

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, Seidezuyu 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.

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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.