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress.

The Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council approves of the check up and self-criticism of Dzenkyo activities which was carried out in August of this year. This session is convinced that the Dzenkyo, too, will in the future show up with still greater energy, on the basis of self-criticism, all its mistakes and shortcomings in order to be able to fight resolutely for their elimination.

As the result of the turn that has commenced in the work of the Japanese revolutionary T.U. movement we are already able to record a number of concrete achievements in the

growth of the revolutionary trade unions and their extended influence over the masses. Since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. the membership of the Dzenkyo has increased from 4,000 to 15,000 (including the revolutionary T.U. Opposition inside the reformist unions).

V. However, despite all these achievements, the activities of the Dzenkyo, particularly in organisational work, substantially lag behind the process of radicalisation and the growing militancy of the masses. The Dzenkyo has not developed sufficient work on the basis of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress decisions. The Dzenkyo has not yet eradicated the shortcomings and mistakes recorded in the resolutions of the Fifth Congress.

One of the greatest shortcomings is that most of the strikes arise and a considerable part are conducted, without the influence and leadership of the Dzenkyo. There are even cases when the revolutionary unions absolutely do not react to the strikes of long duration (the 3 weeks hunger-strike of Tokyo chemical workers). As formerly the strike committees are frequently nominated. The attempts to set up separate strike committees for young workers and women, which only lead to splits in the ranks of the strikers, indicate the weaknesses of the leadership. Self-defence corps are not always organised and neither are strike funds set up in all cases. The revolutionary trade unions do not sufficiently expose the class character of police arbitration, which is frequently forced upon the workers. This enables the reformists to keep the leadership of the strike struggles in their hands in order to lead the workers to defeat. The Dzenkyo has not yet taken the stand for the formation of mass trade unions. The workers in big enterprises in the key industries (metallurgy, textiles, chemical, electrical, trades and transport), and in the chief industrial districts (Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto and Ku-shu) are still weakly drawn into the revolutionary unions, while most of the unorganised workers are under reformist influence. The Dzenkyo factory groups are small and they conduct insufficient work for the establishment of mass organs for the struggle (fighting committees, delegate meetings, revolutionary T.U. delegates, factory committees).

Insufficient attention is paid to defending the interests of the unemployed and linking up their struggle with the struggle of the employed workers. Neither is systematic and resolute work carried on to organise the unemployed. Despite the fact that there is an army of unemployed 2½ million strong, the Unemployed League has only 3,000 members. All this shows that the work of the Kyogikai still contains sectarianism, which was pointed out in the decisions of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress, and that the struggle against sectarianism, as formerly, remains one of the immediate tasks in the day-to-day work of the R.I.L.U. supporters in Japan.

Another serious shortcoming in the activities of the revolutionary trade unions of Japan is also the absence of connections with the revolutionary T.U. movement of China, Korea and Formosa and likewise the poor activities carried on among the colonial workers of Japan (Koreans).

VI. In addition to, and developing the decisions of the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress, the Eighth Session of the Central Council places before the Dzenkyo the following basic tasks:

1. The revolutionary trade unions must train all their forces to prepare for and carry out strike struggles against dismissals, wage-cuts, for wage increases, etc. The spontaneous strikes and widespread dissatisfaction of the masses must be turned into class-conscious and organised struggle. The slightest shirking of the leadership of the struggle, on any pretext at all, must meet with a determined setback and the most energetic condemnation. It is insufficient to turn to the masses with slogans and to outline the forms and methods of the struggle. What is needed is to take an active part in the struggle itself; moreover, the revolutionary trade unions must set the example and by their activities must stress their difference from the reformist unions and show how the struggle should be organised and led in revolutionary fashion.

For the purpose of preparing for, developing and independently leading the economic struggle, the revolutionary trade unions must reorganise their work by shifting the centre of all Dzenkyo activities to the **factory**, making the factory the chief basis of its work in accordance with the decisions of all the R.I.L.U. Congresses; must display initiative, and draw up in good time, with the participation of the workers interested, the partial and general demands of the workers,

discuss and popularise them at mass meetings in the factories. The strike will only be successful if the objects and tasks of the struggle are plain to the workers. When the masses are prepared to fight for the demands which have been put forward, the Dzenkyo supporters must develop work for the establishment of strike committees which should be elected by all workers, whether organised or unorganised. On no condition should the reformist leaders and T.U. bureaucrats be admitted to the strike committees.

It is necessary to explain, patiently and skilfully, to the workers who have recourse to passive methods of struggle (hunger-strikes, etc.), why their tactic is mistaken, convincing them of the need to apply revolutionary methods of struggle, and transferring to them the experience of the Dzenkyo and the international trade union movement. The insufficient development of the solidarity movement, the insufficient linking up of the economic struggle with the political tasks of the moment, constitute a serious obstacle to extending the struggle and transforming the economic struggles into political struggles. Solidarity movements, including solidarity strikes must be considered as one of the chief means for transforming individual strikes into big mass struggles, and for raising them to a higher level. The strike preparations committees, strike committees and solidarity committees must take steps to set up connections with the city poor and the peasantry, in order to extend material support to the strikers and to draw these sections of the population into the revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary trade unions must take all necessary measures to organise self-defence corps. These corps must be permanent organisations with a united leading centre elected on the basis of democratic centralism. The self-defence corps must be auxiliary organs for the defence of the revolutionary labour organisations, strikes and demonstrations. The organisation of mass pickets and mass demonstrations during strikes is likewise of primary importance.

2) The mass unemployment and its further growth confronts the Dzenkyo with an urgent task—to go over from the Unemployed League of the Red Trade Unions to the organisation of the unemployed in broad committees or councils which must link up their struggle with the struggle of the workers employed in industry. The unemployed committees must unite all unemployed and employed workers, irrespective of their membership in any given Party or trade union. The chief tasks of the unemployed committees, in addition to mobilising the broad sections of the workers, are; a) to demand from the government and the municipal organs rice and housing for the unemployed and their families; b) the introduction of Social Insurance, in particular non-contributory unemployment insurance; c) to fight for the unemployed being freed from the payment of rents, electricity and all taxes; d) to fight against compulsory labour; e) to wage a joint struggle with the employed workers against wage reductions, dismissals, against compulsory free days, against short time work, etc.

3) An urgent task confronting the Dzenkyo is the organisation of the unorganised, for more than 90% of all the workers are unorganised.

In reorganising the existing unions of the Dzenkyo, organising new unions and winning individual independent labour organisations, it is necessary to display great flexibility in the choice of the name, in the question of formal affiliation to the Dzenkyo and organisational structure, so as to ensure for the Dzenkyo the possibility of uniting the greatest possible number of workers and increasing its influence, in addition to the legal existence of the organisations. In view of this, the Dzenkyo is incorrect in completely refusing to organise local prefect unions and officially independent unions, on the pretext that this infringes the principle of industrial trade union organisation. It is necessary here to apply a skilful organisational tactic, going up from simple friendly workers' organisations, fighting committees, factory committees, to independent industrial unions based on factory branches and on conferences of trade union delegates. While doing everything available to strengthen the industrial unions, it is necessary in all the industrial centres of the country to set up capable working inter-union organisations (local trades councils in place of the existing apparatus for connections), which must co-ordinate and extend the workers' struggle.

The whole attention of the Dzenkyo must be concentrated on the organisation of revolutionary mass unions in the key industries of Japan. The most important task is to organise

mass revolutionary unions for the textile workers, miners, railwaymen, electro-technical workers, chemical workers and metal workers. The Dzenkyo must exert all efforts to organise revolutionary trade union groups, particularly in the big factories, to organise revolutionary groups uniting the workers irrespective of the party, and trade union affiliation, or whether unorganised.

Simultaneously the Dzenkyo must take steps to organise the agricultural workers. The organisation of the agricultural workers (farm labourers, workers in the forest and fishing trades) assumes particularly great importance for it leads to strengthening working class influence over the toiling peasantry where the revolutionary movement is growing.

The transformation of the Dzenkyo unions into real mass organisations requires that permanent recruiting be carried on for these organisations, and that the recruiting campaigns be more systematic and determined than hitherto, that they be intensified, particularly during strikes and other mass movements of the working class.

4) The Dzenkyo must wage a determined struggle against the reformists of all shades. The struggle against the reformist leaders must be carried on not in an abstract manner, but by exposing them by concrete examples, showing up to the workers in each individual case how the reformist leaders sell out strikes, make agreements with the employers, give up the revolutionary workers to the police, how by means of deceit they draw the workers into the trap of police arbitration and use all possible ways to betray the struggle. The fire must be directed mainly against the leaders, the so-called "left" reformists and centrists (Dzenkoku Domei, Sohiogikai, Toichu, Kyogikai Kaitoha, etc.), who in the present conditions are the most dangerous enemies of the working class and the most artful traitors to the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the toiling masses. It is necessary to combat determinedly the practice of the revolutionary T.U. opposition in some reformist unions, which do not oppose their independent line to prepare for and conduct the strike struggle to the tactic of selling out and sabotage pursued by the reformist leaders. As a result of this the leadership of strikes frequently goes over to the reformists (the strike in Sumitomo, Tokyo tramwaymen). It is necessary to transfer the centre of all activities of the revolutionary T.U. opposition to the revolutionary T.U. groups in the factories. By leading every conflict, every strike and developing day-to-day mass activities, it is necessary to draw into our ranks all workers who are to the slightest extent dissatisfied with the treacherous tactics of the reformist leaders. The revolutionary T.U. opposition must draw up its own independent programme of action for each union on the basis of the decisions of the Fifth Congress and Eighth session of the R.I.L.U. and the programme of the Dzenkyo, and oppose it to the treacherous policy of the reformists. With the winning of individual local T.U. organisations, in accordance with the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. they must be united with the corresponding local trade unions affiliated to the Dzenkyo. It is necessary to develop more widespread mass work among the reformist workers in the factories, to strengthen our work inside the various mass labour organisations set up by the employers, and likewise to strengthen work inside all the auxiliary mass organisations (literature and sport circles, etc.).

5. The chief task of the Dzenkyo is to fight for revolutionary unity from below on the basis of the class struggle against the employers, the government and the reformists. The Dzenkyo must develop a widespread campaign for unity from below on the basis of the struggle for the workers' vital interests. In opposition to the organisation of the Workers' Club (Rodo Kurabu), the Dzenkyo in all industrial centres must organise rank and file unity conferences, consisting of representatives from the broad working masses in the factories, workshops, mines and transport. At these conferences it is necessary to expose to the working masses the imperialist character of the Rodo Kurabu and the class collaboration policy pursued by it. These conferences must be taken advantage of to unite the masses on the basis of a militant programme of action which is to take into consideration the local conditions for the struggle and the workers' demands. The organisational result of the conferences should be establishment of organs for the united front from below, by means of which the Dzenkyo must still further intensify its struggle against the employers and the reformists. The united front organs under the leadership of the Dzenkyo must take

the initiative in preparing the strike struggles in the fight for immediate unemployment relief. These united front organs must be utilised for the establishment of an opposition and T.U. groups inside the reformist unions and for the strengthening of the already existing, and the organisation of new revolutionary unions.

6. The Dzenkyo must carry on energetic work to draw the women and young workers into the struggle, putting forward their special partial demands during strikes, disputes, etc. The women and young workers must be promoted to the leading organs of the strike struggle and the unions. It is likewise advisable to set up in the strike committees youth sub-committees, in order to consolidate the front of the strike struggle. The Dzenkyo must develop still more work for the establishment and to extend the youth sections in the unions and in the factories.

Similarly, the Dzenkyo must call women workers conferences, strengthen the women workers' committees in the industrial unions and in the factories. The conquest of the youth and the women workers must not be looked upon as the affair of the youth sections and women's committees alone. The Dzenkyo must call upon all its members for active work among the women and youth and must combat the underestimation and bureaucratic attitude towards this serious work.

7. Dzenkyo must commence energetic work systematically to train and educate cadres. The more active and militant workers, men and women, in the factories who have shown their mettle in the class struggle, must be promoted to trade union work. Advantage must be taken of all opportunities that present themselves to organise circles and schools for T.U. functionaries. It is likewise important to publish a number of pamphlets for the practical guidance of this work. It is also necessary to train cadres of T.U. functionaries for activities among the Korean, Chinese and Formosian workers.

8. The T.U. press must play an important part in the work of the Dzenkyo. In view of this it is necessary not only to increase the circulation of the central and of the local and factory papers, but also to improve their content. The T.U. press must not only be turned into a powerful weapon of self-criticism, a means for popularising the experience gained by the workers in their struggle in the country and the experience of the international trade union movement, but must also become a powerful weapon in the hands of the Dzenkyo for mobilising the masses to fight and expose the treacherous role of the reformists. The press must pay particular attention to questions of the day-to-day struggle, shedding light on the life of the workers. This can only be carried out successfully by the establishment of a network of worker-correspondents in the factories, mines and workshops. The trade union papers must systematically inform their readers on the international revolutionary movement and popularise the decisions of the R.I.L.U.

9. A determined struggle must be conducted against national antagonism which the bourgeoisie and the reformists further among the Japanese, Chinese and Korean workers in order to split the working class. The Dzenkyo must carry on systematic work among the Chinese and Koreans in Japan. It must be patiently explained to the Japanese workers that the struggle of the Korean and Chinese workers and peasants against Japanese imperialism, and the struggle of the Japanese workers for their immediate interests, are closely interconnected, and that victory is possible only on the basis of the united front with the workers in the Japanese colonies.

10. The Dzenkyo must conduct a systematic and stubborn fight against Japanese imperialist intervention in China, against the annexation of Manchuria, against the preparations for the intervention against the U.S.S.R. The Dzenkyo must relentlessly expose the treacherous role of the reformists in particular the "left" phrase-mongers (Sohyogikai Toicho Kyogikai), and likewise the role of their leader, the Amsterdam International, who support the invasion in China and the war preparations against the U.S.S.R. The Dzenkyo must mobilise the toiling masses for mass protest movements (strikes, demonstrations, refusal to transport troops and munitions, etc.) against the war in China. The Japanese workers must extend a helping hand to the heroic working class of China, fighting against the national and imperialist bourgeoisie. The workers, city poor, and toiling peasantry of Japan must organise a mass protest movement against the aggressive policy of Japanese imperialism, against the war

in China and for the defence of the Chinese Revolution and the U.S.S.R.

This struggle can only be successful if the Dzenkyo succeeds in linking it up with the struggle for the day-to-day interests of the workers, skilfully explaining to the masses that the war is being waged at the expense of the workers and peasants in the interests of the capitalists and landlords. In this struggle the Dzenkyo must concentrate its main forces in the war, transport and chemical industries.

The revolutionary trade unions of Japan, despite the white terror, since the Fifth Congress of the R.I.L.U. have achieved certain successes along the line laid down by the Fifth

Congress. The Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council expresses its firm conviction that the Dzenkyo, by mobilising the masses against Japanese imperialist intervention in China, by boldly leading the workers' struggle, energetically defending their vital interests, by winning more and more the broad masses of unorganised workers and rank and file members of the reformist unions, by fighting for the legal existence of the revolutionary unions, will become the powerful mass organisation of the Japanese working class and succeed in leading the broad masses of workers in the struggle for the immediate and final objects of the international revolutionary trade union movement, laid down by all the Congresses of the R.I.L.U. December 1931.

Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of China.

