

Tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of China.

(Resolution of Eighth Session of R.I.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 Yunan 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" would 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.