

pied by the workers, demonstrations took place and many workers were killed and wounded in the collisions with the police. In the Schensin factory 11 workers were killed and more than 20 wounded. In the English-owned mines of Fugunsi (Province of Honan) two workers were killed, 16 wounded and about 400 workers beaten and mishandled. In Nantung eight workers were killed when the strike was crushed and more than 1,000 workers expelled from the town. In the Minshen factory in Hankow five workers were killed, etc.

The workers of one of the three factories of the Anglo-American Tobacco Co. in Shanghai repelled the offensive of the capitalists and achieved a partial victory. They had occupied the factory, driven away the factory guard and the police, and forced their way into the two other factories of the company, thereby inducing the other workers to join in the strike. The red union applied correct tactics by propagating the general strike, because it would have only been to the advantage of the capitalists to have one factory closed down in view of the bad economic situation.

The strike in the greatest macaroni factory is described as follows in the May number of the illegal workers' paper of Shanghai:

"The strike in the Houfing factory has just come to an end. In the year 1928 the monthly wage was still 15 dollars, but in the years of the Kuomintang rule it has been reduced to ten and even to eight dollars. The workers demanded an increase in wages. The advanced workers arranged a meeting at which they decided to demand a wage increase of two dollars. In the morning, before the commencement of work, the members of the group held a meeting at the factory gate and put forward their demands. They were supported by all the workers. They then went into the factory and commenced the strike. The workers surrounded the activists and proposed that they should be their delegates. Our comrades accepted this offer, but declared that all the workers must go in a body to the factory gate in order to ensure the victory. The workers accompanied their delegates and besieged the factory office. The employer rejected the wage demand, whereupon the workers demolished the office. Police were called, but the workers threw stones at them. As our comrades knew that the police would soon arrive in force, they proposed to barricade the factory, and the employer had to remain with the workers. In fact the police arrived and besieged the factory. Thereupon the employer was deprived of bread and water. A day passed and the employer was prepared to increase the wages by 1½ dollars, and requested the police at the same time to abandon the siege. A meeting was called at which our comrades explained to the workers how this victory has to be defended in the future. Since the strike the group of advanced workers has begun to make rapid headway."

There have not been any big anti-Japanese demonstrations in China lately, nevertheless many facts go to show that the situation is very tense and that the anti-Japanese movement still possesses potential strength among the masses. In spite of the unbounded white terror, a great militancy was displayed on the 1st of May demonstrations and the anti-war meetings on the 1st of August. The Shanghai newspaper "Shenbao" recently reported:

"The small fish traders have organised an association for the fight against the sale of foreign goods. The association organised a meeting at the harbour, which was attended by several thousand workers, traders, coolies and students. By chance it came to light that Japanese goods were stored in the harbour. The indignation of the masses was so aroused that immediately a collection of money was held, petroleum was bought and 600 bales of Japanese goods were set on fire. At the same time the police were beaten up."

As a result of the fierce class struggles the Chinese proletariat is becoming better organised. In the course of the last twelve months the red trade unions of China have increased their membership threefold and struck firm roots in the big industrial undertakings. The textile workers' union in Shanghai has increased in strength and a big tobacco workers' union has been reorganised.

Illegal workers' unions have been set up in the transport industry, in the docks and even in the arsenal, and they have succeeded in getting into contact with the spontaneous mass movement of the workers and thereby increasing the fighting capacity of the working class. The result is that strikes most dangerous for the Kuomintang and the imperialists were organised and led by the groups of the red trade unions in the factories.

India

The Present Situation in India

By V. Basak

(Conclusion)

I.—We Must Establish Party Spirit and Discipline in Our Ranks.