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

I. The economic crisis in China, deepened by the blows inflicted by the world crisis and the social-elemental calamities (drought of 1929-1930, floods in 1931), has assumed the character of a national-economic catastrophe. The four years of Kuomintang rule have led to the extreme plundering of the toiling masses, to the ruin and starvation of new tens of millions of people, to the strengthened rule of the imperialists, and the ground being prepared for the imperialist annexation of Manchuria by Japan, parts of Yunnan and Kuangsi by France, open military intervention, and the beginning of the complete division of China.

The national masses headed by the working class, waging a heroic struggle for the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution on a considerable part of the country, have established a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry in the form of **Soviets**. In this way Kuomintang China with its feudal exploitation, imperialist oppression, militarist plunder of the masses, stands opposed to Soviet China which is carrying out the agrarian revolution and the redivision of the lands, liberating the toiling masses from the yoke of imperialism and bourgeois-landlord reaction, saving millions from starvation, poverty and slavery. The victory of the Soviets, the failure of the Kuomintang anti-Soviet expeditions are caused above all by the organising and leading role of the proletariat; by the armed forces of the Revolution, —the Red Army which is heroically supported by the broad masses of the toilers; by the consistent application of the slogans of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution, which ensures the unification and consolidation of the revolutionary forces around the Soviets, and the mobilisation of the masses against the bourgeois-landlord bloc and imperialism.

The **Soviet movement**, the growth of the working class revolutionary struggle, and the revolutionisation of the masses of city poor, is coupled with a widespread wave of the anti-imperialist movement against the unbridled plunderous seizure of Manchuria by Japan who acts as the spearhead of world imperialism. The forces of international imperialism, concentrated in the key districts of China, are a tremendous factor directed against the national-emancipatory struggle of the Chinese people, constitute the chief obstacle to the further extension of the Soviet movement. This plays an immense part in the unequal development of the revolutionary movement in China.

In these conditions, the commencement of the complete division of China by the imperialists, the exposure of the Kuomintang anti-national policy, the growth and strengthening of Soviets and the Red Army—the present anti-imperialist movement, given the leading role of the working class, will develop into the struggle for the direct overthrow of imperialist rule, the Kuomintang power, and for the establishment of the Soviet Power throughout the whole of China. The struggle for the realisation of this revolutionary perspective is the fundamental task of the Chinese revolutionary T.U. Movement, which must act as the vanguard in the struggle of the masses for the integrity of China, its independence, for the revolutionary unification of the land.

II. The **Labour Movement of China** is experiencing a fresh upsurge. There is a continual increase in economic struggles. The workers of practically all industries are being drawn into the struggle (with a relative lagging by the

railwaymen and seamen). The territorial basis of the strike movement is extending. In addition to the large number of strikes and disputes of a defensive character, the counter-offensive economic struggles of the Chinese working class are increasing and becoming predominant. The economic struggle more and more frequently develops into the political struggle. There is an increasing number of strikes ending successfully or in a compromise in favour of the workers. In a number of cases the eight-hour working day is introduced by the workers regardless of official authorisation. The struggle of the unemployed and starving is developing. The broad working masses are acting as the vanguard in the anti-imperialist movement, etc. Such are the characteristic features of this upsurge.

Parallel with the militant actions, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, armed collisions, passive forms of the struggle (sabotage, go-slow, etc.) are applied. The present day strike movement in China is for the most part spontaneous.

In the Soviet districts the organisation and class-consciousness of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses is increasing. The trade unions and the Soviet Power are beginning consistently to carry out the eight-hour working day, to ensure the living minimum, to introduce social-insurance, labour protection, to improve the position of women and young workers etc.

III. In the struggle against the Revolution the Kuomintang, with the support of the imperialists, the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, in addition to terror, also has recourse to social and nationalist demagogy, to reformist deception of the workers and toilers. Endeavouring to distract the toiling masses from the struggle the Kuomintang publishes "agrarian" and "labour" laws, acts the farce of the National Assembly, promulgates Labour Bills, Factory Inspection Bills, etc. At the same time the Kuomintang exerts all efforts to destroy the working class organisations. The Kuomintang Trade Union Act (copied from the fascist), deprives the working class of all right to organise or fight. The "re-organisation" of the yellow unions being carried out by the Kuomintang, and the realisation of the Factory Act pursue the object of setting up an apparatus which, under the slogan of "collaboration between Labour and Capital" will bridle the militancy of the working masses. These same objects are pursued by the system of Kuomintang-police arbitration forced on the workers.

In its activities to disarm and decapitate the labour movement the Kuomintang relies on the officialdom of the yellow unions, the leaders of the countrymen's societies, brotherhoods, and on individual bribed elements among the workers, office workers and slum proletariat.

The yellow unions during the last few years have become considerably more active. The severe terror; mass unemployment, the altered composition of the workers through the proletarianized peasants, women and children, with the old-time proletarian cadres being squeezed out; the monopolistic position of the yellow unions in the extremely narrow limits of Kuomintang "legality"; the support and recognition of them by the organs of power and the employers; partial concessions made to them by the exploiters; their widespread social and nationalist demagogy; leaning on the foremen and

contractors; the mistakes and weaknesses of the Red Trade Unions, etc.—such are the chief reasons for the growth and strengthened influence of the yellow trade unions. The fact that the yellow Kuomintang unions have increased and become activated but once again, with particular insistence, confronts the Red Trade Unions with the task of conducting activities inside these unions to win the masses following them. This growth of the yellow trade unions to a certain extent reflects the desires of the working class to improve its material and legal standards, to organise and unite. But in the conditions of the Kuomintang rule and in view of the weakness of the red trade unions, they have as yet found no other form of organisation. The opposition of certain yellow unions to the "reorganisation" being carried out is one of the manifestations of this growing activity of the masses. The treacherous leadership of the yellow unions do all in their power to distract the masses from the class and anti-imperialist struggles, to degrade, to disorganise and decapitate them. Persuading this object the yellow leaders endeavour to restrain all dissatisfaction and action of the masses by submitting petitions, by arbitration, etc. simultaneously terrorising the masses, ascertaining and betraying to the police the active workers, and selling out strikes. This blackleg role frequently gives rise to spontaneous indignation among the workers and the membership, which in some cases goes to the extent of driving out the Kuomintang leaders. In most cases, however, it finds no organisational crystallisation and consolidation on the part of the Red trade unions.

IV. Despite the existence of a number of favourable objective conditions, the red trade unions, with the exception of those in the Soviet districts, are extremely weak, and their organisational position greatly lags behind the growing militancy and struggle of the masses. To a considerable extent the old leadership of the A.C.F.L.U., which at one time shared the line of Li Li-sien and his petty-bourgeois adventurism and repudiation of mass proletarian organisation, demanding their liquidation, and which later took up the right wing opportunist liquidationist stand of Lo Chang-lung, were to blame for this weakening of the Red Trade Unions. Only after the exposure of Li Li-sienism and Lo Chang-lungism, and the change in the A.C.F.L.U. leadership at the beginning of the year, the latter commenced to develop factory work, to set up T.U. groups, to intensify work in the yellow unions, to draw in the strike struggle and re-establish the trade unions. Although an improvement is to be observed in the work of the revolutionary T.U. movement, it is far from being complete. The existing Red Unions cannot yet be called mass organisations, their place is taken by the T.U. apparatus and small groups in individual enterprises, or else by semi-legal auxiliary organisations. This position of the Red Trade Unions is coupled with the great fluidity of membership, with a partial loss of connections with the outlying districts, inadequate internal work, duplicating the methods and slogans of the Communist Party, by top leadership, and manifestly insufficient connections with the masses. Most of the Chinese working class strike struggles took place without the leadership and participation of the Red Trade Unions. The mistakes and shortcomings of the Chinese Red Unions, recorded by the Fifth Congress, are far from having been eliminated to this very day.

The intensified terror and the severe break-ups experienced by the Red Unions during the current year, the mistakes of the A.C.F.L.U., the extremely inadequate mass work in the factories, etc., constitute the chief reasons for the grave position of the Red Unions and their great lagging behind the struggle of the working masses.

V. The basic tasks which must be fulfilled by the revolutionary T.U. movement of China at the present time are:

1. Greatest possible development, organisation, and heading of economic struggles, the re-establishment, building up and the transformation of the Red Trade Unions into mass organisations.

2. Maximum extension and heading of the anti-imperialist movement, breaking the chains of the Kuomintang regime.

3. Energetic struggle for the determined sections of the Chinese working class, for the disintegration of the yellow unions, and to win the working masses organised by them.

4. Extension and strengthening of the unions in Soviet China, the props of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

All this must be subordinated to the basic task of the revolutionary T.U. movement of China—the task of support-

ing and developing the Soviet movement, the task of the triumph of the Soviet, anti-imperialist, and agrarian revolution.

VI. In order to carry out these tasks, the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council draws the A.C.F.L.U.'s attention to the following points of work:

1. The present anti-imperialist movement can be successful only if the entire Chinese working class is drawn into the struggle, if it heads this movement, if, finally it consolidates with the real and most effective anti-imperialist force—the Soviet movement. To a considerable extent the realisation of this task depends upon the energy and the mass work of the Red Trade Unions. The initiation and organisation of the anti-imperialist strike movement, combining it with the struggle for partial economic demands and against the Kuomintang regime, the establishment of mass anti-imperialist committees and organisations in all factories, railways, streets, holding meetings, mass meetings, demonstrations, etc.—such are the various forms and methods of rousing the masses to the struggle against intervention the Kuomintang and its national betrayal, for the Soviet Power. In order to accomplish this, the Red Unions must:

a) Take the maximum advantage of all possibilities which present themselves, so as to extend and deepen the movement, to strengthen and extend their own organisation and win the leading role in the existing mass labour organisations.

b) Draw up (at broad conferences and mass meetings) and popularise, a programme of economic and political demands for men and women workers employed in Japanese enterprises.

c) In all possible ways prepare for and extend the strike struggle in Japanese enterprises, striving to turn it into the general political anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist strike.

d) Organise the movement against the closing down of Japanese factories and the mass dismissals. Demand for the workers dismissed from Japanese factories, a year's wages insurance at the expense of the Kuomintang and the municipalities, the opening of free soup-kitchens, no payment of rent, the confiscated Japanese goods to be converted for their use, etc.

e) Penetrate, strengthen themselves and win the leadership in the various anti-Japanese detachments and divisions existing in various enterprises and in the yellow trade unions.

f) Win and head the Japanese boycott movement of the broad masses of city poor, studentry and workers, and consistently carrying it out through pickets, committees, patrols, etc., oppose the half-way methods of the bourgeois boycott.

g) By rousing the masses, not only against Japanese but also against the whole of world imperialism, by transferring the spontaneous anti-Japanese movement to the higher level of the general anti-imperialist movement, continually expose the treacherous role of the Kuomintang and its measures against the national emancipatory struggle.

h) Demand the arming of the workers and organise their military training in the Red Trade Unions.

i) Tear the mask from the yellow and Kuomintang unions which call for a "united national front" at the expense of the workers' interests.

j) Carry on widespread propaganda of the Soviet movement and its anti-imperialist and agrarian slogans, calling upon the masses to support the Soviets and join the Red Army.

k) Popularise the achievements of the U.S.S.R. its peaceful policy. In view of the heightened danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R., in connection with the seizure of Manchuria, the Red Unions must mobilise the masses under the slogan of "Defend the Soviet Union, the only bulwark in the struggle against world imperialism".

2. The intensification of the struggle for Soviets, the growing spontaneous economic and anti-imperialist movement of the Chinese working class, confronts the A.C.F.L.U. and the Red Trade Unions in all sharpness with the task of the greatest possible development and heading of all revolutionary actions of the masses. For this purpose the Red Trade Unions must:

a) Concentrate all existing forces to organise the working-class counter-offensive, applying various forms of the struggle (strikes, go-slow movements, demonstrations, meetings, etc.), according to the concrete conditions in each district, in each industry, in each individual instance.

b) The Red Trade Unions must exert all efforts to win and head the spontaneous strike movement. For this they

must take part in each spontaneous strike, formulating the demands of the strikers, helping the workers better to organise it (mass strike committees, pickets, collections, etc.), transferring it from the lower to the higher forms (from the go-slow strike to the developed strike, demonstrations, the presentation of political slogans by the workers), must expose and sweep aside the yellow leaders who join in the strike, and win the confidence and the support of the workers by their energy and self-sacrificing struggle.

c) The Red Trade Unions must exert particular efforts to extend all strikes that break out in one factory to groups of kindred enterprises, from groups to the whole industry. Simultaneously the Red Unions must exert all efforts to develop and organise the solidarity movement (in the form of demonstrations by workers in neighbouring factories, two and three hour strikes etc.).

d) In addition to taking part in the spontaneous strikes, the Red Unions must conduct independent work to prepare for and thoroughly organise strikes in the largest enterprises, endeavouring to carry them out in such a manner that they serve as an example for the broad working masses (exact account of concrete conditions and sentiments of workers, timely organising the elaboration of workers' demands, establishment of fighting committees and broad strike committees elected by all the workers, mass picketing, demonstrations, the organisation of support and solidarity in other factories, resolute struggle against arbitration, relentless exposing of the yellow leaders and the Kuomintang regime, etc.).

e) The trade unions must practise the transfer of groups of T.U. functionaries, and rank and file union members from neighbouring factories, workshops, and districts, to the most important fields of the struggle.

f) The unions must widely popularize the establishment of mass strike committees (100—200 members) having the strongest possible leading cadres, winning and turning them, after the strikes are over, into factory committees and other permanent organs of the workers in the factories.

g) Bearing in view the increased militant sentiments of the workers, and likewise the frequent suppression of strikes by the police, troops, and hired thugs during strikes, the unions must organise mass pickets in order to turn them into permanent organisations of workers' self-defence.

h) Call conferences and delegate meetings of representatives from the striking factories and factories which have been on strike already, to study the experience of the struggle and to propagate tried forms and methods (decisions of the Strassbourg Conference).

i) All the workers who have shown their militancy during strikes and other movements must be drawn into the Red Unions, the auxiliary organisations, and their leadership, at the same time systematic work being carried on for their political and class education.

j) The Red Trade Unions must start a campaign to organise strike funds in the factories and industries. For this purpose they must start collections (strike tunsers) both among the workers as well as among the city poor and studentry, regularly reporting on the fund to the workers.

3. The Red Trade Unions must organise the unemployed movement against the employers, the Kuomintang and the Government, and link up their struggle with the struggle of the workers in jobs against the closing down of factories and mass dismissals, lengthened working hours and rationalisation measures, which throw the workers out of production. To accomplish this, it is necessary to consolidate the unemployed around their elected committees, which should be closely connected with the Red Trade Unions, but must act as independent organisations based on the masses of unemployed. Unemployed Committees must be formed wherever there are large numbers of unemployed. For this purpose meetings must be called of them, and programmes of demands for the unemployed should be drawn up and committees elected, turning down the practice of nomination. Drawing the masses of unemployed into the struggle, and leaning on them, the Committees must set up sub-committees to carry out their decisions (organisational, administrative, cultural-educational, housing, industrial control). The unemployed Committees must organise the moving-in of unemployed workers evicted from their barracks and houses, must organise the seizure of food from warehouses (particularly government), meetings, demonstrations, processions, unemployed marches to the centre of the cities, to the town authorities, the Kuomintang committees,

yellow unions, forcing them to assist the unemployed. In addition they must call upon the unemployed to join the Red Army which fights for the freeing of the toiling masses from hunger, unemployment, and slavery. The struggle of the millions of starving must be linked up with the unemployed movement in the towns and villages, under the leadership of the labour organisations.

All the work of the Unemployed Committees must be filled with concrete, comprehensible contents, which, given strong pressure by the masses, may partially alleviate the position of the unemployed. The unemployed movement must be organised on the basis of a special programme of demands. All the unemployed must be got to take part in drawing up this programme. The following to be taken as a basis for the programme of demands:

a) Permanent financial assistance to the unemployed, free soup-kitchens for the unemployed and their children at the expense of the State, the capitalists, and the municipalities.

b) Complete exemption from the payment of taxes, rents; warm clothing and fuel to be issued.

c) Increased dismissal benefits.

d) Not a single tunsers for foreign debts and war loans. All money to be converted for unemployment assistance.

e) Confiscate the rice stocks, giving them over to the unemployed and starving.

f) Against special taxes and deductions from the workers' wages for the unemployed and starving relief; assistance to be organised at the expense of the propertied classes.

4. In exposing the anti-labour character of the Kuomintang Factory Law, the Red Trade Unions must not restrict themselves to general agitation against it, but, taking the individual clauses of the law (eight hour working day, weekly rest day, etc.), must call upon the masses to carry them out unofficially, i.e., by revolutionary methods, at the same time exposing the attempt of the Kuomintang to deceive the working class with its demagogic Law. As for the Parity factory councils, established under this law, they must be opposed by the factory committees. Simultaneously the Red Unions must call workers' meetings, discuss and draw up at them a programme of demands (mandate) and elect representatives, opposing them as the representatives of the masses to the nominated members of the parity councils. The elected representatives, refusing to participate in the labours of these councils, must restrict themselves simply to presenting the workers' demands contained in the mandate to the capitalists and the Kuomintang.

5. The large numbers of workers in the yellow unions brings up with extreme acuteness the question of winning these masses. The growth of the strike movement, the growing dissatisfaction and spontaneous indignation of the masses against the treacherous leadership of the Kuomintang trade unions, the "reorganisation" carried out by the Kuomintang etc.,—all these create favourable conditions for the conduct of activities inside the yellow unions by the A.C.F.L.U.

The Red Trade Unions must realise once and for all that the breach between the masses and the leadership of the yellow unions will be deepened and widened the more speedily, the better the Red Unions carry on their work among the working masses. In view of this, the Red Unions must:

a) Carry out indeed the united front tactic from below, putting forward concrete demands and slogans in each factory, opposing them to the demagogy of the yellow T.U. bureaucrats, exposing by concrete facts the treachery of these bureaucrats, mobilising the masses for the defence of these demands, against the yellow unions and the Kuomintang demagogy.

b) Pay particular attention in differentiating the approach to the various unions, taking into consideration all the peculiarities and the conditions in each industry and each union; put forward, not general abstract slogans, but concrete and individualise them in accordance with the conditions in each union.

c) Effect a definite turn as regards work inside the yellow Kuomintang trade unions. Despite the decisions taken and the corresponding resolutions, there is still a most harmful underestimation among the R.I.L.U. supporters of the significance of work inside the Kuomintang yellow unions and the decisions taken have not yet been put into practice. This despite the fact that in view of the absence of reformist traditions among the Chinese working class and the absence of a strong rank and file apparatus in the yellow unions, in some organisations of these unions, in the process of work inside these organisations, it is possible to get the Kuomintang leaders replaced and driven out, and opposition and revolutionary

elements elected in their place. The conquest of the masses following the yellow Kuomintang unions is possible, particularly in view of the frequent economic disputes and high militancy of the Chinese working masses.

In the first place it is necessary to continue and strengthen enlightenment work among the R.I.L.U. supporters, making them realise the great importance of going into and working inside those Kuomintang yellow unions which are mass bodies. In these unions the R.I.L.U. supporters must group around themselves all opposition and revolutionary elements. They must get the organisation of a mass T.U. Opposition, for this purpose having recourse likewise to the formation of clubs, schools, courses, mutual aid societies country-men's societies, brotherhoods and other organisations existing legally or semi-legally, within which it is possible to organise the masses. At the same time it is necessary to carry on continual work in the country-men's societies and brotherhoods, fighting against their provincialism and reactionary features, working to draw the workers belonging to them into the class trade union movement.

d) Carrying out the leadership of the T.U. opposition, the Red Trade Unions through it must put forward concrete demands which arise from the situation and conditions existing in each given factory and in each union, fighting for their realisation despite the leadership of the yellow unions.

e) The chief slogans should be: drive out the nominated officials, complete elective principle in all organs of the unions, expel the Kuomintang officials, foremen, contractors, etc., for the unions, refuse to pay membership dues or wage deductions for the yellow unions, complete independence from Kuomintang patronage, right to strike, etc.

f) The red unions must develop work to expose arbitration, showing to the masses the results of each separate instance of Kuomintang interference in disputes in the factories, and mobilising them against the Kuomintang.

g) Day to day work must be carried on against the liquidators (Lo Chan-lung supporters included), Trotzkite Chau Du-su elements, who utilise their old connections to carry on undermining work, and help the Kuomintang in its struggle against the Labour Movement.

h) Fighting for the immediate fulfilment of individual points of the Kuomintang legislation regardless of official channels, putting forward concrete demands (in particular, insurance for dismissed workers, sick insurance, etc., by the employers and the yellow unions), transferring the petition campaign to a higher level (demonstrations, etc.), to expose the treacherous leadership in each concrete instance.

Only by winning the masses belonging to the yellow unions, the brotherhoods, etc., by strengthening their activities among them, extending their factory groups, will the Red Unions be able to rouse these masses for the struggle, to extend their influence and strengthen their organisation.

6. The organisational position of the red unions at the present time is such that it does not at all ensure the required leadership for the growing working class struggle in China. Recording that the most important condition for the triumph of the revolutionary working class struggle is the re-establishment, strengthening, and extension of the Red trade unions, the Eighth Session of the R.I.L.U. Central Council instructs the A.C.F.L.U.:

a) In order to consolidate its forces and strengthen its influence among the basic proletarian masses, to concentrate work in the key industries—textiles, silk, mining, metallurgical (arsenals), railway and marine transport—in the most important industrial centres (Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin, Manchuria, Canton-Hongkong, etc.) and districts bordering on the Soviet territories (Pingsiang, Tae, Changhsa, Nanchang, Tsindeching, and others) and likewise among the agricultural labourers, particularly in those places where they are concentrated in large numbers. Particular attention must be paid to activities among the women and young workers; it must be realised that the latter constitute about 50% of the Chinese working class.

b) To transfer the centre of work of the Red unions to the factories, to organise day-to-day concrete leadership for the rank and file nuclei of the Red trade unions, and to strengthen them by sending most of the functionaries of the T.U. apparatus to work in the factories.

c) To build the work of the rank and file organisations based on the concrete conditions in each factory, subordinating it to the fundamental task, the conquest of the masses, extending and strengthening the Red trade unions.

d) Where there are large groups of Red T.U. members

they must be reorganised into small nuclei—maintaining connections between one another through the general leadership—in order to unite around each such nucleus the broad masses of the given factory, getting the members of the Red trade unions to be included in all the workers' representations existing and formed in the factories (factory committee, strike committee, etc.).

e) Where the groups are small (2 or 3 members) a group of workers should be set up around each Red Union member, making use of all forms of unification for this purpose. Through such groups to organise day-to-day connections with the masses, linking up the work of these groups with the general leadership.

f) To draw up concrete demands arising from the conditions of the given factory; mobilising around these demands, on the basis of the united front from below, all the workers, the unions must head the struggle of the masses and in the process of the struggle win new scores of members for the Red Unions.

g) Extending the network of rank and file nuclei of the Red Unions in the factories, re-establishing lost connections, ascertaining, gathering, and organising individual members of the red unions, setting up new groups, the Red unions must build the whole of their work on the basis of proletarian democracy (elective principle, reporting, etc.), combining it with the conditions of illegal existence.

h) Cadres of the T.U. movement play a very big part in re-inforcing all the work of the Red Trade Unions. New cadres of leaders must be boldly put forward from among the most militant men and women workers who have developed in the process of the struggle. By organising a network of courses, schools, circles, etc., tens and hundreds of new leaders must be trained, particular attention to be paid to training cadres from among the young workers.

i) It is necessary to re-establish and regularly publish the central organ of the A.C.F.L.U. and the industrial papers ("small papers"), shedding light in them on the position of the workers, experience of the strike struggle, popularising the best forms and methods of the struggle, etc. A network of worker correspondents to be formed around the papers, continual activities being carried on among them.

j) An improved quality of leadership is demanded by the task of raising all work to a higher level, of strengthening the rank and file T.U. organisations. In view of this the leadership of the A.C.F.L.U. and the Shanghai Trades Council must be strengthened, in particular by drawing in the best rank and file functionaries who have won authority among the masses and experience in the strike struggle.

VII. The Trade Unions in Soviet China serve as the most important mass prop of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. By the widely-developed struggle for their direct economic interests, drawing the working masses into the building up of the Soviet State and the Red Army, the trade unions create the connections between the proletarian vanguard, which directly effects the State hegemony of the proletariat, and the broad masses of the toilers.

Consolidating and organising the millions of proletarians and semiproletarians, educating the masses in the struggle for the complete realisation of the tasks in the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution for the further development of the revolution into the socialist revolution, the trade-unions in the Soviet districts act as "a school for unification, a school for solidarity, a school for the defence of their interests, a school for rule, a school for administration, a school for Communism" (Lenin).

At the given stage, the most important task of the unions is to fight for the most consistent realisation of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, to strengthen and extend the Soviet Power and the Red Army. For this purpose the trade unions actively participate in Soviet construction, strengthening the Soviets and the State apparatus by promoting workers, helping the Soviets in their mass work, in carrying out workers' control of production, in the struggle against the landlords, capitalists, kulaks, in the struggle against profiteering, etc. In this, however, the trade unions must by no means take the stand of administering and substituting themselves for the organs of Soviet power.

Participating in the general struggle for the realisation of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution in China, overcoming all narrow craft and "trade-unionistic" tendencies, the trade unions in the Soviet districts must at the same time

most resolutely develop work to defend the day-to-day economic interests of the working class. The defensive functions of the trade unions must not be considered as "auxiliary" or secondary tasks. A merciless war must be declared against the viewpoint still existing in the Soviet districts that "it is impossible not to neglect T.U. work in war time", etc. The trade unions must be guided by the Leninist line that "the masses are drawn into the movement, energetically participate in it, highly value it and develop heroism, valour, insistence and loyalty to the great cause only when the economic position of the workers is improved".

VIII. On the basis of mobilising the masses around their day-to-day economic and political needs the Trade Unions in the Chinese Soviet districts must:

1. Take into consideration that up to the present, in a number of Soviet districts, the workers are still unorganised in the class trade unions, and therefore the chief task of T.U. activities for the immediate future is to organise new unions and extend and strengthen those already existing. In the first place it is necessary to organise an agricultural workers' union, coolies' union, union of handicrafts workers, and commercial employees.

In addition to the agricultural proletarians the agricultural labourers' unions must also accept for membership the semi-proletarians, but not peasants, and not poor peasants, who sell their labour power only as an auxiliary source of income. The agricultural labourers' unions must accept for membership those semi-proletarians who although they possess farms, are compelled systematically from year to year, to work for hire.

In those Soviet districts where the working class is especially weak numerically, and where there are no other unions the agricultural labourers' union must, in social composition, be predominantly homogeneously—proletarian:

The organisation of an agricultural workers' union will serve as the best guarantee for the consistent and determined realisation of the agrarian revolution, while the leadership of the broad masses of peasantry can be carried out, in particular, by the agricultural workers joining the groups of poor peasants.

In the handicrafts workers' unions the apprentices must receive particular attention, apprentices' groups or sections, being organised, like in West Fukiang.

2. In setting up new unions it is necessary from the very outset to keep exploiter element out of the unions. The existing unions must be purged of the bosses, foremen (Guntow) and kulaks, who in some places have managed to penetrate even the leading organs of the unions. At the same time, in addition to the basic masses, the workers who have been squeezed out of production, and the farm labourers who have received land in the realisation of the agrarian revolution, must also be drawn into the unions.

3. The task of proletarianising the leading trade union organs, ensuring the predominating majority in them for worker militants who have come to the fore during the course of the class struggle, must be carried out resolutely and insistently in actual fact. All attempts to depart from this line on the pretexts of the workers' "illiteracy", etc., must be put down. The women and young workers must be drawn into the leadership of the trade unions.

4. A fundamental task of the trade unions in the Soviet districts for the immediate future is to gain the complete and universal realisation of the workers' chief demands, provided for by the Soviet labour legislation: eight hour working day, equal pay for equal work for men and women, minimum wage, labour protection, non-contributory social insurance, etc. It must be borne in mind that without active assistance, control and initiative by the organised workers the Soviet organs will be unable to realise the labour legislation. The resistance of the private capitalist employers, particularly the numerous small exploiters, and likewise the bureaucratic distortions by the State organs, will only be overcome in the process of a stubborn struggle by the broad toiling masses themselves.

5. In order to mobilise the working masses around the basic demands of Soviet Labour legislation, widespread, well prepared campaigns must be carried out to discuss and conclude labour agreements with the various employers, consolidating the gains of the working class in the Soviet districts. The agreement campaign must embrace the largest possible numbers of workers, first and foremost the agricultural, handicrafts workers and coolies—such are the immediate tasks of the trade unions.

6. The trade unions must also fight for the workers' demands which have not been provided for by the labour legislation, such as: wage increases, establishing that workers be taken on and dismissed through the trade unions, regulating the position of apprentices, reduced rents for workers, coolies and handicrafts workers not exploiting hired labour, housing first and foremost the workers in the houses that have been confiscated from the exploiters, etc.

7. For the agricultural workers the unions must fight for such vital economic demands as improved food, housing conditions, etc. In presenting the demands the unions must employ a different approach to the kulak-employers who continually and systematically exploit labour power, and the middle peasant employers who have recourse to the employment of auxiliary labour power.

8. One of the chief tasks for the immediate period is work to organise and defend the interests of the handicrafts and commercial apprentices—these most exploited sections of the handicrafts workers. It is necessary to fight for the prohibition of abuse of workers, for reduced apprenticeship periods, special hours to be assigned for attending the general educational schools, etc.

9. Activities among the unemployed are extremely important. The unions, through the Soviets, must get material relief for the unemployed at the expense of the employers, simultaneously outlining jointly with the Soviets concrete forms for assisting the unemployed (establishment of a special fund, etc.), setting up unemployed guilds working to supply the Red army and other social needs, to facilitate the transfer of enterprises confiscated for sabotage to workers' artels, etc.

10. Essential conditions for the vitality of the Red Unions are that they possess a mass character and proletarian democracy. The complete elective principle in the T.U. organs, regular reporting at delegate and general meetings, the right to recall unsuitable functionaries, regular congresses with reports by the county and district committees and the Soviet Bureau of the A.C.F.L.U. on the basis of a widely developed self-criticism, a merciless fight against bureaucratism, administrative tendencies and the top-heaviness of the T.U. apparatus—such should become the fundamental method in T.U. in work. Only on the basis of widely developed inner-union democracy is it possible successfully to fight the counterrevolutionary elements which have attached themselves to the leadership of the unions (social-democrats, "A.B.", "Kuomintang reorganisers", Trotskyists—Chen-Du-su-ists, Lo Chang lun-ists, etc.), and likewise to overcome the right wing opportunist and "left" Li Li-siang ideology.