All the known facts show that among the Indian Communists there are still many wrong views, much confusion, and there is not yet a real Bolshevik approach to mass everyday practical work. It is true that the Communists have to build up their organisation, work out their views and political line in the conditions of tremendous isolation from the international proletarian revolutionary movement. British imperialism tries in every way to hinder the co-operation of the revolutionary movement of India with the international proletariat. It tries to isolate it from the influence on the Indian proletariat, to prevent the workers and Communists of India from utilising the experience and aid of the more experienced and older Communist Parties of other countries. However, the experience which has been accumulated and the comparatively high level of class-consciousness of the advance stratas of the Indian proletariat makes it possible for us to set firmly before the Communists of India the task: to summarise the lessons of the previous years, to put an end to confusion and to carry on sharp and open self-criticism of our past weaknesses and mistakes, rally our ranks, and unite the Communist forces on the basis of a common Bolshevik programme of action.

The period during which the Party is being formed and built never was an easy one. It could not be easy because the working class is surrounded by petty-bourgeoisie and the influence of the latter can be felt every day and every hour. The working class of India is young. Many of the workers only recently came from the villages. The influence of caste and other relics has not been eliminated. Not all have yet passed through the stern school of the class struggle and organisation. All this, together with the existence of some provincial isolation, the differences of languages, relics of the caste system, etc., is used by the enemies of the proletariat to prevent the working class from becoming an independent leading class force, the leader of the toiling masses. The development of the Indian proletariat took place in conditions of the growing anti-imperialist movement. The workers actively opposed the British oppressors. The bourgeoisie and the "left" national-reformists took advantage of the hate of the toiling masses towards national oppression; they try, while hiding themselves behind speeches on national unity, united national front, the non-class character of the National Congress, to strengthen the influence of the bourgeoisie among the working masses and convert the proletariat into an appendage of the reformist bourgeoisie so as to prevent it from separating out into an independent class force. But as a result of many years' experience of the treacherous policy of the Indian national-reformists, the broad masses of workers are becoming convinced that the struggle for independence is not being carried on by the national-reformists, that there cannot be a united national front with the Indian bourgeoisie, that for the victory of the Indian people it is necessary to overcome the influence of the national-reformists and liberate the toiling masses from bourgeois leadership. And for this purpose it is necessary to form a workers' independent revolutionary party—the Communist Party.

The task of the Indian Communists is precisely to understand correctly all the developments which are taking place in the working class, to get in touch and rely on the numerous advanced stratas of the proletariat, and by a correct policy to win over the majority of the working class and to mobilise around it and attract the toiling peasants and the urban poor and all those who are prepared to fight for the independence of India.

At the same time the Communist Party of India will not be rapidly formed and will not become a Bolshevik Party if the Indian Communists (while continuing energetically to develop mass activity) do not declare at the same time war on all the incorrect views mentioned above, if they do not revise their inheritance, if they do not carry on a firm struggle for the proper Communist line set out in the platform of action and in the open letter of the three Communist Parties (1932).

This struggle against deviations and mistakes must be carried on under the banner of struggle for a united Party, for amalgamation of the scattered groups in every town into a single local Party organisation and all local organisations into a single Party. We

must develop in every Party member a feeling that there is nothing higher for him than the interests of the Party, for the first duty of a Communist is to be a loyal, faithful, **disciplined** member of the Party. Every Communist must understand and realise **once and for all** that we cannot break the framework of the Party in defiance of the instructions of the Comintern and form fractions, and still less can we split the Party organisation. We must throw overboard and fight against all attempts to introduce into the Party personal, trifling and secondary matters. We must combat petty-bourgeois individualism and personal ambitions which interfere with the consolidation of the Party and which in reality represent an attempt to spread the influence of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie on the workers and is frequently used by the police for their provocative disintegrating work. The Indian Communists, united on the basis of a Bolshevik programme, should not keep silent differences on questions and principles or replace them by personal squabbles. The duty of the Communists is to examine and bring clarity on such questions, rally the ranks together, thus strengthening the unity of the Party. In the present epoch of the world proletarian revolution and the existence of the Communist International, all disputed questions of principle should be solved within the framework of the Comintern, and in case they cannot be solved on the spot they should be handed over to the E.C.C.I., and then the decision of the Comintern should be firmly and loyally carried out by all members of the C.P.I. **This is the A B C of Communism, and no one has the right to call himself a Bolshevik Communist if he does not understand or if he violates this principle.**

If we briefly formulate what is needed at the present time in the Indian Communist movement, it will be the struggle for Party spirit, for the Party as a **united, voluntary, fighting disciplined union of Communists with common ideas, who put the interests of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism above all.**

II.—The Struggle for Party Spirit and the Elimination of Mistaken Traditions

The struggle for Party spirit and devotion to the Party demands that Communists should break away from the mistaken views and traditions of the past years. The trouble is that some Communists have not yet understood the criticism of the letter of the three Parties, have not understood that their personal attacks on each other are a distorted reflection of differences on political questions and that **without self-criticism** and a correct policy it is difficult to unite the scattered groups into a single party.