11. Serious attention must be paid to the political educational activities of the trade unions. The organisation of a network of clubs, circles, courses and schools, the development of the T.U. press, establishment of mass T.U. literature, pamphlets, leaflets, posters etc.—such are the means which will help to raise the political level and class consciousness of the trade union membership.

12. One of the most important tasks that the trade unions must undertake is military work: concrete assistance to the Red Army, both by strengthening its proletarian basis, as well as by putting forward cadres, organising workers' detachments, detachments of women workers as nurses, by propaganda and undermining work on the Kuomintang territories, etc.

13. The labour organisations in the Soviet districts must give all possible assistance to the workers on Kuomintang territories by collecting and sending funds, organising special schools and short-term courses to train officials for the Chinese white districts, preparing literature, etc.

In view of the open imperialist intervention and national betrayal by the Kuomintang, the existence of two dictatorships—a bourgeois-landlord, and a workers' and peasants' dictatorship, the revolutionary T.U. Movement of China must subordinate its work to the task of actively assisting the Soviet movement. By fighting against right and "left" opportunists, against opportunist passivity, against liquidationism, which screens itself with the slogan of establishing "intermediate unions", neither red nor yellow, by strengthening their organisations, winning the masses and heading their struggle, the Red Unions of China will be able to become organisations uniting the basic masses of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, rousing and organising them to the struggle for the victorious way out of the crisis, hunger and poverty, for the triumph of the Soviets throughout the whole of China.

Immediate Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of India.

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

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

New Wave of Economic Struggles.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Struggle of the Masses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Immediate Tasks of the Indian T.U. Movement.

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

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

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

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

The revolutionary wing must not take up a passive at-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The War

The War and Social Democracy.

By M. Louis (Paris).

War is here. War has already commenced in the Far East and its extension is only a question of time. What is now taking place in Manchuria is the immediate preparation for armed intervention against the Soviet Union; is already the commencement of intervention. And intervention is being prepared not only in the East but also in the West.

And the II. International is here fulfilling its historical mission as the most important social buttress of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the preparation, organising and carrying out of intervention and war. **The parties of social fascism are united in their efforts to disorganise the activity of the working class, and the revolutionary fight of the proletariat against intervention and war, and to disarm the working class.** Among other means, they wish to achieve this aim by representing the **League of Nations** as an instrument of peace, as a weapon in the fight against war; by creating the illusion among the working class that the League of Nations can and will prevent war and intervention. This standpoint is most clearly formulated in the recent appeal of the National Joint Council representing the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, the National Executive of the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party.

"If the nations of the world take no action to uphold the covenant of the League of Nations they will thereby destroy this collective system of world law . . . The National Joint Council, therefore, urges the Government to request the Council of the League of Nations immediately to consider the advisability of calling upon all Members of the League and Signatories of the Peace Pact to withdraw their Ministers or Ambassadors from Tokyo . . . It the Japanese Government, in defiance of the public opinion of the world, continues the war, our Government will be obliged, in conformity with its undertakings as a Signatory of the Covenant (Art. 16), to propose to the Special Assembly of the League whatever co-operative and graduated measures of financial and economic constraint may be necessary—in association and agreement with the United States and the Members of the League—to restore peace, and to ensure a just settlement of all outstanding questions between Japan and China, on the basis of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Nine Power Treaty and the Pact of Paris."

It is not without interest to note that precisely the "Left" socialists put forward the no less criminal thesis that the imperialist governments themselves can and will prevent war. The Vienna "**Arbeiter-Zeitung**", **Maxton** and **Brailsford** in England, have proclaimed the new truth, that the **imperialist governments** of the other countries could stop Japanese imperialism in its robber campaign. This new truth is to serve to hamper the activity of the working class.

Therefore, the "Disarmament" Conference is represented by all parties of the II. International as a real pacifist action, and **Vandervelde**, as representative of the II. International, **Citrine** and **Jouhaux**, as representatives of the Amsterdam International, therefore go to Geneva in order to dish up the old phrases of the Basle Manifesto. The slogan of the German and Austrian social fascists "No more War!" serves the same purpose. Disarmament-Conference-Pacifism is to serve to disarm and disorganise the working class.

A common feature of the strategy and tactics of the social democratic parties of all countries is that the war in the Far East is represented as being an **isolated colonial war** which could only take place in the colonial country, in China, which could only be waged by Japan, where there is no democracy and no proper public opinion. This point of view is represented most openly and cynically by the secretary of the Amsterdam International Schevenals. He has proclaimed the new truth of social fascism by announcing that the problem of disarmament, of peace, should be **confined to Europe**.

The social fascists hide from the masses the fundamental fact that the war in the Far East threatens not only China, not only the Japanese workers, and not only the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, but also **the working class of every country**.

At the same time, the social fascist parties and the reformist trade union bureaucracy seek to foster the idea among the masses, that war in some countries means good business for other countries; that war means new orders, more jobs, higher wages. They promote the idea among the masses that war can bring the end of the crisis, can do away with unemployment. That war is a good business for the armament concerns, for the financial oligarchy, for the capitalists, nobody will deny for a moment. But the world war showed what war means to the workers. War does not mean work, higher wages, but hunger, the misery of the trenches, killed, cripples, widows and orphans. But **Jouhaux** declared at the Vienna Congress of the II. International in July last:

"As regards disarmament, the trade unions have become more moderate. We must adapt ourselves to circumstances. In addition, one must especially remember that the workers will have to make big sacrifices in the event of a limitation or abolition of the manufacture of armaments. It might mean an increase of unemployment, deprivations and sacrifices."

These truths from the lips of Jouhaux have become the common property of the II. and Amsterdam Internationals. And when the social democratic factory councils in the Leuna works promote war production, when the social democratic members of the Hamburg town council support the transport of munitions, they are only carrying out the instructions of the II. International. Hundreds of ships with cargoes of war material, arms, and munitions are leaving Danzig, Hamburg, London, Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Cherbourg, Dunkirk, Bremen, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and the Scandinavian ports. And the Central Committee of the Transport Workers International records with "concern" the fact of war, and decides, in the event of the war developing further—to convene a fresh meeting.

Another common feature of the strategy and tactic of the II. International is that they "**criticise**" the rival imperialists but support their own imperialist bourgeoisie. **Lansbury** uses sharp words against Japanese imperialism, because the latter jeopardises the English interests in China. But he supports MacDonald's government on all questions of foreign policy. And **Paul Boncour** is the attorney of French imperialism in the League of Nations. And the French socialists support the foreign policy of **Tardieu** and do not breathe a word of criticism of the Franco-Japanese war alliance, of Tardieu's offer of an alliance to England, well knowing that these alliances mean war. The policy of **defence of native country**, the war preparations are often carried out in complicated forms. The German social democrats boast of the valuable services they rendered in the war, and support Hindenburg, the military hero. The Austro-Marxists take the Japanese socialists under their protection, well knowing that they support the imperialist robber war.

It is as clear as daylight that the first step to intervention against the land in which Socialism is being successfully built, has already been made. And what is the II. International doing? **Its main thesis is that no war threatens the Soviet Union.** All organs of the II. International, from the Berlin "Vorwärts" to the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung", seek to lull the vigilance of the working class by means of this criminal thesis.

At Geneva **Litvinov** is fighting for peace. The II. International simply sneers at his efforts. The Soviet government is endeavouring to turn aside the Japanese provocations. The II. International maintains silence regarding these provocations, and the "Vorwärts" declares that the Soviet Union is just as imperialistic towards China as is Japan.

In 1914, the social democracy did not prepare, did not organise the war. At that time it supported the war which the bourgeoisie had organised and prepared. Now, however, the social fascists organise and prepare the war. The fight against intervention and war is also a fight against social fascism, a fight to win the workers who are still under the influence of the bourgeois socialist parties of imperialist war and intervention.

The Treachery of the Japanese Social Democracy.

By Akimoto (Tokio).

Japanese social democracy has positively outdone itself by its cynical and indescribably impudent propagation of the "ideals" of Japanese imperialism. Not only has Japanese social democracy shown itself as the lackey of the most reactionary regime and policy in existence, this social democracy who hitherto roosted in police stations and large business firms, is now appearing in the garb of a preacher of "great national ideals", and is singing the praises of the Mikado, the predatory Japanese finance capital and the bestial military clique.

This is not August 4, 1914. This something far greater. Through the mouth of Japanese social fascism, the **Second International** bears evidence that its role is the role of a base **instigator and provocateur** of another world slaughter, of anti-Soviet intervention, of an imperialistic redistribution and enslavement of the whole world.

At the beginning of the predatory occupation of **Manchuria**, the general secretary of the **Siakai Minsei-to** (social democratic party) declared:

"The intervention in Manchuria is not of an imperialistic nature, because even socialist Japan will have to fight for the necessary raw material for its industry, whereas it is now in the hands of America, Great Britain and Russia."

How can there be any talk about the independence of the Chinese people, when Japanese capitalism stands in need of coal, iron, shells and guns, when it stands in need of a big sharp knife, to be plunged at the convenient moment into the body of the U.S.S.R., when it stands in need of iron teeth to fight its rivals in the arena of world plunder? Eyes scratched out, heads torn off, children murdered, women violated, thousands of the poorest Chinese dying, Japanese workers and peasants converted into executioners of their own and other people's freedom,—all this is socialism à la Mikado, all this is justice personified!

"Cut the throat of victorious socialism, cut down the conquered peoples, cut down all and sundry, whoever stands in the way of our own imperialism",—such is now the war call of the Second International, frankly proclaimed by the Japanese social fascists. They were the **first** to say so, because the Japanese guns are already at work.

Workers, just listen to the bloody sermon of these scoundrels!

"Imperialism, is capitalistic and at the same time national, because imperialism has not only amassed wealth for its bourgeoisie, but has also raised the standard of living of the people of the whole country."

"In the present world situation the standard of living of the proletariat is very different in the different countries."

"Under these circumstances, the union of the world proletariat is very difficult. American trade unions oppose immigration of Japanese workers, and Japanese workers now resident in America meet with a decidedly nationalistic reception. This being so, it is impossible for Japanese and American workers to unite, no matter what Japanese and American exporters say about Japanese-American friendship. This is due to the fact that the working class of America is conscious of its class, and at the same time also of its nationality.

"The present U.S.S.R. has decidedly a national form... Stalin declares that the national and international tasks are not opposed to each other, but are one and indivisible. This is demagogic pure and simple. Trotsky said on this subject—construction of socialism in one country is national narrowness. **He is more right than Stalin... The U.S.S.R. goes in for dumping wheat and sugar to get money... And the whole burden is transferred to the shoulders of the peasants. The Five-Year Plan of the U.S.S.R. is undoubtedly a plan for the construction of consistent state socialism. The U.S.S.R. is nothing but a Great-Russia State. It is aid that the U.S.S.R. is a voluntary union, based on equal rights, with the republics of the Ukraine, White Russia, Uzbekistan, etc. But in reality, the other Republics are politically and economic-**

ally absolutely under the coercive rule of the Great-Russia nation. It is Communist demagoguery to say that the U.S.S.R. is based on the principle of national equality...

Quite possible is the formation of an International in the sense of simple friendly union or mutual aid, and with regard to the introduction of labour legislation, provided the proletariat of all countries does not demand criminal international unity of the fighting front. The Second International, the Amsterdam International and the International Labour Office are all of them internationals in this sense. But the driving force of socialism lies not in the international, but in the fighting capacity of the proletariat of one country. In other words, in the first stage, socialism is accomplished on a national scale, and in the second stage on an international scale.

"The Comintern contemplated **simultaneous accomplishment of both, mixing up the two stages: the Comintern's deadly mistake arises precisely out of this.**"

"... we are a class party and, at the same time, a national party, in the sense that our aim is to build up a socialist Japan." (Kaidzo, December 1931.)

They have the nerve to write about improvements in the standard of life of the workers by imperialism at a time when hunger, poverty and unemployment have become a scourge in all capitalist countries, when millions of workers and peasants in Japan are deprived of their last handful of rice, when the unemployed are dying of starvation in the streets and deprived of all assistance. The Japanese textile workers, locked up in the barracks of the employers like white slaves, receive a pitiful 15 yen per month. This is described as an "improvement of the situation".

The II International pretends that it "does not know" its Japanese disciples and adherents. This is pure bunk! Did not the chairman of the II International, **Vandervelde**, praise these scoundrels in his report on his tour in China? Have they not in common their brutal fascist and ineradicable police hatred of the U.S.S.R.?

The stranglers of Korea, Formosa and China, with the inherent cynicism of police hirelings, state that it is not Japan but the U.S.S.R. which is the "prison of nations". The country of socialism which has put into power and at the head of its economy proletarians from the Ukraine, farm hands from the Caucasus, collective farmers from White Russia and toilers from Uzbekistan alongside and on a level with the Russian workers, is declared by them to be a "Union by compulsion". The land of Magnitogorsk and Dnieprostroy, the land of socialism for tens of millions of people is accused of "dumping wheat and sugar"!

The social-democratic provocateurs are loading the guns for an attack on the U.S.S.R. and for this reason they gather together all the foul Trotskyist riff-raff to help the bayonets and machine guns of the imperialists.

The organ of the social-democratic **League of women "Minsui-Fudzjin"** wrote on December 25, 1931:

"A solution of the Manchurian-Mongolian question makes it absolutely necessary to abolish the capitalist system. Our rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, conquered at the cost of great sacrifices by the proletariat, must of course be given only to the proletariat. Socialist control over rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia is therefore a just demand."

What are these "rights and interests" spoken of by these friends of Vandervelde, the same Vandervelde who naturally favours the counter-revolutionary and predatory alliance of Japanese and French imperialism? They are the "right" of Japanese imperialism to look on the Chinese as the beasts, to declare China to be merely a "geographical conception". They are the "right" to violate and torment millions of people, the "right" to trample on all the national rights of those who, to their great misfortune, are too near to the Japanese bayonets. They are the "right" to attack the U.S.S.R.!

"Socialist control" means open collaboration with imperialist and counter-revolutionary banditism. Japanese imperialism intends to carry out the annexation of Manchuria on

behalf of the late Chinese emperor Pu-i, the degenerate of the night clubs. Japanese social-democracy is thirsting to put its "socialist" label on the mandarin's cap.

And is it to be wondered at that these knights of the II. International directly participated in the recent plot of the militarists, attempting—and not without success—to strengthen still further the dictatorship and the iron heel of the generals? These social-democrats joined in the conspiracy which was led by the present Minister of War and which provided for the **murder of all Communists in the prisons.**

This was announced by the father-in-law of the social-democratic leader **Akamatsu, professor Peshina**, in the January number of the journal "Chiu-o-Koron". "Recently", he writes, "there have been not a few leaders in the camp of the Right proletarian Party who were in contact with the so-called Young Military Groups, sympathised with them and were their partisans."

In Japan, in addition to these Rights, there are also "Left" centrists. Their Party **Rono-Tai-Suto** in November sent its leader **Matsudani** to "examine the events in Manchuria". In Mukden this gentleman stated:

"The events in Manchuria do not comprise an ordinary capitalist war but the solution of a national problem."

The congress of Rono-Tai-Suto took place in Tokio on Dec. 5th. The speech of Matsudani was declared at the congress to be "not in contradiction to party discipline".

In reality, the party discipline of this clique can fully find a place for itself within the framework of Japanese imperialism and anti-Soviet intervention.

This is the picture of all Japanese social-democracy. In all its branches and shades.

It is the social support of the Empire of the Mikado, the bulwark of military robbery and counter-revolutionary adventurism.

Japanese social-democracy is actively fighting for an imperialist and counter-revolutionary way out of the crisis. It is an uncounterfeited party of the II. International.

INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

Against the War in China.

London, February 29, 1932.

The leaders of the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress and the Independent Labour Party are doing their utmost to stifle any activity on the part of the workers against the war in China, by urging the Government, the League of Nations, etc. to take action and representing these bodies as being genuinely desirous of peace. Thus they hope to prevent the development of an organised movement among the masses against the war-mongers. In this they are deliberately aiding the popular press which consciously belittles the importance of the war and the possibilities of its extension.

Nevertheless, the **Daily Worker** has received and published within the last few weeks 146 resolutions of protest passed by working-class organisations and mass meetings.

Of these, 36 have been from trade union branches: 8 of these came from Transport Workers branches, 7 from Miners lodges, 7 from Railway branches, 3 from Women's Guilds and 3 from Electrical Trade Union branches, 2 from the Furnishing Trades, and one each from Woodworkers, Distributive Workers, Clerks, Engineers, Patternmakers and Boilermakers' branches.

47 have come from general mass meetings, 8 from unemployed workers' branches, 15 from mass meetings called by the unemployed organisations, 8 from mass meetings of the Friends of the Soviet Union, 5 from branches of the F.S.U., 3 from the League Against Imperialism, 7 from mass meetings composed specifically of workers in a particular industry. The remainder are from miscellaneous organisations.

The resolutions all call for the withdrawal of British troops and warships, and refusal to transport munitions and troops. They express solidarity with the Chinese workers and peasants and determination to defend the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets from attack.

Mobilisation of the German Workers against Imperialism.

Berlin, 1st March 1932.

The Berlin district committee of the **Communist Party of Germany** has decided to organise a campaign against the danger of imperialist war, naturally in close connection with the other tasks of the Party, including the presidential election campaign. The following measures were unanimously decided upon:

1. All communist groups in the factories, etc., and all communist fractions in the mass organisations of the proletariat must immediately meet to discuss their activity and to take measures to secure the speedy mobilisation of the workers against the danger of imperialist war on the Soviet Union and for the candidature of **Ernst Thälmann** in the presidential elections;

2. Measures must be taken to expose all armaments and to organise the struggle against the transport of arms, ammunition and other war materials by means of demonstrations in the factories, passive resistance, the election of control committees in the transport industry, strikes for higher wages and improved working conditions, the election of red election committees etc.

3. The bourgeois presidential candidates Hitler, Hindenburg and Duesterberg must be strictly opposed as the candidates of imperialist war. Special attention must be paid to propaganda in the trade union meetings. The masses must be won for the slogans: Defend the Chinese workers and peasants! Defend the Soviet Union! Only the revolutionary united front and its candidate Ernst Thaelmann fight for peace and for a free socialist Germany!

4. Above all the role of the Second (Labour and Socialist) International and the role of the League of Nations in the present conflict must be exposed to the workers in the factories and the trade unions;

5. The fascist measures of Groener & Co., the threat to suppress the revolutionary working class movement in the interests of the militarisation of the youth, etc., are part and parcel of the imperialist war policy. It is the duty of all party organisations and of all revolutionary workers to support the working youth in their struggle against the militarisation of the youth.

Big Anti-War Meet in New York.

New York, 24th February 1932.

Another big meeting against the imperialist war in China and in defence of the Soviet Union took place in New York yesterday under the leadership of the Communist Party. The demonstrators carried placards bearing the slogans: "Defend the Soviet Union!" and "Hands off China!"

The **Central Committee of the Communist Party** has issued an **appeal** to the workers of the United States declaring that the imperialist drive of Japan is a war against the Chinese masses. American imperialism war earning money on the deal as on the last imperialist war. U.S. imperialism had no other interest but to make money out of the blood of the Chinese workers, to supply the Japanese imperialists with arms and ammunition at high prices and to see to it that in the last resort the U.S. obtained the largest chunk of the spoils. The appeal calls on the workers to demonstrate for the complete evacuation of Chinese territory by all the imperialist armies of occupation and to organise the prevention of the export of war materials to the Far East for use against the Chinese masses.

Anti-war Demonstration against Japanese.

Warsaw, 26th February 1932.

Yesterday evening a surprise anti-war demonstration took place in front of the building of the Japanese Embassy here. Anti-imperialist slogans were shouted and the windows of the Embassy were broken. The police arrived in tenders and chased the demonstrators away, but no arrests were made.

Maxim Gorki's Letter on China.

Berlin, 29th February 1932.

Comrade Maxim Gorki has sent the following letter to the League against Imperialism in connection with Madame Sun Yat Sen's telegram to that organisation recently asking for help against the Japanese invasion in China:

"I doubt very much whether the Chinese workers can be helped much with words.

"The violence done by Japanese imperialism to the Chinese people is scandalous. The Japanese are obviously acting in collusion with the other imperialist Powers who are only waiting for the favourable moment for them to join in the plundering of China.

"It is high time that the working class of Europe realised the simple truth that the capitalists of all countries are fighting for the right to plunder and exploit the working people, and that at the end of each war the working masses are the defeated party. The war 1914/18 proved this beyond all question.

"It is worth while recalling that 30 millions were either killed outright or crippled by the last great war. And these 30 millions were recruited from the ranks of the healthiest! To-day there are 30 million unemployed workers in the capitalist countries, also a result of the world war. The capitalists are not averse to a new war. The workers are in a position to stop this and they know how it can be done. What a noble cause! Assistance for the Chinese people would be a demonstration of international working class solidarity. **This solidarity together with a stern shout of "Hands off China!" would prove that international solidarity is no empty phrase.**"

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Communist Press in the Struggle against War.

Some Lessons from the first Days of the Japanese Campaign in the Yangtse Valley.

There is not the least doubt that the campaign of Japanese imperialism in the Yangtse valley as well as against Manchuria, is regarded by the leading imperialist Powers as the prelude to a military intervention against the Soviet Union, a prelude to the new imperialist world war. The Japanese war operations, which in the Yangtse valley, in Shanghai have **obviously and undeniably** assumed the character of an open war, has put the Communist Parties immediately to the test. Revolutionary attitude towards the imperialist war from the first moment is the test for the Communist Parties, of every individual Communist. In this question passivity, lack of vigilance, lightmindedness **must not for a minute remain uncriticised.**

"It must not be permitted in a similar case", wrote Lenin, "to pass the matter over in silence. Lightminded attitude to this question is an evil surpassing all others, and in face of which any sign of leniency is absolutely inadmissible."

The attitude of the Communist Parties to the Japanese China-campaign must naturally be reflected in the Communist press, the most important agitation-means of the Parties. The self-control of the anti-war activity of the Communist Parties must in the first place be applied to its press, in order to expose and eradicate ruthlessly and rapidly its mistakes and shortcomings and thus to be able to increase the fighting capacity of the Parties against the war and to enhance the anti-war campaign itself with all energy.

What were the first Tasks?

The campaign of Japanese imperialism in the Yangtse valley should not have found any Communist Party organ unprepared. Long ago the signs of the commencement of this campaign were apparent. It was clear from the beginning that the tasks confronting the Communist Press in Europe and America as a result of this campaign are the following:

1. Correct estimation of the world-political importance of the Japanese China-campaign in the Yangtse valley, against Shanghai, Nanking, etc., in particular in connection with the preparation for military intervention against the Soviet Union and for imperialist world war.

2. The broadest possible propaganda of correct concrete fighting demands for the proletariat of the capitalist countries for launching revolutionary actions against the imperialist war, in accordance with the peculiarities of the relations of their "own" country to the Japanese China-campaign, to the preparation of military intervention against the Soviet Union, to the preparation for the world war.

3. Combating of the pacifist sophisms by which the bourgeoisie, and in particular the social-democratic press, is lulling the vigilance of the toiling masses towards the imperialist war and attempting to draw the masses over to the side of the imperialist war.

Proceeding from these main viewpoints, the initial stage of the press activity of the Communist Parties against the Japanese campaign in the Yangtse valley (January 29, up to February 3rd and 4th) must be subjected to examination.

The Appraisal of the Importance of the China-Campaign.

As a whole, the Communist Press **quickly reacted** to the Japanese campaign in the Yangtse valley and in **general** correctly recognised its world-political importance. Without hesitation it has at once declared that in the Yangtse valley it is not a question of a "military expedition", but a **regular imperialist war**; that now, following on the Manchurian campaign of Japanese imperialism, a great world-political event has taken place: **the realisation of the partitioning of China among the imperialist Powers.** In general, it was correctly recognised that the Japanese China-campaign in Manchuria, as well as in the Yangtse valley, constitutes the preparation for military intervention against the Soviet Union, the preparation for an imperialist world war. — *L'Humanité* of February 3rd wrote:

"This is the capitalist offensive against the Chinese people, against the Soviets in China, it is also the beginning of the attack upon the Soviet Union; finally, it means the possibility of a tremendous conflict between the rival imperialist Powers for the partition of China!" The Berlin "**Rote Fahne**" of February 3rd, 1932 wrote:

"The war commenced by Japan gave the signal to all the other capitalist Powers interested in the markets of the Far East, for a general turn in the direction towards **armed partition of Chinese territory.** The occupation of Manchuria by Japan was the first act of the tremendous war drama which has commenced in the East. The bombardment of **Shanghai**, the landing of Japanese troops in **Swatow** and **Canton**, the fights within the Chinese concession territory between the Japanese and American troops—these events of the last few days tangle the conflicts in the imperialist camp into a knot which finally can be cut through only with difficulty. The war commenced by Japan is the prelude to the intervention-war against the Soviet Union."

What, however, the whole Communist Press was lacking was the recognition of the immediate and concrete importance of the Japanese campaign in the Yangtse valley as the realisation of the new partition of China in the sense of her complete colonisation, and the significance of the resistance of the Chinese people to this Japanese campaign. **The Communist Press did not realise the importance of the anti-imperialist war of the people for the defence of China's independence and the significance of this people's war for the further development of the Chinese revolution.** Further, it was not realised that for the **moment**, it was not **immediately** a question of an attack upon Soviet China, but of an imperialist attack upon China's unity in general, of the dividing up of the whole of China among the imperialist Powers, in which Japan plays the role of the shock-troop in order by this means to prevent, by exterior forces of the international bourgeoisie, the further development of the workers' and peasants' revolution. Only thus is it possible to explain why, in the whole Communist press, the main slogan on the occasion of the Japanese campaign has **not** been the slogan of the defence of the Chinese people against the imperialists, not the slogan: "Hands off China!", but solely the slogan: "Defend Soviet China!"

The Chinese Workers' and peasants' revolution is no doubt one of the most important reasons why the imperialist Powers are feverishly accelerating the partition of China. Nevertheless we must not lose sight of the fact that here it is **not only** a question of the defence of Soviet China, but of the defence **of the whole of China, the defence of the national independence and the strengthening of the resistance of whole of the Chinese**

people against Japanese and international imperialism. This is all the more the task of the whole of the international proletariat, as it depends to a great extent upon the resistance of the Chinese people and upon the active support of the international proletariat whether the imperialist robber Powers will realise their plans or will be compelled to postpone for a time the commencement of this military intervention.

A glaring example of incorrect appraisal of these connections between the resistance of the Chinese people and the defence of the Soviet Union against the military intervention against the Soviet Union is furnished by our American Party press, which—according to a telegraphic report—by making a distinction between the defence of the Soviet Union against a military intervention and the resistance of the Chinese masses against Japanese imperialism, warned the masses "not to let themselves be diverted from the main danger of the war against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution". From this incorrect contradistinction it is evident that the Communist press was not yet clear in regard to the fact that the defence of the national and territorial unity of China constitutes an integral part of the defence of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese Soviets, of the defence of the whole world proletariat against an imperialist war.

This can only be explained as due to the fact that the Communist press has not yet realised that in the case of the war in the Yangtse valley there are not involved two equal belligerent national bourgeoisies, but on the one hand there is an imperialist State which aims at realising its imperialist aims by means of war, and on the other hand there is a semi-colony which the leading imperialist Powers, while leaving the initiative to Japan, wish to suppress and carve up. The resistance of the Chinese people in spite of the sabotage of the Chinese bourgeoisie, means therefore a national war of emancipation, which it is the duty of the whole of the world proletariat to support to the full.

For this reason the attitude of the Norwegian press calls for particularly sharp criticism. "**Finnmark Trentis**", a Party paper, published without any comment a report from Tokyo in which it is stated: "that Japan was compelled, on account of the **Chinese offensive**, to bring up reinforcements.

In the first days of the Japanese campaign in China, the whole Communist press failed to indicate clearly the danger which threatens the European and American proletariat as a result of this campaign. The readers of the Communist press in Europe and America were not given a clear presentation of the fact that here it is not only a case of a "**war in the Far East**", but that the European and American working class is **immediately** threatened by this war. This failure was particularly apparent in the first days in the Czechoslovakian Party press, and is due to an incorrect appraisal of the inner-imperialist antagonisms and their effects.

Further, it was not clearly shown that in the present world situation all the important problems of American-European policy: the reparations question, the question of the inter-allied war debts, the tariff war, the fight for gold, the question of the Franco-Italian antagonism, are closely bound up with the problem of the Pacific, and that the war in China renders all these questions more acute. Hence it follows that the question of the partition of China necessarily raises the question of a redistribution of the world; that all the pending problems of world imperialism are driving for new warlike solutions; that the war in China will not be confined to Asia and to the Pacific Ocean, but that it must develop into a regular imperialist world war and have consequences which must affect the proletariat of Europe and America.

Some Communist papers paid scarcely any attention to the inner-imperialist antagonisms (Czechoslovakia); some others have in their agitation attached chief importance to these antagonisms (some articles in "**L'Humanité**"); others again, as in America, which did not correctly realise the actual international interconnections (the American Communist press, for instance, wrote that there exists complete unanimity between Japan and U.S.A., whilst the antagonism between England and Japan is assuming sharper forms. The contrary is the case).

Whilst there was a correct appraisal of the accentuation of the inner-imperialist antagonisms, it was only in very few cases clearly shown that the accentuation of these antagonisms increases also the efforts of world imperialism to solve all the disputed questions at the cost of the Soviet Union, to defeat the advance-guard of the international proletariat and to break the fighting force of the working class in a world war.

Thus there resulted from the incorrect appraisal of the

international situation, the failure to analyse in a concrete manner the relations between the imperialist Powers; that, on the one hand, the convincing power of Communist agitation was weakened and, on the other hand, profound mistakes were committed in regard to underestimating one's "own" imperialism, in regard to the role of one's "own" bourgeoisie in organising and supporting the imperialist war.