The swing of some of the revolutionary intellectuals towards Communism in 1928-29 played a great role in the development of the revolutionary workers' movement. However, many of the revolutionary intellectuals brought with them incorrect views. Among the chief of them is lack of confidence in the working class and **the failure** to understand that the proletariat has already become the vanguard (though not yet the leader) of the masses of the people, that among the workers there are many who have passed through the school of the class struggle and are capable of participating in the building of the Party and the mass organisations, are able to lead the mass movement. In practice this has led to a failure to understand that there are **conditions** for a struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the national movement. And this in turn has led to a belittling and even a slurring over of the struggle against "left" national-reformism, which in its turn made it more difficult to form an independent underground mass Communist Party. At the same time, when their split from bourgeois national-reformism took place, and they came over to the side of proletarian socialism, many of them slipped onto the path of sectarianism, isolating themselves from the mass national movement for independence. They counterposed the task of forming an independent class party of the proletariat—the Communist Party—to the task of winning over the masses in the anti-imperialist movement. Their conception of the role of the proletariat and understanding revolutionary leadership was limited to the idea of forming small groups of leaders, sometimes organised as the workers' and peasants' parties, sometimes as formless fractions in the trade union movement. As a matter of fact, following the organisational principles of the National Congress, it is quite clear that such a **belittling** of the role of the Party, coupled with the abandonment of the political struggle has led to bad results and a **practical** cessation of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat.

There are some revolutionary groups in the Communist movement who come from the workers' and peasants' parties, connected

with the peasant masses. The most dangerous mistake of some of these comrades is that they do not see the political difference between the Communist Party as the party of the proletariat and socialism, and the workers' and peasants' party which were revolutionary petty-bourgeois organisations of two classes, and as a matter of fact acted as the "**left-wing**" of the bourgeois national movement. Among some of these comrades there is a **mistaken** conception that the C.P. is the logical continuation of the workers' and peasants' party. Hence they do not see the necessity to revise and openly give up and criticise their old incorrect views. However, a revolutionary can properly call himself a Communist only if he understands and openly states that no revolutionary petty-bourgeois party, however honestly it might have accepted some of the socialist slogans, can call itself a socialist organisation, be a Communist organisation.

We cannot confuse and combine together the Communist Party and a petty-bourgeois party. From this only confusion arises. The party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, not only sets before itself the task of **consistent fight for the democratic tasks, but also a further struggle for socialism, and the Communist Party will solve even the democratic tasks in such a way as to further the struggle for socialism, to prepare conditions for the growing over of bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one.**

However, the separation of the Communist Party into an independent party distinct from the revolutionary petty-bourgeois parties not only does not mean refusal of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasants, **but on the contrary** leads to the **strengthening** of the fighting alliance of the working class and the toiling masses of peasants and ensures the victory of the masses of the people, while strengthening the hegemony of the proletariat.

A large part of the mistakes which have been pointed out depend on the failure to understand that it is **not sufficient** to recognise the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat abstractly and in words. Whoever recognises in words, but **in practice** does not see in India the conditions for carrying it out in practice, is not a Communist. Because whether he subjectively wishes it or not, he will either adapt himself to the bourgeoisie, following the programme of the Roy group, or he will turn into a sectarian, a chatterer, a phrasemonger, who will swear that he is loyal to Communism and the Communist Party and that he hates imperialism, but will drift away from the mass movement, carry on abstract propagandist work, leaving the field of the mass movement free for the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, and thus will make it easier for them to work for the disorganisation of the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants.

Organisational Problems

Organisational tasks have never faced the Communist movement of India so sharply as now. Some Indian Communists brought with them, coming from the workers' and peasants' parties, the Congressite organisational principles. The essence of which is that groups of leaders are formed which replace the mass organisation and dictate their instructions to the masses from above. These organisational principles as far as the bourgeoisie is concerned have the aim to disorganise the national revolution, to prevent the masses of the people from influencing the decisions of the National Congress. These organisational principles in the workers' and peasants' parties were the expression of the lack of confidence of the revolutionary intellectuals, who had come from the petty-bourgeoisie, in the strength of the working class, in its ability to participate and lead the mass movement. The transferring of these principles to the Communist movement is an expression of lack of faith in the possibility of the hegemony of the proletariat, disbelief that there exist the conditions for the formation of a mass Communist Party and winning the leadership of the mass movement of the millions. Sometimes such a position is covered up by ultra-revolutionary phrases that in India the workers and peasants are so revolutionary and conscious that to organise the mass movement it is sufficient merely to appeal to the masses. This is a harmful petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionary point of view, and in practice leads to the neglect of the education and organisation of the worker and peasant masses for the revolution. And it makes it easier for the bourgeoisie to carry on its treacherous work. As the result of such wrong views, many Communist organisations in their organisational work do not go outside the limits of small groups or weak, shapeless fractions in the trade unions, do not publish underground leaflets, etc. These principles are incorrect, harmful and anti-revolutionary.

No group of Communists has now the right to call itself a Communist group unless it gives up these principles and immediately reorganises its work on the basis of Bolshevik organisational principles. They must **immediately begin to form town Communist committees, district committees, section committees and nuclei in the factories.** We cannot limit ourselves to being members of a fraction in the trade union only. It is not correct to do as the Punjab comrades do, when they call themselves the Punjab Communist Party. It must be changed into the provincial Punjab committee of the Communist Party of India, and it must reconstruct its organisation, form town committees in all the towns, etc., speak in the name of the committees, sign underground leaflets in the name of the committee, etc. The same in all provinces, especially in Bombay, this should be done. Only in Calcutta the comrades formed the Calcutta committee, although, as far as we know, even here no attempts were made to form section committees (in Metiaburj, Garden Reach, etc.), and nuclei in the factories. The Communist groups must begin to form Party committees and united Party organisations. **An end must be put to the scatteredness of Communist forces in the various towns and attempts of each group to form its own all-Indian centre.** We must begin to unite our forces, discuss disputed questions within the framework of the united organisation, on the pages of underground bulletin specially issued for the Party members, at the same time developing energetic mass activity (legal and underground) among the workers and the toilers in the trade unions, factories, etc.

While forming Party committees, we must develop their activity, including the issue of Party leaflets, pamphlets and newspapers (legal and underground). It is necessary to overcome the existing organisational and technical difficulties. The refusal to publish underground leaflets on the ground of technical difficulties amounts to a refusal to form an underground party. It cannot be looked on otherwise.

A special difficulty in the work in many districts is the existing close interweaving of the apparatus of the legal and underground organisation. Such an interweaving must absolutely be abolished. We must **completely separate the legal and underground apparatus while strengthening the control of underground Party committees,** distribute our forces and change the forms of work with the aim of the greatest possible protection against government terror and provocation.

The development of secret work must take place on the basis of still greater contacts with the working masses, transferring the centre of work to the rank and file, to the factories, villages. Only in this way can the Communist Party stand up against the blows of the government terror. The **combination of legal and underground work** which was spoken of in the letter of the three Parties remains the **most important task,** especially at the present time of the development of the workers' and peasants' movement.

Organisational tasks have taken on prime political importance for India. Any further delay is impermissible and criminal. A sharp change must take place. This change will make easier the struggle against the scatteredness, the splits, the group quarrels, the personal attacks, the sectarianism and isolation, and will make it easier to form rapidly a united All-Indian Communist Party. The development of the Communist movement has already grown beyond the limits of the scattered group existence. It is necessary to pass on rapidly to the formation of **Party organisations, committees, nuclei and a united Communist Party.** It is necessary to take the line of unity conferences in the towns, the provinces, so as to prepare for a unity conference on a national scale.