Thus in the first days the Czech Party press failed to adopt a decisive militant attitude towards Czech imperialism as one of the main suppliers of Japan. The Norwegian press likewise failed to expose the role of the powerful Norwegian mercantile fleet as a means of transport for the imperialist world war—at present for Japan. The Swedish Party press wrote in general terms on the necessity of combating the increased war preparations of Swedish imperialism, but it did not mention that the supplying of arms and munitions for Japan by means of Swedish firms is taking place with the approval of the Swedish government.

Slogans and Methods of Agitation in the Press.

The agitation of the Communist press was too abstract in the first days of the Japanese campaign in the Yangtse valley. It must be recorded that some bourgeois newspapers published much more detailed reports on the war operations of the Japanese and on the atrocities in Chapei than did our press. In the whole of the Communist press there has arisen a certain disproportion between analytical articles and agitation material consisting of facts. Even the bourgeois sources of information were not sufficiently made use of. In many cases the news from bourgeois news services was published without its being subjected to criticism. The most glaring example of how bourgeois sources of information are made use of without criticism is the following telegram, which appeared in "**Internationale**", the Communist daily paper for North-West Bohemia, on February 4, 1932:

"In Harbin there has prevailed for weeks the **greatest chaos**, as here Chinese of various parties, Japanese, red and white Russians face each other. It came to numerous plunderings and attacks on the Japanese civil population."

The telegram is dated from Mukden, apparently in order to justify the occupation of Harbin by Japanese troops. This lightmindedness on the question of the attitude towards the war is so obvious that it does need to be characterised any further **by us**. A part of the Belgian press also supplied some examples of the attitude one should not adopt towards the war. Belgium itself is an important supplier of weapons to Japanese imperialism. In the Belgian ports, however, huge quantities of war materials are transported to other countries. In face of this we learn from a report that, from 1st December 1931 to 31st January 1932, in seven newspapers and manifestoes of the Red Trade Union Opposition no mention was made of imperialist war nor of the war in China. Three numbers of the organ of the unemployed in the harbour town of Antwerp contained next to nothing on this question; the same is true of 13 factory papers issued by Communist nuclei. This is to be attributed, in the first place, to the circumstance that the central organ of the Communist Party is not the leading organ in the fight against war and has not played the role of organiser of other Party organs. Most of the press organs of the Communist Party have not sufficiently recognised what should be done at the present moment in order to combat the Japanese campaign in China; what concrete measures are to be adopted in their sphere of activity against Japanese imperialism. On 31st January and 1st and 2nd February, there was lacking the **organising** fighting slogan. Only in a few cases was attention concentrated on the transport of weapons and ammunition and the concrete slogan: prevent the transport of arms and munitions, was issued in an isolated manner. The paper which has best reacted in this respect to the Japanese campaign is the "**Hamburger Volkszeitung**", which conducted a splendid campaign under the following slogans:

"Prevent every transport of munitions! Refuse to load and unload munitions and explosives!

No ship with war material for the imperialist war must be allowed to leave Hamburg harbour!

Raise this question at factory and workshop meetings; organise the revolutionary fight against the imperialist war makers and intensify the fight against the enemy in your country, against the sharks who draw profit from the new murder of the people!

That is the best form of proletarian class-solidarity with the Chinese and Japanese proletariats!

That is at the same time the best form of support for the Chinese Soviets and the Soviet Union!"

In contrast to the above, the Austrian "Rote Fahne", for instance, did not in the first days write a word regarding the transport of arms and munitions through Austria to Yugoslavian ports and pointing out that it must be the task of the Austrian railway workers to prevent these transports. The "Hamburger Volkszeitung" furnishes a model example of the role and importance of worker correspondents in the factories in connection with the transport of arms and munitions. The "Hamburger Volkszeitung" has been the first newspaper to make use of the workers correspondents for the purpose of exposing the transport of war material; and on the basis of this experience the Berlin "Rote Fahne" published a leading article on the organising of worker correspondents for the purpose of combating the war. This example must serve as a guide to all press organs of the Communist International, even if **it must be specially stressed that there must be no attempt to hide the fact that it is, for the greater part, due to the weakness of the Communist press that not a single transport to Japan has been held up.**

Another deficiency which is particularly obvious in the whole of the Communist press is that feeling in the workshops, the activity of the working class in connection with the Japanese campaign, in connection with the danger of world war, is reflected very little or not at all. According to a report now before us, up to February 3rd, there appeared only one report of a factory meeting in the German Party press. The resolutions passed at places of work are not published in the Communist Party press: a circumstance which of course exceedingly weakens the role of the press as organiser of factory work against the war. An equally serious shortcoming is the lack of special agitation-material for the unemployed, who play a prominent role in the plans of the imperialists. In Poland, the discontented workers in the railway workshops and on the railway lines are being replaced by unemployed. In Czechoslovakia, workers in the Skoda works and the Brünn armament factories are being dismissed wholesale and unemployed taken on in their place. "Rude Pravo" and "Reichenberg Vorwärts" published reports on these measures, but without pointing out that the aim of these manoeuvres of the capitalists is, on the one hand, to reduce wages and, on the other, to replace the discontented workers by unemployed, who owing to their long period of unemployment have become incapable of resistance, and also to make out that production is being restricted in the Skoda and Brünn armament factories. This threefold capitalist manoeuvre, which if properly utilised could play a great role in mobilising the workers, has called forth no reply in the Communist press. No slogans were issued aiming at preventing wage reductions and calling upon the unemployed to exercise solidarity with the dismissed workers.

A further shortcoming and mistake is that our press does not link up, or only insufficiently links up, the daily agitation for current actions of the Communist Party (unity congresses, unity demonstrations, unemployed actions) with anti-war actions.

In spite of the fact that in France, especially in Paris and in the North, already in the first days comparatively well attended meetings against the war were held, the meetings which were already previously convened in connection with various daily demands were used to a very little extent for the purpose of agitation against war. The same thing can be said with regard to Czechoslovakia, with the exception of the German Bohemian section of Czechoslovakia, where according to the Reichenberg "Vorwärts" a number of unity demonstrations were made use for the purpose of spreading our anti-war slogans. Further, one does not gather from the press that in Germany, the daily actions of the Party, especially the Presidential election campaign, are being made use for anti-war actions of the C.P. of Germany.

The chief shortcoming and mistake in the anti-war campaign is **that it is not based upon the factories.** We have already said that the worker correspondents were not organised, that resolutions passed by factory meetings were not published. In our agitation it is not pointed out that war means not only an attempt to find a capitalist way out of the crisis, but also an attempt to increase the wealth of the capitalists at the cost of the working class, and that war brings down still lower the starvation level of the working

class. In this respect the rich experiences of the war and post-war period, the period of speculation and war profiteering, must be made use of for agitational purposes.

In this connection it must be recorded that very little is contained in the Communist press regarding the demands and the fight of the unemployed, although the bourgeois press openly states that war means an attempt to solve the unemployed question by absorbing the unemployed in the army.

Finally, in the Communist press of all countries there is a failure to link up the anti-war campaign with the needs of the peasants and the working population of the villages.

All these mistakes and shortcomings in our press activity have been partly rectified in later numbers of the Communist press, but not to the extent necessary in order to give the required driving force to our agitation.

The Fight against Pacifism and the II. International.

The weakest point in the press activity of the Communist Parties in the first days of the Japanese campaign was the **combating of pacifism, the chief bearer of which is the II. International**, which uses pacifism in order to screen its activity in the preparation of imperialist war. This deficiency is all the more serious as the commencement of the campaign, the bombardment of Shanghai, the first reports of the terrible atrocities of the Japanese military, synchronised with the opening of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. Even some Communist papers have committed pacifist mistakes in connection with the Japanese campaign against Shanghai. One cannot describe it as anything else but a pacifist mistake when the C.G.T.U., in its appeal, calls upon the workers to "proclaim your will to fight for peace!", without any comment and without any correction being printed in the Communist press. There is lacking, in addition to the Leninist polemics with pacifism, a contrasting of the facts regarding the war-operations of Japanese imperialism in China with the reports and the false pathos of the press of the Second International under the slogan: "No more war!" The cynical support of the Japanese robber-war in China by the Japanese social democracy, as laid down in the theses to the approaching Party Congress, was merely recorded by the Communist press, instead of an energetic campaign being conducted to expose the "peace talk of the II. International, of which the social democratic party of Japan is a member". From a perusal of the Communist press one gathers the impression that it serves the purpose of circulating inner-Party directives but not of enlightening the broad masses regarding the pacifist swindle, of exposing the sophisms of the social democracy to the broad masses and rousing them against war and against social fascism.

There is nothing more dangerous at the present time than to proceed from the mistaken assumption that the broad masses are already aware that the League of Nations is the outspoken representative of the imperialist war-mongers, that it is an imperialist swindle, that pacifism is only a fraud and that the II. International is an organ of the bourgeoisie for preparing war. **These truths must first be proved to the masses by means of facts and by comparing words with deeds.** In the Communist press there is lacking the disputation with the social democratic press on the question of the League of Nations, the organiser of war, which the social-democratic press represents as being a bulwark against war. Our press has also not refuted the assertions of the social democratic press that the Disarmament Conference constitutes a great pacifist act. Even the circumstance that during the Japanese campaign the social democracy undertook a large-scale division of roles in the pacifist deception of the working class was not sufficiently made use of: Paul **Boncour**, the chairman of the League Council in which it was decided to support the Japanese campaign; **Henderson**, the chairman of the Disarmament Commission, in his speech said not a word regarding the so-called Disarmament Programme of the II. International; **Lansbury**, who while venturing some criticism of Japanese imperialism in the English House of Commons, at the same time supported English imperialism; the attitude of the "Vorwärts", which seized upon the conclusion of the Polish-Soviet non-aggression Pact in order to show that the Soviet Union is now no longer threatened by imperialism; the article in the "Populaire", which spoke of the danger of intervention against the Soviet Union on the part of Japanese imperialism, but said nothing about the role of France as chief organiser of military intervention against the Soviet Union.

The Communist press has said nothing or next to nothing regarding the fact that the social democratic parties, even when they criticise the imperialism of the bourgeoisie of other countries, **actively support their own imperialist governments in the preparation of war.** They represent the war in China as an event which is of no immediate concern to Europe and the European proletariat. Almost the whole of the social-democratic press emphasises that this war is only possible in China, that only Japanese imperialism could wage war, because there is no proper democratic government in Japan. The sophisms of the social democracy regarding the Japanese campaign in China culminate in the assertion that the Soviet Union is not threatened by any war, unless it commences war itself. They carefully avoid mentioning that Japanese imperialism in Manchuria is supported by the imperialist great Powers precisely because it is setting up in Manchuria a place d'armes—a base for the anti-Soviet war—and is striving to increase to the utmost the provocations against the Soviet Union.

Finally, it must be recorded that the Communist press, in its agitation, has made hardly any use of the **attitude of the Japanese social democrats** to the war, the shame of which surpasses all expectations.

All these shortcomings and mistakes in the fight against the social democracy are attributable to the fact the Communist press is not sufficiently informed regarding the feelings of the broad masses, regarding the attitude of mind of the social democratic workers, that it is not aiming at achieving a real mass influence.

These are the most important lessons of the first days up to about the 3rd and 4th February in regard to the attitude of the Communist press in combating the war.

The Chief Tasks of the Press at the Present Moment in Combating War.

The mistakes and weaknesses above indicated in the campaign against the war have been partially overcome in the last few weeks. Nevertheless, every day there is to be seen political lack of clearness which retards and hinders the mobilisation of the broad strata of the working masses.

In order further to arouse and mobilise the masses against imperialist war and the danger of intervention (in addition to the general tasks, such as propagating Leninist teachings regarding war, popularising the achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, etc.), the whole press of the Communist Parties and the press of the mass organisations, and especially the thousands of factory newspapers, must concentrate on the following main points:

1. Clearly to demonstrate that the defence of China, the support of the resistance of the Chinese people to Japanese imperialism and its allies, is an integral part of our fight for the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets against the interventionist plans of world imperialism.

The campaign against Japanese imperialism, against the atrocities of the Japanese military, against the League of Nations as supporter of the Japanese robber campaign, must be passionately increased on the basis of the actual facts.

It must be particularly clearly demonstrated that the war in the Far East means an immediate danger to the European and American proletariat. The demand for the withdrawal of the imperialist troops from China, the embargo on the transport of war material to Japan, the prevention of the delivery of weapons and munitions to Japan, all-round support of the war of the Chinese people, must become the central points in the work of the press.

2. The revolutionary slogans against war must in every country be directed no less against the activity of one's own bourgeoisie in preparing and promoting war; the daily struggles of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary mass organisations must be permeated with the anti-war campaign. Every revolutionary worker must find directions in the press which he needs at his place of work, at his post in the class struggle, for the daily work of agitation and organisation.

The conversion of the slogans in regard to preventing the transport of munitions and weapons to Japan into **actual deeds is a matter of honour of the international working class**; this must become the key note to all our Communist press activity.

3. The fight against the criminal policy of the social democracy of all shades must be conducted on principle most ruthlessly. It must not be confined to pure polemics, but

it must, by citing the facts, tear to shreds the deceitful arguments and the lying talk about the fight for peace. The role of the international social democracy as peace-maker of the robber policy of world imperialism, as war-monger and as one of the chief organisers of the war of intervention against the Soviet Union, must be exposed in the most ruthless and convincing manner. Not a single slander by the social democracy against the Soviet Union must be allowed to go unrefuted on the basis of facts.

4. The press must devote the greatest attention to work in the enterprises, especially to the armament industry. The decisions of workshop meetings against war must be given the greatest prominence in our press; their effect in mobilising the workers must be backed up in every way.

5. The same applies especially to work **among the huge army of unemployed**, to whom falls the decisive role in the fight against war. No less important is the mobilisation by the press of the masses of the working peasants, the petty bourgeois sections of the population and the working intelligentsia for the fight against the war.

These are only **the most important main tasks of the moment!**

The Communist Press must find the language which stirs the broad masses to action against the imperialist war; it must find the arguments which really shatter the social democratic **sophisms** which serve to support the imperialist war; it must find the methods to promote by all means the mass work of the Communist Parties for preparing the revolutionary way out of the crisis by the Leninist fight against the murder of the peoples which has already begun.

It is a question of the honour of the international working class.

A New Step towards the Bolshevisation of the C. P. of Germany.

Berlin, 26th February 1932.

The "Rote Fahne" published the following communication from the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany:

From 20th to 23rd February there took place the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany, which was also attended by a number of prominent Party functionaries from the provinces. Hardly any other conference of the leading body of our Party was awaited by the rank and file of the members as well as by the functionaries with so much expectations. Hardly ever before have the delegates sent from the brother parties of the most important capitalist countries displayed such a lively interest in the deliberations of the Central Committee.

The whole Plenum, its decisions, the report of Comrade Thälmann and the keen debate, in which 48 comrades participated reflected the present stage of the historical development, the intensified struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat for the capitalist or revolutionary way out of the crisis.

The events in the Far East, the imperialist war which has been kindled by Japanese imperialism, and the immediately threatening danger of a war of intervention against the socialist fatherland of the workers of all countries, against the Soviet Union, were the subject of the discussions. The Plenum of the C.C. expressed the revolutionary determination of the Party to concentrate our work upon the fight against the imperialist crime, for the active defence of the Soviet Union, against the partition of China by the imperialists and the defence of the Chinese Soviet revolution, under the slogan: "Hands off China!"