This change can be carried on only on the basis of energetic recruitment of the class-conscious workers, tested revolutionary students into the ranks of the Party. We must end the situation in which, on the one hand, there is a group of leader-intellectuals, and on the other hand there are thousands of active workers capable and worthy of being Communist leaders of the working masses. We must begin to recruit the workers widely, testing **each one individually** so as to avoid provocation, building up nuclei and district organisations, promoting workers to active work in the trade unions, strike committees, the workers' press, etc. Only in this way will the Communists be able to get rid of the psychology of small groups which retreat in face of the enormous tasks, which do not believe in the **prospect of leading the millions.** Moreover, only from these perspectives, from the perspectives of the hegemony of the proletariat, from the perspectives of leading the millions, can we

correctly build up and carry on our everyday work at the present time in the struggle for partial demands. And for this purpose we must definitely put an end to the bourgeois Congressite organisational principles and pass on to Bolshevik principles. We must **form a United All-Indian Communist Party.**

Fight Against Imperialist War

The Aero-Naval Manoeuvres in England

By Tom Bell (London)

Aero-naval exercises on a grand scale have just been completed by the British Home Fleet off the Scottish coast in the North Sea. These operations are the first of the kind to combine aircraft with naval manoeuvres, and one of many contemplated by the Admiralty, including an attempted landing.

No less than 90 aircraft were assembled. Supporting the three ships of the line engaged in the "bombardment" of Elie were the aircraft carriers "Courageous" and "Furious" conveying 51 aircraft, the exercise being for the purpose of giving practice to units of both the air and naval services in reconnaissance, ship recognition and anti-aircraft defence.

Such a large force naturally entailed an enormous expense in fuel and in organisation, an important point to be noted having regard to the weakening Budgetary situation of the National government. It is an indication of the seriousness with which the war preparations are being approached in England.

Flying over 5,000 feet high, theoretically 48 bombs of 250 lbs. were dropped on the flying decks of the two aircraft carriers. "Knowing the high percentage of hits now attained even from greater altitudes," says one critic, "and bearing in mind the efficiency of the latest type of bombs, one could easily picture the carriers disabled as regards their particular functions."

These "Hart" bombers are deadly weapons carrying two bombs of 250 lb. each, the equivalent of four modern six-inch shells.

The motif of the exercises were apparently the pitting of a naval force against aircraft unaided either by ships or heavy shore batteries. Such a contingency would appear to rule out any thought in the minds of the Naval Lords of an attack on the home front which is provided for in case of war. But in the Far East conditions are different. There such a situation contemplated in the motive could arise, so that these exercises may be said to be connected particularly with the big naval programmes of Japan and America.

The problem of the replacement of the British Fleet is a live question among the naval critics and the Admiralty at the moment. All are agreed that a large scale replacement is overdue. The First Lord of the Admiralty has declared recently that if a programme of replacement was voted in 1937 (assuming agreement with Japan and America) certain British battleships would be obliged to remain in service until they were 36 years of age.

By the end of 1936 the British Fleet will comprise no less than 14 cruisers and 45 destroyers having passed the legal age and must be replaced by new units. This clearly becomes a financial question. Maurice Prendergast, writing in "The Navy" in June and July, proposes to vote in 1934-1935 and 1936 for the putting on the stocks eight, seven and four cruisers, and 16 destroyers a year, leaving the question of capital ships over till 1937.

It is clear that whatever the results of the *Disarmament Conference*, and the Naval Conference to be resumed in 1935, a heavy burden of naval armaments will figure in the forthcoming Budget Estimates. This means a further drive against the working class, more "economies," reduced wages and a speeding up all round.

In this connection the aero-naval manoeuvres have a great importance. Whatever be the technical conclusions of the General Staff of the Admiralty these will undoubtedly be brought in to reinforce their arguments for an enlarged Budget, already substantiated by the tense international situation and drive for war amongst all the imperialist countries.