This clear fulfilment of the international duty of the Communist Party is indissolubly linked up with the tasks of the class struggle in our own country. The Bolsheviki are not fighting the imperialist war in the Far East with words, with resolutions and decisions, but by most determinedly enhancing the struggle against the class enemy in our own country, against the bourgeoisie and its supporters.

* * *

Comrade Thälmann's report on the political situation and the tasks of the C.P. of Germany was divided into five main sections. In the first section Comrade Thälmann analysed the world situation, and dealt with the war in the Far East and the tasks of anti-war work of our Party. Comrade Thälmann

made an appeal to the whole of the German proletariat to take up the fight against the war crime of the imperialists.

The second section dealt with the situation in Germany. The facts confirm that which the XI. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. had already stated in regard to Germany: As a result of the crisis and the effects of the Versailles system, the process of decline of the monopoly-capitalist system is greatly accelerated in Germany. The situation of the working class and of the toiling masses is becoming more and more unbearable. 6½ million unemployed and about 6 million workers on short time are a formidable indictment of the capitalist system. The attempts of the bourgeoisie to smash the resistance of the masses by fascist means and to continue the system of exploitation of all toilers is becoming more and more brutal. The preconditions of a revolutionary crisis in Germany are ripening.

There exists, however, a disproportion between the objectively favourable conditions and the actual development of the revolutionary class struggle by the Party and the revolutionary mass organisations, as well as by the Red Trade Union Opposition. It is true, the German proletariat and its leader, the C.P. of Germany, are encountering not only the front of the German bourgeoisie but, as a result of the Versailles system, also the front of the world bourgeoisie, of the imperialist Powers. But all this does not alter the fact that, in the main, there exist weaknesses and shortcomings in our work: weaknesses in the struggle against the social democracy and Hitler fascism, in our work in the factories, the preparations for strikes and the launching of strikes, in our inner trade union work and among the millions of unemployed. These weaknesses must be overcome if we wish to accelerate the tempo of revolutionary development.

In the further three main sections of his report Comrade Thälmann dealt with the practical tasks of the Party. The strategical main task in the solution of which we have to record great achievements, is the winning of the proletarian majority for the struggle for the capture of political power. To realise this task means at the same time to create the most important preconditions for the proletarian revolution.

In the carrying out of its predatory policy the bourgeoisie is supported by two auxiliary troops. Social democracy is its main buttress, which, by means of deceitful manoeuvres, diverts millions of workers from the class struggle and presses them into the service of the bourgeois dictatorship. Besides the social democracy there is the national socialist movement, which is chiefly recruited from the petty bourgeoisie and certain sections of officials and employees, which form a new mass basis for the policy of finance capital. The most fierce struggle must be waged by the Communists against both the social democracy and the Hitler party. It is only the proletariat, the only revolutionary class, which can realise

The Campaign of the Spanish Bourgeois Press in Connection with the Open Letter from the W. E. B. of the C. I. to the C. P. of Spain.

The West European Bureau of the Communist International has issued the following Statement:

A short time ago we addressed an Open Letter to all members of the C.P. of Spain, in which we expressed certain criticism of their work. The bourgeois press of Spain has eagerly seized upon this letter, in which they believed there was to be found a pretext for an unbridled campaign against the Communist Party of Spain in general and its leaders in particular.

It is not for the madly furious dogs of the bloody counter-revolution to criticise the Communist Party of Spain and its leaders. The Party leadership, which has already furnished numerous examples of a heroic fight, possesses our entire confidence, and if we express some criticism, it is only in order to help it to lead the Spanish revolution further until final victory.

The West European Bureau of the C.I.

the hegemony, the leadership in the struggle for the social and national emancipation of the toilers. Proceeding on this class line, the Party applies its Leninist strategy in directing its main attack against the social democracy, as the main buttress of the bourgeois dictatorship and of the capitalist system.

An indispensable precondition for winning the masses for the common struggle is the shattering of the social democratic manoeuvres, beginning with their hypocritical shouting about an alleged "struggle" against Hitler by the so-called "Iron Front", up to their latest manoeuvre of "State capitalism".

The Communist Party opposes the lying „programme for procuring work" and the crisis congress of the German General Federation of Trade Unions which is nothing else but a smoke-screen behind which the trade union leaders support the attacks on social insurance, with the organisation of mass actions of the unemployed in alliance with the workers in the factories for their demands, in particular with the broadest mobilisation of the trade union members for the exposure of their leaders.

Hence the intensification of the struggle against the social democracy and the A.D.G.B. Hence the broadest application of the united front policy for the struggle! Hence the most ruthless fight against all those alien influences penetrating the ranks of the Party, against the Right opportunist main danger and sectarian tendencies, which reflect the social democratic and other manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie.

In the fight against Hitler fascism it is a vital question for the revolutionary party of the German proletariat to expose the "national" demagoguery of this auxiliary troop of finance capital. The Plenum therefore decided, in addition to the emancipation programme of the Party, to issue a "Declaration of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Germany on the Reparations questions", which shall clearly show the role of the C.P. of Germany as the only leader of the emancipation struggle of the toiling masses against national and social oppression by the Young slavery and the capitalist system.

The fourth section dealt with the decisive problems of revolutionary practice. The questions of strike strategy and tactics, factory work, the work of the R.T.U.O. and among the unemployed, as well as the forms, weaknesses and achievements of the united front tactic were subjected to a thorough examination. Comrade Thälmann declared it to be urgently necessary to make a decisive and rapid turn in our factory work.

In the last section of his report Comrade Thälmann dealt with the questions of the ideological offensive of our Party. The strongest Bolshevik vigilance and intolerance on the theoretical front as well as in the practical mass work, irreconcilable fight against all anti-Leninist views, against all mistakes and weaknesses, Bolshevik self-criticism in order to overcome the shortcomings and to improve our mass work these are necessary component parts of our revolutionary tactics.

In accordance with the decision of the VI. World Congress, the Central Committee decided to proceed immediately to draw up a Party programme of the C.P. of Germany. For this purpose a special Programme Commission was elected. In addition, the Plenum decided to take up the work for the first volume of the Party history.

The discussion at the Plenum, in which the questions of the struggle against the imperialist war, strike experience, factory work and work among the unemployed, inner-Party life were dealt with, furnished many new and concrete facts from the practice of the Party and constituted an important complement to the questions analysed in the report.

In his concluding speech, Comrade Thälmann quite rightly pointed out that the Party had had in the past a correct general line, had adopted correct decisions, but that the practical carrying of the decisions constitutes the main weakness of our revolutionary work. The great expectations which all the Sections of the Communist International have for the future work of the C.P. of Germany, and which were eloquently expressed by the representative of the French brother Party at our Plenum, must and will not be disappointed.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

Leninist Competition in Action.

By B. Tahl.

One of the most brilliant exponents of fancy bourgeois Leninist analysis of socialist society is the question of Socialist competition—the basic question of Socialist labour.

For the bourgeois the only incentive is the race for profits. The abolishment of profits is for him equivalent to the gloom of death. "The bourgeois declares to the Communists: 'By destroying my existence as a bourgeois, you destroy my existence as an individual, my personality'—if he thus identifies his bourgeois existence with his individuality, at least we cannot deny his frankness and shamelessness. With regard to the bourgeois, the following assertion applies absolutely: he thinks that he is a personality only to the extent that he is a bourgeois, but when the theoreticians of the bourgeoisie appear on the scene and give this argument a general form of expression, identifying theoretically bourgeois ownership with his individuality, and attempt to justify this identification by logic, then the absurdity acquires solemnity and sacredness" (Marx).

It is perfectly clear, that under capitalism hired labour is a heavy burden, a curse. It is precisely the victorious revolution that puts an end to capitalist exploitation, which condemns the working population to the frightful servitude of hired labour, the black, gray colour of which is brightened only by the blood stains of merciless punishment of all those who rise up in struggle.

Even in the "Communist Manifesto" Marx and Engels emphasised the fact that as a result of the victory of the proletarian revolution

"in place of the old bourgeois order, with its classes and class antagonism, there will be an association in which the free development of each and every one, will be the condition for the free development of all".

One of the most important features of the ingenious views on labour in the country of proletarian dictatorship, is Trotsky, as might well have been expected of this counter-revolutionary agent of the anti-Soviet front. To him belongs the honour of the great discovery that "as a general rule, the human being attempts to avoid labour. It can be said that the human being is a fairly lazy animal" (Trotsky "Terrorism and Communism"). This is the disgusting line of reasoning of a gentleman, looking down in scorn upon the workers from the heights of his aristocratic majesty; this is the line of reasoning worthy of a feudal lord and slave driver. Against laziness he has but one method—the big stick of necessity. And Trotsky comes forward in the role of prophet of universal militarisation of labour, supplying a commodity much in vogue along the whole anti-Soviet front from Kautsky to Fish, from the Pope of Rome to the White Guard "Sotsvyestnik", from Urquhart to Hitler, from the British diehards to the respectable 2nd International.

Is it necessary to refute this "theory" of laziness and the big stick, worthy of a sergeant major in the Tsar's guard?

The tremendous wave of creative enthusiasm, the unprecedented rise of labour heroism shown by the millions of workers in the U.S.S.R. rips to pieces the whole network of malicious counter-revolutionary bourgeois slander against Socialism.

When the proletarian revolution, when the proletarian dictatorship—organised as the government power of the working class—has nationalised the land, the factories, and the railways, and when labour power ceases to be a commodity—capitalist hired servitude is replaced by new forms of labour. Of course this does not take place at once, spontaneously, but as a result of a struggle against the vestiges of the old order, a struggle against the pressure of capitalist and petty bourgeois elements. This struggle for new labour discipline is a particular form of **class struggle** under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Isn't the very essence of the class struggle in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the defence of the interests of the working class from those groups and those elements of workers who stubbornly

cling to the traditions (habits) of capitalism and continue to look upon the Soviet Government as previously: Give "it" less and worse work and squeeze out of "it" more money?" (Lenin.)

Lenin was constantly emphasising the necessity for a determined struggle against "the guardians of the traditions of capitalism", against disruption, disintegration, dirtiness, hooliganism and parasitism. In analysing the new forms of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat Lenin emphasises as one of the chief forms; "Training in new discipline".

Socialist society is being built up under conditions of sharper class struggle. **In the stubborn class struggle a new attitude towards labour is arising.** It is based on the labour of workers in enterprises of a consistently Socialist type. On the collective farm the character of labour also undergoes a fundamental change. But here on the collective farms which are undertakings of a socialist type (not yet consistently socialist)—it is particularly evident that the struggle for new discipline is a form of the class struggle, pitiless and persistent. It is a struggle against kulak influences and against vestiges of petty bourgeois individualism. The organisation and economic consolidation of the collective farms is of immense importance in this struggle.

Socialist competition is a tremendous force in the growth of socialist labour. Lenin played an extremely important part in working out this problem.

In 1918, in discussing the "immediate tasks of the Soviet Government", taking up the concrete methods of building socialism, Lenin wrote:

"Among the absurdities which the bourgeoisie love to spread about Socialism is the assertion that the socialists deny the importance of competition. As a matter of fact, socialism, by abolishing classes and, consequently, the enslavement of the masses, is the first to open the way to competition on a real mass scale."

Lenin—the great master of revolutionary dialectics—takes up this problem also:

"Instead of working for increased production it is necessary to take into account the special characteristics of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism which calls, on the one hand, for the establishment of the foundations of the socialist organisation of competition and on the other hand, for the application of compulsion, so that the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat should not be defiled in practice by a jelly-like form of proletarian power."

Lenin watched with the greatest attention all manifestations of the socialist attitude towards labour. Consider the great heights to which he raised the "splendid" start which was made—the Communist subotniks. Twelve years have passed since Lenin wrote about the subotniks. By following the Leninist path, the U.S.S.R. has victoriously entered the period of socialism. Socialist competition and shock brigade work developed with a mighty sweep.

At the XVI. Congress of the C.P.S.U. Comrade Stalin characterised the tremendous scope of socialist competition and shock brigade work as one of the most important factors, if not the most important factor, in Soviet construction.

"The most remarkable thing about competition", said Comrade Stalin, "is that it brings about a fundamental change in the attitude of the people towards labour, for it transforms labour from a disgraceful and heavy burden, as it was formerly considered, into something honorable, something commendable valiant and heroic" (Stalin "Problems of Leninism").

The army of shock brigaders—vanguard fighters on the front of socialist construction—is growing at a tremendous pace. The appeal of the XVI. All union Party Conference met with a splendid response from the working masses. During the XVI. Party Congress the army of shock brigaders had already reached one million. By the XVII. Party Conference

this number was raised to 3½ million! Socialist Competition and shock brigade work are penetrating the farthest corners of Soviet construction and reaching the masses of collective farmers.

"In the U.S.S.R., the most desirable thing, deserving the approval of all, is coming to be the possibility of being a hero of labour, the chance of being a hero in shock brigade work" (Stalin).

The further development of socialist competition and shock brigade work is linked up with its highest form **counter-planning**—(i. e. plans drawn up by the workers of a given enterprise, pledging their enterprise to exceed the production quota of the Five-Year Plan. This includes also such plans put forward by the various shifts.) and **economy brigades**. (brigades to put work on a paying basis).

The time has long passed when competition was based merely on output. Competition has come to include also **quality** of work (brigades for model production etc.), and improvement of production (rationalisation groups etc.), as well as mastery of technique, in other words, all questions of production, connected with its all-round improvement, have been included in this sphere of practical work. Economy brigades deal with all these problems and are the highest forms of factory work. All problems of production are taken up also in the counter-plan, which draws millions of workers into the discussion of the concrete questions in the active struggle for Bolshevik tempo and quality, for increasing the productiveness of labour, for mobilising all resources and possibilities to speed up the Socialist offensive all along the front.

The plan which is in daily operation for every machine and group of machines in the departments and in the shops, mobilises the masses, checks up on the utilisation of all forces, means and possibilities, and does away with obstacles and difficulties.

The force and importance of these highest forms of socialist competition lie in the fact that they link up con-

crete everyday work with the work of the enterprise as a whole and beyond that with the whole economic life of socialist construction. The highest forms of socialist competition draw the shock brigader into the management of the economic life and government of the country. These forms serve as a mass school for such management and are a powerful lever in the struggle for work along new lines and for the carrying out of the six conditions set forth by Comrade Stalin for Bolshevik speed and quality.

Socialist competition and shock brigade work, self-sacrificing labour which has become something honourable, something commendable, something valiant and heroic, constitute the most important lever for carrying out the Five-Year Plan in 4 years and the most powerful force in the struggle for the building of socialism and for the transition to Communism, under which labour will become a prime necessity of life. Leninist competition is gaining tremendous victory of world wide significance.

The worker's delegate from France, in describing the work of the shock brigaders, said:

"They stand at their machines as if they were standing at the barricades, with the same militant determination and glow of enthusiasm in their eyes."

The foremost shock brigaders of the U.S.S.R., in building up socialism, always keep in mind that their work, their struggle and their cause are directly linked up with the cause of the world revolution.

"We must go forward in such a way that the working class of the whole world in looking at us can say: 'There it is, my vanguard, there it is, my shock brigade, there it is, my working class power, there it is, my fatherland—they are making their cause our cause—good!—let us support them against the capitalists and let us spur on the world revolution'." (Stalin.)

The Struggle for the Cultural Revolution.

By N. Stahl (Moscow).

On the basis of the great attainments in the building up of socialism in the U.S.S.R., rapid progress is made with the cultural revolution. The workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. bear in mind Lenin's injunction: "It is impossible to build up socialism in an illiterate and uncultured country".

To be able to appreciate the achievements of the October Revolution on the cultural front, one must realise that under Tsarism illiteracy was enormous in Russia. In 1913, to every 100 persons there were 78 illiterates. Illiteracy among women was even greater, it reached up to 90%. Among the backward peoples of the North and East illiteracy was almost general. Many nationalities had no written language. The capitalist Tsarist regime of plunder and oppression condemned them to complete ignorance. The struggle for culture started after the October Revolution. In 1926, there were already 50% people, who could read and write in 1929—56%, and in 1930—62%.

By translating percentages into figures, one can realise what enormous masses have been brought into motion. In 1927 28 1300 000 people were taught to read and write, in 1928-29—2,000,000, in 1929-30—4,500,000, and in the last two years (1930-1931)—25,000,000. 1932, the last year of the Five-Year Plan in four years, must be, according to the decision of the Soviet of Peoples Commissars, the year of liquidation of illiteracy.

The rate at which cultural revolution develops is almost as rapid as the rate of socialist construction.

"The liquidation of illiteracy problem is in the main a women's problem"—wrote Lenin's wife, Comrade Krupskaya.

We can see this by the above mentioned data. Millions of people, peasant women especially, are taught now to read and write and also various subjects.

The October Revolution has endowed women with all the political rights, and the growth of the socialist economy, especially the mass collectivisation of individual peasant farms, has roused working and peasant women from their age long slumber.

This is what **Lobanova**, a peasant woman in the "Stalin collective farm" (Nensk district) has to say about herself:

"I was illiterate, all I knew was housework, looking after cattle, washing clothes and taking care of children. My husband was ashamed of my illiteracy, he would not go with me to meetings and social gatherings. Even on the International Women's Day (March 8) he would not let me go to the festival: 'You are not wanted there, you are dirty and stupid'. But now we have a collective farm, we were almost the first to join it. We have in the collective farm a reading room and a school. They have taught me much, and have developed me socially. The whole village treats me now differently, people believe me now, and do not laugh at me any longer."

Another member of the collective farm, **Labrikhina** from the "Leninskaya Vozrozhdenie Farm" writes:

"Three years in the collective farm have made me understand that the Leninist Party alone shows us the right way with regard to the reorganisation of the countryside on socialist lines, and leads us to socialism. I am joining the Party, in order to extirpate kulakdom in the Soviet countryside. I want to learn, so as to help with the building up of socialism."

The cultural and political progress among the culturally backward peoples is even more striking. I will give only one example out of the many. There lives in North Caucasus a small people, the Adygueitzy (Cherkess). Before the revolution they were quite illiterate, except a small stratum of the ruling class. When the first school for the Cherkess children was built in Krasnodar, in 1925, the peasants were afraid to send their children there. It was with the greatest difficulty that a few were persuaded to go. Krasnodar has now a regular study centre with accommodation for several hundred students that prepares cultural cadres for Adyguei. Compact collectivisation has awakened among the peasantry, men and women alike, a desire to learn. Even the old Cherkess

women are learning to read and write: "We are building up our life ourselves, and this requires much knowledge". The whole population has taken up study enthusiastically. The women themselves have helped to build the school, and have made arrangements for the proper care of children. By the Lenin Day in 1931 95% of the adult population could read and write. Compulsory education for children has been introduced, and mass struggle has begun for higher education for adults, for the preparation of cadres for socialist construction.

Mass desire to study, organisation of means of study by the workers themselves, is called in the U.S.S.R. a cultural campaign, and the participants in the campaign are called members of the cultural army.

The cultural campaign is organised by a voluntary society called "Down with Illiteracy" which has 3,000,000 members.

There are many women activists in this society, and in the ranks of the cultural army. In the Ural "Azbest" factory the nucleus of the "Down with Illiteracy" society has organised the wives of the workmen. With regard to study, they have become an exemplary group. The have not missed a single lesson. The study programme aims at making the workmen's wives skilled factory workers.

There are many such schools, for in 1931 1,600,000 women had to be trained for factory work. In a number of places sections of the "Down with Illiteracy" society are organised in connection with the delegate meetings. Women delegates in Siberia and North Caucasus teach illiterate women individually and in groups, and challenge each other for socialist competition. It stands to reason that women must be freed from care of children and household, for otherwise they cannot study and build socialism.

From 1932 creches and children's playgrounds will be provided for all the children of the working class. Cooking centres on a large scale are being established, and nursery schools for children under school age are being set up also in the collectivised countryside. These nursery schools that cater for 400,000 children are subsidised by the state. Apart from this, Soviet and collective farms themselves organise children's institutions.

The aspect of the villages and women's position there are undergoing a thorough change. "We are happy"—says a peasant woman in the Lenin collective farm (Khopersk district, Lower Volga)—"for our children are well looked after, and we have not to worry about their food and everything else. **Our labour is free and joyful labour.** And our children will live even better than we do".

Alongside of mass work in the struggle for 100% literacy, great attention is paid to the education of the young generation. The question of compulsory elementary education was practically solved in the third decisive year of the Five Year Plan—1931.

20 million children attend now secondary schools (in 1914 7,200,000 children attended elementary schools, whereas 50% remained illiterate). The teaching is carried on in 70 languages. The National republics and the autonomous regions build up their own culture, national in form and socialist in substance.

The most remarkable thing in the cultural revolution of the U.S.S.R. is—that adults who could not even read and write reach the highest rungs in the educational scale.

While in 1914 the number of university students was 120,000, this number went up to 270,000 in 1931.

The composition of the students has changed completely. The place of the children of the bourgeoisie has been taken by the workers, peasants and their children, for whose benefit special schools have been organised to prepare them for the universities, workers' faculties and polytechnics. There is also a large number of various evening classes.

In 1931, 46 million people were attending educational institutions, i. e., to every three people of the population of the Soviet Union one is studying.

With the growth of the network of nursery schools for children under school age that free women from the care for their children, the percentage of women in the universities is also growing. There are as many, and frequently, more women than men in the medical and pedagogical faculties.

The striking facts of cultural development among adults and even old people are all to the credit of the Soviet Government.

There is, for instance Galina Bondar, a Ukraine farm labourer. She had a hard life on a kulak farm. But the Soviet regime gave her an opportunity—through evening classes—to become a student in the workers' faculty attached to the philological and literary university in Moscow. She receives a State subvention (as most students in the U.S.S.R.), studies hard and writes already interesting stories and sketches.

Then there is the pride of the Soviet Power — **Alienushka Novikova-Vashintzeva**, a writer from peasant ranks. She is already in her 72nd year. Thanks to the care of the proletarian state (social welfare benefit) she has been able to devote all her strength to the development of her literary gift.

She started her literary career as a rank and file worker correspondent of the periodical "Delegatka" and is now a writer. The second volume of her great work "Marinkina's Life" is being published now by the State Publishing Department. She has already started the third volume in which she tells how the imperialist war opened her eyes to all that was going on around her, and how the October revolution made her a Communist and a writer.

The cultural revolution in the U.S.S.R. is a movement of the masses for a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of reality, it is mass work for the education of new cadres of builders of socialism, creation of one's own proletarian intelligentsia, and equipment of the latter which all the achievements of world science and technique, in order to build up a Communist society on the basis of the industrialisation and complete collectivisation of the country on socialist lines.

DOCUMENTS OF MARXISM

A Hitherto Unpublished Letter of Engels to Kautsky.

The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow, in No. 22 of the "Bolshevik", published a letter from Engels to Kautsky with the following note:

"In the Summer of 1875 Marx sent to Wilhelm Bracke his 'Marginal Notes on the Programme of the German Labour Party' which were intended for the whole leading group of the social democratic party. This document contains a sharp criticism of the draft of the so-called Gotha Programme of the German social democracy, a programme which put forward a number of erroneous, opportunist Lassalleian theses.

This document of Karl Marx, which later became very famous under the name of the 'Criticism of the Gotha Programme', was only published in the year 1897 upon the energetic insistence of Engels, who thereby encountered the greatest resistance of the leaders of the social democratic party.

Engels' letter, which we print below, throws light on the situation existing within the German social democracy and on the more than ambiguous attitude of Kautsky, who published the letter only after Engels 'had compelled him to act'.

In this letter Engels scornfully rejects Kautsky's claim to share with him the responsibility for publishing the Marxist 'criticism', and shows that there can be no solidarity between two men, one of whom acts only under compulsion while the other acts from the revolutionary consciousness of the necessity of a determined fight against distortion of the history of the Party. Engels emphasises the tremendous educational importance which the history of the struggle against opportunism has for the workers, and points out that 'unreserved self-criticism' is the most powerful instrument for ideologically consolidating the Party, a weapon in the fight against opportunism and conciliation.

There is no doubt that this letter of Engels is of great importance at the present time in connection with the criticism of the mistakes on the front of history, as well as on other theoretical fronts, following the letter from Comrade Stalin to the editors of 'Proletarskaya Revoluzia'.

Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute."

London, February 23, 1891.

Dear Kautsky,

You will have received my hasty congratulations of yesterday. Now let us get down to the business, the Marx letter.

The fear that it would place a weapon into the hands of the enemy was unfounded. Malicious insinuations will always be made regarding anything and everything, but as a whole the impression made among the opponents was one of complete astonishment in face of this ruthless self-criticism and the feeling: what inner force a Party must possess which can act towards itself in such a manner. This is to be seen from the papers of the enemy which you sent me (for which accept my best thanks!) and the others which were accessible to me. And to tell the truth that was my intention when I published the document. I knew that at the first moment it would make a disagreeable impression here and there; this, however, could not be avoided and in my opinion the actual contents far outweigh this. I also knew that the Party is strong enough to bear this, and I reckoned that it would be able to bear this very outspoken language used 15 years ago, that we could point with justified pride to this trial of strength and say: What other party is there which would dare to do the like? This utterance, however, has been left to the Saxon and Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung and Zurich Post.

It is no doubt very nice of you when, in Number 21 of the "Neue Zeit", you take over responsibility for the publication of this document. But don't forget that I took the initiative in this matter, and in addition, to a certain extent forced you to act. I therefore claim for myself the chief responsibility. Regarding details, of course there can always be a difference of opinion. I struck out and altered everything to which you and Dietz objected, and if Dietz had suggested still further deletions I would have been ready to meet your wishes as far as possible, as I have always been. But as regards the chief matter, it was **my duty** to publish the thing as soon as the programme became the subject of debate. And now, on top of it, there comes Liebknecht's report at Halle, in which he calmly serves up extracts from this document as if they were his own production and in part fights against it without mentioning it; Marx would have at once opposed to this distortion the original text, and it was my duty to do this in his stead. Unfortunately, at that time I did not have the document by me and found it only much later after a long search.

You say that Bebel writes you, that Marx' treatment of Lassalle created bad blood among the old Lassalleans. That may be the case. The people do not know the real history, and it seems that nothing has been done to enlighten them. If these people do not know that the whole greatness of Lassalle was based on the circumstance that Marx allowed him for years to parade about with the results of Marx' investigations as if they were his own, and in addition to distort them, owing to his lack of economic training, it is not my fault. But I am the literary executor of Marx, and as such have my duties.

Lassalle has belonged to history for 26 years. If under the exceptional laws there was no historical criticism of him, the time at last has come when this criticism should be made and clarity created regarding the attitude of Lassalle to Marx. The legend which hides the true countenance of Lassalle and deifies him cannot become an article of faith of the party. No matter how high the services of Lassalle to the movement may be estimated, his historical role in the movement was ambiguous. Lassalle the socialist was accompanied at every step by Lassalle the demagogue. In Lassalle the agitator and organiser there was always to be seen the leader of the Hatzfeld trial; the same cynicism in the choice of means, the same inclination to surround himself with shady and corrupt people, who can be used as mere tools and then discarded. Up to 1862, he was in practice a typical Prussian vulgar democrat with strong Bonapartist tendencies (I have looked through his letters to Marx); he made a sudden turn about, for purely personal reasons, and commenced his agitation; and before two years passed he demanded that the workers should take the side of the monarchy against the bourgeoisie and bargained with Bismarck, whom he resembled

in character, in a manner which was bound to have led to actual betrayal of the movement, if he had not, to his fortune, been shot in good time. In his agitational writings, that which is correct and was borrowed from Marx is so interwoven with his own and regular erroneous statements, that the two are almost inseparable. That portion of the workers who feel injured by Marx' judgement, know only the two years of agitation conducted by Lassalle, and this only through coloured spectacles. But historical criticism cannot stand for ever hat in hand before such prejudices. It was my duty finally to clear up the matter between Marx and Lassalle. That has been done. I can be satisfied with this for the time being. Moreover, I myself have other things to do. And the ruthless judgment of Marx on Lassalle now published will do its work and encourage others. But if I were compelled thereto, I would have no choice: I should have to destroy the Lassalle legend once and for all.

That voices have been raised in the fraction demanding that the "Neue Zeit" should be placed under censorship is very fine. Is the dictatorship of the fraction which was set up during the fight against the anti-socialist laws, and which was necessary and excellently conducted at that time, still haunting the minds of some people, or are there memories of the one-time strict organisation of Schweitzer? It is indeed a brilliant idea to place German socialist science, after it has been freed from Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, under a new anti-socialist law fabricated and administered by the social democratic party authority itself. For the rest, we have taken care that things shall not go as far as that.

The "Vorwärts" does not trouble me much. I shall wait for Liebknecht's account of the matter and then reply to both in the most friendly possible tone. In the "Vorwärts" article there are only some inaccuracies to be corrected (for example that we did not desire unity, that events have proved Marx to be wrong etc.) and things which are self-understood to be confirmed. With this answer I think I shall then conclude the debate for my part, unless I am compelled by new attacks or incorrect assertions to write further on the matter.

Yours F. E.

Red Bluecher's Army on the Alert.

Moscow, 26th February 1932.

The **Far Eastern Red Army** celebrated the 14th anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army with a solemn session of the Habarovsk Soviet. **General Bluecher**, the commander of the Soviet Far Eastern Army, took the floor and delivered an unmistakable and solemn warning to the address of Japanese imperialism. When General Bluecher appeared to make his report he was received with tremendous applause by the assembled workers, peasants and soldiers. After having delivered his report on the history and development of the Red Army he turned to the situation in the Far East and declared:

"In view of the situation in Manchuria we must be particularly watchful. Our motto must be comrade Stalin's words, 'We do not want an inch of foreign territory, but we are not prepared to surrender an inch of our own'. The Far Eastern Army which has already gone through its first ordeal of fire, is prepared to take up the struggle at any moment for the defence of our socialist Fatherland. We shall not permit either white guardist or imperialist enemies to set foot on soviet territory with impunity. Should any power feel inclined to stretch out its hands to our coal, to our collective farms, to our natural resources then it must make up its mind to the fact that we shall fight desperately for every ton of coal, for every square foot of timber, for every tractor and for every cwt. of fish which belongs to us. We are here to defend our frontiers and the work of socialist construction which is proceeding in the Soviet Far East. Our comrades may continue their work in peace, we shall do our duty."

These words were greeted by storms of applause and wild enthusiasm.